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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

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A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In partial fulfillment of the

Requirements for the degree of Master

of Arts in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language

By

Ibrahim Eltouhamy

December 2015

The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HUSS)

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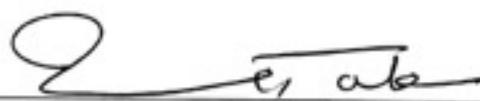
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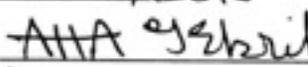
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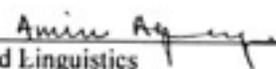
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To my mother, my wife, and my daughter;
the three ladies in my life

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ABSTRACT

It has been widely believed that a negative attitude is consistently to be found with the rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic, and that their speakers, especially those who emigrate to urban areas, ultimately tend to change their dialects to adapt, at least partially, to the prestige variety of vernacular Arabic, in this case the urban Cairene dialect (Bassiouney, 2009; Haeri, 1991; Miller, 2005; Woidich, 1994). In this regard, language attitudes towards rural dialects of Arabic in Egypt have been only slightly investigated sociolinguistically, as the majority of studies of Arabic language attitudes have been limited to investigating speakers' attitudes toward MSA and the dialects of the main cities.

The purpose of this study is to investigate language attitudes towards two rural dialects in Egypt; fallaHi and Saiidi, in comparison with attitudes towards the urban Cairene dialect. The study utilizes the verbal guise technique of the indirect approach to research language attitude. A comparison was made between the three dialect groups on eight traits: smartness, kindness, deception, religiousness, leadership, arrogance, preferability to work with and preferability to get married to. 155 participants have taken part in an online questionnaire, placing their evaluative reactions to 12 speakers - two males and two females from each dialect group - on a Likert scale. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were applied to the data, trying to generate answers to the attitude

question of the study, and to the investigation the effect of gender of the listeners. Participants' correct identification of the three dialects were measured as well.

The findings suggest that attitudes towards the three dialects of Arabic in Egypt vary according to the personality characteristics of the speakers and it also varies according to the gender of the listeners. In general, raters hold positive attitudes towards the urban dialect of Cairo as far as power traits are concerned. On the other hand, rural dialects of fallaHi and Saiidi elect positive attitudes when solidarity traits are concerned. It has been also found that male raters are more tolerant towards speakers of rural dialects than female raters. For females, the dialect of the speakers approves to be a matter of significance, as it appears in the results. Raters was found to be more familiar with the Cairene dialect than with the fallaHi and Saiidi dialects. They were able to correctly identify the Cairene dialect with a higher percentage. Male raters were better than females in recognizing the dialects correctly.

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I. CHAPTER ONE — INTRODUCTION

1. **Background and statement of problem:**

It has been widely claimed that rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic are being derogated in urban societies, and that their speakers, especially those who emigrate to such areas, ultimately tend to change their dialects to adapt, at least partially, to the prestige variety of vernacular Arabic, in this case the Cairene dialect (Bassiouney, 2009; Miller, 2005; Haeri, 1991). For example, Woidich (1994) argues that peasants, when living among townsfolk, do not use the strong *imala* as a feature typical of rural dialects, by not doing so, they avoid being stigmatized in urban societies.

However, Miller (2005) has pointed to an increasing influence of some rural communities on the social and cultural realm of the Egyptian capital. Talking about the famous Upper Egyptian poet Abdel Rahman Al-Abnodi, Miller described him as a national symbol of Egypt who writes novels and poetry in rural Upper Egyptian Arabic. Moreover, some of Al-Abnodi's poems have been sung, all over Egypt, in rural dialect by two well-known singing stars: Abdel Halim Hafiz and Mohammed Munir.

What is more, some other prominent figures, speaking in a native rural tongue, are highly valued in Egyptian society, regardless of their rural dialects. Such figures as Muhammed Metwaly El-shaarawy, the celebrated jurist and preacher, and Farouq El-Baz, a well-known scientist, to name two, have not altered their rural dialects in media and yet

have become totally accepted, a circumstance that calling into question the generalizability of stigmatization towards rural dialects.

On the other hand, former Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi's language, which can be described as rural due to the apparent *imala* in it, was a matter of discussion in the media. The British newspaper, *the Guardian*, quoted an Egyptian analyst who archly commented on one of Morsi's speeches by saying: ""It was a very colloquial speech in which he sounded almost countrified."[1]

It has been posited that in each Arab country there is one dialect considered a standard and that such dialects even compete in prestige with the Modern standard Arabic (MSA). (Bassiouney, 2009; Miller, 2004; Haeri, 1991; Holes 1987; Abu Haidar, 1991). In this regard, attitudes towards non-standard dialects of Arabic in general and towards rural dialects of Egypt in particular have been only slightly investigated sociolinguistically, as the majority of studies of Arabic language attitudes have been limited to investigating speakers' attitudes toward MSA and the dialects of the main cities. Haeri (1997) has pointed to the scarcity of studies that does not involve classical Arabic.

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[1] Kingsley, Patrick (2013, June 26). Egypt's Mohamed Morsi: I have made mistakes. *The Guardian*, Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/26/egypt-mohamed-morsi-mistakes

All these facts raise a number of questions regarding language attitudes toward rural dialects in Egypt, questions that need further study. Is it one's performance and achievements in public life that make the difference in attitude? If yes, what other social variables are at work?

Little was known about rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic until the release of P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich monumental *Agyptischer Dialektatlas*, "Atlas of Rural Dialects of Egypt", as of 1985. They offer a profound description of the phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical features of the speech of *fallaHeen* (inhabitants of Egypt's Delta), *SaiiDi* (Upper Egyptians) in addition to the inhabitants of the oases in the Western Desert. Woidich (1996) stated that the "Atlas covers most parts of Egypt and contains 561 maps which are based on data gathered from approximately 800 villages." (p.2)

1-1 - Arabic and language attitudes:

It has been noticed that studying attitudes towards rural dialects in Egypt is in fact overlooked in language attitudes research. Miller (2004) argues that most of sociolinguistic studies on the Arab world were not concerned by the dialectal diversity. She has pointed to the shortages of current Arabic sociolinguistic studies that focus on attitudes towards the dialectal diversity including the rural varieties in the Arabic-speaking communities, "which seems to have been considered as a secondary or a minor phenomenon." (p.17) The following is examples of language attitudes studies in Egypt:

Among other questions, Haeri (1991) studied language attitudes towards MSA and ECA in Cairo, using the direct approach. According to Garrett (2003), such approach is "characterized by elicitation: the asking of direct questions about language evaluation, performance etc., usually through questionnaires and/or interviews." Haeri conducted interviews with 87 speakers who either have lived in Cairo since childhood, or were born and raised in the Egyptian capital. Participants were asked direct questions such as: "Do you like *'ammiyya*?" "Do you prefer *'ammiyya* or *fuSHa* or the two are alike (for you)?" Haeri's results show positive attitudes toward ECA over MSA. She concludes: "It seems to me that linguists have generally tended to exaggerate the prestige of classical Arabic and the negative attitude of Arabic speakers towards their native language [while the case may not be so]." (p.176)

In addition, El-Dash and Tucker (1975) investigated views held by Egyptians towards "Classical Arabic (Modern Literary Arabic), Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian English, British English and American English, using matched-guise technique. Four groups of participants of various ages were asked to listen to six speakers speaking in their native varieties. Two male native speakers of Arabic were recorded separately while speaking about Giza pyramids. They were asked to speak spontaneously in Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic and Egyptian English. In addition, two male native speakers of British and American English were asked to comment on the same topic in their native tongues. Then, using a prepared questionnaire, participants were asked about their

general impression towards the speakers without being told that they were in reality evaluating the varieties. Results show that Classical Arabic ranked the highest over the four other varieties by participants, "with a tendency to judge English speakers more favorably than colloquial Arabic speakers." (p. 52)

Reigh (2014) also has investigated language attitudes towards fuSHa (MSA), Egyptian Arabic, English, and Egyptian Arabic-English code-switching in the American University in Cairo (AUC.) Results show mixed attitudes towards MSA with regard to prestige and importance, while Egyptian Arabic ranked low.

