



## Ibrahim Al-Huri

Assistant professor of sociolinguistics at University of Saba Region, Marib – Yemen. He was awarded his PhD degree from Central University of Jharkhand – India in 2018. He is generally interested in sociolinguistic studies and Translation. He currently works as a director of Language and Translation Center – University of Saba Region - Yemen

### Diglossia in the Arab Media

#### A Comparative Study of Arabic Use in Five Arab Satellite Channels

The relationship between media and language has attracted the interest of many scholars to investigate how media and language interact in many different ways. The language of Arab media is diglossic in nature, and therefore, varies according to the genre and the contextual framework in which it occurs. Three Arabic varieties are used in the various types of Arab Media; MSA, which is the variety widely used in News and documentaries, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), the variety predominantly spoken by educated Arabs who come together from different Arab countries in their debates and conversations and usually used in the debates or some social programmes. Such variety is used as a 'lingua franca' to facilitate linguistic comprehensibility between speakers. The third variety is Colloquial Arabic, which occurs more in the folk programmes, public interviews, TV shows and for the most part, in serials and songs. The current study seeks to introduce new knowledge about how Arabic is used on the Arab satellite channels from a sociolinguistic perspective and investigates the extent to which both MSA and Colloquial Arabic are used in their programmes



#### DEMOCRATIC ARABIC CENTER

Germany: Berlin 10315 Gensinger- Str. 112

<http://democraticac.de>

TEL: 0049-CODE

030-89005468/030-898999419/030-57348845

MOBILTELEFON: 0049174274278717



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2024

**Democratic Arab Center**  
**For Strategic, Political & Economic Studies**  
**Berlin / Germany**

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**Democratic Arab Center**  
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**Berlin / Germany**

**Email [book@democraticac.de](mailto:book@democraticac.de)**

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**Author Dr. Ibrahim Al-Huri**

**AMMAR. SHARAAN\_ Head of the Arab Democratic Center**

**Dr. AHMED BOUHEKO - Publishing Director**

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**Diglossia in the Arab Media:  
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Arab Satellite Channels**

*Ibrahim Hashem Ali Al Huri*

# **Diglossia in the Arab Media: A Comparative Study of Arabic Use in Five Arab Satellite Channels**

*Thesis submitted to the  
Central University of Jharkhand  
For the award of the degree*

*Of*

*Doctor of Philosophy*

*By*

**Ibrahim Hashem Ali Al Huri**

*Under the Guidance of*

***Dr. Mayank Ranjan***

Assistant Professor



**CENTRE FOR ENGLISH STUDIES  
CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF JHARKHAND**

**November 2017**

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## **CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL**

Date: 12/09/2018

Certified that the thesis entitled “**Diglossia in the Arab Media: A Comparative Study of Arabic Use in Five Arab Satellite Channels**”, submitted by **Mr Ibrahim Hashem Ali Al Huri, (Reg. No. CUJ/P/2013/PHDES/002)**, to Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been accepted by the external examiners and that the student has successfully defended the thesis in the viva-voce examination held today.

**External Member, RAC**

Dr. Dev Vrat Singh

Kumar

Associate Professor

Dept. of Mass Communication

**Internal Member, RAC**

Dr. Ranjit

Assistant Professor

Dept. of English Studies

**Supervisor**

Dr. Mayank Rnajan

Assistant Professor

Dept. of English Studies

**External Examiner**

Prof. A.K. Sharma

Professor

**Chairman**

Dr. Ranjit Kumar

Assistant Professor

Dept. of English Studies

## **DECLARATION**

I certify that

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Date: 12/09/2018

**Supervisor**

Dr. Mayank Ranjan

Assistant Professor,

Centre for English Studies, CUJ





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**Supervisor**

Dr. Mayank Ranjan

Assistant Professor,

Centre for English Studies, CUJ

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## DEDICATION

*Because the apples don't fall far from tree, I dedicate this work to*

*my parents,*

*my wife,*

*my lovely children;*

*Hassan*

*Adulrazzaq,*

*Nada,*

*Manal,*

*Rashad,*

*Ibtihal,*

*and to my whole family.*

## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Acronym/ Abbreviation	Meaning	Acronym/ Abbreviation	Meaning
<b>MSA</b>	Modern Standard Arabic	<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>ESA</b>	Educated Spoken Arabic	<b>IPA</b>	International Phonetic Alphabet
<b>Collo. Arabic</b>	Colloquial Arabic	<b>MB</b>	Muslims of Baghdad
<b>ML</b>	Matrix Language	<b>CB</b>	Christians of Baghdad
<b>EL</b>	Embedded Language	<b>RAC</b>	Research Advisory Committee
<b>ECA</b>	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic	<b>MBC</b>	Middle Broadcast Centre
<b>SA</b>	Standard Arabic	<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcast Corporation
<b>YA</b>	Yemeni Arabic	<b>LBC</b>	Lebanese Broadcast Corporation
<b>MSLA</b>	Modern South Arabian Languages	<b>ART</b>	Arab Radio and Television
<b>CA</b>	Classical Arabic	<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>DA</b>	Dialectal Arabic	<b>PBUH</b>	Peace Be Upon Him
<b>CS</b>	Code Switching	<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>MLF</b>	Matrix Language Frame	<b>CES</b>	Centre for English Studies

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**IPA SYMBOLS USED IN THE TRANSCRIPTION**

Arabic Phoneme	IPA	Arabic Phoneme	IPA
ء	ʔ	ض	ð
ا	ā	ط	t̤
ب	b	ظ	z̤
ت	t	ع	ʕ
ث	θ	غ	ɣ
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ħ	ق	q
خ	x	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	ð	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	و	w/ū
ش	ʃ	ي	y/ī
ص	ʂ		

## **ABSTRACT**

The relationship and tight connection between media and language have attracted the interest of many scholars to undertake comprehensive investigations into how each one has an impact on the other in many ways. The diglossic nature of Arabic has made such investigation worthy of attention and analysis since different varieties of Arabic can be used in a single conversational setting. However, few studies have highlighted the *status quo* of MSA in the diverse programmes of the Arab satellite channels in addition to the infiltration and ‘leakage’ of Colloquial Arabic to the domains that are exclusively reserved to MSA. The current study seeks to bridge this gap by introducing new knowledge about how Arabic is used on the Arab satellite channels from a sociolinguistic perspective and investigates the extent to which both MSA and Colloquial Arabic are used in their programmes. It also measures the viewers’ and broadcasters’ attitudes towards the use of the Arabic varieties in the programmes of the Arab TV channels. The findings of this study are expected to generate considerable interest and attract very much attention to the increasing use of Colloquial Arabic as well as its infiltration into the domains of MSA. For tackling this issue and pursuing the four-fold objective of this study, five Arab satellite channels were selected. To collect the adequate data, several methods and techniques were employed such as video downloading and designing a set of two close-ended questionnaires. The data analysis revealed that MSA turned out to be fairly used in the select programmes of three of the five channels, namely, Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazaeriya TV while it witnesses dramatic deterioration in the other two channels, i.e. Future TV and ON TV, where Colloquial Arabic is abundantly used. The study concludes that several reasons underlie the high frequency of Colloquial Arabic occurrence on some channels, most of which are related to some factors like the speakers’ ideologies and their attitudes to MSA, the lack of training of broadcasters to improve their linguistic abilities in MSA, the claim of Colloquial Arabic conformity with the audience taste, the claim of MSA complexity, and the audience inability to comprehend the content broadcast in MSA. However, the study reveals that both viewers and broadcasters hold positive attitudes towards MSA regardless of their belief that ESA and Colloquial Arabic are more appropriate in some social programmes.

**Keywords:** diglossia, code switching, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, Arab Satellite Channels.

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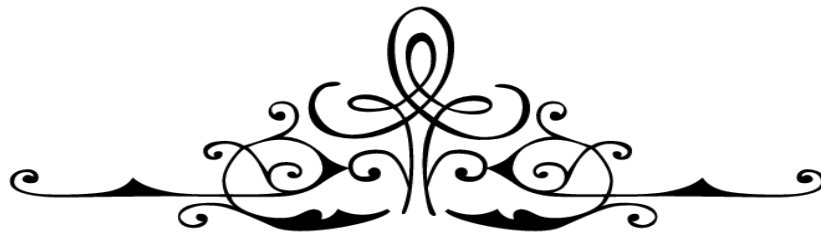
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## **CHAPTER ONE**

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### **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

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**CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

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## 1.1. Introduction

Diglossia is a common phenomenon that characterizes Arabic and some other languages in the world. The term *diglossia* has been generally used to refer to a situation where two distinct varieties of the same language are used in a speech community for two different functions. The superposed and more prestigious variety is referred to as 'High' and used for formal contexts and the other variety/varieties as 'Low' and used for informal usages. Diglossia exists when two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play (Ferguson 325). In Arabic, diglossia is manifested in the coexistence of Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA) as an elevated variety, on the one hand, and the different regional dialects spoken in the different parts of the Arab World which, in their entirety, lack prestige and are held as deviated forms of Arabic, on the other. The most important feature that characterizes diglossia in general is the functional distribution since High variety is used in certain domains for specific functions and Low variety is also used in other domains for certain functions. Following this distribution, MSA is used in the formal contexts such as media, education, religious sermons, political speeches, among others. Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, is used for the informal usages which include family talks, shopping, talking to friends, and generally for peoples' day-to-day communication. Arab media represents a fertile zone and open domain for diglossia where MSA along with different colloquial forms of Arabic are in constant contact across the various programmes of the Arab TV channels, as far as the broadcasting media is concerned. This diglossic situation has made the investigation of the way Arabic is used in the Arab media platforms in general and the broadcasting media in particular interesting and worthy of attention and analysis since different varieties of Arabic can be used in a single conversational setting. Several studies, in fact, have

investigated the use of Arabic in the Arab media from different perspectives; phonological, syntactic, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic. However, a few studies have highlighted the *status quo* of MSA in the diverse programmes of the Arab satellite channels in addition to the infiltration and “leakage” of Colloquial Arabic to the domains that are held as exclusively reserved to MSA (Holmes 25). The current study seeks to bridge this gap by introducing new knowledge to Arabic sociolinguistics about how Arabic is used on the Arab satellite channels from a sociolinguistic perspective rather than that of linguistic, which has been touched upon by many studies. It mainly examines the Arabic diglossia types in five Arab satellite channels, namely, Aljazeera, Future TV, Aldjazeera TV, ON TV, and Yemen TV, to identify the circumstances under which the Arabic varieties occur across their programmes. It also investigates the extent to which both MSA and Colloquial Arabic are used in four select programmes; News, Interview, Talk Show, and Religion, in addition to demystifying the reasons underlying the occurrence of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic in these programmes. Furthermore, it measures the viewers and broadcasters’ attitudes towards the use of MSA as well as the other varieties in the above referred to programmes. The findings of this study are expected to generate considerable interest and attract much attention to the increasing use of Colloquial Arabic as well as its sweeping infiltration into the domains of MSA in the Arab broadcasting media. Moreover, it is anticipated to be a step on the way towards greater exploring of the *status quo* of MSA on the Arab Satellite channels to put forth this serious issue on the table of the Arabic Language Academies in the Arab World to undertake the necessary measures.

As mentioned above, the diglossic nature of Arabic has made the investigation of how Arabic is used in the Arab satellite channels an interesting field since different varieties can be used in the same context by the same speaker under the same

circumstances for different discourse functions based on several factors, some of which are related to the context and others have relevance to the participants involved in the conversation. Eid indicates that media is a platform which allows users of Arabic access to many forms of Arabic, dialectal and *fusha* (405). It allows the participants in the programmes, be they hosts or guests, to alternate in their use of MSA and Colloquial Arabic switching from one variety to the other within the same speech string. Due to the diglossic nature of Arabic, both MSA and Colloquial Arabic have functional specializations and particular domains of use in which the use of one variety in the place of the other may lead to ridicule. In other words, any attempt to use any variety outside its confirmed domains is usually not taken seriously by the interlocutors, unless the speaker is a non-Arabic native speaker (Sayahi 59).

As far as the media is concerned, the standard variety (MSA) is used for the informative programmes such as news, documentaries, instructional programmes, etc. while the non-standard variety (Colloquial Arabic) is used for the entertainment programmes such as drama, songs, soap opera, etc. (Eid 403). As a result of the functional distribution of MSA and Colloquial Arabic, it would be perceived as an extraordinary and ridiculous behaviour if, for example, a broadcaster appeared on any TV channel reading the news in Colloquial Arabic because people unconsciously know that news is a restricted domain to MSA and reading it in Colloquial Arabic may expose its reader to ridicule. Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, is felt to be appropriate in some other programmes such as folk songs, serials, soap opera, etc. In an attempt to demystify the reason why Colloquial Arabic sometimes occurs in the domains of MSA in some programmes, Shoosha mentions that in the live programmes, which take a large space of time and involve interaction between broadcasters and audience, the language of the speakers tends to be gravitated towards the vernacular till it reaches the lowest

level of Colloquial Arabic. In many programmes broadcast on the Arab channels, it has been observed that the speakers start their speech in MSA, then, they gradually gravitate towards the insertion of some dialectal expressions and utterances as the time passes. When the speakers are more aware of what they talk about (topic), where their speech takes place (context), and who they address (addressee), they tend to use MSA for being the formal variety of Arabic which conforms to the media context. However, when the time of the programme passes, they become more relaxed and as a result, their speech drifts towards Colloquial Arabic, the variety that is compatible with the relaxed speech style. All these issues have propelled many scholars to conduct studies on how Arabic is used in media from different perspectives. These studies have followed different methods according to their nature and the pursued objectives. However, many of them have used the quantitative and qualitative methods which optimally allowed them to analyze and describe how language is used in the media platforms. In fact, studying language use in media requires a close and meticulous observation married with insightful analysis which can offer a precise explanation of how the language changes from one programme to another and within the same programme as well and illustrate the reasons underlying such change.

Turning to the significance of media, it is commonly known that media is considered as a strong force that shapes people's lives. It has been considered as a tool which is utilized in moulding the societies' culture, language, beliefs and thoughts. Over the last decades, media has substantially contributed to changing many aspects of people's lives. Media has different social, political, linguistic, economic and cultural roles to play in societies. Moreover, it has positively affected the learning process development as the various means of media have furnished learning processes with multiple opportunities to be processed outside classrooms.

On the social level, experts and sociolinguists believe that media has immense effects on the way people speak, live, and even treat each other. Nevertheless, few studies have investigated the effects of mass media on the linguistic proficiency of the audience as well as its potential in shaping their attitudes toward the language. Stuart-Smith asserts that “the advent of television represents one of the most significant social phenomena of the twentieth century, and yet, oddly, whether television might influence language – or not – is a neglected area of sociolinguistic research” (140).

Regarding the linguistic function of media, it could be held as a major factor in reviving and maintaining the indigenous languages of nations besides being an instrument of development and civilization. Mazrui states that no country has developed technologically and economically by depending on foreign languages. He adds that Japan, for instance, jumped up to dazzling industrial positions through pursuing a policy that made the Japanese language the medium of science and industry (157). In this context, media can serve as an incubator for language and a container that may keep it over the course of time. Arab media is believed to be an active contributor to maintaining the linguistic identity of Arabs, whether in the Arab World or in the diaspora, through the commitment of some Arab satellite channels to broadcast their programmes in MSA. However, the mushrooming emergence of the commercial channels in the recent years has opened the floodgate for Colloquial Arabic to be the dominant language used over their programmes, leaving little space for MSA only in the News programmes. According to Ferguson’s (1959) diglossia, media is a typical domain for the ‘High’ variety of Arabic (MSA). However, the omnipresence of Colloquial Arabic in most of the Arab channels, particularly the Lebanese and Egyptian channels has become significantly apparent. Holmes calls this phenomenon as “leakage” where the dialectal Arabic gradually but steadily leaks into the domains of

MSA (25). In his study about “Diglossia in Arabic TV Stations”, Alshamrani finds low rates of MSA use in some Arab TV stations, where MSA is expected to be the predominant variety. In his findings, he shows that the overall use of MSA on LBC Satellite Channel is roughly 15 %, which could be regarded as an alarming indicator of MSA deterioration in this Channel. Similarly, the study shows that MSA is used only 17 % on ART, which means that the predominant variety in these two channels is Colloquial Arabic. In fact, MSA deterioration in these two channels may negatively affect the linguistic behaviour of their viewers and consequently widen the gap between MSA and Colloquial Arabic in favour of the latter. By contrast, Aljazeera Satellite Channel turned out to use MSA in most of its programmes and according to the results, the overall use of this variety is 80 % thanks to the high linguistic qualification of its broadcasters. On the other hand, Houaidi holds the view that there is a negative connection between the progress of technology and the deterioration of Arabic in the Arab societies, particularly in the Arab media. His view rests on the assumption that the Arabic ordeal in media has been manifested in four forms:

- The noticeable prevalence of the linguistic errors in MSA,
- Writing some essays and commercial advertisements in Colloquial Arabic,
- Presenting some televised and broadcast programmes in Colloquial Arabic,
- The spread of code switching phenomenon, particularly the intra-sentential type within the media discourse oriented to the Arab audience.<sup>1</sup>

In his study about the impact of Palestinian media in the linguistic development in Palestine, Hamed shows the essential role played by media in inspiring the linguistic awareness of the Palestinian people. For his part, Al Musa states that there is a disparity

<sup>1</sup> Houaidi, F. ‘*wāgiṣul luḡatul ʔarabijjah fi ʔal ʔislāmul ʔarabiʔ*’ (2010).  
<http://uqu.edu.sa/page/ar/148322>

in the use of Arabic linguistic levels in Arab media and could be interpreted as a natural phenomenon. He attributes the variation of the linguistic levels in the Arab media to the context and style in which the variety is used. Al-Ma'atooq also shows the TV role in the linguistic development when he puts forward the claim that TV has become the first source of media and general culture besides its function as a tool of entertainment. He adds that the massive spread of the satellite channels across the Arab World and yet the entire globe has given a sufficient opportunity for the linguistic communication through the time space of Arabic use in TV programmes. In a study about the Arabic status in Arab radio and TV, Talal puts forward the claim that the increasing rates of illiteracy in the Arab societies, particularly in Morocco, where the illiteracy rate exceeds 50 %, has made Arabic a peculiar language in its stronghold and context. He shows that the Moroccan TV has recourse to the use of a simple language which could be easily assimilated by the majority of the Moroccan society. Talal asserts that such a linguistic behaviour has its immense impact on Arabic and serves as an essential factor in marginalizing Arabic in the Moroccan society.<sup>2</sup>

## **1.2. Scope of the study**

The study attempts to highlight the occurrence of the sociolinguistic phenomenon 'diglossia' in the Arab media where the use of Colloquial Arabic is dramatically increasing. It tries to investigate such phenomenon in five Arab satellite channels, Yemen TV, Aldjazeeraiya TV (Algeria), Aljazeera, Future TV (Lebanon), and ON TV (Egypt) as a sample of the study. It also seeks to trace the reasons underlying the use of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic in such channels. Furthermore, it compares the use of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic in aforementioned Channels as a sample.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.majma.org/fo/index.php/2009-02-10-09-35-28/249-21-1.html>



Such investigation is likely to reveal the variety widely used in the Arab satellite channels as well as the extent of MSA occurrence in the programmes of these channels. The study also measures the audience attitudes towards the variety used in the programmes of these five channels. In addition, the study considers the situations in which both MSA and Colloquial Arabic occur more and the factors resulting in such occurrence.

In terms of the Arabic varieties, the study focuses on three varieties which are thought to be used across the Arab satellite channels; MSA, the variety widely used in News, documentaries, and religion programmes, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), the variety predominantly spoken by educated Arabs who are hosted in the political and interview programmes, and finally, Colloquial Arabic, which occurs more in the folk programmes, public interviews, TV shows and more frequently in serials.

### **1.3. Research objectives**

Through conducting this piece of work, the researcher attempts to find out the variety/varieties predominantly used in the select programmes of the target satellite channels. The study also attempts to identify the amount of both MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic occurrence across these programmes. Furthermore, it aims at demystifying the reasons underlying the use of each variety in the select programmes of the channels. Additionally, the study seeks to examine whether or not the social variables such as gender, age, and educational background affect the occurrence of these varieties in the programmes. Finally, the study aims to measure the attitudes of the Arab Satellite Channels' viewers and broadcasters towards the use of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic in TV programmes.

#### 1.4. Research questions:

The study mainly tries to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent is MSA used in the programmes broadcast on Arab Satellite Channels in contrast with the use of Colloquial forms of Arabic?
2. What types of programmes allow the use of one variety or the other, or both?
3. What are the reasons underlying such alternation between MSA and Colloquial Arabic when it occurs?
4. How do broadcasters and viewers of the Arab Satellite Channels view the use of MSA and Colloquial Arabic and their mixture in some TV programmes?

#### 1.5. Research hypotheses

In an attempt to answer these research questions, the following hypotheses were posited:

- There is a disparity between the channels being studied in terms of MSA use in their programmes.
- A number of reporters and broadcasters use Colloquial Arabic, some in a spontaneous manner and others believe that the use of the colloquial forms of Arabic may enhance viewers' assimilation and attract their attention.
- MSA is predominantly used in news, religious sessions, documentaries and historical programmes whereas Colloquial Arabic dominates folk sessions, serials, interviews, advertisements and public programmes.
- TV viewers would rather watch series, movies, folk and show programmes in Colloquial Arabic, while they prefer the use of MSA in

news, reports, and documentaries. On the other hand, broadcasters think the use of Colloquial Arabic in some programmes get them emotionally closer to the audience to approach their interests.

### 1.6. Theoretical contributions of the research

As is known that the essence of any academic writing is finding out more knowledge and adding something new to the existing body of knowledge. The field of Arabic diglossia has attracted the interest of many researchers not only from the Arab World but from around the world. Diglossia has been studied in different contexts using various theories which could be practically relevant to the studies of diglossia such as code switching, MLF which was developed by Myers-Scotton (1993), etc. Media is one of these contexts in which diglossia was investigated. However, few studies have investigated diglossia in the Arab Satellite channels from a sociolinguistic perspective though its importance. The findings of this research are expected to expand the circle of diglossia theory in the Arab media through highlighting the manifestations of this phenomenon in the Arab TV channels in addition to providing an adequate information about the *status quo* of MSA in the programmes of these channels.

### 1.7. Definition of terms

- **Diglossia:** it is the use of two different varieties/languages in two different social contexts for two different functions by the same speech community.
- **Code Switching:** it is the speaker's alternation of two languages within the same stretch of speech.
- **Modern Standard Arabic (MSA):** it is a modified and simplified version of Classical Arabic (the language of the Holy Quran and the literary heritage). It was named as "Modern" because being including a number of lexical items

which are not found in the dictionary of Classical Arabic such as the technological words and some other political words. MSA is the official language of the Arab countries as stipulated in their constitutions.

- **Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA):** Educated Spoken Arabic is a hybrid variety holding the linguistic features of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic. This variety is widely used in the Arab media and by the Arab educated people when they come together to facilitate their communication.
- **Colloquial Arabic:** It is the spoken forms and regional dialects of Arabic which differ from one country to another and at times within the same country one can find different dialects whether social or geographical.

## 1.8. Structure of the research

The research is survey-based in nature which means quantitative and qualitative research. It consists of seven chapters distributed as follows:

**Chapter One (General Introduction):** This chapter introduces the reader to the sociolinguistic phenomenon ‘diglossia’ and its relation to media in general and Arab media in particular. It also presents some other issues related to the research design including the purpose of the study, the research objectives, the research questions and hypotheses, and the contextual framework of the research.

**Chapter Two (Sociolinguistic Situation in the Arab World):** This chapter casts light on the sociolinguistic situation in the Arab World and discusses some issues related to Arabic such as the history of Arabic and the Status of both Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. It also discusses the issue of Arabic diglossia and its relation to the fields of media and education. Additionally, it discusses the emergence of the Arabic dialects and their developmental changes over the centuries. The chapter is concluded

by giving concise details on four Arabic dialects i.e. Yemeni Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Lebanese Arabic, and Algerian Arabic, for being the countries from which four channels (Yemen TV, ON TV, Future TV, and Aldjazeeraiya TV) broadcast their programmes. Aljazeera is a pan-Arab channel and therefore, it is regarded as the channel of all Arabs.

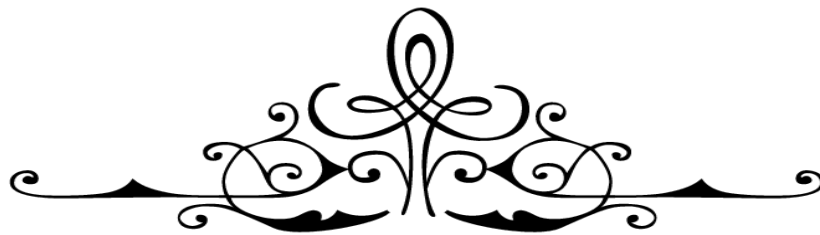
**Chapter Three (Status of Media in the Arab World):** This chapter is dedicated to presenting some issues related to media in general and the status of media in the Arab World specifically. It presents the leading role of media in shaping and reshaping the minds, thoughts and beliefs of people and how it plays a key role in the reconfiguration of the world. Some issues related to the connection between media and sociolinguistics are also discussed in this chapter such as the *status quo* of MSA in the Arab media as well as the deterioration of Arabic on the Arab satellite channels.

**Chapter Four (Methodology):** This chapter presents the research methods that have been followed in conducting the research along with the techniques employed in collecting and analyzing the data of the study such as the questionnaires, video analysis, among others. It also gives some details about the forty episodes downloaded from the official websites of the channels under investigation for analysis. Moreover, the chapter provides information about each one of the five channels.

**Chapter Five (MSA Use on the Five Channels):** This chapter is mainly concerned with discussing the answers to the first two questions of the research. It takes up a part of the data analysis of the research and presents them quantitatively cum qualitatively. It also discusses elaborately the issues of MSA and Colloquial Arabic use in the channels in question and projects the proper arguments related to the language choice of the various programmes. It shows the *status quo* of MSA in the target channels based on the findings and results of the data analysis.

**Chapter Six (Reasons for MSA/Colloquial Arabic Alternation):** This chapter is also concerned with discussing the answers to the other two questions of the research (i.e., three and four). It presents the reasons and factors influencing the choice of the Arabic varieties in the programmes of the target channels, the social settings in which each variety occurs, the factors affecting such occurrence, the areas of the overlap between MSA and Colloquial Arabic in each programme, and the disparity of the varieties' use in the channels. It concludes with discussing the attitudes of both viewers and broadcasters towards the use of MSA in the programmes of the channels.

**Chapter Seven (Findings and General Conclusion):** This chapter concludes the entire study by presenting the general findings in a concise manner. It generally presents a holistic summary of the research including the general observations, the general findings, giving some recommendations related to the use of MSA in the broadcasting media, and suggestions for further studies.



**CHAPTER TWO**

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**SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE  
ARAB WORLD**

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## **CHAPTER TWO: SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD**

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## 2.1. Introduction

Arabic is the language of twenty-two Arab countries spoken natively by over 330 million speakers scattered in two continents, Asia and Africa. It is regarded as one of the main languages in the world. In 1974, Arabic was declared as one of the UN official languages besides English, Chinese, French, Spanish, and Russian.

Historically speaking, Arabic belongs to the family of Semitic languages which includes other languages such as Hebrew, Ethiopian, among others. As a Semitic language, Arabic holds an abundant of distinct linguistic features such as writing from the right to the left, the duality of the nouns, which does not exist in English, the two genders (feminine and masculine), as well as the root, the salient defining characteristic of Semitic languages. Arabic philologists have broadly studied the different aspects the Arabic language in relation to the other Semitic languages in an effort to show the distinctiveness of Arabic as opposed to the other languages. In this context, Versteegh states that from among the other Semitic languages, Arabic has been always the oft-investigated language. He explains that the motivation underlying the more attention paid to Arabic in the scholarly writing is not only the scholars' familiarity with it and the big body of data about its history but because of its "apparent conservatism", particularly, its preservation of a declensional system (16).

Some scholars refer to language as a "living entity" which constantly experiences the different circumstances of life: development, modernization, change, disappearance and at times death (Berns 389). Nevertheless, Arabic has managed to retain its distinct features over the centuries though some little changes which occurred due to the contact between Arabs and non-Arabs causing the evolution of new varieties along with Classical Arabic.

As far as the status of Arabic is concerned, Arabic enjoys a prestigious status not only in the Arabic-speaking countries but among all Muslim due to the fact that Arabic is the language of the *Qur'an*, the holy book of Islam, and as such, the liturgical language of all Muslims, irrespective of their origins (Holes 1). A prestigious status as such goes back to as early as the period of the emergence of Islam when Arabic was the language of prestige and used for all cultural, religious, administrative as well as the scholarly purposes (Versteegh, *Arabic* 71).

Arabic is spoken in different forms or dialects. It has a number of colloquial forms across the Arab World and these forms are known as the Arabic varieties. All native speakers of Arabic acquire these dialects from the early childhood as their mother tongue before they begin formal schooling (Holes 3). It is unanimous among scholars that all Arabic varieties are originally descending from Classical Arabic. As a result, it is no surprising to find a broad array of similarities between Classical Arabic and these different varieties at all linguistic levels. However, the degree of mutual intelligibility of these varieties is basically determined by their convergence and divergence. The greater the distance between any two varieties, the less intelligibility between them. Therefore, it is common to find the Algerian Arabic is more or less unintelligible to the speakers of Yemeni Arabic, for example, which is intelligible to the people of the Gulf countries.

## 2.2. Brief history of Arabic

Although Arabic is one of the Semitic languages, as mentioned earlier, which include other languages spoken in the Middle East and North Africa, its internal position and status as language vis-à-vis other Semitic languages is growing to be a burning question (Al-Sharkawi xviii). Arabic is originally a descendant of the Afro-Asiatic languages. The first emergence of Arabic as an intranational language goes back

to the seventh century CE with the advent of Islam. The diffusion of Islam that followed the death of Prophet Mohammed represented a turning point in the proliferation of Arabic as it crossed the borders of the Arabian Peninsula to reach different corners in the world. It also brought it to the centre of the world attention that had held only the blurred notion of the Arabian Peninsula (Versteegh, *Arabic* vii, 1). In his argument about the emergence of Arabic, Farghaly indicates that the Arabic language emerged from an obscure and non-prestigious language to a major world language after the Islamic conquests, the period after the death of Prophet Mohammed (44).

According to the CIA report (2008), Arabic is the most widely spoken language from among the other Semitic languages with over 330 million speakers besides the fact that it is the liturgical language of over a billion Muslims scattered in the different corners of the world. Out of the number of Arabic native speakers, some millions belong to different religions other than Islam such as Christianity and a few of them belong to the Jewish community. However, the overwhelming majority of Arabic speakers are Muslims.

The spread of the Arabic language around the world occurred as a result of the Arab's travelling out of the Arabian Peninsula. The inter-marriage between Arabic and non- Arabic speakers further expanded the circle of Arabic and caused the emergence of Arabic dialects. The Arab Conquests that took place in the seventh century C.E. contributed to the spread of Arabic as well. These conquests paved the way to the Arabic language to occur in North Africa. During the period of the Islamic conquests, the political map of the world changed and the Islamic Arab Empire dominated large parts of the world stretching from Spain in the west to Persia in the east. Such broad dominance gave way to the spread of Arabic out of the Arabian Peninsula (Holes 10). Some other factors also paved the way for Arabic to cross the borders of the Arabian

Peninsula. Since early time, Arabs have distinguished themselves through their regular trading journeys to different parts of the world as well as migration. Arabs' trade and migration gave way to the contact between Arabs and non-Arabs in some areas such as Iraq, Palestine, Nile Delta, and Syria (Rouchdy 144). Such contact laid a broad ground of familiarity with Arabic in such areas. This contact also changed the situation of Arabic from a language spoken in a limited area into the first language spoken in the Middle East and North Africa (Comrie 19)

### 2.2.1. Status of Arabic in Pre-Islamic era

The status of Arabic in pre-Islamic era has been long debated among scholars. Some of them assume that the language of pre-Islamic poetry and the *Qur'ān* was very much similar, if not identical, to the varieties spoken by the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula (Rabin 22; Al-Sharkawi 6). In a similar way, Versteegh indicates the link between the language of *Qur'ān* and the varieties spoken by the Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula, Sedentary and Bedouin, through citing the verse of *Qur'an* (*wa-l-kitābi l-mubīni: Pinnā jaʿalnahū qurʿānan ʿarabiyyan laʿallakum taʿqilūn. Q 43/2-3*) 'We have made it an Arabic recitation in order that you may understand'. This verse emphasizes the conformity of the language of *Qur'an* with the varieties spoken by Arabs of Mecca whose variety was the most elevated in the Arabian Peninsula. He also mentions that all later generations have believed that the text of *Qur'an* was the best example of the 'al-Arabiya, the language of the Arabs (*Arabic* 37). Thus, the Arabic of the *Qur'an* and pre-Islamic poetry represented the primary sources of the standard Arabic, which has since that time been held in the highest position by all Muslim community. The studies of Arabic also mention that some Arabic varieties were spoken in the Arabian Peninsula such as the dialect of Hijaz, the dialect of Azd, the dialect of Tayyi, the dialect of Huḍayl, among others (Al-Sharkawi 690). These dialects assert

that the linguistic situation of the Arabian Peninsula in the pre-Islamic time was rather diverse (Al Sharkawi 13; Hamad 339). According to Al-Sharkawi, Arabian Peninsula was the home to two different groups of languages; North Arabian and South Arabian varieties. Classical Arabic and the pre-Islamic varieties, mentioned above, belong to the North Arabian varieties. According to some scholars and based on this linguistic diversity of Arabic in the Pre-Islamic era where different varieties were spoken along with Classical Arabic, the language of the pre-Islamic poetry was diglossic. Staytiyyah and Bakalla state that diglossia came into being during the Pre-Islamic stage when there was a common variety (Classical Arabic) in addition to the urban and Bedouin dialects (qtd. in Hamad 340).

### **2.2.2. Status of Arabic at the dawn of Islam**

The advent of Islam in the seventh century represented the turning point that turned Arabic from an unknown language spoken by some tribes in the Arabian Peninsula into a prominent language dominating large parts of the Middle East and North Africa (Ryding 3). The wide spread of Arabic after the emergence of Islam and Prophet Mohammed was based on the fact that *Qur'an* was revealed in Arabic and the Muslims of the Non-Arabs had to learn it to be able to perform their religious obligations, particularly the five prayers which require reciting verses of *Qur'an* in Arabic. The *Qur'an* brought Classical Arabic into the tongues of Arab and non-Arab Muslims on daily basis making the Arab speech community diglossic (Al-Sharkawi 131).

The expansion of Islamic Empire spanned from the seventh to the twelfth centuries also constituted the cornerstone of transforming Arabic from a minor language spoken in a limited area into a global language of culture, civilization, scholarly writing, administration, and diplomacy. The scientific works, which were the

references for various scientific fields in Europe, were documented in Arabic. The big body of the scientific works written in Arabic changed the status of Arabic and paved the way to be a language of wider communication. What is more, the Europeans leaders regarded it as a better way for their children education as they would often send them to the Arabian Peninsula to study the different thriving sciences written in Arabic. Therefore, Arabic was an internationally recognized language just like English in this age. The contributions of the non-Arab Muslim scholars such as the philosopher and physician Ibn Sina (1037), Al-Bairouni (1048), and the historian Al-Tabari (923), among many others, were also another defining factor that cemented the ground of Arabic to be not only a liturgical language but a scientific language in the Arab World (Hourani 202).

It could be stated that the venerated status of the *Qur'an* in addition to the glorious position of poetry contributed to granting Arabic such high status and laid the ground to the process of Arabic standardization.

### **2.2.3. Arabic standardization**

Standardization of Arabic began in the eighth and ninth centuries AD resulting in a set of norms called by the early grammarians as *fusha* (Maamouri 32). The *Qur'an* and pre-Islamic poetry were the only two sources of Classical Arabic at the beginning of the Islamic period. Therefore, these two sources served as major references for the process of the standardization and development of the Arabic language (Versteegh 53). According to Al-Sharkawi, the poetry was used more than the *Qur'an* in the process of standardization as a corpus to produce the norms of that language (70). Some scholars also indicate that the pre-Islamic varieties were also another source of Arabic standardization.

In the pre-Islamic era, Arabs spoke different dialects, among which was the dialect of Mecca, the most elevated variety then. The highly prestigious position of this dialect was rested on the fact that it was spoken by *Quraysh* قبيلة قريش, the powerful tribe in the Arabian Peninsula. The strategic location of Mecca, on the other hand, was another factor that made the dialect of *Quraysh* known even out of the Arabian Peninsula due to the movements of pilgrimage and trading. According to some scholars, this dialect along with the other local dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula laid the ground for the emergence of the standardized form of Arabic that is called ‘*fusha*’ or ‘Standard Arabic’ (Chakrani 134).

Indeed, it is unanimous among the grammarians that Arabic was first standardized in the eighth century. The expansion of the Muslim empire resulted in widening the circle of Islam and many non-Arabs embraced Islam as a new faith and Arabic as a new language (Cachia 20). Therefore, they started learning Arabic quickly as an emphasis on their new religious identity.

The worries about the purity of the Arabic language propelled some of the Arab grammarians to start the process of Arabic codification. They noticed the emergence of what is called *Lahn* لحن (‘divergent speech or deviation’) in the speech of the non-Arab Muslims. Versteegh mentions that the contact between Arabs and non-Arabs due to the expansion of the Muslim Empire resulted in the divergence between Classical Arabic and spoken dialects (*Arabic* 53). Ibn Khaldun explains that Arabic standardization was conducted due to the divergence from Arabic speech norms (Kalpakian 364). Another reason for standardizing Arabic was the increasing concern that the religious texts may have become unintelligible (Versteegh, *Arabic* 232). The Arab grammarians regarded that divergence as an alarming call and therefore, they initiated the process of standardization to preserve the purity of Arabic through setting some rules that define

the ‘correct’ ways of speaking. In a practical step towards preserving Arabic and putting the cornerstone for its development, the undertaking of Arabic standardization was entrusted to a number of professional grammarians such as Ibn Abihi, Abu Al-Aswad Al-Dua’ali, and Sibawayh. (Versteegh, *Landmarks* 27).

In the nineteenth century, the Arabic language witnessed a process of modernization, simplification, and development by the emergence of what is referred to as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Some scholars attribute the emergence of this modern form of Arabic to the spread of literacy, the inception of journalism as well as the infiltration of the Western culture into the Arab World (Ryding 4; Versteegh, *Arabic* 173). According to Ryding, MSA is largely but not completely similar to Classical Arabic and the differences between them are primarily in vocabulary and style. However, both are referred to as *fusha* الفصحى which means the most eloquent. The subsequent sections will give more details about the status of MSA as compared to the other Arabic varieties.

### 2.3. Classical Arabic vs. Modern Standard Arabic

The scholars of Arabic studies distinguish between Classical Arabic, the language of the *Qur’an*, and Modern Standard Arabic, the language of literacy and media in the present time (Versteegh 173; Hole 36; Badawi 89). Modern Standard Arabic is perceived as a direct descendant of Classical Arabic (Saiegh-Haddad and Joshi 21). The emergence of Classical Arabic is associated with the vigorous flourishing of Arabic poetry in the sixth century and the revelation of the *Qur’an* in the seventh century (Ryding 2). These two sources constituted the pillars upon which Classical Arabic was established. Some scholars also distinguish between the pre-Classical Arabic, the language of the thriving pre-Islamic poetry, and Classical Arabic, the language of the *Qur’an* (Al-Sharkawi 207). According to Al-Sharkawi, the pre-



Classical Arabic phase spanned between the fifth century and the emergence of Islam. Some scholars think that pre-Classical Arabic is assumed to have exhibited some important differences from Classical Arabic (Blau 148; Al-Sharkawi 207). However, it is generally held among scholars that Classical Arabic is merely an extension to the pre-Classical Arabic and a direct descendant of it.

As far as the difference between Classical Arabic and its contemporary descendant MSA is concerned, both varieties enjoy intimate linguistic relatedness and differ from the other spoken varieties of Arabic at all linguistic levels (Saiegh-Haddad and Joshi 22). Functionally speaking, Classical Arabic is associated with *Qur'an*, Traditions of Prophet Mohammad, and the literary poetry, and therefore, it is used for reading their contents. The dictionary of Classical Arabic, on the other hand, includes some lexical items which are not likely to be understood by many of Arabic speakers including those of good education, not to mention the common people. MSA, on the other hand, is a simplified version of Classical Arabic and used in education, media, political speeches and negotiations, among other formal usages. Though it is the official language of all Arab countries MSA is no one's mother tongue because it is acquired through education, unlike Colloquial Arabic which is painlessly and inevitably acquired at home (Maamouri 32). Classical Arabic is frequently used during the recitation of the Holy *Qur'an* and heard over the Fridays' religious sermons, *Juma'ah*.

Generally speaking, Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) are both varieties of the Arabic language and the former is regarded as the source of all other Arabic varieties, be they written or spoken.

### 2.3.1. Status of Classical Arabic

It has been stated earlier that Classical Arabic developed from the pre-Classical Arabic as well as the Arabic varieties spoken by the Bedouin tribes of the Arabian

Peninsula, as recorded in the pre-Islamic poetry (Ferguson 330). Classical Arabic enjoys an elevated position among Arabs and all Muslim communities in general, regardless of their origin. In fact, the non-Arab Muslims have to use Classical Arabic when performing their daily prayers even though they do not understand it (Farghaly 54). The influence and presence of Classical Arabic beyond the borders of the Arab World resulted from the fact that over one billion Muslims recite and listen to the *Qur'an* on a daily basis. Thus, the association of Classical Arabic with the *Qur'an*, the Traditions of Prophet Mohammad, and the literary poetry has been, and continues to be, the main reason for this venerated position. According to Ennaji, some of “the Muslim fundamentalists go even further to claim that only Classical Arabic is worth teaching and learning because it reflects Muslim tradition, belief and values” (75).

Classical Arabic is perceived by a number of scholars as the “real language” whereas the diverse of Colloquial Arabic varieties are regarded as corrupt forms of Arabic (Jabbari 24). Classical Arabic managed to retain its linguistic features over the years due to its association with the *Qur'an* which is recited five times a day by Muslims in their prayers. This regular use of Classical Arabic significantly contributed to the eternity of Arabic even if the Arabic speakers turned to the use of their dialects in the domains of Classical Arabic.

### 2.3.2. Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the modern version of Arabic which is basically originated from and fundamentally based on Classical Arabic, the language of the *Qur'an* and pre-Islamic poetry, at all linguistic levels. It is referred to as the major medium of instruction and communication in all Arab countries and the vehicle of the heavyweight body of Arabic literature and scholarly writing. In addition, Modern Standard Arabic serves as a source language for communication between educated

Arabs who belong to “geographically distant parts of the Arab World” (Ryding 7). As has been illustrated above, MSA is a descendant and simplified form of Classical Arabic. It is the language used through the Arab World for writing and some other formal functions such as religious sermons and political speeches (Saiegh-Haddad 562). MSA enjoys a prestigious position among the Arab people, and according to Ryding, the sound knowledge of MSA serves as a mark of high education, prestige, and high social status.

The emergence of MSA goes back to as early as nineteenth century when some archaic lexical items and phrases were excluded giving way to some new words of various fields, technology, politics, journalism, etc. to be added to the Arabic dictionary. According to Versteegh, the emergence of MSA signalled a rebirth of Classical Arabic (173). Structurally speaking, MSA tends to use a simplified structural system and avoid the complex structures commonly used in Classical Arabic. The main differences between MSA and Classical Arabic could be observed in the vocabulary and the relative reduction of some syntactical functions such as dropping the case and mood endings which made its syntactic structure much easier than that of Classical Arabic.

As for intelligibility, MSA is far and away intelligible to all Arabs due to the Arabs’ frequent exposure to its content in the different educational institutions and media platforms as well. Even the children in the Arab World hold more or less mastery of MSA skills thanks to the school syllabuses taught in MSA in addition to the cartoons presented on the Arab TV channels in the same. According to Ryding, the Arabic dialects differ from one another according to some geographical reasons. He says:

Arabic vernaculars may vary substantially from one another in proportion to their geographical distance. That is, neighboring

vernacular dialects such as Jordanian and Syrian are easily mutually intelligible to native Arabic speakers; however, distant regional dialects, such as Moroccan and Kuwaiti, have evolved cumulative differences which result in the need for conscious effort on the part of the speakers to accommodate each other and adjust their everyday language to a more mainstream level. (6)

Owing to the diglossic nature of Arabic and the diversity of regional vernaculars, different Arabic varieties are spoken in the Arab World and the degree of the mutual intelligibility between them differ from one dialect to another following some geographical and social factors. The fewer the distance between any two Arabic varieties, the more intelligibility between them and vice versa. MSA is used as a *lingua franca* when the Arab people, particularly the educated, come together to facilitate their communication as it is intelligible to all Arabs, as mentioned above.

### **2.3.2.1. Linguistic characteristics of MSA**

It is generally held that the Arabic language is a vast treasure-hub of many linguistic characteristics which do not exist in any other languages. Ryding enumerates some features of Arabic script that makes it distinct from the other languages. According to him, these features could be briefly summed up in what follows. First, the writing system of Arabic goes in the direction that is from the right to the left just the opposite of English and many other languages. This unique feature is the most salient element which constitutes the basis of the Arabic language identity (8). Second, the alphabet of Arabic consists of twenty-eight letters, some of them are consonants and others are vowels. These letters are connected together in a cursive manner rather than written individually. Third, the short vowels of Arabic are normally invisible, though sometimes represented by the diacritics. Fourth, Arabic does not have the distinction

between uppercase and lowercase letters (10). However, the shape of the Arabic letters tends to change according to their positions in the word; initial, medial, or final. According to Comrie, the Arabic alphabet is the second in the wide use, after Latin, because it was or is used to write many other languages such as Urdu, Persian, Pashto, Swahili (Bantu), Hausa, Turkish (Altaic), Malay (Austronesian) and over a hundred others (567). Comrie attributes this diversity to the large-scale spread of Islam during the period of conquests.

Phonologically, the Arabic language has twenty-eight consonant sounds twenty-six of them are consistently consonants and the other two - *waaw* and *yaa*, are held to be semivowels (Ryding 10). The vowels of Arabic include six sounds; three short vowels /a,i,u/ and three long vowels /ā,ī,ū/. These vowels serve as producing tools in the inflectional Arabic system as the change of the Arabic word vowel pattern may result in an entire change in its meaning, and therefore, emerging a new word, as will be further detailed below.

As far as the Arabic structure is concerned, Arabic is a verb-initial language. In other words, the word order for the Arabic sentence is VSO, which respectively means Verb, Subject, and Object. However, the preverbal subjects are also allowed, that is, the Arabic sentence could begin with the subject for stylistic reasons (Comrie 575). On the other side of the coin is the colloquial form of Arabic which follows the SVO order; subject, verb, and object.

Morphologically, Arabic is characterized by its unique morphological patterns through which many different words may be derived. The abstract roots which usually consist of three consonants represent the basis of creating many lexical items from any given root (Abu-Absi 345). The subsequent sections highlight some of the linguistic features of Arabic in some little more details.

### 2.3.2.1.1. Phonological characteristics of MSA

This section highlights some aspects of MSA phonological system. As stated above, MSA comprises twenty-eight letters representing twenty-six consonants and two semivowels in addition to six vowels; three short and three long vowels. The Arabic consonant and vowel sounds could be short or long. The long consonants are represented by what is referred to in Arabic as ‘*shadda*’ which means ‘gemination’ whose occurrence marks as a sign of emphasis, whereas long vowels are represented by the letters *ا* (*ʔalif*), *ي* (*yā*), or *و* (*wāw*).

Arabic does not possess some sounds that exist in English and some other languages such as, for example, the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ and the voiced interdental fricative /v/ sounds. However, these two sounds are likely to occur in some instances of standard pronunciations where the /b/ sound is devoiced before a voiceless consonant, e.g. /*xashab*/ ‘wood’ → [*xashap*], /*ħabs*/ ‘imprisonment’ → [*ħaps*]. Similarly, the /v/ sound may occur in some Arabic words as a result of regressive assimilation as in the word /*ħifð*/ → [*ħivð*] ‘memory’ (Comrie 564).

Arabic vowels serve as keepers for the words’ meanings besides their function in the derivation and inflexion systems of Arabic as effective producers of several meanings of the same word. The change in the vowel pattern of the Arabic word or duplicating and geminating its consonants may produce several words with different meanings. For, example, from the two consonants and a vowel word /*ɖʒad*/, different words could be created, such as:

- /*ɖʒad*/ with the short vowel /a/ → ‘grandfather’
- /*ɖʒid*/ with the short vowel /i/ → ‘seriousness’
- /*ɖʒud*/ with the short vowel /u/ → ‘give generously’ 2<sup>nd</sup> Sg. masc.

- /*dʒadda*/ with geminating the last consonant and adding a short vowel /a/ after → ‘he worked hard’
- /*dʒaddada*/ with geminating and duplicating the last consonant and a short vowel /a/ after the geminated and duplicated consonants → ‘he renewed’
- /*dʒūd*/ with the long vowel /ū/ → ‘generosity’
- /*dʒīd*/ (Vernacular) with the long vowel /ī/ → ‘a good person’

The Arabic short vowels in their entirety are marked by what is referred to in Arabic as ‘diacritics’ which serve as tools for vocalizing words and realizing their accurate meanings. Some Arabic words are entirely identical in their forms and their occurrence without diacritics may result in misunderstanding their meanings and open the door for many interpretations and this process demystifies the reason why the Holy *Qur’an* is written in a diacritical form (تشكيل).

#### ❖ Morphological characteristics of MSA

As is the case with many other languages, Arabic focuses on two fundamental issues in a word formation: how words are structured (derivation) and how their forms are changed to express grammatical functions marking some categories such as number, gender, tense, and case. The derivational system of Arabic is distinguished by root and pattern which are, according to some scholars, among of the most distinguishing features of Arabic as a Semitic language (Watson 3). The Arabic root-pattern is a system through which the consonants interlock with a pattern of vowels producing new words and this operation is known in Arabic as derivation (Ryding 45). This derivational system allows creating various forms of nouns and verbs in many different ways:

- by adding vowels to the root (e.g. *kutiba* ‘it was written’),

- doubling consonants (e.g. *kattaba* ‘force (one) to write’),
- lengthening vowels (e.g. *kātib* ‘writer’),
- adding a prefix to the root (e.g. *taktub* ‘she writes’),
- adding a suffix to the root (e.g. *katabat* ‘she wrote’).

All the words in the examples above are derived from the Arabic trilateral root *K-T-B* which has to do in Arabic with the verb ‘to write’ and each one of them expresses a different grammatical function. In each example, the root is modified in a certain way, as illustrated in the examples, that results in producing a new word with a different meaning and therefore, a different grammatical function.

The template is another feature in the morphological system of Arabic which is used for different purposes; morphological, lexical, and grammatical. Many examples can be listed that show the Arabic templates such as, for example, the template *CaCCāC* which indicates a practitioner of an action as in:

- /*sabbāk*/ ‘a plumber,
- /*ṭabbāx*/ ‘a cook’
- /*fannān*/ ‘an artist’,
- /*ṣayyād*/ ‘a fisher’, etc.

Another example of the templates that are used in the morphological system of Arabic is *maCāCiC* which is used for forming the plurals of things/places as in;

- /*maṭābix*/ ‘kitchens,
- /*maṣāmil*/ ‘laboratories’
- /*masājid*/ ‘mosques
- /*marāki*/ ‘centers’ ...etc.

Thus, Arabic consonants and vowels interlock together in a particular way that leads to creating the Arabic word. Whereas consonants carry the semantic function, short vowels, represented with diacritical marks, undertake a grammatical function such as tense, case, voice. The change in the vowel pattern within the Arabic word generates a new word with a new grammatical function. For example, the short-vowel pattern



/a,a,a/ in the word /*daraba*/ ‘he beat’ is the past tense and active voice, whereas the vowel pattern /u,i.a/ creates the word /*duriba*/ ‘he was beaten’ which functions as a past tense and passive voice.

### ❖ Syntactic characteristics of MSA

As was stated earlier, Arabic is known as a VSO language in which the sentence begins with a verb with an alternate SVO order (Hewitt 1). Arabic subjects can occur in different positions: before the verb, as in /*ʔħmad kataba ddarsa*/ أحمد كتب الدرس ‘Ahmed wrote the lesson’ and after the verb as in /*gābala ʔħmad munā*/ قابل أحمد منى, ‘Ahmed met Mona’ (Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueiri 4). Variations in Arabic word order are often attributed to a rather vague “emphasis.” Therefore, the difference between /*zaydun māta*/ زيد مات ‘Zayd died’ and /*māta zaydun*/ مات زيد ‘died Zayd’, that the former implies or expresses a contrast between /*zayd*/ and another (unnamed) person, whereas in the latter the “logical emphasis rests almost solely upon the verb”(Wright and Caspari 255).

In MSA, common nouns could be definite or indefinite. They may be grammatically definite in three ways:

- by prefixing to them the definite article /*ʔal*/ ‘the’ e.g. /*ʔal bayt*/ ‘the house’, /*ʔal madrasat*-/ ‘the school’.
- by suffixing to them a pronominal suffix /*hu*/ ‘his’, /*hā*/, ‘her’, /*hum*/ ‘their’ e.g. /*kitābuhu*/ ‘his book’, /*kitābuha*/ ‘her book’, /*kutubuhum*/ ‘their books’.
- by using them as a first element in the construct state when the second element is definite, e.g. /*kitābu-lwaladu dʒadīdun*/ ‘the boy’s book is new’.

On the other hand, they could be indefinite by suffixing to them /-an/, /-in/ or /-un/, according to their positions in the sentences as well as the inflectional necessities e.g. /*farasan*/ ‘a horse’, /*galamun*/ ‘a pen’ , /*ṣāmilin*/ ‘a worker’ (Holes 196).

Negation is another syntactic feature of MSA. The Arabic sentences could be negated by different tools. Five different particles are used to express sentential negation: the particle /*mā*/, the item /*lā*/ and its (temporally) inflected counterparts /*lam*/ and /*lan*/ and (variously inflected) forms of /*laysa*/ (Sadler & Alsharif 6). Both particles /*lam*/ and /*lan*/ are negation tools used exclusively in MSA and are not normally used in any of the Arabic dialects (Holes 239). The particle /*lam*/ occurs before the verb to denote the past e.g. /*lam yadʒlis*/ ‘he did not sit’, /*lam taʒrab*/ ‘she did not drink’. Similarly, the particle /*lan*/ occurs before the verb but to denote the future, e.g. /*lan yusāfir*/ ‘he will not travel/, /*lan tadrus*/ ‘she will not study’. The negation tool /*laysa*/ differs in several respects from the invariant forms /*lā*/, /*lan*/, and /*lam*/. It occurs in two main contexts: in verbless sentences as illustrated as in /*laysat hudā fī l-maktab*/ ‘Huda is not at the office’ or in sentences with present tense interpretation as in /*laysa ahmed yanāmu mubakkiran*/ ‘Ahmed does not go to bed early’ (Benmamoun 102).

Generally, these are just few examples of the linguistic characteristics that distinguish MSA from the dialectal varieties of Arabic and therefore, from the other languages.

### 2.3.3. Arabic diglossia

Diglossia is a sociolinguistic phenomenon where two different varieties of a language are spoken in two different situations within the same speech community with one regarded as a High variety (H) and the other a Low variety (L) and each one is used for quite distinct functions (Holmes 27). The High variety is used for the formal situations and the Low variety is used for the informal situations. The term *diglossia*

emerged in sociolinguistic discipline by the American linguist, Charles Ferguson, in 1959 in his seminal Article '*diglossia*' where he defined diglossia as:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation. (336)

In this oft-cited definition, Ferguson indicates that in diglossic speech communities, two varieties hold different statuses and are used in complementary distribution; a High variety (H) that is thought to be prestigious and a Low variety (L) which is held as inferior and has no official status.

It is generally held that Arabic represents the fine example of diglossia where two different varieties are used for two different social situations; Classical Arabic is held as a High variety and used for formal situations and the other is the Arabic vernaculars spoken across the Arab World which are perceived as Low varieties and used for informal situations, and generally for people's day-to-day communication.

Indeed, the investigation of the emergence of Arabic diglossia remains an argumentative issue amongst the sociolinguists as some scholars think that it is misleading to search the beginning of the standard, non-standard dichotomy in any speech community not only in the Arabic speech community (Hamad 339). Others view that the origin of Arabic diglossia is associated with the history of the Arabic language (Ferguson, *Sociolinguistic* 26; Sayahi 55). Based on this point of view, it is

inappropriate to consider this sociolinguistic phenomenon without referring to the history of Arabic. The Arab society in Pre-Islamic stage held poetic competitions in reciting and memorizing the poems for the poets and whoever recites and memorizes lengthy poems was considered the pride of his tribe. For the proponents of this point of view, these poems, especially the seven poems known as *almua'llaqaat*, represent the earliest recorded materials in the supra-tribal Pre-Islamic Arabic that is known as Classical Arabic (qtd. in Sayahi 55). According to Sayahi, this period was the golden age of the Arabic language. He states that the poets throughout the centuries have tried to emulate that style to show their connection to such a tradition. According to Ferguson's norm in labelling Arabic as High and Low varieties, it follows that the use of Classical Arabic in reciting the poems clearly shows the diglossic situation of Arabic in the Pre-Islamic stage. For his part, Ferguson proposes that Arabic diglossia dates back to the early stage of Arabic history. He specifically claims that Arabic diglossia reaches as far back as our knowledge of Arabic goes (327).

On the contrary, other sociolinguists view that Arabic diglossia emerged as a result of the Arab's contact with non-Arabs during the period of Islamic conquests in post-Islamic stage (Hamad 340). In his article about the beginning of Arabic diglossia, Hamad argues that Arabic diglossia had emerged in the Arabic community in the later stages of Arabic history when the Arabic linguistic situation actually drifted to a state of linguistic polarization. He said that as a result of this situation, "each of the two varieties of Arabic assumed a distinct function and the relationships between them took a diglossic nature" (339). Similarly, some Western scholars such as Fück and Blau suggest that Arabic diglossia emerged during the post-Islamic period, specifically when the Arabic language reached, with Arabs, the newly conquered neighbouring regions

such as Iraq, Syria, and Egypt where it was adopted by the newly-converted Muslims (Hamad 340).

Undoubtedly, the most remarkable features of the Arabic language from a sociolinguistic perspective is the co-existence of two varieties of the same language within one speech community with each has a distinct role to play (Hamad 339). The first variety is the classical or the standardized variety which is used for formal purposes and the second one is Colloquial Arabic which includes different Arabic varieties used for the Arabs' day-to-day communication.

Ferguson classifies Arabic into two different varieties; a High variety which is devoted to written forms and formal usages, such as education, religious sermons, and political speeches and a low variety which is used for the informal situations such as the talk with family members, friends and generally for daily life communication. Other scholars view that there is a variety exists between the High and the Low varieties often called Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) which is a blend of vocabularies from both varieties, MSA and Colloquial Arabic, and usually used by the educated Arabs who come from different dialectal backgrounds. The most common classification of the Arabic varieties is that one which divides Arabic into three different varieties;

- Classical Arabic, the variety of the Holy *Qur'an* and the literary heritage of Arabs,
- Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the official variety of all Arab countries and the medium of instruction,
- Colloquial Arabic, the mother tongue of all Arabs and the medium of their daily communication.

It is worth mentioning that the Spoken Arabic varieties differ significantly from one to another in a number of ways at the phonological and lexical levels. For example, the Maghreb Arabic varieties are more or less unintelligible to the speakers of the varieties spoken in Mashreq. In this context, Watson mentions that the “dialects of Arabic form a roughly continuous spectrum of variation with the dialects spoken in the eastern and western extremes of the Arab-speaking world being mutually unintelligible” (8). However, the degree of unintelligibility between the Arabic varieties has decreased and the linguistic gap between them has been narrowed thanks to the spread of the satellite channels over the Arab World. It stands to reason that the frequent exposure of movies, serials and the different categories of TV programmes has laid the ground for comprehending the inter-dialectal vocabularies. For example, all Arabs almost understand the meaning of the Egyptian verb *ʔāwiz* عاوز which stands for the MSA verb *ʔurīdu* أريد ‘to want’ as a result of the omnipresence of the Egyptian serials, songs, and movies in the Arab media.

#### **2.3.4. Arabic diglossia and education**

It goes without saying that language has an essential role to play in any society since it serves as a channel for expressing or exchanging concepts, thoughts, knowledge, information, and experiences (Bussmann 247). It is the vehicle that transfers the nations’ culture and civilization from generation to generation or to the other nations. It also represents an important marker of social change and welfare.

As for the language of education, the nations across the globe are thought to plan carefully for nominating the most appropriate language to be the medium of instruction. Failure in selecting the language of education is likely to stand as a hindrance to the human resources development which is sometimes thought to have a link with the variety of the language being selected as a medium of instruction.

The language of education in the Arab World has special distinction since Arabic is diglossic and therefore, MSA along with different dialectal forms of Arabic can be used in teaching/learning process. MSA is defined in all Arab states constitutions as a medium of instruction. However, the vernacular or at least the middle language, which is believed to exist between MSA and the vernacular, is the predominant variety used by teachers in all Arab schools. Some of them use the vernacular spontaneously whereas others argue that they use it for the purpose of assimilation (Al-Huri 3). This diglossic situation constitutes a challenge which confronts all academic institutions in the Arab World. Many scholars believe that diglossia has its great impact on education. In his report about the impact of diglossia on the quality of education in the Arab World, Maamouri attributes the “low-quality results” of education to the diglossic situations in the Arab schools in addition to the linguistic distance between Colloquial Arabic spoken natively by the Arab students and MSA, the medium of instruction. He argues that one of the consequences resulting from the diglossic situation in the Arab schools could be “the growing use of the colloquial forms in formal and non-formal education and in other numerous daily activities” (68). For his part, Al-Huri shows that some Arabic course teachers, who are supposed to teach in MSA, tend to use their dialects when presenting their Arabic lessons giving a blind eye to the negative impact of their practices on the students’ linguistic proficiency in MSA as a result of their frequent use of dialect.

Zughoul is also one of the Arab sociolinguists who regarded diglossia in Arabic as one of the significant issues that considerably affect the Arab society at the psychological, social, and educational levels. Likewise, Kaye attributes the educated Arab’s deficiency to carry on a conversation in MSA to the diglossia and bidialectal

variations exist in the Arab World. According to Zughoul, illiteracy stands as a major reason underlying behind the wide gap between MSA and Colloquial Arabic (212).

### **2.3.5. Diglossia and the Arab media**

Mass media is held as a strong force that significantly drives the societies' life. It is considered as the tool through which societies' culture, language, beliefs and thoughts are formulated. Over the last decades, media has tremendously contributed to changing many aspects of people's lives at all levels. There is unanimity that media has different social, political, linguistic, economic and cultural impact on today's world societies. Media has played a considerable role in learning process development as most of the learning processes in the present time occur outside the classroom.

As for the linguistic function of media, it is regarded as a major factor in reviving and maintaining the indigenous languages of the nations together with being an instrument of development and civilization. Mazrui asserts the native languages are thought to be one of the major reasons for nations' development. He says: "... no country has ascended a first rank technological and economic power by excessive dependence on foreign languages. Japan rose to dazzling industrial heights by scientificating the Japanese language and making it the medium of its own industrialization" (157). Both sociologists and sociolinguists believe that media has an immense impact on the way people speak. However, few types of research have investigated the effects of mass media on the linguistic proficiency of the audience as well as shaping their attitudes towards the language. Stuart-Smith asserts that the emergence of TV marks a turning point in the twentieth century. Yet, the influence of television on people's linguistic behaviours remains away from the researchers' interest (140).



As far as diglossia is concerned, there is no doubt that the language of Arab media is diglossic in nature, and therefore, varies according to the genre and the contextual framework in which it occurs. However, based on the classification of Arabic mentioned earlier, it could be initially said that three Arabic varieties are used in the various types of Arab Media; MSA, which is the variety widely used in News and documentaries, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), the variety predominantly spoken by educated Arabs who come together from different Arab countries in their debates and conversations and usually used in the debates or some social programmes. It is generally held that such variety is used as a '*lingua franca*' to facilitate linguistic comprehensibility between speakers. The third variety is Colloquial Arabic, which occurs more in the folk programmes, public interviews, TV shows and for the most part, in serials and songs.

Some studies have emphasised the increasingly growing tendencies of replacing MSA with Colloquial Arabic in some TV programmes of some Arab Satellite channels in general and the Lebanese satellite channels, in particular. In his investigation into "Diglossia in Arabic TV Stations", Al-Shamrani finds low rates of the use of MSA on some Arab TV stations, where MSA is expected to be the predominant variety. In his findings, he shows that the overall use of MSA on LBC Satellite Channel is just 15%, which could be regarded as a wake-up call for MSA deterioration in this Channel. Similarly, the study shows that MSA is used only 17% on ART, which means that the predominant variety on these two channels is Colloquial Arabic rather than MSA or even ESA. This deterioration of MSA use on these two channels is bound to affect the linguistic performance of these channels' viewers and widen the gap between MSA and Colloquial Arabic in favour of the latter. Unlike the aforementioned channels, Aljazeera

Satellite Channel turned out to use MSA in most of its programmes and the overall use of this variety is 80% thanks to the high linguistic qualification of its broadcasters.

Houaidi holds the view that there is a negative connection between the progress of technology and the deterioration of Arabic in the Arab societies, particularly what relates to the media. His view rests on the assumption that the Arabic ordeal in media has been manifested in four forms:

- The pervasiveness of the linguistic errors in MSA,
- Writing some essays and commercial advertisements in Colloquial Arabic,
- Presenting some televised and broadcast programmes in Colloquial Arabic,
- The spread of code switching phenomenon, particularly the intra-sentential type within the media discourse oriented to the Arab audience.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Musa states that there is a disparity in the use of Arabic linguistic levels in Arab media which can be held as a natural phenomenon. He attributes the variation of the linguistic levels in Arab media to the context and style in which the variety is used (109). Al-Ma'atooq shows the TV role in the linguistic development when he puts forward the claim that TV has become the first source of media and general culture besides its function as a tool of entertainment. He adds that the massive spread of the satellite channels across the Arab World and yet the entire globe has given a sufficient opportunity for the linguistic communication through the time space of Arabic use in TV programmes (79). In a study about the Arabic status in Arab radio and TV, Talal argues that the increasing rates of illiteracy in the Arab societies, particularly in Morocco, where the illiteracy rate exceeds 50%, has made Arabic a peculiar language in its stronghold and context. He shows that the Moroccan TV has recourse to the use

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.m-a-arabia.com/vb/showthread.php?t=6380>

of a simple language which could be easily assimilated by the majority of the Moroccan society. Talal asserts that such a linguistic behaviour has its immense effect on Arabic and serves as an essential factor in marginalizing Arabic in the Moroccan society (20).

### 2.3.6. Emergence of Arabic dialects

The varieties spoken by the Arabic native speakers in their daily conversation are referred to as Arabic dialects. Many dialects are spoken across the Arab World, some of which are mutually intelligible and others are in large measure unintelligible, particularly the Maghreb Arabic dialects. These varieties are the Arabs' mother tongues as they are acquired innately without schooling, just the contrary of MSA which requires formal education.

Indeed, there has been almost a unanimous view among scholars that all Arabic dialects are descendants from Classical Arabic as they hold many of its linguistic features at all levels. Some scholars regard the Arabic dialects as merely "corrupt forms" of Classical Arabic (Benmamoun 269; Weninger et al 983; Freeman, *In Search of a koine* 27).