1- 2- Research Gap:

The previous review for three language attitude studies, as an example, in the Egyptian context aims at highlighting the scarcity of current Arabic sociolinguistic studies that focus on attitudes towards rural dialects in Egypt in particular. However, it is important to understand views held by Egyptians towards rural dialects and their speakers, hence understand paths of language variation and change in Egypt. Obiols (2002) points to the importance of studying language attitudes for sociolinguistics, as the results "can be used to predict the linguistic behavior of members of a given social group in terms of their use of linguistic varieties in bilingual and bidialectal situations." (p.1)

Additionally, studying language attitudes is of high importance for AFL teachers to be aware of the sociolinguistic scene of the community where their students live in. Learning language process is not limited to classrooms. AFL students in Egypt get into

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contact with Egyptians from various backgrounds, including those who emigrate from rural communities to reside in Cairo. Through daily interaction, students learn new forms of Arabic without being informed about their appropriate contexts. It is of high importance that AFL teachers draw their students' attention to the sociolinguistic implications of using standard and/or non-standard dialects. Learning language attitude towards various dialects should be part and parcel of the whole process of language learning. Miller (2004) argues that the modern sociolinguistic situation of the Arab cities is very sophisticated and should never be limited to MSA/ECA dichotomy.

1- 3- Researching Language attitudes

Researchers have studied language attitudes using various methods, including the societal treatment approach, the direct approach, and the indirect approach. The *societal treatment approach* requires analyzing existing text in the public domain in which attitudes are expressed towards languages or language varieties and towards their speakers in the society. In the *direct approach*, language attitudes are "elicited explicitly in the form of questionnaires or surveys" (Ivkovic, 2013, p.2) in which respondents are requested to express their views or reactions about different languages or varieties, etc. While, the *indirect approach* involves "more subtle, and sometimes even deceptive, techniques than directly asking question." (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003, p.16) Respondents in *the indirect approach* are asked about their general impression towards speakers without being told that they are in reality evaluating the varieties. (Garrett,

2010; McKenzie, 2010; Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain, 2009; Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003; ivkovic, 2013).

Examples of societal treatment research include studying the use of creoles and of English as standard and non-standard languages by various characters in novels (Rickford and Traugott, 1985). Schmied (1991) also has studied attitudes towards English in Africa through examining letters sent from readers to the editors in African newspapers in which they expressed their concerns about using the English language in the public domain. Societal treatment research includes also examining language attitudes in the cyberspace, as Ivkovic (2013) examines language attitudes expressed by *Youtube* commenters on Eurovision Song Contest (ESC) between 2003 and 2010.

According to Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003), the *direct approach* "is characterized by elicitation: the asking of direct questions about language evaluation, preference etc., usually through questionnaires and/or interviews." (p.16) Haeri (1991) study in Cairo exemplifies the direct approach to studying language attitudes. As abovementioned, her participants were asked the questions orally on their attitudes towards the Cairene dialect.

Another example of studying language attitudes using the direct approach comes from Sokarno (2007) who studies language attitudes of Egyptian Nubians towards Arabic and Nubian languages. Sokarno's respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire

that investigates the languages Egyptian Nubians prefer in various "domains as family, friends, religion, sports, politics…" (p. 5)

Lastly, the indirect approach is argued to be the dominant approach applied in language attitudes research since the 1960s. (Garrett, Coupland and Williams; 2003) Respondents are asked to listen to an audio file that has, either a recording of one speaker reading the same passage in a different linguistic feature every time (known as matched-guise technique), or a series of speakers representing different language groups speaking in their native tongue(known as verbal-guise technique). After listening, respondents are urged to complete a questionnaire to assess each speaker on various factors like leadership, Kindness and intelligence, to name a few. El-Dash and Tucker (1975)'s study, abovementioned, falls under the indirect approach to language attitudes utilizing the verbal-guise technique. On the other hand, Sawaie (1987) utilizes matched-guise technique to explore language attitude of some educated Arabic speakers at Yarmouk University "toward the 'standard' as well as some other regional and/or social varieties of Arabic." (p.3) A single sentence was recorded four times by the same speaker, keeping everything constant. A change has been made only to every /q/ sound in the sentence replacing it each time by one of its three social/regional variants in the Jordan/Palestine area; [?], [g] and [k].

El-Dash and Tucker (1975) argued that the indirect approach to researching language attitude has been widely used to investigate "the prestige, status and utility of one code in relation to another." (p. 34). In the current study, a try is made to examine

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these aspects in the Egyptian society. The study tries to gather data to address the following research questions:

2- Research questions:

- What are the language attitudes towards the Cairene, fallaHi and Saiidi dialects of Arabic in Egypt?

- Do males and females rate differently?

- What is the correct identification of the three dialects under investigation?

3 - Methodology and Data

3 -1-Proposed design of the study:

The present study utilizes the verbal-guise technique of the indirect approach to investigate, by indirect means, language attitudes towards three dialects of Arabic in Egypt; Cairene, fallaHi, and Saiidi. The experiment will be conducted online, in order to get as much wider strata of the Egyptian society as possible.

Stimuli:

Various speakers representing the three dialect groups under investigation were recorded while answering questions about their childhood memories at school. Following El-Dash and Tucker (1975), the topic is chosen to be "emotionally neutral … to avoid reactions to the topic rather than to the group represented by the speaker." (p.35) A

segment of 60-90 seconds of free speech for a male and a female from each dialect group, comprising twelve segments, were chosen and developed for the final audio file.

Questionnaire:

In the first section of the questionnaire, respondents are urged to express their general impressions of each speaker on a Likert scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Prepared in Arabic, the questionnaire gives respondents eight statements and asks them to indicate on the scale the extent to which they agree or disagree with the traits mentioned. Four of the labels used in the questionnaire; intelligent, likable, religious, and leader, are adopted from El-Dash and Tucker (1975). one question about the "preferability to get married with" was also found in Lambert, Anisfield, and Yeni-Komshian (1965). Respondents are also asked to complete a short biographical questionnaire in the last section. They are also asked to indicate the probable part of Egypt of each speaker. This part is dedicated to examine the percentage of the correct identification of the different dialects of Arabic in Egypt. The questionnaire is to be found in English and Arabic in the appendix.

Respondents:

The recordings and the questionnaire accompanied by the instructions is posted online in order to get as much wider strata of the Egyptian society as possible. A minimum number of 150 participants are expected in this study. The set of instructions

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given to all participants is to listen to the twelve speakers talking about their childhood memories at school. Participants, then, are expected to complete questionnaire.

4 - Delimitations:

In their Atlas of rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic, Behnstedt &Woidich (1985) categorized the rural dialects of the Nile Delta into 11 groups. The rural dialects of the Nile valley were categorized into seven groups. The investigation in this study is limited to only two groups of rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic, with a reference to all the' rural dialects of the Nile Delta as a "*fallaHi*" dialect, and all the rural dialects of the Nile Valley as "*Sa'iidi*". Therefore, results of this study should not be generalized to the rest of the rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic. Nor does the current study target investigations of language attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic or the Cairene dialect.

The current study is totally conducted online, which means that populations with no access to the internet will be less likely to participate and the questionnaire will be available only to those who have access to the internet. That's why results of this study should be treated cautiously, as participants do not resemble a random selection. They are not fully representative to the whole population in Egypt.

5- Definitions:

- Rural dialects in Egypt

In his study, Woidich (1996) refers to rural dialects in Egypt as "the dialects of the peasants in both northern Egypt (*fallaHi*) and Upper Egypt (*Saiidi*), as well as those of the inhabitants of the oases in the Western Desert." (p.2) However, the scope of this study is limited to only the rural dialects of *fallaHi* and *Saiidi,* with no consideration of other rural dialects in Egypt.