The first evolution of the Arabic dialects remains hazy and argumentative among scholars. However, some scholars think that the Arabic dialects emerged as a result of the direct contact between the Arab tribes coming from the Arabian Peninsula speaking Arabic, on the one hand, and the non-Arabs of the conquered regions controlled by the Islamic empire who spoke different languages, on the other, in addition to the several processes of development which Arabic has experienced over the years. Belnap and Haeri hold a rather different point of view as regards to the emergence of the Arabic dialects. They think that the Arabic dialects are basically originated from the common Bedouin language which constituted the basis of the development of all Arabic dialects, unlike MSA which is, according to them, a direct

descendant of Classical Arabic, the language of *Qur'an* (28). Versteegh also indicates that the spread of Arabic over a large area of the Middle East in addition to its direct contact with other languages (South Arabian, Persian, Greek, and Berber) resulted in significant changes and the process of acquiring this new language by the speakers of the other languages spoken in the conquered territories had also left an enormous impact on the language (*Encyclopedia* 265).

Therefore, it appears that the expansion of the Islamic Empire during the period of the conquests, on the one hand, and the spread of Islam outside the Arabian Peninsula, on the other, were the leading cause of the Arabic dissemination on a large scale. As a result, the newly converted Muslims began learning Arabic in order to fulfil their religious rituals, some of which are necessarily practised in Arabic and to be able to read the *Qur'an* in a correct way. Gradually, Arabic had become the major language of these territories superseding the native languages. However, the leakage of the native languages of these regions significantly contributed to occurring slight changes in Arabic, and according to the views mentioned above, these changes represented the cornerstone of the emergence of the Arabic dialects.

### **2.3.7. Arabic varieties in the Arab World**

Arabic has been regarded as a rich language holding a wide range of diversity. It includes a number of regional varieties with each has a number of sub-varieties. The Arabic regional dialects vary from one to another based on a number of historical and geographical factors. They vary from one region to another within the same country and at times the distinction exists between cities and villages in terms of urban and rural speeches.

As for the mutual intelligibility, almost all Arabic dialects are mutually intelligible with the exclusion of the Maghreb dialects which are barely comprehended

by the Arabic speakers of the Mashreq unless they are spoken slowly and without the use of the French and Berber loanwords which complicate the process of understanding these dialects and widen the gap between them and the other Arabic dialects spoken in the different parts of the Arab World.

Another distinction is to be made between the Spoken Arabic, the all Arab mother tongue and the variety of their daily communications, and the Written Arabic which holds a prestigious position and is used for the formal usages. Unlike MSA which requires a certain level of schooling and education to be learned, Spoken Arabic is easily and innately acquired and does not require any sort of education. In this contribution, Kaye mentions that all Arabic speakers grow up speaking their native dialects and acquire MSA through formal education (123). Similarly, Maamouri states that speaking MSA is limited only to those who have access to the benefits of formal education while the Arabic vernaculars are spoken painlessly by all Arabs including children (32). Another distinction is clearly manifested in the dichotomies of Bedouin/Sedentary, urban/rural, men/women speeches as well as the varieties based on the social classes and religious groups. However, all these differences could be coped with through speaker's accommodation with the context in which the conversation takes place and the kind of variety required to such a setting. Arabic speakers usually switch between the Arabic varieties in response to a number of factors, among which is the type of people they are talking to in addition to the circumstances under which the speech takes place. For example, the Yemeni Arabic Speaker tends to use Egyptian dialect when speaking to Egyptians and sometimes vice versa. Thus, Arabic speakers are almost able to manipulate the way they speak in response to some conversational and situational settings.

Although all spoken Arabic varieties are closely connected to MSA at all linguistic levels, the difference between Colloquial Arabic and Standard Arabic is inevitable and manifested in a number of linguistic features. The common point agreed upon is that all Arabic dialects have simple grammatical systems which make them easier than MSA. For example, the morphosyntactic structure in Colloquial Arabic is reduced and none of the Arabic dialects uses the dual number whether with verbs, pronouns, adjectives or nouns. Ferguson describes H variety (MSA) as a “grammatically more complex” variety (336). Kaye mentions that “MSA marks many more categories of grammar: nominative, genitive, and accusative cases, duality in the pronoun, verb, and adjective, and so on” (124-25). The subsequent sections cast light on some of the Arabic varieties which have a connection to our investigation.

### **2.3.7.1. Yemeni Arabic**

As is the case with all Arab countries, Yemen has constitutionally designated MSA as the official language of the state. Besides MSA, Yemen embraces a broad spectrum of Yemeni Arabic dialects which have been regarded, by some linguists, as unique Arabic varieties (Freeman, “No koine” 7). Yemeni Arabic dialects are spoken as mother tongues in all parts of Yemen. In the eastern province of Mahra and in the island of Socotra, the Modern South Arabian Languages (MSLA) are spoken as native languages of the inhabitants of these areas along with their Arabic dialects. Six MSAL: *Mehri*, *Harsūsi*, *Baḥṭari*, *Hobyōt*, *Jibbāli*, and *Soqoṭri* are spoken in Socotra Island, Mahra, and their peripheries (Hetzron 378). Most scholars view them as independent languages not Yemeni dialects. They are derived from Old South Arabian and have relevance to the Ethiopic language. According to Simeone-Senelle and Marie-Claude, they are different enough from Arabic to make inter-comprehension impossible between speakers of any of the MSAL and Arabic speakers (378).

Yemeni Arabic represents several varieties spoken in the different regions of Yemen. It is believed that Yemeni Arabic includes more than twenty different dialects which are characterized by a great diversity and a number of unique traits not found elsewhere within the Arabic-speaking community. It is noted that no single variety is regarded as superior to another. However, the superiority remains in the degree of intelligibility of these various dialects. Although there are various dialects across the country, few dialects are prominent in the Yemeni cities. Versteegh upholds the idea that the Yemeni Arabic is distinct and has a great linguistic diversity besides a number of unique traits unbound elsewhere in other Arabic dialects (*Encyclopedia* 750).

In terms of comprehensibility, most of the Yemeni Arabic dialects are assimilated to each other except a few dialects which appear to be relatively incomprehensible to some Yemenis who speak other dialects. For example, Sana'ani speakers hardly understand the uneducated Tihami Arabic speakers and sometimes they have to pay more attention to understand what is said.

In his investigation of Sana'ani Arabic, Freeman indicates that two dialects are more prominent in the Yemeni cities if we exclude Hodeida, the Sana'ani and the Taizi/Adeni dialects. As far as the dialect continuum is concerned, there is a similarity in Taizi and Adeni dialects as they dominate areas close to each other. Sana'a is a multi-dialectal city because it embraces residents from different regions of Yemen and some regional groups feel proud to preserve its own regional dialects, the matter which has complicated Freeman's task to investigate whether or not there is a koine in Sana'ani Arabic. Al-Awadhi mentions that Sana'ani Arabic has remnants of *fushā*, and patterns of Hemiariete. He points out that Sana'a is a multi-dialectal city, and each place in Sana'a has a dialect (96).

It is important here to mention that five dialects are the most prominent in YA, Sana'ani, Taizi, Adeni, Khubani, and Tehami dialects. Each one of the Yemeni Arabic dialects has its own and distinctive features which differentiate it from the other dialects at the different linguistic levels. In terms of purity and intelligibility, Sana'ani Arabic is the most assimilated variety as it possess a lot of features which make it appear close to MSA. It exhibits a lot of classical features at a number of linguistic levels. For example, Sana'anis use the classical Arabic interrogative words /mā/ ما 'what' to ask about things. They say /mā hu hāḏa/ 'ما هو هذا' 'what is this?' which is similar to the same structure of MSA. Sana'ani Arabic is also distinguished among the other Yemeni dialects by the use of the hard [g] sound in the place of the classical /qaf/ ق. Lexically, Sana'ani Arabic is a conservative dialect as it retains a lot of classical words such as /ʔams/ أمس 'Yesterday', /zāra/ زار 'visited', among many other similar words. Interestingly, most of the people who come from different regions of the country speak Sana'ani Arabic as a *lingua franca* to facilitate communication between them. Qafisheh shows that Sana'ani Arabic is "the native spoken language of the majority of *Sana'anis*, and it is the only means of communication for most of them". He adds that it is also a *lingua franca* used by the minorities of various groups (168).

Tehami dialect, on the other hand, is another Yemeni Arabic variety which is spoken in Tehama and its environs. Tehami Arabic has a lot of linguistic features which are rather different from the other dialects. It is an easy task to identify the Tehami speaker due to the distinctiveness of this dialect by certain features known to most of the Yemeni people. Tehamis pronounce the classical sound /q/ ق as [g] and the sound /j/ ج as hard [g]. The nouns in Tehami Arabic is defined by the prefix [ʔim] instead of the classical definite article /ʔal/ ال 'the', for example, a Tehami speaker says [ʔim sayyarih] امسيارة rather than /ʔassyārat-/السيارة 'the car'. As with some other Yemeni



dialects, Tehamis use the particle [ʃā] شا ‘will’ associated with the verb to express about their plans in future. For example, they say [ʃā būk ʔim sūg] شابوك امسوق ‘I will go to the market’.

Hadhrami is also another Yemeni Arabic variety spoken in Hadhramaut province and the adjacent areas. Hadhrami Yemeni Arabic shares with the dialects of some Gulf countries a number of linguistic features particularly the dialect spoken in Kuwait. In Hadhrami dialect, the /jeem/ ج sound is realized as [y] sound as in [rayyal] رِيَال, with geminating the consonant [y] ‘a man’.

All in all, Yemen has been regarded as a diglossic community since two varieties are used in a complementary distribution. MSA is nominated as the variety of media, official speeches, religious sermons and as a medium of instruction whereas the Yemeni Arabic, with its different varieties, is used for people’s day-to-day communication.

### 2.3.7.2. Algerian Arabic

It is well-known that Algeria is one of the Arab countries where Arabic is, constitutionally, the official language of the state. Berber is also another national language spoken in some parts of Algeria. In 2002, Berber has been recognized by the Algerian constitution as a national language. Practically, both Algerian Arabic and Berber are spoken as native languages in Algeria. French is also another language which has a good space of use in the Algerian society in both social and official usages due to the legacy left by the French colonization. It is widely used in all domains of the Algerian’s life, particularly in media, government affairs, and education. Some regard French as a *de facto* co-official language of Algeria. In this section, we will discuss, briefly, the different languages and varieties spoken in Algeria including Arabic, Berber, and French as well as their social status among the Algerian society.

## ❖ Arabic

Some statistics indicate that Arabic is the language of some 73% of the Algerians' population alongside Berber which is spoken as a native language by 27%. Most Algerians can understand MSA, particularly the educated as well as those who are frequently exposed to it through media and literacy. However, some of them hardly understand MSA and they find it quite difficult to trade speech with speakers who use MSA. Many Arabic words have been replaced by their French counterparts to the extent that some Algerians think that the French words are the real Arabic and the Arabic words are alien.

As regards the Arabic varieties, three major Arabic variants could be taken into consideration when studying the Algerian Arabic from a sociolinguistic point of view; Classical Arabic, MSA, and Algerian Arabic.

- **Classical Arabic:** It is the language of reciting the Holy *Qur'an* and saying the old poetry taught and learned in the Algerian educational institutions. The space of Classical Arabic use is very limited and confined in what previously mentioned besides its use in the Friday's sermons.
- **Modern Standard Arabic (MSA):** MSA is another variety which is spoken in Algeria. It is the language of the media and the medium of instruction in schools as well as many departments of the Algerian universities. The sociolinguistic position of MSA in Algeria has been argumentative due to the massive use of French in the official domains where MSA should be used, besides the prestigious status it enjoys among the Algerian society. Furthermore, many of the Algerian TV programmes are presented in Algerian Arabic to the extent that the followers of these programmes from the other Arab countries hardly understand what is said for some reasons,

among which is the abundant amount of the French loanwords stuffed in the speech as well as the accent immensely influenced by French.

- **Algerian Arabic:** Algerian Arabic is the native language of the massive majority of the Algerian population.<sup>4</sup> It is the variety widely used by Algerians in their daily life communication. French has a great influence on Algerian Arabic at the lexical, morphological and phonological levels. Algerian Arabic has been saturated with many of French loanwords which function grammatically and semantically as their Arabic equivalents. An abundant number of words as such complicates the process of the Algerian Arabic assimilation to those who are not frequently exposed to this variety especially people of the Mashreq countries who hardly understand Algerians when they speak.

#### ❖ Berber

Berber is a national language spoken by 27 % of the Algerian population as a native language and constitutionally recognized in 2002. Before the coming of Islam to the North African countries, namely Algeria and Morocco, Berber was the widely and natively spoken language in these countries. Most of the countryside and the nomadic population of North Africa remained Berber-speaking until the second invasion in the eleventh century (Versteegh, *Encyclopedia* 60; vol. 3). As a result of such invasion of the Arabic-Bedouin tribes, a large percentage of the Berber-speaking population started using Arabic in place of their indigenous language, i.e., Berber. However, a considerable percentage of the population still speaks Berber as their first language.

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<sup>4</sup> In some parts of Algeria, Berber is spoken as a mother tongue along with Algerian Arabic. It is also spoken in some other parts of North Africa like Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Niger, etc.

## ❖ French

The French cultural and linguistic manifestations have strongly made their way to the Algerian society. Algeria has been considered as one of the most popular Francophonie countries in the world. It is believed that minimally one-third of the Algerian population is able to read and write French. Despite the independence from France and declaring Arabic as the official language, French is practically the predominant language widely used in the official domains. French is the medium of instruction, especially in the practical and scientific fields of study, in most of the Algerian academic institutions. However, relentless efforts have been made to enhance Arabic status in the Algerian society.

### 2.3.7.3. Lebanese Arabic

Lebanese Arabic is one of the Arabic varieties spoken in Lebanon as a native language by more than four million speakers. It is a part of Levantine Arabic which is spoken in four Arab countries, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, and Syria. Lebanese Arabic has distinct linguistic features other than the other Arabic varieties which make it easy for the listener to identify the identity of the Lebanese Arabic's speaker. For example, the Arabic word /qahwa/ قهوة 'coffee' is realized as [ʔahwe]. The voiceless uvular plosive /q/ corresponds to a glottal stop [ʔ], and the final vowel /a/ commonly written with *tā' marbūtah* (ة) is raised to [e].<sup>5</sup> It is worth mentioning that Lebanese Arabic has been influenced by other languages such as English, French and other Middle Eastern and European languages. Lebanon is regarded as a multilingual community as many Lebanese can speak Arabic, French and English. Code switching is also a common phenomenon in Lebanon, and in many cases, Lebanese mix Arabic, French, English

<sup>5</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanese\\_Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanese_Arabic)

and other languages in their daily conversations. Such a linguistic diversity has raised as a consequence of the successive waves of migration which brought many ethnic groups of different ideological and linguistic backgrounds to Lebanon. Waves of migration as such have tremendously contributed to creating an ethnically and linguistically blended and heterogeneous society.

As regards the dialect variations in Lebanon, Lebanese Arabic has different sub-varieties. The most salient dialects spoken across Lebanon are; Northern Lebanese (spoken by Sunnites and Christians in the Northern Lebanon), Southern Lebanese (spoken by the Shiites of Southern Lebanon), Biqa'a (Spoken by Christians, Sunnites and Shiites of the Biqa'a), Beirut (spoken in Beirut and surrounding areas), and Durzi dialect (spoken by the Druzes in Mount Lebanon).<sup>6</sup>

Due to its large-scale use in some television programmes, whether on the Lebanese channels or on any other Arab channel, Lebanese Arabic is understood by most of the people in the Arab World. It is noticeable that Lebanon has a remarkable contribution to the fields of show business in the Arab World whether through its well-known singers, actors, and actresses or through the renowned poets and critics such as Gubran Khalil Gubran, Eilya Abu Madhi, Khalil Mutran, among others.

In terms of the foreign languages in Lebanon, French and English, as previously mentioned, are spoken by a number of Lebanese and regarded as prestigious languages especially English which is used as a *lingua franca* for the mutual intelligibility between speakers who come together from different linguistic backgrounds. They are also taught in schools and universities and most of the Lebanese educational and academic institutions adopt either English or French as media of instruction. It is believed that

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<sup>6</sup> Hourani, Alexander 'Grammar of the Beirutian Language' 2005

most of the Lebanese students are French-educated since many public and private schools are adopting French as a first foreign language.<sup>7</sup>

#### 2.3.7.4. Egyptian Arabic

Egyptian Arabic is one of the Arabic varieties spoken in Egypt and commonly known as Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA). Arabic had not been spoken in Egypt before the seventh century, the advent of Islam and revelation of the Holy *Qur'an*. Coptic, the indigenous language of Egyptians, was the language predominantly used in the Nile Delta and in all Egypt (Versteegh, *Encyclopedia* 642; vol. 3)

Historically, Arabic has swept to the space of use in Egypt along with Islamic conquests in the seventh century AD. Subsequently, Egyptians slowly adopted Arabic as a written language. Due to its sacred position as the language of the Holy *Qur'an* and the religious practices, Arabic strongly and quickly made its way to the Egyptian society superseding Coptic, the indigenous language of Egyptians as mentioned above.

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic enjoys a prestigious position among other Arabic varieties. It has been the most widely spread variety with utmost intelligibility to all Arabs thanks to the massive pervasiveness of the Egyptian media across the Arab World together with the leading role of Egypt in the production of the different kinds of the literary works. Such factors and others have made the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic the most understandable Arabic variety. Versteegh throws light on another reason for ECA familiarity in the Arab World which is the large number of Egyptian teachers working abroad. He says that thousands of Egyptian teachers were invited to come to the North African countries after the independence because of the shortage of people who could

<sup>7</sup> <http://beirutspring.com/blog/2011/04/08/face-it-the-french-language-in-lebanon-is-dying/>

teach in Arabic (*Arabic* 197). Likewise, so many Egyptian teachers have been working in Gulf countries, Yemen, and other Arab countries. In this context, Mitchell comments:

Egyptian films are seen and the Egyptian radio heard in every Arab country and Egyptians teach in schools from Kuwait to Libya; it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Egyptian colloquial is much better known than any other. In addition, it has advanced further than other colloquial along the road to linguistic independence, for there exists a clearly recognizable norm to which educated Egyptian usage conforms.

(12)

Accordingly, Egyptian colloquialisms have rapidly gained a prestigious position in the Arab World. Like other Arabic varieties, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic has different dialectal sub-varieties which differ from one another. Cairene Egyptian Arabic is said to be the most salient variety in Egyptian Arabic. It has its own linguistic features which make it a distinct variety among the other Egyptian dialects. For example, the uvular stop /q/ ق /qaf/ is pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ] as in [ʔalli] أَللي ‘he said to me’ or [ʔalam] أَلَم ‘pen’ and so many other similar examples. However, there are some cases in which some words are uttered with a voiceless uvular stop as illustrated in examples below;

- |              |             |             |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| - il qāhirah | ‘Cairo’     |             |
| - il qurʔān  | ‘The Quran’ |             |
| - qarn       | ‘Century’   |             |
| - qawmi      | ‘National’  |             |
| - qaryah     | ‘Village’   | (Watson 17) |

The sound /θ/ ث in ECA is either realized as [t] [ت] as in [talātah] *ثلاثة* ‘three’ or as [s] س as in [musmir] *مثمر* ‘fruitful’. Similarly, the sound /ð/ ذ is realized as [z] ز as in [zaki] *ذكي* ‘intelligent’ or as [d] د as in [dīl] *ذيل* ‘tail’.

Saidi Egyptian Arabic is another variety spoken by people of Upper Egypt or what is commonly known as *Said Misr* *صعيد مصر* ‘Upper Egypt’. Saidi Egyptian Arabic has nationally lower prestigious status. Unlike Cairene Egyptian Arabic, the sound /q/ ق is realized as [g] as in /qadīm/ *قديم* ‘old’, /ʔaqūl/ *أقول* ‘I say’ and many other examples.

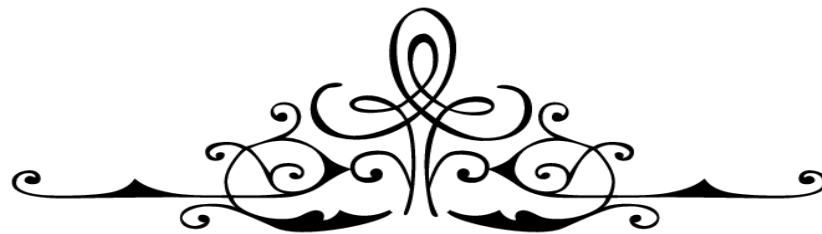
As far as Ferguson’s diglossia is concerned, two Arabic varieties are used in Egypt, in both written and spoken forms, for two different usages under different circumstances. The first is MSA which is considered as the high variety whereas the second is Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, the low variety. MSA is used in media, education, and government correspondences. Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, is the mother tongue of all Egyptians and also used for people day-to-day communication. However, MSA has not been reported to be widely used in its typical domains such as the media, education, political settings and so on. Instead, people tend to use the dialect in parliament, media, religious sermons, and even in education. Versteegh indicates that the wide use of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic is attributed to the fact that Egyptians regard their dialects as an essential constituent of their national identity (*Arabic* 196).

## 2.4. Conclusion

As seen from the discussion above, Arabic has gone through many historical stages over the centuries. The revelation of *Qur’an* and the literary heritage recorded in Arabic have been the most significant factors that contributed to the Arabic development and preservation over the years. All Arabs and Muslims around the world regard Arabic as a Holy language due to its association with *Qur’an* and the Traditions



of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Arabic is essential to all Muslims to practise their most important rituals in Islam, i.e., five-time prayers, and therefore, they need to learn it to be able to fulfil their religious obligations. For Arabs, Arabic is the tool that cements their feeling of belongingness to one nation. These factors in their entirety have made Arabic as one of the important languages in the world the matter which was manifested in selecting Arabic as one of the six United Nation languages.



## CHAPTER THREE

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# STATUS OF MEDIA IN THE ARAB WORLD

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### CHAPTER THREE: STATUS OF MEDIA IN THE ARAB WORLD

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### 3.1. Introduction

Before we talk about the status of the Arab Media, it is important to define the term *Media* to fully understand the role it plays in shaping societies in addition to its tremendous effect on the different aspects of people's lives in the World in general and the Arab World in particular. The term *Media* has been extensively defined in many ways by different scholars on the ground of different perspectives and views. However, most of these definitions go with the trend that regards media as the communication

channel through which different messages are disseminated in different forms (news, articles, advertisements, reports, documentaries, serials, interviews, soap operas, etc). Media has been also defined as the vehicle used for widespread communication and a tool for entertaining an audience. Lister defines media as an organization which is used for producing several communication tools such as cinema, press, publishing, broadcasting, and some others (12).

In general, the term media is commonly defined as the various means of communication channels through which news, entertainment, and information are disseminated. Media includes the narrowcasting and broadcasting tools like magazines, newspapers, billboards, radio, TV, fax, telephone, and internet (“business dictionary”).<sup>8</sup>

As far as the effect of media is concerned, media has ruthlessly invaded the world by its various contents which address the different aspects of people’s lives. It has immensely affected the way people live, learn, speak, and even shop. In their shopping, people tend to buy what they are recommended by the media or what they have seen on any media platforms. The enormous number of advertisements presented on the TV screens and Internet or in the magazines and newspapers substantially affect the people’s decision in selecting the commodities they need to buy. McArthur states that media is not a neutral impassive agency that only transmits information and entertainment, but influential selectors, shapers, manufacturers, and at times, fabricators of news and views (qtd. in Versteegh, *Encyclopedia* 193). Like other people worldwide, Arabs have become living in a media-saturated world where different types of media, print media, broadcast media, and social media, shower their minds with

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/media.html>

different contents on a daily basis. As a result, their opinions, beliefs and perceptions have become significantly oriented and shaped by such a powerful instrument.

Despite the technological advancement of media and communication in today's rapidly changing world, TV still maintains its value as a basic source of getting information and entertainment in the Arab World. Recently, several Satellite Channels from both the public and private sectors have launched their broadcast competing to advance both entertainment and information to the Arab audience in the Arab World. Such channels have become the main source of cultural, political, educational, religious, and social learning besides their role in structuring the societies' beliefs, thoughts, and perceptions. Lahlali argues that both print and audio-visual media have played a major role in preserving the Arab identity, unity, and culture (1). However, this notion may not be practical for some Arabs who regard TV channels as destructive tools that threaten the Arab identity and culture due to the countless number of programmes which do not harmonize with the minimum requirements of the Arab and Islamic principles. Another threat is related to the pervasiveness of the vernacular use across the programmes of the Arab channels. Several studies have revealed that the dominant variety in the broadcast media, particularly the TV channels, is Colloquial Arabic (Alshamrani 64). The dominance of Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of the Arab channels, on the one hand, and the marginalization of MSA, on the other, is bound to affect the Arabs' linguistic behaviours and eventually leads to the deterioration of Arabic at all levels.

### **3.2. Role of media in mapping the world**

Over the years of the twentieth century, the world has dramatically witnessed resounding changes and transformations that are of significance to reshape the geopolitical, cultural, and economic map of the entire world. The stormy wind of

changes encompassed all facets of people's lives in the length and breadth of the globe. The strong emergence of media, with its different platforms and tools, was among these substantial changes that have hit the whole world and affected all walks of life. Such emergence of media has given the world a new guise and proved that media is powerful and strong enough to bring about a considerable change in the world. The power of media lies in its potential to "topple governments, make a superstar out of someone, or spread some good useful information among people, make them aware of their surroundings, know their or other people's rights" ("Mass Media").<sup>9</sup> In other words, it was mainly for media that everything in the world has changed and that newfound phenomenon has created a new sphere of life and established a new form of relations between societies and nations at the political, economic, cultural, and social levels. Media has changed the way people see themselves and also the whole world around them. It could not be denied that media has a great effect on us as individuals and has become an inseparable part of our day-to-day life. Such nature of relations has overshadowed the way we practice our life in its entirety.

In fact, the effect of media on societies remains a controversial issue because media's contribution to society could be either constructive or destructive. On the one hand, media may contribute to educating the members of society about their rights of health, education, and how to be up-to-date to all the day-to-day events around them. Media also plays a key role in raising the public awareness among societies owing to their accessibility (Dwivedi & Pandey 67). The access to knowledge and information has recently become an easy and fast process thanks to the diversity of media platforms

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<sup>9</sup> Mass Media Described as Veritable Tool for Society's Transformation

<http://www.cnsng.org/makepdf.php?tab=1320>

CNSN is a media organization in Nigeria and concerns with providing news about the Catholic Church inside and outside Nigeria.

which offer plenty of information in various areas. The recent gigantic growth of the new media, particularly the emergence of social media, has offered people several platforms to voice their opinions and speak their minds. People have become able to disseminate their views and share their ideas with others across the world through a number of ways; posting on *Facebook*, *WhatsApp*, *Twitter*, etc., creating videos on *YouTube* channels, writing a blog, among many others. They can also communicate and interact easily online with their relatives and friends worldwide. In the political sphere, media may act as a “watchdog” to the performance of governments and allow people to know their functions and efficacy.

On the social level, the rapid advancement of technology has enabled people to shop online from their residences with no need for going to the shopping centres and wasting time moving from one mall to another looking for their needs.

Educationally, media constantly broadcasts a torrent of educational programmes that help students learn anything through the multiple media platforms: internet, television, radio etc. Children also have found media a useful instrument for improving their skills and raising their school attainments by watching the different types of instructional programmes. Likewise, media represents a source of extensive knowledge for teachers. As one of the media platforms, Internet offers plenty of books, essays, articles, magazines, audio-visual lessons, and lectures in various fields of interest. Many schools and universities have adopted the multimedia-based process of teaching and learning. In today’s rapidly developing world, teachers and school syllabuses are no longer the only sources of learning. According to Sontag, the amount of information circulated by the different means of media; magazines, films, press, radio, and TV, is more than that imparted by schooling. Such change has broken the

monopoly of teachers and school syllabuses as teaching aids and brought learning process into broader zones (qtd. in Willie 58).

On the other hand, media can be used destructively through misleading people and disseminating false news and deceptive information. Media has the capability of presenting what is right as wrong and what is wrong as right for advancing certain agendas. It has also the ability to diabolize certain communities or individuals and canonize others. William Bernbach, an American advertising creative director says “all of us who professionally use the mass media are the shapers of society. We can vulgarize that society. We can brutalize it. Or we can help lift it onto a higher level” (qtd in “Positive Effects of Media”).<sup>10</sup>

The rapid technological advancement of media has brought people across the world together in what is referred to as virtual communities and therefore, they have become closer to each other more so than before. Media has also rendered the vast universe a tiny society or as the saying goes “a global village”. Thus, communication between people has become easier, faster, and of course, cheaper than some years before. What is more interesting is the interpenetration of the world cultures since the boundaries between such assumedly different cultures have eroded, or at least blurred due to the ruthless intrusion of both media and globalization. Due to these two universal phenomena, it is not uncommon to find people all over the world sharing the same kind of food, dressing the same fashion of clothes, using the same technological gadgets, speaking a wider-communication language, living the same manner of life, establishing the same kind of relationships, and the list goes on. All these manifestations of change are ubiquitous and not bound to certain societies. The process of globalizing the

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<sup>10</sup> Positive Effects of the Media <http://www.buzzle.com/articles/positive-effects-of-the-media.html>



different nations and delocalizing the various cultures might not have happened without the intervention of the power of media.

On the political level, media has recorded predominant presence at both national and international levels. Over the last few years, the world has witnessed in awe the dramatic changes that strongly shook the Arab World following what is known as the Arab Spring Revolutions. Many Arab political regimes have been overthrown and a new political arena has been established since then. It is worth mentioning that the media has recorded dominant presence during the Arab Spring Revolutions through mobilising the masses and conveying their messages beyond the borders of the Arab World. The wide spread of the different means of media in addition to the accessibility to communication technology have made the contact between the activists, freedom seekers, and entire anti-government protesters more accessible. In this context, Khondker points out that the political changes that recently took place in some Arab countries offered us opportunities to recognize the limits and potential power of media in laying the ground for freedom and openness. It is clear that the capability of new media in moulding societies has been the centre of many scholars' interest since the eruption of the Arab Spring Revolutions due to the transformational role played by the media, particularly the social media, during the protest events where it turned out to be an effective instrument for the political and democratic transformation and change.

As for the linguistic influence of media, it has been held that the words surround us every day influence the words we use in our daily communication. In other words, our language is tremendously affected by the context in which we live and the content we listen to throughout the course of our life. In every single day, we hear a countless number of words from the different types of media such as Radio, TV, Movies, mobiles, YouTube, etc. This streaming flow of words includes different kinds of words which

imply; violence, swearing, terror, sex, drugs etc. The frequent exposure to these offensive words may create a character which lacks the disciplined manner of conversation with others and the use of such words may become a part of its ordinary conversations.

As seen from the above explanation, media has a considerable effect on societies in all aspects of life. The big part of the transformations and changes that have happened recently could be attributed to the media as an effective player and a change maker.

### **3.3. Modern Standard Arabic in the Arab media**

Media could be typically categorized into two functionally different types; broadcast media such as TV channels, radio, movies and all sorts of media that transfer its content electronically, and print media such as newspapers, magazines, books and all other similar means that transfer information through physical objects. Ever since its evolution, TV has been the widely predominant medium of accessing both entertainment and information for a substantial percentage of Arabs across the Arab World.

Historically, media in the Arab World goes back to the nineteenth century when some Egyptians newspapers started discussing some issues related to different interests such as the independence from the colonization as well as some topics pertaining the Arab culture and identity. Some scholars are of the opinion that a bunch of those newspapers were significantly influenced by the western culture and through their issues, they aimed at creating what could be said a state of reconciliation between the Islamic and Arabic culture, on the one hand, and the Western civilization and culture, on the other. However, the emergence of such newspapers in Egypt during that early period of time marked the emergence of the Arab Media. Effat indicates that the first

official newspaper, issued in 1828, was *al-waqāʿiṣ ḥamasriyyah* ‘The Egyptian Proceedings’ edited by *Rifāʿah Ḥattahtāwī*, an Egyptian intellectual (193).<sup>11</sup>

As for the broadcast media, it has been believed that the first emergence of such kind of media in the Arab World dates back to the 1920s when the Cairo Radio and other local radio stations launched their broadcast locally. Similarly, the first occurrence of TV in the Arab World roughly goes back to late 1959 when a contract was signed between the United Arab Republic and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) to provide Egypt with a complete television service (Effat 196). As of 1990, many Arabic and English-based Satellite channels with different ideological and political backgrounds started their broadcast in the Arab World such as Aljazeera, MBC, ART, Al Arabiya and some other Satellite channels. Nevertheless, the Arab media had not been heard till the war on Afghanistan in 2001 when Aljazeera monopoly over the coverage of the war has put Arab media on the map (Lahlali 1). Arabs mainly tend to use TV Channels to get their news, particularly the Arabic-based news channels such as Aljazeera, Al-Arabiya, BBC Arabic, Sky News Arabiya and some others.

Turning back to the media potential to change societies, media plays an essential role in increasing the knowledge of people and shaping their conceptions and thoughts. It has been believed that TV has a potential impact on language due to the fact that it is much more than an instrument of entertainment and accessing information. According to some perspectives, TV is considered as a building block in making up the linguistic behaviour of society. TV may have a tremendous effect on the language purity and therefore, the identity of societies. Brandt writes that: “it is simply without argument that the broadcast media affect their audience – including their language; rather what is

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<sup>11</sup> Ḥattahtāwī was one the Egyptian scholars whose writings were devoted to the demands of reconciliation and an understanding between Arab and Western civilizations.

difficult is to quantify and qualify the influence exerted” (qtd in Llamas, Mullany and Stockwell 141). Moreover, media may raise the awareness of societies in all aspects of life beside its essential role in enhancing the spirit of loyalty and belonging to the nation, maintaining the identity, as well as enhancing the linguistic values of societies.

Despite the crucial role media plays in formulating the linguistic values of societies, few studies have investigated the impact of media on Arabic or the Arabic use in the Arab Media, the written and oral, from a sociolinguistic perspective, especially with regard to the diglossic situation widely dominates the televised and broadcast programmes of both Radio and TV stations in the Arab World.

If the use of MSA in the Arab Media is discussed, it should be demonstrated to the two kinds of MSA use in the media; the oral MSA which is presented in the broadcast media and its counterpart viz written media Arabic which is the Arabic of the Newspapers and magazines (Van-Mol 65). In the written Media, it is believed that MSA has an acceptable scope of use as compared to its allotted space of use in the broadcast media. Some scholars think that most printed materials including Arabic newspapers use MSA as a medium of information to the public (qtd in Abdelali 23).

As a tool for structuring the different aspects of life, Arab media is supposed to be utilized to consolidate the linguistic values of MSA in the Arab societies through giving the adequate space of MSA use in the programmes broadcast on both radio and TV channels. However, the findings of some previous studies, validated by the reality of Arabic in the Arab broadcasting media, indicate that Colloquial Arabic dominates most of the programmes introduced or presented in the Arab broadcast media, be it TV or radio. Moreover, in some Arab TV channels, News has been reported as the only kind of programmes presented in MSA whereas the rest of the programmes are presented either in Colloquial Arabic or ‘Educated Spoken Arabic, a mixture of MSA

and Colloquial Arabic. Some Arab scholars attribute the pervasiveness of Colloquial Arabic use in the Arab media to several reasons such as the linguistic level of the content's writer and presenter, approaching the linguistic level of the audience who hold different levels of Arabic mastery, as well as the business needs to the use of the Colloquial Arabic, especially in terms of the commercial advertisements which are preferable to the audience sense and sentiment when presented in their dialects. Additionally, some channels have recourse to the use of Colloquial Arabic believing that the audience may not have the adequate mastery of Arabic that enables them to comprehend the materials commonly presented in MSA. The majority of the TV channels and radio stations in the Arab World which allow the use of the vernaculars in their programmes mistakenly believe that the use of the vernaculars in the media materials and programmes may magnetize the audience interest and attract the attention of more viewers to such stations, particularly the gullible audience of low education level. Some Arab scholars think that the frequent attempts of advancing Colloquial Arabic as the variety most suitable for the media in the Arab World imply a conspiracy woven by the Arabs and Muslims' rivals to dissipate Arabic as an essential historical and heritage factor unifying Arabs and Muslims all over the world.

As far as the diglossia is concerned, the use of both MSA (*fuṣḥa*) and Colloquial Arabic in the Arab media has created two different perspectives; the first goes with the necessity of the use of MSA in the programmes of the broadcast media whereas the other calls for adopting the vernaculars as, based on their perspective, the closest variety to the audience's sentiment and practical life. The proponents of MSA (*fuṣḥa*) use in the media believe that allowing Colloquial Arabic to occupy a large space of the media contents may cause a state of Arabic hybridization which inevitably tarnishes the beauty of Arabic as well as the Arab culture. Furthermore, the massive use of Colloquial Arabic

in the Arab media may lead to disintegrating the Arab identity and therefore, widens the linguistic gap among the Arab societies. Many Arab scholars regard Arabic as the backbone that bolsters the Arab identity, the symbol of the Arab's unity from the Gulf to the Ocean.

In continuation to the language use in the Arab media, it has been said that the levels of the Arabic use in the Arab broadcast and televised media may be classified as follows:

- ❖ **Colloquial Arabic** (*alamiyyah*), which is commonly used in the programmes or situations involving public participation such as debates, serials, soap operas, outdoor interviews, TV shows, etc.
- ❖ **Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)**, which is typically used in formal situations and usually utilized in programmes of a religious content such as sermons, lectures and short talks as well as historical serials and soap operas with a historical religious content. MSA is also used in the programmes based on the reading of a written text such as the documentaries, news bulletins, and written reports (Doss 123).
- ❖ **Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)**, which includes blended features of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic. It is a mix of literary and colloquial lexical items. Educated Spoken Arabic may appear in the situations and contexts of the two previously-mentioned levels; Colloquial Arabic and MSA. Badawi asserts that Educated Spoken Arabic, of all spoken varieties, is “the most dynamic, versatile, and the one readily, understood outside its particular geographical region” (15). Another study on the language use in the Arab Media was carried out by Eid in which she investigated the hybridity and styles in the Arab television

interviews. The study finds that the style may vary according to the degree of the formality of the interaction, depending on the topics discussed and the participants involved in the interaction.

On the other hand, it has been clearly noticed that both Lebanese and Egyptian Channels are among the most Arab Channels where Colloquial Arabic is reported to have been used in abundance across their various programmes. In a study about the MSA use in three Arab TV channels, Al-Shamrani finds low rates of MSA use on LBC and ART channels where they, instead, make considerable use of Colloquial Arabic. He also shows that the diglossia has been manifested in the targeted TV stations through the alternate use of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic in the various programmes of the investigated channels. He explains that the use of either variety (MSA or Colloquial Arabic) depends on multiple factors such as the context of each TV Channel, programme type, as well as the background of each programme audience. According to some scholars, the use of multiple varieties of language in the oral media offers the audience the possibility to catch a glimpse on how people with different language competence and different language habits communicate with each other (Van-Mol 68).

As for the positive role of the Arab media, Effat and Versteegh mention that the growth of the Arab media since the 1950s has greatly enhanced the wider use of MSA. They show that at the end of the nineteenth century, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic began to be used with standard Arabic in a new trend known as “Folkloristic Journalism”. They also add that the main target of such dialectal writing was the social situation in Egypt (“Media Arabic” 200). Such conscious efforts to hybridize MSA in the media with the dialect was enhanced by the claims that such a way helps in simplifying the complexity of journalistic language and helps in the comprehensibility of the newspaper by lay people (qtd. in Effat and Versteegh, “Media Arabic” 200). In other words, it

means that the language used in the newspapers should be easy such that people can understand when reading them, and such simplification should not be boundless to be underrated by educated readers.

In the modern-day times, the print media is no longer as influential as the broadcast media which has recently become the greater maker of the public and international opinion's trends. Moreover, the rapid advancement of technology in the field of media such as the emergence of the satellite broadcast and Internet has remarkably affected the written media and consequently, both TV and Internet have turned to be the main sources of both information and entertainment in the Arab World. Effat indicates that the broadcast media has now adapted the print media and blended it with the visual and vocal material ("Media" 199). Some scholars are of the view that the decline of the print media role in the Arab World which mainly and widely adopt MSA as "a typical substratum" (Van-Mol 66) along with the accelerated growth of the televised media which correlate MSA with dialect in most of their material presented in the TV stations, resulted in deterioration of MSA due to the massive use of Colloquial Arabic in the televised programmes. In contrast, there are others who go with the view that the growth of Arab media since the 1950s has greatly enhanced the wider use of Modern Standard Arabic.

### **3.4. Arab media and globalization**

Talking about the inseparable relationship between media and globalization entails flashing the meaning of the term *globalization* as a newly born and powerful international phenomenon, which greatly affected all aspects of people's lives. The term *globalization* has been extensively defined by a number of scholars in many ways based on different political and ideological backgrounds. Rodhan and Stoudmann, for example, define globalization as "a process that encompasses the causes, course, and



consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities” (5). Similarly, Larsson defines globalization as “the process of world shrinkage, of distances getting shorter, things moving closer. It pertains to the increasing ease with which somebody on one side of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other side of the world”. (9)

In fact, there is a common ground for the various definitions given to the term *globalization*. The common definition which is likely to cover all the above ones is that which defines this phenomenon as a process of combination, collaboration or integration, between two sides; people, countries, markets or non-human.<sup>12</sup> It is also the process of internationalization of cultures, economy, and all human activities.

Some scholars view globalization as a positive phenomenon that tremendously advances countless services to the whole world in all walks of life such as education, economy, science, media, shopping and many other aspects. On the contrary, others view globalization as a new guise of colonization since the developed and most powerful countries are monopolizing the power of the entire affairs of the world and dominating economically and politically the developing and powerless countries. Along similar lines, Said argues that as a result of the globalization dominance on the entire world, the Western values are sometimes introduced as universal values and since they are associated with “West”, they are the “best” and should be forced onto the “rest”. Said believes that the wide spread of the western values in the East is attributed to the superpower of America and the other west countries such as France, Britain, Germany, etc.

<sup>12</sup> <https://crossingbordersdkblog.wordpress.com/2013/03/18/globalization-try-and-define-that/>

<sup>15</sup> Yountchi, 2002. “Edward’s Said Response to S.P. Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations”  
<http://www.la.utexas.edu/users/chenry/civil/archives02/csspapers/doc00001.doc>

As for the proponents of the second perspective, the process of globalization is meant Westernization, modernization, and occasionally Americanization, for being the most powerful country which is considered as an effective player in formulating the political and economic map of the globe. Turner & Khondker say that globalization has been regarded as a euphemism for concepts such as Americanization or Westernization (17). Likewise, globalization has been defined as a process in which the world is increasingly connected and interdependent, and interdependence as such happens at all levels; individual, national, and in between (Paehlke).

As for the effect of globalization on the Arab World, some Arabs and Muslims view such phenomenon as an object to be feared of and a crucial issue that should be cautiously coped with as a major threat to tradition (Rubin, “Globalization and the Middle East”) and “consists of social, economic and political adjustments that people may embrace to epitomize their culture and incorporate it with the world” (Moussalli, “Impact of Globalization”).<sup>13</sup> According to Moussalli, many Arab conservative nationalists, fundamentalists, and “cultural trustees of the Arab World” have worries about the process of globalization since it “promotes integration of the world and calls for the removal of all cultural barriers”.

Although globalization has been seen by some as a vital process for imparting education and knowledge to the whole world, many Arabs still view globalization as a negative phenomenon which may damage their culture as a result of the cultural interpenetration. Rubin attributes the relative rejection of globalization in the Arab and Muslim Worlds to the political systems that govern the Middle East which seek to crystallize an anti-globalization conception to survive. Accordingly, the masses were

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<sup>13</sup> Moussalli, M. “*Impact of Globalization*”, Daily Star, August 25, 2003.  
<https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/162/27627.html>

convinced that anti-globalization means maintaining the Arab and Muslim identity and culture (Rubin, "Globalization and the Middle East").<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, the mass media is viewed today as a factor that plays a major role in supporting the process of globalization, resulting in a wide range of cultural interpenetration and exchange, allowing for tremendous flow of information between countries through the different means of media such as news, movies, music, advertisements, and television programmes.<sup>15</sup> Conversely, globalization has much to contribute to the development of media, and that is clear from the key role it has played in transforming media, particularly the visual media, from the nation-scoped broadcasting into the global scope and since the evolution of the satellite media facility; many satellite channels have started their broadcast targeting new audiences in different parts of the world. Kraidy argues that the advent of the satellite broadcasting in the Arab World has laid the ground for the Arab media to be a global media rather than Pan-Arab. By the same token, the technological breakthroughs in the recent years have opened the floodgate for media in the world in general and the Arab World, in particular, to spread beyond their narrow scope and therefore, reach every corner of the World. Under the umbrella of globalization, media has witnessed an unprecedented amount of change in terms of quantity, technology and modes (Bassiouney 1). The development in the field of media has rendered the vast globe a minor village and as a result, anything happens in any part of the world is known to the whole world thanks to the media and technology which transfer news in the blink of an eye.

As far as the Arab media is concerned, it has been said that the Arab regional system could absorb the effects of the globalization at the political and economic levels.

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<sup>14</sup> Rubin, Barry (16 January 2003). "Globalization and the Middle East: Part One". Yale Global <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/globalization-and-middle-east-part-one>

<sup>15</sup> Carolinamatos.com. "Globalization and The Mass Media |". N.p., 2015. Web. 22 Dec. 2015.

However, the media side of the globalization process has remained out of those systems' control.<sup>16</sup> Arab media has encountered many challenges, particularly with the rapid growth of technology and mass media communication tools which have led to evolving new instruments and mechanisms of hegemony. The technological development in the fields of communication and broadcasting along with the use of Internet as well as the integration of the information and communication sectors have given rise to complicating the Arab political regimes' task to dominate the media in the region. The process of commercialization of the Arab television in the 1990s in addition to the increase of the satellite channels have set the stage for the Arab media, as previously mentioned, to transfer from the stage of regionalization into the globalization domain. For example, the emergence of the international news-based satellite channels during the 1990s such as Aljazeera and Al Arabiya as well as some other similar channels, has pushed the process of the Arab media internationalization many steps ahead. The coverage of these channels to the hot events in the Middle East along with the monopoly of Aljazeera coverage of Afghanistan war in 2001 played a major role in the expansion and development of Arab media.

Nevertheless, Arab media has remained dependent on the Western media in a number of ways such as the dependency on information and communication technology, the flow of news and information, and even in the kinds of programmes and occasionally the styles of the Western media in presenting and producing their programmes, as is the case with some Western-imitated programmes, such as *Arab Got Talent*, *The Voice*, *Arab Idol*, *Star Academy*, and other similar programmes.

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.voltairenet.org/article149629.html>

### 3.5. Social media in the Arab World

The use of the social media networks has become recently among the most common activity of people's daily life worldwide. The various reports indicate that the social networks' users around the world are approximately two billion users; 1.5 billion of whom are *Facebook* users whereas the rest are scattered between *Twitter*, *WhatsApp*, and other kinds of social network tools.<sup>17</sup> Such dramatically-increased growth in the use of social media has broadly thrown its shadow on the different aspects of people's lives. Therefore, it is important to flash this newly-born phenomenon and its status in the Arab World. But before discussing the social media status in the Arab World, some definitions of the term 'social media' should be discussed for better understanding of the role played by the new media in the Arab society.

Social media has been widely defined by many scholars in many, but roughly similar, ways. Some regard it as a form of electronic communication which enables its users to share their experiences, images, information, messages, or any other content with people around the world. Others define social media as the collective of online communication tools through which people can create virtual communities and exchange ideas, information, and pictures with them. Similarly, Jue et al mention that "social media refers to the many relatively inexpensive and widely accessible electronic tools that enable anyone to publish and access information, collaborate on a common effort or build relationship" (4).

From these relatively similar definitions, it could be said that social media takes different forms based on internet interfaces such as blogging, social publishing, book marketing sites, discussion forums, media sharing networks, E-commerce, etc. Social

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<sup>17</sup> <http://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>

media, in many ways, differ from the conventional media since the users of social media can produce the content and disseminate it to the audience with a low cost. Another defining feature of social media is the interactivity, i.e., the user can receive feedback and comments from the targeted audience. According to the National Encyclopedia (2011), social media and traditional/conventional media differ from one another in some aspects; traditional media create a one-way communication, whereas in social media, people can interact, comment, and share their views and ideas. However, such idea could not be a definitive argument as in some TV programmes, the audience is allowed to interact and put forward their comments and ideas. In other words, the communication process could be bidirectional between the sender and receiver.

Social media has come into being as a strong player in all domains of life. Over the last years, the world has witnessed an increasing growth of technology which in turn resulted in the emergence of several electronic tools and technological apps that eased the process of connection and communication between people across the globe and made the news, information, and entertainment accessible more so than before. As of the year 2011, the use of social media in the Arab World has significantly increased with markedly major shifts in the usage trends. People have become more aware of the benefits of such new media in creating a real change in their lives. Consequently, social media has been perceived not as merely a tool of social communication or entertainment but as an instrument that penetrates the different aspects of people's lives whether in the Arab World or anywhere else influencing the way they are linked to each other, run their business, and the way they market their products through offering opportunities of launching inexpensive advertisements enabling them to interact with many customers around the world.

Turning to the impact of social media on societies, the pros and cons of such socially influential tool have been long debated by scholars. On the one hand, the proponents argue that such kind of media has availed people in many aspects of life; such as education, politics, economy and even medicine. They believe that social media has opened new horizons for people to freely express their thoughts, ideas and views. Moreover, they think that social media has immensely contributed to enhancing the social links between people as they have been allowed to be constantly connected with their relatives, friends, teachers and other relevant entities worldwide as well as its effectiveness in establishing new online friendships with people of different parts of the world.

On the economic level, the optimists think that social media has played a key role in developing the relationship between the business holders and the beneficiaries, the importers and exporters, the producers and the consumers. Such easily-accessed media has offered new opportunities to the suppliers and manufacturers to easily and inexpensively reach a wide range of consumers worldwide through propagating their products in the different social network sites. Social media has been regarded as one of the fastest ways to grow a business entity. It has also contributed to establishing “a company-to-consumer” communication in which a company directly connects to a consumer and introduces its products in an easy and inexpensive way.

In contrast, the cynics regard social media as shallow and arbitrary (Lisi 1240).<sup>18</sup> They view social media as time-consuming because most people spend much time browsing the various apps of social media, particularly with the advent of the smartphones and the other hand-held gadgets. Others express their concern about the

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<sup>18</sup> Review of “Twitter: Social Communication in the Twitter Age” by Dhiraj Murthy  
<http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/2258/924>

excessive use of online social networking saying that social media particularly *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* may create a gap in the real social relationships between people in terms of face-to-face interactions with friends and relatives. With the steep increases in the rates of social media usage over the past years, many studies document a growth in psychological problems particularly among children and young adults due to the excessive and uncontrolled use of social networking (Abdulahi, Samadi and Gharleghi 136). The individuals of this status might be isolated from the integration with the real world around them and instead, they live a large part of their lives in virtual communities communicating with virtual friends. In addition, they view that social media may sometimes get children exposed to offensive contents and sexual behaviours. The smartphones and other hand-held gadgets have made it easy for these contents to be ubiquitous in the blink of an eye, thanks to internet connection. The younger generation are more vulnerable to this phenomenon. In one of the surveys that addressed the effects of technology on youth, it has been found that more than 20% of teens have sent or posted nude or semi-nude photographs or videos of themselves.<sup>19</sup> It may also distract their attention from focusing on their study and therefore, reduce their school attainment. Substantial studies explain that adolescents use social media in large numbers and constantly spend a significant part of their time communicating with their friends through the different kinds of social media tools.

As far as the politics is concerned, social media has, on the one hand, undeniably played an instrumental role in challenging despotism, raising awareness among people about their rights, and bringing about the change that has redefined the political

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<sup>19</sup> “Sex and Tech: Results of a Survey of Teens and Young Adults”. *National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy*. Washington, DC: National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy; 2008. Available at: [www.thenationalcampaign.org/SEXTECH/PDF/SexTech\\_Summary.pdf](http://www.thenationalcampaign.org/SEXTECH/PDF/SexTech_Summary.pdf). Accessed July 16, 2014



landscaped of the whole World, not only the Arab World. On the other hand, some think that social media has contributed to destabilizing the whole region and dragged the Arab World into a swamp of turbulence and chaos.

The wind of the Arab Spring revolutions has blown from Tunisia in late 2010 when an underfoot fruit vendor set fire to himself in protest against the aggression practised over him by the local police. Such a tragic event had raised the indignation of people not only in Tunisia but in the whole region and marked the first flame that ignited the blaze of Arab Spring Revolutions. In fact, the whole world watched such dramatic events with feeling of inspiration, fascination, and awe – at the power of social media that triggered such change and the way they were employed in fanning the flame of the revolutions and flaring up the public sentiments in the Arab Spring countries, and also awe at the courage of people who inspired that transformational change and died for it.

### **3.6. Mass media and education**

Education has been considered as a fundamental element in the process of building nations and developing societies. Educational achievement is the touchstone of civilization, culture and progress of any country. It has been visualised as the effective engine that generates the motion of the process of the social and economic development. Such social and economic development mainly depends upon the quality of education, information, and knowledge imparted to the learners. It is believed that the development of societies starts from the development of the human being. Accordingly, school is viewed as the essential player in development where children learn to reflect critically (Matheson 8). In this contribution, Delors draws our attention to the four skills acquired by children at schools which are “learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be” (319).

Over the years, education has occupied the wide interest and the primary concern of the strategic planners and the decision makers of nations worldwide. It has been positioned on the top of the ultimate priorities of the long-term developmental process targeting the growth, welfare, and progress of the societies. Likewise, education has been viewed as the dependable and indispensable pillar upon which the progress and development rely, and also the desirable goal that all nations struggle to reach and achieve to realize a certain level of prosperity and welfare. Some scholars regard education as a dynamic process which constantly and progressively changes and develops throughout time.

In terms of quality of education, there is no doubt that all educational and instructional institutions strive to offer unique education which qualifies a high degree of quality integrating the recently emerged technologies that may push the process of education many steps ahead. Such educational institutions always emphasize the development of teaching and learning process through the ceaseless quest for the state-of-the-art technology which may be incorporated in the educational process.

As one of the widely used worldwide, media has attracted the attention of all those who are interested in education to integrate media into the educational process. A twining of media and education has been obvious in today's educational settings. The powerful advent of the new media and technology has brought about a dramatic change and a noticeable progress in the field of education and brought the utilization of the new technology to the centre of interest. It is unanimous among scholars that any study discussion about the quality of education in the present time is incomplete without matching media and technology to the process of education. It is widely believed that media has played a key role in socializing the whole world through the different media tools and outlets, such as TV, radio, magazines, newspapers, multimedia, social media,

Internet, and short documentaries, which have allowed people to attain the knowledge and information easily and timely. Such media tools have very much to contribute to raise people's educational, political, economic, social, and cultural awareness. Social media could be also a constructive element for improving knowledge, understanding, attitudes, skills, and even the way people think about themselves and subsequently the world around them. The access to unique standards of education has been linked to the more-suited exploitation of the state-of-the-art technology to be subservient to the teaching and learning process. It could be said that the use of technological instrumental tools may substantially contribute to the progress of the educational development and therefore, the access to a unique educational system.

As for the use of media in education, Reeves draws our attention to two essential approaches for employing media and technology in the learning process. He says:

There are two major approaches to using media and technology in schools. First, students can learn "from" media and technology, and second, they can learn "with" media and technology. Learning "from" media and technology is often referred to in terms such as instructional television, computer-based instruction, or integrated learning systems. Learning "with" technology is referred to in terms such as cognitive tools and constructivist learning environments. (1)

It is widely believed that television and computer have become essential elements in the contemporary education from which students can attain the required knowledge and information. Although television's role in the contemporary educational process is highly recognized, a little bit attention has been paid by the Arab countries in terms of launching special satellite channels which broadcast instructional programmes with the exclusion of some Arab countries. Egypt is among the few Arab

states which earmarked some satellite channels for instructional programmes. By the same token, TV, radio, computer, and other kinds of media could be serviceable tools which may help students uniquely learn and attain their knowledge.

Over the recent years, especially with the increasing growth of the technological development, many schools have launched the use of media in their educational programmes seeking to provide unique education driven by their belief that media has a greatly positive effect on the students' proficiency and attainment. In this context, Kozma says:

Learning is not simply a passive response to instruction's "delivery." Rather, learning is an active, constructive, cognitive, and social process by which the learner strategically manages available cognitive, physical, and social resources to create new knowledge by interacting with information in the environment and integrating it with information stored in memory.<sup>20</sup>

By learning with media, Kozma means the interaction that takes place between a learner and a medium in order for acquiring certain knowledge. Given these points, media has two major manifestations as regards their applications to education; the first is the use of media and its different outlets as a source of attaining knowledge and information, and the second is the use of media as an instrumental aid to the educational process.

In fact, media and education have been recently regarded as intertwined entities and an inseparably integrated unit because the unique education cannot take place apart

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<sup>20</sup> The source is without page numbers. The following link provides more details.  
[http://www.ala.org/aasl/sites/ala.org.aasl/files/content/aaslpubsandjournals/slr/edchoice/SLMQ\\_InfluenceofMediaonLearning\\_InfoPower.pdf](http://www.ala.org/aasl/sites/ala.org.aasl/files/content/aaslpubsandjournals/slr/edchoice/SLMQ_InfluenceofMediaonLearning_InfoPower.pdf)

from the use of the new media and technology in the different school programmes. The use of media and technology in education has made the learners creative, active, and more efficient. It has brought the entertainment and enjoyment to the classrooms and also facilitated the task of teachers in getting the knowledge imparted to the learners easily and in an attractive fashion. According to Dash, educational institutions alone cannot achieve the objectives without the support of media such as radio and television. He adds that the effectiveness of a piece of information depends upon the medium through which it is imparted (158).

Having discussed that, it could be said that the use of media in education can help in presenting knowledge and lessons to learners in an attractive and enjoyable manner that leads to better comprehension and therefore, improving their proficiency and attainment. However, media cannot supersede the role of teacher. Rather, media may further the teacher's efforts and set the stage for achieving the goals of education in constructing a developed society in short time and less effort.

### **3.7. Role of media in Arab societies development**

The question of what factors that may affect the progress of the development in a country has been the primary concern of the economists, strategic planners, and decision makers over the years. The dominant presence of media in the recent years has stimulated many scholars and economists to conduct a countless number of studies to navigate the potential of media in developing the economies of nations.

Before discussing the vital role of media in the development process in the world in general and the Arab World in particular, it is essential first to shed light on the concept of the term *development* to set the tone for understanding the nature of the tight relationship between media and economic development. It is widely known that the term *development* has been synonymously connected to the economic, social, and

political change of societies. All countries across the globe have been labelled, in term of development, into different categories; under-developed, less-developed, developing, and developed countries. The countries' development is annually rated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) based on their Human Development Index (HDI), which is a statistic that indicates some living standards such as per capita income, education, life expectancy, healthcare, among others. In other words, human development of any nation encompasses the various aspects of the citizens' welfare ranging from their rights of education and healthcare to their rights to practice all political and economic activities. According to Seers, development is not only the economic growth but also the accessibility to food, education, and jobs as well as the income equality among people (qtd. in Mabogunje 35).

The above explanation gives a clear illustration that the development is the appropriate exploitation of the human resources to serve the humans themselves to relieve the intensity of the poverty and ignorance and instead raise the level of people's living. In other words, people are the means and target of the development process. Sulemana summarizes the definition of the term *development* as the state's ability to raise its human resources for the sake of attaining a high level of production for the welfare of its citizens.

As for the media's contribution to the development process, it is commonly believed that the media sector in any country is essential since the economic and developmental growth never takes place without effective media which contributes to building the nations through the production and dissemination of knowledge and raising the level of multifaceted awareness among the members of society *en masse*.

Since individual is the means and the target of any development process, as previously stated, the efforts should be ramped up by the media to uplift the level of

educational awareness among people through producing and disseminating the proper knowledge that might contribute to reducing the rates of illiteracy which is regarded as the main hindrance to the development process. Many scholars attribute the development of nations to the high level of education that people hold, which may be enhanced by media and technology. Media, therefore, could be the tool which creates and disseminates knowledge among societies and the engine that pushes the wheels of development process further ahead. According to Locksley, the process of creating and disseminating knowledge is thought to be a key factor in the process of development where media acts as an instrumental means of sharing knowledge. Thus, media could be regarded as a driving force of the economic growth of the states without which the development process remains stagnant.

As a business model, media has been recently involved in producing a chunk of contents; movies, plays, serials, documentaries, advertisements, soap operas etc, which in turn have generated substantial income flows and provide ample of job opportunities that contribute directly to the growth of the economy. Some scholars believe that the development triggered by media depends upon the relevance of the content presented in the different media platforms which should be meaningful and accessible to a large part of society and disseminated in formats that all social groups can understand.

According to some reports, the global gross revenues of content production as a business activity in 2007 estimated at \$ 1,620 million (“Opportunities in Media”). For this reason, several developing countries, including some Arab countries, boost substantial film production sectors. Locksley states that the animation sector in Philippine employs 7000 individuals and the sector film production in India has a turnover of more than \$ 350 billion (12). Another report mentions that in the last two

decades, India has witnessed an increasing growth in the film industry appearing as “one of the fastest growing sectors” in the country (“Management Discussion” 12).

As for the Arab World, the media industry has been the focus of many of the businessmen across the region. The massive revolution of media and technology which has invaded the entire globe, including the Arab World, has opened new horizons of business opportunities especially with the advent of satellite facilities. Consequently, many of private and public satellite channels of different domains of interest; news, documentaries, sport, religion, drama, culture, education etc, have launched the broadcast of multiple programmes targeting a wide range of audience worldwide. Such manifold satellite channels along with other media platforms, of course, have positively upheld the economic sector of the Arab countries. It is commonly held that the economic significance of media industry in any society could be measured by the positive contribution to GDP (Gross Domestic Product). In a study about the creative industries in the Arab World, Harabi concludes that Lebanon appeared as the first among all Arab countries in the creative industries such as publishing books, producing music, film production, and even producing software utilities followed by Jordan, Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt (10).<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that the political turbulence caused by the cascading revolutions against the Arab regimes in the region during the last six years has significantly influenced the media industry. The Arab Media Outlook 2010-2015 Report indicates that such political and security instability in some parts of the Arab region has heavily weighed on all types of investment including media industry and shaken the investors’ trust to initiate business pursuits in this field.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Harabi, Najib. "Creative Industries: Case Studies from Arab Countries." (2009).  
<http://mpa.ub.uni-muenchen.de/15628/>

<sup>22</sup> Arab media outlook 2010-2015  
<http://www.arabmediaforum.ae/userfiles/EnglishAMO.pdf>



However, media remains one of the strong players in the economic growth and development not only in the Arab region but in the entire globe.

### **3.8. Political role of the media in the Arab World**

As a powerful tool of communication in today's world, media has proved to be as essential as our daily necessities and needs, and as an indispensable part of our lives. Ever since their emergence, media has exerted huge influences whether at the level of individuals or the "macro-level entities such as the public, society, and institutions" (Potter 37). Media plays a key role in creating and shaping the public opinions and lays the foundation for the political beliefs besides their remarkable role in strengthening the inter-personal relationships among people. Moreover, media has strong potential to create radical changes in societies as they influence the social, political, cultural, and economic aspects of people's lives.

Until recently, media has been merely a tool of transforming news and disseminating information, but due to the rapid development of media and the remarkable emergence of the Internet-based applications, media has become a transformational tool which has the potential of toppling regimes and maintaining others. Some scholars view media as a sword arm of democracy. For this reason, they view media as a "watchdog" of the political and democratic process that protects the public interest from malpractice besides their effective role in raising the level of people's political and social awareness as they show the masses what is right and what is wrong in every walk of life. In reference to the role of media in watching the politics, Perse mentions that it is through media people have become more aware of the different political and economic issues. He says:

Through its surveillance function, mass communication watches, monitors, and reports on political matters. It is through the mass media

that most people learn about political issues, assess which issues are important, and gauge which positions are endorsed by the majority. (84)

It is assumed that the various media platforms should effectively contribute to raising people's ability to realize the truth and reality. Nevertheless, the media sometimes serves as a fabricated-news maker by overlaying the truth with much amount of falsehood. In today's media-saturated world, it has become a fact that people are constantly deceived by much fabricated contents and news presented on the different platforms of media wherein the announcers, commentators and producers of such news and contents have the immense abilities to delude people by making what is right seems as wrong and what is wrong seems as right. People are also negatively affected by the frequent and inescapable exposure to the contents of certain kinds of media messages such as hatred discourse, violence, negative stereotypes, sexual images, sensational news, deceptive advertisements, offensive contents etc. Along similar lines, Potter argues that media exerts influence on the cognitive, behavioural, psychological, and belief aspects of individuals. According to him, the frequent exposure to the media messages influences the individual's mental and attitudinal processes as they constantly "create and shape our beliefs by showing us more of the world than we are able to see directly by ourselves" (Potter 41). Therefore, media could be considered as a double-edged sword which may educate people and lead them to reality or deceive them by getting them exposed to an abundance of false news for promoting political or ideological agendas.

On the other hand, it is agreed that the constant media campaigns may put pressure on the policymakers to get them revise their decisions in consonance with the mainstream of the public interest. In this context, many studies indicate that the policymakers often respond to media coverage and public opinion, and accordingly,

they set their strategic plans and take their decisions (qtd. in Koch-Baumgarten, Sigrid, and Voltmer 2).

As for the media practicability in politics, Aday et al summarize the uses of new media in politics as follows; giving consumers an opportunity to be involved in the process and publicizing news, diminishing the role of conventional media, and paving the way for activism and political participation (3).

In the recent years, people have become more aware of the political issues that surround them thanks to the various media outlets which regularly provide them with the recent news of the different political events. The proliferation of the new media tools has provided a space for what is called “citizen media” that enable their users to generate and then disseminate their self-produced contents and messages online easily and in a cheap manner (Aday et al 4). Such self-generated media contents are often blogs, wikis, discussion forums, posts, chats, videos, advertisements, photos, and so on. The proliferation of the new media and the ability to produce the media content have reduced the conventional media’s monopolization of the news and information disseminated to people in many stances on the ground of the political, cultural, and ideological beliefs of their producers.

Over the last years, Arab media has had a significant and undeniable contribution to the political and social changes that have strongly stormed the Arab World in the recent years. The advent of hundreds of Arab satellite channels along with the accelerated growth of the new media has laid the ground for this change. The channels’ autonomy that enabled them to broadcast their programmes away from the governments’ censorship was also another factor in creating that change. Some of these channels showed a high degree of alignment to the public issues. Aljazeera is one of these channels which have aroused the Arab nation’s vigilance through its series of the

controversial programmes such as *'The Opposite Direction'* (*Al ittijah Al muaakis*) 'الإتجاه المعاكس', *'Without Borders'* 'بلا حدود' and some other similar programmes which constantly cover the different hotly-debated issues. Some scholars compare Arab media to political parties as they express what people think, especially with regard to politics and occasionally instigate the Arab people for uprising and demonstrations, influencing in many times the behaviour of the political regimes (Hafiz 322).

As the most trusted source of news, Aljazeera has succeeded to inspire the Arab people to take on the despotism of the Arab political regimes which have harnessed all media outlets for consolidating their grip on people. For instance, *'The Opposite Direction'*, the most arguably dialogue-based programme which is widely regarded as Aljazeera's flagship introduced by the controversial anchor, *Faisal Al-Kasim*, continues to touch on many of the political issues that instigate the Arabs against the authoritarian regimes and exceptionally generate emotional reaction throughout the Arab World (Al Kasim 93). A programme as such along with some similar ones managed to create a belief of the necessity of overthrowing such despotic regimes in the Arab World.

Although many of Arab television channels launched the broadcast of their programmes on terrestrial-based stations decades ago, the live talk shows were always kept off the air as the government-run TV stations thought that talking about political issues in public is unnerving and may cause a lot of criticism on the political and economic policies of governments (Al Kasim 93). According to him, all televised materials, including viewer request programmes, were presented canned and ready-produced (93). Such a long-time media policy paralyzed the real task of media which is deblurring facts and removing the overlay that hinders sighting the truth.