Language attitude is the impressions held by lay people as well as by formal institutions within a society towards the various languages, dialects and accents in that society. Albirini (2016) defines language attitudes as "socio-psychologically evaluative reactions to a certain language or to the speakers of that language." arguing that it " permeate our personal and social lives on a daily basis." (p. 78)

- **The indirect approach** is argued to be the dominant approach applied in language attitudes research since it was developed by Lambert et al. in 1960. (Garrett, Coupland and Williams; 2003) Respondents are asked to listen to an audio file that has, either a recording of one speaker reading the same passage in a different linguistic feature every time (known as **matched-guise technique**), or a series of speakers representing different language groups speaking in their native tongue(known as **verbal-guise technique**.) In stead of employing one person to imitate the varieties required for the study, in verbal-guise a number of different speakers are employed to produce the

stimulus recordings, as it is not always possible to find a single person who can completely produce the varieties required for the study.

6- Organization of the study:

This study consists of five chapters. The first introduces the study, providing a statement of the problem, research gap, research questions, and the purpose of the study. Chapter two reviews the literature of language attitude studies in their both broader and Arabic contexts. A detailed description of the entire methodology, including data collection and analysis, appears in chapter three. While chapter four presents the results of the study, chapter five presents the discussion of the findings and the conclusion and makes clear the limitations of the study. It also highlights questions for further research.

7- List of Abbreviations:

MSA   Modern Standard Arabic

ECA   Egyptian colloquial Arabic

AFL   Arabic as a Foreign Language

CM   Cairene Male speaker

CF   Cairene Female speaker

FM   FallaHi Male speaker

FF   FallaHi Female speaker

SM   Saiidi Male speaker

SF   Saiidi Female speaker

II. CHAPTER TWO - REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1- Language attitude:

It has been widely urged that the choice and the use of particular languages, dialects, and accents, not only conveys social information about the speakers, but also plays a role in forming impressions about them, as well as creating and confirming stereotypes about characters (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; Garrett, 2010). These scholars argue that ideologies about languages are viewed in the beliefs of people about these languages and they should be used. Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson (2013) outlines the different beliefs of lay people, scholars, and authoritative administrations about languages into three language ideologies; Nationalist ideology, Nativeness as an ideology, and Standard language ideology.

Nationalist ideology refers to the identification and the association of a certain language with certain people. That is to say that the nationalist ideology "naturalizes the connection between language and nationality, by conceptualizing linguistic differences as universal truths or matters of biology… [and] languages often come to be seen as the property of nation states" (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013, p. 5). In this regard, it is not surprising that some people are recognized not belonging to a nation only because they speak a different language. Bassiouney (2015) sheds light on the national media in the 2011 Egyptian revolution and how they used the language as a variable to differentiate between Egyptians and non-Egyptians participating in the revolution.

Throughout the revolution, issues like the "real" and "authentic" identity and the citizenship of the protesters was so frequent to be discussed in the media, employing the language as an independent variable to verify and/or to cast doubt at those protestors.

Nativeness as an ideology draws a line between languages produced by native and non-native speakers, regarding the latter as incomprehensible (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). In this regard, a dichotomy of us/them is applied to refer to the two categories of speakers, with native speakers are regarded as socially desirable than the non-native speakers.

Finally, the Standard Language ideology is highly related to the notion of correctness, reinforced by the authority, according to Garrett (2010). Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson (2013) argues that the process of standardization "attempts to create an artificially homogenous linguistic landscape by erasing inconsistencies and contradictions — it is the belief in what language *should* be, rather than what language is." (p.8) The process of standardization, usually promoted by authoritative institutions like schools and national media, is often justified on the ground of effective communication.

Investigating language attitudes in a given society is, in fact, very important to understand the social meaning of the various dialects within that society. Obiols (2002) points to the importance of researching language attitude in sociolinguistics as it could "predict a given linguistic behaviour: the choice of a particular language in multilingual communities, language loyalty, language prestige…" (p. 1)

Lambert et al. (1960) argues that attitude toward members of a given dialect group should generalize to the language they speak, as "spoken language is an identifying feature of members of a national or culture group." (p.80)

Albirini (2016) defines language attitudes as "socio-psychologically evaluative reactions to a certain language or to the speakers of that language." arguing that it " permeate our personal and social lives on a daily basis." (p. 78)

Attitude has always been referred to as an interaction of three components; affect (feelings), cognition (thoughts and beliefs) and behavior (readiness for action). (Baker, 1992) However, measuring the attitude towards a certain dialect is difficult as "there is often a lack of harmony between the three components." (Oakes, 2001, p. 30) An example is provided by Oakes (2001) to provide further explanation:

A mother may encourage her child to learn French (behaviour), believing that it will be important for his or her future career (cognition), yet all the while possibly loathing the language herself (affect). (p.30)

Garrett (2010) argues that language attitude has been a main concept in sociolinguistics since Labov (1966) study about the social stratification in English in New York City, whereas, Fishman (1972) tends to classify language attitude studies under the Sociology of Language, that investigates society in relation to language as opposed to sociolinguistics that studies language in relation to society.

According to Cooper and Fishman (1967), the study of language attitude "appears as a catalyst for sound change (Labov, 1963), a defining characteristic of a speech

community (Labov, 1966), a predictor of a second language achievement (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1961; Lambert, Gardener, Barik, and Tunistall, 1963; Lambert, Gardner, Olton, and Tunistall, 1968), reflection of interethnic attitudes (Herman, 1961; Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yyeni-Komshian, 1965), and a determinant of teachers' perception of their pupils' ability (Sliegman, Lambert, and Tucker, 1972)" (p. 5)

Moreover, Garrett (2010) points to the role language attitudes play in receiving and producing a language. Hence, it is expected that language attitude comes into action in our everyday communication to formulate our reactions to speakers of other languages and to help us expect other's reactions to our language choices; that is to say that a speaker might decide to change his language in a context to deliver a certain message. In this regard, Garrett (2010) highlights the criticism from the well-know actor Sean Connery to the then British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, accusing him of changing his Scottish accent to appeal to British voters.

2- Researching Language attitude in Arabic:

In chapter one a quick review of literature was made on langue attitude studies in Egypt. The following is a more detailed one that is not limited to the Arabic language in Egypt. Three approaches have been used to study language attitude. They are usually named: the direct approach, the indirect approach, and the societal treatment approach. The first asks participants directly about their reactions towards different languages or different varieties. One example of the direct approach is Haeri (1991), in which she directly asks her participants their evaluations o18f "ammiyya" and "Fusha". Haeri's

results show positive attitudes from her Cairene participants toward "ammiyya" over "Fusha". Another example of the direct approach comes from Al-Kahtany (1997) who also studies the attitude towards "ammiyya" and "Fusha". His participants comprise 40 students in the US from 14 Arabic-speaking countries. Al-Kahtany found a positive attitude from his participants toward the diglossic situation in the Arab world.

The indirect approach is argued to be the dominant approach applied in language attitudes research since it was developed by Lambert et al. in 1960. (Garrett, Coupland and Williams; 2003) Respondents are asked to listen to an audio file that has, either a recording of one speaker reading the same passage in a different linguistic feature every time (known as matched-guise technique), or a series of speakers representing different language groups speaking in their native tongue(known as verbal-guise technique.) In stead of employing one person to imitate the varieties required for the study, in verbal-guise a number of different speakers are employed to produce the stimulus recordings, as it is not always possible to find a single person who can completely produce the varieties required for the study.

In his review, Owens (2001) divides studies of Arabic language attitude into two groups: Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt in one group, where the question of attitude is investigated within the dichotomy of Standard Arabic and Spoken Arabic. The other group comprises studies in North Africa/ West Mediterranean, where French language is dominant. "The dominance of French is such that it often overshadows the [Standard

Arabic-Spoken Arabic] dichotomy." (Owens, 2001 p. 455) He also argues that the language issues discussed in the two groups are very different.

Herbolich (1979) studies the attitude towards four national Arabic varieties; Egyptian, Libyan, Saudi, and Syrian. Herbolich uses speakers from the four dialect varieties, as well as speakers from these countries trying to speak in Egyptian to investigate the ability of Egyptians to identify other Arabic varieties. Generally speaking, the Egyptian participants were able to recognize the pure Egyptian with 86% accuracy versus lower percentages while having them trying to identify the other Arabic varieties.