Back to the role of media in politics, it is known that any political or military conflict is always associated with media war through which each faction portrays the

truth and events in accordance with its own agendas to influence the public opinion. For example, the Syrian official media run by Bashar Al Asad regime would like the world to see Al Asad's opponents, irrespective of their different political and ideological backgrounds, as terrorists and seeks to tell the world that Al Asad regime is in a sacred duty to save Syria and the entire world from such terrorists. Similarly, the opposition would like the world to see Al Asad regime as aggressive, brutal, barbarian, and inhumane which kills the Syrians over the nights and throughout the days for the sake of power. Whereas the Syrian regime attempts to control the conventional media and conveys its messages through the press conferences, the field reports, and the news, the opposition uses the different platforms of new media such as *YouTube*, *Facebook*, *Twitter*, blogs, and so on to provide real-time footages and news of the brutal acts committed by Al Asad regime. Such confrontation makes media as a battle field in which fierce fighting takes place between the warring factions.

As seen from the above explanation, the media has a serious role to play in the people's political life through reshaping their thoughts, beliefs, and opinions. All political systems regard media as the stiff underpinning upon which their political regimes are positioned and the tool of formulating the public opinion that consolidates their political stands. Therefore, the influence of media is apparent in different political manifestations such as elections, referendums, demonstrations, protest movements, and the intra-conflict as well.

### **3.9. Role of the Arab satellite channels in the Arab Spring Revolutions**

Media is no longer, as commonly said, the fourth power, but due to its effective role in redefining societies, media has become the first and strongest power that can destabilize the thrones of the despotic and autocratic regimes, change the social, cultural and political attitudes, shape thoughts and minds, redefine the political map of societies,

and formulate the public opinions for certain agendas. For many, media is not just an influential factor but an event maker.

The recent political events have made the visual broadcast media as essential as the daily necessities for a considerable part of the Arab population. Many studies have revealed that TV is considered the oft-watched medium and prime source of getting news and entertainment. In fact, TV, among all other media tools in the Arab World, occupies the place of honour in the list of the political news sources. Some researchers have described the increasing development of the media in the Arab World as a new revolution against the traditional fashion of media which has remained for decades celebrating the political regimes and depicting their failures as commendable achievements availing from the absence of the counter media which may reveal the faults of such corrupt political regimes.

Over the years, the Arab media has been utilized for cementing the existence of the political regimes in the Arab World rather than casting light on the development and social issues such as illiteracy, poverty, the increasing rate of the unemployment among the youth, and some other society-related issues such as educating people, enhancing the cultural, health, the low rate of female education, and social values of the Arab societies. Unfortunately, the Arab political regimes have converted all kinds of media, TV stations, Radio stations, newspapers, news agencies into bugles and tools for advancing their political agendas and reaching their goals. The newspapers editors, broadcasters, and directors have turned into brushes for cleaning the dust of the political regimes idealizing the Arab leaders introducing them as the saviours of their nations to the extent that someone said “Egypt was born on Mubarak’s birthday” (Owais 9).<sup>23</sup> The

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<sup>23</sup> Mohammed Hosni Mubarak is the former President of Egypt. He served as a President from 1981 to 2011. Mubarak was thrown from power in the wake of January 25, 2011 revolution which came within the Arab spring revolutions started in Tunisia.

absence of the private channels along with the weakness of the opponents' voices of the Arab political regimes also have exacerbated the situation and made the state-run media dominate the scene for decades. The commercialization of the Arab media had come to set the Arab media free from this long dominance and therefore, many satellite channels started to broadcast their programmes siding with the public causes, adopting their demands of freedom and real democracy, and paving the way for the eruption of the Arab Spring Revolutions in early 2011.

On the other hand, much debate has been recently raised about the crucial role and undeniable impact of the various types of media on the Arab Spring Revolutions. When the wind of change started blowing on the Arab region from Tunisia in the early 2011 and then extended to strike other Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria, Libya, and Yemen, most of the Arab satellite news channels and few of international channels went in a harmony with the direction of this blustery wind and showed a clear bias to the agendas of these revolutions. According to some media insiders, such partiality has come as a kind of compensation for their long-time celebration of the despotic and autocratic regimes.

The conducted studies after the Arab spring events indicate that media had a remarkable contribution to sparking and fanning the flame of these uprisings. The partial coverage of some Arab TV channels helped the activists and revolutionists to convey their messages to the whole world. In a study about the contribution of the news-based channels to instigating the flame of the Arab Spring Revolutions, Lahlali indicates that Aljazeera and some other channels set the stage for the Arab Spring Revolutions before their eruption. Just before their eruption, most of Aljazeera's media coverage focused on the human rights issues, people's rights to freedom of expression, and the democracy-related news and reportages as well as supporting the voiceless

opposition in the Middle East and Arab World countries (32). The wide interest of Aljazeera on such certain topics in that specific period of time echoed the channel's desire in creating a political change in the region which absolutely did not conform to the agendas of the political regimes. The study also indicates that unlike Aljazeera, Al Arabiya, the Saudi-owned news channel, focused more on the political issues in its coverage before the revolutions turning a blind eye to the human rights and democracy-related issues in the Arab World, the matter that reflects the channel's opposition to those strong change movements which were steadily getting increased as time passed. The dominant presence of the Islamic-based movements, namely, the Muslim Brotherhood, in the revolutions was one of the reasons underlying Al Arabiya's opposition. Therefore, the channel's coverage was much more focused on the wars in the Middle East, terrorism, and violence issues in the Arab World in a clear reference to linking such events to those movements. The study also revealed that Al Hurra news channel followed the line of Aljazeera channel and most of its media coverage concentrated on the human rights and democracy-related issues in the Arab World which also mirrored the channel's desire for the political change in the region. Unlike Aljazeera, Al Hurra channel showed clear partiality towards the Syrian revolution more than any other part of the Arab Spring countries as a demonstration of its desire for dethroning Al Asad's regime in Syria. Its coverage for the war in Libya was not sufficient due to its fears from the Islamists' dominance after the collapse of Al-Qaddafi regime.

Social media, on the other hand, has played a key role during the revolutions. It has topped all other kinds of media in mobilizing masses and organizing the protest movements. The substantial access to social media in the countries of the Arab Spring, particularly Egypt and Tunisia, contributed to the birth and proliferation of the protest



movements. It has also created less-confined political spaces, ushered in establishing inter-movements connections, and contributed to publicizing the cause on a large scale to gain support from the global community (Eltantawi and Wiest 2007).

### **3.10. Arab media and public awareness**

As has been referred to above, media is thought to be a wealthy source of information, entertainment, and news that makes people remain constantly updated with all events around them. The relationship between media and society is steady and inseparable in many ways. Such firm and inseparable nature of the relationship between media and society has made it an effective contributor to moulding peoples' lives in many ways. In today's world, people are no longer able to control their lives or to bring up their children the way they desire because their attitudes and behaviours are framed based on what they watch, listen, and read throughout their daily life.

Media, ranging from newspaper and magazine through TV, radio, cinema, to social media, has become far and away responsible for forming the human consciousness and awareness in both the developed and the developing countries. If there is a distinction, it remains only in the tools used for the process of forming the human being mind and thought by virtue of the technological gap between the developed and developing worlds. If it was said in the past that the human is the son of his environment; it could be said in the present time, the human has become the son of media which greatly crystallizes his conducts, thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes. The modern media outlets, particularly, TV, Cinema, *YouTube*, *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *WhatsApp*, etc. have all become the main shapers of peoples' behaviours.

It is clear that our lives today have become media-oriented, as the daily exposure to the torrent of the media contents and outputs greatly impact our lifestyles whether at the individual or social levels. In this context, Perse asserts the great effects of media

on society and also differentiates between two kinds of media effects; cognitive and behavioural. By the cognitive effects, Perse means the ones related to the acquisition of information, i.e., what people learn and how the beliefs of the society are structured or restructured in minds. On the other hand, Perse shows that the behavioural effects are the actions associated with the media exposure and affect the behaviours of people.

Based on such significant status of media in society, media plays a responsible role in generating and raising the public awareness of people about different issues. It is widely believed that the high level of public awareness leads to creating a real development. When people, the backbone of the development process, are adequately aware of their duties and obligations towards building a good society, the wheel of the development of such society would move ahead steadily and smoothly. The developed countries would not have been as such without the joint efforts made by the media and the governments for raising the degree of the public awareness of the different issues linked to people's lives.

Media is expected to disseminate and broadcast what is bound to help in making up an ideal society whose members are of a high level of awareness of their rights and duties. The power of the media in mobilizing the masses towards certain issues may get the governments stand on their toes. It is said that media is considered as the watchdog and the overseer of the governments' performance the matter which helps in creating a good sphere of political transparency and provides suitable spaces of democratic practices. As seen above, the locus of the media power lies in its potential to create a radical change in societies through changing the way people think and perceive the world around them, and also through modifying their cultural, political, religious, and economic tenets.

As far as education is concerned, media appears as a strong element of enhancing the general awareness of the young generation through motivating them to pursue their education. Through its constant campaigns linked to raising awareness, media should target all social constituents, kids, youths, adults, aged people, men, women, etc, to get them adequately enlightened about the importance of the process of education and its crucial role in the societies' development.

On the political level, some commercial media institutions managed to foster a sense of political debate, encouraging the dialogue between all political spectrums, especially in the conflict-torn countries. In this contribution, Lahlali indicates that some Arab TV channels contributed to raising the awareness of the *status quo* in the Arab World. Media also plays a key role in raising the awareness of maintaining the cultural identity of nations. The importance of maintaining the nation's identity is not a newly established interest but deeply seated in history. For example, Azzi mentions that during the French colonization of Algeria, Ibn Badis, in an attempt to raise awareness of the importance of Islamic culture and identify, launched his first newspaper "*al-montaqid*" which did not last for a long time because it was banned by the French colonization in the year of its inception. Likewise, different organizations and entities made great efforts in raising the public awareness among the Algerian society during the course of the French colonization, motivating them to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity which was ruthlessly targeted by the French colonizers. Algerian *Muslim Ulama*' Association was among these organizations which tried to contribute in this regard through launching its newspaper "*El-Bashair*" targeting the Algerian society through its successive issues. The main goal of this newspaper was to enlighten the Algerian society about the importance of safeguarding and preserving their Islamic and national identity (Lahlali 22).

In the meantime, the contribution of the Arab media to raising the public awareness is often focused on the political issues that have been the primary concern of the media not only in the Arab World but across the world. Many programmes in different satellite channels have been dedicated to discussing some political issues related to the ramifications of the Arab Spring Revolutions. For example, Aljazeera, the-around-the-clock news channel, mainly focuses on raising the political and democratic awareness of the Arab people through its diverse programmes. Such more focus on the political and democratic issues has considerably contributed to creating anti-government sentiments among the Arab people which eventually resulted in the eruption of the Arab Spring Revolutions. Some believe that Aljazeera played a key role in engineering the rise of the Arab Spring Revolutions which ended up with toppling some of the Arab regimes, that stayed in power for decades, and devastating civil wars, especially in Syria, Libya, and Yemen. Through such heated programmes, Aljazeera placed itself as a counter force to the despotic political regimes in the Arab World which defied any attempt of political change in the region.

On the other hand, Al Arabiya appears as one of the active channels in the region. Many followers regard launching Al Arabiya as an attempt to undermine the pioneering and prominent role of Aljazeera whose most programmes focus on the democratic and political transformations in the Arab World, which is not welcomed by the Saudi regime ever since its inception in 1996. Some supporters of Al Arabiya media policy claims that the channel's vision is to offer "alternative Arab news outlet governed by reasoned and responsible freedom", without being involved in the controversial issues often discussed by Aljazeera, its strong rival (Lahlali 109). Some Arabs go cynical about the aims and objectives of Al Arabiya and refer it as '*al-ibriya*' (the Hebrew channel) in a reference to its rivalry and hostility to the political Islam,

particularly the Muslim Brotherhood Movement. Such hostility conspicuously surfaced during the coup conducted by the Egyptian Army against the legally elected president, Mursi, who happened to be a member of that movement, when both Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates explicitly supported the leaders of the coup by funding the back-to-back protest campaigns against him till the Brigadier Sisi-led coup succeeded in eliminating the movement from the power and put its leaders behind bars including the President, Mursi. Al Arabiya has a wide range of programmes but the primary concern of the channel is centred on the terrorism-related issues which, according to its perspective, may pose a real threat to the Gulf countries and the entire world. For example, *Sinā't al mout*, 'death Industry', is a weekly programme which extensively discusses the issues of terrorism. It addresses the issues of terrorism in the Arab and Muslim World from different angles, considering different religious, economic, social, and political explanations of this phenomenon (Lahlali 113). Some Arab viewers also regard Al Arabiya's excessive focus on the terrorism in the Middle East as a sort of appeasement to the American policy which tries to depict the Middle East and the Arab World as a source of the terrorism proliferation across the world.

### **3.11. Media effect on the Arab culture**

Before discussing the relationship between media and culture, it is important to cast light on the definition of the term *culture* in addition to its significance as a tool for defining societies. In fact, both scholars and thinkers have extensively defined the term *culture* in a number of ways based on different perspectives and views. For example, Edward Burnett Tylor, a prominent nineteenth-century English anthropologist, defines culture as "a complex collection of knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Mathew Arnold also defines culture as "contact with the best which has been thought and said

in the world” (qtd. in Lakhendra 65). A modern definition is given by William A. Haviland when he defines culture as “a set of rules or standards shared by members of a society which, when acted upon by the members, produce behaviour that falls within a range of variation the members consider proper and acceptable” (qtd. in Roger and Lester 83). From all aforesaid definitions, it could be said that culture is a set of shared attitudes, values, behaviours, beliefs, norms, goals and practices that characterize an organization, institution or a group of people.<sup>24</sup> The collection of these values and norms followed in a certain community reflects and displays its unique identity. Through practising an exclusive set of traditions, a community gains its identity and unique character that makes it a different community among others across the world. Consequently, it is not uncommon that people coming from a particular culture exhibit distinguished habits and behaviours that make them different from others.

As far as media is concerned, people in this increasingly digital world have become largely dependent on the technology-enhanced media for getting information, entertainment, knowledge, or even to access to other cultures. It is also indisputable that the relationship between media, society, and culture is firm and interconnected since no single society can develop without strong media and a unique culture. Media plays a key role in either constructing or destructing the societies’ cultures. It is believed that the cultures of societies have become a reflection of the streaming images frequently displayed in different platforms of the media. Our lives have become under the substantial impact of the images we are exposed to everywhere; on billboards, in magazines, on bus placards, on TV, on the screen of our laptops and mobiles, in our living rooms, in the juice mixer we want to buy, on the box of the shaver etc. They are seductive and compelling enough that we cannot avert our eyes from watching them.

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<sup>24</sup> <https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Culture>

In a reference to the powerful role of media and its impact on the societies cultures, Allen Ginsberg states that “whoever controls the media – the images – controls the culture”. Every society, irrespective of its size and population, has certain social norms, values, and traditions which govern the lives of its members and also organize their interrelationships, and therefore, constitute their culture and identity. Media helps cultures to interact with each other in a top-to-bottom process, where the more powerful culture affects the less powerful one and may in some instances abolish its features, and that is very clear in the developing countries where the indigenous cultures have started in the evanescence. The younger generations of these societies are more susceptible to the overwhelming influence of the media contents due to their fondness of the lifestyle of the West and the developed countries in general as well as the overexposure to the media contents prepared for disseminating the cultural features of these societies. Therefore, the concepts of culture, media, and society are closely related and each one affects the other in many ways.

Along with media, globalization has also immensely contributed to eliminating or at least blurring the cultural boundaries and created a state of cultural interpenetration. The local cultures of societies have been, in many ways, delocalized and therefore, overlapped in a way that laid the ground for the emergence of what could be regarded as a hybrid culture that is shared between different societies. The massive proliferation of media, especially the cinema contents, has set the tone for the process of the cultural hybridization. As a result, many societies have raised an alert on their cultures and identities which have come face to face with a real danger due to the unsystematic and uncontrolled flux of the media materials creeping ruthlessly towards their indigenous cultures and pose a potential threat to their identities. Hollywood and Bollywood, the most well-known producers of movies oft-watched in the Arab World,

are held to have played a key role in disseminating many of the cultural values of the West to the Arab World. Therefore, the increasing proliferation of media and technology in the recent years has set the stage for the Western culture to penetrate the developing societies posing a real threat to their identities and indigenous cultures which have started in fade-out, as already mentioned. Media has enabled the people of the developing societies to see and follow those of the developed ones; how they live, what they eat, what/how they speak, where/how they spend their vacations and holidays, what kind of relationship they establish etc. Their attitudes towards their culture have negatively changed and they started to think that their culture does not conform to the modern age. It has been said that our minds and thoughts are merely products of what we see and hear around us. Accordingly, what we see and hear has a profound effect on what we do in our daily life; how we feel, what we believe, and more importantly who we are.<sup>25</sup>

In the Arab World, the Arab viewers have become considerably distracted by the media contents presented by a sizeable number of TV satellite channels which broadcast different kinds of programmes; news, drama, religion, sport, music, marketing, tourism, etc. In the light of the competition between these different Arab satellite channels to attract the masses' interest, many Arab satellite channels have rushed to emulate the Western model of presenting their programmes believing that such kind of simulation is an effective way to grab the viewers' attention and get their admiration. Many Arab satellite channels have also sought to idealize the Western lifestyles which are absolutely not consistent with their culture, values and traditions. As a result, many of the Arab people have been affected by such contents, especially

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<sup>25</sup> Mike Parkinson, The Power of Visual Communication  
<http://billiondollargraphics.com/infographics.html>

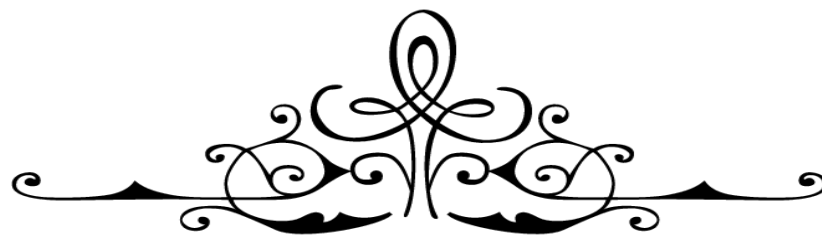


the adolescences whose values and identity have been crushed by the powerful and sweeping tide of the cultural invasion coming from out of their cultural borders.

### **3.12. Conclusion**

Generally speaking, media has changed the socio-political and cultural structure of the world. Some nations have developed while others have collapsed and the media, of course, is held responsible for such changes as a major influential factor in both cases. The developed nations employ the media coverage and discourse for educating public and raising the level of their awareness at all levels. On the other hand, both globalization and the rapid growth of technology have created a new era of media space which has blurred the lines of demarcation between media and audience, and accordingly, transferred media from the localization into the internationalization.

Furthermore, the evolution of the new media has marked a turning point in the development process of socializing media since this kind of media has occupied a big part of people's interest from among all other kinds of media. Social media has appeared not only as a means of communication between people but as a potential power that can change societies at the political and economic levels. The Arab Spring Revolutions along with the transformational political changes that have hit the region recently imply the powerful role of social media and demystify how they can change the political and cultural map of societies.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

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## **METHODOLOGY**

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## CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

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#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with presenting the various methods and techniques employed in conducting the research. It comprises the research methods and design, the size of the research community, the sample size, the strategy followed in selecting the sample, the tools of data collection, as well as the statistical tools and the mechanism employed for analyzing the data. It also gives some details about the sample selected from among the research community of the study and explains the reasons for selecting the five Arab Satellite Channels. The constituents of the sample; the five Arab TV channels along with their broadcasters and viewers, are discussed in this chapter in detail.

Since this study is sociolinguistic in nature, it is basically framed based on the theory of diglossia proposed by Ferguson (1959) which regards Arabic as a typical example of diglossia where two varieties are used side by side in two different social contexts within the same speech community. Some linguists disagree with the dichotomous distribution of Arabic and argue that Arabic has different levels rather than two, as put forth by Ferguson. For example, Badawi (1973) divides Arabic into five levels;

- 1) *fusha ḥatturāθ* فصحى التراث 'Heritage Classical': which is the language of the Holy *Qur'an* and the pre-Islamic poetry.
- 2) *fusha ḥal ḥaṣr* فصحى العصر 'Contemporary Classical': this level of Arabic could be compared to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) which is the modified and simplified version of Classical Arabic.
- 3) *ḥammīyat al-muḥaqqafīn*, عامية المثقفين 'Colloquial of Educated': This level also might be compared to what is referred to as Educated Spoken Arabic.

- 4) *Ṣāmmīyat al-mutanawwirīn* عامية المتورين ‘Colloquial of the Enlightened’: which is spoken by less educated people.
- 5) *Ṣāmmīyat al-ḡummīyyīn*, عامية الأميين ‘Colloquial of the Illiterates’: This level represents the pure Colloquial Arabic which is commonly spoken by the common people.

However, the study focuses only on three levels of Arabic; MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic. Based on the theory of diglossia, media is a typical domain for MSA, for being the High variety of Arabic.

Furthermore, the chapter presents the theories applied to the analysis of the collected data. Due to the convergence between diglossia and diglossic switching, which is the alternation of two languages or varieties of the same language inside and outside of sentences, it is worth mentioning that Matrix Language Frame (MLF) developed by Myers-Scotton (1993) is applied in this study. Myers-Scotton’s MLF model is viewed as an abstract theoretical model, but it has been widely used to examine the linguistic contact phenomenon among a variety of languages since its emergence in 1993. The main principle of this theory is the distinction between Matrix Language, the dominant into which elements from the embedded language are inserted, and Embedded Language, the less important language whose elements are inserted into the surrounding Matrix Language. The application of this model theory is likely to help in making a distinction between the varieties of Arabic and identifying the dominant variety/varieties widely used on the TV channels under investigation. It is also likely to facilitate the observation of the Arabic varieties alternation made by the speakers at the inter- and intra-sentential levels.

## 4.2. Research methods and design

The study basically depends on the descriptive, analytical, and observational approaches. It is mainly designed to answer the research questions through which we try to explore the variety widely used in the Arab media represented by the five Arab TV channels selected as a sample for the study in addition to demystifying the reasons for the choice of the different forms of Arabic. Initially, it could be assumed that several reasons underlie the choice of Arabic varieties in the Arab World, not only in the media context but in all conversational settings. Suleiman states that the choice of Arabic varieties in the Arab speech community is not only governed by their functional distribution but it has a political association since MSA serves as a symbol of the Arab unity and identity (qtd. in Aoun, Benmamoun, and Choueiri 2). The approaches utilized in the research are essentially based on adequate and accurate information about the phenomenon of diglossic code switching in the Arab satellite channels for obtaining practical results. To that end, different methods and techniques have been employed through which the answers to the research questions have been obtained. As for the data collection, the researcher utilized some tools and techniques such as questionnaires and video downloads. Two close-ended questionnaires were designed targeting some broadcasters and viewers of the Arab satellite channels to measure their attitudes about the use of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of these channels. The questionnaires were categorized into different sections that addressed the settings of the broadcasters and the viewers. For example, the broadcasters' questionnaire was divided into sections related to the training and qualification which, of course, affect, either positively or negatively, the linguistic performance of the broadcasters. In addition, it contained the social and psychological sections which were meant to reveal the extent of these factors influence on the use of both varieties, MSA and Colloquial Arabic. The

questionnaire of the viewers focused only on the social and psychological factors. Both questionnaires were mainly designed to answer the fourth question of this study which is related to the attitudes of the broadcasters and viewers towards the use of the Arabic varieties in the different programmes of the channels. Video downloads was another method used for collecting the data of the research where some episodes of the select programmes were downloaded from the official websites of the five channels. These videos were meant to answer the first three questions. The analysis of the downloaded videos was based on the observation of the researcher to the language interaction that takes place in the media context. It is subjective in nature, however, as it depends on the researcher's insightful analysis of the contents of the programmes in addition to the right classification of the words uttered in these videos.

As mentioned earlier, the study essentially focuses on the sociolinguistic aspects of diglossic code switching occurred in the programmes of the channels in question rather than the structural forms of code switching between MSA and the other Arabic varieties. The sociolinguistic perspective pays more attention to the social aspects of people's alternation between the language varieties and also answers the question related to the social meanings of switching between the different levels of Arabic. In other words, it is connected with the question why people speak the way they do, rather than focusing on the structural forms that occur during the alternation of the language varieties.

### **4.3. Research community**

Since the current study is concerned with investigating diglossia in the Arab media as well as identifying the *status quo* of the Arabic use on the Arab satellite channels, represented by the five channels under scrutiny, the matrix of all Arab satellites channels broadcasting in Arabic constitute the main component of the study

research community along with the broadcasters working in these channels as well as the Arab viewers watching their programmes. Therefore, the broad research community of this study comprises of the following;

- ❖ The Arab Satellites Channels,
- ❖ The Arab broadcasters working therein,
- ❖ The Arab viewers watching these channels.



*Fig. 4. 1 The research community*

The widespread proliferation of the satellite channels has been held as a manifestation of globalization which has made the vast globe a ‘small village’. This openness has offered prospects to the Arab media, particularly with the trend of the media privatization. Consequently, hundreds of TV satellite channels have made their ways to all types of the Arab audience.

#### **4.3.1. Arab satellite channels**

Since the Arab satellite channels constitute an essential element of the research community, it is of great importance to give an overview about them for better understanding of the discussions to come in the subsequent sections of the research.

Over the last decade, satellite broadcasting has been positioned as a prime news medium in the Arab World. Historically speaking, television came into being in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by virtue of the scientific efforts of some individuals who sowed the initial seed of the idea that grew later into television. Since



its genesis, television, along with the other audio tools, has been held as an effective source of information and entertainment. The overwhelming intrusion of television, not to mention the other media technologies, has changed the face of the world and definitely, the Arab World is no exception. During the recent two decades, the Arab World has dramatically witnessed phenomenal growth in the satellite broadcast which has overly impacted all aspects of the Arab people's lives and changed the social, cultural, and political map of the whole region. In fact, the direct impact of television on the viewers' minds is unavoidable. Most people around the world own at least one TV and have different ways of choosing the programmes or channels they like to watch. Hundreds, if not thousands, of Arab satellite channels, have been involved in a fierce competition to reach the Arab audience satisfaction and meet their needs for information and entertainment through broadcasting a variety of different programmes. Each one of these channels has its own ideology and agenda. For example, there are channels which are entirely dedicated to providing the Arab audience with news in addition to discussing the sociopolitical-related issues such as Aljazeera, Al-Arabiya, Sky News (Arabic version) etc. Such kinds of Arab satellite channels target the Pan-Arab audience and as a result, *MSA/fusha* is predictably the predominant Arabic variety used in their programmes. On the other hand, there are some other channels which give more focus on the entertainment more than information. Another category of channels is completely dedicated to the entertainment like music, sport, drama, movies, etc.

The annual report on the Arab satellite broadcasting indicates that more than 1300 satellite channels are occupying the Arab sky and profusely pouring down their contents on the Arab audience. According to the report, the number of the Arab satellite channels increased from 733 channels in 2010 into 1320 channels in 2013. As far as the field of specialization is concerned, the report indicates that sport channels top the list

with 170 channels followed by the drama and movie channels with 152 channels. The music and show channels come to occupy the third position with 124 channels. The last positions were placed to the Religion and News channels with 95 and 68 channels respectively. In fact, a variety of factors have paved the way for this large-scale proliferation of the channels in the Arab region, among which is the significant development of technologies and digital satellite broadcasting which offered unlimited opportunities to the growth of this kind of media industry. It is beyond doubt that the private sector has the leading role in expanding the horizons of the satellite broadcasting in the Arab World since more than 1200 of the Arab satellite channels are owned by the private sector and broadcast their programmes in different languages and a variety of interests such as politics, religion, kids programmes, news, sport, music, movies, drama, among others. Thus, what has been mentioned is just an overview of the Arab satellite channels in general and further details on the five channels of our investigation will be provided below.

#### **4.3.2. Arab TV broadcasters**

Hundreds of broadcasters are working in the different Arab Satellite channels. Each one of these channels has its own criteria in recruiting the broadcasters. However, the common denominator between most of these channels is their belief that the broadcaster should be quite competent in MSA. Nevertheless, the perfect mastery of MSA/*fusha* seems to be overlooked by some of the Arab channels, particularly those targeting the national rather than the Pan-Arab audience such as LBC, MTV, ON TV, and generally the Egyptian and Lebanese channels. As a result, they have been furnished with a number of broadcasters whose proficiency in MSA is substandard and therefore, a new media environment has been created in which the dialects have become

prevailing in all programmes except the News which are presented in MSA or at times in dialect-accented MSA.

On the other hand, some Pan-Arab satellite channels such as Aljazeera, Al Arabiya, BBC Arabic, etc. include a number of qualified broadcasters whose fluency in MSA is high enough to make it difficult for the viewer to decide their nationalities. In other satellite channels, it might be an easy task to identify the nationalities of the broadcasters even when they use MSA, due to the influence of their regional dialects (Alshamrani 61). However, the proficiency of some of the Arab satellites broadcasters in MSA will be observed through the analysis of the programmes selected for this study.

The daily watching for the Arab channels makes it safe to suggest that some broadcasters tend to use Colloquial Arabic more than MSA, particularly in the Talk Show programmes of some channels. In some other programmes, they usually switch forth and back between these two varieties. The reasons for such linguistic behaviour have been examined through the close-ended questionnaire administered to the sample of the broadcasters as would be seen later.

#### **4.3.3. Arab viewers**

The Arab viewers are also regarded as a component of the research community of this study. More than three hundred million people in the Arab World are targeted by approximately 1300 satellite channels, most of which primarily target the younger generation who, according to the regional report on the youth in the Arab World, constitute 65 % of the Arab population. This high rate of the youth in the Arab population has propelled many of the Arab satellite channels to adjust their programmes in a way that conforms with the youth tendencies and taste. Ali Jaber, the Executive Director of Future TV, states that from News to entertainment, the channel will have everything that is of interest to the young population of the Arab World. The much

attention paid to this vulnerable segment of the Arab society has been reflected in the abundance of the songs, video clips, romantic drama, as well as some other programmes copied from the Western channels, which are coloured by all what can attract the youth's interest like *Arab idol*, *Arab Talent*, *Star Academy*, *Big Brother*, among others. Both LBC and MBC have the lion share of these kinds of programmes which are believed to have a tremendous effect on the cultural and religious identity of the Arab viewers, in general and the youngsters, in particular. Recently, many of the Arab youth have become significantly influenced by the Western lifestyle and culture averting their gaze from their cultural identity.

On the linguistic level, the constant interaction between the Arab satellite channels, on the one hand, and the Arab viewers, on the other, has created a new linguistic reality. Arab viewers have been acclimatized on receiving the programmes in dialects, and at times, they find it more interesting to follow them in Colloquial Arabic than MSA, especially in some programmes, as will be seen in chapter six.

#### **4.4. Sample of the study**

A sample is defined as a finite subset of the population (research community) from which it is selected with the objective of investigating its properties (Dubey, Umeshkumar, Kothari, and Awari 185). Sampling is the tool that enables the researcher to draw conclusions about properties through studying only the items making up the sample. Different kinds of sampling could be used in conducting research and they differ from one another according to the nature of the research. Since this study is sociolinguistic in nature and seeks to investigate the *status quo* of MSA in the Arab satellite channels, it was imperative to select the research sample from among all parties involved, namely, the Arab satellite channels, broadcasters, and viewers. Therefore, five Arab satellite channels were selected: Aljazeera, Future TV, Aldjazaeriya TV, ON

TV, and Yemen TV. Furthermore, twenty-two broadcasters working in some Arab satellite channels, some of them work in the five channels under investigation while the others work in different channels, in addition to 400 Arab viewers from both males and females with different educational backgrounds (as illustrated below) were selected as informants to the questionnaires.

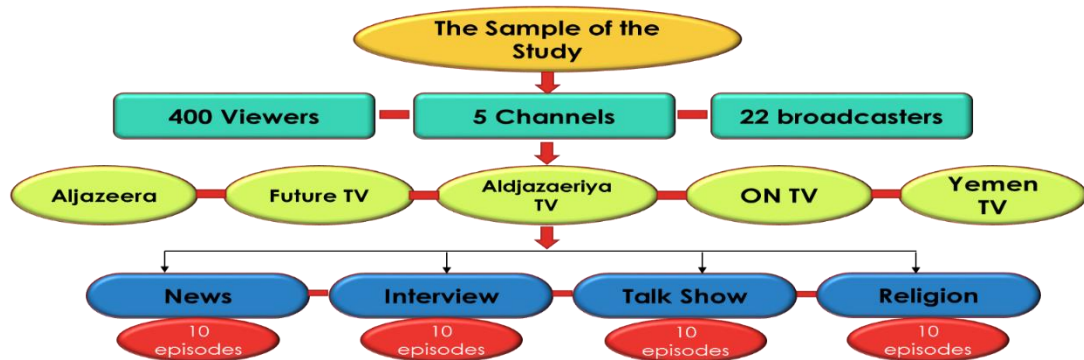


Fig. 4.2 The Sample of the Study

The viewers were basically selected from the countries to which these channels belong because they watch and follow the programmes of these channels more than the other Arab viewers and therefore, their judgment and opinions would be likely more accurate. However, the Lebanese informants were inaccessible due to the fact that the researcher has no friends in Lebanon and therefore, all correspondences were ignored and got no response unlike Egypt, Algeria, and Yemen, where many informants showed a high level of cooperation.

#### 1.4.1. Five TV channels

The previously referred to channels were selected as a part of the sample of this research. These channels were selected from among hundreds of the Arab satellite channels for several reasons which could be summarized as follows:

1. **The Geographical Location:** the geographical location of these channels was taken into consideration in the process of selection. While

Aldjazeera TV channel represents the extreme west of the Arab region, the Lebanese Future TV and Yemen TV represent the east of the region. Egypt-based ON TV also represents the centre of the Arab World which connects between the east and west. Therefore, these channels geographically represent different parts of the Arab World.

2. *The Linguistic Variation*: Since the five channels belong to different regions of the Arab World, they could be held as agents for different Arabic varieties; **MSA** (Aljazeera as a Pan-Arab channel), **Levantine Arabic** (Future TV), **Gulf Arabic** (Yemen TV, Yemeni Arabic is a bit similar to that of Gulf Arabic), **Egyptian Arabic** (ON TV), and **Maghreb Arabic** (Aldjazeera TV). The selection of these channels based on this linguistic variation is likely to enhance examining this phenomenon from different sociolinguistic angles.
3. *The commonalities of their Programmes*: The four selected programmes; **News**, **Interview**, **Talk Show**, and **Religion** are commonly presented in all the five channels.
4. *The passion for Comparison*: The researcher's passion to compare the use of MSA on these channels was also one of the reasons for their selection. According to our observation as viewers to these channels, an idea about their use of Arabic is already in mind. It is assumed that the Lebanese and Egyptian Channels use Colloquial Arabic more than MSA while the rest of them adopt MSA in most of the four selected programmes. Therefore, the desire to hold a comparison between these channels in the extent to which they use MSA was among the reasons why they were particularly selected.

However, the most interesting reason from among the ones referred to above is the channels' representation for different Arabic varieties; Levantine Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Maghreb Arabic, and Yemeni Arabic (Gulf Arabic), except Aljazeera which is a Pan-Arab channel and therefore, it adopts MSA in presenting its programmes. But this does not necessarily mean that Arabic dialect does not occur on Aljazeera programmes. In fact, the talk show and interview programmes represent the loci where Arabic dialect occurs just side by side with MSA and the ESA not only on Aljazeera but on all other channels.

Turning to the selected programmes for investigation, two episodes of each genre, with twenty-minute duration, were downloaded from the official websites of the channels. In other words, eight episodes, with approximately two hours and forty minutes time duration, were downloaded from each channel and the total number of the episodes was forty with total time of approximately 13 hours.

#### **4.4.1.1. Aljazeera channel**

As one of the Pan-Arab satellite channels spread in the Arab World, Aljazeera, the Doha-based satellite channel, launched its broadcast in 1996 from Qatar, the geographically small but economically giant country in the Arab Gulf. Initially, Aljazeera recruited a galaxy of professionally-experienced and linguistically-qualified broadcasters who had worked for BBC network for many years.

Since its genesis, Aljazeera has succeeded to grab the attention and interest of the Arab viewers across the Arab World due to its controversial political programmes which address the most hotly debated and argumentative issues held as taboos by other channels in the region. The channel's monopoly of reporting the war in Afghanistan in 2001 together with its time-tested professionalism, on the other hand, got the door wide open for transforming the

channel from the regionalism into the internationalism in just a few years. All along the flaring war of Afghanistan, Aljazeera was the exclusive satellite channel existing with around-the-clock news coverage though its staff members in Kabul were in jeopardy. Such exclusiveness made many of the Western satellite channels use Aljazeera's footages to be displayed within their news bulletins. Due to the frequent broadcast of Osama Bin Laden's messages, Aljazeera had been accused of siding with *Al Qaeda* and consequently, its office in Kabul was bombarded by the American air strikes. Moreover, the American president then, Bush, was reported to have wanted to bombard the channel headquarters in Doha, Qatar, if it had not been for the intervention of the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, who dissuaded him from taking an action as such.

As has been referred to above, Aljazeera has drawn its reputation from addressing a number of thorny issues avoided by the Arab state-run TV channels. According to Eliades, two important factors have made the Arab viewers fascinated with watching Aljazeera programmes; firstly, the extensive news coverage in Arabic by reporters who are well cognizant of what impresses the Arab public, and secondly, its political discussion-based programmes which delve into the most debatable issues as well as its motto read as 'the opinion and the other opinion'.

Along with its distinguished news reporting, Aljazeera has been known for its broad range of programmes which touch different aspects of life. The most prominent and oft-watched programme is *ʔalʔittijāhu l-muʔākis* (the Opposite Direction), a dialogue-based programme presented by Faisal Al Kasim, the most controversial broadcaster of Aljazeera's staff, who regards such kinds of programmes as "striking features of the new Arab media and arguably the most revolutionary, partly because exchanging opinions and venting feelings live on TV are novel practices" (Al Kasim



93). He adds that such a show programme has enabled the Arab viewers to watch some politicians discussing some political issues live. Prior to the launching of Aljazeera in 1996, many of the Arab viewers remained, for a long period of time, interested in following the entertainment programmes such as sport, drama, songs but not news or political shows presented in the state-run channels. Howaidy, a columnist for Al-Ahram newspaper, explains how Aljazeera managed to satisfy the needs of the Arab people. He says:

Before the emergence of Al Jazeera, I only watched entertainment programmes or football matches on Arab TV channels, only stopping at the latter during times of relaxation, laziness or boredom. I researched important events and ideas through chasing news bulletins, reports and discussion programmes broadcast on Western television channels, particularly British and American ones. I never thought I would find ‘food’ of that nature on any Arab channel. (139)

In fact, the launch of Aljazeera was a prominent event that brought about significant changes in both media and politics. The channel has proved to the sceptical audience that Arab media can come up to the level of the Western news organizations. Metaphorically, the advent of Aljazeera resembles the earthquake that broke the walls of silence and opened the floodgates for freedom of expression. The Arab Spring Revolutions, which hit some Arab countries, were the most salient manifestations of these changes. As has been seen in the previous sections, Aljazeera played a pivotal role in fanning the flame of the Arab Spring Revolutions through its coverage to the massive protests and hosting the opposition leaders and the politicians who used the channel as a means of conveying their messages to the masses. It could be said that the Arab Spring Revolutions would not have got the international interest if it had not been

for the comprehensive coverage of Aljazeera and the other kinds of social media which transmitted these uprisings to the worldwide interest. In her address to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, once referred to Aljazeera English version as the “must watch, real journalism” (Schechter 202).

As far as the data collection of the research is concerned, two episodes of each one of the programmes mentioned above were selected for transcription to identify the variety/varieties used in these programmes. As for News, the two twenty-minute-length episodes were selected from the News programme called */ħaṣād ʔaljazīrah/* حصاد الجزيرة, which literally means ‘Aljazeera’s Harvest’. It is broadcast at 11 PM and comes to summarize the whole-day news all over the globe. The first episode was broadcast on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2016 and discussed the continuation of the Russian warplanes’ bombardment on Aleppo city in Syria whereas the second one was aired on 6<sup>th</sup> May 2016 and addressed the Syrian Army breaking into the Aleppo’s prison wherein many of the Syrian’s regime opponents were under arrest.

Table 4. 1 The episodes of Aljazeera Channel selected for analysis

The Genre	Episodes	The Programme	The Topic
News	Episode 1	Aljazeera’s Harvest’ <i>/ħaṣād ʔaljazīrah/</i>	the Russian warplanes’ bombardment on Aleppo in Syria
	Episode 2	‘Aljazeera’s Harvest’ <i>/ħaṣād ʔaljazīrah/</i>	the Syrian Army breaking into the Aleppo’s prison
Interview	Episode 1	‘The Arab Reality’ <i>/ʔalwāqīʕu l-ʕarabī/</i>	The connotations of the Lebanese election result
	Episode 2	A Witness to Age <i>/ʔāhid ʕalā ʔal ʔaṣr/</i>	Husein Al Shafe’i talks about the era of Anwar Assadat, the Egyptian late president
Talk Show	Episode 1	The Opposite Direction <i>/ʔalʔittijāhu l-muʕākis/</i>	The Yemen Civil War and the role of Saudi Arabia & Iran
	Episode 2	In Depth <i>/fi l-ʕumq/</i>	The intricacies of the Kurdish cause
Religion	Episode 1	Sharia Law and Life <i>/ʔaffarīʕaj wa l-ħayāh/</i>	The beginning of the creation & the evolution theory
	Episode 2	Sharia and Life <i>/ʔaffarīʕaj wa l-ħayāh/</i>	How the Holy Quran talks about History

Like many satellite channels, Aljazeera broadcasts different programmes which fall under the category of the Interview genre. Therefore, two different episodes were selected and transcribed. The first was one of the programme series called /ʔalwāqifū l-ʕarabī/ الواقف العربي 'The Arab Reality' whereas the second episode was selected from among the series of Aljazeera flagship programme /ʕāhid ʕalā ʔal ʔaṣr/ شاهد على العصر 'a witness to era. In the first episode, Jamal Rayyan, one of Aljazeera prominent broadcasters, hosts three Lebanese to discuss the repercussions and connotations of the Lebanese elections. As the name suggests, the programme of /ʕāhid ʕalā ʔal ʔaṣr/ 'a witness to era' from which the second episode was selected, hosts different politicians to talk about a number of events they witness during their lifetime. In this episode, Ahmed Mansour hosts Husein Ashafe'i, one of the Egyptian politicians who worked for the government of Anwar Assadat, the Egyptian late President, to talk about the policies followed by Assadat as well as the peace treaty signed with Israel.

As for the Talk Show, the selection of the two episodes was an easy task since Aljazeera has different programmes of this category such as 'The Opposite Direction' الإتيجاه المعاكس, 'In Depth' في العمق, 'What Beyond the News' ما وراء الخبر (though it is a news-related programme), etc. From among this string of programmes, two episodes were selected; the first, was an episode of /ʔalʔittijāhu l-muʕākis/ 'The Opposite Direction' الإتيجاه المعاكس, whereas the second was chosen from another programme called /fi l-ʕumq/ 'In Depth' في العمق. In the same way, two episodes of the Religion-related programme /ʔaʕfariʕaj wa l-ḥayāh/ 'Shariya Law and Life' الشريعة والحياة were selected for the analysis and transcription.

#### 4.4.1.2. Future TV

Future satellite channel, or in Arabic تلفزيون المستقبل is a Lebanese television station broadcasting from Beirut, Lebanon. The channel was founded in 1993 by the

late Prime Minister of Lebanon, *Rafik Al-Hariri*, to uphold the views and visions of his political movement known as 'Future Movement'. Just like many other Arab satellite channels, Future TV broadcasts spectrum of programmes, most of which basically target the Lebanese audience for promoting certain political agendas. The most popular programmes are */sūrih wi n fatahit/* سيرة وانفتحت 'A Story that Has Been Disclosed', */lā yūmal/* لا يمل 'Never Being Bored', */xallīk bi l bēt/* خليك بالبيت 'Stay at Home', among others. All these kinds of programmes, which discuss various social and political issues, are thought to be the highest-rated programmes in Lebanon. The excessive use of Lebanese Arabic in such programmes has spared a little space to MSA and made it appear as a bizarre thing. It is no surprising, in fact, to find Lebanese Arabic is extensively used across the Lebanese TV channels and radio stations, not only on Future TV, particularly when it comes to discussing the local issues. As a matter of fact, the use of Colloquial Arabic in the Arab channels, in general, has not come overnight but it has gradually crept from its use in the series, songs, movies, and the social issues into the political debates, interviews, and the cultural and religion-related programmes under the pretext of simplifying the discourse and reaching out the different types of the Arab audience.

Being one of the channels under scrutiny, eight episodes from the genres referred to above (News, Interview, Talk Show, Religion) were selected for examining the extent of MSA and the other varieties use across its programmes.

As for News, two episodes from among the programmes broadcast in the not far distant past were selected; the first one was selected from the Morning News aired on 15 March 2016 and read by *Maher Majdhoub* while the second was one of the Evening newscasts aired on 23 May 2016 and read by *Lina Doghan Naser* and *Mohammad Zaynab*. The episodes of the interview genre were similarly selected form

two different programmes. The variety of such type of programmes has provided the researcher multiple choices to select from among them the required episodes. The first was an interview with *Maryam Nour*, a Lebanese television character who often appears on some Arab TV channels to discuss some social issues which are for the most part related to lifestyle. This episode was hosted by *Karen Salameh*. The second episode, on the other hand, was selected from the programme */nās wi nās/ ناس وناس* ‘People and People’ with *Marsil Ghanem*, a popular Lebanese journalist.

Table 4. 2 The episodes of Future TV selected for analysis

The genre	Episodes	The Programme	The Topic
News	Episode 1	Morning News <i>/Pannafrāh</i> <i>ʔaṣṣabāhiyyah/</i>	Misc.
	Episode 2	Evening News <i>/Pannafrāh</i> <i>ʔalmasāʔiyyah/</i>	Misc.
Interview	Episode 1	‘In your opinion’ <i>/biraʔyak/</i>	An Interview with Maryam Nour
	Episode 2	<i>People &amp; people</i> <i>/nās wi nās/</i>	An interview with the anchor Marsil Khalifah
Talk Show	Episode 1	Inter-Views	the Lebanese municipal elections
	Episode 2	Inter-Views	The Civil War in Yemen and the foreign interference
Religion	Episode 1	The best speech <i>/xayri l kalām/</i>	The meaning of peace
	Episode 2	The best speech <i>/xayri l kalām/</i>	The meaning of envy in Islam

Along the same lines, the episodes of the Talk Show genre were selected from a popular programme broadcast on Future TV identified as ‘Inter-Views’. As the name suggests, it discusses the different views held by the guests who are oftentimes politicians, journalists, or political analysts. As regards to the Religion genre, two episodes were selected from the religion-related programme called */xayri l kalām/ خير الكلام* ‘The Best Speech’ which is normally presented during the holy *Ramadan*, the month of fasting for Muslims.

#### 4.4.1.3. Aldjazaeriya TV channel

The history of television in Algeria dates back to the year 1956, the colonial period, where a limited transmission facility was launched by the French colonization to connect the French community living in Algeria with their motherland, France, as well as the other parts of the world. The broadcast was restricted to the main cities of Algeria like Algiers, Oran, and some other cities.

The advent of satellite broadcasting resulting from the massively technological development has ushered in a new era of broadcasting media and widely opened the door, which had remained closed for years, for many channels to contribute to this vital field. Following these developmental changes, a number of private channels launched their broadcast basically targeting the Algerian audience and generally the audience across the Arab World. The evolution of the commercial channels, on the other hand, ceased the government's monopoly on Television in Algeria which remained for decades. Such state of monopoly has been challenged by the widespread consumption of news and entertainment due to the exponentially developmental changes which stormed the Arab region at the political level. Therefore, the Algerian audience has been furnished with a variety of choices to select what conforms to their taste and interest. Since a large segment of the Algerian society is still influenced by the French language, a number of channels are dedicated to broadcast their programmes in French. As for the Arabic-broadcasting channels, MSA has a little space of use as opposed to Algerian Arabic which is widely used across the Algerian channels mixed with an abundance of French borrowings. Until now, more than forty-six satellite channels are broadcasting from both inside and outside Algeria.<sup>26</sup> From among this combination of channels,

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<sup>26</sup> <http://www.pressreference.com/A-Be/Algeria.html>

Aldjazeeraiya TV channel was selected for investigation. It is one of the government-owned channels that maintains a good portion of the Algerian audience in addition to a constellation of skilful broadcasters. The channel presents various programmes addressing all walks and affairs of the Algerian society. The same way was followed in selecting the episodes for the investigation and analysis. Two episodes of the National News *الأخبار الوطنية* were selected, each of which contained field reports where people talked to the reporter about their different complaints and issues. Since the speech of the Algerians tends to be loaded with French borrowings, all the French words were excluded from the process of transcription and classification for two reasons; the first is the fact that the study focuses on Arabic diglossia rather than switching between languages, and the second is the unintelligibility of these words to the researcher.

Table 4. 3 The episodes of Aldjazeeraiya TV selected for analysis

The genre	Episodes	The Programme	The Topic
News	Episode 1	The National News <i>/ʔalʔaxbār ʔalwaṭaniyyah/</i>	Misc.
	Episode 2	The National News <i>/ʔalʔaxbār ʔalwaṭaniyyah/</i>	Misc.
Interview	Episode 1	The Microscope <i>/ʔalmijhar/</i>	The Spring course of the Algerian Parliament
	Episode 2	The Microscope <i>/ʔalmijhar/</i>	The Under-Contract Teachers and their future
Talk Show	Episode 1	The Crime Scene <i>/masrah ʔaljarīmah/</i>	the Lebanese municipal elections
	Episode 2	My home is my heaven? <i>/baytī jannatī/</i>	The Civil War in Yemen and the foreign interference
Religion	Episode 1	The best speech <i>/xayri l kalām/</i>	The meaning of peace
	Episode 2	The best speech <i>/xayri l kalām/</i>	The meaning of envy in Islam

Regarding the interview genre, two episodes of the popular programme */ʔalmijhar/* *المجهر* 'The Microscope' were chosen, both of which discussed certain social issues, as illustrated in table 4.3. Similarly, for the Talk Show genre, two episodes of different programmes were selected; the first was selected from the

programme /*masrah ʔaljarīmah*/ مسرح الجريمة 'The Crime Scene', which, as the name suggests, discusses the crimes committed in the Algerian society, whereas the second was chosen from the series of the weekly programme /*baytī jannatī*/ بيتي جنتي 'My Home is My Heaven' which oftentimes hosts highly educated guests to discuss some family-related issues. As for the religion genre, two episodes were selected from the programme /*hāḍā dīnunā*/ هذا ديننا 'This is Our Religion', presented by Shaikh Al Haj Hajjaj, an Algerian preacher and discusses different religion-related issues.

#### 4.4.1.4. ON TV

Egypt is considered one of the leading Arab countries which pride themselves on maintaining a thriving record in the media industry. Media in Egypt is regarded as highly influential due to the large audience scattered throughout Egypt and the Arab World. Moreover, Egypt was the first Arab country to have its own satellite company, Nilesat, which introduces the facilities of satellite broadcasting to the Egyptian TV channels (both the government-owned and private) as well as many other Arab satellite channels. ON TV is one of the Egyptian private satellite channels which was established in August 2006. Since its evolution, the channel has been characterized by its adoption of the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic in most of its programmes. In September 2011, ON TV launched ON TV LIVE, around-the-clock news network, in an attempt to expand the base of the channel's audience and to compete Aljazeera as a Pan-Arab satellite channel. ON TV broadcasts a wide range of programmes such as news, talk shows, drama, sport, as well as some social and religion-related programmes. From among these diverse programmes, some episodes of the four genres under investigation were selected. The table below gives more details on these select episodes and illustrates the topics they addressed.



Table 4. 4 The episodes of ON TV selected for analysis

The genre	Episodes	The Programme	The Topic
News	Episode 1	The Newscasts <i>/nafrat ʔal ʔaxbār/</i>	Misc.
	Episode 2	The Newscasts <i>/nafrat ʔal ʔaxbār/</i>	Misc.
Interview	Episode 1	The Prettiness Holder <i>/sitti l ḥusn/</i>	<i>Menna Arafah</i> , a young actress talks about her experience with acting.
	Episode 2	A Special Interview <i>/liqāʔ xāṣ/</i>	The Democratic System in Egypt
Talk Show	Episode 1	An Hour with Jamal Fahmi <i>/sāʕah maʕa jamāl fahmī/</i>	The Supply Minister's Resignation
	Episode 2	Everyday <i>/kulli yūm/</i>	The Corruption in the Egyptian Media Sector
Religion	Episode 1	If they ask you <i>/waʔin ʔaftūk/</i>	The Coexistence of Religions
	Episode 2	If they ask you	Holding Dogs in House

As seen from table 4.4 above, two episodes of the 12 pm newscast were selected. They were broadcast on 25<sup>th</sup> January and 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2016 respectively. It is worth noting that the selection of the recent broadcast episodes was intentionally made for the sake of standing on the current situation of Arabic in these programmes.

The episodes of the Interview genre were selected from two different programmes; *sitti l ḥusn* ست الحسن 'The Prettiness Holder' and *liqāʔ xāṣ* لقاء خاص 'A Special Interview'. In the former, *Menna Arafah*, an Egyptian young actress, was hosted by *Sherihan Abu Al Hasan* to share with the audience her experience with acting since her childhood. The other episode, on the other hand, was an interview with *Mohammad Al Baradeai*, the former Egyptian vice president, in which he talked to *Yusri Fudah*, the host of the programme, about the democratic system in Egypt. Along similar lines, two episodes from two different talk show programmes were chosen for investigation. The first was one of the series of the programme */sāʕah maʕa jamāl fahmī/* ساعة مع جمال فهمي 'An Hour with Jamal Fahmi and the second one was one of the widely watched

programme /*kulli yūm*/ كل يوم 'Everyday' presented by the Amr Adeeb, one of the most controversial broadcasters in Egypt. As far as the religion genre is concerned, two episodes were selected from the main religion programme /*wa?in ?aftūk*/ وإن أفنوك 'If they ask you' presented by Dr. Saad Iddin Al Hilali.

#### 4.4.1.5. Yemen TV

Over the last six years, the situation of media in Yemen has deteriorated due to the political and security instability that inflicted upon the entire country. In late 2014, Yemen has slid into a fierce civil war which erupted in the wake of the coup crafted against the interim government and the consensual President, Hadi, by *Houthis*, or what politically known as *Ansarullah* 'The God's Supporters' who are internally supported by the deposed President, Ali Abdullah Saleh, and externally backed by Iran. As a result, the already little space of freedom expression has been tremendously diminished as many newspapers were muzzled, hundreds of journalists were either arrested or left the country, and the satellite channels opposing the *de facto* authority were compelled to broadcast from outside the country. However, Television in Yemen still enjoys a place of honour among the Yemeni society as it represents the main source of accessing to news and information despite the accessibility to them through the different platforms of social media which have become ubiquitous thanks to the availability of smartphones and Internet facilities.

Up till the present time, more than twenty-five Yemeni satellite channels are swimming in the sky of the Arab World pouring their programmes on the different types of audience; national, regional, and international targeting in the first place the Yemeni audience inside and outside Yemen. Television broadcasting in Yemen had remained monopolized by the government for decades till the last seven years when a number of private satellite channels such as *Suhail*, *Almasīra*, *Yemen Shabāb*, *Rushd*, *Alsaīda*, and

many others, began their broadcast advancing certain political agendas and introducing themselves as opponents to the regime. Yemen TV is a government-run channel which was established in 1975 to be the mouthpiece of the Yemeni government and to promote the agendas of the regime which remained long reluctant to open the door for the private channels to occur. It was 1995 when Yemen TV transformed from a terrestrial into satellite broadcasting. Since then, the channel has strived to come up to the level of the other Arab satellite channels which have a wide range of audience across the Arab World. As a result of the civil war, Yemen TV has been split into two channels having the same logo; the first one is controlled by the *Houthis*, who also control the capital and therefore, all institutions, and the second is run by the internationally-recognized and supported government, which is in exile, and broadcasts its programmes from outside Yemen. The one selected for this study is the government-run channel being the official and recognized among the Arab media agencies and organizations. Yemen TV broadcasts a variety of programmes, most of which focus on the local issues which have relevance to the civil war and its repercussions on the country in the long run. The war situation has overshadowed the media discourse not only in Yemen TV but in the other satellite channels which have different agendas and belong to the different factions involved in the war. This new situation has created a new programme map. For example, most of the programmes presented on Yemen TV tend to be talk shows where guests of all walks of society, politicians, religious scholars, lawyers, journalists, etc. are hosted to talk about the war and its ramifications on the Yemen society.

As for selection of the episodes for analysis, the same mechanism followed in the previous channels has been applied to Yemen TV. Two episodes of the four genres referred to above have been selected for the transcription and classification. The table below is meant to provide some details about the select episodes and their topics.

Table 4. 5 The episodes of Yemen TV selected for analysis

The genre	Episodes	The Programme	The Topic
News	Episode 1	The Newscasts <i>/nafrat ʔal ʔaxbār/</i>	Misc.
	Episode 2	The Newscasts <i>/nafrat ʔal ʔaxbār/</i>	Misc.
Interview	Episode 1	Yemen's Studio <i>/ʔustudyū ʔalyaman/</i>	building up the state
	Episode 2	The New Yemen <i>/ʔal Yaman ʔaljadīd/</i>	The governance connotation
Talk Show	Episode 1	The paths of triumph <i>/drub ʔannaṣr/</i>	The recent victories of the National Army
	Episode 2	The Pulse of the Street <i>/nabḍ ʔaffāriṣ/</i>	The Forced Disappearance
Religion	Episode 1	The fasting manifestation <i>/tajalliyāt ṣāʔim/</i>	The fasting manifestation
	Episode 2	The Scholars of Yemen <i>/ʔulamāʔ ʔalyaman/</i>	The role of morals in changing societies

As seen from the table above, the two episodes of the News were selected from the news broadcast in 2016, both of which focused on the tumultuous events of the underway civil war. The first was aired on 16<sup>th</sup>, January 2016 and read by Yassir Al Moallimi whereas the second one was broadcast on 12<sup>th</sup> December 2016 and presented by Sahar Dara'an. For the interview genre, two episodes of two different programmes were selected. The first was one of the series of the programme *ʔustudyū ʔalyaman* *أستديو اليمن* 'Yemen Studio' and the second was taken from another programme called *ʔal Yaman ʔaljadīd* *اليمن الجديد* 'The New Yemen'. While the first episode discussed the lateness of building up the state, the second one highlighted the good governance on the light of the National Dialogue Conference outcomes.

As for the talk show, it was an easy task to select two episodes from among a variety of programmes of this category. The changes occasioned by the war have made the channel dedicate most of its programmes to discussing the war and its consequences on the Yemeni society in the long run. As regards to the religion genre, the two episodes

were selected from the programmes *ʔulamāʔ ʔalyaman* علماء اليمن ‘The Scholars of Yemen’ and *tajalliyāt ṣāʔim* تجليات صائم ‘A fasting manifestation’.

#### 4.4.2. Broadcasters

The Arab broadcasters are also regarded as a constituent of the research sample. Therefore, twenty-two broadcasters working for different Arab satellite channels were selected to answer the items of the questionnaire. More attention was paid to those who work in the channels under investigation in a bid to find out if a correlation between their responses and the analysis of the episodes may occur. Nevertheless, some other broadcasters of other satellite channels out of the ones under investigation were also included. In fact, the access to the broadcasters was not as an easy task as was expected since most of them were busy with preparing the newscasts, reports, etc. However, a broadcaster’s opinion may echo the channels’ policy and attitudes towards the use of MSA and the other varieties.

#### 4.4.3. Viewers

Since the viewers of the Arab satellite channels also represent a constituent of the research sample, a total of 400 viewers from the different walks of the Arab society were targeted to answer the items of the questionnaire designed for them. Figure 4.3 shows that the younger generation constitutes the majority of the informants as 70 % of the informants’ ages range from twenty to thirty-five years. Only 30 % of the informants are between thirty-five and sixty years old.

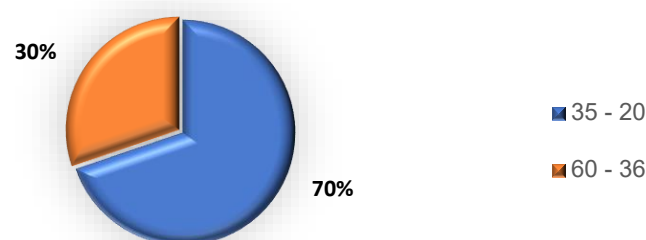
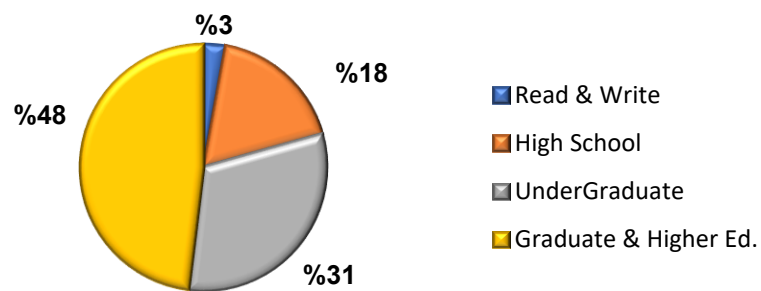


Fig. 4.3 The age-wise distribution of the viewers

As mentioned above, the youth are considered the target of all kinds of media not only the satellite channels and therefore, their programmes are designed according to their trends and orientations, and that is why they have been given more space in this study. Figure 4.4 also presents the distribution of the study's informants according to their education. As seen, the majority of the informants with 48% are highly educated and holding either MA or PhD degrees. Only 3 % of the informants can read and write.



*Fig. 4.4 The education-wise distribution of the viewers*

The informants who have a university education or holding BA constitute 31 % of the total number of the informants, whereas 18 % hold a high school education. These percentages clearly indicate that the massive majority of the informants are educated and likely aware of the research issue more than the others holding less education.

#### **4.5. Research tools**

The required data for any research falls into the categories of primary data and secondary data. While the primary data is that kind of information required for the research that is obtained through the first-hand investigation, the secondary data is that already available and needs only extraction. Questionnaires, interviews, videotaping, among many others, are examples of data collection techniques. Since this research is

a survey-based, two of the above-mentioned techniques have been employed; a video download and questionnaire.

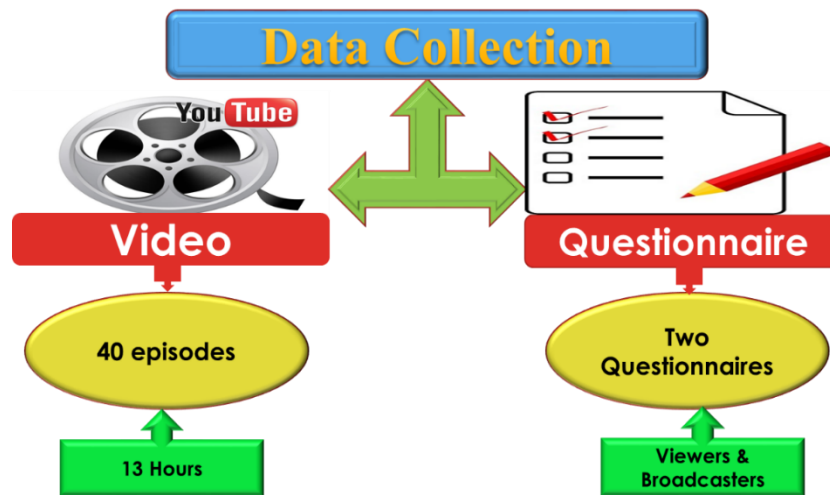


Fig. 4. 5 The data collection mechanism

Figure 4.5 illustrates the mechanism employed in collecting the data of the study. As seen, two different techniques were adopted; downloading videos and designing a set of two questionnaires. As for the video downloading technique, forty episodes of the four assigned genres were downloaded from the official websites of the select channels, each of which is approximately twenty-minute length. The overall time of these episodes was thirteen hours. Regarding the questionnaires, a set of two close-ended questionnaires were designed; one for the viewers and the other for the broadcasters. The items of these questionnaires were classified under different sections which address the psychological, social, and some other factors related to the qualification of the broadcasters.

#### 4.5.1. Questionnaires

Seliger & Shohami define a questionnaire as “printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously” (172). Since the present study investigates the phenomenon of

'diglossia' in the Arab media, it has been necessary to collect data from the most important parties involved in this process; viewers, broadcasters, and the programmes being presented on the Arab satellite channels. In terms of the first two sources of the data collection, viewers and broadcasters, the researcher has used a set of two close-ended questionnaires; one for the viewers and another for the broadcasters. In the broadcasters' questionnaire, the researcher has sought to address the factors related to the process of switching back and forth between MSA and Colloquial Arabic in the Arab satellite channels. As for the viewers' questionnaire, it was designed to measure the Arab viewers' attitudes towards the use of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic across the programmes of the channels under investigation. Each one of these two questionnaires has been divided into different categories in accordance with their relevance to the sample's interest. For example, the viewers' questionnaire was divided into three categories; the first two categories approached the psychological and social factors while the third aimed at eliciting their opinion of the varieties appropriateness of each kind of programmes. The broadcasters' questionnaire, on the other hand, included five categories which were meant to touch the psychological, social, qualification, and training factors in addition to knowing their opinions of the reasons for the use of Colloquial Arabic as well as the varieties appropriateness to the different kinds of programmes. The psychological factors in both questionnaires aimed to examine the sample's attitudes and responses towards MSA while the social factors were meant to recognize the social reasons for using Colloquial Arabic and identify MSA status among the informants. In addition, the qualification factors were included to provide information about the role of the broadcasters' qualification in promoting their linguistic performance and therefore, the quality of Arabic used in presenting the programmes.



#### 4.5.2. Video downloading

While video is seen as a manifestation of the modern age technology, its utilization in the research field is still less common than might be expected (Bowman 1). Video and film have significantly contributed to the development of research at all levels. Earlier, these instruments were out of the hands of most researchers (Jewitt 2). In modern times, especially with the rapid growth of technology, *YouTube* has made it much easier for researchers to collect a myriad amount of data related to different issues. Taking an advantage of this facility, *YouTube* was utilized as one of the methods for collecting the required data of this study. What made this process much easier is the fact that each one of the TV stations under investigation has a *YouTube* channel in which most of the programmes are frequently uploaded to be accessible to their viewers. Therefore, getting the episodes selected for the transcription was an easy task. A total of forty episodes of four genres; News, interview, talk show, and religion were downloaded, each of which is roughly twenty-minute length and the total time of all episodes was approximately thirteen hours.

#### 4.6. Data processing

The collected data, questionnaires and videos, were analyzed by different methods. The questionnaires were analyzed by the software programme SPSS which is commonly used for analyzing questionnaires. The forty episodes of the 20-minute length, on the other hand, were transcribed based on IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). After the process of transcribing the words heard over these episodes, they were classified under the three already assigned varieties, i.e. MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic. The transcription process took six months of time due to the complexity of the process *per se*, particularly the words classification which required meticulous observation to precisely decide to which variety the words belong.

However, a corpus of approximately 280 pages with almost 70,000 lexical units were the outcomes of the transcription process. A sample of some transcribed pages is provided in appendix 8 to give further illustration on the way followed in the transcription process.

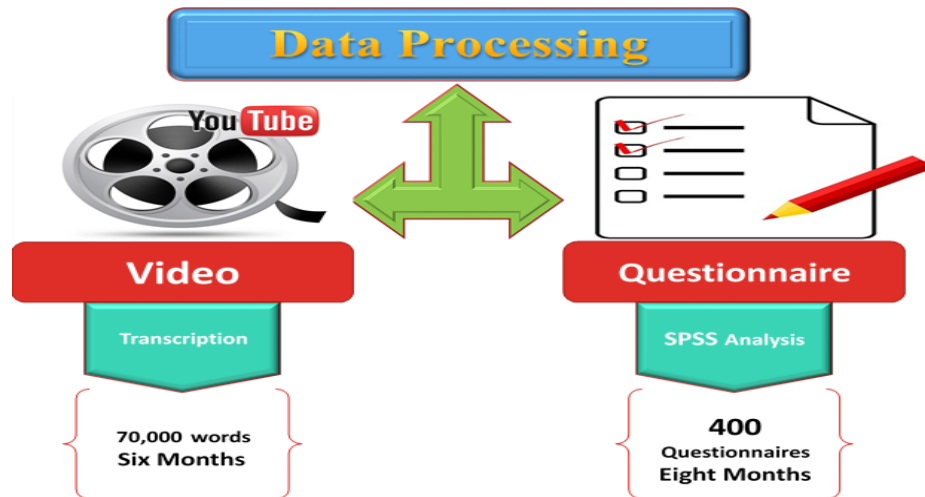


Fig. 4. 6 The data processing mechanism

The classification of the words was decided based on some criteria followed by some similar studies as well as consulting some experts in Arabic sociolinguistics. The following elements give more details on the different methods and theories that were followed in analyzing the collected data and classifying the corpus of the words heard over the episodes. These methods and theories were selected according to the nature of the research in hand as well as the objectives it strives to achieve.

- ❖ **Quantitative Method:** this method was used to introduce the statistical analysis of the data through which the rates and frequencies of the varieties occurrence in the programmes of the five channels were presented.
- ❖ **Qualitative Method:** the qualitative method of the data analysis allows the researcher to give a comprehensive description of how and

why a certain language variety is used in a given situation and not used in another. It mainly depends on the researcher's insight, imagination, and the deep observation during the process of the data analysis. The current research adopted the direct observation in which the use of a certain variety of Arabic under certain circumstances in certain settings was meticulously observed. The phenomenon of switching between MSA and the other levels of Arabic (middle and Colloquial) was also observed in the programmes of the channels to come up with identifying the dominant variety/varieties in each programme as well as the reasons underlying the occurrence of each one.

- ❖ **Phonetic Transcription:** For analyzing the scripts of the episodes, a comprehensive phonetic transcription was used to determine the linguistic features of each and every single utterance and decide to which variety it belongs. The classification of the words shared between the varieties was one of the challenging encountered during this stage. Another challenging that occurred during the process of classification is the relative similarities between MSA and some dialects (e.g. Yemeni Arabic) at the lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic levels. So, it was challenging in some instances to draw a real and consistent distinction between MSA and Colloquial Arabic. It has been said that there are no absolute measures that could specify the distance between the High and Low varieties in a diglossic community. However, all scripts of the selected videos were transcribed and each word was given a code for calculating the frequencies and rates of each variety.

- ❖ **Coding:** Since three different varieties of Arabic are examined, it was essential to give a code to each variety to be distinguished from the others. The varieties were coded and categorized as follows;
  - MSA → **(F)** for being *fusha*,
  - ESA → **(M)** for being a **m**iddle variety,
  - Colloquial Arabic → **(D)** for being a **d**ialect.
  
- ❖ **Matrix Language Frame (MLF):** Matrix Language Frame is a model framed by Myers-Scotton (1993) and suggests that during code switching there is a matrix language (host) which dictates the word order and system morphemes, and an embedded language (guest) which does not have the pioneering role in the conversation (Albirini 2). She argues that some elements from the guest language or the embedded language (EL) are inserted in the host language or the Matrix language (ML). This model was utilized to help in determining the dominant variety of the episodes.
  
- ❖ **Gumperz' Interactional Theory:** As the study is discussing the switch between the different levels of Arabic, it was of significance to make use of the interactional theory of language proposed by Gumperz (1982) which helped in analyzing the conversation between speakers for finding out what variety they use and under which conditions it occurs.
  
- ❖ **Accommodation Theory:** This theory was developed by Giles, et al in the 1970s and it suggests that “when people interact, they adjust their speech, their vocal patterns and their gestures, to accommodate

to others” (qtd. in Mukherjee and Bing 1832). According to this theory, people try to adjust their speeches to minimize the social and linguistic gap between them and their addressees through employing different techniques, among which are the intonation, gestures, nodding head, linguistic style, etc. The theory focuses on two processes of accommodation, ‘convergence’ and ‘divergence’ which are closely related to identity. While the convergence process aims at reducing the social and linguistic differences between the speakers and their interlocutors, the divergence tends to accentuate the difference between them. The broadcasters sometimes accommodate their speeches to that of their guests in order to realize a certain degree of convergence and solidarity. Therefore, they tend to use a language that is compatible with the linguistic capability of their guests. However, such behaviour sometimes comes to the detriment of MSA, especially when it crosses the limit.

#### **4.7. Classification of the varieties**

The linguists interested in studying Arabic varieties are quite cognizant of how difficult sometimes it is to classify the Arabic words under the categories of MSA and Colloquial Arabic. As mentioned above, many Arabic words are shared between the two varieties which make it a convoluted task to decide whether these words fall within the category of MSA or Colloquial Arabic. In a study about the function of code switching in Egypt, Bassiouney shows the difficulties she encountered during her classification of the words and deciding whether they were MSA or ECA (Egyptian Colloquial Arabic). She lists a number of difficulties that made her task of words classification more complicated such as the realization of the article where it was

sometimes realized as *al* as in *al-gahdu* and other times as *il* as in *il-kubra*, while in some cases it was assimilated into a *k* as in *il-māliyya k-kubra* (25). Bassiouney used seven categories in her analysis to classify the varieties used in the monologues she investigated; MSA, ECA, Basically MSA, Basically ECA, MSA with insertion from ECA, ECA with insertion from MSA, and a Mixture of MSA and ECA. She regarded the last five categories as mixed varieties of both MSA and ECA. However, this study deals with only three categories for classification; MSA, ESA and Colloquial Arabic. The classification of these words was based on the following criteria; the words holding the full linguistic features of MSA or they are lexically MSA but uttered without the case and mood endings were classified as MSA and represented by the symbol **(F)** to stand for *fusha*. On the other hand, the words with purely dialectal linguistic features were decidedly categorized as Colloquial Arabic and represented by the symbol **(D)** which stands for dialect. Any word holding the linguistic features of both varieties was classified as ESA, and therefore, represented by the symbol **(M)** that stands for Middle variety.

The fact to emerge from the classification process was that drawing a clear-cut and consistent distinction between the words of the two varieties is not as simple as might be expected. The subtle difference between the linguistic features of MSA and Colloquial Arabic words was the crux of this challenging. Bassiouney shows that sometimes the only difference between MSA and Colloquial Arabic words is the vowel pattern. For example, the MSA verb */naʕmal/* ‘we work’ is realized in the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic as *[niʕmal]*, and as noticed the short vowel */a/* changes into the short vowel *[i]* which of course does not affect the structure of the word but the way it is uttered. Another challenge is the classification of the MSA words which are uttered without the case and mood endings as well as the words common between the two

varieties, MSA and Colloquial Arabic. A lot of lexical items are shared between MSA and Colloquial Arabic which are lexically MSA but phonologically said in Colloquial Arabic as in the MSA verb */yamfī/* which is realized in Colloquial Arabic as [yimfī], the MSA noun */ʔassiyāsīyyah/* which is realized as [ʔassiyāsīyyeh] in the Levantine Arabic, and the list goes on. Sometimes the difference takes place in the morpho-phonological level. For example, the MSA verb */naʔxuḏ/* ‘we take’ is realized in the Yemeni Arabic as [nāxuḏ], the Egyptian Arabic [nāxud] or [nāxuz], the Lebanese Arabic [nēxud] or [nēxuz], and the Algerian Arabic [nāxdū], among many other examples. Apparently, some of the above-mentioned words are lexically MSA but the vowel patterning drifts them from MSA towards ESA due to the occurrence of the dialectal features. Therefore, such kinds of words were classified as ESA because they held the linguistic features of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic.

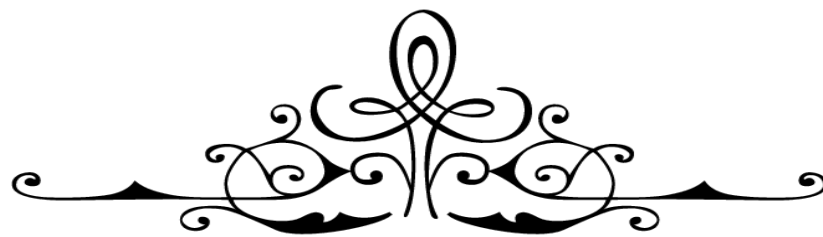
Another challenge was deciding whether the MSA words uttered without the case and mood endings were MSA or ESA words. In the spoken form of MSA, speakers tend to drop case and mood endings when they speak extemporaneously, i.e., without reading from a written text. Such phenomenon is noticeable in the broadcasting media when broadcasters shift from the state of reading written texts into the extemporaneous speech where they speak a plain MSA which is free from the case and mood endings. However, as was said above, the words which were basically MSA but uttered without the case and mood endings were classified under the category of MSA. Unlike Bassiouney who classified the MSA words which have no counterparts in ECA like */mabādiʔ/* ‘principles’, */faʔb/* ‘nation’, */kāna/* ‘to be’ etc. as ECA, all these kinds of words were classified in this study as MSA because they are essentially MSA and maintained their features in the dialectal context. Bassiouney argues that words as such cannot be classified as MSA as they do not have counterparts in ECA and people use

them in the colloquial context as dialectal words rather than MSA ones. In fact, as long as these words are originally MSA, one should be fair enough to acknowledge that these words are lexically MSA and somehow, they are inserted into Colloquial Arabic. Their existence within the Colloquial context does not necessarily mean that they should be classified as colloquial words since they maintain their utter MSA linguistic features at all levels.

#### **4.8. Conclusion**

The nature of this study required the utilization of different methods and techniques for achieving the desired objectives and reaching the answers to the research questions. Since the study basically focuses on two main issues, i.e., the amount of MSA use in the select programmes of the five channels and the attitudes of the viewers and broadcasters towards MSA use in TV channels, two main methods were adopted when analyzing the data of the study; the quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method was used when discussing the amount of MSA and the other varieties use in the programmes of the channels whereas the qualitative method was adopted when discussing the attitudes of the viewers and broadcasters towards the use of these varieties in the Arab TV channels.





## CHAPTER FIVE

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# MSA USE ON THE FIVE CHANNELS

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**CHAPTER FIVE: MSA USE ON THE FIVE CHANNELS**

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## 5.1. Introduction

As the study deals with the use of Arabic in the Arab TV channels, four tightly relevant questions have been put forward targeting some issues in relevance to the amount of Standard Arabic use in the programmes of the channels under investigation as opposed to Colloquial Arabic as well as the reasons underlying the occurrence of the colloquial forms of Arabic. While the first two questions (one & two) basically handle the amount of MSA use in the programmes of the channels, the other two questions (three & four) deal with the reasons underlying the occurrence of the three assigned varieties on the channels as well as measuring the attitudes of the Arab viewers and broadcasters towards the use of MSA and Colloquial Arabic in presenting the programmes. Based on this distribution, two chapters (five & six) have been assigned to presenting the results of the collected data analysis. However, this chapter is basically concerned with presenting the answers to the first two questions while chapter six focuses on the answers to the other two questions.

This chapter is, therefore, divided into three major sections. The first section discusses the Arabic varieties used across the programmes of the channels. The second one presents the overall use of the three Arabic varieties at issue (MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic). The third section throws light on the potential loci of MSA use in the programmes of the channels.

## 5.2. Arabic varieties used across the programmes of the channels

As mentioned in the previous chapter, three levels of Arabic varieties were assigned for this study; MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic. ESA was included to avoid the confusion of how to classify the intermediate words (the words identified by speakers as belonging to MSA but given the pronunciation of Colloquial Arabic). In classifying words as belonging to one variety or the other, Eid (2007) follows a

principle that is based on the presence/absence of the alternative in the other variety (56). Therefore, she regarded the intermediate words, which are lexically SA but uttered in Colloquial Arabic pronunciation, as MSA words. She argues that these words have their equivalents in Colloquial Arabic. As a matter of fact, the classification of the intermediate words as belonging to MSA gives weight to this variety with words which really belong to another variety, that is Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), and therefore, affects the accuracy of the assessment of which variety is used in what programme.

### 5.2.1. News

The analysis of the News episodes of the five channels significantly revealed varying degrees of MSA use across the analyzed programmes. In his seminal article on ‘*diglossia*’, Ferguson indicates that the High variety (MSA) is the typical variety that is appropriate for reading the News (329). However, the results of the analysis demonstrated that MSA alongside ESA and Colloquial Arabic are used side by side with varying degrees within the newscast presentation time. Figure 5.1 gives a further illustration of the variation of Arabic use across the five channels in question.

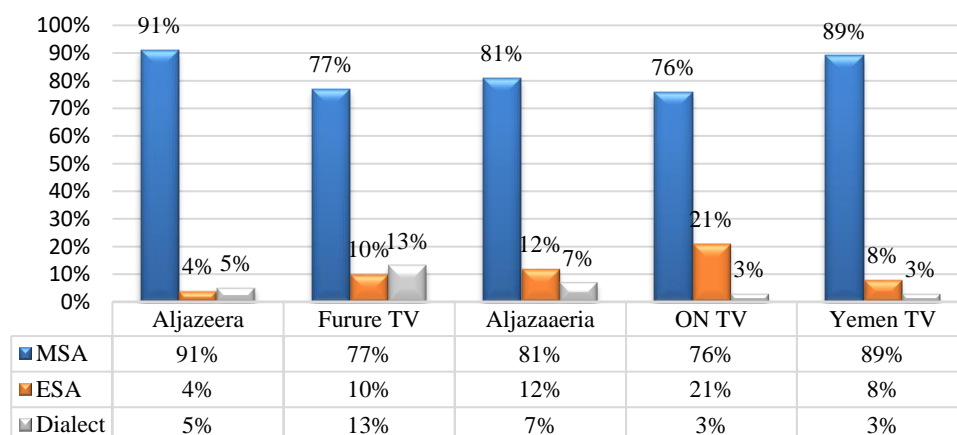


Fig. 5.1 The varieties used on the News of the five channels

As illustrated in the figure, the use of MSA in the News genre of the five channels tends to be far and away convergent. On the other hand, it clearly shows that the use of MSA on Future TV and ON TV is relatively lower than that of the other three

channels, Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazaeriya, though the use of MSA on Aldjazaeriya was not as much as that of Aljazeera and Yemen TV.

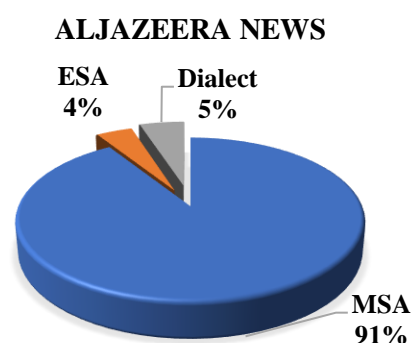
In contrast to some similar studies, where only MSA was reported to have been used in News (e.g. Alshamrani 62), the study at hand has found that ESA and Colloquial Arabic are also used along with MSA. However, the use of these two varieties resulted from the fact that some Arab people are usually interviewed within the airtime of presenting News and use either their dialects or ESA if they hold a certain level of education, though the Newscasts, in all Arab TV channels, are read in MSA.

Nevertheless, the highest percentage of ESA use was reported in ON TV with 21 % as compared to Aljazeera which recorded the lowest use of this variety, only 4 %. Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, has occurred in all episodes of the five channels News with varying degrees following the types of participants who show up to share their comments or to answer some questions on some particular issues whether in or out of the studio. The occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic was, in fact, expected because the participants tend to frequently switch between these three varieties due to their insufficient competence in MSA. In his study “Diglossia in Arabic TV Stations”, Alshamrani (2012) concludes that the Arabic variety used in News, including field reports and interviews, was H (MSA) at a rate of 100 %. However, in another instance, he points out that the L variety was used in the TV channels he investigated only when the correspondents interviewed people in different Arab regions (61).

As stated above, the occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic reported in the News genre of this study results from the participation of the audience and the degree of their occurrence mainly depends on the participants’ educational level. Along similar lines with the findings of our study and that of Alshamrani, Dashti Abdulmohsen, and Fatima Dashti (2015) also point out that the News and news-related programmes in the

Kuwaiti TV channels are basically presented in MSA. However, the result of their study has shown that during the dialogue between the presenter and the guest, the latter switched between MSA and his dialect (Kuwaiti Arabic). Similarly, the results of this study show that ESA and Colloquial Arabic were never used by the broadcasters as their speech was entirely in MSA at a rate of 100 %. Rather, they were used by the guests through their interaction whether with the broadcasters in the studio or with the reporters in the field.

In chapter four, it was pointed out that two episodes of each channel were transcribed and therefore analyzed for the purpose of exploring the amount of the variety used in the target programmes of the channels. So, based on the analysis results of these episodes, MSA turned out to be the predominant variety used by the broadcasters and field reporters of Aljazeera channel in reading the News and field reports. However, a few instances of switching to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic sporadically occurred during interviewing people who were hosted to comment on some current issues whether in the field reports or in the studio arena.



*Fig. 5.2 The varieties used in Aljazeera News*

The data presented in figure 5.2 illustrates the high level of MSA use in Aljazeera News since it was used 91 % as opposed to only 4 % of ESA and 5 % of Colloquial Arabic use. As pointed out earlier, the occurrence of these two varieties

(ESA and Colloquial Arabic) in these two particular episodes was occasioned by the out-studio participation.

Table 5. 1 The varieties used in Aljazeera News

Aljazeera	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	News	1	2237	98%	47	2%	1	0%
		2	1641	83%	116	5%	231	12%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>3878</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>5%</b>

According to the data displayed in Table 5.1, the use of MSA in the first episode was 98 % as compared to only 2 % of ESA use. It is significant to mention here that the low rate of ESA use resulted from the intervention of one of the out-studio participants who intervened with the reporter commenting on some issues related to their suffering inside the Assad's regime prisons. During his intervention, he strived to speak in MSA, but due to his imperfect proficiency, he would switch in few instances to ESA. Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, did not occur in this episode because of the fact that the participant, who apparently had a good level of education, used MSA with a little switch to ESA. Here are some examples which give more illustration on the switch that occurred during the conversation of the guest in the field report of the first episode.

**Example 1:**

*lākin ʔalmuʔakkad ʔanna ḥālāt ʔixtināq wa ḥālat ʔiymāʔ kānat dāxil ʔissijin*

**Gloss:**

‘But what is certain is cases of suffocation and fainting happened inside the jail’

Here, the guest, for the most part, speaks in MSA. However, his Syrian accent influenced the way he pronounced some words as in the word [*ʔissijin*] السجن ‘the jail’.

This word was classified as belonging to ESA because it holds the linguistic features of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic. Lexically, the word belongs to the MSA dictionary, but phonologically, it was uttered in Syrian Arabic. Had it been said in MSA, the short vowel after the glottal stop[ʔ] should be [a] rather than [i] and there would not be any vowel epenthesis, i.e., insertion of [i] between the two consonants [j] and [n].

Although the news bulletins in all TV channels are read by the broadcasters in MSA and presented in written texts, there are field reports or interventions by some guests in which the participants do not abide by the use of MSA, rather, they use either ESA or their regional dialects. Consequently, it could be stated that the News is initially read in pure MSA in all channels. However, some spaces are provided for the other levels of Arabic varieties through the in-studio or out-studio participations. Therefore, this study did not ignore these participations and they were considered in the processes of the transcription and analysis alike to come up with more accurate analysis of the alternation between MSA and Colloquial Arabic.

In the second episode, the percentage of MSA use was lower where it was used 83 % of the time. The occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, was more as they were used 5 % and 12 % respectively. The reporter's short interviews with the common people, whose education was apparently average, contributed to raising the rate of Colloquial Arabic use. In this episode, the reporter, Amr Halabi, Aljazeera correspondent in Aleppo, shortly interviews some wounded people receiving medication in one of the hospitals following the Syrian and Russian warplanes bombardment on the city of Aleppo. First, he starts this short-time interview with a brief introduction in MSA. Yet, when he turns to speak with the patients, he switches to Colloquial Arabic.



**Example 2:**

The reporter: *ʔakθaru min ʔalʔin wa xamsumiʔati ʔaxʃin ʔuʃībū jarrāʔa l-qaʃfi l-ʃanīf ʔassūrī wa r-rūsī ʃalā madīnati ḥalab likulli wāḥidin minhum qiʃṣah naqtaribu minhum ʔakθar ḥattā nastamiʃa ʔilā qiʃaʃihim ʔalʔamākin kaḏālik ʔallatī quʃifū fihā /ʔassalām ʃalaykum ʃammī*

The guest: *wa ʃalīkum s-salām*

The reporter: *ʔisim ḥadrak?*

The guest: *ʔabū ʃālīḥ*

The guest: *ʔabū ʃālīḥ wīn tʃawwabit*

**Gloss:**

The Reporter: ‘More than one thousand five hundred were wounded because of the Syrian and Russian warplanes bombardment on Aleppo city. Each one of them has a story. Let’s come close to them to listen to their stories as well as to know the places wherein they were bombarded’.

Peace be upon you! Uncle

The guest: Peace be upon you too!

The reporter: What is your name?

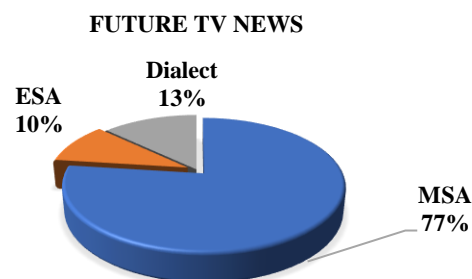
The guest: Abu Salih

The reporter: Abu Salih, where were you wounded?

The above-mentioned extract clearly shows the reporter’s expected switch from MSA to Colloquial Arabic just as he starts talking to the patient. In his short introduction, he is talking to the camera where MSA should be typically used, but when he turns towards the patient, he changes his style and starts talking to him in Colloquial Arabic. Such change in style comes in response to the change of the situation. Bell thinks that style shift occurs primarily in response to a change in the speaker’s audience

(143). By the same token, Ervin-Tripp explains that switching is not more than accommodation to other participants' abilities (46). In addition, it implies social connotations where the reporter, on the one hand, wants to bridge the linguistic gap between him and the patient and on the other hand, to establish a one-to-one relationship with him. Moreover, he wants to reduce the degree of formality to sound more intimate to the patient since the context in which the conversation takes place makes the use of MSA, the variety which the patient probably does not master, sound ridiculous because the patient can hardly speak his dialect, let alone MSA. Gumperz describes the social meaning of code switching and states that code switching is a conversational device predominantly used by speakers to express social meanings in response to the situation and other social variables (43).

As for Future TV, the result of the data analysis revealed a low percentage of MSA occurrence during the time of news bulletin presentation as compared to Aljazeera in particular, and the other channels in general, which will be discussed below. As illustrated before, the content presented during the time of news presentation was included whether it is the broadcasters' reading of the news or the other interactions and interventions that penetrate the newscast by the reporters and guests.



*Fig. 5.3 The varieties used in Future News*

Figure 5.3 shows that MSA is used in the News of Future TV 77 % as compared to Aljazeera where MSA was used 91 % of the time. ESA and Colloquial Arabic, on

the other hand, occur at rates of 10 % and 13 % respectively. However, this lower percentage of MSA use (as compared to the other channels) could be attributed to the field reports in which some Lebanese were interviewed and used their dialects rather than MSA or ESA in talking to the reporters.

Table 5. 2 The distribution of Arabic varieties used in the News of Future TV

Future TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	News	1	1458	81%	171	9%	174	10%
		2	1251	73%	189	11%	272	16%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2709</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>13%</b>

Table 5.2 shows the use of Arabic varieties across the two episodes. It demonstrates that MSA was used 81 % in the first episode as opposed to 73 % in the second. ESA and Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, were used 9 % and 10 % respectively.

The first episode was chosen from the morning News category. Unlike the evening News bulletins which are often more detailed and sometimes read by two broadcasters, the morning News tends to be brief and also presented by only one broadcaster. The data analysis indicates that the broadcaster reads the News fluently in pure MSA at a rate of 100 % without any switch to the other varieties, so do the reporters when they read the reports. However, the situation changes when the reporters interview people and then, the switch between the different varieties of Arabic in such cases appears to be inevitable and comes in response to the change in situations and participants.<sup>27</sup> The occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic in this episode resulted

<sup>27</sup> The meeting of Aljazeera's correspondent in Aleppo with the patient shows how the change of situation and participants occasion the switch of codes/varieties. When he was talking to the camera, he spoke in MSA but as soon as he started talking to the patient, he switched to the dialect, the variety that patient can speak and feel comfortable with.

from the fact that some guests use their dialects rather than MSA during their participation in sharing some comments. For example, in one of this episode's reports, the former Lebanese Prime Minister, Sa'ad Al-Hariri, appears to speak spontaneously in a mixed style of a Lebanese dialect and ESA, though Lebanese Arabic was the variety largely dominating his speech while the rare occurrence of MSA and ESA lexical items was just because of the fact that these words do not have equivalents in the dialect as in [ʔilmuʔassasih l-ʔaskariyyih] المؤسسة العسكرية 'the military institution', l-ʕawēšif ʔissiyēsiyyih العواصف السياسية 'the political storms', wazīri d-difāʕ وزير الدفاع 'The Minister of Defence', among some other examples. The following example gives more illustration on this point.

**Example 3:**

*habbūt ʔijī la hūn la ḥattā ʔūl la ljēf lebnēnē la wazīri d-difāʕ la qāʔidi l jēf  
ʔinnuh nihnā dāʔiman dāʕmīn lilmuʔassasih l-ʔaskariyyih wa hēdā f-ft ʔillī  
biniftixir fih kalubnāniyyēn liʔannuh haydi l-muʔassasih fiʕlan jamaʕit kulli l-  
libnāniyyēn wi ʔidrit tiḥayyid hēlah min kulli l-ʕawēšif ʔissiyēsiyyih wi badna  
yyāhā dal biha l-rūḥiyyih ʔin jāʔa llāh*

**Gloss:**

I came to here just to say to the Lebanese Army, to the minister of defence, to the commander of chief, that we always support and stand by the military institution and we, as Lebanese, feel proud of doing so because this institution really gathered all Lebanese and managed to neutralize itself from all political storms. We want it to keep working in this mode, God Willing.

In this example, Al-Hariri speaks, for the most part, in Colloquial Arabic with unintentional use of some lexical items from MSA and ESA.<sup>28</sup> He talks about the role of the Lebanese Army in maintaining the unity of the Lebanese society through its impartiality. A topic as such imposes the speaker to use certain words like *lilmuḥassasiḥ l-ḥaskariyyih* المؤسسة العسكرية (military institution), *wazīri d-difāʿ* وزير الدفاع (the minister of defence), *tihayyid* تحيد (neutralise), *kulli l-ḥawēṣif ḥissiyēsiyyih* كل العواصف السياسية (all political storms) which are in the first place either MSA or ESA. These words are preponderantly used in the context of political discourse which normally belongs to the domain of MSA. Furthermore, these words do not have counterparts in Colloquial Arabic. However, the potential reasons underlying the switch between these three varieties will be extensively discussed in chapter six, the second part of the data analysis.

Like many of the Lebanese and some other Arab politicians, Al-Hariri uses Lebanese Arabic in most of his statements or speeches for different reasons, among which is his deficiency in MSA (as evidently appeared in many of his speeches). The amount of the MSA and ESA lexical items that occur in his speech basically depends on the topic he talks about, as clearly shown in the above example. It has been widely believed that the topic of speech determines the relationship between the speaker and his/her audience and thus, determines the language/variety that should be used. However, this is not likely to be applied to the example above since the speaker switches due his deficiency in MSA rather than for communicative strategies.

Nevertheless, the example interestingly presents some of the linguistic features of Lebanese Arabic. One of the prominent features of this variety is the gender-based

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<sup>28</sup> As mentioned above, the occurrence of some MSA and ESA lexical items in Al Hariri speech was not because he wanted to speak in MSA but because these items do not have counterparts in Lebanese Arabic or any other Arabic dialect.

difference between the demonstrative markers [*hēdā*] (*this*), *which* is used to indicate the masculine, and [*haydi*] (*this*), which is used for feminine. This distinction is not restricted only to Lebanese Arabic but exists in almost all Arabic varieties. For example, in Egypt, the masculine demonstrative is [*dah*] whereas the feminine is [*dih*] as opposed to /*hāḏā*/ (masculine) and /*hāḏihi*/ (feminine) in MSA.

To briefly sum up this section, the amount of MSA use in Future TV was lower than that of some other TV channels such as Aljazeera, Aldjazaeriya, and Yemen TV.

As far as Aldjazaeriya is concerned, the data analysis revealed that MSA was used 81 % of the time as compared to Future TV where MSA was used only 77 %. ESA and Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, were used 12 % and 7 % respectively. It is worth mentioning here that unlike the other Arab TV channels, Aldjazaeriya media content in general bounds with a myriad of French borrowings to the extent that makes the viewers of the other Arab countries unable to understand it. So, it is not uncommon to hear these words in the Algerians' day-to-day communication as they have become part and parcel of their speech. However, all French lexical items occurred within the News presentation (or anywhere else) were ruled out as they are out of the scope of this study which fundamentally focuses on Arabic diglossic switching.

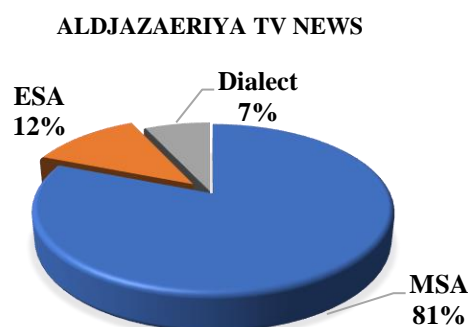


Fig. 5.4 The varieties used in Aldjazaeriya TV News

Apart from their use of French borrowings and Arabic-French code switching, it was evident from the data analysis that the Algerians tend to use ESA when they talk to the media despite the overwhelming influence of French on the way they speak at the phonological level. Such linguistic behaviour apparently results from different factors; on the one hand, they appear to be aware of the fact that the situation in which they talk requires a formal variety. On the other hand, they understand that their dialect is almost unintelligible to a large part of the Arab people.

The multilingual nature of the Algerian society makes the linguistic situation in Algeria quite convoluted where different languages are in a constant contact; Arabic with its variations, French, and Tamazight (Berber), which is spoken in some areas of the country as a first language. So, as a result of this diversity which is viewed as a product of some historical, political, and socio-cultural factors, the linguistic situation in Algeria is characterized by ambiguity and complexity. In this context, Bagui states that the Algerian speech community not only reflects the intra-lingual features of a diglossic situation where two varieties (MSA and Algerian Arabic) of the same language are in a functional distribution (Ferguson 326), but also the linguistic phenomena of an inter-lingual situation that occurs when distinct languages are in contact, i.e. code switching (86).

Table 5. 3 The varieties used in Aldjazeeraiya News

Aldjazeeraiya TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA (F)		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	News	1	1641	84%	225	12%	76	4%
		2	1112	76%	184	12%	181	12%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2753</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>409</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>7%</b>

Table 5.3 illustrates the discrepancy of MSA use in the two episodes. In the first one, the amount of MSA use was a bit more as it was used 84 % as compared to the second where it was used 76 % of the episode airtime. This difference of MSA occurrence in both episodes could be attributed to the interventions that took place within the time of news reading. The first episode was aired on 12 July 2015 and read by Khilaf Mizwid. It took up different national and international issues such as the tragically violent clashes in *Gherdayah* between two social factions, the admission to the Algerian universities for the new academic year, the relations between Libya and Tunisia in the wake of the Libyan and Tunisian Revolutions, among others. The insignificant percentage of Colloquial Arabic occurrence in the first episode (4 %) came as a result of the participation of highly educated persons like Mohammad Ratib Annabulsi, a Syrian intellectual, Hasan Nasrallah<sup>29</sup>, the Secretary General of *Hezbollah* party in Lebanon, and Filali Ghuini, the Secretary General of the National Reform Movement in Algeria. All of them are well-competent and enjoy a good mastery of MSA, and consequently, their participation was predominantly in MSA.<sup>30</sup> For example, Annabulsi appears reading a written message to the people of *Gherdayah* urging them to maintain their unity and enhance their solidarity for their peace and stability.

**Example 4:**

*ʔayyuha l-ʔixwatu l-kirām fi yirdāyata l-ḥazīnah lā yazālu ʔahadukum fi  
fushatin min dīnih mālam yuṣib daman ḥarāman wa yazallu l-muslimu bixayr*

<sup>29</sup> Hassan Nasrallah is a Lebanese politician and religious leader who was born in 1960. He is the third and current Secretary General of the Lebanese political and paramilitary party Hezbollah. Nasrallah sincerely adheres to Iran and furthered his studies in Qum, the stronghold of Shiite in Iran.

<sup>30</sup> Annabulsi is a Syrian intellectual and religious scholar. He was born in 1938 of a relatively poor, but well educated, family. His father was one of the religious scholars of Damascus city who preached in its mosques and left a large collection of books including some manuscripts. He has written a number of Islamic books, most remarkable of which is “Outlooks on Islam” (published three times with one version translated into English).



*mālam yasfik daman wa mā min qatrati damin turāq min ʔādama ʔilā qiyāmi  
s-sāʕah ʔillā wa yataḥammaluhā l-ʔinsān yawma l-qiyāmah wa yawma yasūqu  
l-maqtūl qātilahu yaqūlu yārab hāḏā qatalanī fasalhu lima qatalanī fayaqūlu  
llāhu lahu lima qataltahu fayaqūl qataltuh min ʔajli ʕizzi fulān ...etc.*

**Gloss:**

‘Dear distinguished brothers in grieved Gherdayah! A believer continues to guard his Faith so long as he does not shed blood unjustly. The Muslim remains in a good faith so long as he does not shed blood unjustly [the speaker repeats the sentence for emphasis]. There is no a single drop of blood shed unjustly from Adam till the day of resurrection goes unpunished. In the day of resurrection, the killed would drag his/her killer saying “Oh Allah! This person killed me. Ask him “why he killed me?” Then, Allah says “why did you kill him?”. Then, the killer says “I killed him for the sake of so-and-so’.

In this example, Annabulsi reads from the paper in pure MSA. It shows, however, the inconsistency of Annabulsi’s use of case and mood endings as he sporadically uses them especially when reading the Verses of *Qur’an* and *Hadith* (Tradition of Prophet Mohammed) and in other instances, he drops them. For example, he says: /**lā yazālu**/ ‘To continue to be’ (with mood ending) rather than [**lā yazāl**] (without mood ending).

Then, after an introduction to his speech by the reporter, Hasan Nasrallah appears to speak also about the same topic, i.e. the clashes in Gherdayah but in a stylistically different way from that used by Annabulsi. Unlike Annabulsi who plays the role of the preacher, Nasrallah appears to speak as *ipso facto* a politician rather than a preacher. It is widely believed that the difference in the roles played by speakers

throughout any conversation affects their linguistic choice. Speakers sometimes use a certain variety which may fit the situation and the role they play; the politician speaks as a politician, the preacher speaks as a preacher and so on, and each role has its appropriate variety. No speaker wants to be perceived in a role that does not conform with his position (Bassiouney 55). Accordingly, the role played by Nasrallah as a politician in this intervention relatively released him from the adherence to MSA in spite of his ability to use it fluently. It also provided him with a sufficient space to switch comfortably between the varieties. So, he starts his speech with ESA by saying:

**Example 5:**

*Lammā kān yiṣīr mafākil fī baṣḍi l-ʔamākin kān wasāʔili l-ʔislām tatahaddaθ ʕan xilāf ʕirqī ʔaw ʕalā ʔasās ʕirqī yaʕnī ʕarab wa ʔamāzīq wa lākin ʔanā jāhat fī l-ʔayyāmi l-māḍiyah baṣḍi l-faḍāʔiyyāt ʔalʔajnabiyyah ʔannāṭiqah billuyah l-ʕarabiyyah tatahaddaθ ʕan ʕirāʕ bayna l-malikiyyīn wa l-ʔabāḍiyyīn yaʕnī ʔalyarb yurīd ʔan yuqaddim ʔaṣṣirāʕ ʕalā ʔannahu ʕirāʕ maḍhabī wa ʔāʔifi.*

**Gloss:**

When some troubles were taking place in some areas, the media would talk about an ethnic conflict grounded on an ethnic basis, in other words, a conflict between Arab and Amazigh. But recently, I have watched some foreign TV satellite channels broadcasting in Arabic talking about a conflict between Al Malikiyyin and Al Ebadiyyin, which means that the West wants to introduce the conflict as sectarian.

In the example above, Nasrallah warns the Algerians from the foreign hands that stand behind stage flaring up the fan of the tragic confrontation between the two factions through their misrepresentation of the conflict and promoting it as a sectarian clash between *Al Malikiyyin* and *Al Ebadiyyin*. He overtly states that the foreign satellite

channels broadcasting in Arabic try to depict the conflict in Gherdayah as sectarian, the thing that may expand the circle of this confrontation to include further areas in Algeria.

Regarding the use of MSA in the second episode, which was aired on 22 July 2015, the situation was rather different since the use of MSA was lower than that of the first episode. It is apparent from table 5.3, presented above, that MSA was used only 76 % as compared to 84 % in the first one. In the same way, the participation of the common people was the defining factor underlying the significant rise of ESA and Colloquial Arabic use in this episode as they were used equally, 12 % for each. The episode was read by Aneesah Ashayib in pure MSA without any switch to either variety.

In contrast to the first episode, where the participants were highly educated, the participants of the second were of two categories; high-calibre politicians and common people whose linguistic competence in MSA seemed to be average or below. Table 5.3 presents the equal use of both ESA and the dialect (Algerian Arabic saturated with French lexical borrowings) during their participation. As stated before, all French lexical items were overlooked, however. Within the News bulletin, the first minister in the Algerian government, Abdelmalek Sallal, talks to a press conference accompanied by his Spanish counterpart about the security situation in Algeria and the role played by his government in fighting terrorism. In such situation, MSA is thought to be the typical variety that fits the situation (talking to media) and the speaker's political status (Prime Minister). However, the minister appears to speak in Algerian Arabic with inserting some colloquially-accented MSA words. He says:

**Example 6:** *ħaḳīqatan kānt fih ḍaħāyā tāf tisṣā junūd ʔabriyā? ʔiθnīn muṣābīn bijarħ*

*ʔiθra kāmēn yūm l-ṣīd yūmi l-ṣīd yūm muqaddas binnisbah lilmuslimīn*

*lākin ʔarrad sayakūn qawī wa qawī jiddan*

**Gloss:** In fact, there were about nine victims of innocent soldiers; two of them were wounded due to an ambush on the day of *Eid* which is a holy festival for Muslims, but the reaction to that attack will be strong, very strong!

The example above shows the minister's switch between the three varieties, MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic not only in the same conversational setting but within single sentences. His switch movement could be represented in the following diagram.

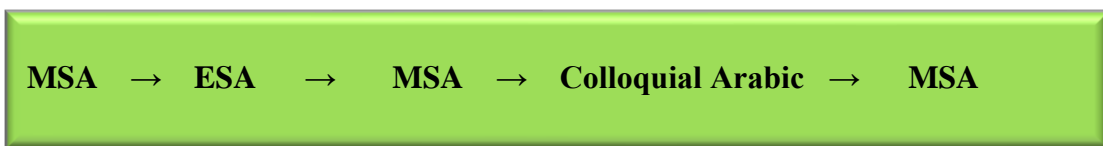


Fig. 5.5 Code alternation in the PM's statement

The figure shows the Prime Minister's pattern of code switching and his switch movement between the three varieties within one sentence. In the first sentence of his speech, he moves back and forth between the three varieties starting from MSA to ESA through Colloquial Arabic and back again to MSA concluding the sentence with the MSA phrase *junūd ḥabriyā?* جنود أبرياء 'innocent soldiers'. This instance and some others demonstrate that the great overlap and constant "leakage" in these three varieties of Arabic occur in both directions, i.e., from MSA to Colloquial and again, from Colloquial to MSA (Boussofara-Omar 102). In other words, the interchangeable influence traded between MSA and Colloquial Arabic is not uni-directional, as the general tendency in studies of Arabic diglossia suggests, but bi-directional as illustrated in the above example and proved by Boussofara-Omar (2004) in her study "Diglossia as 'Zones of Contact' in the Media", where she found a great overlap and constant "leakage" between MSA and Colloquial Arabic occurring in both directions (119). The example also shows that MSA represents the centre of the PM's movement between

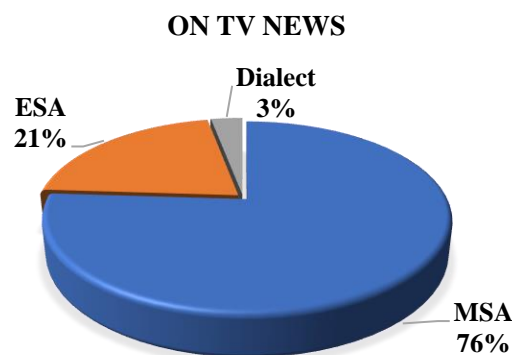
these three varieties. Whenever he feels his speech starts to drift towards ESA or Colloquial Arabic, he moves back to MSA. Here, it may be assumed that his awareness of the formal situation in which he is speaking represents the driving force that makes him more careful to use MSA as the situation in which he is talking (press conference) involves a formal variety with an international status rather than a regionally-bounded dialect. However, because of his imperfect competence in MSA, he occasionally resorts to Colloquial Arabic to fill some lexical gaps and to keep his speech connected as well. According to some sociolinguists, the preponderant reason for switching between codes is the compensation for the linguistic deficit that bilinguals may encounter during their conversation (Chung 294). However, such diglossic switching between MSA and the spoken Arabic varieties is viewed as a common practice for Arabic speakers in their daily communication, TV and radio discourse is no exception. Arabic speakers tend to start a sentence or a speech with one variety and continue switching back and forth between MSA and the other forms of Arabic including the dialect they speak.

Linguistically speaking, the example mentioned above illustrates some of the linguistic features of Algerian Arabic. For example, the MSA word /*kānat*/ ‘to be, past fem.’ is realized as [*kānt*]. The short vowel /a/ between the last two consonants is dropped, and as a result, the word is similarly pronounced as the contracted form of the English modal verb ‘*can’t*’. In addition, the short vowel in Algerian Arabic is realized as a long vowel in some instances as in [*kāmēn*] *كامين* ‘ambush’ instead of MSA counterpart /*kamīn*/, *كمين*, [*qūrūn*] *قورون*, ‘centuries’ instead of MSA /*qurūn*/ *قرون*, [*sēnēn*] *سينين* ‘years’ instead of /*sinīn*/, *سينين* etc. Another feature from among many others which characterize Algerian Arabic is the *imālah*<sup>31</sup> ‘inclination’ of the long vowel

<sup>31</sup> *Imālah* is usually defined as the inclination or defection of /ā/ or /ī/ in the direction of /ē/ and that of /a/ in the direction of /e/. According to Qafisheh (1993: 51) “the use of *imālah* was confined to certain tribes in pre-and post-Islamic Arabian Peninsula”.

/ī/ which is realized as [ē] as in [sēnēn] rather than the MSA counterpart /sinīn/ ‘years’, [mūdēr] ‘manager’ rather than /mudīr/ in MSA, among many others. However, these features remain ungeneralizable as they do not occur in all Algerian dialects.

Turning to ON TV, the use of MSA in the News genre was comparatively the lowest among the other TV channels under scrutiny since it was used 76 % of the total time of the two episodes. The Channel also shares with Yemen TV the lowest rate of Colloquial Arabic use in the News as it was used just 3 % in both channels as compared to Aljazeera 5 %, Future TV 13 %, and Aldjazaeriya TV 7 %. However, the marked observation to emerge from the data comparison is the high percentage of ESA which was the highest at a rate of 21 %.



*Fig. 5. 6 The varieties used in ON TV News*

Unlike the other Arab channels, the accent of ON TV broadcasters is largely affected by the Egyptian dialect. This linguistic behaviour is conspicuously substantiated in pronouncing the palatal phoneme /j/ as a velar [g] when reading the News.<sup>32</sup> According to the criteria of the Arabic varieties classification set forth for this study and mentioned earlier in chapter four, the MSA lexical items holding the colloquial pronunciation are classified as belonging to ESA as they hold the linguistic

<sup>32</sup> This phoneme is also transliterated ġ, IPA transcription [dʒ] for the Arabic letter "ج ġīm").

features of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic. It has been pointed out that ESA is perceived as the variety resulting from the combination of the linguistic features of MSA and Colloquial Arabic at all linguistic levels.

Table 5. 4 The varieties used in ON TV News

ON TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
			News	1	1294	91%	127	9%
	2	932	62%	483	32%	97	6%	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2226</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>3%</b>	

Table 5.4 shows the disproportionate use of MSA in the two analyzed episodes. As seen in the table, the use of MSA in the first episode was much higher than the second, 91 % as compared to the second where it was used just 62 % of the time. It is also significant to mention here that Colloquial Arabic was not used too much in total, and it was not also reported in the first episode at all. Likewise, the table shows that ESA was used much in the second episode at a rate of 32 % as compared to the first where it was used only 9 % of the time. The high percentage of MSA use in the first episode, on the one hand, and the absence of Colloquial Arabic, on the other, comes as a result of the fact that this episode did not include out-studio interventions as was the case with the second one. Here, it is worth indicating that the occurrence of ESA was due to the broadcaster's mispronunciation of some MSA lexical items, because of which they were classified as belonging to ESA.

The first episode was broadcast on 25 January 2016, the anniversary of the January 25 Revolution against the deposed President, Hosni Mubarak, which took place

in Egypt.<sup>33</sup> The episode was read by Rajaei Ramzi and took up various national and international issues such as the January 25 Revolution, the civil war in Yemen, the Israeli warplanes bombardments over Gaza, and some other issues. In this episode, many MSA lexical words were uttered in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic pronunciation. Again, both broadcaster and field reporters used the velar [g] rather than the MSA palatal phoneme /j/ when reading the news and reports. The following phrases are examples of this linguistic behaviour.

*hāḏihi l-gawlah* ‘this round’

*dargata l-ʔistiʔdād* ‘the readiness degree’

*ʔalʔigāzāt* ‘the vacations’

*sugūn* ‘jails’

*māgmūʔi mudadi hāḏihi l-ʔuqūbāt* ‘the total period of these penalties’ ... etc.

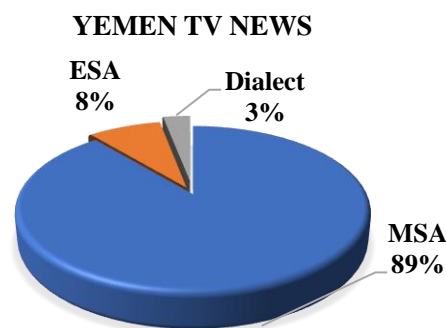
As regards to the second episode, ESA was heavily used at a rate of 32 % due to the intervention of the Egyptian ambassador Rakha Ahmed Hasan who chose to answer the questions of the broadcaster in both ESA and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic with a few instances of MSA occurrence in his speech in addition to the broadcaster’s failure to pronounce the MSA palatal phoneme /j/, which was realized as a velar [g] all the way. In his participation, the ambassador comfortably switches back and forth between the three varieties. However, ESA turned out to be the predominant variety used in his speech which displayed many of the linguistic features of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic such as the demonstrative marker [dah] ‘this masc.’, [dih] ‘this fem.’, [dūl] ‘these/those’, etc. The relative marker [illi] was also used rather than its

<sup>33</sup> The Egyptian revolution began on 25 January 2011 and took place across all of Egypt. Millions of protesters from a range of socio-economic and religious backgrounds demanded the overthrow of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak who rule Egypt for decades. Violent clashes between security forces and protesters resulted in at least 846 people killed and over 6,000 injured.



MSA counterpart /ʔallaḏī/ and /ʔallatī/ ‘which/who’ all along. The analysis also revealed an inconsistency in the ambassador’s use of the negative marker. He sometimes uses the colloquial form [mā ... ʃ] as in [ma yibʔāʃ lāzim] ما يبئاش لازم ‘it should not be’, [ma yitimʃ] ما يتمش ‘will not be’ and other times, he uses the MSA form /lam/ and /lā/ as in /lam yatim/ لم يتم ‘it has not been done’ and /lā taqbal/ لا تقبل ‘does not accept’.

As for Yemen TV, the data analysis results revealed that MSA was used as high as 89 % while ESA and Colloquial Arabic were used only 8 % and 3 % respectively. The participation of people, who were interviewed in these two episodes, took place in MSA, and both ESA and Colloquial Arabic rarely occurred in their speech. Such high percentage of MSA use appears to be associated with the assumption that the Yemeni dialects are presumably more comprehensible and lexically lean towards MSA. According to some linguists, Yemeni dialects are the least contaminated by other languages such as English and French of all Arabic dialects. Vanhove believes that “the Yemeni Arabic dialects are characterized by a great diversity and by a number of unique traits not found elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking community” (750).



*Fig. 5.7 The varieties used in Yemen TV News*

Nevertheless, the status of MSA in the News genre on Yemen TV is comparatively accepted as compared to the previously-discussed channels, excluding

Aljazeera which made considerable use of MSA at a rate of 91 %. In fact, it is not surprising to find this high percentage in Aljazeera channels since, as mentioned earlier, it includes a number of highly qualified broadcasters.

Table 5. 5 The varieties used in Yemen TV News

Yemen TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	News	1	1342	88%	140	9%	37	3%
		2	1380	90%	105	7%	45	3%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2722</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>3%</b>

The similar frequencies and percentages of the two episodes displayed in table 5.5 reflect the relative consistency of the three Arabic varieties use in the News genre of Yemen TV. In the first episode, MSA was used 88 % as compared to 90 % in the second. It should be mentioned here that unlike the reporters of the other channels who tend to switch to Colloquial Arabic whenever they converse with the participants (as was the case with Aljazeera correspondent, Amr Halabi, in Aleppo), the Yemeni reporter appeared in the first episode to have used pure MSA without any instance of switch to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic when he interviewed one of the Popular Resistance leaders who also appeared switching between MSA and ESA but never to his dialect.<sup>34</sup> The following example shows the linguistic choice of the reporter and participant.

<sup>34</sup> The Popular Resistance (المقاومة الشعبية), also known as 'Popular Resistance Committee' are armed groups that have been established in several Yemeni provinces during the Yemeni Civil War after the Houthi's coup. They fight alongside the Yemeni army loyal to the internationally recognized president Hadi.

**Example 6:**

The reporter: *tataqaddam quwwāt ʔaljayf ʔalwatanī wa l-muqāwamah f-faʕbiyyah min hāḍa l-ʔittijāh ʔittijāh muḥāfazat ʔaljawf litaltaqī hunāk wa tuṭahhir hāḍihi ʔalmanṭiqah bilkāmil maʕanā hunā ʔalqiyādī ʔalmaydānī nasʔaluhu hunā ʕan mā huwa ʔattawajjuh ladā quwwāti l-jayf wa l-muqāwamah xilāl ʔalʔayyām ʔalqādimah baʕda ʔan waʕaltum ʔilā hāḍā ʔalmakān*

**Gloss:**

The reporter: The national army and Popular Resistance are gaining advance from this direction towards *Aljawf* province to come together there and to entirely clear this area [from Houthi-Saleh forces]. Here, we have one of the Popular Resistance leaders to ask him about the plans of the national army and Popular Resistance during the coming days after you had reached these places

The Guest: *bismillāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm naḥnu waʕalnā ʔilā hāḍā ʔalmakān qabl mā yuqārib xamsah wa ʕifrīn yawm baʕd mā daxalnā l-muḥāfazah mubāʕarah wa waʕalnā ʔilā hāḍā ʔalmakān wa sēṭarnā qabl yawmayn ʔaw ṯalāṯah ʔayyām ʕalā baʕḍi l-mawāqiʕ ʔaljadīdah wa naḥnu fī ṯarīqinā ʔilā s-sēṭarah ʕalā markiz mudīriyyati l-yēl biʔiḍni l-lah subḥānahu wa taʕālā ḥattā nuḥarrir hāḍihi ʔalmudīriyyah*

**Gloss:**

The Guest: In the Name of Allah, The Beneficent, The Merciful, we came to these places almost twenty-five days ago just after we had recaptured the governorate directly. Two or three days ago, we dominated some new

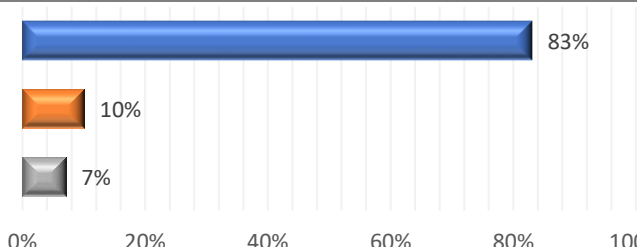
sites and we are going to dominate the Centre of *Al Ghayl* district by the Well of Allah Almighty till it becomes free.

The example above illustrates the reporter and guest's good mastery of MSA. As for the reporter, he used MSA in the introduction and the questions directed to the guest/participant who also used MSA proficiently except some few words which are basically MSA but slightly uttered with colloquial pronunciation as in [ʃētarnā] 'dominated' سيطرنا and [ʔalyēl], 'an area called Al Ghayl' الغيل, whose MSA counterparts are /saytarnā/ and /ʔalyayl/ respectively. In Aljawf province and the surrounding areas, the diphthong /ay/ is realized as [ē] with an inclination as it occurred in the speech of the guest who hails from Aljawf where he said: [ʃētarnā], [ʔalyēl] etc. This inclination (*imalah*) is a linguistic feature of many spoken Arabic dialects not only some varieties of Yemeni Arabic where the diphthong /ay/ is reduced into [ē] as [ʔilbēt] in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic rather than its MSA counterpart /ʔalbayt/ 'the house'. In Algerian Arabic, the inclination also occurs in some cases of the long vowels /ī/ and /ā/, both of which realized as [ē] as in the Algerian Arabic word [xṭērah] rather than the MSA /xaṭīrah/ 'dangerous' and [slēmah] rather than MSA /salāmah/ 'safety'. These are merely a few examples since the linguistic issues do not fall within the scope of this study whose preponderant focus is the sociolinguistic aspects of using Arabic in the Arab media.

To conclude this section, it could be stated that MSA is not the only Arabic variety that occurs in the news presentation of the Arab channels as argued by some scholars such as Alshamrani (2012) and proposed by Ferguson (1959) when he regarded the High variety as typical for News. Rather, ESA and Colloquial Arabic are also used along with MSA. The occurrence of these varieties comes as a result of the field reports and the participation of the audience. However, all News readers across

the five channels have showed a complete adherence to MSA in reading News despite the little influence of the dialect pronunciation on the way some words are uttered as was the case with the Egyptian broadcasters who pronounced the palatal phoneme /j/ as a velar [g] when reading News.

Table 5. 6 The varieties used in the News programmes of the Channels

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA	 83%	14288	83%
ESA	10%	1787	10 %
Coll. Arabic	7%	1114	7 %
<b>Total</b>	0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%	<b>17189</b>	<b>100%</b>

Generally, the data analysis results revealed the dominance of MSA in the News programmes of the channels with slight variation between them. The overall use of MSA across the five channels was 83 % as compared to ESA and Colloquial Arabic which were used 10 % and 7 % respectively. The occurrence of these two varieties may not seem surprising if we bear in mind the fact that some of the Arab people are interviewed whether in the studios or in the field reports to share their views on some current issues. The broadcasters of all channels use MSA at a rate of 100 % regardless of the influence of the dialects at the phonological level on the speech of the broadcasters of some channels, as mentioned above.

### 5.2.2. Talk Show

Prior to discussing the results of the analysis related to this section, it might be appropriate to mention that the intertwining of the Arab media with technology in the recent decades has come to the detriment of MSA and opened the floodgates for the colloquial forms of Arabic to massively dominate many of the media contents. It stands to reason that the Talk Show programmes are among these media contents which have

been considerably affected by the ruthless creep of Colloquial Arabic to the Arab media, in general, and the broadcasting media, in particular. Talk Shows are better known in the Arab media jargon as views-exchange or dialogue-based programmes (Al Kasim 93) which are overwhelmingly the oft-watched by the TV viewers in the Arab World due to the controversial issues they address. Such kind of programmes, particularly the politics-related ones, have changed the political map of the region and contributed to the democratization of the Arab people and therefore, redefining the democracy in the Arab World.

Turning to the discussion of the data analysis results of this study leads us to the approximate, if not real, *status quo* of Arabic and MSA, in particular, in the Talk Show programmes in the five channels under investigation and generally, in all Arab satellite channels.

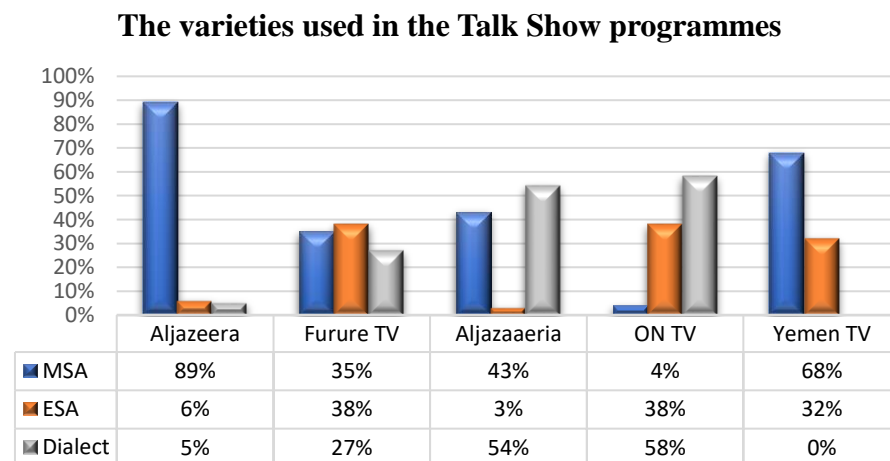


Fig. 5. 8 The varieties used in the Talk Show programmes

Figure 5.8 displays a varying degree of the Arabic varieties use in the talk show programmes of the five channels. It is apparent from the results that Colloquial Arabic was highly used in some TV channels, namely, ON TV, Aldjazaeriya TV, and Future TV. The highest percentage of Colloquial Arabic use was reported in the Egyptian channel, ON TV, and Aldjazaeriya TV at rates of 58 % and 54 % respectively. By

contrast, MSA was also reported to be the lowest variety used in the Talk Show programmes of ON TV from among all the five channels with only 4 % of use during the airtime of the episodes.

This alarming result, in fact, shows the severe deterioration of MSA use in the Egyptian TV channels, in general, and ON TV, in particular. It also emphasizes their leaning towards the adoption of Egyptian Arabic to be used on a large scale for some certain agendas such as disseminating their dialect, which they regard as a part and parcel of their national identity, throughout the world. Mehanna Ferial mentions that Egypt and Lebanon are the Arab countries which use dialects most in the media. She argues that their resort to the dialect could be attributed to two reasons; first, they seek to normalize the use of their dialect to be the dominant variety in all spheres of life including media, and second, to teach it to the others through the media products such as drama, movies, songs, etc. In addition, they think that modernity and progress require a variety that is free from formality and thus, the dialect is more apt to serve that function.

On the other hand, the disappearance of Colloquial Arabic in the talk show programmes of Yemen TV is quite unexpected. According to the data analysis, both broadcasters and guests in the two analyzed episodes switched back and forth only between MSA and ESA distancing themselves away from using Colloquial Arabic. Nevertheless, the absence of Colloquial Arabic has not come to offer more space to MSA. Rather, it has scaled up the amount of ESA to reach 32 % as compared to 6 % on Aljazeera and 3 % on Aldjazeeraiya. In what follows, further details on the use of the Arabic varieties in the Talk Show programmes of each one of the channels are given.

As has been mentioned, Aljazeera satellite channel broadcasts a variety of programmes, most of which basically address the most controversial issues in the

Middle East. The controversial talk show programmes, broadcast on a weekly basis, have widely popularized Aljazeera and made it the pioneer channel among hundreds of satellite channels in the Arab World. ‘*The Opposite Direction*’, Aljazeera flagship Talk Show programme hosted by Faisal Al Kasim, is considered to be the most popular from among the programme map of the channel. Given this wide range popularity, an episode of this programme series was selected for the analysis in an attempt to identify how Arabic is used in this programme. The other episode was selected from the weekly programme ‘*In Depth*’ *في العمق* hosted by Ali Al Dhafeeri which generally discusses some certain political issues as well.

Despite the appropriateness of the High variety (MSA) in the politics-related programmes, which was extensively argued by a number of sociolinguists, it has been evident in this study, however, that not only MSA is used in these kinds of programmes, but ESA and Colloquial Arabic are also used side by side with different degrees depending on some particular factors such as context, participants, as well as the topic being discussed.

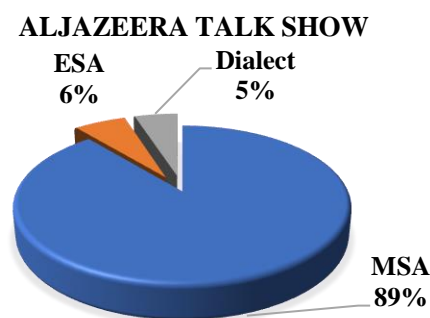


Fig. 5.9 The varieties used in Aljazeera Talk Show programmes

Figure 5.9 illustrates the overall use of the three varieties in the two episodes of Aljazeera Talk Show programmes selected for the analysis. As seen, MSA appeared to be the predominant variety spoken in the episodes with 89 %. Colloquial Arabic and ESA, on the other hand, minimally occurred with only 5 % and 6 % respectively. In



fact, the elevated amount of MSA use is likely to validate the assumption of MSA appropriateness to these kinds of programmes. On the other hand, the insignificant occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic was occasioned by the debaters' use of some dialectal features during their speech whether at the phonological or morpho-syntactic levels. For example, Al-Quabati, one of the debaters in the episode of the '*Opposite Direction*' الاتجاه المعاكس, inconsistently uses the MSA palatal /jim/ ج as the velar [g] as in [ʔalmuɣtamaʕ] 'the society' whereas in some occasions he uses its MSA form as in /jamīʕan/ 'together'. At the syntactic level, he uses the colloquial [ʔilli] rather than its MSA counterparts /ʔallaḏī/ and /ʔallatī/. Another instance, which seems to be bizarre to some Arabic speakers especially those who are interested in the morphosyntactic studies of Arabic, is the speaker's attachment of the dialectal subject pronoun [nihna] نحنا 'we' to the past verb /jārakū .../ شاركوا 'they shared' to take the place of the MSA object pronoun /-nā/ نا 'us' and functions as an object pronoun to finally appear as [ʔārakūnihna] شاركونحننا 'they shared us'. Typically, the object pronoun in MSA is normally suffixed to the verb but in some dialects of Yemeni Arabic such as Taizi and Adeni dialects, the subject pronoun is suffixed to the verb as in [ʕallamūnihnā] علمونحننا rather than /ʕallamūnā/ علمونا 'they taught us'. Additionally, the speaker geminates the phoneme [m] in the third person plural pronoun /hum/ هم 'they' to be realized as [humma] همماً 'they' with geminating the phoneme [m]. It is worth mentioning that this linguistic phenomenon is common among some politicians in Yemen and has become a part of their jargon.

On the other hand, the other debater, whose mother tongue is Lebanese Arabic, used some dialectal utterances or MSA lexical items pronounced in dialectal pronunciation despite his strong interest to speak in MSA. The dialectal influence is manifested in his inconsistent pronunciation of some sounds such as [ð], [q], and [θ].

Thus, the dialectal linguistic features occurred in the debater's speech could be summarized as follows:

- The voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ was realized as voiceless dental sibilant [s] as in [ʔalhūsiyyīn] الحوثيين 'the name of the rebels in Yemen' rather than /ʔalhūθiyyīn/.
- The voiceless unaspirated uvular stop /q/ was realized as voiceless glottal stop [ʔ] as in [btiʔrāhā btibkī].
- The voiced interdental fricative /ð/ was realized as voiced dental sibilant [z] as in [yinaffiz] rather than its MSA counterpart /yunaffiðu/ 'to implement'.

It should be mentioned that the glottalization of some phonemes is a common linguistic feature in Lebanese Arabic and Egyptian Arabic as well as some areas of some Arab countries. However, a difference could be noticed between the Egyptian and Lebanese dialects in regard to glottalization. For example, the phoneme /q/ in the word /θaqāfah/ 'culture' is glottalized in Lebanese Arabic and realized as [saʔēfih] whereas it is not glottalized in the Egyptian Arabic where it is realized as [saqāfah]. Moreover, glottalization is not only restricted to some Arabic dialects as it could be observed in English as well. In American English, for example, the phoneme /t/ is glottalized in some words to be realized as [ʔ], as in /written/ → [wriʔin], /Britain/ → [Briʔin], among many others.

The speaker also pronounces the phoneme [ð] in two different ways in the same string of speech; in the first, it is pronounced in its MSA pronunciation /ʔiðā/ إذا 'if' whereas in the second, it is said in its dialectal form [faltazhab] فلتذهب 'you should go'. He says: *ʔiðā ʔaratta ʔan tuhārib ʔirān faltazhab ʔilayhā* 'if you want to fight Iran, you should go to it'.

**Example 7:** mā yajrī fi l-yaman huwa muhāwalah lilqaḍāʾ ʿala n-nufūz ʿassuʿūdī

ʿallaḍī yasaytir ʿala l-bilād *masalan* ali šāliḥ qablū ʿanā ʿandī xiṭāb li

ʿabdinnašir *hūn ʿiza btiḍrāh btibkī* wa huwa yatakallam ʿan madā

ʿalʿisfāfi s-suʿūdī fi s-suʿūdiyyah

**Gloss:** What is going on in Yemen is an attempt for putting an end to the Saudi dominance [over Yemen] which dominates the state. For example, here, I have a speech of Abdunnaser which might make you cry if you read it when he talked about the Saudi regime aggression in Saudi Arabia.

From the above example, it could be noticed that when the debater talks about issues that touch emotions, he resorts to dialectal expressions rather than MSA utterances. According to Hinskens, dialect is more associated with intimacy, relationality, solidarity, and informality (81). Given this notion, there seems to be a correlation between the emotion of the speaker and the language choice. When the speaker is in a state of comfort and ease, he is likely to use MSA. However, when he gets nervous or annoyed from the questions of the host or the comments of the other debater, his language choice tends to spontaneously gravitate towards the dialect. So, the calmer the speech, the more likely MSA is used and the other way round is correct because the use of dialect is unanimously associated with informality and spontaneity.

Table 5. 7 The varieties used in Aljazeera Talk Show programmes

Aljazeera TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Talk Show	1	1848	85.2%	154	7.2%	165	7.6%
		2	2040	93%	102	5%	36	2%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>3888</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>5%</b>

The second episode was selected from among the series of the programme ‘*In Depth*’ في العمق which was broadcast on 11 July 2016 and hosted by Ali Aldhafiri. It focused on the Kurdish demands for an independent state. In this episode, three guests were hosted to discuss the subject matter of the episode. From table 5.7 above, it could be seen the difference in the frequencies and percentages of variety use between the two episodes. In the second episode, MSA was spoken more with 93 % as compared to that of the first where it was spoken at a rate of 85 %. On the contrary, ESA and Colloquial Arabic were used less than their use in the first with only 5 % and 2 % respectively. The low amount of Colloquial Arabic and ESA use in the second episode may be attributed to the fact that the guests were talking comfortably without confrontations or heated arguments. This asserts the assumption mentioned above that dialect is more associated with the state of comfort and informality. Furthermore, the views of the guests in the second episode were quite identical. Thus, such congruence has paved the way for MSA to be the dominant variety and in turn, diminished the space of ESA and Colloquial Arabic in the discussion.