Barhimi (1995) studies language attitude towards Arabic and Berber in two cities in Algeria; Tizi Ouzu, where Berber is dominant, and Oran, where Arabs and Berbers live together, with Arabic as a dominant language. According to Brahimi's findings, Standard Arabic was found to be highly favorable in Oran, while on the other hand Berber was found highly favorable in Tizi Ouzu. The case was different with Berbers living in Oran, as they were found to have a positive attitude towards Standard Arabic over Berber.

According to Labov (1966), studies of language attitude can be used to show language change in progress. Using the indirect approach, Benrabah (1994) investigates Algerian female language attitude towards two variants of the same phonological variable; the pharyngealized rural [ae'] and the non-pharyngealized sedentary [a]. Benrabah found that there is a tendency among his participants to favor the sedentary variable to the rural one, proposing a language change in progress towards the urban variable.

3- Dialectal variation and second language acquisition:

Major et al. (2005) calls for increasing L2 learners' familiarity of the various dialects within the target language community. The results highlights the crucial role dialectal variation plays in developing the learners' competence of listening comprehension. That is to say that the more learners get exposed to various regional dialects within the target language community, the higher level they achieve in listening comprehension. On the other hand, Fox & McGory (2007) found no effect on learners' acquisition of non-standard vowels (Southern American dialect) even after living in a non-standard language community. Yet, they believe other factors should be considered for further research, including sociolinguistic variables, attitudes toward different dialects, the dialect spoken by their instructors and the amount of exposure to the dialect.

Gutierrez & Fairclough (2006) argues for the importance of raising students awareness of the various dialects within the target language community from the beginning levels. This should be done through the incorporation of the linguistic variation of the society in the language classroom, in order to prepare learners for a better interaction in the real world.

A considerable amount of research has been done on AFL students to investigate their attitude towards learning Arabic in general, and most importantly the challenge of learning Standard Arabic and spoken Arabic together. Palmer (2008) studies attitude of AFL students who have been to the Arabic-speaking world after studying al least two

semesters of Arabic. Palmer found the majority of students preferring to learn a spoken dialect before traveling to An Arabic-speaking country. It was much more easier for those students who already speak a dialect to integrate into the society.

4- Rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic:

Little was known about rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic until the release of P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich monumental *Agyptischer Dialektatlas*, "Atlas of Rural Dialects of Egypt", in 1985. Before 1930s, most of the works claim to describe the Arabic dialect of Egypt, they describe the Arabic dialect of Egypt only, giving the impression that there is only one dialect in Egypt (Woidich, 1996)

According to Woidich (1996), three seminal works were published before the release of the first map of rural dialects in Egypt by P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich in 1984 in the Tübinger Atlas zum Vorderen Orient (TAVO); Winkler's "Ägyptische Volkskunde" in 1936 in which he presented the material used by fallaHeen in some thirty villages all over Egypt, Abul-Fadl's doctoral dissertation in 1961, in which he describes the speech of the fallaHeen of his native Ash-sharqiya governorate in the east of the Delta, and the Saiidi grammar published by Khalafallah in his doctoral dissertation in 1969.

It was only until the release of Behnstedt and Woidich "Atlas of Rural Dialects of Egypt" that we have found a detailed linguistic description of the phonological,

morphological, syntactic, and lexical features of the rural dialects of fallaHeen, Saiidi and inhabitants of the oases of the Western desert. Earlier works were only limited to one or two linguistic features (Woidich, 1996).

In 1994, Tetsuo Nishio presented the grammatical characteristics of the Arabic dialect of the Upper Egyptian city of Qift on the east bank of the Nile. With an introduction to the history and geography of the city, as well as the people of Qift as archeological experts, Nishio incorporates a detailed description of the phonetics, phonology, morphology and an explanation of 1000 lexical entries with Arabic, English and Japanese indices.

A recent revisit by Schroepfer (2013) gives a phonological description of stop variation in the Saiidi Arabic. In his M.A. thesis Schroepfer revisits the phonological variation and distribution of the Upper Egyptian cognates for the Cairene /tʃ/, /g/, and /ʔ/ described earlier by Winkler (1936), Khalafallah (1969), Nishio (1994), Behnstedt and Woidich (1985), and Miller (2005). Schroepfer (2013) concludes that the upper Egyptian cognate of the Cairene /tʃ/ is the implosive [ɗ] in most places of Upper Egypt, and that the Saiidi cognates of the Cairene /g/ and /ʔ/ differ from previous documentation.

Woidich (1994) tries to approach the question of the Cairene dialect and its relationship to the surrounding rural dialects in the north and the south. He reports on the isoglosses Cairene Arabic share with the surrounding rural dialects; namely, fallaHeen and Saiidi dialects, in order to discuss the origin of certain features of the Cairene dialect. Woidich concludes that the Cairene dialect is mainly a Central Delta dialect. It also shares

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a number of features with all surrounding rural dialects. His findings are supported by the historical fact that a big number of people from rural ares have immigrated to Cairo in the 19th century to make up for the great losses in Cairo inhabitants resulted from the plague Cairo suffered in the 1830s.

Miller (2005) studies the accommodation in the speech of Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo. She argues that the accommodation process among the first migrant generation is relatively slow due to a number of reasons including the notable existence of Upper Egyptian literature in the social and cultural Egyptian arena. Miller mentions Abdel Rahman Al-Abnoudi, as an example of a famous Upper Egyptian man of literature and a national symbol, who writes his literary works mainly in Upper Egyptian language. He is known for reading his poems in a clear Upper Egyptian dialect.

III. CHAPTER THREE — METHODOLOGY

1- Research Design

The present study utilizes the verbal-guise technique of the indirect approach to investigate, by indirect means, language attitudes towards three dialects of Arabic in Egypt; Cairene, fallaHi, and Saiidi. It was decided from the beginning to use one of the techniques of the indirect approach to explore behind the social desirability bias. People may avoid to provide you with their real attitude, not to look socially inappropriate. (Garrett, P. Coupland, N., & Williams, A., 2003; Garrett, 2010;McKenzie, 2010) It was also decided from the beginning to use the verbal guise, not the matched-guise, technique because it has been almost impossible to find guises who could produce a spontaneous speech in the three dialects accurately. The experiment was conducted online, in order to get as much wider strata of the Egyptian society as possible. Presented in Arabic, the instructions, the recordings and the questionnaire were posted on a questionnaire platform website; www.questionpro.com.

2- Piloting

An online pilot study was conducted to test the reliability of the employed instruments before pursuing the full-scale study. Representing the three dialect groups under investigation, a number of six recordings has been prepared for piloting, using a male and a female speaker from each dialect. Twelve raters have participated in the pilot study by placing their ratings to the nine personal traits of the speakers on a five point Likert scale after listening to the recordings. They were also asked to provide general

comments on the questionnaire and the recordings. Negative comments about voice

qualities of certain speakers raised concerns about the reliability of using a single speaker

to represent a dialect group. Therefore, a decision was made to employ two male and two

female speakers from each dialect group, totaling 12 speakers, to minimize the effects of

the paralinguistic features and to avoid evaluative reactions to the voice itself rather than

the dialect. Another change has been made to the Arabic wording of some of the

characteristics, because they sounded either harsh or ambiguous to the raters. The word

for "Arrogance" (مغرور) has replaced "rude" (فظ), as an example. Also, the "Not

Applicable N/A" option was added to the scale totaling be used with the "favorability to

get married to" question, if the rater is of the same gender as the speaker. This N/A option

has appeared to be misunderstood by some raters to use with other trait questions, as will

be discussed later in this chapter.

3- **Data Collection**

Changes have been applied to the questionnaire and the recordings, based on

observations and suggestions from the pilot study and after consulting with my

supervisors. The full-scale study was posted online on the Facebook page of the

researcher, asking his friends and friends of friends to participate and to share the

questionnaire. For four days, raters from different places have expressed their evaluative

reactions towards the twelve speakers. Before answering the questions, participants were

instructed to listen to the twelve speakers, one by one, while talking about their childhood memories at school.