As for Future TV, the distribution of the three varieties occurred in the two episodes appeared to be relatively approximate. MSA was not used as much as expected in such kind of programmes which discuss political issues where MSA/*fusha* is assumed to be more appropriate and occur in abundance. As said before, Lebanese and Egyptian Channels are the least among the other Arab channels which use MSA in their programmes regardless of the type of programme; religious, political, social, etc. Although the three guests of the episode were apparently well educated, ESA dominated the largest part of the episode time with 38% of use. It is widely agreed that the typical variety in such kind of programmes is MSA coupled with ESA. However, it

was used by both the host and guests of the programme only 35 %. Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, was also used with a relatively significant amount 27%.

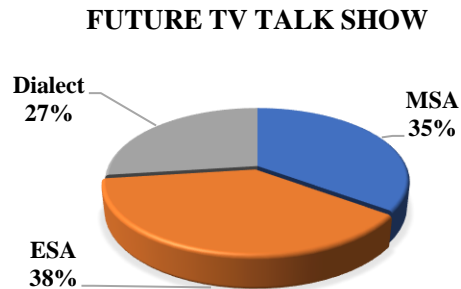


Fig. 5.10 The varieties used in Future TV talk show programmes

Unlike Aljazeera and some other Arab channels, as will be shown below, the host of the programme does not hesitate to share the extensive use of ESA and Colloquial Arabic with the participants in most parts of the discussion. For example, the host of the first episode of the programme *'Inter-Views'*, starts the programme with a short introduction, or more precisely, with a Lebanese adage which is mixed of MSA and Lebanese dialect. She says:

*ʔiʕṣṣānī hiṣṣah wi ʔiza mā ʕajabitnī l-hiṣṣah biṣṣiri l-ʔiṣṣah maṣṣiriyyih wi ʔim maṣṣārik wi ʕaṣb ʕanīf*

‘Give me a share, and if I do not like it, the story will turn into fighting and confrontation’

In this example, the host switches back and forth between the three varieties. She starts with ESA [ʔiʕṣṣānī] أعطيني ‘give me’ rather than the MSA form /ʔaṣṣṭini/ أعطني, then she switches to MSA /hiṣṣah/ حصة ‘a share’, after that, she switches to Colloquial Arabic (Lebanese Arabic) [wi ʔiza mā] وإذا ما ‘and if ... not’ rather than its MSA counterpart /wa ʔiḏā lam/ وإذا لم. This beginning could be taken as a signal of what follows and therefore, what varieties are expected to be used throughout the entire

episode. Moreover, it may send an implicit message to the debaters/guests to feel free and release themselves from the shackles of MSA use so long as the host herself does not show abidance by the use of MSA.

Statistically speaking, the host of the episode uttered approximately 291 words mixed of MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic (Lebanese Arabic) in her introduction to the episode. The total rate of Colloquial Arabic and ESA in this short introduction was 45 % as opposed to 55 % for MSA. In the typical situations, the hosts of the programmes in the Arabic channels start their introduction in MSA reading a written text from the teleprompter. However, in some Arab channels, particularly the Egyptian and Lebanese, the broadcasters use their dialects even when they read from the written text in the teleprompters, which means that even the scripts are possibly written in Colloquial Arabic. This linguistic behaviour was evident and observed in a number of programmes, among which was the daily talk show of ON TV hosted by Amr Adeeb and the popular programme ‘*Arab Idol*’ which is seasonally broadcast on MBC from Beirut and hosted by an Egyptian broadcaster. The table below gives more illustration on the percentages and frequencies of the varieties occurrence in the two episodes.

Table 5. 8 The varieties used in Future TV Talk Show programmes

Future TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Talk Show	1	224	14%	728	44%	694	42%
		2	1063	53%	651	33%	286	14%
<b>Total</b>			<b>1287</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>1379</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>980</b>	<b>27%</b>

Although the host of the two episodes was the same, the occurrence of the three varieties appeared in different rates. While MSA was rarely spoken in the first episode, by the host and the guests, with only 14 % of the time, it was used more in the second,

53 %. Similarly, the amount of Colloquial Arabic in the first episode (42%) was much higher than that of the second (14 %). A profound look at the reasons underlying such difference of MSA and Colloquial Arabic occurrence in these two episodes, though they are of the same programme and presented by the same broadcaster, suggests some factors closely relevant to the ideological backgrounds of the participants of the two episodes. While the participants of the first episode were Christians, including the host of the programme, they were Muslims in the second. Each group holds different attitudes towards MSA which, definitely, affects their language behaviours. Therefore, it could be argued that the use of MSA and Colloquial Arabic in these two episodes were ideologically driven and used along attitudinal lines rather than spontaneous usage. However, further discussion on this issue will be provided in chapter six when discussing the reasons for the switch between the Arabic varieties in the programmes of the channels under investigation.

In Aldjazeeraia TV Talk Show, the two episodes were selected from two different types of programmes. The first was an episode of the weekly programme ‘*The Crime Scene*’ مسرح الجريمة, an investigative programme which is concerned with bringing some criminal events that happen in the Algerian society into light and tracing the reasons for committing such crimes. This programme is presented by Jeddo Hassan, seemingly an over-sixty-year-old man. The second episode, on the other hand, was selected from the weekly programme ‘*My Home is My Heaven*’ بيتي جنتي, where three highly educated figures of religious backgrounds are regularly hosted to discuss different issues of family relations.

The data analysis results of these two episodes show incongruity between them in terms of the Arabic varieties occurrence. Whereas the first episode was considerably presented in Colloquial Arabic (i.e. Algerian Arabic) with a sporadic occurrence of

some MSA and ESA lexical items, and at times French borrowings, the second was predominantly presented in MSA with a little insertion of some ESA and dialectal items.

Table 5. 9 The varieties used in Aldjazeeraiya TV Talk Show

Aldjazeeraiya TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Talk Show	1	9	1%	45	3%	1588	96%
		2	1461	80%	66	4%	291	16%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>1470</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>1879</b>	<b>54%</b>

The table above shows near absence of MSA from the first episode; only nine MSA words out of 1642 utterances occurred in the episode with just 1 % of use. It is worth noting that this episode shares this alarming percentage of MSA deterioration, and conversely, the high percentage of Colloquial Arabic use, with one of the Interview episodes of ON TV where it was entirely presented in Colloquial Arabic with 100 % (as will be seen later in this section).

However, the most marked observation to emerge from the analysis of this episode is that whenever the presenter uses this insignificant number of MSA words, he immediately switches to Algerian Arabic to explain their meanings as if he knows that some of the viewers will not understand these utterances. The salient evidence of this strategic switch is manifested in his use of the Arabic discourse marker /**yaʕnī**/ يعني 'It means', which is used to explain something inconspicuous, after the MSA expressions/utterances. For example, he says:

*nās mlāh li l-jār yiʕāwin jāruh fi s-sarrāʔi wa ɔ-ɔarrāʔ yaʕnī fi l-hājah l-mlīhah wi llī miʕtī mlīhah*



‘Good people where the neighbours stick together through thick and thin **which means** in good times and bad.’

A similar instance occurred in the same stretch of the introduction when he says;

**lākin fi lʔahyāʔi f-jaʕbiyyah hādih** fi baʕdi l-ʔahyān nilqāw baʕdi l-ʔūmūr li miʕfi mlīhah mumkin hādā **rājiʕ lilkaθāfah s-sukkāniyyah yaʕnī kāyin lyāfi bizzāf**

‘but sometimes in the slums, some bad things could be found possibly because of the populous density, i.e., where there are a lot of people.

Although the discourse marker /**yaʕnī**/ occurs with a numerous frequency in the speech of many Arabic speakers to fill discourse gaps in certain conversational occasions, the host here uses it to introduce an interpretation rather than a filler. The filler is usually used to indicate that the speaker is searching for a particular word or trying to find out a way to express a certain idea. Thus, he provides an explanation in Algerian Arabic after uttering every MSA expression for fear of incomprehensibility by the Algerian audience, particularly the ordinary people or even at times the educated elite of the Algerian society who received their education in French. In his article “Dialectal Arabic, MSA and Formal Education in Algeria”, Dendane argues that few people in the Algerian society reach an acceptable level of competence in an effective use of the standard form of Arabic in formal situations, even when they have gone through elementary, intermediate and higher education (131-132). However, this is not to say that all Algerians cannot understand MSA lexical items. In other words, this could be applied to the illiterate people or Francophone Algerians who were educated almost exclusively in French (Berger 42). Indeed, the linguistic complexity in Algeria resulting from the weighty legacy of the French colonization makes MSA hard to use for a large number of the Algerian society, though rather easily understood.

Turning to the second episode, the situation is completely different and the high percentage goes in favour of MSA. As mentioned above, all the guests of the programme are highly educated and quite competent in MSA; two of them are Algerians whereas the third is from Syria. In fact, a number of key factors paved the way to the preponderance of MSA to appear as the dominant variety in the discussion of this episode, some of which are related to the host such as his competence married with the interest to use pure MSA, others are related to the participants such as their religious and educational backgrounds, and others are related to the topic of the episode where some family-related issues were discussed from a religious perspective. All these factors in their entirety provided an appropriate atmosphere for MSA to be used more than the other varieties.

On the other hand, the dialectal items occurred with only 16 % as compared to MSA which was used 80 % of the time. Here, it is of importance to mention that the percentage of the dialectal expressions/utterances (16 %) were spoken by the out-studio interviewees appeared in the field report which was presented during the airtime of the programme rather than by the in-studio guests whose speech was predominantly in MSA with a rare occurrence of some ESA lexical items.



*Fig. 5.11 The varieties used in Aldjazaeriya TV Talk Show programmes*

As a whole, the dominant variety in the two episodes in total, as illustrated in figure 5.11 was Colloquial Arabic with 54 % of use followed by MSA which was used 43 %. Also, ESA was rarely used in the two episodes with only 3 %.

As for ON TV Talk Show, just like the other TV channels, the episodes were selected from two different programmes; the first was one of the weekly programmes 'An Hour with Jamal Fahmi' ساعة مع جمال فهمي and the second was selected from the popular daily talk show 'Every Day' كل يوم hosted by Amr Adeeb and both discuss some of the current national issues. The data analysis results of these two episodes revealed that both Colloquial Arabic and ESA were extensively used across these episodes with 58 % and 38 % respectively whereas MSA was rarely used by the presenters with only 4 % of use.

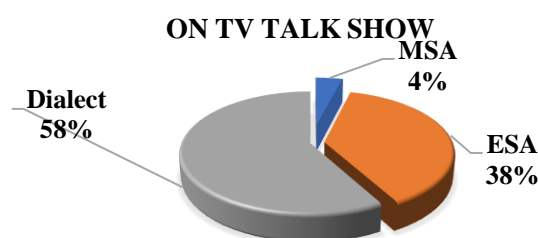


Fig. 5.12 The varieties used in ON TV Talk Show programmes

According to the total result of all channels, the lowest percentage of MSA was reported in the Talk Show of ON TV and the Interview programmes of Future TV where it was used 4 % in both genres.

Table 5. 10 The Varieties used in ON TV Talk Show programmes

ON TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Talk Show	1	71	4%	901	56%	651	40%
		2	45	3%	273	19%	1131	78%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>116</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>1174</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>1782</b>	<b>58%</b>

The table above illustrates that MSA was rarely used on the two episodes with just 4 % and 3 %. In the programme ‘*An Hour with Jamal Fahmi*’ ساعة مع جمال فهمي, only 71 MSA lexical items occurred out of 1623 (the total number of the transcribed words of the episode) with 4 %. ESA occurred as the most variety used in the programme with 56 % followed by Colloquial Arabic with 40 %. The situation in the second episode was not better than that of the first since MSA was used less with only 3 %. In contrast to the first episode, where ESA was the variety on the lead, Colloquial Arabic was indisputably the dominant variety of this programme since it was spoken at a rate of 78 % followed by ESA which was used 19 % of the time.

It seems clear that the presenter of the second episode ‘*Every Day*’, Amr Adeeb, is consciously adopting pure dialect in presenting his programme which sarcastically discusses some socio-political issues related to the corruption of the official Media Institution in Egypt. Some lexical items identifiable as ESA rarely occur throughout his speech, which is heavily saturated with dialectal expressions. Some scholars regard such linguistic behaviour in a satellite channel that transcends the boundaries of the country as an inappropriate and uncommon practice irrespective of the justification that the channel targets in the first place the national rather than the Pan- Arab audience. Here, it seems that either the presenter speaks extemporaneously or he reads a colloquially-written text from the teleprompter.

Similarly, in Yemen TV talk show, two episodes were selected from two different programmes; ‘*The Paths of Victory*’ دروب النصر hosted by Jameel Ezziddin and ‘*The Pulse of Street*’ نبض الشارع hosted by Khalid Elayah. Both broadcasters are better known for their high fluency in MSA and considered as role models in their competence and professional capabilities. However, the selection of their programmes

was not made for these reasons but for being the presenters of most of the talk show programmes of Yemen TV.

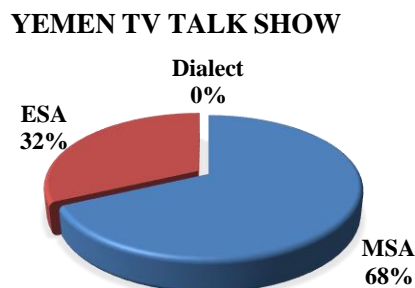


Fig. 5.13 The use of Arabic varieties in Yemen TV Talk Show

As far as the use of the Arabic varieties across these two episodes is concerned, the data analysis revealed a surprising result where Colloquial Arabic was never used in the two episodes. The absence of Colloquial Arabic gave way to ESA to occur with 32 % as opposed to MSA which was used at a rate of 68 %. Both the broadcasters and guests in the two episodes maintained a high level of adherence to MSA when speaking to each other. Their switch movement was only between MSA and ESA distancing themselves away from switching to Colloquial Arabic.

The relatively high percentage of MSA use, on the one hand, and the absence of Colloquial Arabic, on the other, could be attributed to a number of factors, among which are the linguistic competence of the broadcasters, the educational background of the guests (all were professors and journalists, though this factor was proved to be rather ineffective in some cases as was observed in some channels), and the prestigious status that MSA enjoys in Yemen being a conservative society as well as the assumption that Yemeni dialects retain a lot of features which basically belong to Standard Arabic and not found elsewhere in other Arabic-speaking communities (Vanhove 750).

In the first episode, *'The Paths of Victory'* دروب النصر, broadcast on 9 July 2015, Dr. Abdullah Manda'a, a university professor, was hosted to discuss some issues related to the civil war in Yemen, more specifically, the victories gained by the Yemeni

National Army supported by the Popular Resistance over their opponents, Houthi-Saleh troops, in many cities. Here, MSA was considerably used with 86 % as compared to the second episode where it was used in less amount with 51 %.

Table 5. 11 The varieties used in Yemen TV Talk Show programmes




Yemen TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Talk Show	1	1256	86%	203	14%	6	0
		2	741	51%	726	49%	0	0
	<b>Total</b>		<b>1997</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>929</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>

The low use of MSA in the second episode resulted from the guests' imperfect mastery of MSA. Consequently, their switch to ESA was more with 49 % as compared to the first where ESA occurred with only 14 %, most of which was due to the leakage of the dialectal features to the guest's speech at the phonological level; for example, he says: [ʔalmasājid] المساجد 'The mosques' rather than its MSA counterpart /ʔalmasājid/ المساجد, [yūgad] يوجد 'there is/are...' rather than the MSA /yūjadu/ يوجد, etc. The dialectal utterances, on the other hand, occurred within this episode due to the speaker's use of the folk adage [ʔiðā gadak sārīh kaθθira l-faḏāyih] إذا قدك سارح كثر الفضايح 'if you are leaving anyway, increase your disgrace'. This proverb is said when someone does not shy from doing shameful deeds as s/he knows that they are leaving anyway. Had this adage been said in MSA, it would have been ridiculous. According to Hymes, code switching may occur when the speaker's speech act changes from serious to joking (qtd. in Kementchedjhieva 8). So, in such instances when speech contains a touch of humour, dialect/Colloquial Arabic would be more appropriate. It is widely believed that a standard variety is used for formality, seriousness, and distance, while dialect is used, for the most part, in sarcasm, humour, and cordiality.

In the second episode, two journalists, Rashad Ashar'abi and Anis Mansour, were hosted in the programme 'The Pulse of Street' نبض الشارع, to talk about the outlaw arrest of the Yemeni journalists.<sup>35</sup> The host starts introducing the episode with a four-minute-length introduction in pure MSA with no occurring of instances of switching to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic. Then, he turns to the guests asking them some questions on the subject matter in MSA as well. The guests, on the other hand, showed an acceptable commitment to speak in MSA. However, the dialectal influence on their speech was clearly observed at both phonetic and morphosyntactic levels. For example, Rashad Ashara'abi frequently uses the palatal [g] ق rather than the MSA /j/ ج 'jeem'.

To conclude this section, the overall distribution of the Arabic varieties in the Talk Show programmes of the five channels revealed that the use of the Arabic varieties in the Talk Show programmes of the channels under investigation seems to be inconsistent and differs from one channel into another following a number of factors mentioned within the discussion above. Whereas MSA turned out to be the dominant on Aljazeera and Yemen TV, Colloquial Arabic appeared to be the widely used variety on Aldjazaeriya and ON TV. As for Future TV, the amount of these varieties occurrence was rather approximate.

Table 5. 12 The varieties used in Talk Show programmes of the five channels

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA	 46%	8758	46%
ESA	 28%	5208	28%
Collo. Arabic	 26%	4848	26 %
<b>Total</b>	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50%	<b>18814</b>	<b>100%</b>

<sup>35</sup> A number of journalists opposing the coup of the Houthis-Saleh alliance were unjustly arrested and put behind bars. Some of them were even used as human shields in the depots of the militias and were killed as a result of the air strikes of the Saudi-led coalition warplanes. Others were also denied from contact with their families. Many newspapers, satellite channels, civil society organizations, and charitable associations were closed due to the harassment of the militias which deal aggressively with their opponents.

Table 5.12 presents further details on the overall use of the varieties at issue in the Talk Show programmes of the five channels. As seen, MSA was used 46 % followed by ESA which was used 28 % of the time whereas Colloquial Arabic was used 26 %. Although MSA was used more than the other Arabic varieties (46%), this rate may be seen as indicative of its gradual decline in these kinds of programmes which usually discuss political issues.

### 5.2.3. Interview

The five channels in question broadcast a variety of interview programmes which differ from one another according to the topics being discussed or the pursued objectives of these programmes. Some of them are social and others focus on a variety of politics-related issues to get the audience more aware of the current political landscape and to explain the “hows and whys” of some sensitive and controversial issues at the national, regional and international levels.

As for the use of the Arabic varieties on this kind of programmes, the results show that the status of MSA was not much better than that of the Talk Shows presented above.

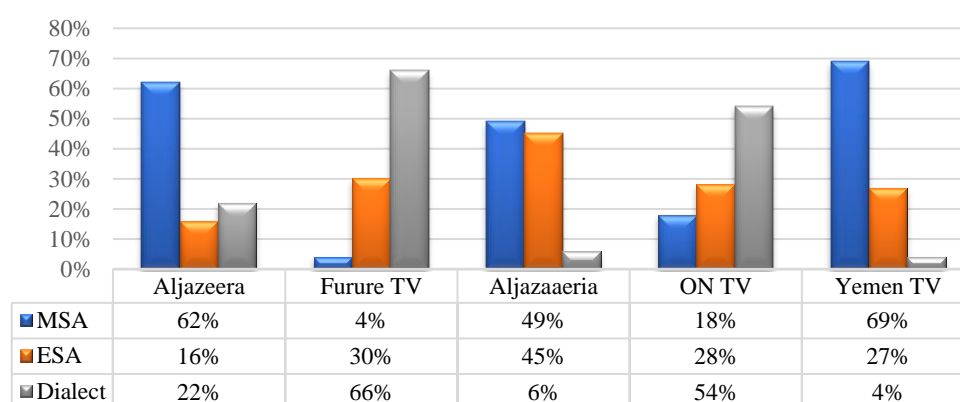


Fig. 5.14 The varieties used in the Interview programmes of the five channels

Again, the use of MSA on the Egyptian and Lebanese channels involved in this study (ON TV and Future TV) turned out to be the least. As illustrated in figure 5.14,



MSA was used at a rate of 4 % on Future TV and 18 % on ON TV. These descending percentages implicitly indicate the trend of these channels towards broadening the space of Colloquial Arabic use in their programmes under the pretext of their conformity with the taste of the Arab audience. However, what is most alarming in this regard is not the spontaneous switch of the broadcasters from MSA to their dialects due to their deficiency in MSA but in the deliberately frequent use of dialect where it is not necessary. In some other channels, the broadcaster oftentimes switches to dialect for certain discourse functions rather than creating a new media atmosphere in which Colloquial Arabic is given the superiority over MSA.

Figure 5.14 also shows that Yemen TV appeared to top the five channels, including Aljazeera, in terms of MSA use in this genre where it was used 69 % of the time of the two episodes as compared to Aljazeera, 62%. Additionally, the figure illustrates the high amount of Colloquial Arabic use on Future TV and ON TV where it was used 66 % and 54 % respectively. The following description gives further details of the Arabic varieties use in the interview programmes of the five channels.

From among the Interview programmes presented on Aljazeera, two episodes were selected for the analysis. The first was one of the series of the programme ‘*The Arab Reality*’ الواقع العربي hosted by Jamal Rayyan where two call-in Lebanese guests were invited to discuss the implications of the municipal elections in Lebanon. The second episode was selected from among the series of the prominent programme *fāhid ṣalā Paṣaṣr* شاهد على العصر ‘*A Witness on the Era*’ hosted by Ahmed Mansour. Figure 5.15 shows the overall use of the Arabic varieties in these two episodes where it appeared that MSA was used 62 % followed by Colloquial Arabic which was used 22% of the time whereas ESA was used only 16 % of the two episodes’ airtime. In the first

episode, the host starts briefly introducing the episode in pure MSA followed by a short report presented in MSA as well.

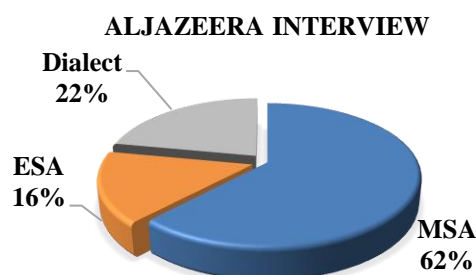


Fig. 5.15 The varieties used in Aljazeera Interview programmes

As it turned out, the guests' participation was characterized by switching between the three levels of Arabic, MSA, ESA, and their Lebanese dialects. The following table offers more details about the amount of using these varieties in the two episodes.

Table 5. 13 The varieties used in Aljazeera Interview programmes

Aljazeera TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Interview	1	1474	77%	344	18%	105	5%
		2	582	41%	199	14%	627	45%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2056</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>732</b>	<b>22%</b>

As seen from the table above, MSA was used 77 % of the time in the first episode as opposed to 41 % in the second one. The low amount of MSA use in the second episode gave way for Colloquial Arabic to appear the dominant variety of the conversation throughout the time of the episode with 45 %. The high amount of Colloquial Arabic use in the second episode resulted from the fact that both the host and guest belong to the same country (i.e. Egypt) and share the same dialect (i.e. Egyptian Arabic). This convergence and harmony have created an atmosphere of

relaxation and comfort between them and therefore, induced a remarkable change in their linguistic behaviours. Typically, they were expected to speak in MSA for a number of reasons;

- a) the programme is presented on Aljazeera (the prominent Pan-Arab channel),
- b) the topic is political,
- c) the host is competent in MSA, and apparently, so is the guest.

In some rare occasions, the guest tries to demonstrate his ability to use MSA. For example, he repeats the late Egyptian President, Jamal Abdunnaser's quote **"/mā ʔuxiða bilquwwah falā yustaraddu ʔillā bilquwwah/"** "ما أخذ بالقوة فلا يسترد إلا بالقوة" 'What was taken by force, can only be restored by force'. Such example uniquely said in MSA, including even the mood ending **/yustaraddu/**, suggests the guest ability to speak in MSA but his linguistic preference leans towards the use of his dialect rather than MSA.

As for the status of MSA in the Interview programmes of Future TV, the analysis result was quite unexpected due to the significant decline of MSA use in the two analyzed episodes where it was hardly used, only 4 % as compared to Colloquial Arabic which turned out to be the predominant variety of the episodes with 66 % of use. ESA, on the other hand, was used 30 % of the time.

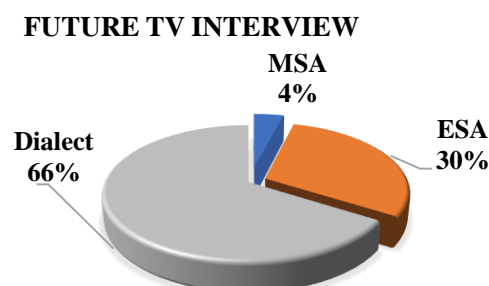


Fig. 5.16 The varieties used in Future TV Interview programmes

From a quantitative point of view, the insignificant use of MSA in this kind of programmes is bound to clear the way for the Lebanese dialects to encroach upon MSA in all programmes including that of Religion, which, according to Ferguson's diglossia, are typical domains for the High variety (MSA). Although the News are still presented in MSA, not only in Future TV but in all channels, the other programmes are moving farther and farther away from MSA as time slips away. The cultural and ideological diversity of the Lebanese society may be viewed as one of the effective reasons underlying such trend. Chung mentions that cultural aspects exercise influence on language behaviours of speakers. Thus, the function of code choices and code switching varies in different cultures or language communities, and by different social situations (294). Therefore, the significant implication of such downfall of MSA in the Lebanese channels that could be assumed is the orientation of the Lebanese channels, in general, and Future TV, in particular towards the adoption of Lebanese Arabic to be the major variety of broadcasting media in Lebanon.

The table below shows how hardly MSA occurred in the episodes of the Interview programmes. Only 156 MSA utterances (4 %) out of 4187 (the total number of the words) were found across the two episodes.

Table 5. 14 The varieties used in Future TV Interview programmes

Future TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Interview	1	79	4%	417	20%	1595	76%
		2	77	4%	864	41%	1155	55%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>156</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>1281</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>2750</b>	<b>66%</b>

The first episode was selected from the programme *biraʔyak* برأيك 'In Your Opinion' hosted by Carine Salameh. In this episode, Maryam Noor, a Lebanese television personality, was hosted to answer some queries related to some local and international issues posed by the programme host. They converse with each other in Lebanese Arabic, occasionally switch to ESA, and they rarely use MSA (which is also heavily influenced by the Lebanese pronunciation). The guest's speech was also characterized by the frequent intra-sentential switch to English through using some English words and phrases. Surprisingly, the number of the English lexical items (more than 100 words) embedded into the conversation of the guest all along outnumbered the MSA utterances which were approximately seventy-nine words. It is assumed that through the frequent use of English lexical items, the guest tries to introduce herself to the audience as a highly-educated figure and an agent to the Western culture. Nonetheless, from the beginning of the episode, the host started using Lebanese Arabic including all the questions directed to the guest. The following, among some other questions, indicate how MSA was eliminated from the programme except for some words which occurred by happenstance.

- *mininni hūl lī ʕam yilʕabū ha ffi* منيني هول لي عم يلعبوا ها الشي 'who are doing this?'
- *ʕab mīn ʔatal Monro?* طب مين أتل مرون 'Then, who killed Monro?'
- *mā maʕʔūl hāda ffi ʕudfiḥ yaʕnī māfiḥ ʕudfiḥ* ما معزول هادا الشي صدفة يعني ما فيه 'It is incredible what happened is a coincidence. That means there is no coincidence.'

In fact, it is no surprise to see the host posing all questions in Lebanese Arabic and, furthermore, introducing the episode through a colloquially-written text as this behaviour is practised by some broadcasters in other Arab channels, especially in

Lebanon and Egypt. Additionally, though it was read from a script, the report that followed the introduction was also presented in Lebanese Arabic rather than MSA, as is customary in all channels.

In the second episode ‘*nās wi nās*’ ناس و ناس ‘*People and People*’, Milad Hadchiti, the host of the programme, hosts some celebrities to talk about their recent works as well as their personal lives. The results of this episode analysis revealed that the use of MSA turned out to be completely identical to that of the first as it was used just 4 % in both episodes. The guest of the episode happens to be one of most prominent broadcasters in Lebanon who works for the same channel, Future TV. In other words, both the host and guest belong to the same profession, i.e., journalism, which requires perfect mastery of MSA and complete commitment to using it in their conversation when presenting the programmes.

All these factors could have been the ground of giving MSA the preference throughout their conversation. However, Colloquial Arabic appeared as the dominant variety as it was used 55 % of the airtime of the episode. ESA was also used more with 41 % due to the near absence of MSA. Based on this result, it could be said that the direction of their code switching was, for the most part, between Lebanese Arabic and ESA and rarely from these two varieties to MSA. This result again emphasizes the assumption of the Lebanese channels’ inclination towards broadening the space of the Lebanese Arabic use on their programmes to the detriment of MSA.

As regards Aldjazeera TV, the result showed an encouraging amount of MSA use in the episodes selected for the analysis as compared to Future TV. It is apparent from figure 5.17 that MSA was used 49 % of the time of the episodes followed by ESA which was used 45 % of the time.



Fig. 5.17 The varieties used in Aldjazeeraiya TV Interview programmes

The data displayed in figure 5.17 shows that both MSA and ESA are convergent in the dominance of the Interview programmes of Aldjazeeraiya TV channel with 49 % and 45% respectively. It also illustrates the insignificant use of Colloquial Arabic where it occurred just 6 % throughout the time of the two episodes, which is a low percentage as compared to the other channels except Yemen TV where it was used just 4 %.

In these two episodes, the participants usually switch back and forth between MSA and ESA and rarely use Colloquial Arabic unlike Future TV where the participants basically use Colloquial Arabic and occasionally switch to MSA or ESA. This significant difference in the amount of MSA use between Future TV and Aldjazeeraiya TV, and generally all other channels, could be attributed to the fact that Lebanon is a religiously and ethnically diverse society where different religious and ethnic communities have coexisted and lived side by side since time immemorial. To name a few, Christians, for example, constitute 40 % of the Lebanese population. As a matter of fact, for this large segment of the Lebanese society, the notion of the prestigious status of Classical Arabic as a language of the Holy *Qur'an* seems impractical and does not carry any weight. Instead, they regard Lebanese Arabic as the major carrier of their identity and the channel through which they convey their cultural heritage to the other parts of the world, though their knowledge of Arabic contribution to thriving the literary writings in Lebanon in particular and the Arab World in general.

On the contrary, Islam is the religion that dominates the Algerian society and therefore, Classical Arabic enjoys a prestigious status as the “*Word of Allah*” and the language of the Holy *Qur’an* despite the fact that French is still as much prestigious as Arabic, if not more, in certain circles of the Algerian society. Nevertheless, Classical Arabic still maintains a social and religious position among the Algerian society despite the relentless competition of French and the cultural legacy left by the French colonization. In his investigation into the attitudes towards the language spoken in Algeria, Benrabah (2007) found that 82 % of his study respondents mentioned that they feel close to God when they speak Literary Arabic (MSA) and 80 % of them also stated that Classical Arabic is the language of religious and moral values. Meanwhile, 45 % think that Classical Arabic is the most beautiful language (237-238). This feeling, in fact, implies the positive attitudes of the large segment of the Algerian society towards MSA, the matter that has been reflected in the broadcasting media language. Accordingly, it should not be surprising to see that difference in the occurrence of MSA on both channels.

Table 5. 15 The varieties used in Aldjazeeraiya TV Interview programmes

Aldjazeeraiya TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Interview	1	915	50%	823	44%	116	6%
		2	673	49%	640	46%	74	5%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>1588</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>1463</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>6%</b>

The table above quantitatively details the use of the Arabic varieties in the two episodes of the programme ‘*taħta l-mijhar*’ تحت المجهر ‘Under the Scope’. In the first episode, the programme’s presenter, Jamaluddin Bouras hosts Souwaileh Boujuma’ah,



an ex-member of the Algerian parliament, to discuss some issues related to the resumption of the Algerian parliament sessions. Besides being a politician, the guest of the episode is a university professor of Public Law which suggests his relatively good competence in MSA. As is the case with any programme, the host starts the episode with an introduction reading a script from the autocue/teleprompter in MSA. Throughout the episode, the host maintains the use of MSA in posing the questions to the guest who in turn strives to speak in MSA, albeit heavily influenced by the Algerian accent that makes it sometimes not possible to classify some items as MSA. However, some instances of switching occurred in the speech of the guest.

Quantitatively speaking, MSA was used 50 % of the time as compared to ESA which was used 44 %. The low percentage of Colloquial Arabic underlines the participants' (host and guest) commitment to avoid using Algerian Arabic as possible. It also implies the trend of the Aldjazeeraia TV towards the use of MSA in the programmes, especially those of political nature.

Similarly, the second episode was selected from the same programme where Abdulwahhab Qaleel, the secretary of the Ministry of Education, was hosted to answer some questions related to the *status quo* of the contractual teachers in Algeria. As the guest enjoys a high educational status by virtue of his post in the Ministry of Education, he also goes all out to speak MSA throughout his conversation. ESA, on the other hand, has provided him with a comfortable zone to resort to when facing phonological and morphosyntactic challenges and offered him a chance to cover up his deficiency in MSA in general. According to Chung, speakers tend to resort to their preferred language variety when facing insecurities in pronunciation and vocabulary choices (303-304). Sometimes when a speaker gets stuck in pronouncing some words in MSA especially with mood and case endings, they shift to the Colloquial pronunciation which is much

easier to their tongues to keep their speech in flow. Therefore, whenever the guest feels a deficiency in pronouncing some MSA items, he immediately switches to ESA, as an emergency variety, to keep the flow of his conversation. To mention a few, he says: **ʔawwal mihwar huwa tiθmān ʔalxibrah ʔalmihaniyyah** أول محور هو تـمـين الخبرة المهنية ‘the first axis is the assessment of the professional experience’. As could be seen, the guest’s inability to pronounce the word /**taθmān**/ تـمـين ‘assessment’ which was realized as [**tiθmān**] replacing the short vowel /**a**/ by /**i**/ as is the case in Algerian Arabic. The speaker realizes that pronouncing the word in its MSA pronunciation may cause halting in his speech. Hence, he immediately resorts to the pronunciation with which his tongue is more familiar.

In regard to ON TV, the space of use provided to MSA in the two episodes was not sufficient since it was used just 18 % of the time. ESA also was not reported to have been the dominant variety over the dialect as it was used 28 %. By contrast, Colloquial Arabic was the predominant variety where it was used 54 % throughout the time of the episodes.

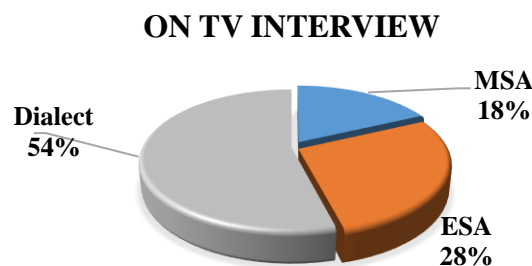


Fig. 5.18 The varieties used in the Interview programmes of ON TV

It is worth indicating that the two episodes were selected from two different programmes of different areas of interest. The first episode was one of the series of the social programme ‘*sitti l-ħusn*’ ست الحسن ‘The Prettiness Holder’ presented by Sherihan Abulhasan. In this episode, an Egyptian actress, Minnah Arafah was hosted to talk about her career as one of the youngest actresses in Egypt. From the early beginning of

the episode, Colloquial Arabic appeared as the predominant variety throughout the programme as it was used 100 % without any instance of the switch to neither ESA nor MSA. The host opens the episode, asking the guest how she is doing by saying;

<i>ʔizzayyik ya minnah?</i>	إزيك يا منه؟
<i>ʕamlah ʔih?</i>	عامله إيه؟
<i>kuwayyisah?</i>	كويسة؟
<i>wallah kbirti wi hlawwīti</i>	والله وكبرتي وحلويتي،
<i>ʕarfah yiʔūlu ʔih fi l-masal ʔiffaʕbī</i>	عارفة يئولوا إيه في المسل الشعبي
<i>“xaraṭha xarrāṭi l-banāt”</i>	"خرطها خراط البنات"

‘how are you, Minnah?

How are you doing?

Are you Ok?

Indeed, you are grown-up and got pretty.

You know what people say in the folk adage

“She was shaped by the girls’ shaper”.

The example above illustrates what kind of Arabic was used from the early minutes of the programme. Further, Colloquial Arabic appeared as the linguistic choice of the broadcaster, let alone the guest who also appeared using the same. The guest is eighteen years old and she has been acting since childhood. As mentioned above, she is better known for being one of the youngest actresses in Egypt. Therefore, the host-guest relationship appears as a mother-daughter or a senior-junior relation, and this kind of relationship has considerably impacted the choice of the host’s language and style. It has been long discussed that the interlocutor plays a major role in determining the code/style of the speaker. To put it another way, what language/style should be used is determined by who is talking to whom (e.g. wife-husband, student-teacher, boss-

worker, senior-junior) as well as the other different social differences; age, sex, status, among others (Holmes 9). Thus, a speech style as *ʔizzayyik ya minnah?* إزيك يا منة؟ ‘How are you, Minnah?’, which is a question about the state of a person followed by the name of the person (without a title), implies profuse kindness and compassion which is usually used with children or juniors. Had the guest been a bit older, the host would have said *ʔizzayyik madam/sit minnah?* ‘how are you Madam/Ms. Minnah? without using the addressing marker /ya/ which implies intimacy and compassion.

The second episode was political in nature. It was selected from among the series of the programme ‘*liqāʔ xāṣ*’ لقاء خاص ‘A Special Meeting’, where Mohammad Albaradey, the former Egyptian vice president, was hosted by Yusri Fudah, the host of the programme to talk about the political dimensions of the 25<sup>th</sup> January Revolution in Egypt. Table 5.16 below presents the status of MSA in this episode. It shows that MSA was used only 39 %, which is, in fact, unexpected as both the host and guest are of high educational backgrounds. The host is a regionally well-known broadcaster and the guest is a prominent professor and an internationally-known politician.

Table 5. 16 The varieties used in ON TV Interview programmes

ON TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Interview	1	---	---	---	---	1840	100%
		2	625	39%	964	60%	12	1%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>625</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>964</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>1852</b>	<b>54%</b>

Unlike the first episode where Colloquial Arabic was solely used, ESA in this episode was the predominant variety where it was used 60 % of the programme’s airtime. The contrasting results of the two episodes may validate the assumption of

correlation between the topic being discussed and language choice, albeit inconsistent (as will be discussed in chapter six). While the first episode was dedicated to discussing social issues, the subject matter of the second one was political. Consequently, the difference of the topics, i.e., social vs. political, could be held as one of the major reasons for the difference of the varieties occurred across the two episodes, though the type of speakers plays a more important role in the variety occurrence in the programmes than the type of programme. However, this assumption goes in consistency with the findings of A. Dashti and F. Dashti who, in their study on Diglossia in Kuwait TV, found that the use of either the L variety (Colloquial Arabic) or the H variety (MSA) varies according to the topic of the programme (135). It also shares the findings of Alshamrani's study on "Diglossia in Arabic TV stations" where he found that the circumstances in which the varieties were used in the channels he investigated significantly varied following the context of the TV station, topic and the background of the guests.

Regarding the situation in Yemen TV Interview programmes, MSA occupied an appreciable space of use across the two episodes where it was used 69 % of the time. As was the case with the previously-discussed programmes, Colloquial Arabic was used just 4 % of the time, which is the lowest across the five channels. This little amount of Colloquial Arabic use, in fact, gave way for ESA to occur more, at a rate of 27 %.

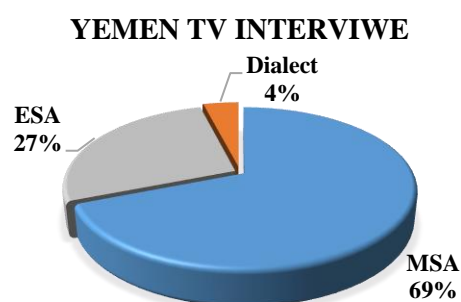


Fig. 5.19 The varieties used in Yemen TV Interview programmes

This highly consistent result of MSA occurrence in all the programmes of Yemen TV discussed so far echoes the orientation of this channel towards the adoption of MSA to be dominantly present in all programmes, unlike the Lebanese and Egyptian channels where MSA witnesses increasingly incessant downfall in most of their programmes, as clearly appeared through the hitherto shown results.

The two episodes selected for analysis were of two different programmes; *Pustūdyu l-Yaman* أستوديو اليمن ‘*Yemen Studio*’ and *durūbu n-naṣr* دروب النصر ‘*The Triumph Paths*’. In the first one, a university professor, Dr. Abdu Al Mughallis (who also happened to be a political analyst), was hosted to discuss the current political vacuum in Yemen resulting from the military coup crafted by Houthi-Saleh alliance in September 2014 against the interim government and consensual President. The *mélange* of the educational level of the guest, the linguistic competence of the host, along with his attitudes towards the use of MSA in such media setting, and the orientation of the channel have paved the way for MSA to be considerably used as it occurred 82 % as opposed to 12 % for ESA and just 6 % for Colloquial Arabic.

Table 5. 17 The varieties used in Yemen TV Interview programmes

Yemen TV	The Programme	Episod	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Interview	1	1166	82%	165	12%	83	6%
		2	921	57%	659	41%	22	2%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2087</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>824</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>4%</b>

In this context, it could be said that the “leakage” of the participants’ dialects into the MSA lexical items they used at the phonological level was the main reason underlying the 12 % occurrence of ESA. For example, because the host hails from the southern areas of Yemen wherein the dialects are characterized by realizing the /j/

sound as [g] in many occasions of speech, he could not cope with this colloquial influence and as a result, he continued to pronounce /j/ as [g] whenever he came to the items containing this phoneme except in few instances where it was uttered in its MSA pronunciation. The following examples presented in the table below are merely few among others of the host pronunciation of the sound /j/;

Table 5. 18 The host pronunciation of the sound /j/

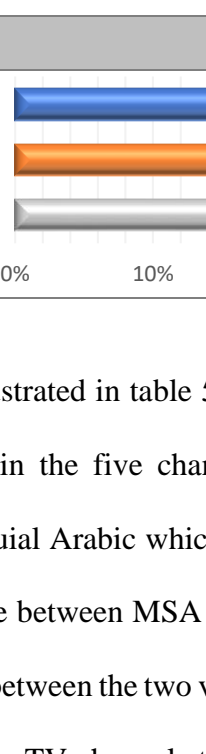
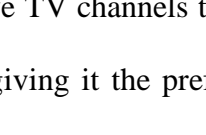
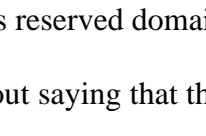
No.	Underlying form	Realization	Gloss
1.	/barnāmajikum/	[barnāmagikum]	Your programme
2.	/ʔalʔijrāʔāt/	[ʔalʔigrāʔāt]	The procedures
3.	/min wujhat naʔarik/	[min wughat naʔarik]	From your point of view
4.	/maħal ʔijmāʕ waṭanī/	[maħal ʔijmāʕ waṭanī]	An issue of national consensus

In the second episode, the use of MSA was significantly less where it was used 57 % as compared to 82 % in the first. ESA was also used 41 % whereas Colloquial Arabic was rarely spoken by the guest and host alike as it occurred just 2 % throughout the episode.

In fact, the guest appeared to be relatively fluent in MSA but due to the influence of his dialect on his speech at the phonological level, many MSA lexical items were uttered in a colloquial manner and therefore, classified as ESA as in [ʔalhukum] rather than /ʔalhukm/ ‘rule’, [min h̄θ] rather than the MSA /min haiθ/ ‘in terms’, [ʔaljamhūrī] rather than the MSA /ʔaljumhūrī/ ‘the republican’, and many other similar examples. Another factor that also increased the occurrence of ESA lexical items is the inconsistent changing of the diphthong /aw/ into the vowel [ɔ:] as in [ʔaddɔ:lah] rather than the MSA form /ʔaddawlah/ ‘the state’ and [tɔ:qīt] rather than the MSA /tawqīt/ ‘timing’. These are just a few examples of the dialectal influences on

the guest's speech that resulted in the low rate of MSA words use and in turn, created a zone of negotiation between the two varieties, i.e. MSA and Colloquial Arabic. Boussofara-Omar describes the zone of ESA, which is created as a result of MSA deficiency or the dialectal leakage into the MSA whether at the lexical, phonological, or syntactic levels, as dynamic loci for the intersection and mixed of the varieties of Arabic (101). In total, the use of Arabic varieties in the interview genre of the five channels could be statistically observed through the data presented in the table below.

Table 5. 19 The overall use of Arabic varieties in the Interview programmes of the channels

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA		6512	38%
ESA		5075	29%
Collo. Arabic		5629	33%
<b>Total</b>	0% 10% 20% 30% 40%	<b>17216</b>	<b>100%</b>

The data illustrated in table 5.19 shows the relatively approximate rates of the three varieties use in the five channels. Unexpectedly, MSA was used just 38 % followed by Colloquial Arabic which was used 33 % while ESA was used 29 %. The relative convergence between MSA (38%) and Colloquial Arabic (33%) indicates the strong competition between the two varieties in this domain and also reflects the leaning of some of these five TV channels towards broadening the zone of Colloquial Arabic and even at times giving it the preference over MSA in the programmes which are typically regarded as reserved domains for MSA.

It goes without saying that the four select genres are relatively typical domains for MSA particularly, the News and Religion genres. Thus, the broad ground given to Colloquial Arabic might be seen as an alarming signal that implies the deterioration of MSA in the Arab media broadcasting in general and TV Channels in particular.



### 5.2.4. Religion

Despite the rapid growth of satellite broadcasting facilities in the Arab World, where hundreds of channels started to swim in the sky of the Arab region showering the Arab audience with a variegated diversity of programmes over the night and throughout the day, little attention has been paid to the religion programmes as compared to the other spectrum of programmes largely focusing on the political, social, entertainment, and sport issues. However, this scarce number of these religion-related programmes often address different issues from religious perspectives, some of which are related to the principles, instructions, and virtues of Islam, while others discuss some of the current Muslim and Arab issues that pose a potential threat to the stability and unity of the Muslim nation such as the mushrooming rise of the terrorism phenomenon in the Arab World, the civil wars storming a number of the Arab states, the disintegration of the Arab and Muslim societies, the international intervention in the Muslim affairs as well as their tireless attempts to tarnish the clear image of Islam, among other various political and social issues.

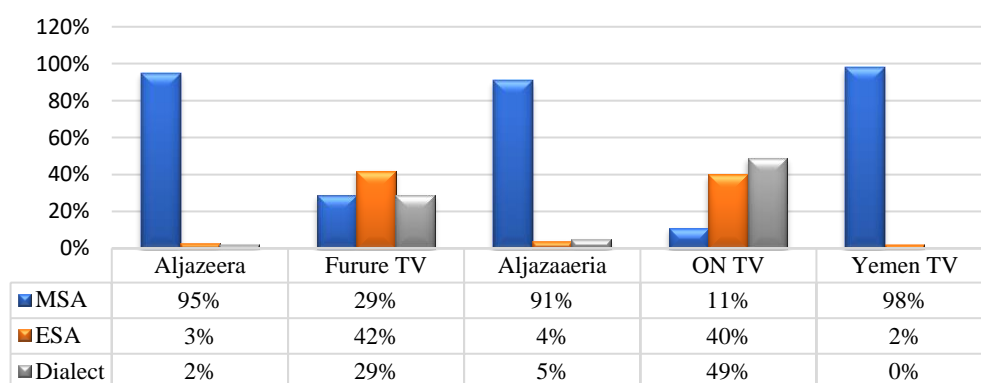


Fig. 5.20 The Arabic varieties distribution in the religion programmes

Turning to presenting the Arabic varieties used in these kinds of programmes, it is commonly believed that Classical Arabic (by virtue of being the carrier of the Verses of the Holy *Qur'an* and the *Traditions* of Prophet Mohammed) is typically the

most appropriate variety for presenting Religion programmes. According to Ferguson, religion sermons are typical domains for the High variety, that is to say, Classical Arabic/MSA (329). Nevertheless, the results of the data analysis of this study have revealed contrasting results that contradict such assumption. In some channels such as Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazeera TV, MSA occurred in adequate amounts where it was used 95 %, 98 %, and 91 % respectively. By contrast, Colloquial Arabic and ESA turned out to be the dominant varieties on the other two channels, Future TV and ON TV, whereas MSA was used just 29 % and 11 % respectively. Colloquial Arabic was used as much as 49 % of the time of the ON TV episodes as opposed to 40 % of ESA use. Similarly, the situation in Future TV was not much different as MSA was used only 29 %, just as much as Colloquial Arabic was used.

The low amounts of MSA and Colloquial Arabic use on Future TV has set the stage for ESA to appear as the widely used variety across the two episodes. As a matter of fact, 29 % of MSA use in Religion programmes is considered a low percentage as these kinds of programmes, as mentioned above, are typically reserved domains for MSA. This result surely emphasizes the consistent persistence of giving preference to Colloquial Arabic over MSA in most of the programmes of the Lebanese and Egyptian Channels including religion-related programmes. However, the following discussion gives further details on the use of the Arabic varieties in the religion-related programmes of the five channels.

As for Aljazeera, the most prominent religion-related programme is *ʔaffarīḥah wa l-ḥayāh* الشريعة والحياة 'Religion and Life' which hosts, on a weekly basis, some prominent scholars to answer some questions posed by the host as well as the call-in inquirers who share their comments and put forward questions on some religious issues. Due to being the only programme which discusses Religion on Aljazeera TV channel,

two episodes were selected for the analysis. In the first episode, aired on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2009, Dr Yusuf Al Qaradawi was hosted to talk about the evolution theory and the beginning of creation. The guest of the second one, on the other hand, was Dr Emaduddin Khalil, a professor of History, who was also hosted to talk about how *Qur'an* handles the historical events. Both guests of the two episodes are held in high educational levels and besides, they hold different dialectal backgrounds by virtue of the fact that they belong to different countries, Egypt and Iraq respectively. However, it was not an easy task to determine the nationality of Khalil whose speech appeared completely and purely in MSA as compared to Al Qaradawi who did not hesitate to use his dialect, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, on some occasions though he enjoys more religious status than Khalil who appeared more fluent in MSA.

#### ALJAZEERA RELIGION PROGRAMMES

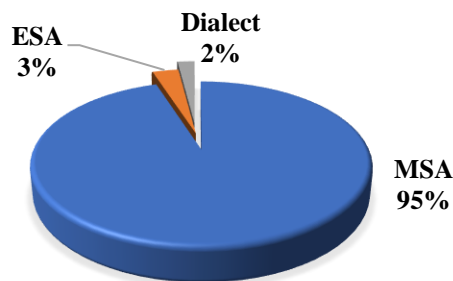


Fig. 5.21 The varieties used in Aljazeera Religion programmes

Quantitatively speaking, the overall use of MSA and the other two varieties in the religion programmes of Aljazeera was as high as hypothesized. It is apparent from the data displayed in figure 5.21 that MSA was the dominant variety as it was used 95% of the time. Both Colloquial Arabic and ESA were rarely used at rates of 2% and 3% respectively. These results are in a complete consistence with the findings of Alshamrani's (2012) study "Diglossia in Arabic TV stations", as regards the same religion programme, where he found that MSA was used 100% by the host and 91% by the guest, who happened to be the same guest of our episode (*Sheikh Yusuf Al*

Qaradawi). The average of these two rates is approximately 95 %, which is as much as our findings.

However, table 5.20 presented below gives more details on how these varieties were used in the two episodes and also shows the loci of Colloquial Arabic and ESA occurrence being the marked varieties in these kinds of programmes. According to Myers-Scotton's (1993) 'Markedness Theory' "what community norms would predict is unmarked, what is not predicted is marked" (5). Based on this distinction, the occurrence of Colloquial Arabic in the programmes which are typically reserved for MSA is unpredictable and therefore, it is regarded as a marked variety whereas MSA is held as unmarked because it is the predicted variety in such programmes.

Table 5. 20 The varieties used in Aljazeera Religion Programmes

Aljazeera TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Religion	1	1652	92%	66	4%	76	4%
		2	2052	98%	35	1.5%	11	0.5%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>3704</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>2%</b>

The data illustrated in the table above shows the difference between the two episodes in regards to the use of the Arabic varieties. Whereas MSA was used 92 % in the first episode, it occurred more in the second where it was used 98 %. The data also shows the little amount of ESA and Colloquial Arabic words in the second episode where the guest, Khalil, was more careful to use MSA all along the episode. As for Al Qaradhawi, the spontaneity and inconsistency were apparent in his speech. For example, on some occasions, he uses the MSA negative marker /*laysa*/ ليس 'not' while in others, he uses its Egyptian counterpart [*muʃ/miʃ*] مش 'not'. The following example

shows this inconsistency in his speech pertaining the use of the negative marker. In this example, he uses the MSA negative marker /**laysa**/ ‘not’ when he says:

*ʔiḏā bahasnā wa nahnu fī ḏihninā ʔannahu laysa hunāka xāliq wa laysa hunāka ʔilāhun wa laysa hunāka mudabbir lihāḏa l-kawn huwa dah ʔilmaʕna baʔah*

إذا بحسنا ونحن في ذهننا أنه ليس هناك إله وليس هناك مدبر لهذا الكون هو ده المعنى بأه

**Gloss:** If we searched while we hold the belief that there is no creator and there is no God who managed the affairs of this planet, then, this is the meaning, indeed.

In another situation, he uses the Egyptian equivalent [**mif**] as in the following example when he says;

*ʔilʔayyām diḥ ʔayyām ʔarbaʕah wi ʕiḥrīn sāʕah laʔ mif mumkin liʔanni ʔayyāmna hāḏihi yaʕni d-dawrah f-famsiyyah lakān fams wa lakān qamar wa lā xuliqat lʔafyāʔ*

الأيام ده أيام أربعة وعشرين ساعة لا مش ممكن لأن أيامنا هذه يعني الدورة الشمسية لكان شمس ولكان قمر ولا خلقت الأشياء

‘These days are twenty-four hours. No, it is not possible because our days, i.e., the solar circle, no sun, no moon, and things were not created.’

The above-mentioned example shows that the MSA negative marker /**laysa**/ is followed by the MSA word /**hunāka**/ and interestingly, it cannot be followed by a colloquial word. For example, /**laysa**/ cannot be followed by [**hināk**], the Colloquial counterpart of /**hunāka**/, to appear as \***[laysa hināk]**.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, the word /**hunāka**/ cannot be preceded by the colloquial negative marker [**muḥ/mif**] to be realized as \***[mif hunāka]**. These two forms, \***[laysa hināk]** and \***[mif hunāka]**, are not possible to occur in any

<sup>36</sup> This is an ill-structured phrase as it may sound odd or unfamiliar to all Arabic speakers regardless their dialects. The phonological and rhythmic harmony is an essential element in any language because it helps speaker to keep his/her speech in flow without halting or pause.

context simply because [*mif hināk*] and [*laysa hunāka*] are fixed collocations belonging to colloquial and MSA respectively.

Also, in some situations, the host resorts to ESA, or what is sometimes called the colloquialized form of *fusha*/MSA, to accommodate with the language form spoken by the guest. For example, in a situation of this episode, when the guest did not pick up the comment, the host reiterated the phrase with colloquial features to clarify the idea.

The guest: **laysa hunāka ʔay māniʕ fi l-ʔislām ʔaw fi l-qurʔāni l-karīm  
yamnaʕunā mina l-bahθ wa t-tafakkur** (the host interrupts)

There is not any barrier in Islam or *Qur'an* that prohibits seeking truth and reflection.

The host: **hattā fi bidāyati l-xalq**

Even at the beginning of creation

The guest: **naʕam?**

**Yes/what?** (here, the word 'yes' functions as the interrogative 'what')

The host: **hatta l-bahiθ fi bidāyati l-xalq**

Even the search for the beginning of creation

However, this is not to say that the guest, Al Qaradawi, could not use/understand MSA, but his linguistic choice was leaning towards the convenient variety which is more familiar to his tongue whether MSA, ESA or Colloquial Arabic. It is agreed upon that when a speaker feels uncomfortable with the pronunciation of a certain variety, s/he shifts to the variety which more convenient and appropriate and in which the probability of making mistakes seems less. As such, when speakers sometimes get stuck in pronouncing some words in MSA, especially with mood and case endings, they tend to switch to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic with which their tongues are more familiar and their use does not require the syntactic complexities that exist in MSA.

As for Future TV, two episodes were selected from the socio-religious programme *xairu l-kalām* خير الكلام 'The Best of Talk' presented during the Holy Month of Ramadan by Baha'a Addin Salam. In this context, it is worth indicating that there are two other programmes called *nisāʔun fī ʔaṣri n-nubuwwah* نساء في عصر النبوة 'Women in the era of the Prophethood' and *ʔalqurʔān wa l-ḥayāh* القرآن والحياة 'The Quran and Life'. Unlike the other religion programmes of the other channels where a scholar is hosted to talk about some issues related to religion and society, these two programmes were classified as documentary-like rather than religious programmes. As a result, they were excluded to maintain the consistency in the process of the programmes selection, on the one hand, and to stand on the reality of what language is used when religious programmes are presented by either the broadcasters or the scholars/guests, on the other.

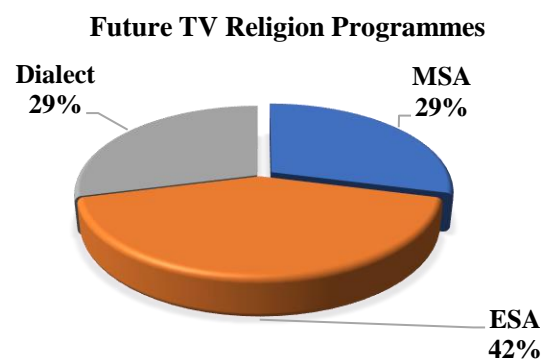


Fig. 5.22 The varieties used in Future TV Religion programmes

Regarding the use of the Arabic varieties in the two episodes, the data presented in figure 5.22 indicates that ESA was the dominant variety of the two episodes where it was used 42 % of the airtime. MSA and Colloquial Arabic were evenly used with 29% for each. Such even percentages of MSA and Colloquial Arabic use imply the intense competition between these two varieties in this genre despite the fact that such a kind of programme is held as a reserved domain for MSA. Additionally, in contrast to what is customary in presenting the religion programmes where the presenters tend

to speak MSA, the presenter of these two episodes continued to use the colloquialized form of MSA (ESA) all the time which is loaded with many Lebanese Arabic features at the phonological and lexical levels.

Table 5. 21 The varieties used in Future Religion programmes

Future TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Religion	1	708	37%	767	40%	435	23%
		2	421	21%	910	45%	700	34%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>1129</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>1677</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>1135</b>	<b>29%</b>

Table 5.21 displays the relative convergence between the two episodes in terms of using the Arabic varieties. This convergence could be attributed to the fact that these two episodes belonged to the same genre (i.e. Religion), though it cannot be held as a consistent factor, besides the fact that they were presented by the same broadcaster.

Regarding Aldjazeeraiya TV, the two episodes were selected from the weekly programme *hāḍā dīnūnā* هذا ديننا 'This is our Religion' presented by Shaikh Alhaj Hajjaj. According to the data presented in figure 5.23, MSA appeared to be the predominant variety in these two episodes where it was used 91 % which, more or less, implies that MSA is the variety widely used in the religion programmes of Aldjazeeraiya TV.

Aldjazeeraiya TV Religion Programmes

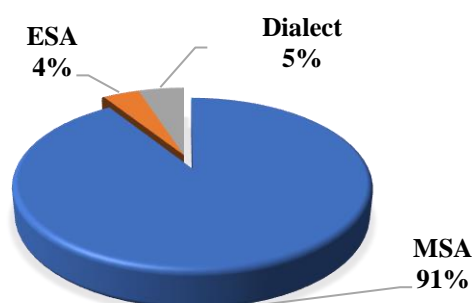


Fig. 5. 23 The Varieties used in Aldjazeeraiya TV Religion programmes



A very rare switch to ESA and Colloquial Arabic has also occurred throughout these two episodes where they were used just 4 % and 5 % respectively. The rare occurrence of these two varieties in the episodes is presumably due to the presenter's mastery of MSA as he is thought to be one of the Algerian scholars.

Turning to the use of the Arabic varieties in each one of the two episodes, table 5.22 shows that the first episode was almost introduced in MSA with only 1 % of the switch to ESA. Though it was introduced by the same presenter, MSA was used slightly less in the second episode where it was used 84 %. Colloquial Arabic and ESA were also used 9 % and 7% respectively.

Table 5. 22 The varieties used in Aldjazaeriya TV Religion programmes

Aldjazaeriya TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Religion	1	1467	99%	19	1%	3	0%
		2	1297	84%	100	7%	136	9%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2764</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>5%</b>

The reason that seems to be valid for the difference between the two episodes in terms of MSA amount use is the frequent switch to either ESA or Algerian Arabic which occurred more in the second episode by the presenter who strategically used it whenever further explanation was needed. For example, whenever the presenter wants to make clear what is said, he switches to Algerian Arabic, as in the following example:

*qāla man lam tanhahu ṣalātuhu ḥani l-faḥṣā'i falā ṣalāta lah **slāf rāk ṭṣillī?***

قال من لم تنهه صلاته عن الفحشاء فلا صلاة له **علاش راک تصلي؟**

‘He said: whoever his prayer does not deter him from doing the wrong deeds, his prayer is invalid. **Then, why do you pray?**’

Sometimes, he switches to ESA as in:

*zāhiruhu ṭurjumān ḍālika l-ʔīmān wa lākin f-fi llī yīṭarjim ʔilʔīmān ʔiffi ʔilli yīṭarjim ʔalbātin huwa sulūku l-muslim*

ظاهره ترجمان ذلك الإيمان ولكن الشيء الذي يترجم الإيمان الشيء الذي يترجم الباطن هو سلوك المسلم

‘His external [behaviour] is the manifestation of that belief, but **the only thing that reflects** the belief, **the thing that reflects** the hidden [side of a human being] is the behaviour of the Muslim.’

It is apparent from the example above that the speaker strategically switches from MSA to ESA for giving more emphasis and clarification. However, more details on the reasons for switching between the Arabic varieties will be further detailed in chapter six where a large space is provided for discussing this point.

As regards ON TV, the two episodes were selected from the weekly-aired programme *wa ʔin ʔaftūk* وإن أفنوك ‘If They Ask You’ presented by Dr Sa’adiddin Al Hilali. Figure 5.24 points out how low MSA was used in the two episodes as it was used just 11 % as opposed to Colloquial Arabic which appeared as the dominant variety with 49 % of use. ESA was also used 40 % which implies that the presenter basically used Colloquial Arabic from which he switched back and forth to ESA and rarely to MSA. This result, however, reveals the broad gap between MSA and Colloquial Arabic, in favour of the latter, that appeared rife in most of the channel’s programmes.

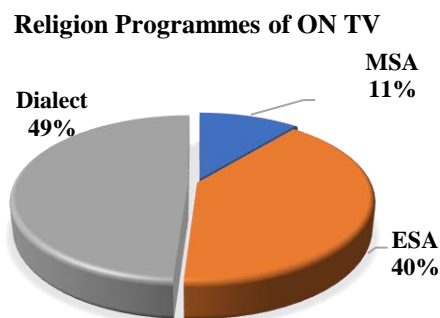


Fig. 5.24 The varieties used in the Religion programmes of ON TV

Table 5.23 presented below provides a further illustration on the percentages and frequencies of the Arabic varieties occurrence in these two select episodes. According to the data presented, the high amount of Colloquial Arabic use is markedly apparent in both episodes. MSA, on the other hand, was not used in an adequate amount, particularly in the second where it was used just 8 % as compared to the first where it was used 15 %, albeit in smaller amounts either way.

Table 5. 23 The varieties used in the Religion programmes of ON TV

ON TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Religion	1	209	15%	533	38%	649	47%
		2	115	8%	631	41%	775	51%
	<b>Total</b>		<b>324</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>1164</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>1424</b>	<b>49%</b>

These consistently low percentages of MSA in most of the programmes of this channel validates the assumption that the wide range use of Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of ON TV is not a spontaneous behaviour. Rather, it reflects the trend and policy of this channel, and the other Egyptian channels in general, towards colloquializing the media discourse. For many advocates of Arabic, this could be held as a systematically gradual process of alienating MSA through downsizing its space of use in the programmes which are supposed to be presented in MSA, let alone the other programmes in which the use of MSA has become a bizarre behaviour. To mention a few, Fadil (2009) regards the calls for empowering Colloquial Arabic on the Arab satellite channels as an ideologically-driven campaign that targets the essence of Arabic and its prestigious status among the Arab people referring to some Lebanese voices that every so often call for replacing MSA by Lebanese Arabic in all institutions including the media (“The Satellite Channels”). Shawqi Daif, the President of the Academy of

the Arabic Language, also accuses the Arab media of being carelessly oblivious to note that *fusha* (MSA) is the language of the whole nation ‘*ummah*’ and therefore, it has allowed the dialects to gradually but intrusively seep into the domains of use that are traditionally reserved for *fusha*/MSA and eventually encroach it. According to him, such intrusion will eventually dismantle the ties that bind the people of ‘*ummah*’ (Bousofara-Omar 108). In fact, the concerns of Colloquial Arabic creeping into the zones of MSA have further dimensions since the constant hogging of Colloquial Arabic may induce changes in the attitudes towards MSA, particularly among the younger generation who are more exposed to the media content than any other segment of the Arab society. Furthermore, they are more vulnerable to what is presented on screens.

As for Yemen TV, two episodes of two different programmes were selected; the first was selected from the programme *tajalliyāt ṣāʾim* تجليات صائم ‘A fasting Manifestations’ presented in the Holy Month of Ramadan by Anas Dhiyab whereas the second was selected from the weekly-aired programme *ʿulamāʾu l-Yaman* علماء اليمن ‘The Scholars of Yemen’ hosted by Khalid Elayyan. In the latter, *Shaykh* Salah Ba Tays, one of the Yemeni scholars, was hosted to answer questions about a variety of social, religious, and political issues.

Regarding the varieties used in these programmes, the data results revealed that MSA was used on a large scale since it was used 98 % of the time as compared to ESA

**The Varieties Used on Yemen TV Religion Programmes**

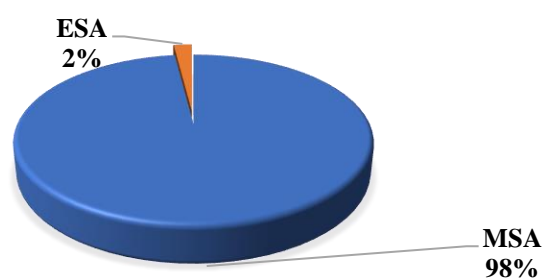


Fig. 5.25 The varieties used in Yemen TV Religion programmes

which was used just 2 %. Interestingly, Colloquial Arabic was never used in either episode, the matter that validates the assumption that the policy of the channel goes with the orientation of enlarging the space of MSA in its programmes no matter what. The positive results of the previous genres (News, Talk Show, and Interview) of Yemen TV assert this orientation which has been proved consistent across the target programmes.

As for the percentages of the Arabic varieties occurrence in the two analyzed episodes, the data presented in table 5.24 shows the complete absence of Colloquial Arabic in both episodes. Although they were of different programmes and the participants were also not the same, the result revealed a high level of consistency across these episodes in terms of the use of MSA and ESA. The key factors underlying this encouraging result seem to be the participants' determination to use MSA in addition to their linguistic competence.