1- Instruments:

Recordings: In the present study, a number of interviews was conducted mainly by the researcher with representatives from the three dialect groups under investigation; Cairene, fallaHi and Saiidi. Speakers were asked various questions about their childhood memories at school and they were recorded while answering. Following El-Dash and Tucker (1975), the topic is chosen to be "emotionally neutral … to avoid reactions to the topic rather than to the group represented by the speaker." (p.35) Twelve speech samples (60-90 seconds each) of free speech were prepared for the questionnaire using Audacity 2.1.1 free, open-source software for recording and editing sounds. In preparing the audio files, a primary focus was given to the parts of the interview where features of rural dialects are salient as proposed by Woidich (1996).

While all the Cairene, fallahi and two of the Saiidi interviews were carried out by the researcher himself, the other two interviews were done by two of his Saiidi colleagues. It should be highlighted here that recording with rural dialects speakers takes much more time than recording with Cairene speakers. Many of them when asked to record while speaking in their rural dialects, they refused, pretending that they do not speak an "authentic" rural dialect. They always refer to other people, whom they think are better in producing a "genuine" rural dialect.

<u>Questionnaire:</u>

Respondents are urged to make their evaluation on each speaker on a Likert scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Prepared in Arabic, the questionnaire gives respondents eight traits and asks them to indicate on the scale the extent to which they agree or disagree with the traits mentioned. Four of the labels used in the questionnaire; intelligent, likable, religious, and leader, are adopted from El-Dash and Tucker (1975). They have done a pilot study to investigate what characteristics Egyptian people could retrieve when listening to people speaking and they found these four traits the most common. The marriage question was added because of a wider debate on the social networks, observed by the researcher, in which the rural dialect was a matter of concern when considering a marriage proposal. This triggered the researcher's interest in examining the significance of the dialect when picking up a partner in the Egyptian society. Respondents are also asked to complete a short biographical questionnaire at the end. The eight traits are listed below with the Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The full questionnaire is to be found in English and Arabic in the appendix section.

Strongly agree / agree / Neutral/ disagree/ Strongly disagree

- Intelligent …………… / ………… / ……………. / ………… / …………..
- Likable …………… / ………… / ……………. / ………… / …………..
- deceptive …………… / ………… / ……………. / ………… / …………..
- Religious …………… / ………… / ……………. / ………… / …………..

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- leader   …………… / ………… / …………….. / ………… / …………..
- Arrogant   …………… / ………… / …………….. / ………… / …………..
- A good work colleague…………… / ………… / …………….. / ………… / …………..
- A good marriage partner…………… / ………… / …………….. / ………… / …………..

4- Participants:

There are two types of participants in this study; those whom were recorded speaking in their native dialects for stimuli, henceforth speakers, and those who provide their evaluative reactions after listening to the speakers, henceforth, raters.

Speakers:

Two male and two female representatives from each dialect group were chosen as stimuli for the raters to express their evaluative reactions on the questionnaire. The speakers for this study do not compromise a random sample. The researcher depends on his social networks to get an access to the speakers. All of the Cairene and fallaHi speakers are either his relatives, his friends or his colleagues. The four Saiidi speakers are from the upper Egyptian governorate of Sohag, some 400 km south to Cairo; two of them hold a university degree and the other two finished high school. The two fallaHi female speakers came from the Dakahlia governorate, and they are school teachers. One fallaHi male speaker is from Gharbia governorate and the fourth fallaHi speaker is from Beheira Governorate, both of them hold an MA degree. The Cairene speakers were born and

raised in Cairo, three of them hold a university degree and the fourth is a university professor.

<u>Raters:</u>

Out of 671 participants, only 155 (80 males and 75 females) have completed the online questionnaire, with a completion rate of 23% of those who started the questionnaire and dropped it out at any part before finishing it. The vast majority of participants falls merely in two age groups, with 91 participants age between 20-30 year old (58.71%) and 43 age between 31-40 (27.74%). Table 3.1 below gives more details about the gender and the age group of the raters.

Gender		Age group	
		Less than 20	8 (5.16%)
Males	80 (51.61%)	From 20 - 30	91 (58.71%)
		From 31 - 40	43 (27.74%)
		From 41 - 50	9 (5.81%)
Females	75 (48.39 %)	From 51 - 60	2 (1.29%)
		More than 60	2 (1.29%)

Table 3.1 gender and the age group of the raters.

5- Data analysis:

To answer the research questions, data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. A one-way "Analysis of variance" (ANOVA) tests were conducted to investigate whether there are differences in attitudes towards the

rural dialects in Egypt (fallaHi and Saiidi) and the Cairene one. Two more ANOVA tests were also conducted on the data set after separating them according to the gender of the raters in order to investigate whether males and females rate differently. Moreover, answers of the correct identification question were calculated and an ANOVA test was carried out to check for significant differences between groups in correctly identifying the dialect group.

The questionnaire verbal responses were converted into numerical data. In order to do this, numerical scores were assigned to each choice on the Likert scale used: (5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 = Not sure, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree.) Reverse scoring was used with negative characteristics (deceitful and arrogant) :   (1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Not sure, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree.)   The N/A choice was discarded from the calculation. Figure 3.1 shows data conversion for two items.

Figure 3.1

It was mentioned early in this chapter that an N/A option was suggested to be added to the scale for the marriage question if the rater is of the same sex as the speaker. It was not possible in the programming of the questionnaire website to add the option to one item of the questionnaire without the others, so the option appears as a part of the scale. Although it was mentioned in the instruction section to use it only with the marriage question, it appeared to be confusing, and some users chose it as an answer to other questions. Their answers were discarded from the calculation.

IV. CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This chapter reports on the results of the current study, which investigates the language attitudes towards three dialects of Arabic in Egypt; Cairene, fallaHi and Saiidi. Question one addresses the question of language attitude for all raters. Question two is interested in the gender of the raters as a variable. Finally, question three reports on the correct identification of the dialects.

Question One: Attitudes towards rural dialects:

Question one investigates raters' attitude towards three dialects of Arabic in Egypt; Cairene, fallaHi, and Saiidi, in terms of eight personal traits and choices. The question examines whether there are differences in attitudes towards the speakers of rural dialects in Egypt (fallaHi and Saiidi) and the urban Cairene one. To answer this question, the mean and the standard deviation of the raters' answers were calculated for each characteristic for the three dialect groups separately using SPSS.

Dialects / traits		Smart	Kind	Deceptive	Religious	Leader	Arrogant	Work	Marriage
Cairene	Mean	3.48	3.39	3.19	2.97	2.92	3.24	3.16	2.62
	Std. Deviation	.887	.901	.969	.587	.992	.903	.943	1.040
fallaHi	Mean	3.29	3.65	3.37	3.10	2.77	3.57	2.99	2.37
	Std. Deviation	.819	.792	.947	.551	.924	.929	.997	1.006
Saiidi	Mean	3.37	3.55	3.34	3.09	2.83	3.41	3.10	2.52

Std. Deviation	.788	.770	.829	.498	.833	.917	.934	.962

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics for the questionnaire items

Table 4.1 above shows reactions of participants towards Cairene, fallaHi and Saiidi speakers for the eight traits. As can be seen, the means for Cairene speakers come first, followed by Saiidi and fallaHi speakers respectively as far as smartness, leadership, Favorability to work with and Favorability to get married to, are concerned. On the other hand, the means for fallaHi speakers are the highest when it comes to Kindness, Deception, and Arrogance; while Saiidi and Cairene speakers come in the second and the third rank, respectively. Finally, the means for Religiousness are almost the same for fallaHi and Saiidi speakers, whereas the Cairene mean comes second after both of them.