Table 5. 24 The varieties used in the Religion programmes of Yemen TV

Yemen TV	The Programme	Episode	MSA		ESA		Colloquial	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
	Religion	1	1195	97%	36	3%	0	0
		2	1458	98%	30	2%	0	0
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2653</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>

Broadly speaking, the findings showed some extreme variation in the use of Arabic varieties on the five TV channels. While Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazeera TV used MSA which turned out to be the dominant variety across their religion programmes, the other TV channels, Future and ON TV, consistently used Colloquial Arabic, which appeared as the dominant variety in these kinds of programmes.

Table 5.25 highlights the overall use of the three varieties at issue in the religion programmes of the target channels.

Table 5. 25 The overall use of the varieties in the Religion programmes of the Channels

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA	 64%	10574	64%
ESA	 19%	3127	19 %
Collo. Arabic	 17%	2785	17 %
<b>Total</b>	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70%	<b>16486</b>	<b>100%</b>

It could be seen from the data illustrated in table 5.25 above that MSA was used 64 % followed by ESA which was used 19 % whereas Colloquial Arabic was used 17% of the time. However, these results have appeared incompatible with the findings of Obaid's (2013) study about the Religion Programmes on the Euphrates Radio where he found that ESA (Middle variety) was used 60 % whereas MSA and Colloquial Arabic were used equally 20 % for each (979). However, the amount of MSA occurrence, whether in the religion programmes or any other programme, basically depends on several factors, some of which are related to the linguistic abilities of the participants and others to the attitudes of its speakers towards it.

### 5.3. MSA/Colloquial Overall Use on the TV Channels




Up until this point, we have extensively discussed the use of the Arabic varieties in each of the four select programmes of the channels under investigation. However, this section highlights the overall use of the Arabic varieties on the channels to stand on the final results of MSA use on these channels as opposed to the other two varieties, ESA and Colloquial Arabic, with reference to their select programmes.

### 5.3.1. Aljazeera

As mentioned earlier, in order to reach the answer of the question related to the extent of MSA use on Aljazeera channel (as is the case with all other channels), eight episodes of the four programmes (News, Interview, Talk Show, and Religion) were analyzed to figure out the patterns of language use in these programmes. Each one of these episodes was meticulously transcribed and statistically analyzed. The transcribed words were categorized under the three varieties of Arabic (MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic) determined for this study based on their linguistic features.

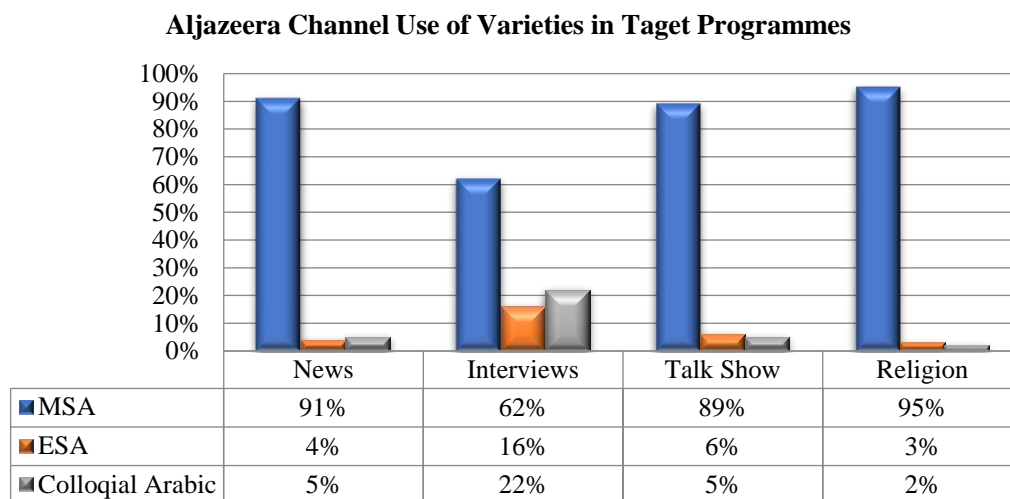
Approximately, **15841** words were transcribed in the eight episodes of Aljazeera channel. The result emerging from the analysis and classification of these words revealed that MSA was the predominant variety used across the target programmes of Aljazeera channel with 85 % of use. ESA and Colloquial Arabic were rarely used with 7 % and 8 % respectively.

Table 5. 26 The overall use of the Arabic varieties on Aljazeera channel

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA		13526	85 %
ESA	 7%	1063	7 %
Collo. Arabic	 8%	1252	8 %
<b>Total</b>	0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%	<b>15841</b>	<b>100%</b>

As seen from the table, the number of words which were classified as belonging to MSA was **13526** out of **15841** words representing 85 % of the total number. ESA and Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, rarely occurred in all analyzed episodes as the number of the words, classified under their categories, was merely **1063** and **1252** words with 7 % and 8 % respectively, as has been mentioned above.

The data presented in figure 5.26 below also shows the extent to which MSA is used in the target programmes of Aljazeera channel as opposed to the other varieties at issue (ESA and Colloquial Arabic). As can be seen, MSA was expectedly used in high amounts in all programmes except Interview programmes where it was used 62 %, which is held as a low percentage on a Pan-Arab Channel as Aljazeera.



*Fig. 5.26 Programme-wise distribution of the varieties on Aljazeera channel*

The highest rate of MSA occurrence across the four programmes was reported in Religion where it occurred 95 % followed by News programmes with 91 % of use. MSA was also used fairly enough in Talk Show programmes with 89 %. The highest amount of Colloquial Arabic occurrence, on the other hand, was found in Interview programmes where it was used 22 %. Similarly, ESA occurred more in Interview programmes as it was used 16 % of the time. In fact, the biggest part of ESA and Colloquial Arabic use was made by the guests, who were hosted in these programmes, rather than the broadcasters of the channel who, for the most part, showed a high adherence to MSA.

It is without a shadow of a doubt that Aljazeera, as a Pan-Arab channel, has sought since its genesis to broadcast its programmes exclusively in MSA for creating a kind of connectivity between the Arab viewers, on the one hand, and to broaden its base



of the viewers in the entire Arab World, on the other. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find such positive results of MSA use in its programmes. According to the results discussed above, it seems that they are far and away compatible with the findings of Alshamrani (2012) where he found that the overall use of MSA in the programmes he investigated on Aljazeera channel was 80 %.

### 5.3.2. Future TV

As for Future TV, the results revealed that the varieties were used in varying degrees across the four select programmes. As was hypothesized, Lebanese Arabic occurred at high rates in all four programmes except News, which was the only programme type presented in MSA, albeit blended with both ESA and Colloquial Arabic. The highest rate of Colloquial Arabic use occurred in Interview programmes where it was used 66 % as opposed to just 4 % of MSA use, which turned out to be the least variety used across the programmes of the channel. The high percentage of Colloquial Arabic use in the four programmes in general and Interview, in particular, signals the channel leaning towards normalizing Lebanese Arabic among its viewers, be they Lebanese or other Arab nationals, to be the language of the channel broadcast and also reflects the attitudes of its administration and broadcasters towards MSA.

#### Varieties Use in Future TV Programmes

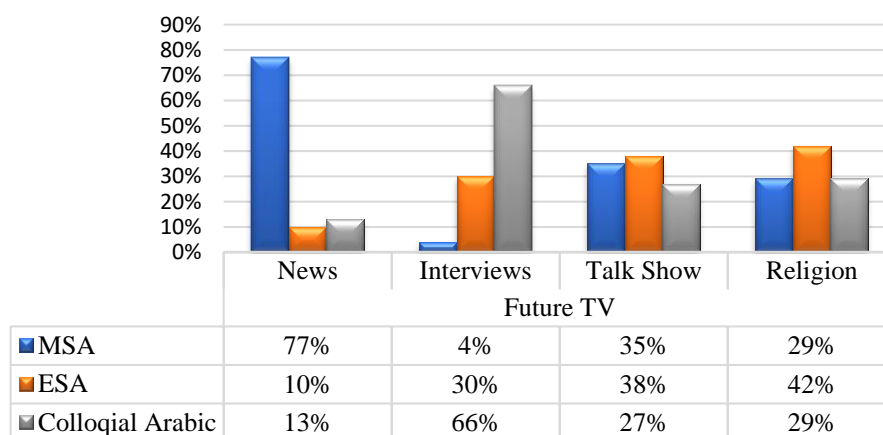


Fig. 5. 27 The varieties used on Future TV channel

Table 5. 27 The overall use of the Arabic varieties on Future TV Channel

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA		5281	34 %
ESA		4697	31 %
Coll. Arabic		5311	35 %
<b>Total</b>		<b>15289</b>	<b>100%</b>

On the whole, the result revealed that the overall use of MSA in the target programmes of Future TV channel was only 34 % as compared to Colloquial Arabic which was used relatively more than MSA and ESA at a rate of 35 %. Though it was spoken less with 31 % of use, ESA occurred relatively similar to MSA. Such proximity of MSA and ESA use could be held as a sign of MSA deterioration since ESA is thought to be just as a transit station *en route* to Colloquial Arabic. Apparently, Colloquial Arabic did not occur on the channels which give it preference over MSA (e.g. Future TV and ON TV) overnight or by happenstance. Rather, it has gone through a continuum of different processes where ESA represented the midway station of that transformational journey. So, the pathway has been like MSA → [MSA + Collo. Arabic] → Collo. Arabic, where the stage in brackets shows an increasing use of Colloquial Arabic over MSA.

In fact, these results, which fall short of expectations, are ringing alarm bells about the future of Arabic not only on Future TV but on all Lebanese channels. The seeping influence of Colloquial Arabic is increasingly growing without taking any step ahead for slowing down its pace. Consequently, MSA has become stuck between the rock of dialect dominance, on the one hand, and the hard place of the ruthless intrusion of the foreign languages, on the other. The constant isolation of MSA from the programmes of the Arab channels is likely to create a gap between the Arab people and

their linguistic identity which may also result in diminishing their sense of belonging to their nation. The impact of the gradual fade-out of MSA from Arab channels has been clearly manifested in the linguistic behaviour of the younger generation whose language has become either foreign or colloquial or at times colloquial amalgamated with many foreign words. They have lost their pride of Arabic and therefore, they no longer regard it as the vocal expression of their identity (Jabry “Alarm Bells Over Future of Arabic”). Likewise, it is likely to create a gap between Arabs and their history and literary heritage basically documented in Classical Arabic which eventually renders this history and heritage into mysteries that may require interpretation to be comprehended. In his book, “*humum katibu lasr*” “هموم كاتب العصر”, Khorshid explains the negative effects of the dialect use in the Arab media and how they contribute to distancing Arab people from their history and literary heritage. He also indicates that the constant overuse of dialect in the media discourse may cause undermining the sense of belonging to the Arab Nation amongst the Arab people, particularly the younger generation who are already affected by the intrusion of the foreign languages (144).

### 5.3.3. Aldjazeeraiya TV

On Aldjazeeraiya TV channel, the data analysis results have revealed a relatively acceptable use of MSA in the target programmes if compared to what has been found on Future TV and ON TV, in particular. Figure 5.28 illustrates that the highest rate of MSA use was reported in the Religion programmes where it was used as high as 91 %

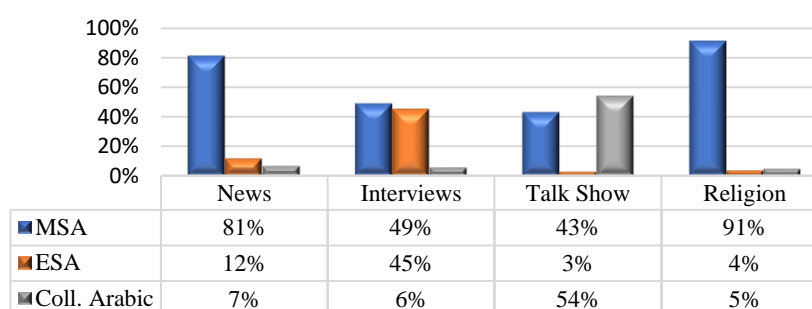





Fig. 5.28 The varieties used on Aldjazeeraiya TV

followed by the News genre where the use of MSA occurred at a rate of 81 %, which is also high if the language situation of the Algerian society was taken into consideration. As for the Interview and Talk Show programmes, MSA occurred with lesser extent as it was used 49 % and 43 % respectively. Some people may find these rates in these types of programmes relatively acceptable due to the nature of these programmes which require greater involvement of people who come from different educational backgrounds with different linguistic abilities and therefore, the much occurrence of Colloquial Arabic in such programmes becomes inevitable.

Table 5. 28 The overall use of the Arabic varieties on Aldjazeeraiya TV

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA		8575	65 %
ESA		2102	16 %
Collo. Arabic		2483	19 %
<b>Total</b>	0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	<b>15289</b>	<b>100%</b>

Generally speaking, MSA was used 65 % followed by Colloquial Arabic which was used 19 %. ESA was the least variety used across the target programmes with just 16 % of use. This result implies that the status of MSA on Aldjazeeraiya TV is still far better than that of Future TV and ON TV, as far as the four select programmes are concerned.

#### 5.3.4. ON TV

The overall results of the eight select episodes of ON TV indicate that MSA was the least variety used on the channel as it was used just 26 % of the time as compared to Colloquial Arabic which appeared as the most used variety across the episodes at a rate of 42 % claiming victory over MSA and ESA as well, which was totally used 32 % of the time of the episodes. In fact, it should not be surprising to see

this result since Colloquial Arabic dominated two programmes, i.e., Interview and Talk Show. ESA also occurred at a high rate in Religion episodes at a rate of 40 % as illustrated in figure 5.29 whereas the only adequate amount of MSA use occurred in News. In Religion programmes, MSA was used just 11 % which is considered a low rate. In Religion programmes, the presenters tend to use MSA, with few instances of the switch to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic, or even both. However, the results show the contrary where the broadcasters basically speak Colloquial Arabic and rarely switch to MSA and more often to ESA.

Table 5. 29 The overall use of the Arabic varieties on ON TV

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA		3291	26 %
ESA		3912	32 %
Collo. Arabic		5155	42 %
<b>Total</b>	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50%	<b>12358</b>	<b>100%</b>

There are several possible explanations for the mushrooming emergence of Colloquial Arabic on this channel, in particular and all Egyptian Channels, in general. The proficiency of the broadcasters along with their attitudes to MSA and the policy adopted by the administration of the channels appear as the leading factors underlying the prevalence of Colloquial Arabic use on the channels.

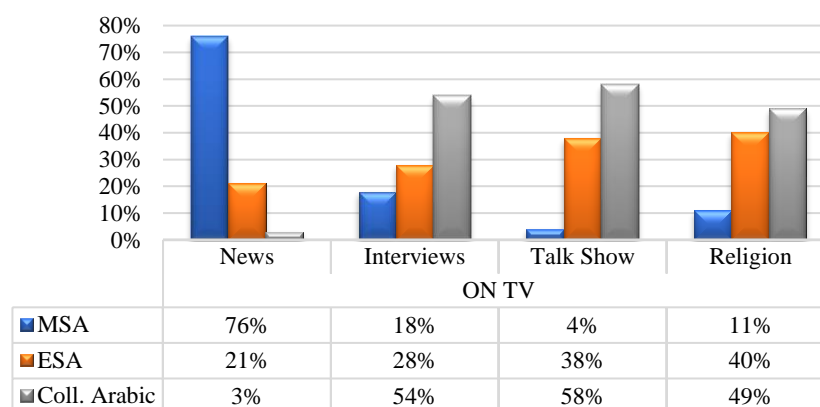


Fig. 5.29 The overall use of the Arabic varieties on ON TV




The rapid growth of the satellite channels, on the other hand, has created a state of fierce competition between these channels to reach the satisfaction of the Arab audience even if it comes to the detriment of MSA. They think that addressing the Arab audience through a more intimate language is more appropriate.

The results also revealed an extreme discrepancy of MSA use in the investigated programmes. While it was used 76 % in the News (which is the highest among the other programmes and the lowest among the five channels), it was used just 4 % in Talk Show programmes. This insignificant amount of MSA use in Talk Show programmes may seem surprising, but in fact, it seems less surprising if one follows these programmes and observes the constant determination of their broadcasters to speak in dialect rather than MSA all along the episodes of the programmes. Furthermore, the scripts of the episodes are written in dialect. This could be effortlessly observed through the broadcaster's reading to the introductions of the programmes, which are commonly presented in MSA, as is customary in many channels.

### 5.3.5. Yemen TV

The results to emerge from the data analysis of Yemen TV channel demonstrated a high level of MSA use across all the target programmes as compared to the other channels, if Aljazeera excluded. While Aljazeera topped the five channels in terms of MSA use amount with 85 %, Yemen TV turned out to be the second where MSA was used 80 % in the four target programmes.

Table 5. 30 The overall use of the Arabic varieties on Yemen TV

The Variety	The Chart	N	%
MSA	 80%	3291	80 %
ESA	 18%	3912	18 %
Coll. Arabic	 2%	5155	2 %
<b>Total</b>	0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%	<b>12358</b>	<b>100%</b>

The results also revealed that Colloquial Arabic was rarely used with only 2% of the total time of the target programmes. Likewise, ESA was used just 18 % of the time of the programmes. Table 5.30 above gives more details on the proportions as well as the number of words that fall within the categories of the three varieties.

The most interesting point to emerge from the results of Yemen TV was the complete absence of Colloquial Arabic from two genres, i.e., Talk Show and Religion. As a result, MSA found its way to Religion programmes where it was used 98 %, which is considered the high percentage across the five channels. It is worth mentioning that Yemen TV topped all the five channels, including Aljazeera, in MSA occurrence in two genres, i.e. Interview and Religion. Another interesting point about the Arabic use on Yemen TV was the rare use of ESA in all programmes as it was used just 18 % across the four programmes. In the previous section, it has been mentioned that Arabic enjoys a high prestigious status among Yemenis and this attitude has been reflected on its significant occurrence in the Media.

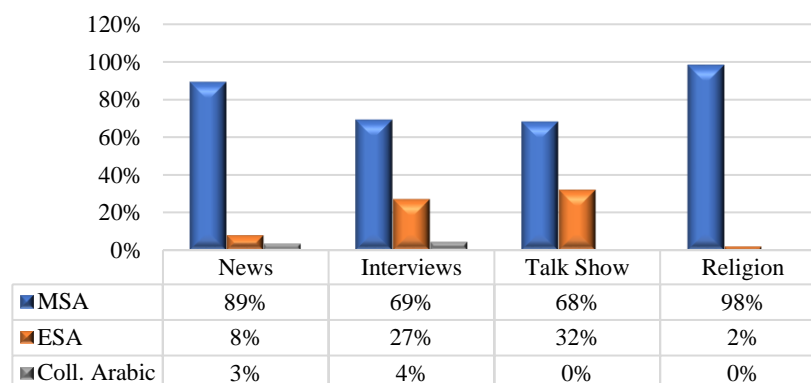


Fig. 5.30 The varieties used on Yemen channel

Based on the data analyzed above, it could be safely said that the Yemeni TV channel is more conservative as far as the MSA use is concerned. It has been observed that when people talk to the reporters, they tend to use either MSA or ESA moving themselves away from Colloquial Arabic. Yemenis tend to use Standard Arabic when

they talk to Arabs from other countries. This behaviour could be easily observed by any visitor to Yemen.

#### 5.4. Zones of MSA use in the programmes

This section is basically concerned with answering the Question No. two of the research which investigates the type of programmes that allow the occurrence of MSA or Colloquial Arabic, or even both. The analysis presented in the previous section related to the use of the Arabic varieties in the programmes would make the answer of this question much easier, clearer and more accessible.

As discussed before, the use of MSA turned out to be clearly inconsistent across the programmes of the target channels as its occurrence in the programmes significantly varied from one programme to another and therefore, from one channel to another. As was hypothesized, MSA considerably occurred in News genre at a rate of 83%. Also, the other two varieties insignificantly occurred in News across the five channels with different degrees of use.

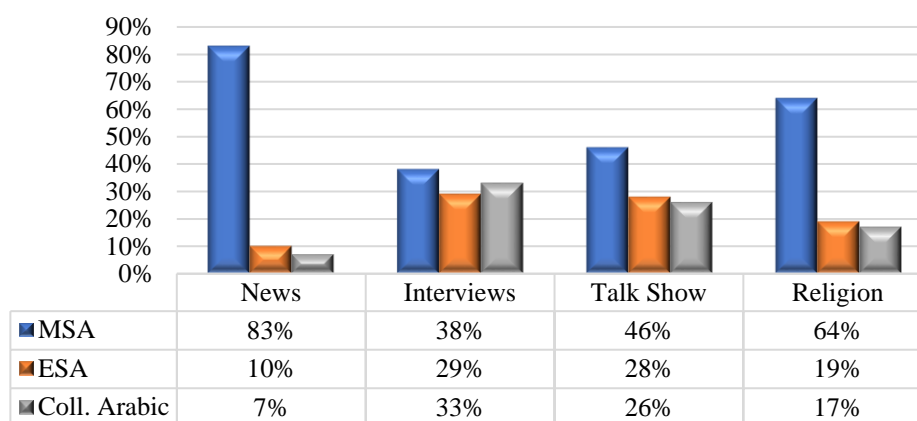


Fig. 5. 31 The use of the Arabic Varieties in the Target Programmes

This high percentage of MSA use along with the insignificant occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic potentially implies that this kind of programmes (News) considerably allow the use of MSA to be the dominant variety. It also indicates the

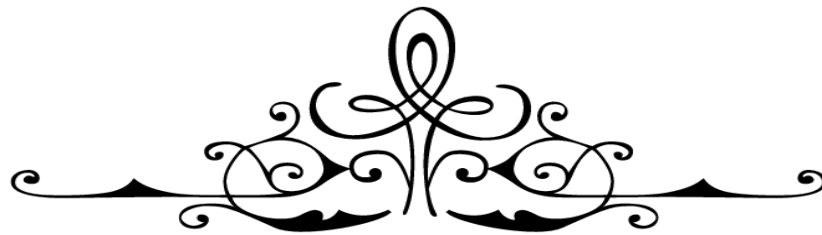


possibility of ESA and Colloquial Arabic occurrence with a limited amount of use, especially when presenting the field reports where people of different linguistic competence and educational backgrounds share their comments on the various current issues. The data presented in figure 5.31 above shows the programmes in which the occurrence of the Arabic varieties seems more expected.

While the level of MSA use was high in two programmes, i.e., News and Religion, at rates of 83 % and 63 % respectively, it appeared low in the other two programmes, i.e., Interview and Talk Show, where Colloquial Arabic and ESA claimed victory over MSA and turned it into an alien element in some channels. For some researchers, the occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic in these two types of programmes (Interview and Talk Show) does not seem uncommon since their purpose is both to inform and entertain. Eid regards these programmes as hybrid contexts which allow the use of both MSA and dialect (405). Through the analysis of the episodes of the channels, it was evident that MSA was used just 4 % in both Interview of Future TV and Talk Show of ON TV. These low percentages of MSA in these two episodes reflect the deterioration of MSA in the programmes of these channels, and more specifically in Interview & Talk Show. It also indicates the increasing use of both Colloquial Arabic and ESA to the detriment of MSA. Undoubtedly, the significant amount of Colloquial Arabic use in such programmes is fairly enough to make MSA appear as a bizarre and “marked” variety as Myers-Scotton (1998) suggested in her Markedness Theory. It is also worth indicating that this result agrees with the conclusion of Eid (2007) where she found that the language emerges in the two episodes of the Interview programme aired over the Egyptian Satellite Channel (ESC) is a mix, identifiable at times as *fusha* (MSA) and at times as *?āmmiyah* (Colloquial Arabic) but more often as an ‘in-between variety’, (405).

## 5.5. Conclusion

From the above discussion, it could be concluded that MSA was used on the channels in different degrees. While it occurred on Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazaeriya TV in a fairly acceptable degree of use across their programmes, it was significantly marginalized on Future TV and ON TV where Colloquial Arabic encroached MSA. It could be also concluded that Colloquial Arabic was used more in Talk Show and Interview programmes. On the other hand, MSA appeared inconsistent in Religion programmes of the channels as it was considerably used on some channels like Yemen TV, Aldjazaeriya TV, and Aljazeera. while it was used less on some other channels like Future TV and ON TV. The overall result suggests that MSA is the dominant variety on Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazaeriya, while Colloquial Arabic is the widely used variety on both Future TV and ON TV, as far as the four select programmes are concerned.



**CHAPTER SIX**

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**REASONS FOR MSA/ COLLOQUIAL  
ARABIC ALTERNATION**

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## CHAPTER SIX: REASONS FOR MSA/COLLOQUIAL ARABIC ALTERNATION

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## 6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, it has been illustrated that the four research questions were compartmentalized into two different sections; the first two questions are quantitative in nature and therefore, they have been answered quantitatively through displaying the frequencies and percentages of the Arabic varieties used on the five TV channels under scrutiny. The other two questions (three & four), on the other hand, are qualitative cum quantitative as they handle the reasons for switching occurrence in the programmes of the channels as well as the attitudes of the viewers and broadcasters towards the use of either MSA or Colloquial Arabic, or even both, in presenting the programmes. Hence, the qualitative approach turns out to be more appropriate to answer these two questions. However, the quantitative approach is utilized in some parts of this chapter.

As has been seen, chapter five was concerned with the questions related to the amount of MSA, Colloquial Arabic, and the in-between variety (ESA) use on the target channels and their select programmes. The data collected from the forty episodes and the results obtained from their analysis were dedicated to the answers of these questions. However, this chapter is concerned with exploring the underlying reasons for the alternation between the three Arabic varieties across the programmes of the five channels. Besides, it explains the attitudes held by the broadcasters and viewers towards the use of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of these channels. The discussion and answers to the concerned questions will be grounded on the results obtained from the questionnaires' analysis. Moreover, the applicability of some theories like Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) developed by Howard Giles & his colleagues in 1971, the Communicative Competence concept developed by Hymes (1966), Poplack theory of inter- and intra-sentential code switching, and Audience

Design Theory developed by Allan Bell (1984) are tested in this chapter throughout the analysis of the data. Nevertheless, some details about the questionnaires and their reliability are presented before moving on to the discussion of the concerned questions. It is worth mentioning that the reasons for the occurrence of the Arabic varieties on the channels will be discussed prior to taking up the attitudes of the viewers and broadcasters towards MSA and the other varieties (ESA & Colloquial Arabic) which will be mainly based on the analysis of the two questionnaires.

## 6.2. Questionnaire reliability

The reliability analysis of a questionnaire refers to the scale stability and its capability of giving similar answers in case of re-application on the same sample. This process is also meant to provide information about whether or not the data collected is consistent and accurate. To this end, we used Cronbach coefficient alpha to compute the internal consistency and reliability of the research questionnaires which were designed based on the Likert scale.

*Table 6. 1 The reliability and validity coefficients of the research questionnaire*

<b>The Questionnaire</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Valid responses</b>	<b>Reliability Alpha</b>	<b>Validity alpha <math>\frac{1}{2}</math></b>
<b>The Viewers</b>	23	387	0.681	0.825
<b>The broadcasters</b>	45	22	0.743	0.862

The data presented in the table above shows that the values of the validity coefficient of the questionnaires of the viewers and broadcasters were 0.825 and 0.862 respectively which means that the two questionnaires are highly valid. The reliability coefficient of the questionnaires, on the other hand, was 0.681 for the viewers and 0.743 for the broadcasters which were also considered as a reasonable indication of the two

questionnaires' reliability and implies that the items of the questionnaires were reasonably consistent. These results suggest that the subsequent results could be generalizable for the research community of the viewers and broadcasters.

### 6.3. Sample characteristics

As mentioned in chapter four (Methodology), the sample population of this study consists of two groups; the first group includes some viewers of the Arab satellite channels and the other one is composed of some broadcasters working in these channels. The gender variable was also taken into consideration during the selection of these samples as the respondents of the two questionnaires include both males and females with varying percentages of representation for several reasons. Different techniques were also followed in approaching the respondents of the two questionnaires, though disseminated online through some platforms of social media such as *Facebook* and *WhatsApp*. Both samples (the viewers & broadcasters) were selected following the convenience sampling method where a number of viewers and broadcasters were selected from among those who thought to have been more accessible and supportive.

Table 6. 2 The gender-wise distribution of the viewers

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	275	71.1%
Female	112	28.%
<b>Total</b>	387	100.0%

The table above and figure below together illustrate the percentages of both males and females' representation in the sample structure of the viewers. As seen, the male

respondents represent the majority of the sample with a rate of 71% while females form 29 % of the sample size.

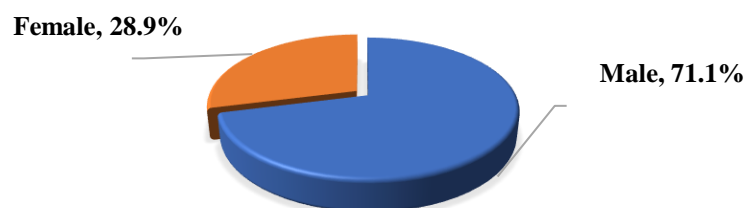


Fig. 6.1 The gender-wise distribution of the sample

It is worth indicating that the wide gap between the males and females' representation results from the fact that the questionnaires were disseminated online through the above-mentioned social media platforms and the reaction of the male respondents was far and away better than that of the females. Moreover, the accessibility of the female respondents was not that easy due to the conservative nature of the Arab society.

Table 6. 3 The gender-wise distribution of the broadcasters' sample

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	16	72.7%
Female	6	27.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

As for the sample of the broadcasters, the total number of the respondents was twenty-two broadcasters working for different Arab satellite channels based/located in different Arab countries such as Yemen, Qatar, and Algeria.

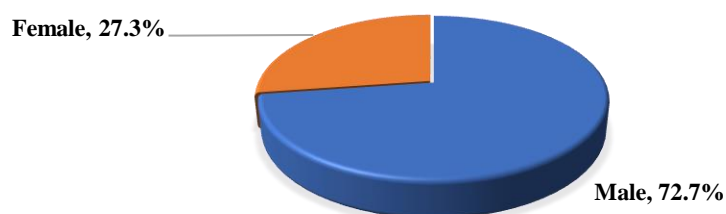


Fig. 6.2 The gender-wise distribution of the broadcasters' sample



Table 6. 4 The channel-wise distribution of the broadcasters

Channel Site	Frequency	Percent
Algeria	3	13.6%
Gulf	2	9.1%
Yemen	17	77.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100 %</b>

In fact, the opinion of one broadcaster may reflect the trend of the whole channel just unlike the opinions of the viewer whose perception of the Arabic use on the TV channels is rather limited. In terms of the gender-based representation, the males represent 72.7% while the females are 27.3% of the broadcasters' sample size. On the other hand, the selection of the broadcasters from different countries is of great importance that helps to obtain a variety of opinions and attitudes.

#### 6.4. Data processing

For data processing, SPSS software programme (version 20) along with some statistical means such as Cronbach's Alpha scale, which measures the questionnaires' reliability and the sample's opinions validity, have been utilized in processing the collected data of the research. Cronbach's Alpha scale ranges from 0 – 1, and approaching from 1 means a better internal correlation and good reliability and vice versa. The results of the questionnaires will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections related to the sample's attitudes towards MSA.

#### 6.5. Reasons for MSA/Colloquial Arabic alternations

In chapter two, the diglossic nature of Arabic was discussed at great length where it was indicated that different varieties of Arabic are used side by side in different social contexts according to some certain factors. While MSA is a formal variety and

therefore, it is used for formal situations such as education, political speeches, religious sermons, and media, Colloquial Arabic is informal and used in informal settings and generally for the Arab's day-to-day communication. However, any study related to Arabic could not be taken by the notion of black and white because Arabic, in fact, is not only a dichotomous language (i.e. Standard vs. Dialect) since, according to some linguists (e.g. Badawi, 1973; Blanc, 1960; Meiseles, 1980) and others, different levels of Arabic exist between these two varieties; some of them are close to MSA and others to the pure dialect. These levels are assumed to provide zones for the Arabic speakers to move back and forth between them when necessary to fulfil various discourse functions. The Arabic speakers' deficiency in one variety of Arabic (e.g. at the lexical level) is covered and compensated by another variety of their linguistic repertoires which are at their disposal. In his general characterization of CS, Crystal presents a number of possible reasons for switching from one language to another. One of the reasons for the switching behaviour presented by Crystal is the notion that when speakers may not be able to express themselves in one language, they switch to the other to compensate for the deficiency (qtd. in Chung 294). In fact, the switch between these levels does not happen unconsciously or spontaneously. Rather, different strategic reasons underlie such linguistic behaviour. Myers-Scotton states that code choices are not just choices of content but are "discourse strategies" by which the speaker becomes a creative actor (57). On the other hand, some researchers think that switching between codes is an "unconscious" process which means that typical code switchers are usually not aware of why they switch codes at certain points in discourse (Chung 295).

However, the matrix of participants involved in the conversation, context in which the conversation takes place, and the topic of the conversation altogether represent defining factors playing major roles in determining the language choice

(Holmes 21). These factors turn out to be important in deciding what language/variety is used for which situation. Therefore, the discussion of this section basically revolves on four dimensions that may affect the choice of one variety over another in presenting the programmes on the Arab channels; the type of programmes, the context and situation, as well as the participants (i.e. the guests and broadcasters). In other words, the reasons for switching between the Arabic varieties occurred in the analyzed programmes will be discussed with reference to these dimensions. Some reasons are related to the type of programmes, others to the participants (their linguistic abilities, attitudes, etc.), and some others are related to the context.

### **6.5.1. Type of programme**

As mentioned in chapter five when answering the question No. two, the occurrence of Arabic varieties in the programmes is sometimes associated with the type of programme. The results revealed that the amount of MSA use across the select programmes appeared inconsistent. In some programmes, MSA use is perceived as the norm like News and Religion programmes while in some others, it is viewed as the exception rather than the norm as in some of the social programmes. To put it another way, both Colloquial Arabic and ESA turn out to be more familiar to the audience than MSA in some programmes such as the social programmes which require an informal variety to appear more interesting and attractive, as the viewers suggested in their responses to the questionnaire that will be extensively discussed in the later sections of this chapter. In her investigation into the hybridity and style of Arabic on the Arab media, Eid draws a distinction between two types of programmes which are presented on TV channels in general; informative and entertaining. The choice of what variety to be used basically depends on what type of programme to be presented. For example, the informative programmes involve the use of the 'High' standard variety (i.e. MSA)

while the ‘Low’ variety (Colloquial Arabic) is supposed to be used for entertainment programmes. She also indicates that a hybrid variety (i.e. holding linguistic features of both MSA and Colloquial Arabic) could be used for the programmes of both information and entertainment (403). Therefore, it is not uncommon to find different programmes are presented in different varieties, at least in the Arab media context where different varieties are in a constant contact and negotiation all the way. Figure 6.3 shows the spectrum of the Arabic varieties used in the four-target programmes of the five channels.

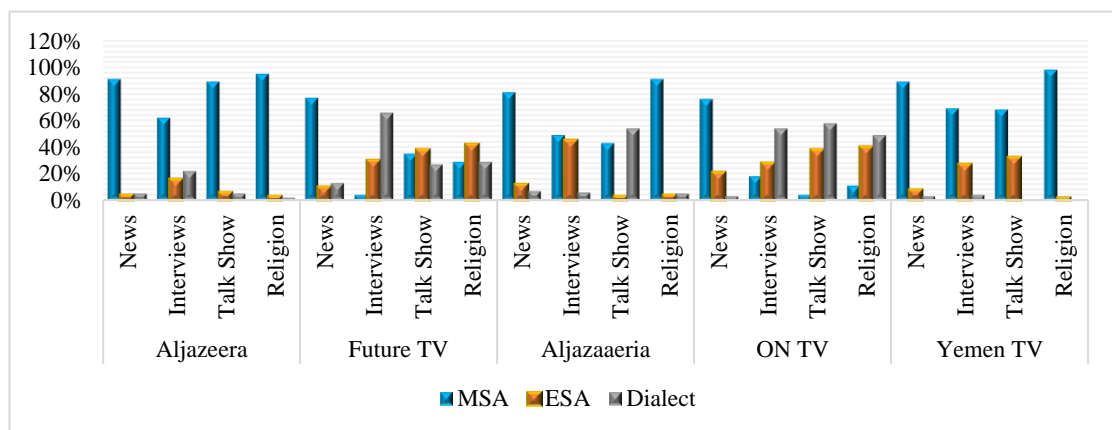


Fig. 6.3 The overall use of the Arabic varieties in the programmes of the five channels

The results illustrated in figure 6.3 and table 6.5 clearly display the extreme inconsistency of the varieties used in the programmes of the select channels which imply (at least in the select genres) that the correlation between the type of programme and the choice of the variety to be used is probabilistic rather than deterministic. In other words, associating a certain variety to a particular programme, except for the News genre, appears to be impractical, yet debatable. Thus, assigning a certain variety into a pre-packaged programme can be, for the most part, problematic. However, this argument does not necessarily mean that a correlation between the type of programme and the selection of the variety may not exist. According to the results illustrated in the table, this correlation is only consistent in the News programmes (as mentioned above)

and relatively in that of Religion. In the other genres, the varieties differ from one channel to another following some factors pertinent to the participants and their linguistic capabilities as well as their willingness to use MSA whenever they are capable.

Table 6. 5 The dominant varieties in the programmes of the channels

No.	The Type of programme	The Dominant Variety				
		Aljazeera	Future TV	Aldjazeeraiya TV	ON TV	Yemen TV
1.	News	MSA	MSA	MSA	MSA	MSA
2.	Interview	MSA	Coll.	MSA & ESA	Coll.	MSA
3.	Talk Show	MSA	ESA & Coll.	Coll. & MSA	Coll.	MSA
4.	Religion	MSA	ESA & Coll.	MSA	Coll. & ESA	MSA

Table 6.5 presents that while MSA is the dominant variety in the Interview programmes of Aljazeera and Yemen TV, Colloquial Arabic appears to be dominant in the same of Future TV and ON TV. It also shows that the diglossic switching occurs more in two genres; Interview and Talk Show. However, the occurrence of switching between the Arabic varieties significantly varies from one channel to another following several factors, among which are the speakers, the topic (social, religious, political etc.) as well as the setting/context. For example, in Aljazeera Interview programmes, the speakers **usually** switch between MSA and Colloquial Arabic and **sometimes**, they switch to ESA. In the Talk Show programmes, MSA was used **for the most part** and the speakers **rarely** switch to ESA and Colloquial Arabic. As for Future TV, the Interview programmes are **basically** conducted in Colloquial Arabic (i.e. Lebanese Arabic) and the speakers (both broadcasters & guests) **sometimes** switch to ESA and **rarely** to MSA. In the Talk Show of the same channel, the switch between the three varieties turns out to be **relatively equal** where the speakers switch back and forth

between them in a more or less amount of use throughout their speech. Regarding Aldjazeera TV, the speakers **usually** switch back and forth between MSA and ESA while they **rarely** switch to Colloquial Arabic. Here, the basic varieties are MSA and ESA, and the former (MSA) represents the centre of switching from which the speakers move between the varieties. In the Talk Show programmes, it is just the opposite where the switch **usually** occurs from Colloquial Arabic to MSA and **rarely** to ESA. Unlike, the Interview programmes, Colloquial Arabic here represents the centre of switching between the varieties. As for ON TV, the switch occurs in the Interview between Colloquial Arabic (as the basic variety of the conversation) and ESA (the secondary variety). The speakers **rarely** switch to MSA throughout the airtime of the programmes. Similarly, in the Talk Show programmes, the speakers' conversation is **basically** carried out in Colloquial Arabic and they **sometimes** switch to ESA while they **rarely** switch to MSA. The situation in Yemen TV is rather different since the speakers in both the Interview and Talk Show programmes, in the same way, switch back and forth between MSA (as the basic variety of the conversation) and ESA and they **rarely** switch to Colloquial Arabic.

From the above discussion, it could be argued that the diglossic switching between Arabic varieties is inconsistent across the five channels particularly, in the Interview and Talk Show programmes. Such inconsistency could be attributed to several reasons which have tight relevance, as mentioned above, to the speakers, topic (social, political, etc.) and the context. It is obvious that some varieties are more suitable in some certain programmes than others. In this context and according to the analysis of the viewers' questionnaire, 65 % of the viewers think that Colloquial Arabic and ESA are more suitable for the social programmes while only 27 % of them go in line with the use of MSA in these kinds of programmes.

By and large, while MSA is held as an appropriate variety in some programmes, Colloquial Arabic turns out to be more appropriate in some others. For example, it is unanimously agreed that News should be presented in MSA while serials, drama, and songs are thought to be typical contexts for Colloquial Arabic. According to the results of the data analysis, all broadcasters agree that MSA should be unequivocally used for reading News.

The viewers, on the other hand, relatively hold the same point of view since 83% of them think that MSA is the appropriate variety for News reading. The same respondents think the otherwise when it comes to the other kinds of programmes such as serials, drama, sport, songs etc. as 68.5 % of the broadcasters (as shown in fig. 6.4 below) think that Colloquial Arabic and ESA are more appropriate in the serials (soap operas) than MSA. Only 19 % of them think that MSA should be the variety used in these kinds of programmes. On the contrary, the majority of the broadcasters, at a rate of 95 % (the total percentages of Colloquial Arabic & ESA), think that Colloquial Arabic and ESA are more appropriate than MSA for the serials. This difference in the perspectives of the viewers and broadcasters may be attributed to the difference in the awareness of the programmes' nature between the two groups. The broadcasters are assumed to be more cognizant of the purpose of these kinds of programmes (serials)

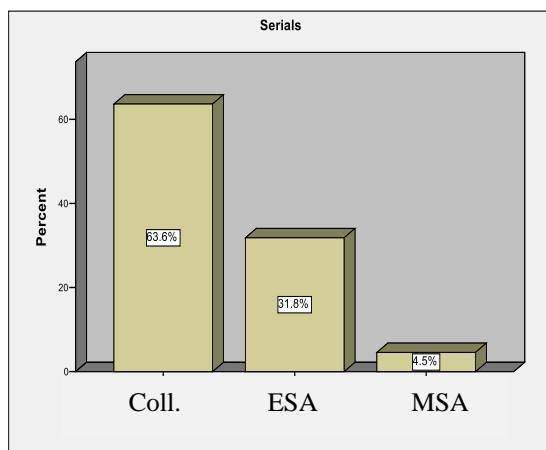


Fig. 6.4 The broadcasters' opinion of MSA use in serials

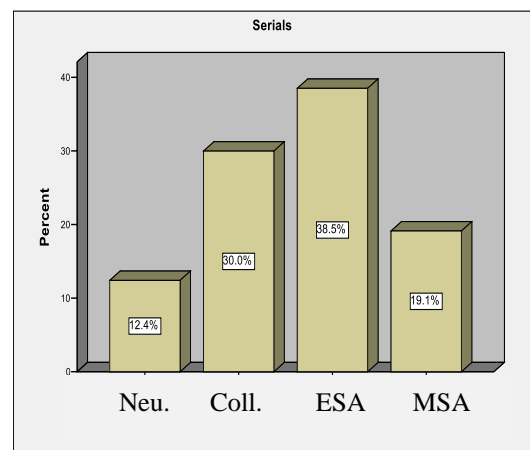


Fig. 6.5 The viewers' opinion of MSA use in serials

which is to entertain the audience and, therefore, they require an informal variety (i.e. Colloquial Arabic) which can fulfil the discourse function of entertainment. For the viewers, it appears that the leak of their positive attitude towards MSA into their opinion on what variety could be used in the serials constitute the driving factor that made 57% of them think that ESA and MSA are more appropriate than Colloquial Arabic.

On the other hand, albeit inconsistent, the data analysis revealed a certain degree of correlation between the topic being discussed and the choice of the variety. For example, in the Interview programmes of ON TV channel, two episodes were analyzed; the first one was social in nature while the second was political par excellence though they fall into the same genre, i.e. Interview. In the first episode, a young Egyptian actress, *Mennah Arafah*, was interviewed to share the host of the programme and the audience some details of her personal life including her professional career as a young actress. The analysis of the episode revealed that Colloquial Arabic was the only variety used, at a rate of 100 %, in the conversation between the host and guest throughout the airtime of the episode.

The second episode, on the other hand, was different in many ways; the topic of discussion, the educational level of the participants, and even the gender of the participants. In the first episode, the participants were females while they were males in the second. In this episode, *Dr Mohammed Al Baradei*, an Egyptian politician, is hosted by *Yusri Fudah*, who also happened to be a conversant broadcaster, to answer some questions related to the 25<sup>th</sup> January Revolution in Egypt. Unlike the first episode, where Colloquial Arabic was uncontestedly used throughout the time, MSA was used 39 % in the second, and the conversation between the guest and broadcaster, for the most part, was carried out in ESA. All through the time of the episode, Al Baradei tried to use MSA in an attempt to live up to the level of his educational qualification as a



professor and also to introduce himself to the audience as a member of the Arab elite. However, the “leakage” of the Egyptian dialect into his speech precluded fulfilling this aim and eventually, ESA appeared as the dominating variety over his conversation. According to Moshref, speakers choose ESA in certain settings in order to fulfil different functions: to portray themselves as educated, to facilitate inter-regional intelligibility, and to show solidarity with speakers from different regions (12). Through his attempt to speak in MSA, Al Baradei wants to leave an effect on his audience for his knowledge that MSA is pragmatically more expressive than Colloquial Arabic. However, Colloquial Arabic was almost non-existent in this episode since it was used just 1 % which cannot be counted or even makes sense. In fact, the significant difference between the two episodes, though they fall within the same genre (i.e. Interview), is resulted from several factors, some of which have relevance to the linguistic competence and educational background of the participants and others are related to the topic being discussed in either episode (i.e. social vs political).

In this context, it is worth indicating that the data analysis result of the broadcasters’ questionnaire revealed that 77.3 % of the broadcasters agree that the nature of programme may be one of the major causes of code switching.

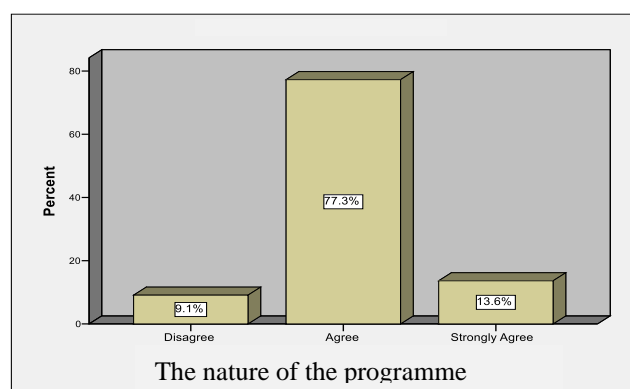


Fig. 6.6 The broadcasters’ opinion of the reasons for code switching

Therefore, it could be argued that it is not possible to always hold the type of programme as a deterministic criterion for choosing the variety/varieties of the

programmes because of its inconsistency across the programmes. According to the data result, this criterion could be applied to News genre as MSA was found to be the dominant variety across the target channels.

Nevertheless, in the other programmes, the dominant varieties varied from one channel to another following a number of factors such as the speakers, the topic, and the degree of interaction (Eid 405) as well as the broadcasters' linguistic competence along with their attitudes towards the use of MSA. For example, while MSA was found the dominant variety in the Interview programmes of Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and relatively Aldjazaeriya TV, Colloquial Arabic appeared as the dominant variety in the same genre of Future TV and ON TV. Therefore, the use of Arabic varieties was evident to be inconsistent across the target channels, as shown in figure 6.3 and table 6.5 displayed above, even within the same genre except for News (as mentioned earlier) which was found consistent across the five channels. Accordingly, the topic being discussed in these programmes could be perceived as one of the defining factors that influence the selection of what variety to which topic should be used.

### **6.5.2. Type of audience**

A number of studies have found that the categories of people we address in our daily conversation determines our style of speech. The ways of our speaking are basically defined by who speakers we are addressing. Coupland demonstrates that the person to whom we are speaking definitely defines the way we speak. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find a body of literature on 'the baby talk' (talk to babies and young children) and 'foreigner talk' (talk to foreigners) (57). According to the Audience Design Theory developed by Allan Bell (1984), the type of audience addressed plays a key role in determining the linguistic choice of speakers. The main idea of this theory

is that variation in speech style is occasioned when speakers design their speech in relation to their audiences.

In the Arab media context, the type of audience (national vs pan-Arab) may occasion a stylistic variation in the broadcasters' speech. When the target audience is national/local, the vernacular tends to be more convenient to the broadcasters, as was evident in some channels of this study (e.g. Future TV and ON TV), but when they address a pan-Arab audience, they usually use MSA more than Colloquial Arabic, as in Aljazeera TV. However, this notion seems inapplicable to all channels/broadcasters since some of them are completely aware of their pan-Arab audience but they continue to use Colloquial Arabic in presenting the programmes, as is often the case with the Lebanese and Egyptian channels in general which pay more attention to the local audience rather than the pan-Arab. According to Eid, the varieties of Arabic heard over the channels naturally reflect the intended audience (405). As was seen in the previous chapter, the large amount of Colloquial Arabic use on Future TV and ON TV naturally indicates that the target audience of these two channels is the local audience (i.e., Lebanese and Egyptian viewers). These two channels constantly seek to satisfy their limited and assigned audiences and thus, they adopt a variety that is favoured by these particular audiences turning a blind eye to the other Arab viewers who are likely to watch and follow these channels. Aljazeera use of MSA, on the other hand, demonstrates that it targets the all-Arab audience wherever they are (even the Arab diaspora) since its broadcast is international and covers most parts of the world. It is worth indicating here that Aljazeera was founded in the 1996 to be basically a pan-Arab satellite channel and since its early inception, it has been targeting the all-Arab audience which extends from the Gulf to Ocean as well as those who live in the different parts of the world. Therefore, the channel realized that such a large audience holding different

dialectal variations should be addressed by a variety that is common to them all, which clearly means that MSA is the appropriate and expected variety that may fulfil this discourse function. The viewers of Aljazeera expect the use of MSA across its various programmes, and therefore, according to Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Theory, MSA is regarded as an unmarked variety. On the contrary, the viewers of Future TV and ON TV do not expect the use of MSA in the programmes of these two channels, except the News programmes, and given this, MSA is regarded as a marked variety in most of their programmes.

Although all Arab channels are satellite and their viewers are likely all Arabs, most of them, for the most part, choose to focus on the local audience rather than the regional (all-Arab audience) to advance some agendas which have relevance to either the policy of the channels or the orientation of their owners, be they governments or private institutions.

As for Future TV and ON TV, the linguistic scene is rather intricate as far as MSA is concerned since Colloquial Arabic is given the supremacy over MSA in almost all programmes except the News which is presented in MSA with sporadic intrusion of ESA and Colloquial Arabic which intermittently occurs in the field reports or the interventions of the guests during the time of news reading.

However, the results of this study have revealed that the broadcasters sometimes select a certain variety or switch between the varieties of Arabic for their awareness of the audience's linguistic capabilities. Here, switching is perceived as a strategic behaviour employed by the broadcasters for explaining what is not likely understood in one variety by switching to another which is thought to be more intelligible for the audience. For example, in the programme '*The Crime Scene*', مسرح الجريمة, presented on Aldjazaeriya TV where the Algerian dialect was predominant, some MSA expressions

occurred within the stretch of the presenter's discourse. However, whenever these MSA expressions occur, the presenter of the programme immediately switches to the Algerian dialect to demystify the meaning of what has been said in MSA using the discourse marker /yaʕni/ يعني 'which means'. For example, he says:

*nās mlāh li l-jār yiʕāwin jāruh fi s-sarrāʔi wa ɖ-ɖarrāʔ yaʕni fi l-hājah l-mlīthah  
wi llī miʕtī mlīthah*

ناس ملاح لي الجار يعاون جاره في السراء والضراء، يعني في الحاجة المليحة واللي مش مليحة

**Gloss:** 'Good people, the neighbour who helps his neighbour through thick and thin which means in the good thing and the bad thing.'

According to Bell's (1984) theory of audience design, speakers design their style basically for and in response to their audience. Bell says that style shift 'occurs primarily in response to a change in the speaker's audience. Audience design is generally manifested in a speaker's style shifting to be more like that of the person he is speaking to' (Coupland 60). Here, the presenter of the programme is aware that a part of his audience would possibly not be able to understand the MSA expressions. Therefore, he switches to the dialect to explain whenever he speaks standard utterances. Similarly, the presenter of the religion programme, 'This is Our Religion' هذا ديننا presented on the same channel (Aldjazaeriya TV), switches from MSA to the Algerian dialect whenever he wants to give more clarification on certain points. For example, he says:

*ʔannabī ʕalla llāhu ʕalayhi wa sallama saʔala ʔaʕhābah ʔatadrūna mani l-  
muflis qālū ʔinna l muflisa finā man lā dirhama lahu wa lā matāʕ ʔilmuflis li  
miskīn ki yidrib yidduh fi l jīb mā yilqā drāhim ...*

النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم سأل أصحابه أتدرون من المفلس، قالوا إن المفلس فينا من لا درهم له ولا

متاع، المفلس لي مسكين كي يدرب (يضرب) يده في الجيب ما يلقى دراهم

**Gloss:** The Prophet Peace Be Upon Him asked his companions; do you know who is the broke? They replied: the broke whoever does not have money. **The broke whoever gets his hand into his pocket and does not find money....**

In fact, the linguistic complexity of the Algerian society resulting from the gargantuan legacy left by the French colonization makes MSA sometimes sound like an alien object and unintelligible to some of the Algerian society members. Dendane argues that few people in the Algerian society reach an acceptable level of competence in the effective use of the standard form of Arabic in formal situations, even when they have gone through elementary, intermediate and higher education (131-132). So, these low levels in the effective use of MSA, even among the educated, do not help a part of the Algerian society to comprehend some expressions in Standard Arabic. Hence, the speaker in the above example strategically uses this switch to have his message conveyed to his audience easily and in an intelligible way. According to Bassiouney, the speaker's choice of one variety over another is connected with the audience and through such choice, the speaker seeks to convey his message to the audience with least effort (163).

In addition, the data analysis has revealed that speakers sometimes switch between Arabic and other languages such as French and English for giving more emphasis on some certain points. For example, in Aljazeera Talk Show programme, 'The Opposite Direction' *الاتجاه المعاكس*, one of the guests, Abdulmajeed Qubati, switches from Arabic to English to give more emphasis to the phrase said in MSA. He says:

... *kamā ʔafār majlisa l ʔamn ʔannuh sayfrud ʕuqūbāt ʕala l ʔafxāš wa l kānāt*  
*individuals and entities.*

*individuals and entities* والكانات كما أشار مجلس الأمن أنه سيفرض عقوبات على الأشخاص

**Gloss:** ... ‘as the Security Council indicated that it will impose penalties on individuals and entities, individuals and entities.’

On the one hand, the speaker, here, is aware of what type of audience he is addressing through this particular programme which is considered as one of the oft-watched and most-awaited programmes across the Arab World. The largest part of its viewers most likely belongs to the Arab elite and those of a good educational background who are presumably able to understand some expressions of English such as this phrase (*individuals and entities*) uttered by the guest. Another assumption of the speaker’s use of this kind of switch, on the other hand, is to show how he is a man of “authority and education” (Bassiouney 162) and also to introduce himself to the audience as an educated and conversant who holds a good mastery of two languages. Furthermore, he wants to send an implicit message to the other debater that he is a good speaker of English. Along with these assumptions of the speaker’s switch to English is the clarification of this phrase, *الأشخاص والكيانات individuals and entities*, due to its importance in the body of the speaker’s argument.

In another situation, the same kind of switch occurs where the guest of the Lebanese Channel, Future TV, Maryam Noor, uses English expressions to emphasize the phrase “sirri l ʔaʕdād” سر الأعداد ‘the secret of numbers’.

**Example:** *fī miyit sinih ḥattūwwa fih raʔam tisʕah wi tisʕīn wi bi l miyyih bitiʔlaq*

*ʔasmāʔullāhi l ḥusnā sirri l ʔaʕdād the secret of numbers.*

في مية سنة حطوا (حطوها) فيه رام (رقم) تسعة وتسعين وبالمية بيتغلق أسماء الله الحسنى سر

الأعداد. *the secret of numbers.*

**Gloss:** In a hundred years, they put it. There is a number of ninety-nine which is completed by the hundred and that is The Most Beautiful Names of God, the secret of numbers.

In this example, the speaker switches from Arabic to English to give more emphasis on a certain expression which is “*sirri l raḥdād*” سر الأعداد ‘the secret of numbers’ to draw the audience attention to the importance of this expression being have relevance to *The Most Beautiful Names of God* أسماء الله الحسنى.

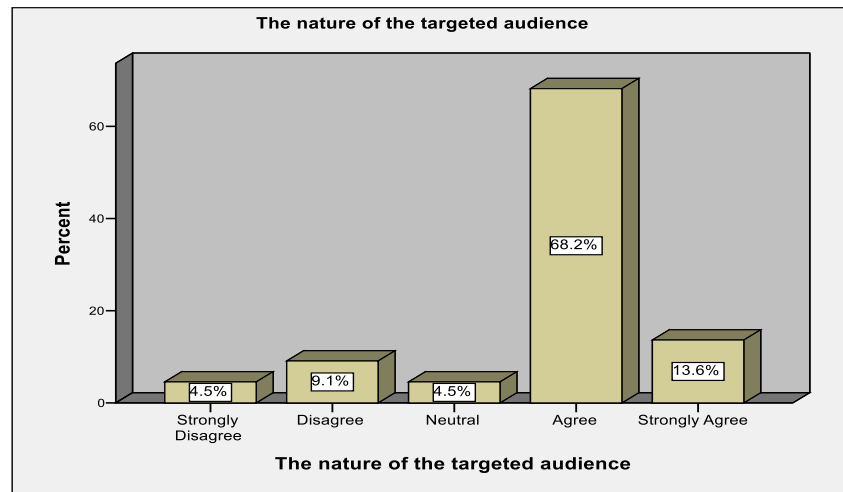


Fig. 6.7 The broadcasters' opinion of the reasons for code switching

In this context, the results of the broadcasters' questionnaire displayed in figure 6.7 reveal that 71.8 % of them agree that the nature and type of the target audience is one of the factors that occasion switching from one variety to another or even selecting one variety over another in presenting the programmes.

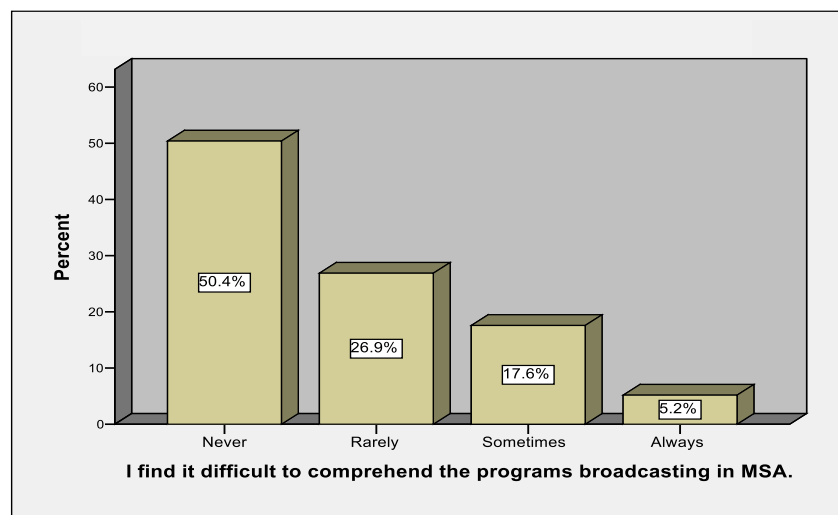


Fig. 6.8 The viewers' opinion of the reasons for code switching



In their response to the question related to their opinions on the reasons underlying the use of Colloquial Arabic in introducing some programmes, 54.5% of the broadcasters go with the opinion that Colloquial Arabic is more comprehensible to the audience than MSA. By contrast, the majority of the viewers at a rate of 50.4 % states that they never find it difficult to comprehend the programmes broadcast in MSA. In fact, this result refutes far and away the broadcasters' claim of using Colloquial Arabic in introducing the programmes for the purpose of making the content more comprehensible to the viewers. What is more, 78% of them mentioned that they linguistically get benefited when they frequently watch the programmes broadcast in MSA.

### **6.5.3. Context and situation**

People sometimes switch from one code to another when a change in situation or topic takes place. According to Holmes, people may switch code within a speech event to discuss a particular topic (37). Blom and Gumperz differentiate between two types of code switching: situational code switching, which is driven by a change in the social situation, and metaphorical code switching, which “relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters” (425). According to Bassiouney, Gumperz’s division of code switching into these two kinds (situational & metaphorical) is “in practice not always easy to draw” (158). Gumperz’s distinction also proposes that each type of code switching has different motivations. For her part, Myers-Scotton refers to the similarities between situational and metaphorical (55). She also draws attention to some kinds of code switching which do not have motivations or even discourse functions, and she refers to these kinds of switching as “unmarked choice” in which speakers switch from one code to another for no reasons. According to her, this type of switching serves as a normal linguistic behaviour of certain communities. In India, for example,

switching back and forth between Hindi and English, especially in the conversations of educated people, is a predictable behaviour, and thus, according to Scotton's "Markedness Theory", it is an "unmarked linguistic choice" since it is predictable and people find it normal. A deeper look into the data analysis results of our study shows that many instances of switching between MSA and Colloquial Arabic take place for no reason as the switch between these varieties have become "unmarked linguistic behaviours". In other words, the use of Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of some channels is predictable and expected by the audience, and therefore, it has become an accepted behaviour as is the case in the Lebanese and Egyptian channels.

As far as the correlation between the topic and the selection of the Arabic variety to be used is concerned, it has been already mentioned in the discussion above that the correlation between them is not always definitive as it turned out to be inconsistent, i.e. no specific variety could be exclusively reserved to a certain topic except in the News genre and at times the religion programmes where MSA appeared as the dominant variety in both genres. The following table illustrates the distribution of the Arabic varieties on the Interview and Talk Show programmes according to their topics. It also displays their inconsistency across the episodes of the five channels. These two genres were selectively focused upon because they represent fertile zones for the negotiation and contact between the three varieties of Arabic, as was evident from the data analysis results.

The table below presents more illustration on the relationship between the topics of the episodes and the choice of the varieties to be used. From the data displayed in the table, it could be noticed the inconsistency between the types of programmes and the varieties used across them. For example, the political topics of Aljazeera and Yemen TV were, for the most part, discussed in MSA. ESA and Colloquial Arabic were also

used but their occurrence did not amount to the extent that affects the dominance of MSA except in one episode of Aljazeera Interview where Colloquial Arabic was used more than MSA and ESA. In this episode, the participants (the guest & host) were Egyptians and their switches to Colloquial Arabic (especially the guest) was the prevailing behaviour from the commencement of the episode all the way

Table 6. 6 The topic wise distribution of Arabic varieties on the channels

No.	The Channel	The Programme	The Topic	The Variety			The dominant variety
				MSA	ESA	Coll.	
1.	Aljazeera	Interview	Political	77%	18%	5%	MSA
			Political	41%	14%	45%	Coll. & MSA
		Talk show	Political	85%	7%	8%	MSA
			Political	93%	5%	2%	MSA
2.	Future TV	Interview	Social	4%	20%	76%	Coll.
			Social	4%	41%	55%	Coll. & ESA
		Talk show	Political	14%	44%	42%	ESA & Coll.
			Political	53%	33%	14%	MSA & ESA
3.	Aldjazeeraiya TV	Interview	Social	50%	44%	6%	MSA & ESA
			Social	49%	46%	5%	MSA & ESA
		Talk show	Social	1%	3%	96%	Coll.
			Socioreligious	80%	4%	16%	MSA
4.	ON TV	Interview	Social	0%	0%	100%	Coll.
			Political	39%	60%	1%	ESA
		Talk show	Political	4%	56%	40%	ESA & Coll.
			Sociopolitical	3%	19%	78%	Coll.
5.	Yemen TV	Interview	Political	82%	12%	6%	MSA
			Political	57%	41%	2%	MSA & ESA
		Talk show	Sociopolitical	86%	14%	0%	MSA
			Political	51%	49%	0%	MSA & ESA

As mentioned before, Egyptians do not hesitate to use their dialects when talking to media though they are sometimes competent in MSA resting on their unwavering belief that Egyptian Arabic is widely understood by all Arabs in the Arab World due to the omnipresence of the Egyptian songs, drama, and movies.

The social topics, on the other hand, were discussed in different varieties as well. For example, on Aldjazeera TV, three episodes of social topics were presented in different varieties. While two of them were presented in MSA, Colloquial Arabic was found the dominant variety of the third one. By the same token, the social topics on Future TV and ON TV were discussed in more than one variety where Colloquial Arabic occupied the lion's share of the time of the episodes. ESA, on the other hand, occurred with a good percentage in one of the Future TV episodes because the guest was a prominent broadcaster of Future TV. Although the guest was seemingly competent in MSA, he chose to speak basically in Colloquial Arabic switching occasionally to ESA and rarely to MSA. This linguistic tendency implies that the use of Colloquial Arabic on the Lebanese Channels in general and Future TV, in particular, has become the norm rather than exception whereas speaking in MSA, especially in the social programmes, is held as a "marked" variety and unexpected behaviour.

Likewise, the results revealed that the speakers switch from one variety to another when there is a change in the situation/topic within the same stretch of discourse. To mention a few, when some issues related to religion are interpolated within the conversation of some other issues out of religion, the speakers tend to switch to MSA assuming that such variety is more appropriate and at times imperative, particularly, for the verses of Holy Quran. Mesthrie et al state that "code switching may be associated with a series of unmarked choices when aspects of the context such as a change in topic or in the person addressed make a different language variety more appropriate" (166). For example, in Aljazeera programme *شاهد على* *fāhidun ʕala l ʕaṣr* 'العصر' *'A witness on the Age'*, the guest, Husein Al Shafa'i, is hosted to recount his story with the late Egyptian President, Anwar Assadat, as a vice president. His speech is principally taken as a testimony on the events of that era. He basically speaks in

Colloquial Arabic (i.e. Egyptian Arabic) all the way and sometimes switches to either MSA or ESA. However, whenever he talks about something which has relevance to religion, he immediately switches to MSA. This kind of switching is defined by Gumperz as conversational/metaphorical code switching or alternation which is not sometimes “predictable but open to the speaker’s decision” (Auer 88). Auer, also, mentions that as the language of interaction has already been established on the basis of situational parameters, digression from this language is seen by the participants. In this situation, the variety of the conversation established by the guest is Colloquial Arabic but the switch to MSA occurs whenever he approaches issues related to religion. The following examples give more illustration on this linguistic behaviour.

**Example:** *wallāhi ʔanā yaʕnī ʔilʕamaliyyah mahiyāf yaʕnī bilhisābāt bihāza f-fakl liʔinnuh ʔawwalan wa ʔāxiran ʔanā ʔīmānī biʔinni ʔissulṭah dih nūf mini t-tamkīni l-ʔilāhi.*

والله أنا يعني العملية مهياش [ليست] يعني بالحسابات بهذا [بهذا] الشكل لأنه أولا وأخرا أنا إيماني  
بان السلطة ده (هذه) نوع من التمكين الإلهي.

**Gloss:** In fact, the process could not be taken that way because power is, first and foremost, a sort of **Devine empowerment**.

Here, the speaker apparently switches from Colloquial Arabic to MSA for two different reasons: the first is the shift into talking about religion-related issues and the second is the lack of the equivalence of these two words (*ʔattamkīni l-ʔilāhi*) التمكين الإلهي ‘the Devine Empowerment’ in Egyptian Arabic. The switch also occurs when the speakers start citing some verses of Holy Quran. In such situation, it is imperative for the speaker to use Classical Arabic/MSA, what we may call ‘compulsory switch’ as Quranic verses should not to be uttered in another Arabic variety.