In order to investigate whether there are significant differences among the three groups on the different characteristics as judged by the respondents, a one-way "Analysis of variance" (ANOVA) was performed with each characteristic separately. ANOVA not *t* tests was used with the data set since three groups were included in the analysis. a *post-hoc* test was performed as well to look into pair-wise comparisons across the different characteristics. Table 4.2 below shows the data obtained from the ANOVA test.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Smart	Between Groups	11.553	2	5.777	8.336	.000
	Within Groups	1265.354	1826	.693		
	Total	1276.908	1828			
Kind	Between Groups	20.852	2	10.426	15.399	.000
	Within Groups	1249.135	1845	.677		
	Total	1269.986	1847			
Deceptive	Between Groups	10.925	2	5.462	6.496	.002
	Within Groups	1475.688	1755	.841		
	Total	1486.613	1757			
Religious	Between Groups	6.539	2	3.270	10.939	.000
	Within Groups	547.543	1832	.299		
	Total	554.082	1834			
Leader	Between Groups	6.584	2	3.292	3.898	.020
	Within Groups	1493.899	1769	.844		
	Total	1500.483	1771			
Arrogant	Between Groups	31.626	2	15.813	18.844	.000
	Within Groups	1452.552	1731	.839		
	Total	1484.178	1733			
Work	Between Groups	8.882	2	4.441	4.836	.008
	Within Groups	1625.422	1770	.918		
	Total	1634.305	1772			
Marriage	Between Groups	9.846	2	4.923	4.896	.008
	Within Groups	1004.605	999	1.006		
	Total	1014.451	1001			

Table 4.2 shows results of the one way ANOVA for all participants

Smartness:

The ANOVA results, showed a significant effect of the speakers' dialects on the listeners' attitude towards smartness across the three groups [$F(2, 1826) = 8.336$, $p < 0.001$]. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the Cairene dialect (M = 3.48, SD = 0.887) was significantly different than both the Saiidi dialect (M = 3.37, SD = 0.788) and the fallaHi dialect (M = 3.29, SD = 0.819). However, the saiidi dialect did not significantly differ from the fallHi dialect. Putting together, these results suggest that speakers of the urban Cairene dialect were considered significantly more intelligent than the rural fallaHi and Saiidi speakers. While on the other hand there was no significant difference between fallaHi and Saiidi speakers as far as intelligence is involved.

Kindness:

A significant difference due to speakers' dialect was also observed across the three conditions based on the ANOVA results [$F(2, 1845) = 15.399$, $p < 0.001$]. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the fallaHi dialect (M = 3.65, SD = 0.792) was significantly different than the Saiidi dialect (M = 3.55, SD = 0.770) which is in its turn significantly different than the Cairene dialect (M = 3.39, SD = 0.901).

Deception:

A significant difference among the groups was found for the deception trait based on the ANOVA results [$F(2, 1755) = 6.496$, $p = p < 0.002$]. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the fallaHi dialect (M = 3.37, SD = 0.947) was significantly different than the Cairene dialect (M = 3.19, SD = 0.969) There was no significant difference observed between the fallaHi and the Saiidi dialect (M = 3.34, SD = 0.829). Again, the speakers of rural dialects; fallaHi and Saiidi are recognized by the raters as significantly less deceptive than the speakers of the urban Cairene dialect.

Religiousness:

A significant difference among the groups was found for the religiousness trait [$F(2, 1832) = 10.939$, $p < 0.001$]. While speakers of the rural fallaHi dialect (M = 3.10, SD = 0.551) and Saiidi (M = 3.09, SD = 0.498) were judged significantly more religious than the urban Cairene dialect (M = 2.97, SD = 0.587), there was no significant difference between the first two dialects.

Leadership:

There was a significant effect of the speakers' dialects on the listeners' attitude at the $p < .05$ for the three conditions [$F(2, 1769) = 3.898$, $p = 0.020$]. A Post-hoc test indicates that the mean score for the Cairene dialect (M = 2.92, SD = 0.992) was

significantly different than both the Saiidi dialect (M = 2.83, SD = 0.833) and the fallaHi dialect (M = 2.77, SD = 0.924), with no significant difference between the means of the Saiidi and the fallaHi speakers. Putting together, the raters see speakers of the urban Cairene dialect as significantly more suitable for leadership than the speakers of the rural fallaHi and Saiidi dialects.

Arrogance:

A significant difference due to speakers' dialect was also observed for arrogance trait [$F_{(2, 1731)}$ = 18.844, $p < 0.001$]. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicates significant differences among the three dialect groups, with the mean of the fallaHi dialect ranking first (M = 3.57, SD = 0.929) and significantly different than both the Saiidi condition ranking second (M = 3.41, SD = 0.917). A significant difference was found as well between the Saiidi and the Cairene speakers (M = 3.24, SD = 0.903).

Favorability to work with:

There was a significant effect of the speakers' dialects on the listeners' attitude for the three groups [$F_{(2, 1770)}$ = 4.836, $p < 0.008$]. The post-hoc test shows the significant difference only when the fallaHi dialect (M = 2.99, SD = 0.997) is in interaction, with the fallaHi mean is the last among them. No significant difference was observed between the Cairene condition (M = 3.16, SD = 0.943) and the Saiidi condition (M = 3.10, SD =

0.934). In other words, speakers of Cairene and Saiidi dialects are observed by the raters as significantly more favorable as work colleagues than speakers of the fallaHi dialect.

Favorability to get married to:

A significant difference due to speakers' dialect was also observed for the three conditions [$F(2, 999) = 4.896$, $p < 0.008$]. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the Cairene dialect (M = 2.62, SD = 1.040) is significantly different when comparing with the fallaHi dialect (M = 2.37, SD = 1.006). One the other hand, there is no significant difference when Cairene speakers are compared with Saiidi speakers (M = 2.52, SD =0.962). Moreover, No significant difference is neither observed when the comparison is between Saiidi speakers and fallaHi speakers. In other words, these results suggest that if the comparison happens between speakers of fallaHi and Cairene, the favorability goes to the Cairene, and when it happens between Cairene and Saiidi, there is no significant difference. Strangely enough, when the comparison is between Saiidi and fallaHi there is no significant difference neither. This is a bit confusing case and it requires more investigation, with the gender of the rater plays as a variable to have a much clearer image as will happen later in this chapter.

Table 4.4 below shows post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test, where the mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level. C in the table refers to the Cairene dialect, F to fallaHi, and S refers to the Saiidi dialect.

Table 4.3 post-hoc for pair-wise comparisons across the different characteristics

Dependent Variable	(I) a	(J) a	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval Lower Bound	95% Confidence Interval Upper Bound
Smartness	C	F	.194[*]	.048	.000	.10	.29
		S	.108[*]	.048	.024	.01	.20
	F	C	-.194-[*]	.048	.000	-.29-	-.10-
		S	-.087-	.048	.070	-.18-	.01
	S	C	-.108-[*]	.048	.024	-.20-	-.01-
		F	.087	.048	.070	-.01-	.18
Kindness	C	F	-.258-[*]	.047	.000	-.35-	-.17-
		S	-.157-[*]	.047	.001	-.25-	-.07-
	F	C	.258[*]	.047	.000	.17	.35
		S	.101[*]	.047	.032	.01	.19
	S	C	.157[*]	.047	.001	.07	.25
		F	-.101-[*]	.047	.032	-.19-	-.01-
Deception	C	F	-.179-[*]	.054	.001	-.28-	-.07-
		S	-.153-[*]	.054	.004	-.26-	-.05-
	F	C	.179[*]	.054	.001	.07	.28
		S	.026	.054	.625	-.08-	.13
	S	C	.153[*]	.054	.004	.05	.26
		F	-.026-	.054	.625	-.13-	.08
Religiousness	C	F	-.131-[*]	.031	.000	-.19-	-.07-
		S	-.122-[*]	.031	.000	-.18-	-.06-
	F	C	.131[*]	.031	.000	.07	.19
		S	.008	.031	.790	-.05-	.07
	S	C	.122[*]	.031	.000	.06	.18
		F	-.008-	.031	.790	-.07-	.05
Leadership	C	F	.149[*]	.054	.006	.04	.25
		S	.088	.053	.099	-.02-	.19

	F	C	-.149-*	.054	.006	-.25-	-.04-
		S	-.061-	.054	.259	-.17-	.04
	S	C	-.088-	.053	.099	-.19-	.02
		F	.061	.054	.259	-.04-	.17
Arrogance	C	F	-.330-*	.054	.000	-.44-	-.22-
		S	-.162-*	.054	.003	-.27-	-.06-
	F	C	.330*	.054	.000	.22	.44
		S	.168*	.054	.002	.06	.27
	S	C	.162*	.054	.003	.06	.27
		F	-.168-*	.054	.002	-.27-	-.06-
Favorability to work with	C	F	.171*	.056	.002	.06	.28
		S	.059	.056	.288	-.05-	.17
	F	C	-.171-*	.056	.002	-.28-	-.06-
		S	-.112-*	.056	.046	-.22-	.00
	S	C	-.059-	.056	.288	-.17-	.05
		F	.112*	.056	.046	.00	.22
Favorability to get married to	C	F	.243*	.078	.002	.09	.40
		S	.094	.077	.223	-.06-	.24
	F	C	-.243-*	.078	.002	-.40-	-.09-
		S	-.149-	.078	.056	-.30-	.00
	S	C	-.094-	.077	.223	-.24-	.06
		F	.149	.078	.056	.00	.30

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

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Question two: Do males and females rate differently?