From the above discussion, one can conclude that the speaker employs code switching as a strategy for finding out which variety is more appropriate and acceptable for these particular speech events. In another situation, the speaker switches from Colloquial Arabic to MSA when he quotes the widely circulated dictum of the late Egyptian President, Jamal Abdunnaser. He says: *mā ʔuxiða bilquwwah falā yustarddu ʔillā bi l-quwwah* ما أخذ بالقوة فلا يسترد إلا بالقوة ‘what was taken by force can only be recovered by force’. In this context, Gumperz identifies some functions for code switching. According to him, people typically switch from one code to another for different purposes, among which are “Quotations” (75-84). On the other hand, a link between the MSA and the Arab nationalism occurs in this example as the speaker feels proud when repeating this sentence in MSA as a signal of identity and nationalism. Grosjean notes that choosing a particular language or opting to mix languages in a particular social context can signal group solidarity, or ethnic identity markers (153). This sentence also holds another connotational implication, in that it is associated with power/force alongside its relevance to the Arab Nationalism and therefore, MSA gives the words of this sentence an authority and makes them sound more powerful due to the expressive power which characterizes MSA from the other Arabic varieties. This kind of switching could be understood in terms of indexicality concept developed by Woolard (2004) as MSA is associated with authority and formality. According to this theory, if a code is associated with the authority of a certain institution and this code is then used in a different context, then it will denote authority (Bassiouney 52). Therefore, MSA sounds more appropriate to such situation as Colloquial Arabic lacks authority and formality. Besides, it does not have the potential to convey the strong semantic implication of this sentence. To put it another way, had this sentence said in Colloquial Arabic, it would have never been as strong and powerful as it is because the MSA

lexical units composing its structure give it more semantic and expressive power and effect. According to Weinreich, the nature of the speech event (here ‘talking about Arab Nationalism as well as power/force and as seen above about religion-related issues’) triggers the switch between codes (qtd. in Bassiouney 155).

On the other hand, the use of MSA in uttering this sentence evidently indicates the speaker’s ability to use MSA. However, he chooses to speak in Colloquial Arabic all through the airtime of the episode switching at times to either ESA or MSA. The guest’s choice of Colloquial Arabic, in fact, is not surprising as most of the Egyptian speakers who appear in the different Arab channels use their dialects more than MSA. The seemingly underlying reason for this persistence of using Colloquial Arabic and reluctance to use MSA is a two-pronged phenomenon. On the one hand, the Egyptians regard their dialect as a part and parcel of their national identity, and therefore, they do not hesitate to use it in the various conversational situations, and media is no exception, irrespective of the context in which their speech takes place, to project this identity. On the other hand, they think that their dialect is widely understood across the Arab World, unlike the other Arabic dialects where the speakers of these dialects tend to use MSA for their knowledge that the audience is not likely to understand if they use them.

The results also revealed that the switch from MSA to Colloquial Arabic is sometimes associated with the folk expressions. For example, the guest of Aljazeera programme “*The Opposite Direction*” الاتجاه المعاكس uses a folk adage in Colloquial Arabic while his speech was basically a blend of MSA and ESA.

**Example:** *ʔiðā gadak sārīh kaθθira l-faḍāyih* إنّا قدك سارح كثر الفضايح

**Gloss:** ‘if you are leaving anyway, you may increase your scandals’

This proverb is said when someone has no scruples about doing wrong deeds as they know they are leaving anyway. Had this saying been said in MSA, it would have been

ludicrous and its humorous meaning would lose its effect. What seems to be happening here is that code switching occurred when the guest's speech act changed from serious talking to joking (Hymes as qtd in Kementchedjheva 8). Thus, in such instances, when speech contains a touch of humour, Colloquial Arabic seems to be more appropriate. It is widely believed that MSA is used for formality, seriousness, and distance, while dialect is most used in sarcasm, humour, cordiality, and informality.

In another situation, the presenter of the religion programme on Aldjazaeriya TV switches from MSA to Colloquial Arabic just when he starts talking about something related to the traditions and conventions of Algerian society. The following example illustrates how the speaker strategically employs this kind of switch to have his message conveyed easily and in an interesting fashion.

**Example:** *wa ʔiðā kāna šāhība jiwār kāna jiwāruhu ḥasan hāðā huwa l ʔislām ʔayyuha*

*l muʔāhiūna l kirām liðālikum lā ʕajaba ʔan najid fī ʔaʕrāfnā wa fī taqālīdnā  
wāhīd law yiylaṭ yikðib **willā yisraq ʔilʕāmmah wif tqulluh? subḥānallah  
llahjah ntāʕnā tqulluh subḥānallah zaʕ mā tʕallī zaʕ mā ḥāj bīt rabbī zaʕ  
mā rāk šāyim faẕannan minhum wa ḥðihī ʕaqīdah ḥðihī ḥaqīqah ẓannan  
minhum ʔannuh wāhīd yiʕalli mā yanbayt ʔan yaqaʕ.***

وإذا كان صاحب جوار كان جواره حسن. هذا هو الإسلام أيها المشاهدون الكرام لذلك لا عجب أن نجد في أعرافنا وفي تقاليدنا واحد لو يغلط يكذب **والا يسرق العامة وش تقوله؟ سبحان الله اللهجة انتاعنا تقوله** سبحان الله **زع ما تصلي زع ما حاج بيت ربي زع ما راك صايم** فظننا منهم وهذه عقيدة هذه حقيقة ظننا منهم أنه واحد يصلي ما ينبغي أن يقع.

**Gloss:** 'If he is a good neighbour, his neighbourhood will be good. This is Islam, dear viewers. So, no wonder to find in our conventions and traditions if someone does something wrong i.e. to lie or steal, what would people say to him? Glory to Allah, in our dialect, we would say to him, don't you pray? Don't you go to



Makkah to do pilgrimage? Aren't you fasting? They think, and this is a belief, that if someone prays (the five times prayers), he should not do wrong'.

The speaker also tries to make clear and emphasize the point of how it is important to be a real Muslim in characters, manners, and acts rather than sayings. In this context, Romaine claims that code switching can be used to serve the following functions:

- As a sentence filler,
- To clarify or emphasize point,
- To shift to a new topic,
- To mark type of discourse. (162)

The speaker also tries to change his role from being a preacher/teacher into being one of the common people to appear as one of them sharing them the same language they speak and understand. Goffman discusses how individual plays different roles and uses language to mark the new role he plays (80). Romaine also regards code switching as merely “changing hats” which all speakers engage in all the time. According to Bassiouney, each person plays different roles with different people in different situations. Bassiouney, also, adds that a speaker may choose to give his audience a certain role at one point in his speech, and he may choose to change it at another (172). Another implication that emerges from this switch is the speaker's shift from addressing one type of audience (those who have a certain level of education that enables them to understand MSA) to addressing another (those holding less education who regard such dialectal expression as something close to their feelings and comprehension as well).

#### 6.5.4. Participants

The participants involved in the programmes' interactions, be they broadcasters or guests, are regarded as a determinant factor in the process of switching from MSA to Colloquial Arabic and vice-versa. However, although various studies of code switching have underlined the role of participants, involved in speech interaction, in determining language choice, it has been argumentative among some scholars whether or not the participants are the main cause of code switching. While Ferguson argues that both situation and topic are the most significant factors in a diglossic community, Bassiouney thinks that it is the speaker who chooses the code that should be used (Bassiouney 234). Weinreich, on the other hand, claims that people switch because of the environment around them and because of a certain speech event or situation. According to him, the nature of speech event is the factor that brings about the switch that occurs throughout a conversation. Given this perspective, code switching depends on the topic first and then the participants. For his part, Gumperz holds the contrary view as he thinks that the speaker is not just a pawn controlled by the situation. Rather, it is the speaker who manipulates the situation, not the other way round (qtd. in Bassiouney 156). By the same token, Fishman points out that sociolinguistic analysis of language choice in the interactional contexts basically rests upon the notion of "who uses what language with whom and for what purposes" (67). A deeper look at this statement suggests that what lay hidden in Fishman's notion is that code switching is tremendously affected by factors which have relevance to the participants involved in the conversation (speaker & hearer). In other words, code switching depends on who is talking and listening, and this, certainly, includes different factors related to them such as their attitudes towards such a certain language/variety, language proficiency, convergence and divergence, solidarity, among some others. Holmes also enumerates

some certain social factors that seem to be important in accounting for language choice in many different kinds of speech community, among which is who you are talking (21). In the same way, Chung agrees that code switching is exercised according to the addressee, that is, the dynamic of the relationship of the speaker-addressee to each other and to their particular language proficiency (303).

When examining the results emerged from the data analysis of this study, it has been found that there are some factors that motivate both broadcasters and guests to switch back and forth between the different levels of Arabic varieties. Therefore, the discussion here would be focused on the episodes where the MSA, ESA, and Colloquial Arabic were used side by side regardless of the amount of their use, the matter which was extensively discussed in chapter five. As for the episodes entirely presented in Colloquial Arabic, they will be excluded from the discussion in this section due to the absence of code switching phenomenon.

Generally speaking, the factors that may affect the switch between the Arabic varieties in the context of our study, which are associated with the participants, could be summarised as follows:

- Language accommodation
- Language proficiency of the participants
- Attitudes of the participants towards MSA (ideology)
- Changing roles
- Solidarity

#### **6.5.4.1. Language accommodation**

Several types of research on Arabic have concluded that the Arabic speakers of different dialects primarily have recourse to MSA when conversing with one another, provided that they possess a certain level of formal education. Among the scholars who

hold this argument is Kenneth Katzner who states that “when educated Arabs from different countries meet, they generally converse in Classical Arabic” (qtd. in Abu-Melhim 231).

In fact, this sociolinguistic phenomenon could be tirelessly observed in the Arab broadcasting media where the speakers of different Arab countries (or even those who share the same dialect but hold different educational levels/backgrounds) strategically switch from one variety to another in an attempt to minimize the social/linguistic distance between them. As we have seen in chapter five, the reporter of Aljazeera channel, Amr Halabi, switches from MSA to Syrian dialect in order to accommodate with the person he interviewed, who happened to be one of the common people seemingly holding a low level of education. It has been indicated that when the reporter talks to the camera, he tends to use MSA but as soon as he starts talking to the people he interviews, he immediately switches to Colloquial Arabic. Let’s consider the following example which is a dialogue between the reporter and one of the patients who was hospitalized after being wounded due to the bombardment of the Russian and Syrian warplanes on Aleppo city.

**Example:**

The reporter: *ʔayḍan hunālika ʔāxarūn jarḥā fī ḥāḍā ʔalqisim min ʔaḥadi l mustaffayāt*

*ʔalmaydāniyyah fī madīnati ḥalab sanaqtarib ʔayḍan minhum ʔakḥar*

*linataḥarraf qiṣaṣihim*

*ʔassalām ʔalaykum*

‘Also, there are other wounded in this section of this field hospital in Aleppo city. We will come close to them to know more about their stories.

Peace be upon you’

The patient: <i>ʕalīkumu s salām warḥmtullāh wibarkātuh</i>	‘peace be upon you too’
The reporter: <i>ʔisim ḥadritak</i>	‘What is your name?’
The patient: <i>Abdulkareem</i>	‘Abdulkareem’
The reporter: <i>Abdulkareem, wēn tʕawwabit?</i>	‘Abdulkareem, where did you get wounded?’
The patient: <i>biʔaṭrāfi</i>	In my limbs
The reporter: <i>wīn? fī ʔay ḥay?</i>	‘Where? In which quarter?’
The patient: <i>birijliyyi θ θintēn</i>	‘In my two legs’
The reporter: <i>ʔay ḥay? ʔay makān?</i>	‘Which quarter? Which place?’
The patient: <i>bissikkari</i>	‘In the Sukkari neighbourhood’
The reporter: <i>ʔif lūn?</i>	‘How?’
The patient: <i>ʔana sākin jamb mistaffa l-qudis</i>	‘I live just next to the Quds Hospital’
The reporter: <i>wīn ʔiṣābtak bijismak?</i>	‘Where is your wound in your body?’
The patient: <i>hūn biʕand rijlī</i>	‘Here, in my leg.’

In the above-illustrated example, the correspondent briefly interviews some civilians who were injured due to (as already mentioned) the Russian and Syrian regime warplanes’ bombardments on their city. They are in the hospital to receive the necessary medical treatment where the interview takes place. It is worth indicating here that the first part of the interview has been presented and discussed in chapter five. As seen, the reporter introduces his short-time interview with a brief introduction in MSA, then he switches to Colloquial Arabic just once he starts talking to the patients. In this brief introduction, the reporter is talking to the camera where MSA appears to be the appropriate variety, but the moment he starts talking to the patient, he changes his style and starts talking in Colloquial Arabic. Such change in style comes in response to the change of the situation which requires convergence with the addressee’s linguistic

abilities. Bell thinks that style shift occurs primarily in response to a change in the speaker's audience (143). By the same token, Ervin-Tripp explains that switching is not more than accommodation to other participants' abilities (46). In addition, it implies further social connotations where the reporter seeks to bridge the linguistic gap between him and the patient. He also tries to establish a one-to-one relationship with the patient to reduce the degree of formality so that he sounds closer to the patient. According to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), developed by Howard Giles (1987), individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours to reduce the social differences between them (Giles et al 7). The reporter is aware that the use of MSA in this particular context is ill-suited for one reason or another. On the one hand, the linguistic proficiency of the patient seems to be insufficient to help him keep up with the reporter in case he uses MSA. On the other hand, the context in which the conversation takes place makes the use of MSA, the variety in which the patient is not competent enough, sound ridiculous because the patient can hardly speak his dialect, let alone MSA. Gumperz describes the social meaning of code switching and states that code switching is a conversational device predominantly used by speakers to express social meanings in response to the situation and other social variables (43). Another instance of accommodation occurred in the news episode of Future TV aired on 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2016. In this episode, the reporter interviews the Lebanese Prime Minister, Sa'ad Al Hariri to ask him some questions about the Lebanese Municipal elections. It is customary for the high calibre politicians, if they are interviewed by the media, to be asked in a formal variety (i.e. MSA) due to the elevated social and political status they enjoy. However, the reporter asks him in Colloquial Arabic and Al Hariri in return answers the questions in the same variety.

**Example:**

The reporter: *dawlti r-raḏīs fu taḥlīḥak ḥilḥawwalē ḥalā ḥalḥiqbāl ḥalā l-ḥiqtirāḥ ḥawwal ḥī biḥaydā wa ḥala ha l-yūmi l-ḥintixābē?*

The Premier: *yaḥnī ḥawwil ḥī mitil mā ḥilit bissābi? ḥinnih hayda ḥurs liḥayda ḥurs liddimuḥrāḥiyih ḥurs ḥalā rūḥ ḥiddimuḥrāḥiyih ḥillī mawjūdih biḥaydā willī ḥindi n-nās ḥilyūm ḥayda ḥiqtarāḥit wi lyawm ḥinfāḥallāḥ ḥayda ḥatkūn muḥtariḥah ḥalā ḥirrayis maḥammad ḥissḥūdī niḥnā wāḥqīn biḥiznillāḥ ḥinnuh ḥādih ḥiyih ḥatkūn natāyij ḥilyawm....*

**Gloss:**

The reporter: Mr Premier, what is your initial comment on the voter turnout in Sayda and on this voting day in general?

The Premier: First, as I have said before, this is a festival for Sayda city, a festival for democracy, a festival on the soul of the democracy that exists in Sayda and that of people [sic]. Today, Sayda has elected and today, God Willing, Sayda will be electing [sic] on the president Mohammad Assu'di. We are sure, God willing, that this will be the results today.

The example above clearly illustrates the speech pattern employed by the reporter when asking the Lebanese Prime Minister, Sa'ad Al Hariri. Apparently, the reporter's use of Colloquial Arabic when putting forward the question was not because of his inability to use MSA but because of his awareness of the Premier's deficiency in MSA, and therefore, using such a variety may put him in trouble since he cannot go along with the reporter in using MSA.

As for the broadcasters' opinions about the role of the linguistic accommodation in triggering code switching, the majority of them, at a rate of 63.6 %, agrees that the accommodation with the guests of the programme serves as one of the reasons that

bring about switching to Colloquial Arabic. This result is supported by the examples that have been observed through the data analysis process of which the example mentioned above.

Table 6. 7 The viewers' opinion of the reasons for code switching

No.	Reasons for using Colloquial Arabic in the programmes	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
4	The accommodation with the guests of the programme	0	.0%	4	18.2%	1	4.5%	14	63.6%	3	13.6%	22	100%

The table also shows the different opinions of the broadcasters on this factor which leads to the use of Colloquial Arabic. As seen, only 18 % of them disagree that the accommodation with the guests of the programme is one of the factors that cause switching to Colloquial Arabic. However, this should not be taken as an excuse for the absolute use of the dialect over the programmes as is the case in Future TV and ON TV where Colloquial Arabic is the sole variety used in some of their programmes. This factor appears to be inapplicable to these two channels (Future TV & ON TV) because the broadcasters use Colloquial Arabic throughout the time of the programmes even if their guests are competent in MSA. For example, in the programme *nās wi nās* ناس وناس 'People & People', aired on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2013, both the host and the guest are broadcasters in profession and thus, distinctively competent in MSA. However, they choose to converse in their dialect (i.e. Lebanese Arabic) throughout the time of the programme with a little switch to ESA and in some occasions to MSA. The results indicate that their use of MSA was just 4 % as compared to 55 % of Colloquial Arabic



use. Therefore, the overuse of the dialect on the pretext of accommodation with the guest in such situations seems impractical.

#### 6.5.4.2. Language proficiency of the participants

The linguistic proficiency of the broadcasters, as well as the guests who show up in the various programmes of the Arab channels, is also perceived as one of the defining factors underlying the abundant use of Colloquial Arabic on the channels. Furthermore, the mechanism of recruiting the broadcasters adopted by some channels has contributed, to a large extent, to getting the situation more blurred. In the process of recruiting broadcasters, it appears that some channels have recently tended to focus on some skills irrelevant to Arabic proficiency such as the broadcaster's ability to persuasively address the audience, no matter what variety of Arabic is used, more than their focus on how well they are linguistically qualified in MSA. What is more, the training courses that are likely to help broadcasters develop their linguistic abilities, as far as MSA is concerned, have been found, according to the questionnaire results, at the bottom of the channels' interests list. Consequently, Colloquial Arabic has become increasingly the prevailing variety used in most of these channels. The Lebanese and Egyptian channels are fine examples in which the frequent use of Colloquial Arabic by the broadcasters has affected their linguistic abilities and rendered the possibility of their use to MSA a daunting, if not impossible, undertaking.

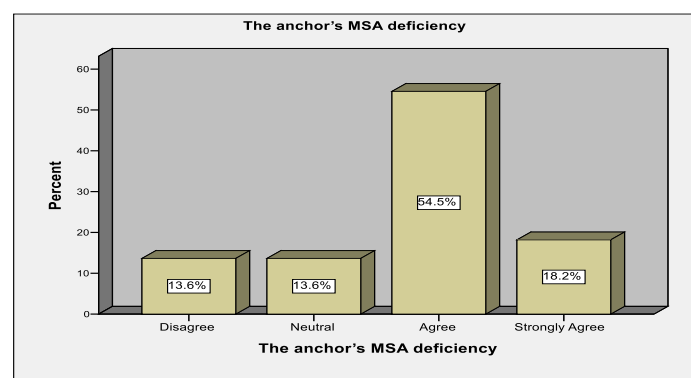


Fig. 6. 9 The viewers' opinion of the reasons for code switching

According to the responses of the broadcasters' questionnaire, 54.5 % of them agree that the broadcaster's deficiency in MSA is one of the leading reasons for the high degree of Colloquial Arabic use on the Arab channels. As for receiving the sufficient amount of training in MSA, only 9 % of the respondents mentioned that they **always** receive the adequate amount of training courses in developing their MSA linguistic skills while 36 % mentioned that they are **sometimes** trained to improve their MSA proficiency. Table 6.8 gives further details about how much the broadcasters are trained to develop their competence in MSA and shows to what extent the content of the training programmes are relevant to their training needs, if they are trained anyway. But before explaining the results, it would be prudent to illustrate the statistical terms embedded in the table for better understanding. In statistical studies, the term 'mean' is used to refer to a measure which is used to derive the central tendency of the data. In principle, a positive mean indicates a higher level of agreement on part of the research participants to the item on the Likert scale. On the other hand, a lower mean indicates a lower level of agreement on the respondents. Similarly, the standard deviation is a measure which shows to what extent the data differs from the mean.

Table 6. 8 The viewers' opinion of the reasons for code switching

No.	Paragraph	Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Verbal Response
1	I get the adequate amount of training courses in developing my linguistic skills of MSA.	2.727	1.202	54.5%	Sometimes
2	The training courses syllabuses meet the qualification needs of the Arab broadcasters.	3.545	0.912	70.9%	often
3	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the lack of training programmes in MSA.	4.045	1.046	80.9%	often
4	The training courses promote the broadcaster's linguistic skills of MSA.	4.273	0.827	85.5%	Always

According to the data presented in table 6.8, the respondents mentioned that they sometimes get the adequate amount of training courses in developing their linguistic skills of MSA with a mean of 2.727 (54.5%) and standard deviation of 1.202 which means that the attention paid to the training programme by the channels in regards to promoting the MSA skills of their broadcasters is not that sufficient. As for the relevance of the content of the programme, the mean value of this item was 3.545 (70.9%) which means that the training courses syllabuses often meet the qualification needs of the Arab broadcasters. Furthermore, the majority of them, with a mean value of 4.273 (85.5%), agree that the training courses always promote the broadcaster's linguistic skills of MSA. This consensual attitude suggests the respondents' awareness of the positive impact of training the broadcasters on the quality of their performance at the linguistic level. They also believe that the lack of training is regarded as one the reasons underlying the deterioration of Arabic in the Arab TV channels and in turns, the prevalence of the Colloquial forms of Arabic in their programmes. The low result regarding the amount of training, in fact, mirrors the insufficient attention paid to this important and vital factor that may change the linguistic scene of the Arab media in case of being taken seriously.

Turning to the analysis of the episodes, it has been noticed that switching from MSA to Colloquial Arabic sometimes occurs as a result of the speakers' deficiency in MSA, be they broadcasters or guests. Their lack of Arabic proficiency propels them to use to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic for the purpose of maintaining the flow of their conversation and to avoid the pauses or halts in their speeches all the way. For example, one of the speakers on Aldjazeeraiya TV switches between three varieties in a single sentence. It has been noted that once he encounters a lexical barrier that may cause a

halt in his speech, he immediately switches to the other variety where getting the equivalent lexical item is much easier and more accessible.

On the other hand, the frequent use of Colloquial Arabic by the broadcasters of some Arab Channels, particularly the Lebanese and Egyptian channels, have made their tongues more tuned with Colloquial Arabic than MSA which has, in turns, overly affected their fluency in MSA. Consequently, it could be safely argued that speaking fluently in MSA by those types of broadcasters has become an onerous, if not impossible, undertaking. Therefore, the abundant occurrence of Colloquial Arabic is not only associated with the broadcasters' attitudes or readiness to use MSA but also has relevance to their linguistic abilities which turn to be questionable.

#### **6.5.4.3. Participants' ideologies**

Some sociolinguistic studies have revealed a correlation between language choice and speaker's ideological background. In her study of *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*, Abu-Haidar discovered a phonological variation between Muslims and Christians of Baghdad city despite the fact that they speak the same dialect and live in the same area. In this study, she investigated the linguistic differences between the Muslims and Christians at different linguistic levels trying to explore how their ideological backgrounds affect the way they speak the same variety (Baghdadi Arabic). She found that the Muslims (MB) and Christians (CB) speak this variety differently at the phonological, syntactic, and semantic levels.

In our study and according to the data analysis of the episodes, it has been noticed that the ideological backgrounds of the speakers in the programmes have a potential influence on their language choice. For example, the two episodes of the Future TV talk show have been significantly different in terms of the amount of MSA use as opposed to Colloquial Arabic (i.e. Lebanese Arabic). In the first episode, three

guests, who belong to the Christian community of Lebanon, were hosted to discuss the results of the Lebanese Municipal elections with the host of the programme, Paula Yacoubian, who happened to be a Christian as well.

Table 6. 9 The influence of the guests' ideology on their language choice

The Programme	Episode	Guests' Ideological background	Variety					
			MSA (F)		Middle/ESA (M)		Colloquial (D)	
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %
Talk Show	1	Christian	224	14%	728	44%	694	42%
	2	Muslim	1063	53%	651	33%	286	14%

The second episode, on the other hand, was about the civil war in Yemen where two Muslim guests were also hosted to discuss the regional, political, and ideological dimensions of the underway war in Yemen. Although both of the episodes belong to the same programme presented by the same broadcaster, the amount of MSA use which occurred in each one of them was significantly different. In the first episode where the guests were Christians, MSA was used just 14 % of the time of the programmes as compared to 53 % of use in the second one where the guests were Muslims. This significant difference, in fact, has not come spontaneously, rather, it has a connotational meaning which is presumably correlated with the difference in the speakers' ideological backgrounds. Needless to say, Standard Arabic is associated with Quran, the Holy book of Muslims who believe that it is the 'Words of Allah' 'كلام الله' revealed to Prophet Muhammad in what is termed Classical Arabic. Accordingly, this association between Classical Arabic and Quran has accorded Arabic in its standard form a high prestige among the Muslim community. For non-Muslim Arabs, this association seems impractical and carries no weight and therefore, their attitudes towards Standard Arabic is driven by the notion that their regional dialects are as prestigious as Standard Arabic,

if not more. This argument is supported by Holes' (1984) study '*Bahraini dialects: sectarian differences exemplified through texts*' in which he investigated the correlation between ideology and language variation and how the sectarian affiliation affects the way people speak the same variety. Through such investigation, he found a dialectal variation at the phonological level between the Shiite Baharnas and the Sunni Arabs. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find the Lebanese Christians occasionally move away from the use of MSA and use their dialects instead. However, this notion could not be taken for granted since many Muslims, whether in Lebanon or elsewhere in the Arab World, on many occasions prefer their dialects over MSA as well.

#### **6.6. Viewers' perspectives of MSA use on the channels**

This section and the one to follow decipher the fourth question of the research related to the viewers and broadcasters' views of the Arabic use on the Arab satellite channels and measure their attitudes towards the use of MSA and Colloquial Arabic in the diverse programmes of these channels. To that end, two close-ended questionnaires have been designed to address the factors related to both viewers and broadcasters. The first one was assigned to the viewers focusing on the psychological and social factors while the second was designed for the broadcasters highlighting the same as well as that of training and qualification in order to obtain information about the extent to which the broadcasters are trained by the channels in which they work to be more competent in MSA. The items of the psychological factors in both questionnaires, on the other hand, aim to measure the sample's attitudes and responses towards MSA and examine the status MSA enjoys among the Arab viewers and broadcasters alike, while the items of the social factors are meant to provide information about the sample's opinions on the use of Arabic varieties on the channels.

### 6.6.1. Psychological factors

For measuring the psychological aspects of the viewers towards MSA and its use on the channels, a domain of four items was formed. As mentioned above, all items aim at examining the respondents' attitudes towards MSA as well as recognizing the variety/varieties they prefer when watching the programmes.

Table 6. 10 The viewers' psychological attitudes towards MSA use on the channels

Rank	No.	Paragraph	Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Verbal Response
3	1	I like watching the programmes in MSA.	3.568	0.681	89.2%	Always
1	2	I feel proud when I watch the programmes broadcast in MSA.	3.693	0.668	92.3%	Always
4	3	I prefer Colloquial Arabic to MSA when watching the show programmes.	2.708	0.966	67.7%	Sometimes
2	4	I prefer MSA over Colloquial Arabic when watching religious programmes.	3.651	0.667	91.3%	Always
<b>The average</b>			3.405	0.440	85.1%	<b>Always</b>

Looking at the results shown in table 6.10, we clearly see that the respondents (the viewers) hold a high positive attitude towards MSA as they feel proud when they watch the programmes broadcast in MSA irrespective of their occasional preference to Colloquial Arabic over MSA in watching some programmes particularly, Talk Shows as will be seen in the discussion below. This highly positive attitude was evidently and clearly reflected in the high mean value of this item which was ranked the highest among the others since it was 3.693 at a rate of 92.3%. In this item, the vast majority of the respondents (n=302; %=78%) mentioned that watching the programmes broadcast in MSA gives rise of a sense of pride to them. Such high percentage and mean value, along with the respondents' feelings of pride when watching the programmes presented

in MSA, indicate far and away the prestigious position that MSA enjoys among the viewers' sample. This attitude shown by the viewers is also validated by their responses to the first item related to whether or not they like watching programmes in MSA since the majority of them (n=256; %=66.1%) showed their high interest in watching the programmes presented through MSA. The mean value of this item was 3.568 at a rate of 89.2% which clearly means that the viewers are **always** psychologically willing to watch programmes in MSA. Such positive attitudes imply the sample's awareness of the significance of MSA as an integrated component and a symbol of the Arab identity and also refute the allegations that the Arabic speakers hold negative attitudes towards Arabic. They also invalidate the recurring claims of some broadcasters that Colloquial Arabic is more interesting for the Arab viewers than MSA.

However, these results appear to be incompatible with some previous studies which found negative attitudes towards MSA. By contrast, there are some other studies which turn out to be in a complete harmony with these results and emphasize the positive attitudes of Arabic speakers towards their language in its standard form. Among the studies which found negative attitudes towards Arabic, or in some cases, preference to the Arabic dialects over MSA is Bani-Khalid's (2014) who found a negative attitude attached to the use of MSA among the Jordanian undergraduate students of English. He attributes this negative attitude to the effect of rather imperialistic cultures and their languages on the modern generations. Similarly, Haeri asked the participants of her study whether they preferred *fusha* (MSA) or *?āmmiyya* (Colloquial Arabic) or even both. The obtained responses showed positive attitudes towards the ECA (Egyptian Colloquial Arabic) 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 [Colloquial



Arabic]” (176). Nevertheless, a profound look at the applicability of this conclusion, in fact, leads to the belief that it appears to be questionable and disconnected from reality since a monumental body of studies related to the attitudes of the Arabic speakers towards Arabic have proved the contrary and emphasised the prestigious status that MSA/Classical Arabic holds among its speakers. To mention a few, Al-Huri investigated ‘*The Impact of Diglossia in Teaching and Learning the Arabic Course in Sana’a Secondary Schools*’ and found that 83.8 % of the students and 96 % of the teachers hold positive attitudes towards MSA. What is more, 83 % of the students prefer receiving their lessons in MSA (112). Ellili-Cherif and Al-Khateeb also investigated the attitudes of college students at Qatar University concerning the shift from English to Arabic as the language of instruction. Through targeting 295 students (the sample of their study), they found that most of the sample students hold positive attitudes towards Arabic and think that Arabic should be the language of instruction.

However, the positive attitudes held by the Arab viewers towards MSA does not necessarily mean that they completely prefer MSA in all programmes. As seen in the table above, the sample **sometimes** prefers Colloquial Arabic than MSA when watching the show programmes. The mean value of this item was 2.708 at a rate of 67.7% which is much less than that of the previous one concerning their pride of MSA as a part and parcel of their Arab identity. For many, being able to speak Arabic is among the most important criteria for being considered as an Arab Citizen since MSA represents the link with the Arab World (Akbar 38). Despite its low value, the item tacitly conveys a message that the viewers also hold positive attitudes towards Colloquial Arabic in regards to the Talk Shows and some other entertainment programmes. Additionally, the result revealed that the second highest mean value after the viewers’ feeling of pride when watching the programmes in MSA was their

preference of MSA over Colloquial Arabic in watching the religious programmes. The reported mean value of this item was 3.651 at a rate of 91.3% which means that the viewers **always** prefer MSA over Colloquial Arabic in watching the religion-related programmes. Here, it could be potentially assumed that the viewers are quite aware of the nature of these kinds of programmes and their close connection with Islam and its two holiest components, the *Holy Quran* and the *Hadeeth* (Traditions) of the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), and therefore, the MSA absolute appropriateness to them.

Such inextricable link necessitates the use of Classical Arabic/MSA which, according to Ferguson (1959), work as more appropriate varieties in such contexts. However, it was evidently clear from the analysis of the episodes in chapter five that not all religion programmes in the select five channels are consistently presented in MSA the matter which does not conform with the viewers' preference. As was seen, the religion programmes of Future TV (Lebanon) and ON TV (Egypt) are largely presented in both Colloquial Arabic and ESA. This result, in fact, appears relatively compatible with the findings of Obaid study about the religion programmes *on Al-Furatain Radio* where he found that most of the religion programmes in this Radio Station are presented in ESA at a rate of 60 % while MSA and Colloquial Arabic equally share 40 % of the time of these programmes (979). According to Ferguson's (1959) *diglossia*, MSA or the 'High' variety of Arabic should be exclusively used in the domain of religious sermons. However, Colloquial Arabic has become dominantly the variety used in such kinds of programmes of some particular channels such as the Lebanese and Egyptian channels, to name a few, where MSA has been replaced by the regional dialects, i.e., Lebanese and Egyptian Arabic. Holmes calls this phenomenon as a dialectal "leakage" where dialectal Arabic gradually but steadily leaks into the domains of MSA (25).

As regard to measuring the gender variable effect on the responses of the viewers respondents in terms of the psychological factors, T-Test has been utilized to examine whether or not the responses of the two groups have statistically significant differences. Through this test, the researcher also aimed to identify the effect of the gender variable on the viewers' attitudes related to the psychological factors. A t-test is a statistical tool used to assess whether or not the means of two groups are statistically different from each other.

Table 6. 11 The gender variable effect on the psychological factors of the viewers

No.	Paragraph	Male		Female		T-Test	
		%Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Std. Deviation	T	Sig.
1	I like watching the programmes in MSA.	90.1%	0.688	87.1%	0.657	1.595	0.112
2	I feel proud when I watch the programmes broadcast in MSA.	92.9%	0.656	90.8%	0.697	1.101	0.272
3	I prefer Colloquial Arabic than MSA when watching the show programmes.	66.9%	0.993	69.6%	0.895	-1.055	0.292
4	I prefer MSA over Colloquial Arabic when watching the religious programmes.	91.9%	0.679	89.7%	0.637	1.165	0.245

A close look at the table above illustrates that the mean values of the four items of the psychological factors are, to a large extent, similar. Such close similarity suggests that no significant differences exist between the males and females' responses, and therefore, the gender variable has no statistically significant impact on the responses of the informants as regards to the psychological factors. However, the results of the male group were insignificantly higher than that of females in all items except the fourth one which is the preference of Colloquial Arabic to MSA when watching the Talk Show

programmes where the mean value of the females' responses was 69.6% as compared to 66.9% for males. Here, the tendency of the female group to favor Colloquial Arabic to MSA is evidently clear in all items. In other words, the attitudes of the female respondents towards MSA turns out to be a bit lower than that reported in the males' responses. Through this result, the male respondents seem to be more or less aware of the function of MSA in the media as well as the situations in which it is more appropriate to be used. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the difference between males and females' responses is, according to the result of the T-Test, insignificant in all items.

### 6.6.2. Social factors

As stated above, the items of the social factors embedded in the questionnaires are basically meant to measure the sample's opinions about the varieties used in presenting the programmes on the Arab satellite channels. In the questionnaire of the viewers, the part of the social factors is composed of nine items, each of which provides information enough to indicate the sample's opinions about a variety of issues germane to the use of Arabic varieties on the Arab channels. It is worth indicating that some intersections between the items of the psychological and social factors might come to the fore. However, the items of the latter accentuate the social issues more than the psychological ones though both have been designed to serve the same function, i.e., measuring the sample's attitudes towards the Arabic use on the Arab channels in general.

When the respondents were asked about their opinions on the appropriate variety for reading the News and its related programmes such as Reports and Political Analysis, the massive majority of them (n=315; %=81%) think that MSA should be **always** the variety that occur in the News programmes while a small portion of the

sample (n=40; %=10.3) think that MSA is **sometimes** more appropriate than Colloquial Arabic in the News programmes which implicitly indicates their agreement with the notion that opens the door to Colloquial Arabic to be used in some particular situations throughout the time of presenting the News.

Table 6. 12 The social factors of the viewers

Rank	No.	Paragraph	Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Verbal Response
2	1	MSA is more appropriate than Colloquial Arabic for the news programmes.	3.680	0.769	92.0%	Always
9	2	I find it difficult to comprehend the programmes broadcasting in MSA.	1.775	0.915	44.4%	Rarely
7	3	Colloquial Arabic is more appropriate than MSA for the show programmes.	2.571	0.972	64.3%	Sometimes
5	4	The social issues should be discussed in Colloquial Arabic.	2.863	0.878	71.6%	Sometimes
6	5	Colloquial Arabic is more comprehensible than MSA.	2.770	0.914	69.3%	Sometimes
4	6	Colloquial Arabic and ESA are closer to the real thinking and feeling of the Arab viewers.	2.902	0.864	72.5%	Sometimes
8	7	Introducing programmes in MSA does not attract the Arab viewer's attention and interest.	2.563	0.959	64.1%	Sometimes
3	8	Giving preference to MSA over Colloquial Arabic contributes to maintaining the identity of the Arab citizen.	3.605	0.843	90.1%	Always
1	9	I get benefited when I frequently watch the programmes broadcast in MSA.	3.729	0.568	93.2%	Always

In fact, there is a large consensus among the viewers and broadcasters, bolstered by the perspectives of some researchers interested in this particular area of study and who have dealt with Arabic in broadcasting media, that MSA is the only variety appropriate for reading News. It goes without saying that the use of Colloquial Arabic

in a situation where MSA should be categorically used may expose the broadcaster who reads News in Colloquial Arabic to ridicule from his/her listeners/viewers as they have been, for decades, psychologically tuned with listening to News bulletins solely in MSA. In her study '*Ḥāl id-Dunyā: An Arabic News Bulletin in Colloquial*', Doss investigated the attempt of using Colloquial Arabic in reading the News bulletins made by OTV, a private Egyptian Channel, in the 1990s. She mentioned that the News presenters used to not appear on the screen and they used the voice-over technique instead because, according to her, their appearance with formal dresses and ties while reading the News in *Ṛāmmiyya* (Colloquial Arabic) is viewed as an inappropriate behaviour which makes them feel and seem awkward (130).

In fact, the perspective shown above by the viewers are, to a great extent, compatible with the results of the episodes analysis presented earlier in chapter five where it has been found that News, in itself, is broadcast in MSA in all the five channels under investigation, and the occurrence of the other varieties (i.e. ESA and Colloquial Arabic), is just resulted from the fact that some of the Arab people are interviewed at the time of News reading and accordingly, they use either their own dialects or ESA, especially those holding good levels of education.

The importance of this item, on the other hand, is manifested in its advanced ranking among the nine items of the social factors where, as shown in the table above, it was ranked the second with 92 % of mean value just following the item of the viewers' belief that the frequent exposure to programmes presented in MSA brings linguistic benefits. In this item, the majority of the respondents with a mean value of 93.2 % hold the belief that they get benefited when they frequently watch the programmes broadcast in MSA. In fact, getting linguistic benefits out of the frequent exposure to MSA used in the TV programmes is unanimous among educationists and

researchers. With the openness of the satellite channels along with the steadily increasing growth of technology, learning, be it learning languages or any other kinds of learning, is no longer a process confined by the four walls of classrooms. Rather, it may happen anywhere and anytime by means other than language teaching. Findahl points out that English-speaking students have learnt French without taking courses in French indicating the role of the frequent exposure to the TV programmes presented in French (150). In the Arabic context, Arab satellite channels may serve both as a promise and threat. On the one hand, they may contribute to the growth of the viewers' linguistic wealth as regard to Arabic through their frequent exposure to the programmes broadcast in MSA on some channels such as Aljazeera and some other Arabic medium channels. On the other hand, the flood of the programmes broadcast in Colloquial Arabic on some Arab channels such as the Lebanese, Egyptian and some Maghreb channels, may constitute a destructive tool to Arabic and therefore, contaminates its purity. It may also affect the viewers' linguistic behaviour in MSA and bring about developing negative attitudes towards MSA among the viewers particularly, with the deterioration of their comprehension of the programmes presented in MSA. Such situations are likely to make MSA appear as an isolated and bizarre form of Arabic to the viewers, particularly the younger generation who seem more vulnerable to such situations. As for the viewers' opinion about the inextricable link between language and identity, the majority of them (n=301; %=77.8) hold the belief that giving preference to MSA over Colloquial Arabic in the Arab satellite channels contributes to maintaining the identity of the Arab citizen. The viewers, here, seem more aware of the importance of Arabic in its standard form as not just a means of communication but as an integral part of the Arab identity and a "social glue" that bonds Arab together (Rouchdy 144). Albert Hourani commenced his famous book, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, with the statement

that Arabs are "more conscious of their language than any people in the world" (qtd. in Barakat 33). This perspective seems more or less compatible with the result shown above.

As for the Arab media role in reviving Arabic, some people believe in the positive contribution of some Arab satellite channels in restoring the Arab identity of the Arab diaspora. The emergence of the satellite broadcasting, married with the ubiquitousness and accessibility of the Arab channels, has reconstructed the bridges that link the diasporic Arabs with their Arab identity and reconnected them culturally, linguistically, socially, and of course, psychologically with their mother homelands. Rouchdy mentions that Arabic in the diaspora faces great challenges to the extent that some Arab Americans ceased to use it due to the dominant use of English in all their life affairs (143). She also points out that the increasing number of the Arabic television programmes has played a vital role in the revival of using Arabic among Arab Americans.

As for the item related to whether or not introducing programmes in MSA helps in attracting the viewers' interest, the respondents mentioned that MSA in some programmes **sometimes** does not help in attracting the viewers' interest. The reported mean value of this item was 2.563 at a rate of 64.1% which means that the respondents agree to a certain extent with the assumption that Colloquial Arabic is more acceptable in some programmes than MSA.

Regarding the comprehensibility of Colloquial Arabic, the respondents, with a mean value of 2.770 (69.3 %), think that the programmes presented in Colloquial Arabic are **sometimes** more comprehensible than those presented in MSA. Such tendency, in fact, does not necessarily mean that the viewers do not comprehend the



programmes' content presented in MSA because they already mentioned in item n°2 that they **rarely** find it difficult to comprehend the programmes broadcast in MSA.

To conclude, it could be said that the viewers hold positive attitudes toward MSA in the broadcasting media. The claims of MSA complexity and incomprehensibility turn out to be questionable as the majority of the viewers reported the contrary where they mentioned that they **rarely** find it difficult to understand the contents of the programmes presented in MSA.

## **6.7. Broadcasters' perspectives of MSA use on the Arab channels**

In continuation of finding an answer to the fourth question of this research, this section highlights the broadcasters' attitudes towards the use of the different varieties of Arabic in the spectrum of the programmes aired on the Arab satellite channels. In order to examine these attitudes, a close-ended questionnaire, composed of twenty-three items, was designed focusing on some factors in tight relevance to their use of Arabic when presenting the programmes. Besides the psychological and social factors embedded in the viewers' questionnaire, as seen above, the broadcasters' questionnaire touches upon some other dimensional factors such as competence and qualification training. These factors are meant to account for how they influence the broadcasters' use of the Arabic varieties in the programmes.

### **6.7.1. Psychological factors**

The questionnaire addressed to the broadcasters as a part of psychological factors exploration consists of five items, each of which gives information about their attitudes towards MSA and its use on the satellite channels. Figure 6.10 illustrates the broadcasters' responses to the items related to the psychological factors.

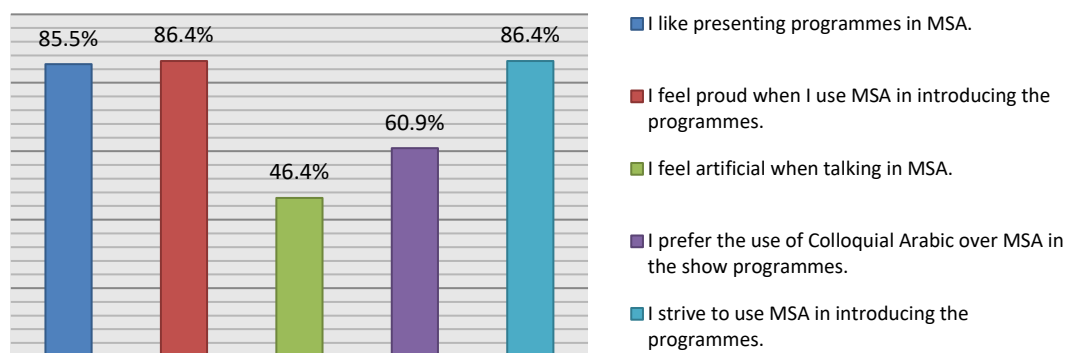


Fig. 6.10 The psychological factors of the broadcasters

Table 6. 13 The psychological factors of the broadcasters

Rank	No.	Paragraph	Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Verbal Response
3	1	I like presenting programmes in MSA.	4.273	0.827	85.5%	Always
2	2	I feel proud when I use MSA in introducing the programmes.	4.318	0.995	86.4%	Always
5	3	I feel artificial when talking in MSA.	2.318	1.086	46.4%	Rarely
4	4	I prefer the use of the Colloquial Arabic over MSA in the show programmes.	3.045	1.174	60.9%	Sometimes
1	5	I strive to use MSA in presenting the programmes.	4.318	0.780	86.4%	Always

The results displayed in table 6.13 and figure 6.10 above illustrate the positive attitudes shown by the respondents towards MSA. As is clear from the table, the reported mean value of item no. 1 was 4.273 at a rate of 85.5 %, which means that the sample of the broadcasters in this study **always** has the propensity of introducing programmes in MSA. Likewise, the mean value of the second item was as high as 4.318 (86.4 %), which implies that the massive majority of the respondents **always** feel proud when using MSA in introducing the programmes. As was the case with the viewers' opinions discussed above, the broadcasters' positive feeling when using MSA in

presenting the programmes springs from the fact that MSA is more prestigious than Colloquial Arabic and therefore, enjoys a high status across the Arab World. Moreover, the fluent speaker of Arabic enjoys a distinctively high social status among the Arab society where the mastery of MSA is viewed as a sign of a high level of education. Alshamrani mentions that “native speakers who know the local vernaculars only are considered illiterate and have low status in the society” (59). On the other hand, the low mean value of the third item (2.318; 46.4 %) related to the feeling of artificiality when talking in MSA indicates that the respondents **rarely** hold that feeling when using MSA throughout the time of presenting the programmes. Regarding their opinions on what variety they prefer when presenting the talk show programmes, the reported mean value of the respondents’ responses on this item was 3.045 at a rate of 60.9 %, which suggests that the broadcasters **sometimes** prefer the use of Colloquial Arabic over MSA in presenting the show programmes. It is worth indicating that the result of this item appears to be far and away consistent with the opinions of the viewers discussed earlier where they think that Colloquial Arabic is **sometimes** more appropriate than MSA for the Talk Show programmes. Moreover, it is compatible with the results of the episodes analysis where ESA and Colloquial Arabic turned out to be the dominant varieties in the Talk Show programmes.

Turning to the result of the last item concerning the broadcasters’ leaning towards the use of MSA in presenting the programmes rather than Colloquial Arabic, the mean value was 4.318 at a rate of 86.4%, which means that the respondents **always** strive to use MSA in presenting programmes. However, this attitude shown by the broadcasters sometimes falls short, because in reality the situation differs a lot and their use of MSA diminishes in many programmes including the domains where MSA is supposed to be the dominant, as was clearly noticed through the analysis of the episodes

in chapter five. As a matter of fact, the high amount of Colloquial Arabic use, evidently clear in the programmes of some channels particularly, the Lebanese and Egyptian channels, undermines the value of this attitude and in turns, gives rise to some doubts on its credibility.

### **6.7.2. Competence-related factors**

This section of the broadcasters' questionnaire has been specifically designed to examine how the broadcasters' competence/incompetence in Arabic may affect the way it occurs in the programmes of the Arab satellite channels and contribute to creating a contaminated linguistic environment as far as Arabic is concerned. In pursuit of this goal, seven interrelated items were composed, all of which are meant to handle issues connected to the broadcasters' competence and its effect on their linguistic performance when presenting the programmes. According to the results shown in the table below, there is a large consensus among the broadcasters assuming that the deteriorating status of MSA in the Arab media, in general, and the broadcasting media, in particular, could be partially attributed to the linguistic deficiency of the broadcasters. This common perspective and concern have been manifested in the high mean value of this item illustrated in table 6.14, which was 3.773 at a rate of 75.5%. It appears that such a result potentially suggests the broadcasters' awareness of the detrimental effect of giving large spaces for Colloquial Arabic in the programmes to the detriment of MSA. However, such awareness of the Colloquial Arabic negative impact on the media discourse, in general, and MSA, in particular, appears to be in an utter contradiction with the real situation on the ground where they do not hesitate to use Colloquial Arabic even though it is not required, as has been clearly evident in the analysis of the episodes discussed earlier in chapter five.

Table 6. 14 The competence-related factors of the broadcasters' questionnaire

Rank	No.	Paragraph	Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Verbal Response
7	1	I avoid the use of MSA in the live show programmes due to my incompetence in it.	1.955	1.133	39.1%	Rarely
5	2	I avoid using MSA for fear of making language mistakes.	2.409	1.260	48.2%	Rarely
3	3	I tend to use Colloquial Arabic or ESA in introducing the programmes due to their simplicity.	2.909	1.377	58.2%	Sometimes
6	4	I face difficulty when using MSA in the live show programmes.	2.091	1.109	41.8%	Rarely
4	5	I avoid using MSA in the live show programmes.	2.636	1.217	52.7%	Sometimes
2	6	The broadcaster resorts to the use of Colloquial Arabic due to his/her incompetence in MSA.	3.091	1.065	61.8%	Sometimes
1	7	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the linguistic deficiency of the broadcasters.	3.773	1.020	75.5%	Mostly

The table also illustrates the broadcasters' opinions on the tight correlation between the high amount of Colloquial Arabic use in the Arab channels and the broadcaster's incompetence in MSA which makes them regard Colloquial Arabic as an accessible alternative and back-up variety. The mean value of this item was 3.091 (60.8%), which indicates the respondents' belief that the broadcasters **sometimes** have recourse to Colloquial Arabic due to their incompetence in MSA. However, the result of item no. 1 (mean value= 1.955; 39.1%), which is related to the broadcaster's incompetence in MSA, shows that the broadcasters **rarely** avoid the use of MSA in the live programmes due to their incompetence. Following this result, it could be assumed that there are some other reasons which motivate the broadcasters to switch between the varieties of Arabic giving more space of the programmes' presentation time to Colloquial Arabic. According to the answer of the item no. 3 where the mean value was

2.909 at a rate of 58.2%, the simplicity of Colloquial Arabic serves as one of the major causes that motivate the broadcasters to give it preference over MSA particularly, in the live programmes. This orientation has been confirmed through the result of item no. 5 where the respondents mentioned that they **sometimes** avoid the use of MSA in the live programmes.

Generally speaking, through the analysis of the results displayed in the table above, it could be concluded that the majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the linguistic deficiency of the broadcasters, along with some other factors, stands behind the increasing deterioration of MSA in the Arab media. The results illustrated above, also reveal the correlation between the use of Colloquial Arabic in the programmes and the broadcasters' incompetence in MSA. As a matter of fact, the discouraging linguistic environment rife in the Arab TV channels, be they satellite or terrestrial, is merely a progeny of the broadcasters' poor performance as far as Standard Arabic is concerned. It is unanimous among scholars that the linguistic poor performance of the broadcasters could be attributed to several factors, some of which are related to their incompetence in MSA as well as the lack of the training and qualifying programmes that may develop their skills in MSA. On the other hand, some others argue that the contact gap between the Arabic Language Academies and the Arab media institutions has come to serve as a key factor of Arabic deterioration in the media in general.<sup>37</sup>

### 6.7.3. Social factors

The social factors constitute an integral part of the questionnaires of both the viewers and broadcasters. Therefore, this section highlights the factors that may cause the occurrence of Arabic varieties in the programmes of the channels under

<sup>37</sup> Mohammed, Abdurrafi'a, *wāqif ʔalluyatul ʕarabiyyah wa hawājisul mustaqbal*, *Aljazeera.net*

investigation from the broadcasters' point of view. To that end, seven items were composed, each of which gives some details about how it is connected to the choice of Arabic varieties in the programmes.

Table 6. 15 The social factors in the broadcasters' questionnaire

Rank	No.	Paragraph	Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Verbal Response
7	1	Introducing the programmes in MSA does not help the Arab viewers to comprehend them.	2.773	1.478	55.5%	Sometimes
5	2	The colloquial is more suitable than MSA for the live show programmes.	3.136	1.207	62.7%	Sometimes
4	3	The social issues should be discussed in Colloquial Arabic.	3.273	0.767	65.5%	Sometimes
3	4	I use Colloquial Arabic and ESA for being closer to the real thinking and feeling of the Arab viewers.	3.455	1.101	69.1%	Mostly
6	5	Introducing the programmes in MSA does not attract the Arab viewers' attention and interest.	2.955	1.046	59.1%	Sometimes
1	6	Giving a preference to MSA over Colloquial Arabic contributes to maintaining the identity of the Arab citizen.	4.591	0.734	91.8%	Always
2	7	The frequent exposure to the MSA boosts the linguistic performance of the viewers.	4.182	0.907	83.6%	Mostly

From the results displayed in the table above, we can see that the highest mean value from among the seven items forming this section was given to the item no. 6 which is related to the role of MSA in maintaining the Arab identity. The reported mean value of this item was 4.591 at a rate 91.8 % which suggests that the overwhelming majority of the respondents believe that giving a preference to MSA over Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of the Arab Channels **always** contributes to maintaining the Arab identity. Comparing this result with that of the viewers discussed above shows a consistent agreement among both groups as regards the significant role played by Arabic in maintaining the Arab identity. Such high and consistent results reflect the

Arab viewers and broadcasters' awareness of the importance of Arabic as a repairing tool for the Arab identity, the "heart and spirit of the nation", and a focal point that bolsters the sense of belonging to the Arab Nation (Barakat 34). In his book *'The Arab World: Society, Culture, and State'*, Barakat points out the Arab high sense of belonging and how the Arab citizens view themselves and are also viewed by others as Arabs. He says:

The great majority of the Arab citizens of Arab countries view themselves and are viewed by outsiders as Arabs. Their sense of Arab nationhood is based on what they have in common-namely, language, culture, sociopolitical experiences, economic interests, and a collective memory of their place and role in history. (33)

There can be no doubt that language is an inseparable part of one's identity that distinguishes one person from another and one group from another (Rouchdy 143). However, with the mushrooming spread of English owing to the ruthless creep of globalization and the cultural integration, some Arabic speakers have become very much affected in their Arabic tongue particularly, the younger generation who aspire to add a new language to their linguistic repertoires to the detriment of their mother tongue. In fact, learning a new language necessarily means getting plunged into the culture of the society speaking that language because besides being a means of communication, language serves as a "carrier of culture". In an interview about *'Language is a Carrier of Peoples' Culture'* by Eyoh, Ngugi Wa Thiongo interconnects language with culture and identity/self-definition. He says: "language is a carrier of a people's culture, culture is a carrier of a people's values; values are the basis of a people's self-definition" (157).



The result of the second item in ranking, related to the benefit of the frequent exposure to MSA, where the reported mean value was 4.182 at a rate of 83.6%, indicates that the majority of the respondents believe that the frequent exposure to the MSA boosts the linguistic performance of the viewers. By the same token, this result seems more or less consistent with that of the viewers shown earlier where the majority of them also mentioned that they get benefited when they frequently watch the programmes broadcast in MSA. It is widely agreed, in fact, that the frequent exposure to the programmes broadcast in MSA on the Arab channels helps the Arab viewers fine-tune their linguistic skills and gives them a better grasp of the grammatical rules, and therefore, their Arabic will be greatly improved at the comprehension and production levels (Bouchentouf 301).

As for the third item in ranking, which is concerned with why the broadcasters use either ESA or Colloquial Arabic in presenting the programmes, the mean value was reported as 3.455 at a rate of 69.1%. Such result implies that the respondents, for the most part, use Colloquial Arabic and ESA for their belief that these two varieties are much closer to their real thinking and the feeling of the Arab viewers. As it turns out, the viewers hold the same attitude and share the broadcasters the same opinion as the mean value of their responses to this item was 2.902 at a rate of 72.5%, which is significantly similar to that of the broadcasters discussed herein. The fourth item in ranking was the item no. 3 related to the respondents' opinions on the variety that is more suitable for introducing the social programmes. The reported mean value of this item was 3.273 at a rate of 65.5%, which explains that the respondents are of the opinion that the social issues should be **sometimes** presented in Colloquial Arabic. The relatively convergent mean values of the same item in the responses of both groups (the viewers & broadcasters) evidently suggests that they sometimes prefer Colloquial

Arabic over MSA in the social programmes, the matter that conforms with the results of the episodes analysis extensively discussed earlier in the previous chapter where it has been found that ESA and Colloquial Arabic are the dominant varieties in these kinds of programmes particularly, on the Lebanese and Egyptian channels. It is worth mentioning that this result also appears to be in a relative conformity with the findings of Alshamrani (2012), which show that Colloquial Arabic is the dominant variety used in the social programmes of ART and LBC channels.

As for the respondents' opinions on what variety is more suitable for the live show programmes, the mean value of this item was 3.136 at a rate of 62.7%, which indicates that the respondents are of the opinion that Colloquial Arabic is **sometimes** more suitable for the live show programmes than MSA. This result is apparently influenced by several factors, among which are the broadcasters' fears of making mistakes while they are on air where no chance for editing. As was seen in the competence section, just discussed above, the mean value of the broadcasters' justification of avoiding MSA in the live programmes was 48.2 %, which suggests that a segment of the respondents have recourse to Colloquial Arabic in presenting the live programmes for fear of making mistakes in MSA in case it is used.

Regarding whether or not the programmes broadcast in MSA attract the Arab viewers' attention and interest, the mean value was 2.955 at a rate of 59.1%, which, similarly, shows that the respondents hold the belief that introducing the programmes in MSA **sometimes** does not attract the Arab viewers' attention and interest. This result also turns out to be relatively matched with that of the viewers where the mean value of the same item was 2.563 at a rate of 64.1%. Such conformity of the two groups' responses to this item implies their propensity towards Colloquial Arabic in some programmes irrespective of their positive attitude towards MSA as well as their ability

to comprehend the programmes broadcast through it. As a matter of fact, it is not only the language that attracts the audience attention but also the content and context which play essential roles in attracting the viewers' interest. Take for example the oft-watched Turkish serial, *Resurrection: Ertugrul* which was aired in Ramadan 2017 in many of the Arab satellite channels.<sup>38</sup> It was one of the highest-rated serials across the Arab satellite channels though it was dubbed and subtitled in MSA. However, the Arab viewers never found it boring because of the language in which it was presented (i.e. MSA). Therefore, it could be argued that the content of programmes plays a great role in attracting the audience attention regardless the language/variety being used.

The last item in ranking was the one related to the viewers' ability to comprehend the programmes broadcast in MSA from the broadcasters' perspectives. The mean value was 2.773 at a rate of 55.5%. According to this result, the respondents think that introducing the programmes in MSA **sometimes** does not help the Arab viewers to comprehend them. Such result appears to be in an utter contradiction with the response of the viewers who mentioned that they **rarely** find it difficult to comprehend the programmes presented through MSA. Given this statement by the viewers, the response of the broadcasters is likely to become questionable.

Generally, according to the analysis of this section, it could be concluded that the majority of the respondents hold the belief that Arabic in media is not merely a means of communication, but rather a tool of maintaining the Arab identity through its occurrence on the Arab satellite channels which air their programmes on a global scale. The benefit of the frequent exposure to Arabic, on the other hand, seemed to be

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<sup>38</sup> *Resurrection: Ertugrul* is a heroic story of Ertugrul Ghazi, the father of Ottomans who founded the Ottoman State. Ertugrul was a Turkish warrior from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. He was one of the most famous warriors of his time. According to the historic records, Ertugrul was an ambitious man who wanted to bring peace to the nation. He was in a war with the crusaders at one side, the Byzantines at another side and the brutally expending Mongols who killed a lot of Turks at another side. In between, he was in a psychological war between his love and his so-called destiny.

consensual among the respondents whose responses appeared in a complete agreement with that of the viewers. The results have also revealed that the broadcasters often resort to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic, or at times to both, for their belief that they are much closer to the real thinking and feelings of the Arab viewers. As for the social programmes, it has been found that the broadcasters think that they should be sometimes presented in Colloquial Arabic which is sometimes, according to them, more suitable than MSA for the live show programmes. This propensity appears to be in a relative conformity with some previous studies (e.g. Alshamrani, 2012) who found that the social programmes aired on the channels he investigated were presented in Colloquial Arabic. It also seems compatible with the analysis of the episodes discussed earlier (see chapter five).

#### **6.7.4. Training-related factors**

Given the analysis of the results discussed above, it has been found that there is a correlation, albeit at a low rate, between the broadcasters' poor competence and performance in MSA and the prevalence of the different forms of Colloquial Arabic, Lebanese Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, Gulf Arabic, Maghrib Arabic, Yemeni Colloquial Arabic, etc. across the diverse programmes of the Arab satellite channels. The deficiency in MSA stands as one of the pivotal reasons why Arab broadcasters avoid the use of MSA, particularly when presenting live programmes which necessarily require high proficiency in MSA. In order to overcome this issue (i.e. the broadcasters' poor competence in MSA), training and qualification programmes appear as an indispensable way for promoting the broadcasters' efficiency in MSA to have the potential to efficiently and effectively assume their responsibilities and duties of passing the pertinent information to the fullest extent, on the one hand, and to use MSA without fears of making mistakes whether at the phonological, lexical, or

syntactic levels, on the other. However, some Arab satellite channels are still lagging behind in training their broadcasters to improve their MSA skills. The results displayed in the table below illustrate the extent to which the Arab satellite channel pay attention to this significant part necessarily required for typical broadcasting undertakings.

Table 6. 16 The Training-related Issues

Rank	No.	Paragraph	Mean	Std. Deviation	%Mean	Verbal Response
4	1	I get the adequate amount of training courses in developing my linguistic skills of MSA.	2.727	1.202	54.5%	Sometimes
3	2	The training courses syllabuses meet the qualification needs of the Arab broadcasters.	3.545	0.912	70.9%	Mostly
2	3	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the lack of training programmes in MSA.	4.045	1.046	80.9%	Mostly
1	4	The training courses promote the broadcaster's linguistic skills in MSA.	4.273	0.827	85.5%	Always
<b>The Average</b>			3.648	0.710	73.0%	Mostly

Table 6.16 shows the large consensus among the respondents on the importance of training the broadcasters in promoting their linguistic skills. The mean value of this item was the highest among the other items as it was 4.273 at a rate of 85 %. This consensual attitude suggests the respondents' awareness of the impact of training the broadcasters on the quality of their performance at the linguistic level. They also believe that the lack of training stands as one the reasons underlying the deterioration of Arabic in Arab TV channels. The mean value of this item was also as high as 4.045 at a rate of 80.94 %, which means that the respondents think that the deterioration of MSA in the Arab channels is **mostly** attributed to the lack of training courses. Even if the training programmes are held, the content/syllabuses emerge as another issue. Are the programmes of the training courses of relevance that bridge the shortcomings of the

broadcasters' abilities or they handle other issues far from their needs? Regarding this point, the respondents mentioned that the training courses content **often** meet the qualification needs of the Arab broadcasters. The lowest item in ranking was for that related to the adequacy of the training held by the channels for uplifting the broadcasters' linguistic abilities. The mean value of this item was just 2.727 at a rate of 54.5 %. This low result suggests that the broadcasters **sometimes** receive the adequate amount of training courses that support their linguistic abilities in MSA.

## 6.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, the prevalence of the different forms of Colloquial Arabic in the Arab satellite channels to the detriment of MSA could be attributed to several factors, as expressed in this chapter. Some of these factors are associated with the programmes; what kinds of programmes are presented, in which context they are presented, what is the topic of the programme etc., and others have relevance to the participants, be they hosts or guests. The language accommodation also arises as one of the reasons underlying the participants' switch from one variety to another throughout their conversation. The language proficiency of the participants, on the other hand, has been approved as one of the reasons that bring about the switch from MSA to Colloquial Arabic. By the same token, the lack of training the broadcasters to develop their Arabic abilities also stands as one of the reasons that have led to the deterioration of MSA and in turns, to the mushrooming spread of Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of the Arab TV channels.



**CHAPTER SEVEN**

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**FINDINGS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION**

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## 7.1. Introduction

The relationship between language and media is in large measure inseparable and tightly interrelated since media is metaphorically regarded as the protective container of language which is held as being the channel through which media content is conveyed to the receiving end, the audience. Language without media is bound to be in danger and media without an expressive language that conveys its contents and messages effectively is thought to be worthless. This interrelated relationship and tight connection between media and language have interested many scholars to start comprehensive investigations into how each one has an impact on the other in many ways. The diglossic nature of Arabic, on the other hand, has made such investigation more interesting and worthy of attention and analysis since different varieties of Arabic could be used in a single conversational setting.

It is common knowledge that the Arab broadcasting media, the scope of the current study, is perceived as one of the fertile domains of diglossia where different varieties of Arabic are used and furnished with adequate opportunities to interact with one another. The investigation of the sociolinguistic phenomenon *diglossia* in the Arab media has also become the core issue and widespread interest of a number of Arab and non-Arab scholars. Being a formal context, media represents a typical domain for Standard Arabic. According to Ferguson's (1959) classification of the High variety domains of use, the High variety of Arabic (MSA) is typically seen as the appropriate variety in media, particularly the broadcasting media. Due to the diglossic nature of Arabic, different varieties are used across the various programmes of the Arab Satellite Channels. The choice of these varieties is made following several factors, among which are the nature and context of the programme, the linguistic competence of the people involved, be they broadcasters or guests, as well as the social characteristics of the

audience targeted by such programmes, i.e. children vs. adults, women vs. men, educated vs. illiterate, etc. However, in recent times, Colloquial Arabic has exceedingly occupied large spaces of use in many of the Arab TV programmes even in the domains that are supposed to be reserved for MSA like news and religion-related programmes. This infiltration and “leakage” of the dialectal Arabic to these domains is viewed by some pro-Arabic scholars as a potential threat to Arabic and its speakers’ identity since MSA is perceived as a vocal expression of the Arab and Muslim identity. Although several studies have approached the use of Arabic in the Arab media, very few have investigated this phenomenon from a sociolinguistic perspective. Rather, the focus of these studies has always been on the linguistic aspects of Arabic use in the Arab media.

Therefore, the current study sought to bridge this gap by introducing new knowledge to Arabic sociolinguistics about how Arabic is used on the Arab satellite channels from a sociolinguistic perspective. The findings of this study are hoped to generate considerable interest and attract very much attention to the increasing use of Colloquial Arabic as well as its infiltration into the domains of MSA in the Arab broadcasting media seeking to explore the reasons underlying such intrusion across the programmes of the Arab TV channels. Moreover, it is anticipated to be a step on the way towards greater exploring of the *status quo* of MSA on the Arab Satellite channels to put forth this serious issue on the table of the Arabic Language Academies in the Arab World. Furthermore, the study measures the viewers and broadcasters’ attitudes towards the use of the Arabic varieties in the programmes of the Arab TV channels, be it MSA or Colloquial Arabic

For approaching this issue and pursuing the four-fold objective of this study, five Arab satellite channels were selected; Aljazeera, Future TV, Aldjazeeraiya TV, ON TV, and Yemen TV. These five channels were particularly selected from among many

Arab satellite channels for several reasons, some of which are geographical and others are linguistic-related. While Aljazeera TV channel represents the extreme west of the Arab region, Lebanon-based Future TV represents the east part of the Arab World. Yemen TV also represents the south of the Arabian Peninsula and the Arab World in general, while Egypt-based ON TV represents the centre of the Arab World, which connects between its west and east parts. As for the linguistic-related reasons, the five channels could be held as being representatives of the different varieties of Arabic in the following way;

- Aljazeera (as a Pan-Arab channel) → **MSA**,
- Future TV → **Levantine Arabic**,
- Yemen TV → **Gulf Arabic** (Yemeni Arabic is similar to Gulf Arabic),
- ON TV → **Egyptian Arabic**,
- Aljazeera TV → **Maghreb Arabic**.

As for collecting the adequate data of this study, several methods and techniques have been employed. The determination of these methods and techniques has been made according to the nature of the sought-after objectives. For example, for identifying the extent of MSA and the other varieties use on the five channels, a total of forty episodes were selected from four genres; News, Interview, Talk Show, and Religion. The selection of these four types of programmes was also made based on the fact that they are commonly presented on the five channels beside the fact that they are considered as typical domains for MSA, particularly News and Religion. All the episodes were downloaded from the official websites of the five channels, each of which is more or less twenty-minute length and thus, their overall time was thirteen hours. According to Labov, any sociolinguistic research should utilize “large volumes of well-recorded natural data” that characterizes the phenomenon under scrutiny (180).

Therefore, these episodes represent naturalistic data which is based on an off-the-cuff speech, the matter which helps in reducing the artificiality of the data, though the media setting sometimes makes the guests monitor their utterances. As for the objective that is related to measuring the audience and broadcasters' attitudes towards the use of MSA and Colloquial Arabic in the programmes of the Arab channels, a set of two close-ended questionnaires were designed; one for the viewers and the other for the broadcasters. Each one of these two questionnaires has been divided into different sections in accordance with their relevance to the sample's interest. For example, the viewers' questionnaire was divided into three sections; the first two sections were concerned with the psychological and social factors while the third one focused on their opinions about the varieties appropriateness of each kind of programmes. The broadcasters' questionnaire, on the other hand, included five sections; the psychological, social, qualification, and training factors as well as their opinions on the reasons underlying the use of Colloquial Arabic and the varieties appropriateness of each kind of programmes. The data collected through these two instruments, video downloading and questionnaires, were processed by different methods. The forty episodes of the twenty-minute-length were analyzed and transcribed based on IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). The total number of the transcribed words was approximately 70,000 words. This process of transcription has been conducted through the following steps:

- The careful listening to the episodes and transcribing every single word.
- The classification of the transcribed words and deciding to which variety each word belongs through coding them based on the codes given for each variety; **(F)** for MSA/*fusha*, **(M)** for ESA/ Middle variety, and **(D)** for Colloquial Arabic/dialect.

- Counting the number of words which fall under the categories of the three varieties.

The classification of the words, on the other hand, was decided based on some criteria followed by similar studies as well as consulting some experts in Arabic sociolinguistics.

The data collected from the questionnaires distributed to the broadcasters and viewers was processed and analyzed by the use of SPSS statistical programme (Version 20) and the results of the questionnaires' items have been interpreted accordingly. The following sections conclude and summarize the data analysis results comprehensively discussed in chapters five and six with special reference to the four research questions.

## 7.2. MSA use on the five channels

As previously stated, examining to what extent MSA (as an independent variable) is used on the five select channels is one of the mainly pursued objectives of the study. The data analysis results revealed inconsistency in MSA use across the five channels. While it was used as high as 85 % on Aljazeera channel, it was used in a lower rate on the Egyptian channel, ON TV, where it was used just 26 % of the total time of the analyzed episodes. On Aljazeera channel, MSA was expectedly used in high rates in almost all the four genres except Interview, where it was used just 60 % as compared to the other genres; News (91 %), Talk Show (89 %), and Religion (95 %). The highest rate of Colloquial utterances, on the other hand, occurred in the interview programme, *fāhidun ḥala l ḥaṣr*, where it was found 22 %, which is regarded as a high rate on Aljazeera being a pan-Arab channel.

In fact, it is no surprise to see such a high percentage of MSA use on Aljazeera since it embraces a galaxy of high linguistically and professionally qualified

broadcasters who possess distinctively long-standing media career and enjoy unique mastery of MSA at all linguistic levels to the extent that one cannot identify their nationalities. In some other Arab satellite channels, it might be possible to determine the nationalities of broadcasters even when they use MSA, due to the influence of their regional dialects on their speech.

Regarding Future TV, the data analysis results revealed that the Arabic varieties were used in the select programmes in varying amounts. As hypothesized, Lebanese Arabic occurred at high rates in all programmes except News, which was found the only genre presented in MSA, albeit amalgamated with a number of Colloquial Arabic features. In the Interview programmes, Colloquial Arabic turned out to be the dominant variety with 66 % as opposed to MSA, which was the least variety used with only 4 %. The high percentage of Colloquial Arabic use in the programmes in general and Interview, in particular, indicate the channel tendency towards normalizing Lebanese Arabic to be the language of the channel broadcast and also reflects the wavering attitudes of its administration as well as broadcasters towards MSA. In fact, it is feared that the constantly systematic isolation of MSA from the programmes of this channel may create a gap between the Arab viewers and their linguistic identity which may also result in diminishing their sense of belonging to their Nation. Likewise, it is likely to create a gap between the Arab generations and their history as well as literary heritage basically documented in Classical Arab which eventually renders this history and heritage into mysterious materials that may need interpretation to be comprehended. These results, which fall short of expectations, are also ringing alarm bells about the future of Arabic on all Lebanese channels not only Future TV. Unfortunately, the seeping influence of Colloquial Arabic is increasingly ascending without taking any measures to slow down its acceleration. As a result, Arabic in these channels has

become stuck between the rock of the dialects dominance, on the one hand, and the hard place of the ruthless intrusion of the foreign languages, on the other. The impact of the gradual disappearance of MSA from the Arab channels screen has been manifested in the linguistic behaviour of the younger generation whose language has become either, foreign or colloquial or at times colloquial crossbred with many foreign borrowings. Hence, they have lost their pride of being Arabic speakers and therefore, they no longer regard it as a vocal expression of their identity.

As for the status of MSA on Aldjazaeriya TV channel, the data analysis results revealed that MSA was used at higher rates than that of Future TV and ON TV (as will be seen below). The total use of MSA across the four select programmes was 65 % while Colloquial Arabic and ESA utterances occurred at rates of 19 % and 16 % respectively. The highest amount of Colloquial Arabic use on Aldjazaeriya TV was found in the Talk Show episodes, where it was used at a rate of 54 %. ESA, on the other hand, was the least variety used across the target programmes with just 16 % of use. These results, in fact, imply that the status of MSA on Aldjazaeriya TV is still more or less in the safe zone as far as the target programmes are concerned, particularly the Religion programme where it was used as high as 91 % as compared to Future TV where it was used just 29 %.

The status of MSA in ON TV was quite different from that of the other channels. The results revealed that MSA was the least variety used on the channel and the lowest among all the other five channels with only 26 % of use as compared to Colloquial Arabic (Egyptian Colloquial Arabic) which turned out to be the widely used across the episodes at a rate of 42 % claiming victory over MSA and ESA as well, which was used 32 % of the time of the episodes. In fact, the regular viewer of ON TV and the Egyptian channels in general may not find it surprising to see this result due to the abundance of

Colloquial Arabic use in all programmes including the Religion programmes as well as the constant determination of their presenters to speak in dialect rather than in MSA all along the time of the episodes. In some programmes, MSA was almost non-existent as was the case in the Talk Show episodes where it was used just 4 % of the total time of the two analyzed episodes which were predominantly presented in Colloquial Arabic blended with colloquially-featured ESA. On the other hand, in religion programmes, one can predict, to a certain degree, that the presenters of these kinds of programmes will use MSA with few instances of the switch to either ESA or Colloquial Arabic, or even both. However, the results showed otherwise where the presenters of these programmes basically spoke Colloquial Arabic and rarely switched to MSA and very often to ESA, which was also bearing the hallmarks of Egyptian Arabic. The mushrooming emergence of Colloquial Arabic on this channel, and all Egyptian Channels in general, could be assumingly attributed to several factors, some of which are associated with the proficiency of the broadcasters and others have to do with the policy adopted by the channels. They think that addressing the Arab audience through a language that is much closer to their daily life is more effective.

As for Yemen TV, the results emerged from the data analysis revealed a considerable and relatively consistent use of MSA across all the target programmes, particularly the religion programmes, where it was found the highest among the five channels, including Aljazeera, at a rate of 98 %. In total, Yemen TV turned out to be the second channel, after Aljazeera, in terms of MSA use and the least in the use of Colloquial Arabic, where it was used just 2 %. What makes the results of Yemen TV more interesting is the complete absence of Colloquial Arabic from the four episodes of the Talk Show and Religion genres where MSA rates were the highest among the five channels, including Aljazeera.



In fact, Arabic enjoys a high prestigious status among the Yemeni people and this attitude has been clearly reflected on the significant occurrence of MSA in the programmes of Yemen TV, the official channel of the country. Therefore, the results show that Yemen TV channel is linguistically more formal and more conservative than the other channels under investigation, barring Aljazeera channel.

All in all, the total distribution of the three varieties on the five channels was as follows; **MSA** (59 %), **ESA** (20 %) and **Colloquial Arabic** (21 %). The amount of MSA use, in fact, has fallen short of expectations since the select programmes, according to many linguists, represent more or less typical domains for MSA. Furthermore, such relatively low percentage of MSA use implies its dramatic deterioration, particularly on Future TV (Lebanon) and ON TV (Egypt), where Colloquial Arabic turned out to be the dominant variety in all their programmes excluding News, which is also presented in colloquially-accented MSA. These findings stand in harmony with El-Hassan's statement that Lebanese and Egyptian speakers are less formal than some Arabs. This linguistic tendency adopted by the two channels implies that the use of Colloquial Arabic in their programmes has become the norm while the occurrence of MSA, especially in the social programmes, is held as the exception. It may also reflect the trend and policy of these two channels towards colloquializing the media discourse in the long run. For many advocates of Arabic, this policy is held as a systematically gradual process of isolating MSA through narrowing its space of use in the programmes which are supposed to be presented in MSA, let alone the other programmes in which using MSA has become bizarre.

To wrap up this section, it could be stated that the excessive use of Colloquial Arabic across the various programmes of the channels has created a new situation of

media Arabic which is characterized with the dominance of Colloquial Arabic in many of the programmes, as far as the broadcasting media is concerned.

### **7.3. The strength and weakness loci of MSA in the programmes**

The previous section has made it clear that the use of MSA across the programmes of the five channels appeared significantly inconsistent as it occurs more in some programmes and less in others following several factors. Yet, this section is concerned with discussing the loci of MSA strength and weakness on the investigated channels. In other words, it reveals what types of programmes that allow the occurrence of MSA or Colloquial Arabic, or even both.

The results revealed that News is still a reserved domain for MSA where it was considerably and constantly used across the five channels despite the little amounts of ESA and Colloquial Arabic occurrence due to the participation and comments of the guests who are hosted to comment on different current issues in addition to the field reports which include also some participation of the audience. This high percentage of MSA use, along with the little occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic, potentially implies that this type of programmes (News) considerably allows the use of MSA and provides a sufficient space for it to be the dominant variety. It also indicates the possibility of ESA and Colloquial Arabic occurrence with a limited amount of use, especially when presenting the field reports where people of different linguistic competence and educational backgrounds share their comments on various current issues.

As for the Religion genre, the results revealed that MSA was used inconsistently across the five channels. While it was used predominantly on three channels, namely, Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazaeriya TV, Colloquial Arabic and ESA turned out to be the dominant on the other two channels, i.e. Future TV and ON TV. Therefore, it

could be assumed that the Religion programmes could be held as either strength loci of MSA in some channels or weakness in others according to the distribution stated above. In the Interview and Talk Show genres, Colloquial Arabic and ESA encroached MSA and turned it into an alien element in some channels, as was the case on Future TV and ON TV. For some researchers, the occurrence of ESA and Colloquial Arabic in these two types of programmes (Interview and Talk Show) seems natural due to the duality of their purpose; to inform and entertain. However, these results lead us to the inescapable fact that the increasing use of Colloquial Arabic in these types of programmes has come to the detriment of MSA and made it appear as a bizarre or a “marked” variety, as Myers-Scotton (1998) suggests in her “Markedness Theory”.

#### **7.4. Reasons for Colloquial Arabic use in the programmes**

This section is mainly concerned with summarizing the answer of the third question of the research, which is relevant to the reasons that lead to diglossic switching in the four select programmes of the channels under investigation. It answers the question why the broadcasters, guests, and generally all participants involved in the episodes interactions switch forth and back between the different Arabic varieties. Before delving into the details of this section, it is worth indicating that Arabic could not be held by the notion of black and white because Arabic is not only a dichotomous language (Standard vs. Dialect) since a continuum of different levels of Arabic exist between these two varieties, some of them lean to MSA and others gravitate towards Colloquial Arabic.

It has been found that the switch between the Arabic varieties in the programmes of the channels occur following several reasons, some of which are related to the type of programmes, others are related to the participants (their linguistic abilities, attitudes, etc.), and some others are related to the context or situation. Therefore, the following

sections will revolve on these factors, which have been examined during the discussion of the results in chapter six.

#### **7.4.1. Type of programme**

As for the type of programme and its connection to the amount of switching between the Arabic varieties, it has been commonly thought that the choice of the variety to be used in a given programme is definitively dependent on its type/nature. For example, if the nature of the programme is to inform (information), then, MSA would be likely more appropriate than Colloquial Arabic. By contrast, if the programme is entertainment in nature, the situation would be rather different and therefore, Colloquial Arabic would be more appropriate than MSA. This notion, in principle, seems applicable to some particular programmes which require certain varieties. For example, MSA is/should be used for reading News because the use of such a variety in this type of programmes is perceived as a norm rather than an exception due to the nature of News, which is providing information to the audience. On the contrary, Colloquial Arabic is perceived as an appropriate variety for some other programmes such as serials, drama, songs etc. and therefore, MSA use in such programmes appear as an exception rather than a norm. To put it another way, both MSA and Colloquial Arabic have particular reserved domains which make the use of one variety in the domain of the other seem ill-suited and bizarre.

However, the inconsistent results emerged from the data analysis of this study revealed that the assumption of the correlation between the type of programme and the language choice could not be always the case as there are some programmes where the occurrence of certain varieties depends upon some other factors relevant to the type of audience, situations, participants, etc. regardless of their type or nature. Let us take the Religion programmes investigated in this study as an example to show that the type of

programmes is not always a consistent factor in the selection of the varieties. While MSA was anticipated to be the dominant variety in these kinds of programmes on all the five channels, the results revealed the contrary as MSA has been found the dominant variety on only three channels, namely, Yemen TV, Aljazeera, and Aldjazeeraiya TV, while ESA and Colloquial Arabic turned out to be the dominant varieties on Future TV and ON TV respectively. Similarly, the Interview programmes of the five channels were presented in discrepant varieties. While they were dominantly presented in MSA on three channels; Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and relatively Aldjazeeraiya TV, they were presented in Colloquial Arabic on Future TV and ON TV. These results clearly imply (at least in these four genres) that the correlation between the type of programme and the choice of the variety to be used is probabilistic rather than deterministic. In other words, associating a certain variety to a pre-packaged programme can be, for the most part, problematic, if News is excluded. However, this argument does not necessarily mean that a correlation between the type of programme and the selection of the variety may not exist. Within the scope of this study, this argument is not applicable to the News genre where MSA is always attached to this type of programmes.

#### ***7.4.2. Type of audience***

As for the audience-related reasons, it has been found that the type of audience (national/local vs pan-Arab) may occasion a stylistic variation in the broadcasters' speech behaviour. When the target audience is national/local, Colloquial Arabic tends to be the choice of the broadcasters, as was evident in some channels of this study (e.g. Future TV and ON TV), but when they address a pan-Arab audience, they usually use MSA more than Colloquial Arabic, as was observed on Aljazeera channel. However, this notion could not be applicable to all channels/broadcasters since some of them are completely aware of their pan-Arab audience, but they insist to use Colloquial Arabic

in presenting their programmes, as is often the case with the Lebanese and Egyptian channels in general where more attention is paid to the local audience. Both Future TV and ON TV constantly seek to satisfy their national/local audience and therefore, they do not hesitate to use their regional dialects for their belief that they are convenient and more satisfying to the local viewers than MSA. According to the audience design theory developed by Allan Bell (1984), the type of audience addressed plays a key role in determining the linguistic choice of speakers. Aljazeera use of MSA, on the other hand, is resulted from the fact that Aljazeera is a pan-Arab channel in nature and since its genesis, it has been targeting the all-Arab audience from Gulf to Ocean, including the Arab diaspora who have become recently able to follow its broadcast in both English and Arabic versions.

#### **7.4.3. Assimilation**

It has been also evident that the broadcasters sometimes switch to Colloquial Arabic to get the viewers/addressees understand their intention depending on their language proficiency. Therefore, the switch between the Arabic varieties is sometimes employed by the broadcasters as a communicative strategy for demystifying what seems to be ambiguous to the audience through switching to another variety which is thought to be more intelligible. Bell's (1984) theory of audience design suggests that speakers design their style basically for and in response to their audience; their linguistic abilities, cultural backgrounds, interest, ideologies, etc. According to the responses of the questionnaire, the half of the broadcasters mentioned that introducing the programmes in MSA does not help the Arab viewers to comprehend them. However, the exceeding use of Colloquial Arabic under the pretext of helping the audience to understand the content could be invalid. On the one hand, all Arab viewers of different educational backgrounds and linguistic abilities follow News presented

wholly in MSA with full understanding and even they can understand the extended meaning of text (implicature) through their innate analysis of discourse. In their responses to the questionnaire, the majority of the viewers mentioned that they never find it difficult to comprehend the programmes broadcast in MSA. On the other hand, the claim that Colloquial Arabic is much easier than MSA is practically apocryphal because many Colloquial items are phonologically and morpho-syntactically more difficult than their MSA counterparts. For example, the MSA *ʔannisāʔ* النساء is phonologically much easier than its Colloquial counterpart, *ʔissittāt*, إسيئات, *mubāʔaratan* مباشرة is also easier than *tawwālī*, طوالي or *ʔalā tūl*, على طول among many other examples.

#### 7.4.4. Context or situation

Another reason for switching from one variety to another emerged from the data analysis was the context or situation. It has been found that the change in the situation sometimes triggers a change in the variety. In other words, the speakers occasionally switch from one variety to another when there is a change in the situation/topic within the same stretch of discourse. For example, it has been noted that when some issues related to religion are interpolated within the discussion of some other issues irrelevant to religion, the speakers tend to switch to MSA assuming that such variety is more appropriate and at times imperative, particularly when citing some Verses of the Holy *Qur'an*. By the same token, it has been found that the switch from MSA to Colloquial Arabic is sometimes associated with the occurrence of folk expressions within the formal contexts such as the political debates or the like. This linguistic behaviour occurs when the speaker attempts to realize the harmony between the emerged situation and the variety that is assumed to be more appropriate. According to Gumperz, this kind of switching is referred to as conversational/metaphorical code switching. Similarly, it has

been observed on some channels that there is a link between talking about issues relevant to the Arab nationalism and the switch to MSA in the Colloquial Arabic context (see chapter six for further details). Grosjean notes that choosing a particular language or opting to mix languages in a particular social context can signal group solidarity, or ethnic identity markers (153).

#### **7.4.5. *Role of speaker***

The role played by speakers has been also found one of the reasons for switching between the varieties, albeit inconsistent. Bassiouney argues that speakers choose the language which seems more suited to the role they play; the politician speaks as a politician, the preacher speaks as a preacher and so on, and each role has its appropriate variety (204). However, she believes that this could not be applicable to all cases, the matter emphasized by the results of this study. It has been found that some speakers may play the same role but use discrepant varieties. A fine example of an issue as such was found in the Religion programmes of Aldjazaeriya TV and Future TV where the presenters of these programmes used different varieties even though they played the same role (preachers). While the presenter of Aldjazaeriya TV used MSA, his counterpart of Future TV used Colloquial Arabic blended with ESA. This inconsistent use of the Arabic varieties by the speakers who play the same role consolidate Bassiouney's (2013) findings that there is not necessarily a direct and consistent relationship between role and code choice which could be applied to all cases.

#### **7.4.6. *Participant-related reasons***

As for the participant-related reasons, the results revealed that code switching is tremendously affected by factors which have relevance to the participants involved in the conversation (broadcasters & guests/viewers). In other words, the switch between the Arabic varieties depends on who is talking to whom, and this, of course, includes



different factors related to them such as their attitudes towards MSA, their language proficiency, the accommodation with one another (which includes convergence and divergence), solidarity, their ideological backgrounds (Muslims vs non-Muslim), among some others. The following sub-sections give further illustrations on how these factors are vital to language choice.

#### 7.4.6.1. *Language deficiency*

It has been observed that some broadcasters appeared as lacking the proficiency in MSA, particularly in Future TV and ON TV due to their desertion of MSA and their constant use of Colloquial Arabic all along. According to the observation of the episodes analyzed in this study in addition to the broadcasters' responses to the questionnaire, the broadcasters sometimes use Colloquial Arabic to compensate for their deficiency in MSA. The majority of the broadcasters who answered the questionnaire mentioned that the broadcaster's deficiency in MSA is one of the reasons that cause the high occurrence of Colloquial Arabic on the Arab channels. These findings are compatible with Crystal's belief that speakers sometimes switch from one variety to another to compensate for their linguistic deficiency. The regular viewers of Future TV and ON TV could tirelessly observe this phenomenon where Colloquial Arabic is used in abundance in all programmes except News, which is presented in dialectal-accented MSA. The host of the Future TV programme '*Stay in the House*' خليك بالبيت, *Zahi Wahbi*, mentions some reasons for the adoption of the Lebanese dialect in the Lebanese satellite channels in general. According to him, the spread of Lebanese Arabic on the Lebanese TV channels could be attributed to three main reasons:

- the popularity of the Lebanese dialect due to the spread of the Lebanese songs, serials, and drama across the Arab World,
- the broadcaster's deficiency in MSA,

- the division of the ideological and political factions in Lebanon and the frequent calls for making the Lebanese dialect a language in its own right.<sup>39</sup>

It is worth mentioning here that the high rates of ESA, along with Colloquial Arabic, is indicative of the participants' (broadcasters and guests) incompetence in MSA as ESA could serve as a safe zone to which the speakers resort to get over the lexical barriers that may cause halting in their speeches to maintain the flow of their conversation.

#### ***7.4.6.2. Language accommodation***

Language accommodation is a communicative strategy that is used when speakers of different linguistic abilities or different dialectal and educational backgrounds come in conversational contact to reduce the linguistic distance between them. This phenomenon has been observed in the field reports of the episodes analyzed in this study when the reporters met people of lower linguistic abilities in an attempt to minimize the social/linguistic distance between them and their addressees. The findings showed that when the reporters talk to the camera, they tend to use MSA, but once they start talking to the people they interview, they switch to Colloquial Arabic. These findings are supported by the response of the broadcasters to the questionnaire as the majority of them agree that accommodation is one of the reasons that bring about switching to Colloquial Arabic.

#### ***7.4.6.3. Ideological backgrounds***

The ideological backgrounds of the speakers have been proved to be one the reasons for giving Colloquial Arabic a preference over MSA in the programmes of the channels, particularly Future TV where many guests of different ideological factions

<sup>39</sup> <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=70156&issueno=7930#.WXx65BWGPIU>

are hosted to discuss some current issues. Through the analysis of the Talk Show episodes of Future TV, it has been found that MSA occurred in contrasting amounts. While it was used as low as 14 % in the first episode, it occurred as relatively high as 53 % in the second one despite the fact that both episodes fall under the same genre, i.e. Interview, and moreover, presented by the same host. The explanation that could be possible for this discrepancy is the difference in the ideological backgrounds of the participants. In the first, all participants were Christians including the host while they were Muslims in the second, excluding the host. These findings emphasize the association between language choice and ideological background of speakers. Such significant difference, in fact, has not come spontaneously. Rather, it has a connotational meaning which is likely correlated with the difference of the speakers' ideological affiliations. Needless to say, Standard Arabic is associated with *Qur'an*, the Holy book of Muslims. Muslims believe that *Qur'an* is the 'Words of Allah' 'كلام الله' which was revealed to Prophet Muhammad in Classical Arabic. Accordingly, this association between Classical Arabic and *Qur'an* has accorded Arabic in its standard form a high prestige among the Muslim community. For non-Muslim Arabs, the notion of Arabic association with *Qur'an* seems weightless and therefore, their attitudes drift towards the notion that their regional dialects are as prestigious as Standard Arabic, if not more.

### **7.5. Viewers and broadcasters' attitudes towards MSA use**

The results of the questionnaire analysis revealed that both viewers and broadcasters hold positive attitudes to MSA use in the programmes of Arab satellite channels. Both groups feel proud being Arabic speakers. In addition, they like MSA to be the variety used on Arab satellite channels. They also hold the belief that MSA should be empowered and given the adequate space of use in the diverse programmes

of the Arab channels. On the other hand, they think that the seepage of Colloquial Arabic into the domains of MSA on the channels represents a potential threat to the Arab identity since Arabic is not only a means of communication between Arabs but a unifying force that create a sense of unity and togetherness as *Shawki Daif* said “the language of all the peoples of the [Arab] nation. Along similar lines, the majority of the viewers examined in this study mentioned that watching the programmes presented in MSA gives rise of a sense of belonging to the Arab nation. In fact, this positive attitude is indicative of their willingness to watch programmes in MSA with complete comprehension. However, their positive attitudes towards MSA does not necessarily mean that they do not want to watch some programmes in Colloquial Arabic. According to the results emerged from the viewers’ questionnaire analysis, approximately half of the viewers expressed their propensity to watch Talk Show programmes in Colloquial Arabic rather than MSA. This inclination appeared in harmony with the response of the broadcasters to their questionnaire where the majority of them think that Colloquial Arabic is more appropriate than MSA for Talk Show programmes. These two harmonious perspectives appeared compatible with the analysis of the Talk Show programmes selected for this study as Colloquial Arabic turned out to be the dominant variety on two channels, Aldjazeeraiya TV and ON TV. On Future TV, it occurred at a convergent rate with ESA whereas MSA was the dominant variety on Aljazeera and Yemen TV. As for the social programmes, the majority of both viewers and broadcasters agree that they should be discussed in Colloquial Arabic rather than MSA. This attitude also appeared in agreement with the *status quo* of the social programmes on Arab channels. According to the results of the episode analysis, a high proportion of the social programmes broadcast on the target channels are presented in Colloquial Arabic amalgamated with ESA. However, there are some social programmes which are

presented dominantly in MSA, particularly those which discuss the social issues from a religious perspective, as elaboratively discussed in chapter six. On the other hand, the majority of the viewers expressed their preference of MSA over Colloquial Arabic in watching Religion programmes. In fact, this attitude reflects the viewers' awareness of the nature of these kinds of programmes whose revered message requires an elevated variety that can suit the Verses of the Holy *Qur'an* and the Traditions of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and therefore, MSA is believed to be the variety which can fulfil this reverent discourse. As far as the broadcaster's competence is concerned, the majority of the broadcasters agree that the downfall of MSA in the Arab media could be attributed to the linguistic deficiency of the broadcasters. They also asserted that the broadcasters, for the most part, resort to the use of Colloquial Arabic due to its simplicity along with their incompetence in MSA.

In fact, it is feared that the constant use of Colloquial Arabic may induce changes in the attitudes towards MSA particularly among the younger generation who are more exposed to the media content and therefore, more susceptible to what is presented on the channels than any other segment of society.

All in all, it could be concluded that MSA appeared in different statuses on the investigated channels. While it appeared in a relatively acceptable status on three channels; Aljazeera, Yemen TV, and Aldjazaeriya TV, it appeared in dramatic deterioration in two channels, i.e. Future TV (Lebanon) and ON TV (Egypt) where Colloquial Arabic and ESA are significantly used in all programmes except the News and sometimes the religion-related programmes. The justification of using Colloquial Arabic for making the content of the programmes more comprehensible to the audience turned out to be invalid since the majority of the audience sample mentioned that they do not find it difficult to comprehend the programmes broadcast in MSA.

## 7.6. General recommendations

Based on the findings emerged from this study, some recommendations could be drawn and put on the table of all concerned individuals and entities so that they take the appropriate measures that may stop the wheel of Arabic deterioration on the Arab channels from rolling. These recommendations could be summarized as follows:

- ✚ Drawing strict criteria in the recruitment process of the broadcasters that ensure the selection of the most linguistically-qualified candidates, as far as MSA is concerned.
- ✚ Organizing comprehensive training programmes on the skills of Arabic for the newly-recruited broadcasters as well as the already working ones.
- ✚ The religion programmes should be presented in MSA in lieu of Colloquial Arabic, particularly on the Lebanese and Egyptian satellite channels where they use Colloquial Arabic and ESA more than MSA.
- ✚ Colloquial Arabic should not be exceedingly used in the talk show and social programmes under the pretext of realizing the harmony with the viewers' taste of watching these types of programmes in their dialects.
- ✚ In case of hosting guests, the broadcasters should show high adherence to MSA use to send an implicit message to the guest that MSA is going to be the medium of conversation.

## 7.7. Directions for further studies

Through our attempt to reveal the *status quo* of MSA and the varieties practically used on the five channels, several worth-investigating areas have surfaced. The data analyzed in chapters five and six, along with the knowledge gaps identified in the analysis, offer key areas of further research inquiry necessary for better diagnosis

of Arabic use on the Arab satellite channels in general. It should be acknowledged that the current study focused only on four programmes, some of which are thought to be typical domains for MSA such as News and Religion and others are held as domains for both MSA and Colloquial Arabic along with ESA, the product of their combination, such as Interview and Talk Show programmes. These areas could be summarized in the following:

- ✚ Investigating the Arabic use in other programmes, particularly the kids' programmes such as cartoons and their impact on the linguistic behaviours of the Arab children.
- ✚ The impact of the excessive use of Colloquial Arabic on the identity of the Arab younger generation in addition to their attitudes towards MSA/Classical Arabic, the language of the Arab historical and literary heritage.
- ✚ The study of the Arabic use in the entire programmes of a particular Arab satellite channel, particularly the Lebanese and Egyptian channels where Colloquial Arabic prevails.
- ✚ The switch between the dialectal Arabic demonstrative and the Standard Arabic noun is another interesting linguistic-related issue emerged through the data analysis, which is likely to be a new addition and a positive contribution to the linguistic studies. Albirini shows that CS is allowed between Dialectal Arabic demonstrative and Standard Arabic noun, e.g. the Levantine-Standard [**hal kalām**] ها الكلام “this talk”. For the other direction, Bassiouney observes that Standard Arabic demonstrative never precedes a Dialectal Arabic lexeme. However, in the Yemeni dialectal context, Bassiouney suggestion is likely to be invalid where the Standard Arabic

demonstrative may precede the Dialectal Arabic lexeme. For example, in Sana'ani Arabic, people say [**hāḏa l-majbar**] هذا المجبر which means 'this talking'. As seen, the Standard Arabic demonstrative /**hāḏa**/ precedes the Dialectal Arabic lexeme [**?almajbar**]. This example and many similar ones provide the researchers of linguistics and dialectology with interesting area of investigation.

- ✚ Another linguistic-related issue that has emerged during the data analysis is the use of subject in place of object as in Taizi dialect (Yemen). For example, the speakers of this dialect say [**ʃarakūnihna**] شاركونحننا 'they shared us', (as seen in chapter five section 5.2.2). This linguistic behaviour is virtually non-existent in any variety of Arabic and therefore, it is bound to be an interesting area of investigation.



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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. The Viewers' Questionnaire (English)

The Field	No.	The Item	The Opinion			
			always	sometimes	rarely	never
Psychological factors	1	I like introducing the programmes in MSA.				
	2	I feel proud when I use MSA in introducing the programmes.				
	3	I feel affected when talking in MSA.				
	4	I prefer the use of the vernacular over MSA in the show programmes.				
	5	I maintain introducing the programmes in MSA				
Competence-related factors	6	I avoid the use of MSA in the live show programmes due to my incompetence in it.				
	7	I avoid using MSA for fear of making language mistakes.				
	8	I tend to use the vernacular or ESA in introducing the programmes due to its simplicity.				
	9	I face difficulty when using MSA in the live show programmes.				
	10	I avoid using MSA in the live show programmes.				
	11	The broadcaster resorts to the use of the vernacular due to his/her incompetence in MSA.				
	12	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the linguistic deficiency of the broadcasters.				

The Viewers opinion on the suitability of the varieties in the programmes

No.	The Programme	The variety		
		MSA	ESA	Colloquial Arabic
1	News			
2	Religious Programmes			
3	Political Debates			
4	Social Programmes			
5	Live Show Programmes			
6	Reports			
7	Interviews			
8	Documentaries			
9	Sport Programmes			
10	Serials			
11	Soap Opera			
12	Comedy			

## Appendix 2. The Viewers' Questionnaire (Arabic)

الرأي				الفرقة	م	المجال
أبداً	نادراً	أحياناً	دائماً			
				أحب مشاهدة البرامج التي تذاق بالعربية الفصحى.	1	الجوانب النفسية
				أشعر بالفخر والاعتزاز عندما أشاهد تقديم البرامج التلفزيونية بالفصحى.	2	
				أفضل العامية على الفصحى في البرامج الحوارية.	3	
				أفضل الفصحى على العامية في البرامج الدينية.	4	
				الفصحى أكثر ملاءمة من العامية لإذاعة نشرات الأخبار.	5	الجوانب الاجتماعية
				أجد صعوبة في فهم البرامج التي تذاق بالفصحى.	6	
				العامية أكثر ملاءمة من الفصحى في تقديم البرامج الحوارية.	7	
				مناقشة القضايا الاجتماعية يجب أن يكون بالعامية.	8	

			9	العامية أقرب للفهم والاستيعاب من الفصحى.
			10	تقديم البرامج بالعامية أو اللغة الوسطى أقرب إلى ذوق المشاهد العربي.
			11	تقديم البرامج بالفصحى لا يساعد على جذب انتباه المشاهد العربي.
			12	تغليب الفصحى على العامية في وسائل الاعلام يسهم في الحفاظ على الهوية القومية والاسلامية للمواطن العربي.
			13	أشعر بفائدة لغوية كبيرة عندما استمع إلى البرامج بالعربية الفصحى.

م	البرنامج	اللغة المناسبة		
		العامية	الوسطى	الفصحى
1	الأخبار			
2	البرامج والنقاشات السياسية			
3	البرامج الحوارية المباشرة			
44	البرامج الدينية			
5	الوثائقيات			
6	التقارير الاخبارية			
7	المسلسلات الدرامية			
8	المقابلات التلفزيونية			
9	البرامج الاجتماعية			
10	البرامج الرياضية			

### Appendix 3. The Broadcasters' Questionnaire (English)

The Field	No.	The Item	The Opinion			
			Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Psychological factors	1	I like introducing the programmes in MSA.				
	2	I feel proud when I use MSA in introducing the programmes.				
	3	I feel affected when talking in MSA.				
	4	I prefer the use of the vernacular than MSA in the show programmes.				
	5	I maintain introducing the programmes in MSA.				

Competence-related factors	6	I avoid the use of MSA in the live show programmes due to my incompetence in MSA.				
	7	I avoid the use of MSA for the fear of doing linguistic mistakes.				
	8	I tend to use the vernacular or ESA in introducing the programmes due to its simplicity.				
	9	I face difficulty when using MSA in the live show programmes.				
	10	I avoid the use of MSA in the live show programmes.				
	11	The broadcaster resorts to the use of MSA due to their incompetence in this variety.				
	12	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the linguistic deficiency of the broadcasters.				
Social Factors	13	Introducing the programmes in MSA does not help the Arab viewers to comprehend them.				
	14	The colloquial is more suitable than MSA for the live show programmes.				
	15	The social issues should be discussed in colloquial Arabic.				
	16	I use the Colloquial Arabic and ESA for being closer to the real thinking and feeling of the Arab viewers.				
	17	Introducing the programmes in MSA does not attract the Arab viewers' attention and interest.				
	18	Giving a preference to MSA over Colloquial Arabic contributes to maintaining the identity of the Arab citizen.				
	19	The frequent exposure to the MSA boosts the linguistic performance of the viewers.				
Training Factors	20	I get the adequate amount of training courses in developing my linguistic skills of MSA.				
	21	The training courses syllabuses meet the qualification needs of the Arab broadcasters.				
	22	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the lack of training programmes in MSA.				
	23	The training courses promote the broadcaster's linguistic skills of MSA.				

**The broadcasters' opinion on the suitability of the varieties in the programmes**

No.	The Programme	The variety		
		MSA	ESA	Colloquial Arabic
1	News			
2	Religious Programmes			
3	Political Debates			
4	Social Programmes			
5	Live Show Programmes			
6	Reports			
7	Interviews			
8	Documentaries			
9	Sport Programmes			
10	Serials			
11	Soap Opera			
12	Comedy			

**The reasons for Colloquial Arabic Use in the programmes**

No.	The reason	The opinion			
		Strongly agree	agree	disagree	Strongly disagree
1	The nature of the programme				
2	The anchor's MSA deficiency				
3	Its simplicity for the broadcaster				
4	The accommodation with the guest of the programme				
5	More comprehensible to the viewers				
6	The complexity of MSA				
7	MSA is an artificial and mannered variety				
8	The broadcaster's fear of making mistakes when using MSA				
9	Filling the linguistic gap between the broadcaster and the viewers				
10	Viewers prefer to watch the programmes in Colloquial Arabic				
11	The media policy of the channel				
12	The nature of the targeted audience				
13	The broadcaster's attitudes towards MSA				

### Appendix 4. The Broadcasters' Questionnaire (Arabic)

المجال	م	الفقرة	الرأي			
			أبداً	نادراً	أحياناً	دائماً
الجوانب النفسية	1	أحب تقديم البرامج بالعربية الفصحى.				
	2	أشعر بالفخر والاعتزاز عندما أقدم البرامج بالفصحى.				
	3	أشعر بالتكلف والتصنع عند تقديم البرامج بالفصحى.				
	4	أفضل العامية على الفصحى عند تقديم البرامج الحوارية الغير مكتوبة النصوص..				
	5	أحرص على تقديم كافة البرامج بالفصحى.				
الجوانب المتعلقة بالكفاءة	6	أتجنب استخدام الفصحى عند تقديمي للبرامج (خصوصاً الحوارية المباشرة) نتيجة لضعف إلمامي بها.				
	7	أتجنب استخدام الفصحى خوفاً من وقوعي في أخطاء لغوية.				
	8	أميل إلى استخدام العامية أو اللغة الوسطى لسهولة استخدامها.				
	9	أواجه صعوبة في التحدث بالفصحى خصوصاً في البرامج الحوارية المباشرة.				
	10	أتجنب استخدام الفصحى في البرامج الحوارية المباشرة.				
	11	يلجأ المذيع للعامية نتيجة لعدم كفاءته في التحدث باللغة الفصيحة.				
	12	تراجع الفصحى في وسائل الاعلام سببه ضعف الأداء اللغوي للمذيعين.				
الجوانب الاجتماعية	13	تقديم البرامج بالفصحى لا يساعد المشاهد العربي على استيعابها.				
	14	العامية أكثر ملاءمة من الفصحى في تقديم البرامج الحوارية.				
	15	مناقشة القضايا الاجتماعية يجب أن يكون بالعامية				
	16	أستخدم العامية أو اللغة الوسطى لكونهما أقرب إلى ذوق المشاهد العربي.				
	17	تقديم البرامج بالفصحى لا يساعد على جذب انتباه المشاهد العربي.				
	18	تغليب الفصحى على العامية في وسائل الاعلام يسهم في الحفاظ على الهوية القومية والاسلامية للمواطن العربي.				
	19	تقديم البرامج بالعامية يؤدي إلى تدهور اللغة الفصحى لدى المشاهد العربي.				



				أنتقى القدر الكافي من التدريب والتأهيل في مجال التحدث بالعربية الفصحى.	20	جوانب التدريب والتأهيل
				تتلبى مواضيع الدورات التدريبية الاحتياجات التدريبية للمذيع العربي.	21	
				تدهور العربية الفصحى في وسائل الاعلام سببه ضعف الجوانب التدريبية للمذيعين.	22	
				تسهم الدورات التدريبية في رفع كفاءة المذيع العربي لغويا.	23	

م	البند	الرأي			
		لا أوافق بشدة	لا أوافق	لا أعلم	أوافق بشدة
1	طبيعة البرنامج المقدم				
2	ضعف كفاءة المذيع				
3	سهولتها على لسان المذيع				
4	التكيف مع ضيوف البرنامج				
5	أكثر فهما للمشاهد العربي				
6	صعوبة الفصحى				
7	الفصحى لغة يغلب عليها التصنع				
8	الخوف من الوقوع في الأخطاء اللغوية				
9	لردم الفجوة اللغوية بين المذيع والمشاهد				
10	المشاهد يفضل البرامج التي تذاق بالعامية				
11	السياسة الاعلامية للقناة				
12	طبيعة الجمهور المستهدف				
13	موقف المذيع من الفصحى				

م	البرنامج	اللغة المناسبة		
		الفصحى	الوسطى	العامية
1	الأخبار			
2	البرامج والنقاشات السياسية			
3	البرامج الحوارية المباشرة			
44	البرامج الدينية			
5	الوثائقيات			
6	التقارير الاخبارية			
7	المسلسلات الدرامية			
8	المقابلات التلفزيونية			
9	البرامج الاجتماعية			
10	البرامج الرياضية			

## Appendix 5. The results of the episodes transcription

### 5.1. The Channel: Aljazeera

No.	The Programme	Episode	Variety						Total
			MSA (F)		ESA/Middle (M)		Colloquial (D)		
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	
1	News	1	2237	98%	47	2%	1	0%	
		2	1641	83%	116	5%	231	12%	
	<b>Total</b>		<b>3878</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>5%</b>	
2	Interviews	1	1474	77%	344	18%	105	5%	
		2	582	41%	199	14%	627	45%	
	<b>Total</b>		<b>2056</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>732</b>	<b>22%</b>	
3	Talk Shows	1	1848	85.2%	154	7.2%	165	7.6%	
		2	2040	93%	102	5%	36	2%	
	<b>Total</b>		<b>3888</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>5%</b>	
4	Religion	1	1652	92%	66	4%	76	4%	
		2	2052	98%	35	1.5%	11	0.5%	
	<b>Total</b>		<b>3704</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>2%</b>	
<b>Total</b>			<b>13526</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>1063</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>1252</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>15841</b>

## 5.2.The Channel: Future TV

No.	The Programme	Episode	Variety						Total
			MSA (F)		ESA/Middle (M)		Colloquial (D)		
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	
1	News	1	1458	81%	171	9%	174	10%	1803
		2	1251	73%	189	11%	272	16%	1712
	Total		<b>2709</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>3515</b>
2	Interviews	1	79	4%	417	20%	1595	76%	2091
		2	77	4%	864	41%	1155	55%	2096
	Total		<b>156</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>1281</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>2750</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>4187</b>
3	Talk Shows	1	224	14%	728	44%	694	42%	1646
		2	1063	53%	651	33%	286	14%	2000
	Total		<b>1287</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>1379</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>980</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>3646</b>
4	Religion	1	708	37%	767	40%	435	23%	1910
		2	421	21%	910	45%	700	34%	2031
	Total		<b>1129</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>1677</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>1135</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>3941</b>
Total			<b>5281</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>4697</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>5311</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>15289</b>

## 5.3.The Channel: Aldjazeeraiya

No.	The Programme	Episode	Variety						Total
			MSA (F)		ESA/Middle (M)		Colloquial (D)		
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	
1	News	1	1641	84%	225	12%	76	4%	1942
		2	1112	76%	184	12%	181	12%	1477
	Total		<b>2753</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>409</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>3419</b>
2	Interviews	1	915	50%	823	44%	116	6%	1854
		2	673	49%	640	46%	74	5%	1387
	Total		<b>1588</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>1463</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>3241</b>
3	Talk Shows	1	9	1%	45	3%	1588	96%	1642
		2	1461	80%	66	4%	291	16%	1818
	Total		<b>1470</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>1879</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>3460</b>
4	Religion	1	1467	99%	19	1%	3	0%	1489
		2	1297	84%	100	7%	136	9%	1533
	Total		<b>2764</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>3022</b>
Total			<b>8575</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>2102</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>2483</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>13160</b>

## 5.4.The Channel: ON TV

No.	The Programme	Episode	Variety						Total
			MSA (F)		ESA/Middle (M)		Colloquial (D)		
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	
1	News	1	1294	91%	127	9%	--	--	1421
		2	932	62%	483	32%	97	6%	1512
	Total		<b>2226</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>2933</b>
2	Interviews	1	---	---	---	---	1840	100%	1840
		2	625	39%	964	60%	12	1%	1601
	Total		<b>625</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>964</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>1852</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>3423</b>
3	Talk Shows	1	71	4%	901	56%	651	40%	1623
		2	45	3%	273	19%	1131	78%	1449
	Total		<b>116</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>1174</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>1782</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>3072</b>
4	Religion	1	209	15%	533	38%	649	47%	1391
		2	115	8%	631	41%	775	51%	1521
	Total		<b>324</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>1164</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>1424</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>2912</b>
Total			<b>3291</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>3912</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>5155</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>12358</b>

## 5.5. The Channel: Yemen TV

No.	The Programme	Episode	Variety						Total
			MSA (F)		ESA/Middle (M)		Colloquial (D)		
			Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	Freq.	Perc. %	
1	News	1	1342	88%	140	9%	37	3%	1519
		2	1380	90%	105	7%	45	3%	1530
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2722</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>3049</b>	
2	Interviews	1	1166	82%	165	12%	83	6%	1414
		2	921	57%	659	41%	22	2%	1602
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2087</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>824</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>3016</b>	
3	Talk Shows	1	1256	86%	203	14%	6	0	1465
		2	741	51%	726	49%	0	0	1467
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>929</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2926</b>	
4	Religion	1	1195	97%	36	3%	0	0	1231
		2	1458	98%	30	2%	0	0	1488
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2653</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2719</b>	
<b>Total</b>			<b>9459</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>2064</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>11716</b>

Overall Total	MSA		Middle Arabic		Dialect		Total
	Freq.	.%	Freq.	.%	Freq.	.%	
	40132	59%	13838	20%	14394	21%	

**Appendix 6. The data of the viewers' Questionnaire**

Factor	No.	Item	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Always		Total	
			Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Psychological factors	1	I like watching the programmes in MSA.	6	1.6%	24	6.2%	101	26.1%	256	66.1%	387	100%
	2	I feel proud when I watch the programmes broadcast in MSA.	11	2.8%	12	3.1%	62	16.0%	302	78.0%	387	100%
	3	I prefer the vernacular than MSA when watching the show programmes.	61	15.8%	70	18.1%	177	45.7%	79	20.4%	387	100%
	4	I prefer MSA over the vernacular when watching the religious programmes.	8	2.1%	18	4.7%	75	19.4%	286	73.9%	387	100%
Social factors	1	MSA is more appropriate than the vernacular for the news programmes.	20	5.2%	12	3.1%	40	10.3%	315	81.4%	387	100%
	2	I find it difficult to comprehend the programmes broadcasting in MSA.	195	50.4%	104	26.9%	68	17.6%	20	5.2%	387	100%
	3	The vernacular is more appropriate than MSA for the show programmes.	77	19.9%	70	18.1%	182	47.0%	58	15.0%	387	100%
	4	The social issues should be discussed in colloquial Arabic.	45	11.6%	44	11.4%	217	56.1%	81	20.9%	387	100%
	5	The vernacular is more comprehensible than MSA.	53	13.7%	57	14.7%	203	52.5%	74	19.1%	387	100%
	6	The Colloquial Arabic and ESA are closer to the real thinking and feeling of the Arab viewers.	36	9.3%	57	14.7%	203	52.5%	91	23.5%	387	100%
	7	Introducing the programmes in MSA does not attract the Arab viewer's attention and interest.	76	19.6%	71	18.3%	186	48.1%	54	14.0%	387	100%
	8	Giving a preference to MSA over the Colloquial Arabic contributes to maintaining the identity of the Arab citizen	24	6.2%	19	4.9%	43	11.1%	301	77.8%	387	100%
	9	I get benefited when I frequently watch the programmes broadcasting in MSA.	4	1.0%	12	3.1%	69	17.8%	302	78.0%	387	100%

**The viewers' opinion on suitability of the varieties in the programmes**

No.	Type of Program	Neutral		Colloquial Arabic		ESA		Modern Standard Arabic		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1	News	30	7.8%	10	2.6%	25	6.5%	322	83.2%	387	100%
2	Political Debates	33	8.5%	24	6.2%	135	34.9%	195	50.4%	387	100%
3	Live Show Programmes	40	10.3%	27	7.0%	168	43.4%	152	39.3%	387	100%
4	Religious Programmes	28	7.2%	15	3.9%	47	12.1%	297	76.7%	387	100%
5	Documentaries	31	8.0%	9	2.3%	35	9.0%	312	80.6%	387	100%
6	Reports	25	6.5%	8	2.1%	27	7.0%	327	84.5%	387	100%
7	Serials	48	12.4%	116	30.0%	149	38.5%	74	19.1%	387	100%
8	Interviews	33	8.5%	17	4.4%	151	39.0%	186	48.1%	387	100%
9	Social Programmes	33	8.5%	58	15.0%	191	49.4%	105	27.1%	387	100%
10	Sport Programmes	36	9.3%	57	14.7%	159	41.1%	135	34.9%	387	100%

## The data of the broadcasters' questionnaire

Factors	No.	Item	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Mostly		Always		Total	
			Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Psychological factors	1	I like introducing the programmes in MSA.	0	.0%	0	.0%	5	22.7%	6	27.3%	11	50.0%	22	100%
	2	I feel proud when I use MSA in introducing the programmes.	0	.0%	1	4.5%	5	22.7%	2	9.1%	14	63.6%	22	100%
	3	I feel affected when talking in MSA.	5	22.7%	9	40.9%	5	22.7%	2	9.1%	1	4.5%	22	100%
	4	I prefer the use of the vernacular over MSA in the show programmes.	2	9.1%	5	22.7%	8	36.4%	4	18.2%	3	13.6%	22	100%
	5	I maintain introducing the programmes in MSA	0	.0%	1	4.5%	1	4.5%	10	45.5%	10	45.5%	22	100%
Competence-related factors	1	I avoid the use of MSA in the live show programmes due to my incompetence in it.	9	40.9%	9	40.9%	1	4.5%	2	9.1%	1	4.5%	22	100%
	2	I avoid using MSA for fear of making language mistakes.	7	31.8%	5	22.7%	5	22.7%	4	18.2%	1	4.5%	22	100%
	3	I tend to use the vernacular or ESA in introducing the programmes due to its simplicity.	4	18.2%	5	22.7%	6	27.3%	3	13.6%	4	18.2%	22	100%
	4	I face difficulty when using MSA in the live show programmes.	9	40.9%	5	22.7%	5	22.7%	3	13.6%	0	.0%	22	100%
	5	I avoid using MSA in the live show programmes.	5	22.7%	5	22.7%	6	27.3%	5	22.7%	1	4.5%	22	100%
	6	The broadcaster resorts to the use of the vernacular due to his/her incompetence in MSA.	1	4.5%	5	22.7%	10	45.5%	3	13.6%	3	13.6%	22	100%
	7	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the linguistic deficiency of the broadcasters.	0	.0%	2	9.1%	8	36.4%	5	22.7%	7	31.8%	22	100%
Social Factors	1	Introducing the programmes in MSA does not help the Arab	5	22.7%	7	31.8%	2	9.1%	4	18.2%	4	18.2%	22	100%



		viewers to comprehend them.												
	2	The colloquial is more suitable than MSA for the talk show programmes.	2	9.1%	5	22.7%	6	27.3%	6	27.3%	3	13.6%	22	100%
	3	The social issues should be discussed in colloquial Arabic.	0	.0%	2	9.1%	14	63.6%	4	18.2%	2	9.1%	22	100%
	4	I use the Colloquial Arabic and ESA for being closer to the real thinking and feeling of the Arab viewers.	0	.0%	5	22.7%	7	31.8%	5	22.7%	5	22.7%	22	100%
	5	Introducing the programmes in MSA does not attract the Arab viewers' attention and interest.	2	9.1%	5	22.7%	8	36.4%	6	27.3%	1	4.5%	22	100%
	6	Giving a preference to MSA over Colloquial Arabic contributes to maintaining the identity of the Arab citizen.	0	.0%	0	.0%	3	13.6%	3	13.6%	16	72.7%	22	100%
	7	The frequent exposure to the MSA boosts the linguistic performance of the viewers.	0	.0%	1	4.5%	4	18.2%	7	31.8%	10	45.5%	22	100%
Training Factors	1	I get the adequate amount of training courses in developing my linguistic skills of MSA.	4	18.2%	5	22.7%	8	36.4%	3	13.6%	2	9.1%	22	100%
	2	The training courses syllabuses meet the qualification needs of the Arab broadcasters.	0	.0%	2	9.1%	10	45.5%	6	27.3%	4	18.2%	22	100%
	3	The deterioration of MSA in the Arab Media may be attributed to the lack of training programmes in MSA.	1	4.5%	0	.0%	5	22.7%	7	31.8%	9	40.9%	22	100%
	4	The training courses promote the broadcaster's linguistic skills of MSA.	0	.0%	0	.0%	5	22.7%	6	27.3%	11	50.0%	22	100%

**Appendix 7. The broadcasters' opinion on suitability of the varieties in the programmes**

No.	Suitable variety for each programme	Colloquial		ESA		MSA		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1	News	0	.0%	0	.0%	22	100%	22	100%
2	Political Debates	0	.0%	10	45.5%	12	54.5%	22	100%
3	Live Show Programmes	0	.0%	14	63.6%	8	36.4%	22	100%
4	Religious Programmes	2	9.1%	8	36.4%	12	54.5%	22	100%
5	Documentaries	0	.0%	0	.0%	22	100%	22	100%
6	Reports	0	.0%	0	.0%	22	100%	22	100%
7	Serials	14	63.6%	7	31.8%	1	4.5%	22	100%
8	Interviews	0	.0%	13	59.1%	9	40.9%	22	100%
9	Social Programmes	4	18.2%	16	72.7%	2	9.1%	22	100%
10	Sport Programmes	3	13.6%	17	77.3%	2	9.1%	22	100%

**The Reasons for using Colloquial Arabic in the programmes**

No.	Reasons	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1	The nature of the programme	0	.0%	2	9.1%	0	.0%	17	77.3%	3	13.6%	22	100%
2	The anchor's MSA deficiency	0	.0%	3	13.6%	3	13.6%	12	54.5%	4	18.2%	22	100%
3	Its simplicity for the broadcaster	0	.0%	3	13.6%	2	9.1%	13	59.1%	4	18.2%	22	100%
4	The accommodation with the guest of the programme	0	.0%	4	18.2%	1	4.5%	14	63.6%	3	13.6%	22	100%
5	More comprehensible to the viewers	2	9.1%	4	18.2%	3	13.6%	12	54.5%	1	4.5%	22	100%
6	The complexity of MSA	0	.0%	10	45.5%	5	22.7%	5	22.7%	2	9.1%	22	100%
7	MSA is an artificial and mannered variety	4	18.2%	8	36.4%	5	22.7%	4	18.2%	1	4.5%	22	100%
8	The broadcaster's fear of making mistakes when using MSA	0	.0%	3	13.6%	1	4.5%	13	59.1%	5	22.7%	22	100%
9	Filling the linguistic gap between the broadcaster and the viewers	0	.0%	7	31.8%	3	13.6%	9	40.9%	3	13.6%	22	100%
10	Viewers prefer to watch the programmes in Colloquial Arabic	0	.0%	2	9.1%	2	9.1%	15	68.2%	3	13.6%	22	100%
11	The nature of the targeted audience	1	4.5%	2	9.1%	1	4.5%	15	68.2%	3	13.6%	22	100%
12	The broadcaster's attitudes towards MSA	0	.0%	3	13.6%	4	18.2%	8	36.4%	7	31.8%	22	100%

**Appendix 8. A sample of the episodes transcription**

F = 226 M = 0 D = 0

PAGE: \_\_\_\_\_  
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wa muhitih wa qatasa lanhum kulla l-2imdadat min  
 mazin wa kahrubāza wa tasām falatlaqal mustaqalūna  
 nidālati stixālah, lakinnahā fi nihayati l-lamr lam tamnas  
 quwwati n-nizām min muhawalati qthāmi s-sijn lalla si  
 yamaddu sala misāhati sijrina kilāmitran murabbasan fi  
 l-jihati f-farqiyyati miha l-madānah wa hāsi yadunamu  
 qurābata āmanamizatin wa ālāfina mustaqalan siyāsiyyan  
 min mulāridi nizami l-2asad. Sawābiqum mumarasati quwwati  
 n-nizami s-sūri sazzazat zal maxāwifa sala masiri mustaqali  
 sijni hamah faqad wa āfaqat taqāwira tuqūqiyyah qabla nahwi  
 sāmayn talātibā wa qatā latāda safara zalfa mustaqalin fi  
 sujūni n-nizami s-sūri lakīn ma hāsi dafasa n-nizāma  
 zila qubūli t-tafawūdi masa q sujanāza yaqūlu zinnahum  
 zirhābiyyūn lā bal wa yardexū libasadi talābātihim wa yutliqū  
 saraha sadadin minhum wa yubqi zaydan sala zjihizati l-hatīf  
 zallati surrabat bihā mi2atun mira s-suwari wa l-maslūmati  
 lil2alam wa huwa l-xabiru fi f-talāmuli mala latidāthi  
 s-sujūn xāssatan majzarata sijni sidnāya sama zalfayni  
 wa āmaniyah yaqūlu murāqibūn zinna n-nizāma sala  
 kamā yabdū zila tafadi stifzāza lahli hamah zallati yazidu  
 sukkāmuhā san āmanimizati zalf fadlan san nis fi  
 mālyāni nāzihin min lumūmi manātiqi suriyā wa  
 hamah tulsaddu zaydan jurhan xāzirah fi dākirati  
 s-sūriyyin lāmā jahidathus min mā2bahatin fi āmaniniyyati  
 l-qarrū l-mādi sala yadi quwwati l-2asadi l-zab bnyname  
 yara zāxorūn zanna n-nizāma hāwala fi l-bad2 zihwāla latidāthi  
 sijni hamah lita zāmūnihā mala t-tasāda d-dawli diddah  
 lima rikabathus quwwātuhu min majāzira fi madinatī kalab  
 wa zayihā zaxiran lakīn kamā yabdū zanna tabisat  
 l-2unfa l-muta2assila fi zjihizatihu l-lamniyyah kalaba

F = 171 M = 13 D = 0

PAGE :  
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The correspondent

na sam zilihbi quwwat zannizam hawalat zassasah zassadisah  
 wa n-nisf min ziqitaham ha ja zassijn kana qabla jalika  
 mufawadat masa zassujanah min zaji fak ha ja zilzistisaa  
 wa fath zabwab ha ja zassijn kana zattahdid zalawwal min  
 qibal quwwat zannizam yawm zans trayu zanzaru zal sujanah  
 hatta zassasah za ahniya safar min muntasaf zallaylah zalmadiya  
 lan yaftahu zabwab zassijn zaw zannahum sayaqumun bi ziqitah  
 lakin lam yaqum zassujanah bi jalik ba dha daxalat marhalat  
 mufawadat ahniyah baynahum wa bayna zassujanah zistamarat  
 hatta zassabah zaydan qubila jalika birafad min qibal zassujanah  
 litagum ba da quwwat zannizam zassuri bi muhawilat  
 qitaham zassijn zassasah zassadisah wa n-nisf min ha ja  
 zalmasah wa qabla samalibi ziqit l-ziqitaham qamu bijalib  
 sadad min zasar zal mustaqalin min zaji zal zabt salayhim  
 sabra salilatihim wa zasarihim min zaji fak ha ja  
 tabsan zassujanah

The broadcaster

yabdu zanna l-zittisat zingata sa masa murasilina min  
 zidlib (tasmasuni) (tasmasuni milad) hal bilzimitan  
 zal zistimrar tafaddal  
 (The reporter)

kama zaktart ya ni zanna quwwat zannizam qamat bijalib  
 sadad min zasar zal mustaqalin min zaji zaddax salayhim  
 likay yafakku ha ja zal zistisaa? wa staxdamat quwwat  
 zannizam za ahnah samalit zal qitaham zal xazat zalmustlah  
 liddumel bil zidafah zila yazat murayah li zassab bil zidafa  
 zila zannasas zal tay wa r-rasas zalmattat wa zal jadir  
 bi z-dikr musulmat la yunkin lan tasil bifaki kamil





F=140

M=6

D=0

PAGE:

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mutahwalata t-tatabbusi bitābisi d-dawlah zallati  
 turāsi tuqūqa muwātinīha hatta law kanū mustaqalīn  
 (The broadcaster)

M wa fī muqābaltih māsa l-jāzīrah xilāl nafratin  
 sābiqah qāla Rabū Lahmad Zalzilibi Zahadū l-mustaqalīn  
 s-siyāsiyyīn dāxilā sijnī hamah l-markīzī zinna quwwat  
 nizzāmi s-sūrī tawalat Ziqhāma s-sijīn bi Zitlāqī  
 n-nār Salā s-sujāna? wa Zilqā Zī qanābili Xāz  
 musilīh liddumūs

F wa Zādafa Zanna s-sujāna? tamakkunū mir Saddī  
 hujūmi quwwatī n-nīzāmī wa tālabā jamīla l-munāzzamī  
 bi Zī Xāṭati l-mustaqalīn  
 (One of the prisoners)

M Zannīzām hāwala Ziqhām Zassijīn bikillī rrasā Zī  
 bi Zitlāqī n-nār Salā l-masājīn darb bi Zāqābi  
 Zā Xā Zīyah wa lākin bifadlī Nāhī wa hamdīh tamma  
 raddihim Salā Zābbārihim hāwalū Zadduxūl minā

s-satīh lākin qumna bitajhīz Zā muliddat  
 liman līhim Zā Zān hum yalḥawilūn Zīstīydām Zā Zāḥatī  
 liddat Salaynā Zāhdarū baḥd Zāḥatī Zāssujāna?  
 litaqīm baḥd baḥd Zāttā nā Zulāt nāhnu nūṭālib  
 jamīrī l-munāzzamāt līlāftī n-nāzzar līhā Zūlā Zī

M l-masājīn Zā Zābrīyā? wī l-Samal Salā Zī xrajīhim  
 fawran

M yandam Zīlaynā min Zīdlib murāsila Zā jazīrah  
 mūḥād fadlī mīlād fī Zīyāb riwāyāt rasmiyyah  
 wa daqīqah Samma jara mā hiya Zāmlūbasāt  
 Zāllatī Zāḥatī Zīqhāmī s-sijīn l-yawm 63

### نتائج الدراسة وتوصياتها

أصبحت ظاهرة الازدواج اللغوي من الموضوعات التي تشكل هاجسا لدى كثير من الباحثين والمهتمين بشؤون اللغة العربية وذلك نظرا للتدهور الملحوظ الذي تشهده العربية الفصيحة في وسائل الاعلام العربي وعلى وجه الخصوص الاعلام المرئي والمسموع. فلقد شهد هذا القسم من الاعلام العربي في الآونة الأخيرة شيوع استخدام اللهجات العامية في كثير من البرامج التلفزيونية والاذاعية حتى أضحت الفصحى في منأى عن كثير من هذه البرامج. تتناول هذه الدراسة ظاهرة الازدواج اللغوي في وسائل الاعلام العربي من خلال دراسة مقارنة لاستخدام الفصحى والعامية في خمس قنوات فضائية عربية (الجزيرة, المستقبل اللبنانية, الجزائرية, ON TV, اليمن الفضائية), وتهدف الدراسة إلى معرفة مدى استخدام الفصحى في هذه الفضائيات من خلال دراسة أربعة من البرامج التلفزيونية التي تبث في هذه الفضائيات (الأخبار, المقابلات, البرامج الحوارية, البرامج الدينية) كما تهدف الدراسة أيضا إلى التعرف على أسباب تفشي العاميات في هذه القنوات بالإضافة إلى معرفة أسباب التحول اللغوي من الفصحى إلى العامية. كما تتضمن أهداف هذه الدراسة الاطلاع على مواقف واتجاهات كل من المذيعين والمشاهدين نحو استخدام كل من الفصحى والعامية في مختلف البرامج التلفزيونية وعلى وجه التحديد البرامج المذكورة آنفا.

ولعرض تحقيق الأهداف سالفة الذكر فقد استخدم الباحث بعض الطرق البحثية لجمع البيانات المطلوبة والتي من بينها الاستبيان المغلق الذي تم توزيعه على عيني المذيعين والمشاهدين وكذا تحميل بعض حلقات من البرامج المذكورة أعلاه ومن ثم تحليلها لمعرفة اللغة السائدة في كل منها.

أثبتت النتائج المنبثقة من تحليل البيانات أن اللغة العربية الفصيحة تشهد تدهورا في قناتين من هذه القنوات الخمس وهما قناة المستقبل الفضائية اللبنانية وقناة ON TV المصرية حيث لم تتجاوز نسب استخدام الفصحى في هاتين القناتين 34% و 26% على التوالي بينما أظهرت النتائج نسب إيجابية لاستخدام الفصحى في كل من القنوات التالية: الجزيرة الفضائية (85%), اليمن الفضائية (80%), والجزائرية الفضائية (65%). كما أظهرت النتائج أن أعلى نسبة استخدام للعامية ظهرت على قناة ON TV المصرية وذلك بنسبة 42% يلي ذلك قناة المستقبل اللبنانية بنسبة 35%. كما تبين من خلال النتائج أن البرامج الحوارية والمقابلات التلفزيونية تعد مرتعا خصبا لتنامي العاميات العربية وكذا ما يسمى باللغة الوسطى حيث يلجأ المتحاورون في هذه البرامج إلى العامية والوسطى في كثير من حواراتهم ونقاشاتهم تاركين حيزا بسيطا للفصحى. كما أظهرت النتائج أن العامية والوسطى هما السائدتان في البرامج الدينية لكل من قناتي المستقبل و ON TV والتي كان من المتوقع أن تكون الفصيحة هي السائدة كما

في كل من قنوات الجزيرة, اليمن, الجزائرية. أما عن أسباب تنامي استخدام العامية فقد تبين أن الأسباب تتنوع تبعاً للعوامل التالية: نوع البرنامج المذاع, كفاءة المذيع اللغوية, التكيف اللغوي من قبل المذيع خصوصاً في التقارير الميدانية والمقابلات مع العامة الذين لا يملكون القدرات اللغوية الكافية والتي تؤهلهم لمجاعة المذيع في استخدام العربية الفصحى, ضعف الاهتمام بجوانب التدريب والتأهيل للمذيعين, تكيف كثير من المذيعين مع العامية نتيجة استخدامها الطويل والمستمر والتي جعلت من استخدام الفصحى بالنسبة لهم أمراً شاقاً. أما فيما يتعلق بمواقف المذيعين والمشاهدين من استخدام الفصحى في البرامج التلفزيونية فلقد أظهرت النتائج مواقف إيجابية لكلا العنيتين نحو استخدام الفصحى مع تفضيل البعض منهم للعامية والوسطى في بعض البرامج الحوارية والتي غالباً ما تتناول قضايا سياسية واجتماعية ساخنة.

#### التوصيات:

1. إعطاء الفصحى الأفضلية المطلقة في البرامج الدينية خصوصاً في قناتي المستقبل اللبنانية و ON TV المصرية.
2. الدقة في اختيار المذيعين وجعل الكفاءة في اللغة العربية معياراً رئيسياً للاختيار والترشح.
3. قد يكون التكيف اللغوي مطلوباً من قبل المذيع لكن لا يجب أن يكون على حساب الفصحى بحيث تتحدر لغة المذيع إلى العامية المطلقة كما في قناتي المستقبل الفضائية و ON TV المصرية.
4. الاهتمام بجوانب التدريب والتأهيل المستمر للمذيعين لتطوير مهاراتهم اللغوية في اللغة العربية.