This question is concerned with the way male and female participants rate the speakers of the three dialects in terms of the eight personal characteristics. In other words, it investigates whether there is a significant effect of the speakers' dialects on the male and/or the female listeners separately. In order to find out this, one-way ANOVA was performed for the male and female participants separately in order to test whether the gender as a variable has an effect of the speakers' dialects.

Table 4.4 below shows the one-way ANOVA for the male raters. As one can notice, no significant effect due to speakers' dialects was observed on the male raters as far as smartness, deception, leadership, and favorability to work with are concerned. On the other hand, a significant difference is to be found with Kindness, Religiousness, Arrogance, and favorability to get married to, with the mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

On the contrary, table 4.5 below shows the one-way ANOVA for female raters, where significant effects due to speakers' dialects are to be found with all traits. The dialect of the speaker is a matter of concern for females in the Egyptian context, as it seems.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Smart ness	Between Groups	2.291	2	1.146	1.470	.230
	Within Groups	729.366	936	.779		
	Total	731.657	938			
Kindn ess	Between Groups	15.167	2	7.583	10.155	.000
	Within Groups	705.655	945	.747		
	Total	720.822	947			
Dece ption	Between Groups	4.088	2	2.044	2.203	.111
	Within Groups	842.211	908	.928		
	Total	846.299	910			
Religi ousne ss	Between Groups	5.244	2	2.622	7.118	.001
	Within Groups	344.411	935	.368		
	Total	349.655	937			
Leade rship	Between Groups	.052	2	.026	.029	.971
	Within Groups	796.801	900	.885		
	Total	796.853	902			
Arrog ance	Between Groups	16.575	2	8.287	9.235	.000
	Within Groups	804.954	897	.897		
	Total	821.529	899			
Work	Between Groups	2.437	2	1.219	1.172	.310
	Within Groups	928.240	893	1.039		
	Total	930.677	895			
Marri age	Between Groups	6.383	2	3.192	3.068	.047
	Within Groups	583.679	561	1.040		
	Total	590.062	563			

Table 4.4 shows the one-way ANOVA for male raters

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Smart ness	Between Groups	11.053	2	5.527	9.260	.000
	Within Groups	529.402	887	.597		
	Total	540.455	889			
Kindn ess	Between Groups	6.847	2	3.423	5.670	.004
	Within Groups	541.593	897	.604		
	Total	548.440	899			
Dece ption	Between Groups	8.516	2	4.258	5.715	.003
	Within Groups	628.818	844	.745		
	Total	637.334	846			
Religi ousne ss	Between Groups	1.839	2	.919	4.098	.017
	Within Groups	200.552	894	.224		
	Total	202.390	896			
Leade rship	Between Groups	13.006	2	6.503	8.296	.000
	Within Groups	678.828	866	.784		
	Total	691.834	868			
Arrog ance	Between Groups	15.279	2	7.640	9.807	.000
	Within Groups	647.354	831	.779		
	Total	662.633	833			
Work	Between Groups	7.227	2	3.613	4.581	.010
	Within Groups	689.382	874	.789		
	Total	696.609	876			
Marri age	Between Groups	35.856	2	17.928	21.061	.000
	Within Groups	370.293	435	.851		
	Total	406.148	437			

Table 4.5 shows the one-way ANOVA for female raters

Question three: dialects correct identification:

The percentage of correct identification of the three dialects is presented in table one for each speaker separately. In table 4.6, the correct percentages of the speakers within the same dialect group are summed up.

speaker	Percentage			speaker	percentage		
	Males	Females	Total		Males	Females	Total
FM1	84%	81%	82.5%	CF2	81%	69%	75%
CF1	86%	90%	88%	SF2	59%	38%	48.5%
SF1	89%	73%	81%	FF2	62%	65%	63.5%
FF1	74%	66%	70%	FM2	40%	36%	38%
CM1	69%	55%	62%	CM2	92%	82%	87%
SM1	84%	82%	83%	SM2	27%	31%	29%

Table 4.6 shows percentages of the participants' correct identification for the speakers

Participants	Percentage of correct identification		
	Cairene	Saiidi	fallaHi
Males	82%	64.75%	65%
Female	74%	56%	62%
All participants	78%	60%	63.5%

Table 4.7 sums up correct identification percentages

The dialect of the speakers of Cairene was recognized correctly by 78%, marking the highest among the three dialect groups. The percentage would have increased

dramatically if we considered answers like (Cairene\Alexandrian). It could be that Cairene and Alexandrian dialects are considerably recognized by the participants as one urban dialect. The fallaHi speakers in total were the second most frequently identified dialect with 63.5%. The percentage frequency of Saiidi correct identification is very close to the fallaHi one with 60% accuracy.

Male participants were more accurate in identifying the correct dialect in general. They were noticeably more accurate in identifying the speakers of the Cairene dialect by 82%, comparing to 74% accuracy by female participants. A noticeable difference between male and female participants is to be found as well in identifying the Saiidi dialect, with almost 65% accuracy by males versus 56% by females.

The second Saiidi male speaker (SM2) was correctly identified by only 27% of male participants and 31% of female participants; a total of 29%, marking the lowest among other speakers. Being the last speaker to appear in a relatively long questionnaire (consider the higher percentage of withdrawal mentioned earlier) makes it possible that fatigue effects, common with lengthy surveys, influenced participants' responses. This also could be noticed in the higher percentage of correct identification in general with the first six speakers, when comparing with the last six speakers (Cairene speakers are excluded). In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the first female and male Saiidi speakers were correctly recognized noticeably high percentages, 81% and 83% respectively.

V. CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

1- Discussion

This study investigates language attitudes towards two rural dialects in Egypt; fallaHi and Saiidi, in comparison with attitudes towards the urban Cairene dialect. The study utilizes the verbal guise technique of the indirect approach to research language attitude. A comparison was made between the three dialect groups on eight traits: smartness, kindness, deception, religiousness, leadership, arrogance, preferability to work with and preferability to get married to. 155 participants have taken part in an online questionnaire, placing their reactions to 12 speakers - two males and two females from each dialect group - on a Likert scale. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were applied to the data, trying to generate answers to the attitude question of the study, and to the investigation the effect of gender of the listeners. Participants' correct identification of the three dialects were measured as well.

The findings suggest that attitudes towards the three dialects of Arabic in Egypt vary according to the personality characteristics of the speakers and it also varies according to the gender of the listeners. In general, raters hold positive attitudes towards the urban dialect of Cairo as far as power traits are concerned. On the other hand, rural dialects of fallaHi and Saiidi elect positive attitudes when solidarity traits are concerned. It has been also found that male raters are more tolerant towards speakers of rural dialects than female raters. For females, the dialect of the speakers approves to be a matter of

significance, as it appears in the results. Raters was found to be more familiar with the Cairene dialect than with the fallaHi and Saiidi dialects. They were able to correctly identify the Cairene dialect with a higher percentage. Male raters were better than females in recognizing the dialects correctly.

Garrett (2010) argues that the relationship between attitude and behavior is problematic. In this study, participants held positive attitude towards speakers of the rural dialects of fallaHi and Saiidi, perceiving them as more kind and more religious; less deceptive and less arrogant (characteristics most attitude researchers classify under "solidarity" traits). Yet, this does not translate into a positive action of high desirability to get married to them. On the other hand, one finds this high desirability goes to the Cairene speakers, whom were perceived as less kind and religious; and more deceptive and arrogant. In this regards, it is not surprising then to read the lengthy discussions held in online blogs, forms, and social network websites, in which one reads many prospective prides anxiously inquire about the possibility to live with a prospective bridegroom with a rural dialect. It seems that speakers' dialect, in this Egyptian context, plays - among others - a vital role in choosing a life partner.

It has been noticed that response preferences presented for the religiousness question were, to a large extent, neutral. The vast majority of participants tended to select the midpoint answer on the Likert scale, avoiding choosing the extreme responses categories. It could be that participants were avoiding to judge speakers' religiousness

matter at all. It is also possible that they were not sure about the correct answer, with the recent increasing role of the Islamic groups in the public sphere, as well as the increasing social debates that involve religion practices all over the country, making it difficult to think of a certain group of people as more religious than the other. One of the most common sayings that appears currently in the secularism\liberalism\religiousness discussions is "Egyptian people are religious by nature." While speakers of Saiidi dialects in this study were regarded as more religious than Cairene and fallaHi ones, the exact same mean value of attitude towards the religiousness question of Cairene and fallaHi speakers does not correspond to the general stereotype that rural speakers are more religious than urban ones.

1- 1- Power and solidarity:

A 2-axis model of power and solidarity (many labels are to be found for these concepts) suggested by Gardner and Lambert (1972), Milroy (1980) and many others, is reflected in the findings of this study. As can be noted, speakers of the urban Cairene dialect were regarded by the raters as significantly more intelligent than the speakers of the two other dialect groups. They were also considered more likable for leadership, and more favorable as far as work and marriage partnerships are concerned. On the other hand, they were regarded as less kind, and more arrogant than the speakers of the Saiidi and the fallaHi dialects. That is to say that the Cairene dialect and its speakers elect positive attitude as far as power traits are concerned. On the other hand, speakers of rural

dialects of fallaHi and Saiidi were viewed more kind, more religious, less deceptive and significantly less arrogant comparing to Cairene speakers. In other words, speakers of the rural dialects of Saiidi and fallaHi and their speakers elicit positive responses in the solidarity category. Interestingly enough, it is important to note here that the answers for the favorability to get married to question are prone to the power axis.

1-2-Male and females rate differently:

The pattern of findings also suggests that there is no significant effect due to speakers' dialects was observed with the male raters as far as smartness, deception, leadership, and favorability to work with are concerned. On the other hand, a significant difference is to be found with Kindness, Religiousness, Arrogance, and favorability to get married to. In general, males were more positive in rating the rural dialects, thank the Cairene dialect. On the contrary, a significant effect due to speakers' dialects was observed with the female raters with all traits. Their attitudes towards the Cairene dialect was more positive than males attitudes. The dialect of the speakers approves to be a matter of significance for females in the Egyptian context.

1-3- dialects correct identification:

Related to the question of correct dialect identification, the Cairene speakers were the most accurately identified (78%). This demonstrates a high degree of familiarity with the Cairene dialect as it is the variety of the political and economic capital, as well as the variety used in the media. FallaHi and Saiidi speakers were correctly recognized by

63.5% and 60% respectively. There is a number of possible reasons behind the low percentage of the correct identification of the Saiidi dialect in particular. It could be that fatigue effects, common with lengthy surveys, influenced participants' responses to the last two Saiidi speakers. Suffice it to say that some 15% of participants did not answer the dialect identification question of the last speaker. This is perfectly comprehensible in light of the higher percentage of correct identification with the first two Saiidi speakers; 81% and 83%. Besides, nearly 10% of speakers confuse the dialect of the last two Saiidi speakers with As-Sharqyia dialect. This corresponds to the findings of Woidich (1996) in which he argues that As-Sharqyia dialect shares a number of linguistic features with Upper Egypt.

As it turns out that, significant differences between the three dialect groups were found and the null hypothesis was rejected. In other words, the findings suggest that there are differences in attitudes towards the three dialect groups under investigation: Cairene, Saiidi and fallaHi, and they do not enjoy the same acceptance from Egyptians. The findings in this study correspond to other language attitude studies, in which the urban dialects are considered more prestigious and more powerful than rural dialects, while rural varieties score high with solidarity traits (Abdel Jawwad, 1987; Benrabah, 1994).

It was expected that Cairene speakers, as the variety of the capital, would enjoy more acceptance from the listeners (Abdel Jawwad, 1987; Benrabah, 1994; Haeri 1997). Garrett (2010) argues that prestige is always given to language varieties that are seen as

those of higher social classes. However, the finding that rural dialects of fallaHi and Saiidi rank the highest in almost half of the traits was surprising.

Based on the evidences presented above, one may conclude that the generalizability of stigmatization towards rural dialects proves to be incorrect. However, one should not expect rural dialects in Egypt to be met with an equal reaction as the Cairene dialect.

Another important point that should be highlighted here is the language loyalty of the rural speakers in the Egyptian context. Many of them when asking to record with the researcher while speaking in their rural dialects, they refused pretending that they do not speak an "authentic" rural dialect. They always refer to other people, whom they think is better in producing a rural dialect. Suffice it to say, for this study, the researcher spends so much time and effort trying to convince rural dialect speakers to record with him, a problem that has not been faced while recording with Cairene dialect speakers. It should also be noted that the big number of speakers should have been avoided to reduce possible fatigue effects. Note the small completion rate mentioned earlier (23%).

2- Limitation:

Needless to say that results of this study should be treated cautiously. Speakers used for stimuli do not resemble a random selection. They also come from different educational background, a fact that may have changed the results dramatically. Suffice it

to say that two of the Saiidi speakers finish high school, while the rest of them at least finish a university degree. Also, the findings should not be generalized as the sample used in this research is not fully representative to the whole population in Egypt. The fact that various age groups were not equally represented should also be taken into consideration. In fact, the vast majority of participants fall in one age group 20-30 with a total number of 91 participants out of 155. Having the questionnaire run online makes it almost impossible to obtain answers from senior age groups, for example, a thing that could have changed the data dramatically. Results of this study should not be generalized to all rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic.

3- Recommendation for future research:

More investigations are needed in the future to examine the attitudes towards the dialects with other variables at work, to widen our understanding of this matter. Future studies could look into the effect of having participants from different age groups and from different social classes. Instead of having no correlation between the correct identification of the dialect and language attitude question, future studies could examine the real attitude of those who were able to recognize the dialect correctly.

A larger sample of participants should be studied, with the the questionnaire administered offline to get as much wider strata of the Egyptian society as possible.

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Appendix:

1- Questionnaire in English

<u>Section I:</u>

Age:

Gender:

Speaker:

Strongly agree / agree / Neutral/ disagree/ Strongly disagree

- Intelligent ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
- Likable ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
- deceptive ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
- Religious ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
- leader ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
- Arrogant ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
- A good work colleague ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
- A good marriage partner ……………. / …………. / ……………. / …………. / …………..
-

<u>Section II:</u>

In your opinion, the speaker from which part of Egypt:

Residence place:

Birth place:

2- Questionnaire in Arabic

<u>استبيان</u>

العمر:

الجنس:

المتحدث:

أتفق بشدة/ أتفق / لا أعرف / أختلف / أختلف بشدة

- ذكي: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..................
- طيب: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..................
- مخادع/ مراوغ: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..................
- متدين: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..................
- قائد: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..................
- مغرور: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..…………
- زميل عمل جيد: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..…………
- شريك حياة مناسب: .... /......... /.......... /.......... /..…………

في رأيك، المتحدث من أي مكان في مصر:

ما هي محل إقامتك:

ما هو محل ميلادك: