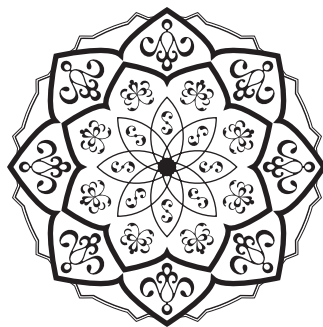


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Journal of the American Association of Teachers of Arabic



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Editorial Office Email all editorial correspondence to aataeditor@aataweb.org

Professor Mohammad T. Alhawary, Editor
University of Michigan
Department of Middle East Studies
202 S. Thayer Street, Suite 4111
Ann Arbor, MI 48104-1608
<http://aataweb.org/alarabiyya>

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Editor's Note

I am thrilled with the publication of this full volume of *Al-'Arabiyya* comprising six articles. Three articles contribute to Arabic first-language acquisition, two to Arabic second-language acquisition, and one to the rhetoric of argumentation in medieval Arabic poetry. Some of them engage long-standing debates and issues in new meaningful ways, and others raise new ones.

The article by Michael Grosvald and Tariq Khwaileh reports on a syntactic priming study of passive constructions in Arabic English bilinguals, as speakers of two typologically distant languages. The study examines whether analogous sentence structures share the same underlying representation across languages. The outcomes are couched within shared-syntax and separate-syntax accounts of sentence processing in bilinguals.

In their article, D. Eve Olson and Rachel Hayes-Harb report on an acoustic study of voice onset time (VOT) of stop consonants in the speech production of two groups of native Arabic and native English participants. The study investigates stop consonants shared by the two languages as well as whether the lack of contrasting /p/ and /g/ in Arabic has observable consequences for the production of VOT for /b/ and /k/, respectively.

In his article, Abdulkafi Albirini addresses the claim that Standard Arabic (SA) is a second language for native speakers of Arabic because, rather than being acquired naturally at home, it is acquired later in school and used in educational and other formal settings. Some recent neurolinguistic and experimental studies cited in the article make a similar claim. The study investigates the issue empirically by further examining whether Arabic speakers' proficiency in SA converges with their proficiency in Colloquial Arabic or English.

Through his article, Dris Soulimani explores language ideologies and language attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic (versus Eastern Arabic varieties) through a discourse analysis study conducted within a study-abroad context. The study includes findings on how a study-abroad experience can affect such language ideologies and influence the sociolinguistic awareness of student participants.

Guilnard Moufarrej and Charbel Salameh discuss the role of songs in vocabulary learning based on a study of American-English-speaking learners of Arabic as an L2. The study employs colloquial (Lebanese) songs in the context of a Modern Standard Arabic curriculum. Through the study findings, Moufarrej and Salameh highlight the possible beneficial role of songs both as a source of infusing motivation and engagement in the Arabic L2 classroom and as a tool to address the issue of diglossia in teaching Arabic.

Mufleh Al-Hweitat offers a textual analysis of Al-Mutanabbī's 'Ayniyya ode by employing elements of argumentation theory in literary discourse, by examining the underlying threads and units that govern the overall structure of the ode, and by linking the text to its immediate context. Through such a reading, Al-Hweitat demonstrates that the argumentative orientation of the ode is apparent, revealing the poet's stance being exhibited at two levels, at the collective and individual level, and that Al-Mutanabbī was effective in his use of linguistic, poetic, rhetorical, and stylistic devices from beginning to end.

The book review section contains five reviews of books whose contents and scope relate to teaching Arabic language, teaching Arabic literature, gender in literature, and short stories. It is the intention and objective of *Al-'Arabiyya* to maintain a steady output of at least five to six book reviews per volume. On this note, and on behalf of AATA, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Gregory Bell, who decided to step down as book review editor at the conclusion of his five years of service, and to welcome Dris Soulaimani as the new book review editor.

—Mohammad T. Alhawary

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I owe a debt of gratitude to the following reviewers whose insightful comments contributed to the quality of Volume 52 of *Al-'Arabiyya*:

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Processing Passive Constructions in Arabic and English

A CROSSLANGUAGE PRIMING STUDY



Michael Grosvald and Tariq Khwaileh, Qatar University

The English and Arabic languages each have passive constructions, but their realizations in the two languages are quite different. We carried out a syntactic priming experiment on Arabic-English bilinguals to investigate whether analogous sentence structures might share a consistent underlying representation across languages, regardless of their different surface forms. Participants read a series of sentence stimuli, half of which were in Arabic and half in English. Sentences could be in active or passive voice. The stimuli were presented in a randomized order so that each target could be preceded by a prime matching or mismatching the target in either voice or language. Subjects needed to decide who carried out the action described in the sentence (first half of the experiment) or to whom the action happened (second half). The resulting reaction time data provide strong evidence of syntactic priming within but not across languages. Our findings are discussed in relation to the shared-syntax and separate-syntax accounts of sentence processing in bilinguals.

Key words: Arabic, English, syntax, bilingual processing, crosslinguistic priming, syntactic priming, perceptual priming

Al-Arabiyya, 52 (2019), 1–28

Introduction

The passive voice exists in both English and Modern Standard Arabic, but its realizations in the two languages occupy opposite ends of the morphosyntactic continuum. In English, passives are coded mainly through syntax, with a form of “to be” accompanied by a past participle form that is identical to the simple past for regular verbs. There are two ways to formulate passives in Arabic. The first is the inflectional (or internal) passive, which includes vocalic changes and movement of the subject (e.g., *qutila ʔal-rajul* “The man was killed”). The second one is the periphrastic “done verb-ing” passive (Ryding 2005), formed by using the verb *tamma* “completed/finished,” which is usually referred to as a dummy verb (e.g., *tamma ʔiktišāf ʕilāj jadīd* “A new treatment has been discovered”). We focus on the inflectional passive in this study.

In contrast with English, Arabic inflectional passive and simple-past active sentences have a syntactically similar verb-subject-object (VSO) form and are distinguished by inflection of the verb. More specifically, the two verb forms share the same root, which is typically triconsonantal but differ in their morphological templates (i.e., vocalic pattern). The study of passive processing in English-Arabic bilinguals thus offers a unique opportunity to study the underlying nature of syntactic representations across two unrelated languages.

Syntactic priming refers to facilitation of the production or comprehension of a given syntactic structure that shares structural features with a preceding stimulus (Bock 1986). A number of studies have investigated the underlying nature of language representations through the use of such priming experiments in bilinguals. Until recently, most crosslinguistic priming studies (e.g., Bernolet, Hartsuiker, and Pickering 2012; Kroll and Stewart 1994; McElree, Jia, and Litvak 2000; Pickering and Branigan 1998; Schoonbaert, Hartsuiker, and Pickering 2007) have explored lexical-level language processing at two levels: activation of word-level information and activation of word-level syntax, contributing to spoken word processing models (Interactive Network model: Caramazza 1997; two-stage interactive model: Dell et al. 1997; Weaver ++ model: Levelt, Roelofs, and Meyer 1999). More recently, syntactic priming studies have investigated crosslinguistic priming of syntax that is unrelated to lexical entries (e.g., Desmet and Declercq 2006; Hartsuiker, Pickering, and Veltkamp 2004; Loebell and Bock 2003; Weber and Indefrey 2009). These studies offer insights into the nature of syntactic representation in bilinguals, testing two possible accounts for syntax in bilinguals—the separate-syntax account and the shared-syntax account (Hartsuiker, Pickering, and Veltkamp 2004).

The shared-syntax account maintains that any two languages work from one syntax, reducing redundancy and accounting for crosslinguistic similarities as well as for efficiency in code switching. According to the shared-syntax account, any given sentence is a surface form resulting from the transformations of the constituents within a deep form. For example, the English passive sentence “The letter was written by Justin” is the result of transforming the active form “Justin wrote the letter.” This involves raising the direct object of the verb “the letter” to the specifier position of the tense phrase to be assigned case and moving the agent “Justin” to the prepositional phrase “by Justin” in a non-truncated passive.

According to the separate-syntax account, each language can have different constructions for analogous linguistic phenomena. For example, in the case of active and passive sentences, English would have active constructions and passive constructions that are different from those of Arabic. This means it is possible to have analogous structures represented twice in bilinguals’ grammar. In this view, the need for separate representations is justified by language-specific features. The separate-syntax account postulates that the formal structures of constructions are language-specific and thus not necessarily shared. Combinations of syntactic properties that define particular constructions in a given language are not always found in other languages due to the assumption that grammatical categories making up the building blocks of a language are specific to language and construction (Croft 2001; Dryer 1997). Furthermore, dialects of a given language may themselves have their own constructions (Barðdal 2011; Dryer 1997). For example, within a given language, a wide range of voice constructions may exist, in which case it may not be possible to divide sentences conveniently into actives and passives. Instead, passives can be explained in terms of relations between the semantic structural components of language-specific constructions (Croft 2001).

Several behavioral studies with healthy speakers have reported crosslinguistic syntactic priming in production, suggesting a shared syntactic representation across the languages in question. Nevertheless, whether the reported crosslinguistic priming effects are a result of syntactic structure overlap or of argument order overlap between the languages in question has been a matter of debate. Syntactic structure overlap refers to the configurational operations of psycholinguistic mechanisms transforming abstract sentence representations into structures with hierarchical and/or linear properties. On the other hand, argument order refers to the order of arguments (e.g., agent, patient, location, instrument) as they appear in the sentence. According to existing production models, syntactic structure gets encoded and assigned at the functional level while argument order (serial order) is determined at a positional

level (Bock and Levelt 1994; Levelt 1989; Levelt, Roelofs, and Meyer 1999; Shin and Christianson 2009).

Timothy Desmet and Mieke Declercq (2006) carried out a series of production experiments looking into syntactic priming of relative clause attachments in Dutch and English bilingual speakers. The authors found that relative clause attachments can be primed from Dutch to English, supporting a shared-syntax account in which syntactic information in bilingual speakers is deemed highly integrated and challenging the separate-syntax account. Sofie Schoonbaert and colleagues (2007) carried out a priming study on dative alternations in Dutch-English bilinguals and reported significant priming effects in production both within and between languages, suggesting a shared syntactic representation between Dutch and English. Helga Loebell and Kathryn Bock (2003) report that priming effects occurred in both directions between English and German as German-English bilinguals produced double-object dative sentences (e.g., “The man sent his wife some flowers”) to describe pictures, after having produced a sentence of the same structure in the other language. This was not the case when the prime was an alternate prepositional dative construction (e.g., “The man bought some flowers for his wife”).

However, Loebell and Bock (2003) also report a lack of significant priming effects for passives from German to English and vice versa. This is at odds with Robert Hartsuiker and colleagues’ (2004) results from Spanish-English bilinguals. In that syntactic priming study, Hartsuiker and colleagues also sought to investigate the extent to which syntax is shared or separate across languages. The researchers had Spanish-English bilinguals describe cards to each other in a dialogue game. The authors found significant priming between Spanish and English in that participants producing English sentences were influenced by the preceding descriptions of cards given in Spanish. The authors report that English passive production is more common following Spanish passives but not the other way around. The authors conclude that syntactic representations across languages are integrated at both the production and comprehension levels. The discrepancy between Hartsuiker and colleagues (2004) and Loebell and Bock (2003) can be attributed to the fact that German passives differ from English passives in terms of argument order, unlike Spanish, which is more similar to English in argument order. This suggests that syntactic priming depends not only on structural overlap but also on argument order similarity between the two languages. In support of this view, Sarah Bernolet, Hartsuiker, and Martin Pickering (2007) report significant word-order effects in syntactic priming of simple relative clauses between Dutch and German, which share surface argument order for relative clauses. Bernolet and colleagues (2007) did not find the same effect between Dutch and English, whose surface argument order is different. Again, this suggests

that language-specific features, including structural similarity and surface argument order overlap, play a key role in such priming effects.

Most of the abovementioned studies investigated priming between languages belonging to the same language family and overlapping in many structural features or in surface argument order (e.g., English-German; Dutch-English; English-Spanish). To our knowledge, the only study that has examined syntactic priming in two languages belonging to completely different families is Jeong-Ah Shin and Kiel Christianson's (2009) study, in which they report crosslinguistic syntactic priming in production in bilingual speakers of Korean and English. Even though Korean and English are unrelated, they display parallel syntactic structure for datives. Korean postpositional datives share the same structure as English prepositional datives, having one verb, one noun phrase, and one pre/postpositional phrase. In the case of ditransitive verbs, Korean has two noun phrases as double objects governed by the verb, just like English. Nevertheless, the order of arguments and verb position are different in the two languages, as Korean is a verb-final language. The authors reported significant priming from Korean to English that is attributable to abstract structural/functional similarities between the two languages. They claim that crosslinguistic priming can occur when the two languages in question share common syntactic structures that are independent of argument order. However, this is at odds with the data from Spanish-English bilinguals reported by Hartsuiker and colleagues (2004).

The aforementioned studies focus primarily on production rather than on comprehension. While there is considerable behavioral evidence for syntactic priming between languages in sentence production, there is a general lack of studies of online syntactic priming at the comprehension level. Production tasks primarily assess participants' structural competence, with little attention paid to contextual effects. On the other hand, comprehension tasks provide a less direct measure of structural competence and are significantly influenced by the contextual environment (Tooley and Traxler 2010) due to constraints imposed by the built-in context for a given stimulus. Therefore, the two types of experimental task—comprehension versus production—could result in qualitatively different results due to the processing differences involved. This suggests that more studies using comprehension-based tasks are needed.

Kirsten Weber and Peter Indefrey (2009) report two experiments, one behavioral and one using functional magnetic resonance imaging, that investigated whether syntactic information is shared between English and German; the paradigm they used targeted syntactic priming in comprehension. The authors report an interaction between the English and German processing systems, and they conclude that some syntactic information is shared in bilinguals speaking syntactically similar languages. The authors also report that German passive sentences primed English

passive structures even though the surface argument order of passive sentences differs between the two languages. This is in contrast with Loebell and Bock's (2003) findings, mentioned above. Weber and Indefrey (2009) attribute this discrepancy to methodological differences between the two studies. They maintain that the differences in surface argument order between German and English might have a stronger effect on syntactic priming in production than in comprehension; whereas in comprehension, the processed target structure is fixed, in production, target structures are built bottom-up and are chosen by participants.

The Current Study

As indicated in the foregoing, earlier studies of crosslinguistic syntactic priming tend to focus on languages that are related or shared syntactic structures or argument order. Furthermore, most of the abovementioned studies concern production rather than comprehension. In sum, there is still a lack of crosslinguistic syntactic priming studies focusing on comprehension and involving typologically different languages. The current study investigates real-time/online syntactic priming of actives and passives at the comprehension level with bilingual speakers of two typologically different languages that do not overlap in structure or surface argument order—specifically, English and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

Given that the current study depends on comprehension of written sentences of Arabic as well as English, we deem the use of MSA to be preferable to that of other varieties of Arabic, the use of which would probably not even allow for a viable study of this kind. Most written interactions in the Arab world use MSA, and all Arabic speakers who have been educated in Arabic schools have similar exposure to MSA, which is used in public schools across the Arabic-speaking world. In addition, all official and governmental transactions and daily press (newspapers and TV channels) use MSA. Finally, because this study focuses on the processing of active and passive constructions, MSA is a desirable choice since passive constructions are more frequent in MSA than in spoken varieties.

We chose passive constructions due to their different formulation processes—in terms of structure and surface argument order—in Arabic and English. As noted earlier, MSA has both an inflectional (or internal) passive, which includes vocalic changes and movement of the subject, and a periphrastic “done verb-ing” passive, formed using a dummy verb. In the current study, we employed the inflectional passive because it depends on movements (structural transformations), unlike the periphrastic passives. This should give this type of passive construction comparability

power with English passives. The present study incorporated two tasks and incorporated active and passive stimuli in multiple structure types in order to determine to what extent priming effects could be found generally across a variety of contexts. As mentioned earlier, we chose comprehension over production because comprehension tasks restrict processing to the context and syntactic/argument structure provided by the experimenter in a given task and trial.

Under the assumptions of the shared-syntax account, passives can be seen as features of human languages that are governed by shared syntactic rules. Under this assumption, passives in Arabic can be expected to prime passives in English, and vice versa. According to the separate-syntax account, crosslinguistic priming would not be expected to occur between typologically distinct and structurally dissimilar languages, so priming can be expected to occur within a given language but not necessarily across languages. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study addressing syntactic priming in such a context as well as the first addressing syntactic priming between English and Arabic.

Methods

Participants

Fifty-seven students at an Arabic university in the Gulf region participated in this study (age mean = 25.6, $SD = 5.93$, range = [18, 44]; 8 male; 5 left-handed). All were self-reported bilingual users of English and MSA with normal or corrected-to-normal vision and no developmental, cognitive, or linguistic impairments. All participants had similar levels of English proficiency, as is evident from their IELTS admission test to the university. The university admits students with a minimum IELTS score of 5.5 (with a minimum of 5.0 on each component). Furthermore, our participants all went to Arabic schools and therefore had similar exposure to MSA during schooling. They were also exposed to MSA daily as residents of an Arabic-speaking country (Qatar), as all official and governmental processes and daily press (newspapers and TV channels) in Qatar use MSA.

Because of the situation of diglossia prevalent in the Arabic-speaking world, we also present here a summary of participants' native spoken dialects. Thirteen reported that they were native speakers of Qatari Arabic. Twenty-six others reported being bidialectal with Qatari Arabic and at least one other dialectal variety of spoken Arabic. The remaining participants break down as follows: Egyptian (5), Levantine (Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria; 9), and speakers of one or more other varieties including those of Yemen, Somalia, Tunisia, Sudan, and the United Arab Emirates (4).

Data for three participants were excluded because of unacceptably low accuracy scores on the task (<60%, versus an overall average of ~94% for the other subjects), leaving a total of fifty-four participants, whose data we discuss below. Study participants received no compensation for taking part in the study and provided informed consent in accordance with established Institutional Review Board procedures of the participants' university.

Materials

Participants in this study viewed a series of written sentence stimuli, half of which were in MSA and half in English (120 each; 240 total). Sixty of the sentences in each language were in the active voice and sixty were in the passive voice. These stimuli were presented to each subject sequentially on a computer screen in random order. Each sentence shown during the experiment—with the exception of the first and last—thus served as both a prime (for the immediately following sentence) and as a target (for the immediately preceding one), as illustrated in figure 1.

All sentences involved actions with human agents or patients and belonged to one of two categories: (1) sentences having active-voice verbs with a human agent (e.g., “Justin was eating dinner by the window”) or (2) sentences with passive-voice verbs indicating an action onto a person, with or without a human agent being specified using a “by-phrase” (e.g., “Justin was wounded” versus “Justin was wounded by David”).

For each occurrence of a passive sentence, there was a 50 percent chance (randomly determined trial by trial) that a by-phrase (or the approximate Arabic equivalent incorporating the structure *min qibal*) would be included. This happens to be the case, for example, for the second sentence shown in figure 1 but not for the fourth sentence. The sentence stimuli for each language had a consistent structure: for English, Name 1 + Verb Phrase (+ optional by-phrase with Name 2, for passives only); and for Arabic, Verb + Name 1 + Rest of Verb Phrase (+ optional *min qibal* phrase with Name 2, for passives only).

The English names were chosen randomly for each trial from {David, Justin} and for Arabic sentences from {ناصر “Nasser,” خالد “Khalid”}. Thus, although the same set of verb forms were used for all subjects, the actual set of sentences each subject saw varied somewhat according to the name(s) used with each verb and, for each passive form, whether or not a by-phrase (or the Arabic equivalent) was shown. The complete set of verb phrase forms used in the stimuli is provided in the appendix. The sentence-initial verbs in the Arabic sentence were presented in voweled form; as already noted, this disambiguates passive and simple past (active) forms. The remainder of each Arabic sentence was presented unvoweled. The experiment was programmed using Presentation software (Neurobehavioral Systems, Albany, California).

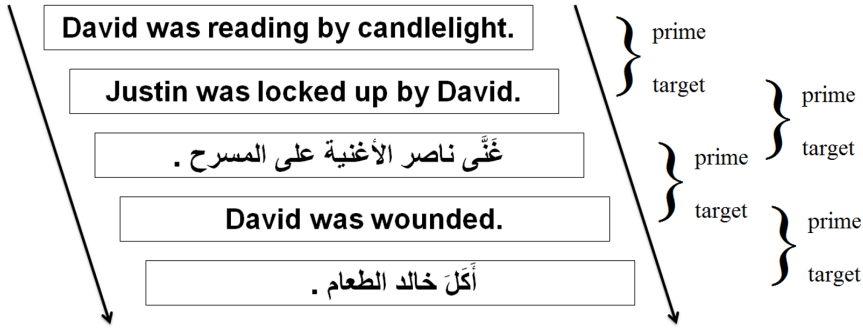


Figure 1 Illustration of prime and target English and Arabic sentence stimuli

To create a variety of stimuli within each language, we attempted to avoid using a given verb in more than one sentence, although there were some cases of crosslinguistic synonyms or near synonyms (e.g., an English verb and an Arabic verb each meaning “to hit”). Because the sentences were randomized for each study participant, the roles played by each verb and other sentence components were balanced in the sense of appearing equally often in both prime and target stimuli and appearing relatively early in the run of the experiment for some participants and relatively late for others. Because of this balanced design, there should be no spurious effects of priming due to semantic overlap or in relation to other lexical attributes.

We attempted to create sentences that study participants could not easily identify as active or passive just at a glance. For example, two cues for English passives are the presence of a “by-phrase” and a form of “to be” followed by the past participle of the verb, which tends to resemble the simple past. Therefore, our active sentences made occasional use of the preposition “by” such as in locative phrases like “by the window,” and incorporated simple-past verb forms or progressive forms (e.g., “was walking”) that also use a “be” verb. Similarly, the MSA passive form of the verb superficially resembles the simple past form and, as noted above, can admit a “by-phrase”-like structure *min qibal* with a word, *min*, that can also serve as a preposition meaning “from.” Therefore, for our active Arabic sentences, we made use of the simple past and occasional prepositional phrases using *min*. All Arabic sentences (passive and active simple past) used VSO argument order, as illustrated in (1)–(2).

(1) Arabic Active form:

ضَرَبَ خَالِدَ نَاصِرَ

Hit[PAST] Khalid Nasser

“Khalid hit Nasser.”

(2) Arabic Passive form:

ضُرِبَ ناصر من قبل خالد

Hit[PASSIVE] Nasser from Khalid

“Nasser was hit by Khalid.”

Task

In designing the experiment, we attempted to create a task that would require subjects to process the semantics of whole sentences (as discussed above) while at the same time being speedy enough to provide sensitivity in a reaction time analysis. We hoped that this would reduce variance in response times, allowing greater sensitivity to any priming effects.

Before beginning, participants were told that they would be seeing a series of sentences each describing an action and that the sentences would sometimes be written in Arabic and sometimes in English. They were told that during each trial, their task was to read the sentence and then make a choice between two names that appeared on screen side by side—David and Justin for English trials; ناصر “Nasser” and خالد “Khalid” for Arabic trials. For the first half of the experiment (i.e., in response to each of the first 120 sentences), the decision the subject had to make was “Which person DID the action?” For the second half, the decision was “TO WHICH PERSON did the action happen?” Participants were urged to make their responses as quickly as possible but accurately. If a subject failed to respond within 6.0 seconds, that trial was scored as incorrect and the next sentence was then presented. Each subject began with a short warmup version of the real experiment in order to become acquainted with the task.

To choose as their answer the name on the left side of the screen, subjects hit the “Z” key on the laptop keyboard. To choose the right-hand name, subjects hit the “/” key. For some sentences, the only sensible response would be “neither name applies” in that not enough information was given; in such cases, participants were told to hit the space bar. For example, during the first half of the experiment (answering “Which person DID the action?”), a passive sentence with no “by-phrase” such as “Justin was pushed off balance” does not indicate who performed the action, so the space bar would be the correct response. Similarly, during the second half of the experiment (“TO WHICH PERSON did the action happen?”), a sentence like “David built a table” does not permit a sensible answer to the question of “to whom” the action happened, so the space bar again would be the correct choice. Our main motivations for dividing the experiment into two parts in this way were (a) to provide greater task variety to subjects and (b) to help sustain their alertness in attending to the sentence meanings throughout the duration of the experiment. The results showed

that this change to a somewhat different task midway through the experiment did not adversely affect subjects' performance in the second half of the experiment.

The ordering of the 240 sentence stimuli was randomized at the beginning of each participant's run; stimuli were subsequently presented onscreen in that item-by-item order. The random sequencing of sentences in the experiment means that a given sentence stimulus in either language (Arabic or English) and in either voice (active or passive) could be immediately preceded by a sentence in the same or the other language, and in the same or the other voice. This allows us a simultaneous examination of priming effects related to both language and voice.

If we find syntactic priming both within and across these two languages, which are typologically distinct and in which the surface realizations of passive forms also differ, this would support the shared-syntax worldview. If, on the other hand, we find within-language priming but a lack of crosslanguage priming, this would serve as evidence for the alternative viewpoint espoused by proponents of a separate-syntax account.

Data Analysis

We consider four main factors of interest in our analyses; all are within-subjects factors. Two of these factors specify properties of the target items alone: language of target item (Arabic or English) and voice of target item (active or passive). The other two factors, same language and same voice, specify the relationship between the target and its immediately preceding (prime) stimulus—namely, whether the prime had been of the same language as the target (yes or no) and whether the prime had had the same voice as the target (yes or no). In other words, if a given target stimulus and the immediately preceding item were both active or both passive, the value of same voice for that target would be “yes”; otherwise its value would be “no.” Similarly, if prime and target were both Arabic or both English, the value of same language for that target would be “yes”; otherwise its value would be “no.”

Thus, if our participants show syntactic priming both within and across languages, the expectation is a main effect of same voice, with “yes” values being associated with better performance than “no” values overall. On the other hand, if priming occurs only within but not across languages, we should expect an interaction of same language with same voice, such that only “yes” values for both factors simultaneously are associated with better performance.

To evaluate participants' performance, we used analysis of variance to analyze reaction time (RT) and accuracy for target sentences. We carried out analyses by

both participants and items and report significance results using the minF' statistic (Clark 1973), a conservative measure that seeks to ensure that the results generalize simultaneously for both subjects and items. We then follow up with planned and post hoc comparisons when such results are relevant to the discussion. Overviews of the RT and accuracy results are presented in tables 1 and 2, respectively.

In the RT analyses, we used only data from trials for which the answer was correct and for which the prime (immediately preceding) answer was also correct. Accuracy scores were analyzed after applying an arcsin transformation ($y = \arcsin(\sqrt{x})$), but for clarity of presentation, accuracy results are given with the data back-transformed into percentage scores (Wheater and Cook 2000). In our presentation of the results, we report minF' statistics, their associated p -values, and effect sizes (Δ , i.e., “difference”) where relevant. Because all of our factors of interest had two levels only, corrections to address issues of sphericity (e.g., Greenhouse and Geisser 1959; Huynh and Feldt 1976) were not needed.

Results

The RT analysis yielded significant main effects of Language ($\text{minF}'(1, 118.3) = 7.65$, $p < 0.01$) and Same_Language ($\text{minF}'(1, 141.8) = 65.6$, $p < 0.001$), along with an interaction of Same_Language with Same_Voice ($\text{minF}'(1, 180.3) = 9.30$, $p < 0.01$). In addition, the interaction of Voice with Same_Voice reached marginal significance ($\text{minF}'(1, 141.2) = 3.77$, $p = 0.054$) (see table 1 and figure 2).

The main effect of Same_Language is due to the fact that RTs were faster when targets were preceded by same-language primes (2,895 msec versus 2,654 msec, $\Delta = 240$ msec). As can be seen in the right-hand side of figure 2, the magnitude of this difference was similar for Arabic (2,787 msec versus 2,569 msec, $\Delta = 218$ msec) and English (3,002 msec versus 2,740 msec, $\Delta = 262$ msec). The main effect of Language is due to RTs to English-language stimuli being slower overall than those to Arabic stimuli (2,871 msec versus 2,678 msec, $\Delta = 192$ msec).

Although the interaction between Language and Voice fell short of significance ($p = 0.12$), we note that the difference in RTs for active versus passive sentences went in the opposite direction for Arabic, where passive RTs trended slower than active RTs (mean active RT = 2,654 msec, mean passive RT = 2,702 msec, $\Delta = 47.9$, $p = 0.22$) than for English, for which passive RTs were significantly quicker (mean active RT = 2,920 msec, mean passive RT = 2,821 msec, $\Delta = 99.0$, $p < 0.05$). These outcomes are illustrated in the left half of figure 2.

Table 1 Reaction time results

Language of Target	Same Language as Prime?	Voice of Target	Same Voice as Prime?	RT Mean (msec)	SE (msec)	Effect Size (msec)	Sig. level
Arabic	Different	Active	Different	2,807	68.7	21.7	ns
		Active	Same	2,786	71.6		
		Passive	Different	2,736	60.9	83.1	ns
		Passive	Same	2,820	68.0		
	Same	Active	Different	2,597	78.1	171.1	$p < 0.01$
		Active	Same	2,426	66.7		
		Passive	Different	2,620	59.6	12.2	ns
		Passive	Same	2,632	61.0		
English	Different	Active	Different	3,066	83.7	35.6	ns
		Active	Same	3,031	75.8		
		Passive	Different	2,911	62.9	89.7	ns
		Passive	Same	3,001	70.7		
	Same	Active	Different	2,885	73.3	184.5	$p < 0.01$
		Active	Same	2,700	77.5		
		Passive	Different	2,783	69.3	191.4	$p < 0.01$
		Passive	Same	2,591	65.1		

Note: Reaction time results for all sixteen combinations of levels of the four factors of interest: Language of Target Item, Same Language of prime, Voice of Target Item, and Same Voice of prime. The two rightmost columns summarize contrasts within the Same Voice factor (different versus same voice of prime and target) for each combination of levels of the other three factors.

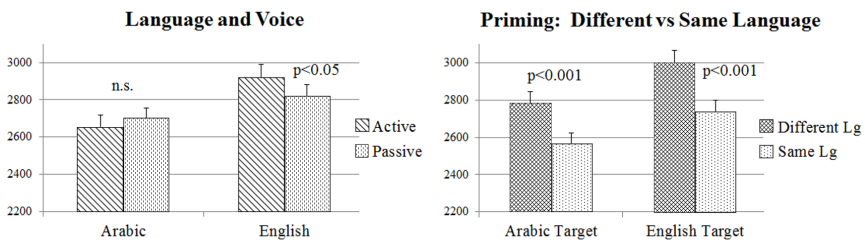


Figure 2 Target item reaction times in msec.

Note: Left: Language and Voice of target item. Right: Language of target and Language of prime.

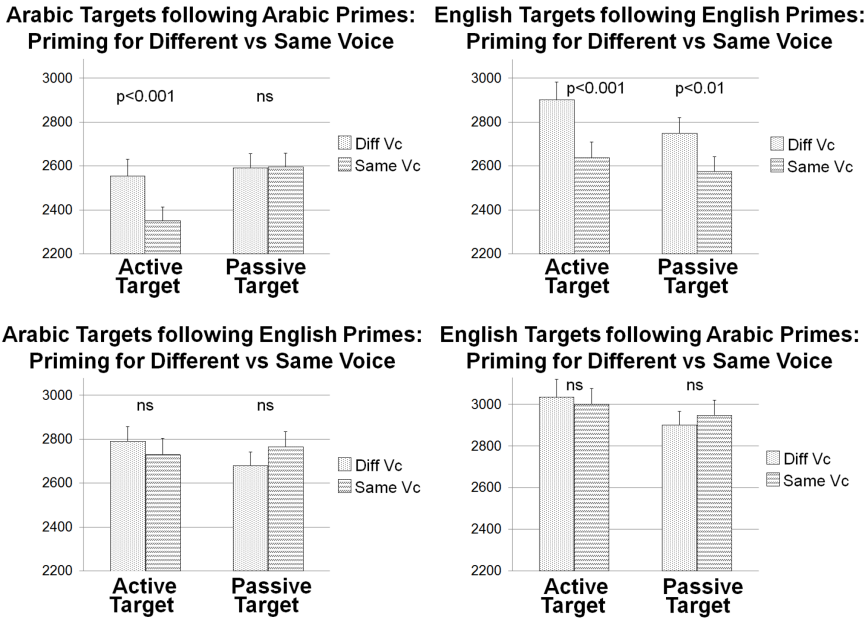


Figure 3 Reaction time comparisons among the four factors of interest, given in msec. Note: The graphs in the top row show results for the same-language prime condition, while the bottom row illustrates the different-language prime condition. The left and right columns show results for Arabic and English targets, respectively.

Finally, the same language and same voice interaction reflects the following key finding: same-voice primes led to faster RTs within but not across languages (different-language context means for different versus same voice = 2,880 versus 2,909, $\Delta = 28.8$, ns; same-language context means for different versus same voice = 2,721 versus 2,587, $\Delta = 133$, $p < 0.001$). However, table 1 also shows one asymmetry in this overall pattern; the same data are also illustrated in figure 3. Within-language same-voice priming was found for both active and passive targets in English (i.e., actives primed actives and passives primed passives), but in Arabic, same-voice priming was found only for actives and not passives (i.e., actives primed actives but passives did not prime passives). This asymmetry also explains the marginally significant voice and same voice interaction. Overall, actives tended to benefit from same-voice priming, while on the other hand—when considered collectively across all contexts—passives did not (active means in different versus same voice contexts = 2,839 versus 2,736, $\Delta = 103$, $p < 0.01$; passive means in different versus same voice contexts = 2,763 versus 2,761, $\Delta = 1.6$, ns).

Table 2 Accuracy Results

Language of Target	Same Language as Prime?	Voice of Target	Same Voice as Prime?	Acc. Mean (%)	SE (%)	Effect Size (%)	Sig. level
Arabic	Different	Active	Different	96.4	1.1	0.1	ns
		Active	Same	96.3	1.1		
		Passive	Different	91.9	1.7	2.6	$p = 0.06$
		Passive	Same	94.5	1.5		
	Same	Active	Different	96.4	1.2	0.8	ns
		Active	Same	97.2	0.8		
		Passive	Different	93.7	1.4	2.0	$p = 0.097$
		Passive	Same	95.7	1.3		
English	Different	Active	Different	91.2	1.9	3.5	$p < 0.01$
		Active	Same	94.7	1.4		
		Passive	Different	94.8	1.3	2.0	ns
		Passive	Same	92.8	1.5		
	Same	Active	Different	94.9	1.3	0.1	ns
		Active	Same	95.0	1.4		
		Passive	Different	90.3	1.8	4.3	$p < 0.01$
		Passive	Same	94.6	1.5		

Note: Accuracy results for all 16 combinations of levels of the four factors of interest: Language of target item, Same _Language of prime, Voice of target item, and Same _Voice of prime. The two rightmost columns summarize contrasts within the Same _Voice factor (different vs same voice of prime and target) for each combination of levels of the other three factors.

The accuracy analysis revealed only a marginally significant main effect of Language ($\text{min}F'(1, 142.2) = 3.84, p = 0.052$) and a significant main effect of Same _Voice ($\text{min}F'(1, 171.8) = 4.72, p < 0.05$). The four-way interaction also reached significance ($\text{min}F'(1, 174.6) = 3.99, p < 0.05$). The first two outcomes are because response accuracy trended higher for Arabic than for English stimuli (95.4% versus 93.6%, $\Delta = 1.7\%$) and was overall higher for targets preceded by same-voice rather than different-voice primes (95.2% versus 93.9%, $\Delta = 1.3\%$).

Although a main effect of same voice is what one would expect for syntactic priming across as well as within languages, the four-way interaction reveals a more complicated picture. As can be seen in the rightmost column of table 2, same-voice

priming for accuracy reached significance in only a limited number of situations. The overall main effect is driven by two significant outcomes and two marginally significant trends, spread asymmetrically over the language and voice target and prime conditions. It is this asymmetry that results in the four-way interaction. Of the four significant and marginally significant outcomes, two are found for targets whose primes were of the same language, consistent with the RT results showing priming effects within but not across languages. The remaining two outcomes show that Arabic passives were marginally more accurate after English passives than after English actives ($p = 0.06$) and that English actives were marginally more accurate after Arabic actives than after Arabic passives ($p < 0.01$).

Discussion

We sought to determine whether bilinguals access shared or separate syntax in two typologically distant languages not overlapping in surface word order. To do this, we investigated online (real-time) crosslinguistic syntactic priming in comprehension of passive and active structures. Previous studies looking at the syntactic level of language processing have tended to focus on typologically close languages (e.g., Dutch-English; German-English) and structurally similar languages (Spanish-English). Most of these studies have explored only the production modality (Desmet and Declercq 2006; Hartsuiker, Pickering, and Veltkamp 2004; Loebell and Bock 2003).

The RT results in the present study support the contention that processes governing passives can vary across languages. According to the cognitive view on passives crosslinguistically, different languages may make use of networks of constructions that are different from one language to another, each network being influenced by factors like frequency of occurrence and context. The pattern of priming effects found in the current study can be interpreted as a consequence of each language having its own conceptual network, with no (or minimal) mutual activation between the English passive network and the Arabic passive network. This is in line with findings of Kathryn Bock and Zeni Griffin (2000) and a viewpoint expressed by Richard Hudson (2007). According to this view, the processing of passives depends on network features including entrenchment and conceptual distance and activation (Bock and Griffin 2000; Hudson 2010). Conceptual distance and activation assumes that mutual activation between nodes depends on the relative distance between them, which explains the phenomenon of structural priming and offers an intuitively reasonable explanation of why structural priming occurs within a language but not across languages (Bock and Griffin 2000). Entrenchment refers to the accessibility

of information within the network depending on the recency or frequency of access to a given concept or network of concepts, refuting a “fixed” level of access to different concepts and allowing for variance in access depending on usage-related factors such as frequency of constructions and their related functions in language.

The current results do not resonate with existing evidence from syntactic priming studies with Dutch-English, German-English, Spanish-English, and Korean-English healthy bilinguals (Bernolet, Hartsuiker, and Pickering 2012; Desmet and Declercq 2006; Hartsuiker, Pickering, and Veltkamp 2004; Kroll and Stewart 1994; Loebell and Bock 2003; McElree, Jia, and Litvak 2000; Pickering and Branigan 1998; Schoonbaert, Hartsuiker, and Pickering 2007). We attribute this discrepancy to two major factors: experimental paradigm and language relatedness. Most of the earlier crosslinguistic research on syntactic processing has involved priming in production and not in comprehension, unlike the present study. The disparity between the current findings and previous studies’ findings could be due at least in part to the different processes involved in production as opposed to comprehension. In the present study, subjects were not required to plan a linguistic response, as would be required in a production study, but instead needed to deal with linguistic input containing structures and presented item by item in a language that they could not predict or choose. It is well established that priming effects in production are more robust than in comprehension (e.g., Tooley and Traxler 2010). Syntactic priming effects in comprehension are present more often when prime and target sentences share a content word. In production, these effects are often present when the primes and targets do not share content words. One possible explanation is that differing degrees of lexical dependency are involved in syntactic priming effects in production versus in comprehension. Finally, all of the abovementioned studies with healthy bilinguals have dealt with pairs of languages that overlap in at least one of two ways—structure or surface argument order. Spanish and English share surface argument order similarities, while German, Dutch, Korean, and English overlap in terms of structure more generally. It has been a matter of debate whether the reported crosslinguistic priming effects are a result of syntactic structure overlap or argument order overlap between the languages in question. Arabic and English syntactic structure and argument order may overlap in certain cases (e.g., SVO sentences, the flexibility of dangling adverbials, word order in prepositional phrases). This may have been a greater influencing factor for our accuracy results than in our RT findings.

Our finding of no syntactic priming across languages for RTs appears to be at odds with the idea of shared principles for passives. Instead, this finding is consistent with a usage-related view in which participants depend on factors such as frequency of constructions and their related functions in language due to partial or complete

lexicalization of constructions. This in turn is compatible with the principles and assumptions proposed by Hudson (2007) and William Croft (2007). In contrast, the accuracy analysis provides some evidence of priming occurring across languages, although this is observed only in limited contexts and hence is much less definitive. Nevertheless, crosslanguage priming would be consistent with the shared-syntax view.

Regarding within-language effects for RTs, we found that in English, actives prime actives and passives prime passives, while in Arabic, actives prime actives but passives do not appear to prime passives. Again, this discrepancy could be due to the different manifestations of passives in the two languages. English passives are predominantly configurational; that is, they depend on argument order to identify thematic relations and, as noted earlier, have morphological as well as configurational cues. Arabic passives exhibit fewer configurational cues at linear levels; the vocalic pattern of the main verb changes without introducing new constructions to the sentence as in English, and the relatively free argument order in Arabic makes the noun's position in the sentence a less reliable cue in identifying its thematic role. In addition, the Arabic writing system is not transparent due to the common practice of dropping diacritics (i.e., short vowels) in everyday written language, resulting in an idiosyncratic way of reading that is highly dependent on frequency of forms rather than careful inspection of the diacritics on written words (see Abu-Rabia [1996] for a comprehensive review). Recent research indicates that diacritic vowelization may significantly slow down decoding fluency (Grosvald, Al-Alami, and Idrissi, forthcoming), suggesting that readers may use the morphological structure of the word (i.e., word pattern) to recover the missing diacritics. With respect to the current data, we suggest that our participants may have depended on diacritics in decoding Arabic passive sentences but not active ones due to the higher frequency of actives as compared to passives in everyday language.

In our experiment, which did include diacritics on written verb forms, the above-mentioned factors could have led to participants taking longer to process Arabic passive sentences due to a heavier load consistently being imposed on the recognition process. While Arabic passives took longer than Arabic actives to process, we found that English passives were processed faster than English actives. The discrepancy between the two languages can be attributed to usage-related factors—the frequency of passive forms in Arabic as opposed to English. The use of passive voice in Arabic is less frequent than in English, resulting in a frequency effect that impacts accessibility of information within the network. Another explanation stems from semantic- and discourse-related differences between the constructions, which may determine how the syntactic network is structured. Because active constructions are used in a wider range of contexts than passives in English, it may take a higher degree of semantic control to accurately interpret active structures, resulting in longer reaction times.

In addition, the different way passives manifest themselves in English and Arabic may also tend to lead to faster responses to passives (relative to actives) in English than in Arabic. The unsubtle differences in the English passive and active forms can be seen as creating landmarks and trajectors—changing the verb form, including the auxiliary “be” verb, and sometimes adding a by+agent phrase—that might make it easier for participants to identify passive constructions and the corresponding thematic roles (Langacker 1982, 2007). This is different from the case in Arabic, with its relatively free argument order and subtle changes that are restricted to the verb form (specifically, its vocalic pattern), possibly making it more difficult to recognize passive sentences.

Overall, we found that RTs to Arabic sentences were faster than to English ones. We do not consider this to be of primary interest, because we are chiefly interested in effects of priming in various contexts of language and voice rather than in the RT values themselves. However, although we made every effort to recruit participants with native proficiency in both English and Arabic, we must acknowledge the possibility that participants were overall better readers in Arabic than English.

We noted earlier that the accuracy results did show some evidence of cross-language priming in specific contexts, although these results were less consistently observed than those for reaction times. Contrasting results between RT and accuracy could be attributed to different strategies adopted by participants for each item, trading speed for accuracy or vice versa, with no change in underlying competence. This is referred to in the literature as a speed-accuracy tradeoff and can create an interpretive dilemma. This can be due to a difference in strategy and motivation rather than in performance, ability, or competence (see Heitz 2014; Liu and Watanabe 2012). An alternative view is that reaction time and accuracy could be indicators of two different levels of sentence processing. Response accuracy can be particularly sensitive to early stages of sentence processing, whereas RTs can show sensitivity more generally, including to processes involved in morphological and/or phonological encoding. The discrepancy between the RT and accuracy results in the current dataset show that the support for either view (separate versus shared syntax) is not definitive and warrants further investigation incorporating a variety of methodologies and contexts.

Conclusion

Our RT data indicate that passives in English and Arabic are processed differently, suggesting that the processes underlying the comprehension of passive sentences in the two languages are separate. This is in contrast with our accuracy data, in which

some support could be found for the shared-syntax view. Further investigation using both production and comprehension paradigms should help tease apart the ways in which language-specific properties can affect priming outcomes. While previous research has tended to focus on syntactic priming in production or between typologically close languages, to the best of our knowledge this is the first study to explore syntactic priming in comprehension between languages that are both typologically distant and dissimilar in surface argument order.

Note

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Appendix: Stimuli Construction

We used two proper names for each language’s stimuli: *David* and *Justin* for English, *Nasser ناصر* and *Khalid خالد* for Arabic. The formulas and procedures used for generating sentences from the VPs listed in tables A1–2 below are

- (a) For English: Name 1 + VP (+ optional by-phrase with Name 2, for passives only)
- (b) For Arabic: V + Name 1 + Rest of VP (+ optional *min qibal* من قبل phrase with Name 2, for passives only)
- (c) For each presentation of a passive sentence, there was a 50 percent chance that a by-phrase or *min qibal* من قبل phrase would be included.
- (d) For sentences needing only one name, one of the two names given above for the appropriate language was chosen at random.
- (e) For sentences needing two names, both proper names for the appropriate language were used, and their positions in the sentence were assigned randomly.

Sets of English and Arabic Verb Phrases

Table A1 Passive stimuli components

English passive verb phrase	Components of Arabic passive verb phrases		English translation of passive Arabic verb phrase
	Arabic passive verb	Rest of passive Arabic verb phrase	
was abandoned	اعْتَقِلَ		was arrested
was attacked	هُوجِمَ		was attacked
was bitten	أُوقِدَ [أَوْقِظًا]	من النوم العميق	was awakened from a deep slumber
was blocked from leaving	مُنِعَ	من الدخول إلى الغرفة	was blocked from entering the room
was bumped roughly	أُعِيقَ		was impeded
was burned	حُرِقَ	بالقداحة	was burned with a lighter
was carried upstairs	سُتِمَ		was called a bad name
was caught	حُمِلَ		was carried
was chased	أُمِسِكَ	من يده	was caught by his hands
was choked	اخْتِنِقَ [خُنِقَ]		was choked
was contacted	كُرِّمَ	في الحفل	was honored at the ceremony
was cut	غُطِّيَ		was covered
was dragged	دُهِسَ	على الطريق العام	was run over on the highway
was dropped on his head	سُفِيِيَ		was cured
was elbowed sharply	حُجِرَ		was detained
was startled	جُرِّئَ	من يده	was dragged by his hands
was grabbed	أُعِدِمَ		was executed
was hit repeatedly	كُشِفَ		was exposed
was held tightly	أُطْعِمَ		was fed
was hugged	طُرِدَ		was fired
was hurt	لُوجِقَ	إلى الرقاق	was chased to the alley
was inspected	وُبِّخَ		was scolded
was kicked in the leg	فُحِصَ		was given a (medical) check up
was killed	اسْتُقْبِلَ	في المكتب	was greeted in the office
was kissed on the cheek	حُشِرَ	في الخزانة	was crammed into the closet

English passive verb phrase	Components of Arabic passive verb phrases		English translation of passive Arabic verb phrase
	Arabic passive verb	Rest of passive Arabic verb phrase	
was knocked over	احْتُضِنَ		was hugged
was lifted onto the chair	صُرِبَ	على جبينه	was hit on his forehead
was locked up	جُرِحَ		was injured
was mocked publicly	رُكِّلَ	على ساقه	was kicked on his leg
was muzzled	صُفِعَ		was slapped
was patted on the head	اخْتُطِفَ	من منزله	was kidnapped from his house
was pinched	قُتِلَ	أمام المحكمة	was killed in front of the court
was poisoned	قُبِّلَ	على خديه	was kissed on his cheeks
was poked in the eye	حُيِّسَ	في السجن	was locked up in prison
was pulled sideways	فُورِصَ		was pinched
was pushed off balance	سُمِّمَ		was poisoned
was rescued	سُجِبَ	إلى الغرفة	was pulled into the room
was robbed	لُكِمَ		was punched
was scratched	دُفِعَ	إلى الخارج	was pushed outside
was shot	نُبِّمَ [نُبِّمَ]	على السرير	was put to sleep on the bed
was shouted at	وُظِفَ		was employed
was stabbed	أُنْقَذَ	من السفينة الغارقة	was rescued from the sinking ship
was stopped forcefully	رُدَّ	إلى أهله	was returned to his parents
was struck	أُجِرَّ		was rewarded
was strung up	حُدِّسَ	على ذراعه	was scratched on his arm
was tickled	فُتِّسَ		was searched (frisked)
was tapped on the arm	وُدِّعَ	في المطار	was seen off at the airport
was taped up	رُدَّ	إلى المنزل	was sent back to the house
was teased	قُنِصَ		was sniped (shot)
was threatened	طُعِنَ	في ساقه	was stabbed in his leg
was thrown down	رُجِمَ		was stoned
was tossed aside	أُوقِفَ	عند الباب	was stopped at the door
was touched on the shoulder	جُرِّدَ	من لقبه	was stripped of his title

English passive verb phrase	Components of Arabic passive verb phrases		English translation of passive Arabic verb phrase
	Arabic passive verb	Rest of passive Arabic verb phrase	
was tricked	صُرِبَ	على بطنه	was struck in his stomach
was tripped	شُكِّرَ	على خدمته	was thanked for actions done
was visited	هُدِّدَ	بالقتل	was threatened with death
was welcomed warmly	عُدِّبَ		was tortured
was whipped	عولجَ		was treated (medically)
was wounded	حُقِنَ		was vaccinated
was yanked	أُصِيبَ		was wounded (in war)

Table A2 Active stimuli components

English active verb phrase	Components of Arabic active verb phrases		English translation of active Arabic verb phrase
	Arabic active verb	Rest of active Arabic verb phrase	
was jogging by a lake	أَجَابَ	على أسئلة الاستبيان	answered questions from the questionnaire
was watering the flowers by the window	خَبَزَ	الخبز في الفرن القديم	baked the bread in the old oven
was driving by the mall	كَسَرَ	الكوب الزجاجي	broke the glass cup
was tidying the closet by the hall	بَنَى	المُجَسِّم على الطاولة	created a diagram on the table
was reading a magazine	حَمَلَ	الحقيبة الثقيلة	carried the heavy bag
was repairing a truck	شَحَنَ	الهاتف	charged the phone
was sewing a shirt	نَطَفَ	المطبخ	cleaned the kitchen
was drinking water	تَسَلَّقَ	الجبَل	climbed a mountain
was organizing a party	طَبَخَ	الطعام	cooked the food
was browsing a book by a famous author	قَطَعَ	الخضار	cut up the vegetables
was painting the wall by the entryway	رَقَصَ	في العرس	danced at the wedding
was hanging a poster by the door	أَخْرَجَ	المسرحية	directed the play

English active verb phrase	Components of Arabic active verb phrases		English translation of active Arabic verb phrase
	Arabic active verb	Rest of active Arabic verb phrase	
was riding on horseback	شَرِبَ	العصير من العلبه	drank the juice from the bottle
was playing the piano	رَسَمَ	صورةً كبيرة	drew a big picture
was calculating the result by hand	قَادَ	السيارة من المنزل إلى الحديقة	drove the car from the house to the garden
was sailing on the ocean	مَسَحَ	الملف الإلكتروني من الحاسوب	erased the file from the computer
was racing through town	شَرَحَ	الدرس من الكتاب	explained the lesson from the book
was competing for first place	أَصْلَحَ	المقبض المكسور	fixed the broken doorknob
was stacking wood by the yard	تَبَرَّعَ	بالنقود	gave money to charity
was spreading butter on the bread	عَلَّقَ	الساعة على الحائط	hanged the clock on the wall
was jumping excitedly	اسْتَنَشَقَ	الهواء النقي	inhaled the fresh air
was training employees	تَحَرَّى	من المقال	fact-checked the article
was reviewing a film	قَفَزَ	من السرير	jumped off the bed
was stitching a sock	إِسْتَلَقَى	على السرير	lay on the bed
was blinking quickly	نَظَرَ	من النافذة	looked out of the window
was rowing a boat	تَأَكَّدَ	من المهام	made sure the tasks were done
was skiing	لَحَنَ	الموسيقى من أجل الفيلم	made the music for the movie
was loading the basket	فَتَحَ	الصندوق	opened the box
wrote in a journal	طَلَّبَ	الطعام من القائمة	ordered the food from the menu
worked in an office	وَضَبَ	ملابسه في الحقيبة	packed his clothes in his suitcase
talked on the phone	دَفَعَ	الفاتورة من نقوده	paid the bills from his own money
performed a kind act	زَرَعَ	الشتلة في الحديقة	planted the seed
told a story	لَعِبَ	في حديقة الملاهي	played in the amusement park
swam every day	حَضَرَ	القهوة	prepared the coffee
retrieved the key	صَعَطَ	على الزر	pressed the button

English active verb phrase	Components of Arabic active verb phrases		English translation of active Arabic verb phrase
	Arabic active verb	Rest of active Arabic verb phrase	
created a distraction	طَبَّحَ	بحثه	printed his research
reserved a seat by the exit	رَفَعَ	الحقيبة على السيارة	put the bag up on the car
planted a tree by the fence	رَكَضَ	في الحديقة الكبيرة	ran in the big garden
photographed the fish by the boat	قَرَأَ	القصيدة الطويلة من الكتاب	read the long poem from the book
prevented a fire from starting	رَكِبَ	الحافلة الحمراء من المحطة	rode the bus from the station
followed the crowd to the concert	غَنَى	الأغنية على المسرح	sang the song on the stage
emerged from the water	فَتَّشَ	الحقيبة	searched the bag
baked a cake in the oven	خَاطَ	الأزرار على القميص	sewed the buttons onto the shirt
crushed the nuts with a hammer	وَفَّعَ	العقد	signed the contract
placed the wood by the fireplace	حَطَّمَ	النظارات الشمسية	smashed the sunglasses
opened a can of soda	حَلَّ	الواجب من الكتاب	did his homework from the book
replaced a battery	سَرَقَ	الهاتف من على الطاولة	stole the phone from the top of the table
sweetened the coffee	سَلَّمَ	التقرير	handed in the report
requested a meeting	سَبَحَ	في مسبح المدرسة	swam in the school pool
demanded better pay	أَلصَقَ	الورقة على الدفتر	taped the paper onto the notebook
ordered a meal	رَمَى	الكرة	threw the ball
tied a knot	رَبَطَ	العقدة بإحكام	tied the rope securely
recorded a song	حَكَى	الحكاية	told a story
reported an accident	أَخَذَ	الكتاب من الرف	took the book from the shelf
appeared suddenly	غَسَّلَ	الملابس	washed the clothes
licked the plate clean	ذَهَبَ	من المنزل إلى المتجر	went from the house to the store
exposed the conspiracy	سَحَبَ	بعض النقود من البنك	withdrew some money from the bank

English active verb phrase	Components of Arabic active verb phrases		English translation of active Arabic verb phrase
	Arabic active verb	Rest of active Arabic verb phrase	
was serving as department chair	عَمِلَ	في المختبر	worked at the laboratory
was tearing up a newspaper	كَتَبَ	البيانات على الورقة	wrote the information down on the paper
was shopping for a house	صَاحَ	من شدة الغضب	yelled out of anger

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Voice Onset Time in Arabic and English Stop Consonants



D. Eve Olson, Kent State University, and Rachel Hayes-Harb, University of Utah

This study investigates the voice onset time (VOT) of stop consonants as produced by native Arabic speakers in comparison to native English speakers. In English, there exists a phonological contrast between voiced and voiceless pronunciations of bilabial, alveolar, and velar stop consonants (/p/-/b/, /t/-/d/, and /k/-/g/). In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), however, while the voiceless and voiced versions of the alveolar stop, /t/-/d/, are contrastive, the same does not apply to bilabial and velar stops (i.e., /b/ and /k/ are included in the phonological inventory of Arabic, while in many dialects, /p/ and /g/ are not). The first goal of the present study was to compare VOT production by native Arabic and native English speakers, examining all of the stop consonants that are shared by the two languages. The second goal was to investigate whether the lack of contrasting /p/ and /g/ in Arabic has observable consequences for the production of VOT for /b/ and /k/, respectively. This project aims to address these goals via acoustic analysis of speech produced by native Arabic and native English speakers.

Key words: Arabic phonetics, Arabic phonology, voice onset time

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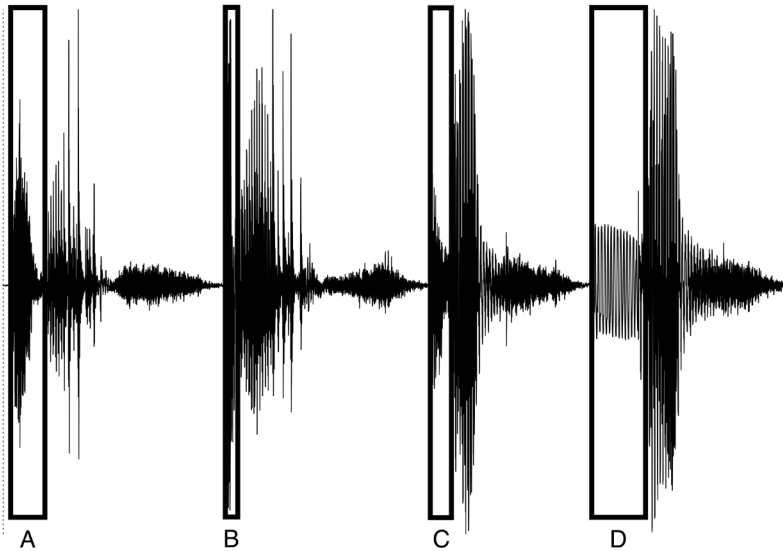


Figure 1 Waveforms illustrating (A) long positive VOT /*tɪf*/produced by a native speaker of English; (B) short positive VOT /*dɪf*/produced by a native speaker of English; (C) positive VOT /*tɪf*/produced by a native speaker of Saudi Arabic; and (D) negative VOT /*dɪf*/produced by a native speaker of Saudi Arabic.

Introduction

Arabic and English both contrast voiced and voiceless obstruent stop consonants. In both languages, voice onset time (VOT), or the interval between the release of the full closure of the vocal tract and the beginning of regular glottal vibration, provides a robust acoustic cue to stop voicing contrasts in initial position, with longer VOTs associated with voiceless stop consonants and shorter VOTs associated with voiced stop consonants. A VOT of zero corresponds to an instance where the release of the vocal tract closure occurs at precisely the same time as the onset of glottal vibration; positive VOTs occur when the vibrations begin after the release; and negative VOTs occur when the vibrations begin before the release (Lisker and Abramson 1964; see fig. 1).

VOT in English and Arabic

The English stop consonant inventory includes voiced/voiceless bilabials (/p,b/), alveolars (/t,d/), and velars (/k,g/). Table 1 presents VOT data reported in a

Table 1 Mean English VOT values (msec) reported in previous studies, when negative/positive

Source	/p/	/b/	/t/	/d/	/k/	/g/
Lisker and Abramson (1964)	58	-101/1	70	-102/5	80	-88/21
Lisker and Abramson (1967)	33	-64/5	38	-56/8	48	-45/16
Zue (1976)	58	13	71	19	73	30
Byrd (1993)	44	18	49	24	52	27
Yao (2007)	48		51		58	
Chodroff et al. (2015)	80	9	61	14	54	17

number of acoustic studies of English. English is among the languages exhibiting primarily positive VOT, with voiced stops typically having short positive VOTs (referred to as “short lag”) and voiceless stops having long positive VOTs (“long lag”); however, English speakers do sometimes produce negative VOTs for voiced stops (e.g., Lisker and Abramson 1964, 1967).

The Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) stop inventory consists of bilabial /b/, alveolar /t,d/, pharyngealized (“emphatic”) alveolar /t^ʕ,d^ʕ/, velar /k/, and uvular /q/ stops. In some dialects of Arabic, /g/ occurs in place of other phonemes. For example, in Cairene and Yemeni Arabic, /g/ is the counterpart of the affricate /dʒ/ or fricative /ʒ/ that other dialects associate with the letter “ج” (Watson 2007, 16). In various other dialects, including “Bedouin dialects and the dialects spoken in the central region of northern Yemen” (Watson 2007, 17), some Iraqi dialects (Abd-El-Jawad 1987), and dialects “in Upper Egypt and Sudan, in Jordan, in the Palestinian Nagab desert, and across much of Mesopotamia and the Arabian Peninsula” (Horesh and Cotter 2016, 375), /g/ is the counterpart of the MSA phoneme /q/ (associated with the letter “ق”).

VOT has been investigated in a number of Arabic dialects, including Saudi (Flege and Port 1981; Bellem 2007; Al Malwi 2017), Lebanese (Yeni-Komshian, Caramazza, and Preston 1977), Baghdadi (Heselwood 1996; Bellem 2007), Colloquial Egyptian (Rifaat 2003), Cairene (Heselwood 1996), Jordanian (Khattab, Al-Tamimi and Heselwood 2002; Mitleb 2009; AlDahri and Alotaibi 2010a), and Modern Standard and Classical Arabic (AlDahri and Alotaibi 2010b; Alotaibi and AlDahri 2011; AlDahri 2012a, 2012b, 2013). Grace Yeni-Komshian and colleagues (1977) investigated the influence of following vowel quality of VOT in Lebanese Arabic and found that in general, front vowels are associated with longer VOT of preceding consonants than are back vowels (although this pattern did not hold for all consonants). Fares Mitleb (2009) reports an effect of following vowel length on VOT in Jordanian Arabic, with following long vowels having a significant lengthening effect on the VOT for

Table 2 Mean Arabic VOT values (msec) reported in previous studies

Dialect and Source	Context/ Speaker Gender	/b/	/t/	/d/	/k/	/g/
Lebanese						
Yeni-Komshian et al. (1977)	__a	-80	20	-60	25	
	__u	-75	25	-70	30	
	__i	-40	30	-40	30	
Jordanian						
Mitleb (2009)	__V		37	10	39	15
	__V:		64	23	60	20
Khattab et al. (2002)	females		39			
	males		37			
Baghdadi						
Bellem (2007)		-41	31	-47	39	-47
Heselwood (1996)			31			
Saudi						
Al Malwi (2017)*	females	-77	61	-62	59	-68
	males	-57	56	-58	58	-67
Bellem (2007)		-63	35	-66	44	
Flege and Port (1981)			37		52	
Cairene						
Heselwood (1996)			33			
MSA**						
AlDahri (2012a)		14	50	15	53	
AlDahri (2012b)			55	16		
AlDahri (2013)			52	16		
AlDahri and Alotaibi (2010b)			56	16		
Alotaibi and AlDahri (2011)		11			53	
Classical***						
AlDahri (2012a)		13	36	17	37	

* These values are from adult speakers of the study.

** Saudi speakers speaking in MSA.

*** Saudi speakers producing Classical Arabic words from the Holy Qur'an.

both voiced and voiceless stop consonants. However, Khaled Rifaat (2003) reports no evidence for an effect of following vowel length on VOT. Ghada Khattab and colleagues (2002) found no effect of speaker gender on VOT of /t/ produced by speakers of Jordanian Arabic, while Ibrahim Al Malwi (2017) found a significant effect of gender on the VOT of voiced stops and of /t^h/ produced by speakers of Saudi Arabic. Table 2 presents VOT data reported in a number of acoustic studies of Arabic.

It has been claimed that in some Arabic dialects, VOT may differ systematically for emphatics and non-emphatics. For example, Alex Bellem (2007, 76) claims that Saudi and Muslim Baghdadi dialects exhibit a third VOT category associated with the emphatic /t^h/ (and uvular /q/), which “do not pattern with the voiceless aspirates *t* and *k* as regards voicing,” resulting in a system where voiced stop consonants were prevoiced (displayed negative VOT), /t^h/ and /q/ have short lag VOT, and /t/ and /k/ have long lag VOT. Emphatic /d^h/ in these dialects appears to exhibit somewhat longer negative VOT than do the other voiced stops, although Bellem (2007) claims that this difference is “not linguistically significant” (65) and does not characterize /d^h/ as a member of a fourth VOT category. Based on the data presented in table 3, it is evident that VOT may systematically vary between plain and emphatic consonants, although this systematic variation differs depending on dialect and gender of the speaker (e.g., Khattab et al. 2002; Rifaat 2003).

Some studies have investigated how the VOTs of individual Arabic stop consonants compare to those of other languages. For example, Sulaiman AlDahri and Yousef Alotaibi (2010a) and AlDahri (2013) used measurements from various sources to compare multiple dialects of Arabic with each other and with several other languages. Among the studies that directly compare English and Arabic, only the alveolar consonants /t/ and /d/ have been in focus. The first goal of the present study is to compare VOT production by native Arabic and native English speakers, including all of the stop consonants that are shared by the two languages.

Speech Production and Phonological Inventory Gaps

Arabic has a larger stop consonant inventory than English, as English has neither the emphatic stop consonants nor the uvular /q/ of Arabic. However, as illustrated in table 4, while English and Arabic both have bilabial, alveolar, and velar stop consonants, Arabic exhibits two important “gaps”: /p/ and, in many dialects, /g/.

What effect might such inventory gaps have on the speech production? To the extent that a given acoustic dimension serves as a robust cue to a phonological contrast, production variation associated with that cue might be relatively constrained

Table 3 Mean Arabic VOT values (msec) reported in previous studies

Dialect & Source	Context/ Speaker Gender	/t/	/tʕ/	/d/	/dʕ/
Lebanese					
Yeni-Komshian et al. (1977)	___a	20	15	-60	-65
	___u	25	20	-70	-65
	___i	30	35	-40	-50
Jordanian					
Khattab et al. (2002)	females	39	26		
	males	37	18		
Baghdadi					
Bellem (2007)		31	11	-47	-76
Heselwood (1996)		31	16		
Saudi					
Malwi (2017)	females	61	14	-62	
	males	56	16	-58	
Bellem (2007)		35	16	-66	-84
MSA					
AlDahri (2012a)		50	15	15	11
AlDahri (2012b)		55	21	16	13
AlDahri (2013)		52	18	16	12
Classical					
AlDahri (2012a)		36	12	17	10

so as to avoid production overlap and perceptual confusion. A few studies provide evidence in favor of this hypothesis. Lisa Lavoie (2013) investigated the production of /k/ by native speakers of English and native speakers of Spanish and found that English speakers were more likely to pronounce /k/ with some degree of frication than were Spanish speakers. An interpretation of this finding is that native Spanish speakers exhibit less frication of /k/ because of the need to maintain the contrast between /k/ and the velar fricative /x/. English, on the other hand, which does not have /x/, can produce /k/ with frication without creating potential confusion. Allard Jongman, Sheila Blumstein, and Aditi Lahiri (1985) investigated the acoustic features of alveolar and dental stop consonants in Malayalam, Dutch, and English. Dutch has dental but not alveolar stops, and English has alveolar but not dental stops. Malayalam, though, has both dental and alveolar stops. A comparison of burst amplitude

Table 4 Arabic and English bilabial, alveolar, and velar stop consonants

	Arabic		English	
	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless
Bilabial	/b/		/b/	/p/
Alveolar	/d/	/t/	/d/	/t/
Velar	(/g/)*	/k/	/g/	/k/

* Arabic /g/ is presented in parentheses due to its variable inclusion in Arabic consonant inventories.

of the Dutch (dental) and English (alveolar) stops to that of Malayalam dental and alveolar stops indicates that Dutch and English speakers exhibit more variation in burst amplitude than do speakers of Malayalam. Sharon Manuel (1990) investigated the effect of phonemic inventory and contrast on the degree of coarticulation. Manuel measured the F1 and F2 of target vowels in three languages. In Sotho, a language with a vowel inventory of /i,e,ε,α,ɔ,u/, the vowel /a/ shows less anticipatory vowel-to-vowel coarticulation toward high vowels than in Ndebele and Shona, languages with inventories of only /i,e,a,o,/. This is likely to reduce the risk of the /a/ losing contrastiveness with /ε/ or /ɔ/. On the other hand, Leigh Lisker and Arthur Abramson (1964) examined VOT production in a variety of languages, including Dutch and Thai, which both lack a voiced velar stop but contain voiced and voiceless labial and dental stops. They found that the VOTs of /k/ in Dutch and Thai languages are similar to the VOTs of /k/ in other languages that have contrasting /g/. Thus, research investigating the impact of inventory gaps on speech production variability has produced mixed results. The second goal of the present study is to investigate whether the lack of contrasting /p/ and /g/ in Arabic has consequences for the production of VOT for /b/ and /k/, respectively. Specifically, we ask whether Arabic /b/ and /k/ VOT productions are more variable than those associated with Arabic /d/ and /t/.

Methods

Participants

Six native English speakers and six native Arabic speakers served as participants in this study. The native speakers of English (one male, five females; ages twenty to fifty) had experience with a variety of second languages including French (three), Spanish (two), Georgian (one), Haitian (one), Korean (one), Mandarin (one), Portuguese (one), and Russian (one). They came from various parts of the United States, but all

listed English as their sole native language. None reported any previous experience with Arabic.

The six native speakers of Arabic were all males from Saudi Arabia, whose ages ranged from twenty to twenty-six years, and whose length of residence in the United States at the time of the study ranged from three to four years. All were students enrolled in college degree programs in the United States and readily understood the study directions, which were spoken in English. None of the participants self-reported a history of speech, language, hearing, or neurological disorders.

The native English speakers were recruited from undergraduate linguistics courses at an American university in the West and were compensated with course credit. Native speakers of Arabic were recruited through linguistics courses (in the same university), flyers, and word of mouth; they were compensated either with course credit or ten dollars, depending on the recruitment method. The study was reviewed and approved by the university's Institutional Review Board; all participants consented to participation in the research via an informed consent process.

Stimuli

The stimuli consisted of Arabic and English carrier sentences ending with words and nonwords (phonotactically legal sequences that are not real words in either Arabic or English; collectively referred to as “words”). These words were situated within carrier sentences so as to encourage running speech, as phonemes in isolated words have been found to carry significantly longer VOTs than the same phonemes when embedded within a sentence (Lisker and Abramson 1967). All words in both languages had a consonant-vowel-consonant format. The vowel and coda consonant phonemes in the English and Arabic lists were the same, such that the two sets of words differed only in their inventory of onset consonants (see the appendix). In addition to the target

Table 5 Arabic and English production stimulus segments

Segment Type	Phonemes	English Graphemes	Arabic Graphemes
English/Arabic vowels	/a/, /ɪ/, /u/	a, i, oo	أ, إ, و
English/Arabic coda consonants	/f/, /l/, /m/, /s/	f, l, m, s	ف, ل, م, س
English/Arabic distractor onsets	/f/, /l/, /m/, /s/	f, l, m, s	ف, ل, م, س
English target onsets	/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/	p, b, t, d, k, g	—
Arabic target onsets	/b/, /t/, /d/, /k/	—	ب, ت, د, ك
Additional Arabic onsets	/tʰ/, /dʰ/, /q/	—	ط, ض, ق

Table 6 English and Arabic carrier sentences

English	Arabic
I love the word _____	_____ أحب كلمة (<i>I love the word</i>)
I don't like the word _____	_____ لا أفضل كلمة (<i>I don't prefer the word</i>)
On Thursdays, I say the word _____	_____ في الخميس، أقول كلمة (<i>On Thursday, I say the word</i>)
I always use the word _____	_____ دائماً أستخدم كلمة (<i>I always use the word</i>)
	_____ هي تقول كلمة (<i>She says the word</i>)

stop consonant onsets, words containing non-stop consonant onsets were included as distractors. The segments comprising the stimulus words are presented in table 5.

All MSA stop consonants, including the emphatics and the uvular /q/, were included in the stimulus set (hence the additional Arabic onsets ض , ط , and ق) so that a full data set would be available for future acoustic analyses that are beyond the scope of the present study. The words were embedded randomly in four (English) or five (Arabic) carrier sentences so as to elicit running speech; a variety of carrier sentences were employed so as to prevent the speech from becoming overly artificial in light of the repetitive nature of the production task. One additional carrier sentence was used in the Arabic condition because of the larger number of words used due to the larger stop consonant inventory of Arabic. Carrier sentences were short phrases, and all ended in the same word: *word* in English and كلمة (*kalimat*) in Arabic. The nine carrier sentences can be seen in table 6. The carrier sentences were written in MSA, and as such were intended to elicit the native Saudi Arabic speakers' production of MSA.

The target words were randomly assigned to carrier sentences, and then the order of sentences was randomized such that each word appeared six times, in randomly selected carrier sentences and orders, to create three different production scripts for each language, differing only in the assignment of words to carrier sentences and the order of sentences. Thus, each word was produced by every participant six times in the context of various carrier sentences.

Procedure

Participants were recorded in a sound-attenuated booth with a Marantz PMD-660 audio recorder at a sampling frequency of 44,100 Hz. They were instructed to read the production script at a natural, conversational pace and volume, and to read page numbers and sentence numbers out loud. The English production script had five breaks, and the Arabic production script had six breaks; participants were instructed to take as long as they liked for each break. At the end of the production task, participants completed a questionnaire including questions about their language background.

The word productions were analyzed using Praat acoustic analysis software (Boersma and Weenink 2017). The duration of each target word and the VOT of its onset were measured. Participants' first productions of each word were excluded from the analysis; only their second through sixth productions of each word were analyzed, for a total of five tokens of each nonword produced by each speaker.

Measurements

For each language, there were twelve nonwords associated with each stop consonant, five analyzed repetitions (repetitions 2–6; see above), and six speakers per language, for a total of 360 tokens analyzed for each stop consonant for each language. A small number of tokens were excluded from the data reported here due to speaker error or due to noise in the recording that obscured the production: 3 percent of native English speakers' productions and 4 percent of the native Arabic speakers' productions were excluded for these reasons. VOT data from a total of 1,377 Arabic tokens (four consonants) and 2,099 English tokens (six consonants) are presented here; the data points presented in tables 7 and 8 (in the Results section) represent the means for ~350 tokens for English and ~344 tokens for Arabic.

VOT and word duration were measured beginning at the first substantial deviation of the waveform from the baseline (0 dB). The end of the VOT period was measured as the time when the first peak of a regular waveform pattern crossed the baseline. The end of the word duration was measured as the time that the waveform once again no longer substantially deviated from the baseline. For instances of prevoicing, VOT was measured from the time the first peak of a regular waveform crossed the baseline to the first deviation from this regular pattern (the burst). Occasionally for Arabic speakers, voicing would carry over from the end of a case suffix on *كلمة* (*kalimat*) "word" to the burst of the target word, so there was no break in voicing and, hence, no clear onset of voicing for the target word. In these cases, the beginning of prevoicing was measured as the moment when the formants for the final vowel of *كلمة* ended.

Results

Mean VOT duration for each target consonant was calculated. The VOT data was submitted to ANOVA with consonant (four levels: /b/, /d/, /t/, and /k/) as a within-subjects variable and native language as a between-subjects variable. The main effect of consonant was significant ($F(3,30) = 74.022, p < .0005, \eta^2 = .881$), as was the main effect of language ($F(1,10) = 30.086, p < .0005, \eta^2 = .866$), and the interaction

Table 7 Mean Arabic and English VOT values (msec) by consonant

Language	Mean VOT					
	/p/	/b/	/t/	/d/	/k/	/g/
English	73	16	81	18	81	28
Arabic		-18	43	-44	56	

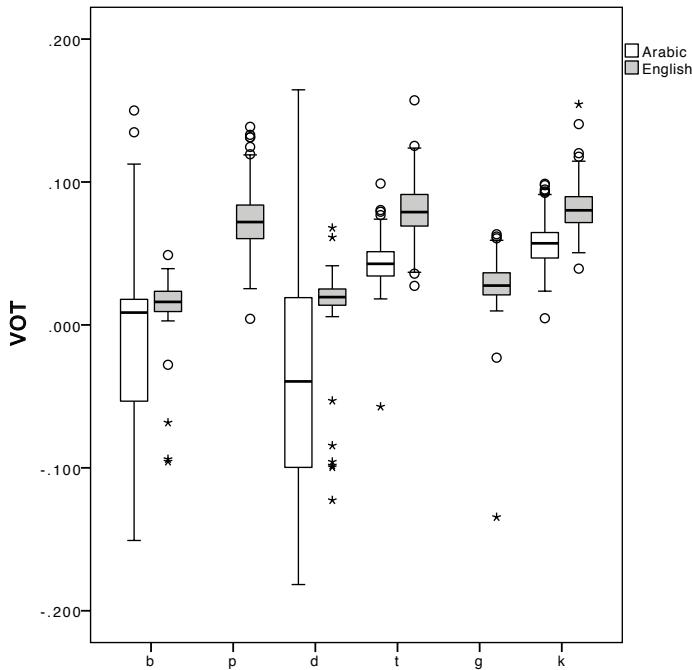
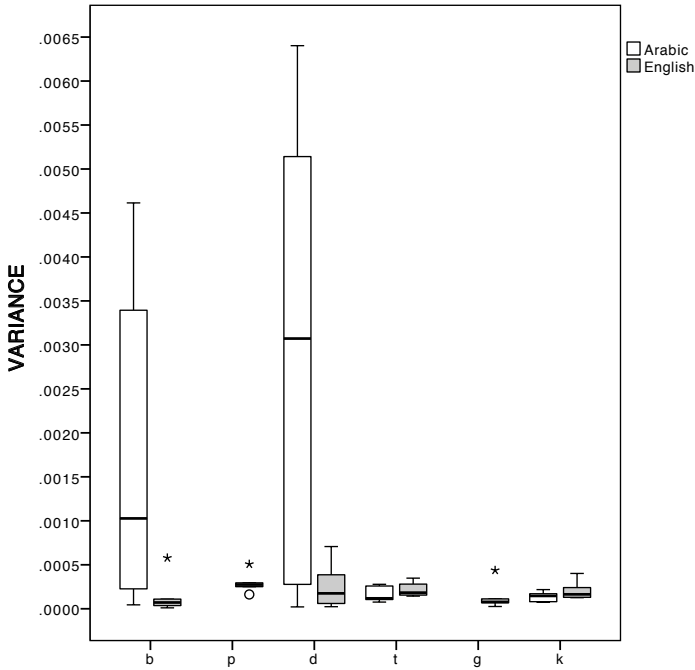


Figure 2 Boxplot of VOT (msec) by consonant and native language. The boxplot presents the median (horizontal line), the interquartile range (box), 1.5 times the interquartile range (whiskers), and outliers (circles and asterisks).

of the two was not significant ($F(3,30) = 2.618, p = .069, \eta^2 = .207$). To compare VOT by language for each consonant separately, we next split the data by consonant and conducted ANOVAs with native language as a between-subjects variable. VOT was significantly longer in English than in Arabic for each of the four consonants (/b/: $F(1,10) = 6.764, p = .026, \eta^2 = .444$; /d/: $F(1,10) = 13.311, p = .004, \eta^2 = .571$; /t/: $F(1,10) = 79.930, p < .0005, \eta^2 = .800$; /k/: $F(1,10) = 48.363, p < .0005, \eta^2 = .800$). Table 7 and figure 2 present the VOT data.

Table 8 Mean Arabic and English variance by consonant

Language	Mean Variance					
	/p/	/b/	/t/	/d/	/k/	/g/
English	0.000294	0.000146	0.000216	0.000255	0.000204	0.000133
Arabic		0.001722	0.000159	0.002998	0.000139	

**Figure 3** Boxplot of variance in VOT by consonant and native language.

In order to address the question of whether native Arabic speakers differ in the variability associated with their production of /b/ and /k/ relative to /d/ and /t/, and also relative to the variability associated with English /b/, /p/, /d/, /t/, /g/, and /k/, we next look at the distributions of VOT for the various consonants by the native Arabic and native English speakers, and conduct analyses of the variance associated with the VOT data. To quantify variation, we calculated the variance associated with each consonant's VOT for each native English and native Arabic speaker individually (see table 8 and figure 3) and submitted this data to ANOVA with consonant (four levels: /b/, /d/, /t/, and /k/) as a within-subjects variable and native language as a between-subjects variable. The main effects of consonant ($F(3,30) = 6.046$, $p =$

.002, $pes = .377$) and native language ($F(1,10) = 5.883, p = .036, pes = .370$) were significant, as was the interaction of the two ($F(3,30) = 5.847, p = .003, pes = .369$).

Because we are interested in whether the different consonants are associated with different variance—and whether this pattern differs for Arabic versus English—we conducted planned follow-up analyses of the effect of consonant for each native language group separately. There was a significant effect of consonant for the native Arabic speakers ($F(3,15) = 6.058, p = .007, pes = .548$) but not for the native English speakers ($F(3,15) = .323, p = .809, pes = .061$). If the “gaps” in the stop consonant inventory of Arabic licensed greater production variability, /d/ and /t/ should exhibit less variance than /b/ and /k/; we thus followed up on the significant effect of consonant for the native Arabic speakers by comparing variance associated with /b/ and /k/ productions to that associated with /d/ and /t/. In fact, the only case where an alveolar consonant exhibited lower variance was /t/ relative to /b/, and this comparison was not significant ($F(1,11) = 2.885, p = .117, pes = .208$); in all other comparisons the alveolar exhibited greater variance than /b/ or /k/ (/t/ versus /k/: $F(1,11) = .293, p = .599, pes = .026$; /d/ versus /b/: $F(1,11) = 3.310, p = .096, pes = .231$), and in the case of /d/ relative to /k/, the difference was in fact significant ($F(1,11) = 4.990, p = .047, pes = .312$).

Discussion

The first goal of the present study was to compare VOT production by native Arabic and native English speakers, examining all of the stop consonants that are shared by the two languages. Arabic has variably been characterized as exhibiting primarily positive VOTs (short lag for voiced stops and long lag for voiceless stops; e.g., by Mitleb 2009 for Jordanian; AlDahri 2012a, 2012b; AlDahri and Alotaibi 2010b for MSA and Classical Arabic) or as exhibiting prevoiced voiced stops and short lag positive VOT for voiceless stops (e.g., by Bellem 2007 for Saudi and Baghdadi; Yeni-Komshian et al. 1977 for Lebanese; Rifaat 2003 for Colloquial Egyptian). English typically exhibits primarily positive VOTs for voiced (short lag) and voiceless (long lag) stop consonants (e.g., Lisker and Abramson 1964; Byrd 1993; Chodroff et al. 2015). The results of the present experiment display a fair amount of variation in whether these Saudi Arabic voiced stops were pronounced with prevoicing or with short positive VOT like English speakers; however, on average the VOT associated with both /b/ and /d/ was negative for the native Saudi Arabic speakers, and it was significantly shorter than that of native English speakers. VOT for both /k/ and /t/ was also significantly shorter for the Saudi Arabic speakers than for the native English speakers. Thus, the present data

are consistent with a previous study of VOT production by Saudi speakers (i.e., Bellem 2007) in suggesting a prevoicing versus short lag positive VOT pattern.

The second goal of the present study was to investigate whether the lack of contrasting /p/ and /g/ in Arabic has observable consequences for the production of VOT for /b/ and /k/, respectively. Analyses of the variances associated with the VOT for each of the stop consonants shared between English and Arabic did not show any evidence that Arabic /b/ and /k/ are more variable than either Arabic /d/ or /t/. On the basis of the data presented here, we thus do not observe consequences of “gaps” in the Arabic stop consonant inventory for production variability, at least in the case of VOT. In light of Bellem’s (2007) claim that Saudi Arabic exhibits a third VOT category—namely, that of (short lag) /tʰ/ (and /q/)—it is worth asking what effect an even more crowded field of alveolar stop consonants with respect to VOT might have on production variability. Indeed, the presence of a third VOT category for alveolars should serve to further constrain variability associated with /t/ and /d/ relative to the other stop consonants, increasing the likelihood that /b/ and /k/ would exhibit greater variance than the alveolars. We found no evidence that this is the case for these Saudi speakers.

As noted earlier, in some Arabic dialects, including Saudi Arabic, the letter “ق” is pronounced as /g/ instead of the /q/ that is standard in MSA. Even though the sentences were written in MSA, these native speakers of Saudi Arabic may in fact exhibit different production patterns with respect to /k/ than Arabic speakers who do not have experience with /g/ in their colloquial dialect. It is worth noting, however, setting aside the results for /k/ presented here and considering only the data for /b/ does not change the study’s conclusions with respect to the effect of the inventory gap(s) on these speakers’ production of VOT.

It is important to acknowledge that a number of factors may have affected the results of this study. The amount of experience with English among the native Arabic speakers (recall that all the Arabic speakers had resided in the United States for three to four years at the time of the study) may also affect their production. For example, James Flege (1987) provided evidence that when the native and L2 phonemes are sufficiently similar so as to be treated as the “same” by L2 learners (Flege calls this “equivalence classification”), experience with the L2 can result in a representation for this shared native-L2 phoneme to become more similar to the L2, even when speaking in the L1. In the Flege (1987) study, native English speakers with more experience in French were more likely to produce French /t/ with a shorter VOTs (more French-like)—and their production of VOT for English /t/ became shorter (less English-like) as well. Mansour Alghamdi (2006), on the other hand, showed that Arabic speakers with significant experience living in English-speaking countries

produced shorter VOTs (less English-like) when speaking Arabic as compared to Arabic speakers without as much English language exposure. The experienced Arabic speakers in Alghamdi's study appeared to maximize the differences between the phonetics of their two languages. All the Arabic speakers who participated in the present study had significant experience in English and lived and studied in an English-speaking country; it is thus possible that they produced distinct VOTs from what would be observed in a population of monolingual Arabic speakers. All the English speakers had some experience in other languages as well, so their VOT may have been similarly affected by their second language experience. It is possible that a study of monolingual English and Arabic speakers would have produced somewhat different results; indeed, studies comparing the linguistic performance of monolinguals and multilinguals are crucial to a complete understanding of language. The inclusion of multilinguals in the present study reflects worldwide trends and represents an important source of ecological validity.

Finally, the difference in gender between the two groups of participants may have influenced the results. There is evidence that females produce longer VOTs on average in English (Swartz 1992) and Arabic (Al Malwi 2017), and, given that the English group was primarily female and the Arabic pool was exclusively male, the magnitude of differences between the groups' VOT values may have been influenced by gender.

Implications

Among the possible applications of VOT research is the improvement of voice recognition technology. For voice recognition software to accurately identify spoken utterances, it must be able to accurately interpret the VOTs of the speaker. Since distinct languages have their own ranges of VOTs in relation to what are considered "voiced" or "voiceless" stop consonants, speakers of foreign languages often produce different VOTs when compared to native speakers. More knowledge and data about the VOT of various languages will allow voice recognition technology to understand speakers with various accents and, in some cases, even identify what type of accent is being produced (Das and Hansen 2004). This information can also lead to voice recognition software that more effectively understands the content of speech by nonnative speakers. VOT has even been shown to be a possibly effective method to determine if an L1 speaker also speaks a second language with a distinct VOT pattern. For example, Alghamdi (2006) and Flege (1987) have demonstrated that bilingual speakers produced significantly different L1 VOTs than native speakers in consonants that are shared between their two languages.

Another potential application of this research concerns Arabic language teaching. An understanding of how phonological contrasts are manifested phonetically in various languages can also inform language teaching and our understanding of nonnative accents. It is especially worth noting that the various Arabic dialects appear to manifest voicing contrasts with respect to VOT in different ways; thus, learners of Arabic may have different production targets depending on the dialect(s) they are studying. The application of VOT research like that conducted here is an important area for future research.

Conclusion

We set out to conduct a phonetic study of Arabic and English with a focus on VOT for the entire set of shared stop consonants. As expected, the native English speakers produced positive VOT for both voiced and voiceless stops. On average, the native Arabic speakers produced negative VOT for voiced stops and positive VOT for voiceless stops, and inspection of the variance associated with the VOT data did not provide evidence of greater production variability associated with gaps in the Arabic consonant inventory. Further phonetic studies of Arabic in particular are needed to support the development of technologies such as speech recognition software as well as pedagogical interventions designed to increase the intelligibility of speech produced by Arabic and English as second languages.

Appendix: Complete (Non-)word Stimulus Lists

Arabic

بَف	ضُم	كُس	مِت	سِط
بَل	ضُس	لَب	مِط	سُب
بِم	قَب	لَد	مُب	سُد
بِس	قَد	لَض	مُد	سُض
بِف	قَض	لَك	مُض	سُك
بِل	قَك	لَق	مُك	سُق
بِم	قَق	لَت	مُق	سُت
بِس	قَت	لَط	مُت	سُط
بُف	قَط	لِب	مُط	تَف
بُل	قِب	لِد	قَف	تَل

بُم	فد	لِض	قَل	تِم
بُس	فِض	لِك	قَل	تَس
دَف	فِك	لِق	قَس	تِف
دَل	فِقي	لِت	قِف	تِل
دَم	فِت	لِط	قِل	تِم
دَس	فِط	لِب	قِم	تِس
دِف	فُب	لُد	قِس	تُف
دِل	فُد	لُض	قُف	تُل
دِم	فُض	لُك	قُل	تُم
دَس	فُك	لُق	قُم	تُس
دَف	فُقي	لُت	قُس	تُف
دَل	فُت	لُط	سَب	طَل
دَم	فُط	مَب	سَد	طِم
دَس	كَف	مَد	سَس	طَس
صَف	كَل	بِض	سَك	طِف
صَل	كَم	مَك	سَق	طِل
صَم	كَس	مَق	سَت	طِم
صَس	كِف	مَت	سَط	طِس
صِف	كِل	مَط	سِب	طُف
صِل	كِم	مِب	سِذ	طُل
صِم	كِس	مِذ	سِض	طُم
صَس	كُف	مِض	سِك	طُس
صُف	كُل	مِك	سِق	
صُل	كُم	مِق	سِت	

English

baff	faff	kaff	maff	taff
bal	fal	kal	mal	tal
bam	fam	cam	maam	tam
bass	fass	kass	mass	tass
biff	fiff	kiff	miff	tiff
bill	fill	kill	mill	till
bim	fim	kim	mim	tim
biss	fiss	kizz	miss	tis
boof	foof	koof	moof	toof
bool	fool	kool	mool	tool
boom	foom	koom	moom	toom

boose	foose	koose	moose	toose
daff	gaff	laff	saff	paff
dal	gal	lal	sal	pal
dam	gam	lam	sam	pam
dass	gas	lass	sass	pass
diff	gift	liff	siff	piff
dill	gill	lill	sill	pill
dim	gim	lim	sim	pim
diss	gizz	liss	sis	pizz
doof	goof	loof	soof	poof
dool	gool	lool	sool	pool
doom	goom	loom	soom	poom
doose	goose	loose	soose	poose

Note

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Why Standard Arabic Is Not a Second Language for Native Speakers of Arabic



Abdulkafi Albirini, Utah State University

One of the major claims in Arabic linguistic research is that Standard Arabic (SA) is a second language for native speakers of Arabic simply because it is not acquired naturally from parents. This study examines this claim by investigating whether Arabic speakers' proficiency in SA converges with their proficiency in Colloquial Arabic (CA) or English. Sixteen native Arabic speakers completed three oral production tasks and three written production tasks. These speakers were compared to ten native English speakers with respect to English proficiency. The findings revealed that the Arabic speakers performed significantly worse on the SA oral task than on the CA oral task, but the opposite was true on the writing task. Their overall proficiencies in SA and CA were not significantly different. However, they performed significantly worse on English than on SA and CA and worse than the native English speakers. Overall, the findings suggest that the Arabic native speakers' proficiency in SA is closer to their proficiency in CA (their L1) than their proficiency in English (their L_n).

Key words: Standard Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, English, L1, L2

Introduction

The Arabic linguistic landscape is characterized by the coexistence of two language varieties: Standard Arabic (SA) and Colloquial Arabic (CA). In his seminal 1959 work, Ferguson underlined several distinctions between SA and CA. One of these distinctions is that CA is learned at home whereas SA is learned at school. Ferguson made no attempt to identify which of the two varieties represents the first or second language for native Arabic speakers. However, later scholarship has speculated about the status of SA. A major claim in Arabic linguistic research is that SA is a second language for native speakers of Arabic simply because it is not acquired naturally from parents but formally in school (Cowan 1968; Ditters 1988; Hudson 2002; Ibrahim 1989; Kaye 1972, 1994; Mahmoud 2000; Mitchell 1986; Schiffman 1997; Schulz 1981; Walters 2003). SA is contrasted with CA, which is viewed as the first language acquired naturally in the home. For example, David Schulz (1981, 10) maintains, “CA [Classical Arabic] *has no native speakers*. Everybody who knows classical Arabic learned it in school. This means that, in reality, no matter how much MSA [Modern Standard Arabic] may resemble CEA [Colloquial Egyptian Arabic], it is a second language for all Egyptians (and other Arabs as well).”

While the SA-as-L2 proposition is adopted by one group of scholars, especially outside the Arab region, another group has questioned this proposition mainly based on ideological grounds (i.e., using historical and sociopolitical arguments and perspectives). According to the latter group, SA represents a mother tongue for native Arabic speakers due to its links to Arab history, national identity, pan-Arab attitudes, Islam, and Arab ethnicity (Abdulalim 2012; Al-Ḍabīb 2001; Al-Mūsā 2003; Al-Sa’dī 2012; Al-Sahmarāni 2002; Bayyūmī 2005; Bishr 2007; Ḥamāda 2012; Nourddīn 2012). For example, A. Hāshimī (2012, 2) describes SA as the “mother tongue that distinguishes the intellectual, scientific, literary, and cultural identity of the nation which an Arab who belongs to this nation has to be aware of.” Apart from this ideologically based line of reasoning, several studies have examined the SA-as-L2 argument using empirical measures. These studies have centered on native Arabic speakers’ knowledge of different aspects of SA, such as the ability to comprehend SA discourse, produce SA speech, or display knowledge of various aspects of SA grammar.

Mona Sabir and Sabah Safi (2008) argue that Hijazi children in the city of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, have knowledge of SA even before they start school. From an early age, they display “diglossic awareness” by using SA and CA in the same speech. The authors examined the oral output of a male child aged 5.6 over a period of nine months. The child did not have formal schooling in SA at the time of the study. The authors recorded the interactions of the child with his parents, siblings, and friends

manually right after their production. Most of these interactions took place at home. Memorized rehearsals in SA, including common religious sayings (e.g., *inshaa'a Allah* "God willing"), were excluded from the data. The authors identified a significant presence of SA elements in the daily speech of the subject, which suggests that the acquisition of SA is not solely the result of formal education. While the findings of this case study may not necessarily be generalizable to all children in the Arab societies, they present an important perspective on SA acquisition by Arab children.

Mark Leikin, Raphiq Ibrahim, and Hazar Eghbaria (2014) investigated the impact of diglossia on the narrative ability of Palestinian preschool children aged between 5.3 and 5.8 years. Thirty children participated in the study. The researchers recounted two unrelated stories in spoken Arabic (i.e., Palestinian CA) and in literary Arabic (i.e., SA). The oral narratives were accompanied by illustrations from two books. The children were asked to retell the two stories in CA and in SA, respectively. The findings indicated that children were generally more successful in retelling the CA story than the SA story. At the same time, however, the researchers found that "children at this developmental stage already succeed in using linguistic structures from the literary language and to understand narrative texts. Therefore, children are capable of acquiring LA [Literary Arabic] parallel to SA [Spoken Arabic]" (745).

Abdulkafi Albirini (2015) examined Arab children's comprehension of SA. The study involved eight children (aged between 5 and 5.6), none of whom had formal education in SA at the time of the data collection. The participants were shown five video clips extracted from five old cartoon shows, which the participants may not have seen before: *Sinbad*, *Sasuki*, *Hikayaat 'Aalamiyya*, *Sinaan*, and *Abṭaal Al-Malaa'ib*. The topics covered in these clips were adventures, fighting, child narrative stories, animals, and soccer, respectively. No real action was displayed in the clips so that the children may not interpret the videos merely based on the course of events. After watching each video clip, every participant was asked comprehension questions about the general theme of the clip as well as particular details. Two independent raters judged whether the children responses were full answer (2 points), partial answers (1 point), or wrong answers (0 points). The findings indicate that all of the eight children could recognize the general themes of the clips either completely or partially. In addition, they could identify specific details that require meticulous understanding of SA. This shows that Arab children have at least receptive skills in SA.

While these three studies focused on Arabic-speaking children, another group of studies focused on adult Arabic speakers' knowledge of SA. For example, Dilworth Parkinson (1993) sought to assess Egyptian speakers' knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic. Education, age, and sex were factored into the analysis. Parkinson used a series of tests to examine the participants' skills in grammar, reading, writing,

listening, and speaking. He noticed a remarkable variability in the participants' command of MSA. For example, he described Egyptians with a high school education as "abominably fluent" in the sense that their discourse could be understood but was full of mistakes and colloquialisms (69). Egyptians with college education were described as "competent" users of MSA; they could be clearly understood, but they made some mistakes as well. Those with specialized Arabic education were described as having "professional competence" in the language because they were able to use it skillfully and effectively in their discourse.

Albirini (2015) investigated whether educated Arabic speakers are able to carry on and sustain conversations in SA with minimal or no interference from CA or other languages they may speak. The study involved forty college students and forty professors from Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia. None of the participating professors or students specialized in Arabic literature or related fields. The participants were asked to talk exclusively in SA about three topics: life after death, the political and cultural relationship between the East and the West, and their pastime. The author found that, whereas some speakers were able to sustain conversations in SA, others resorted to CA quite frequently. Much of the shifting to CA was at the word level (content words) and phrase level. He concluded that educated Arabic speakers have a functional ability to use SA in their speech because they are able to produce large chunks of discourse in SA only with intermittent shifts to CA and English.

Reem Khamis-Dakwar and Karen Froud (2007) examined the neural responses to auditory stimuli provided to five Palestinian speakers. The stimuli were of three types: (1) sentences in CA but ending with a word from SA and vice versa, (2) SA/CA sentences ending with a semantically anomalous word from the same language variety, and (3) control sentences with no diglossic or semantic switching. Diglossic switches between SA and CA were found to be processed in a way similar to crosslinguistic switches between English and Spanish, as reported in a previous study by Eva Moreno, Kara Federmeier, and Marta Kutas (2002). Based on this finding, Khamis-Dakwar and Froud argue that the lexical stores of CA and SA are independent rather than unified in a single system. This suggests that, according to the authors, SA and CA are represented as two separate languages in the brain. Within-language semantic switches were processed like semantic anomaly only in SA, which the authors took as evidence that SA functions as an L2 for the participants. However, these findings should be interpreted with caution mainly because crosslinguistic codeswitching was not factored into the experiment. The use of a previous study to compare diglossic and crosslinguistic codeswitching does not resolve this issue because the experimental conditions for the two studies are not identical.

A number of studies examined the status of SA in sequential bilinguals whose L1 is Arabic. For example, Ibrahim and his associates (Ibrahim 2009; Ibrahim and Aharon-Peretz 2005) used semantic priming experiments to examine Arabic-Hebrew bilinguals' ability to make semantic connections between primes and targets from CA, SA, and Hebrew. Semantic priming was found to be slower when the primes were in CA and the targets in either SA or Hebrew than when the primes were in SA/Hebrew and the targets in CA. The researchers conclude that SA is closer to Hebrew (L2) than to CA (L1). By contrast, Michael Nevat, Asaid Khateb, and Anat Prior (2014) used functional magnetic resonance imaging to examine responses collected from adult Arabic-Hebrew bilinguals to a semantic categorization task. In this task, the participants were asked to judge whether pairs of words were semantically related or not. The findings indicate that the participants did better on SA words than on CA words. Their performance on CA was not different from their performance on Hebrew (L2). The findings suggest that SA is an L1 for these speakers, whereas CA is an L2. Overall, these semantics-focused studies indicate that Arabic speakers do better on SA when the stimuli are visual but better on CA when the stimuli are auditory (Nevat, Khateb, and Prior 2014).

The aforementioned neurolinguistic and experimental studies present conflicting findings mainly due to methodological reasons. For one, most of these studies rely heavily on lexical decision tasks. It is well known that language is much more than the lexicon. For example, according to Noam Chomsky (1995), grammar is the most distinctive aspect of human languages. Therefore, the idea of categorizing languages based on lexical and semantic factors is reductionist at best. With respect to data interpretation, neurolinguistic studies typically reach their conclusions by interpreting when and where some activation occurs, but this type of activation tells us very little about what is actually happening in the brain, how it is related to other cognitive processes, and whether it is affected by other factors.

The present study aims to contribute to this line of research by empirically comparing native Arabic speakers' proficiency in SA to their proficiency in CA and English. The goal is to investigate whether their proficiency in SA converges with their proficiency in CA (their L1) or in English (their L_n). One may argue that the L1/L2 classification may be irrelevant within diglossic communities due to the unique and complex historical, structural, and functional relationships between SA and CA. However, this categorization has become part of a growing body of literature on Arabic language acquisition and diglossia (Ibrahim 2009; Ibrahim and Aharon-Peretz 2005; Khamis-Dakwar and Froud 2007; Khamis-Dakwar, Froud, and Gordon 2012; Nevat, Khateb, and Prior 2014), and therefore it needs to be further evaluated

empirically, which is the purpose of the present study. Two research questions are pursued in this study:

- What are the proficiency levels of native Arabic speakers in SA, CA, and English?
- Is the participants' proficiency in SA closer to their proficiency levels in CA (their L1) or English (their L_n)?

The study examined these two questions using the methods below.

Methods

Participants

The study involved sixteen native speakers of Arabic, including thirteen graduate students, two visiting scholars, and one adjunct faculty at an American university. Ten of them were males and six were females (average age = 35.8). All of these speakers came to the United States less than four years before the time of the data collection. All of them were born and raised in the Arab region—Egypt, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Syria—and learned SA formally in public schools. Eleven of the Arabic native speakers were in physical sciences (e.g., engineering), and five were in social sciences (e.g., education). However, none studied Arabic literature or any related fields. All of them identified English as the only foreign language they knew.¹ They had learned/used English for at least thirteen years at the time of the data collection.

The native Arabic speakers were compared to ten native speakers of English, nine of whom were graduate students and one was an adjunct faculty at the same university. Six of them were females and the other four were males (average age 28.2). All were born and raised in the United States to English-speaking parents. All identified English as their L1, which they had used primarily throughout their lives. Seven of the native English speakers were in social sciences, and three were in physical sciences. None of them studied English literature or any related fields.

Tasks

The native Arabic speakers completed six production tasks, three of which were oral and the other three written. The topics of the tasks were unrelated to avoid priming effects (table 1), but they all were familiar and accessible topics that did not require specific technical knowledge or jargon. The purpose of these tasks was to elicit stretches of naturalistic connected speech based on which the speakers' language

Table 1 Oral and writing tasks used in the study

	Oral Proficiency	Writing Proficiency
SA (Arabic native speakers)	Immediate and extended families	Daily routines
CA (Arabic native speakers)	Friends, colleagues, and relationships	Favorite foods, sports, and hobbies
English (Arabic native speakers)	Study and work	Houses/apartments and neighborhoods
English (English native speakers)	Study and work	Houses/apartments and neighborhoods

proficiency could be assessed. As is explained below, proficiency was measured by three criteria: fluency, grammatical accuracy, and syntactic complexity. These measures have been widely used in L1 and L2 acquisition studies (Albirini 2014a, 2018; Foster, Tonkyn, and Wigglesworth 2000; Housen and Kuiken 2009; Hulstijn 2010; Iwashita 2006; Larsen-Freeman 2006; among many others). The native Arabic speakers completed one oral production task and one writing task in SA as well as in CA and English. They were asked to complete each task in five minutes. Unlike the native Arabic speakers, the native English speakers completed only one oral production task and one writing task in English (table 1). The purpose was to compare native Arabic speakers' proficiency in English with that of the native English speakers. In addition to the oral production and writing tasks, the participants completed a questionnaire about their demographic and linguistic background.

Data Collection, Coding, and Analysis

The data was collected between December 2017 and September 2018. The participants completed the tasks individually in a single session. For the oral tasks, the following instructions were provided to the native Arabic speakers:²

I would like you to talk about three separate topics: (1) your immediate and extended families; (2) your friends, colleagues, and relationships; and (3) your study and work. You need to speak about the topic of immediate and extended families in Standard Arabic; the topic of friends, colleagues and relationships in Colloquial Arabic; and the topic of study and work in English. You need to speak about each of these topics for exactly five minutes. You can talk about the experiences, people, things, feelings, and memories associated with each topic. Please give enough details to cover each topic in five minutes.

The participants were given time to ask questions or ask for clarifications before the start of their oral narratives. Then the author introduced the first topic and the language variety to be used. Once the first topic was completed, the author introduced the second topic and the variety to be used. The same process was repeated for the third topic. A digital timer was used to mark the beginning and end of the five minutes allotted to each topic/narrative. The SA and CA narratives were counterbalanced across the participants with eight participants starting in the SA task and ending in the CA task, and the remaining eight participants starting in the CA task and ending in the SA task. The English task was sandwiched between the SA and CA narratives in order to minimize the possibility of lexical or structural transfer between SA and CA. Since they had to complete only one oral production task, the English native speakers were given the following instructions:

I would like you to talk about your study and work in English. You need to talk about this topic for exactly five minutes. You can talk about the experiences, people, things, feelings, and memories associated with this topic. Please give enough details to cover this topic in five minutes.

With respect to the writing tasks, the following instructions were provided to the Arabic native speakers:

I would like you to write about three separate topics: (1) your daily routines; (2) your favorite foods, sports, and hobbies; and (3) your houses/apartments and neighborhoods. You need to write about the topic of daily routines in Standard Arabic; the topic of favorite foods, sports, and hobbies in Colloquial Arabic; and the topic of houses/apartments and neighborhoods in English. You need to write about each of these topics for exactly five minutes. You can write about the experiences, people, things, feelings, and memories associated with each topic. Please give enough details to cover each topic in five minutes.

The participants were given time for questions and clarifications before the start of the writing tasks. Then the author presented the first topic and the variety the participants had to use. Once the first topic was completed, the author introduced the second topic and the variety to be rendered in. The same process was repeated for the third topic. As was done in the oral task, the start and end of the five minutes assigned to each topic/narrative were controlled via a digital timer. The SA and CA narratives were counterbalanced across the participants, with eight participants starting in the SA task and ending in the CA task and the remaining eight participants starting in

the CA task and ending in the SA task. The English task was sandwiched between the SA and CA narratives in order to reduce the potential of lexical or structural transfer between SA and CA. Since they had to complete only one writing task, the English native speakers were given the following instructions:

I would like you to write about your houses/apartments and neighborhoods in English. You need to write about this topic for exactly five minutes. You can write about the experiences, people, things, feelings, and memories associated with this topic. Please give enough details to cover this topic in five minutes.

The oral narratives were audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim into a Word document. The written tasks were transformed into a Word document. The narratives were segmented into T-units. According to Kellogg Hunt (1970, 4), a T-unit is “a main clause plus all subordinate clauses and non-clausal structures attached to or embedded in it.” The segmentation of the oral data into T-units was based on the data transcriptions, prosody of the speech, and overall meaning of T-units.

As noted above, three measures were used to assess the participants’ oral proficiency levels based on the oral production tasks: (1) oral fluency, (2) grammatical accuracy, and (3) syntactic complexity. In the writing tasks, the participants’ proficiency levels were similarly determined by (1) writing fluency/speed, (2) grammatical accuracy, and (3) syntactic complexity. Fluency was measured by word production per minute. Arabic and English words were separated mostly based on the writing conventions of each language (words are usually separated by spaces in writing in both languages). Incomplete words and nonword fillers (e.g., um, ah) were not counted. Contracted forms (e.g., didn’t) were counted as single words, and the same applied to abbreviations (e.g., GPA). The digits in multidigit numbers (e.g., two thousand) were counted as separate words if spelled out in the writing task and one word if they were written as number (i.e., 2,000). Arabic and English conjunctions and prepositions were counted as separate words.

Grammatical accuracy was measured by the proportion of error-free T-units (i.e., T-units that were free of grammatical, morphological, and lexical errors) to the total number of T-units. Despite my familiarity with the languages and dialects under investigation, I consulted with two or more educated native speakers of a given dialect/language when uncertain about the grammatical accuracy of a T-unit in that dialect/language. Example (1a) is an instance of an erroneous T-unit in SA; the speaker opted for the morpheme *-uuna*, which is the default morpheme used in indicative sentences, instead of *-uu*, which is used in the jussive case (i.e., after *lam*). Similarly, in (1b), the speaker used a feminine demonstrative to modify a masculine noun,

which violates agreement rules in CA. In (1c), the speaker mistakenly used the singular noun *year* in a position where its plural form should have been used.

- (1) a. ʔaxwaal-ii lam yaḥṣuluuna* ʕalaa šahaadat bakaleryoos
uncles-my didn't get-Indic degree bachelors'
ʔayḍan
also.
"My maternal uncles also didn't get bachelors' degrees."
(SA oral task, Saudi speaker)
- b. ʔana baʕtaber hay* l-ʔakl mufiid jiddan
I consider this.s.f* food useful very
la-l-ṣaḥḥa laʔennu fii-h maaddat l-foosfoor.
for-the-health because in-it element phosphorous
"I consider this food very useful for health because it has the element
of phosphorous"
(CA writing task, Palestinian speaker)
- c. I worked as a TA for four year* there.
(English oral task, Palestinian speaker)

Syntactic complexity was gauged by the ratio of multiclause/complex T-units to the aggregate T-units.³ Examples (2a, b, c) are instances of complex T-units, each featuring one independent clause and at least one dependent clause.

- (2) a. haadi ṭabʕan kul l-ʔašyaaʔ lli ʔana basʕaa
these of course all the-things that I exert efforts
fii-haa.
in-it
"These are of course all the things that I exert effort [to achieve]."
(CA oral task, Palestinian speaker)
- b. ʔin šaaʔa Allaah ʕindamaa ʔantahii mina d-diraasa sawfa
if will.3.s Allah when finish.1s from the-study will
ʔarjiʕ ʔila l-mamlaka ...
return.1.s to the-kingdom
"God willing, when I finish [my] study, I will return to the Kingdom."
(SA oral task, Saudi speaker)
- c. And then I moved to middle school in a different area where I met
new teachers and new friends and students.
(English oral task, Syrian speaker)

Results

The findings are organized into three sections. The first section focuses on the fluency, accuracy, and complexity that the participants displayed in their oral production tasks in SA, CA, and English as well as their overall oral proficiency in these three language varieties. The second section addresses the fluency, accuracy, and complexity of the participants' writing output in SA, CA, and English as well as their overall writing proficiency in these three language varieties. The third section compares the participants' overall proficiency in SA, CA, and English with the aim of identifying any similarities and differences.

Proficiency in the Oral Production Tasks

As noted earlier, oral proficiency in SA, CA, and English was determined by the fluency, grammatical accuracy, and syntactic complexity that the participants displayed in their oral production tasks. With respect to fluency (table 2), the native Arabic speakers produced fewer words per minute in SA (75.8 wpm) than in CA (97.5 wpm). Their word production rate was also slightly lower in SA than in English (81.5 wpm). Thus, the native Arabic speakers demonstrated superior fluency in CA compared to SA and English. Moreover, the native Arabic speakers produced fewer words than their native English counterparts did in the same oral production task in English (116.9 wpm); that is, they were less fluent in English than the native English speakers.

In terms of grammatical accuracy (table 3), the percentage of error-free T-units in the oral production of the native Arabic speakers was lower in the SA task (96.4%) than in the CA task (98.3%), but higher than in the English task (75.0%). The native Arabic speakers were outperformed by the native English speakers with respect to grammatical accuracy in English as the latter group performed at ceiling (100%). The native Arabic speakers had the highest accuracy rates in CA, followed by SA, and then English.

Table 2 Fluency in the oral production tasks in SA, CA, and English

	No.	No. of words	No. of minutes	No. of words per minute
Arabic-L1 SA	16	6,061	80	75.8
Arabic-L1 CA	16	7,802	80	97.5
Arabic-L1 English	16	6,521	80	81.5
English-L1	10	5,844	50	116.9

Table 3 Grammatical accuracy in the oral production tasks in SA, CA, and English

	No.	No. of T-units	No. of error-free T-units	% of error-free T-units
Arabic-L1 SA	16	576	555	96.4
Arabic-L1 CA	16	699	687	98.3
Arabic-L1 English	16	519	389	75.0
English-L1	10	510	510	100.0

Table 4 Syntactic complexity in the oral production tasks in SA, CA, and English

	No.	No. of T-units	No. of complex T-units	% of complex T-units
Arabic-L1 SA	16	576	125	21.7
Arabic-L1 CA	16	699	198	28.3
Arabic-L1 English	16	519	103	19.8
English-L1	10	510	153	30.0

Table 5 Overall oral proficiency in SA, CA, and English

	Oral fluency	Grammatical accuracy	Syntactic complexity	Overall oral proficiency
Arabic-L1 SA	75.8	96.4	21.7	193.8
Arabic-L1 CA	97.5	98.3	28.3	224.1
Arabic-L1 English	81.5	75.0	19.8	176.3
English-L1	116.9	100.0	30.0	246.9

As for syntactic complexity (table 4), the native Arabic speakers produced fewer complex/multiclausal T-units in SA (21.7%) than in CA (28.3%). Still, the rate of their complex T-units was higher in SA than in English (19.8%). The percentage of complex T-units produced by the native Arabic speakers in the English task was lower than that of the native English speakers on the same task (30.0%). Again, the oral output of the Arabic native speakers was most complex in CA, followed by SA, and then English.

The participants' overall oral proficiency scores on SA, CA, and English were calculated by adding up their tallies on the measures of fluency, grammatical accuracy, and syntactic complexity (table 5). The native Arabic speakers exhibited the highest proficiency in CA (224.1) followed by SA (193.8) and then English (176.3). Their proficiency in English was clearly inferior to that of the native English speakers (246.9).

A repeated-measured ANOVA was performed to examine any possible differences between the native Arabic speakers' oral proficiency in SA, CA, and English. The test results revealed a significant difference between the native Arabic speakers' performance on the SA, CA, and English oral tasks; $F(2, 15) = 19.052, p < .0001$. Post hoc analyses showed that the participants performed significantly better on the CA oral task than on the SA and English oral tasks ($p < .01$) and that their oral proficiency was significantly better in SA than in English ($p < .05$). An independent-samples *t*-test was also carried out to detect any significant differences between the English oral proficiency of the native Arabic speakers and the native English speakers. The test results exhibited that the English native speakers did significantly better than their Arabic counterparts with respect to oral proficiency in English; $t(24) = -5.629, p < .0001$.

Proficiency in the Writing Tasks

As was the case with the oral production tasks, the native Arabic speakers' writing proficiency in SA, CA, and English was measured by their fluency/speed, grammatical accuracy, and syntactic complexity. Regarding fluency (table 6), the native Arabic speakers wrote more words per minute in SA (20.1 wpm) than in CA (19.8 wpm) or in English (19.9 wpm). The native English speakers produced 27.3 words per minute, thus surpassing the native Arabic speakers in terms of writing fluency in English.

In terms of grammatical accuracy (table 7), the native Arabic speakers were most accurate in the SA task (97.3%), followed by the CA task (87.2%) and then the English task (70.1%). The English native speakers' accuracy was at ceiling (100%), which was clearly better than the native Arabic speakers' accuracy in the English task.

As for syntactic complexity (table 8), the native Arabic speakers displayed superior syntactic complexity in their writing tasks in SA (45.3%) than in CA (30.8%) or in English (32.1%). The English writing task by the native Arabic speakers was less syntactically complex than that of the native English speakers (49.1%).

The participants' overall writing proficiency scores in SA, CA, and English were computed by combining their scores on the measures of fluency, accuracy, and

Table 6 Fluency in the writing tasks in SA, CA, and English

	No.	No. of words	No. of minutes	No. of words per minute
Arabic-L1 SA	16	1606	80	20.1
Arabic-L1 CA	16	1586	80	19.8
Arabic-L1 English	16	1595	80	19.9
English-L1	10	1366	50	27.3

Table 7 Grammatical accuracy in the writing tasks in SA, CA, and English

	No.	No. of T-units	No. of error-free T-units	% of error-free T-units
Arabic-L1 SA	16	150	146	97.3
Arabic-L1 CA	16	156	136	87.2
Arabic-L1 English	16	134	94	70.1
English-L1	10	112	112	100.0

Table 8 Syntactic complexity in the writing tasks in SA, CA, and English

	No.	No. of T-units	No. of complex T-units	% of complex T-units
Arabic-L1 SA	16	150	68	45.3
Arabic-L1 CA	16	156	48	30.8
Arabic-L1 English	16	134	43	32.1
English-L1	10	112	55	49.1

complexity (table 9). The native Arabic speakers' overall writing proficiency scores were higher in SA (162.7) than in CA (137.8) or in English (122.2). The native Arabic speakers' writing proficiency in English was clearly lower than that of the native English speakers (176.4).

A repeated-measured ANOVA was performed to explore any possible differences between the native Arabic speakers' writing proficiency in SA, CA, and English. The test results showed a significant difference between the native Arabic speakers' performance on the SA, CA, and English writing tasks; $F(2, 15) = 11.796, p < .0001$. Post hoc comparisons demonstrated that the native Arabic speakers had better writing proficiency in SA than in CA and English ($p < .01$). They performed marginally better on the writing task in CA than in English ($p = .057$). An independent-samples *t*-test was also conducted to discover any potential differences between the English writing proficiency of the native Arabic speakers and the native English speakers. The test results revealed that the English native speakers significantly outperformed their Arabic counterparts with respect to writing proficiency in English; $t(24) = -6.349, p < .0001$.

Overall Proficiency

The overall proficiency of the participants in the SA, CA, and English tasks was calculated by averaging their oral proficiency scores and writing proficiency scores. As table 10 demonstrates, the native Arabic speakers had relatively comparable overall proficiencies in SA (178.3) and CA (181.0). However, their proficiency in SA and CA was remarkably

Table 9 Overall writing proficiency in SA, CA, and English

	Oral fluency	Grammatical accuracy	Syntactic complexity	Overall writing proficiency
Arabic-L1 SA	20.1	97.3	45.3	162.7
Arabic-L1 CA	19.8	87.2	30.8	137.8
Arabic-L1 English	19.9	70.1	32.1	122.2
English-L1	27.3	100.0	49.1	176.4

Table 10 Overall proficiency

	No.	Oral proficiency	Writing proficiency	Overall proficiency
Arabic-L1 SA	16	193.8	162.7	178.3
Arabic-L1 CA	16	224.1	137.8	181.0
Arabic-L1 English	16	176.3	122.2	149.2
English-L1	10	246.9	176.4	211.7

better than their proficiency in English (149.2). Moreover, their proficiency in English was considerably lower than that of the native English speakers (211.7), which is not surprising since English resembles an L2 for native Arabic speakers.

A repeated-measured ANOVA was performed to investigate any possible differences between the native Arabic speakers' overall proficiency in SA, CA, and English. The test results showed significant differences in the Arabic native speakers' proficiency in SA, CA, and English; $F(2, 15) = 14.790, p < .0001$. Post hoc analyses pointed to significant differences between their proficiency in SA and English ($p < .0001$) and between their proficiency in CA and English ($p < .0001$). However, no significant difference was found between their proficiency in SA and CA ($p = .973$). I also carried out an independent-samples *t*-test to detect any differences in the English proficiency of the Arabic native speakers and the English native speakers. The test results showed that the native English speakers' proficiency in English was superior to that of the Arabic native speakers; $t(24) = -7.073, p < .0001$.

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study sought to address a long-standing argument about the status of SA in the Arabic diglossic situation, namely, the proposition that SA is an L2 for native Arabic speakers. This proposition has been adopted widely in Arabic linguistic

research and scholarship (Cowan 1968; Ditters 1988; Haeri 2003; Hudson 2002; Ibrahim 1989; Kaye 1972, 1994; Mahmoud 2000; Mitchell 1986; Sabir and Safi 2008; Schiffman 1997; Schulz 1981; Walters 2003).

Describing SA as an L2 may be understandable if we consider the circumstances surrounding its acquisition. First, SA is not typically used in child-directed speech in the home or in interactions between family members. This means that Arabic-speaking children are mostly exposed to CA in their early childhood before they start hearing SA. Second, the amount of SA input received by these children may be limited because SA is not used in casual everyday conversations. It may also be argued that SA is typically learned formally at school through dedicated study, which is typical of L2 learning. This type of SA input is offered in an instructed setting (school) and by teachers rather than in a naturalistic setting by parents, siblings, relatives, friends, and so on. Therefore, if we consider the age, order, and context of SA acquisition as well as the amount and source of SA input Arabic-speaking children receive, it comes as no surprise that SA is sometimes described as an L2.

Language acquisition studies often associate L1 with the language or language variety acquired first by the speaker. From this perspective, therefore, CA may be viewed as the L1 and SA as the L2. However, this distinction is problematic when applied to SA for two main reasons. First, even from an acquisition point of view, one may not consider SA as an L2, because most Arabic-speaking children are usually exposed to the two varieties at an early age. Children acquire CA from parents, family, and the community at large, but they may also be exposed informally to SA from television (e.g., cartoons and news), radio, religious speeches and sermons, children's stories, siblings' reading, and Qur'anic recitations. Some children read the Qur'an and attend religious schools early in their lives (Aram, Korat, and Hassunah-Arafat 2013; Haeri 2003; Saiegh-Haddad et al. 2011). Their exposure to SA, even though it may not be as rich as their exposure to CA, allows them to develop some level of proficiency in SA. This is important if we consider the opinion that linguistic input is not the only, or even major, determiner of L1 acquisition (Chomsky 1995).

This study sought to assess native Arabic speakers' proficiency level in SA. Moreover, the study examined whether their proficiency in SA is comparable to their proficiency in CA or in English. The purpose was to see whether their proficiency level in SA was closer to that in CA (their L1) or English (their L_n). The native Arabic speakers were compared to native English speakers with respect to proficiency in English to see whether their proficiency in English approximates to that of native English speakers. Both oral and written tasks were used to check the participants' oral and writing proficiency as well as their overall proficiency in the three language varieties under investigation.

The findings indicate that native Arabic speakers have better oral proficiency in CA than in SA. This was visible in their superior fluency, grammatical accuracy, and syntactic complexity in the oral production task. The fact that, orally, native Arabic speakers do better in CA than in SA is expected because CA is the language variety they are accustomed to use in everyday conversations with family, friends, and other community members. By contrast, the use of SA in oral speech is restricted to particular domains and functions (Albirini 2011, 2014b; Holes 2004; Saeed 1997). In the writing task, however, the native Arabic speakers displayed better proficiency in SA than in CA. This may have to do with two main interrelated factors. First, SA is the language variety often associated with writing and literacy in general. It is used in school textbooks, newspapers, journals, most literary works, official documents, and other publications. Unlike SA, CA is rarely used in writing, although it may be found in certain literary works and social media (Albirini 2015). Second, CA is not codified and does not have well-established written conventions, which possibly makes writing in CA less spontaneous than in SA. The findings support previous studies showing that Arabic speakers generally process CA faster than SA in oral/auditory tasks but do better in SA in visual/written tasks (Ibrahim 2009; Ibrahim and Aharon-Peretz 2005; Leikin, Ibrahim, and Eghbaria 2014; Nevat, Khateb, and Prior 2014).

When the oral and written proficiency scores were combined, the findings revealed no significant difference between native Arabic speakers' proficiency in SA and CA. This convergence in proficiencies in SA and CA may be explained by multiple factors. For example, Arab children are exposed to SA incidentally through cartoon shows, TV news, religious sermons, children's stories, Qur'anic recitation, religious schools, and so on. Their exposure to these sources of SA input may occur at an early stage of their language development. Thus, they may be able to acquire CA and SA simultaneously in naturalistic settings (see also Leikin, Ibrahim, and Eghbaria. 2014). Even when they are taught SA formally at school, Arab children learn SA at an early age, which makes their acquisition of SA more native-like than if they were to acquire it as adults. Their acquisition of SA is further facilitated by the remarkable overlap between SA and CA in terms of lexicon, syntax, morphology, phonetics, and phonology (Alhawary 2011, 2016; Aoun, Benmamoun, and Choueiri 2010; Benmamoun 2000; Brustad 2000; Mohammad 2000). This means that SA is not entirely new to Arabic-speaking children like an L2 typically is.

While the native Arabic speakers' proficiency in SA converges with their proficiency in CA, it clearly diverges from their proficiency in English. The native Arabic speakers had better oral and writing proficiencies in SA than in English, and their overall proficiency levels were significantly higher in SA than in English. This is understandable if we consider the fact that English is a foreign language for the majority of

native Arabic speakers, which they learn mainly in schools. English is typologically and structurally different from both CA and SA, and therefore SA is closer to CA (L1) than English (L_n). Their performance in English was significantly inferior to the performance of the native English speakers, which shows clearly that English is an L2 for them. At the same time, the fact that their proficiency in SA is significantly better than their proficiency in English—but similar to their proficiency in CA—indicates that SA may not be described as an L2 for native Arabic speakers.

If SA is not an L2 for native Arabic speakers, what can be a possible descriptor for this language variety? Parkinson (1991) argues that some Arabic speakers may be described as “native users” of SA because they have “native intuitions” about it. While this description may be useable in general scholarship on Arabic, it may not necessarily fit within the taxonomies commonly used in language acquisition studies. Based on the current findings, I would suggest that the linguistic situation of Arabic native speakers is not very different from that of most unbalanced simultaneous bilinguals. In unbalanced simultaneous bilingualism, children are exposed to two languages at an early stage of their language development (usually before three years) but may develop better oral proficiency in one of the two languages due to input and use factors. The acquisition of SA and CA is analogous in the sense that Arab children are typically exposed to these two language varieties at an early age but may have fewer input and use opportunities in SA than CA. Ultimately, they become unbalanced simultaneous bilinguals. However, their unbalanced bilingualism should not obscure the fact that, within the taxonomies commonly used in language acquisition studies and if age of exposure is taken into account, both CA and SA may be seen as L1s for them due to their early exposure to both.

The notion of unbalanced simultaneous bilingualism goes along with the general understanding of diglossia as distinct from bilingualism due to the unique historical, structural, and functional relationship between SA and CA. At the same time, it captures the basic acquisition patterns of SA and CA by most native Arabic speakers who typically get exposed to these two varieties from early childhood but eventually develop unequal competencies in these two varieties due to several linguistic and non-linguistic factors, such as language input, language use, reading habits, TV time, education, and so on.

While this study employed three common measures to assess native Arabic speakers' general proficiency in SA, future studies may also examine specific aspects of proficiency in SA such as knowledge of SA phonology, syntax, morphology, and lexicon. It is equally important to investigate possible interactions in the acquisition and development of SA and CA in Arabic-speaking children and adults, which is perhaps far more complex. Future studies may also consider the extent to which Arabic-speaking

children are exposed to SA from different sources of input. Such studies may provide a more complete picture of SA acquisition in Arabic-speaking communities.

Notes

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1. Two native speakers of Arabic who spoke German in addition to English and one who spoke French in addition to English were excluded from the study (i.e., their data are not reported in this study).

2. These instructions were preceded by a general explanation of the study and its goals, timeline for completing the tasks, and so on, as is required by the IRB protocol.

3. Different measures have been used to gauge syntactic complexity, such as mean length of clause, mean length of T-unit, and rate of embedding and subordination. In this study, rate of embedding and subordination is used because it has been found to be more appropriate for speakers with high levels of proficiency (see Housen, Kuiken, and Vedder 2012; Kuiken and Vedder 2012; and Norris and Ortega 2009 for a discussion). The following two examples illustrate the concepts of embedding and subordination, respectively, as used in this study:

- Adam worked more *than I had expected*.
- The class *that I took* was difficult

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“They don’t speak Arabic”

PRODUCING AND REPRODUCING LANGUAGE
IDEOLOGIES TOWARD MOROCCAN ARABIC



Dris Soulamani, San Diego State University

Drawing on theories of language ideologies and discourse analysis, this article explores the sociolinguistic side of an Arabic study abroad program that took place in Morocco. The article examines the ways in which participants’ attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic draw from prevalent language ideologies that organize the Eastern and Western Arabic varieties and characterize the Eastern dialects as pure and more accessible to learners of Arabic. Analysis of the data demonstrates how such language ideologies, often related to notions of linguistic purism and language valorization, are produced and reproduced and are transferred or shifted within Arabic classrooms. The data also shows how study abroad experiences affect these language ideologies and influence the sociolinguistic awareness of student participants.

Key words: Arabic dialects, discourse analysis, language ideologies, Moroccan Arabic, study abroad, sociolinguistic awareness

Introduction

Drawing on a study abroad experience in Morocco, this article analyzes the ways in which participants' attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic are embedded in existing language ideologies that organize the Eastern and Western Arabic dialects.¹ Research in second and foreign language acquisition mainly focuses on linguistic gains and communicative outcomes of study trips (see, for example, Stevens 2001; Milton and Meara 1995), while the sociolinguistic and ideological dimensions are rarely emphasized (but see, for example, Magnan and Back 2007), especially for the less commonly taught languages such as Arabic. Using an interdisciplinary approach that combines theories of language ideologies and discourse analysis, this study explores a sociolinguistic side of a study trip to Morocco and discusses related language ideologies that govern the Eastern and Western dialects of Arabic.

A number of studies have examined the sociolinguistic encounters between Eastern and Western Arabic varieties from multiple theoretical perspectives, including language accommodation and language attitudes (S'hiri 2002; Chakrani 2015) and language ideologies (Hachimi 2013). These ideological underpinnings, to the best of my knowledge, have not been explored in educational settings. In this study, I argue that prevalent language ideologies on the sociolinguistic status and functions of Moroccan Arabic transfer to language beliefs among Arabic language learners and heritage speakers. To contextualize this argument, the following research questions are addressed:

1. What are the language ideologies that organize the Eastern and Western Arabic dialects?
2. How are these language ideologies reflected and perpetuated in Arabic classrooms?
3. How are these language ideologies affected by out-of-class experiences such as study trips?

Eastern/Western Ideological Encounters

In the Arabic language context, a limited number of studies have discussed the Eastern/Western interdialectal encounters. For instance, Sonia S'hiri (2002) examines accommodation in workplace encounters between Arabic speakers from Tunisia and the central Middle East. The author points to the unequal power relations in these interdialectal gatherings, in which the Eastern dialects are normally equated with a

highly valued notion of “native-speakerness.” Similarly, Atiqa Hachimi (2013) delineates the power asymmetries in Maghrebi/Mashreqi (Western/Eastern) interdialectal communication through analysis of an Arab reality TV show on YouTube. These digitally mediated encounters reveal ideological biases against Maghrebi Arabic, often characterized as both inauthentic and unintelligible. In dinner table settings, Brahim Chakrani (2015) analyzes conversations between speakers of different Arabic dialects, including Eastern and Western varieties. The study demonstrates how Easterners’ negative attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic result in a divergent type of accommodation in which Moroccan speakers frequently take the burden of accommodation.

The current study expands the examination of the Eastern/Western dialect relationship to the context of education through the lens of language ideologies and discourse analysis. Excerpts from participants’ interviews and student comments from a study abroad trip to Morocco are analyzed discursively, taking into account the speakers, the addressees, and the environment where the interaction occurs (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000). This analysis also presupposes incorporating both linguistic and nonlinguistic semiotic resources, such as prosody, which provide valuable insight into the participants’ intended meaning and their various stances (Goodwin 2007; Du Bois 2007; Kendon 1997, 2009; among others).

As an element of discourse, stance refers to the process of evaluation, usually performed by a participant through attributing a certain “quality or value” to the topic of conversation (Du Bois 2007, 145). In oral language, stance can be organized into different levels that are linguistic, such as speech, and nonlinguistic, including embodied actions (Soulaïmani 2017) and prosody (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012). These nonlinguistic resources help understand talk in interaction and highlight the social and cultural qualities of language. Hence, stance is an instance of social action (Goodwin 2006) that is owned by “a social actor” (Du Bois 2007, 173). Analysis of the participants’ discourse, and of their stances in particular, clarifies aspects of language ideologies among Arabic language learners. Analysis of stance also shows the ways in which language ideologies are appropriated or shifted through personal experiences.

Language ideologies represent the rationalization that speakers offer to explain their linguistic practices (Silverstein 1979; Friedrich 1989; Kroskrity 1998), embodying the intersection of language and its speakers in a social environment (Woolard 1998). Language ideologies can be explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious, involving individuals, social groups, and institutions (Kroskrity 2010, 2017). The classic definition stipulates that language ideologies are “sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979, 193). This definition highlights the relationship

between language structure and language use and provides a framework for understanding the connectedness between language, on the one hand, and language users on the other, in everyday interaction. In this study, discussion of language ideologies is extended to account not only for native speakers but also for language learners and heritage speakers in an educational setting.

Within the framework of language ideologies, James Collins (1998) conducted a related study on Ebonics (African American Vernacular English). Multiple debates emerged following a resolution that considered Ebonics a language distinct from English, calling for its recognition and adoption as a medium of instruction in American classrooms. These debates, as Collins (1998) argues, are impacted by certain historical circumstances that concern literacy ideology, including the African American community's struggle for common schooling. Recognition of Ebonics threatens the hierarchical system of languages and language varieties in US society. Accounting for the historical context of language debates and the social hierarchies of language varieties is important in this study. Current language attitudes toward different Arabic dialects, including Eastern and Western varieties, reflect a long history of unequal power relations (Chakrani 2015) that are normally based on discourses of authenticity (S'hiri 2002; Hachimi 2013) as well as purity.

In the native speakers' context, linguistic purity occurs when a community tries to retain the original form of its language and avoids mixing with or borrowing from other languages (Blommaert 1996). In this regard, Paul Kroskrity (1998) discusses the language situation among Tewa, a native American group in the Southwest, which prohibits mixing and promotes purism, iconizing certain values such as local identity and spiritual integrity. In the Arabic context, Eastern dialects index social values of distinction and prestige whereas the Western ones are frequently criticized for mixing with French.² Linguistically, however, all contemporary Arabic dialects may show varying degrees of mixing with other languages, which can be linked to a variety of historical and cultural factors, including social and communicative practices (Bentahila and Davies 2002). In his study on myths about Arabic, Charles Ferguson (1997) describes Arabic speakers' attitudes toward different dialects by saying, "What is his [the Arabic speaker's] attitude toward the particular dialect he speaks vis-à-vis dialects spoken by other Arabs? The answer is unequivocal—he regards his own dialect as the nearest to classical, the easiest to learn, and the most widely understood of the colloquial dialects" (379).

Some studies have attempted to quantify the proximity of certain Arabic dialects from Modern Standard Arabic and make claims that Western Arabic varieties are the furthest (Abunasser 2015; Abu Kwaik et al. 2018).³ Such claims build on limited

evidence and overlook the multimodality of language, which encompasses not only certain phonological or lexical features but also other linguistic as well as nonlinguistic representations and different ways of speaking (Hymes 1974; Makihara 2005). In addressing this issue, Ferguson (1997) notes, "It is difficult to establish appropriate weightings of the different aspects of language—sound, forms, lexicon, and their sub-system—but even with a satisfying qualification system, it would be very difficult to rate Arabic dialects on any linear scale of closeness to Classical. A dialect which is relatively close to Classical in certain respects may be far away in others" (379).

As is discussed in this study, the question of proximity to Classical or Standard Arabic constitutes to a large extent an ideological representation whereby the Western dialects, particularly the Moroccan variety, are iconized as impure Arabic dialects. In Judith Irvine and Susan Gal's (2000) definition, iconization is an aspect of language ideologies that is related to other semiotic features, including recursivity, and to linguistic erasure. As such, iconization is the transformation of sign relationship such that a certain language or aspects of it become iconically representative of a speech community. Hence, the Moroccan dialect, as explored here, becomes the "social image" of a community repeatedly blamed for not speaking in a way that is readily intelligible for Eastern speakers.

Recursivity, on the other hand, projects opposing groups by creating different categories or a contrast that is "salient at one level of relationship onto some other level" (Gal 1998, 328). In Arabic, recursivity creates language ideologies of distinction that promote the Eastern dialects in relation to the Western ones. Dialects here can be promoted in relation to each other, beyond local geographies, in contexts such as diaspora and online encounters. As for erasure, it is the "process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons and activities invisible" (Irvine and Gal 2000, 38). This process promotes homogeneity, erasing the constitutive social life of the Arabic language, and it overlooks multilingualism and heterogeneity in local dialects. Thus, erasure simplifies the sociolinguistic landscape of the Arabic-speaking countries.

Methodology

This research draws from a short study trip from an American university to the city of Rabat in Morocco. The goal of the trip was to enhance students' linguistic skills and increase their cultural awareness through direct contact with local community members.

Participants

The participants consist of thirteen students: nine at the intermediate and four at the advanced level. Six were males and seven females, ranging from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Students at the intermediate level completed two years of studies of Arabic language in college, while those at the advanced level completed three years. Among these students were three Arabic heritage learners, two at the intermediate level and one at the advanced level. In addition to English, each of these heritage learners spoke one of the following Arabic dialects: Egyptian, Syrian, or Jordanian.

Study Instruments

The researcher, who is a native speaker of Moroccan Arabic, bases this study on onsite fieldwork consisting of observation, participation, and audio-recorded interviews. Segments of the interviews are examined based on theories of discourse analysis, which take into account an array of semiotic resources including not only linguistic structure but also nonlinguistic activities and the social environment (Goodwin 2007; Goodwin 2006; Du Bois 2007; among others). The study is also supported by questionnaire surveys completed and returned by participants before and after the study trip.

INTERVIEWS

The study analyzes post-trip interviews with four participants, two heritage speakers and two non-heritage speakers. The heritage speakers are Khalid, a male with Egyptian background, and Amal, a female originally from Syria, who are both enrolled at an intermediate heritage course, although their proficiency levels seem higher, as is apparent in the interviews.⁴ The non-heritage speakers are Adam and Anna, enrolled at an intermediate level for non-heritage speakers. Adam had more exposure to Arabic than Anna outside the classroom through his previous travels in Arabic-speaking countries. Participants were given the choice to complete the interviews in Arabic or English. They all preferred Arabic, perhaps because it was the predominant language of communication during the study trip. As is apparent in the interviews, the participants are sufficiently proficient to express their ideas in Arabic, mainly Standard Arabic, the language of classroom instruction. At times participants used both Arabic and English. In order to maximize the natural flow of conversations, interviews were conducted in a nonstructured way, in a relaxed atmosphere, encouraging the participants to express their ideas freely.

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Analysis of the study is also supported by questionnaire-based surveys that elicit quantifiable answers and record participants' comments. These surveys, written in

English, were distributed to all participants before and after the trip to Morocco (see appendixes 1 and 2). Pre-trip surveys consist of questions on demographics, dialect preferences, and students' expectations for the trip. The post-trip surveys include questions on participants' impressions of the trip as a whole and their experience with Moroccan Arabic in particular. The original questionnaire includes five categories (agree, strongly agree, neutral, disagree, and strongly disagree). For the sake of simplification, the "strongly agree" and "agree" answers are combined as one category of "agree." Similarly, the "strongly disagree" and "disagree" answers are combined as one category of "disagree."

Results

Prevalent Language Ideologies

This section discusses interviews with participants, which took place after the study trip to Morocco. In the following excerpt, the researcher (Author) asks the heritage speakers, Khalid and Amal, about the trip and their experience in Morocco (transcription conventions of the interviews are provided in appendix 3):

- (1) Author: هل تشعر أنكم استفدتم من هذه الرحلة؟
 hal taʃʊr ʔannakum ʔistafadtum min hāḏihi rriħla?
 Do you feel like you benefited from this trip?=
- (2) Khalid: لغويا نعم
 luɣawiyyan naʕam
 =Linguistically yes. (0.2)
- (3) أنا كنت قبل ما أذهب
 ʔana kunt qabl mā ʔaḏhab
 °I used to before I went=
- (4) أن~ ليس فقط أنا
 ʔan laysa faqat ʔana
 I ~ not only me=
- (5) أشعر أن جميع العرب يفكروا
 ʔaʃʊr ʔanna žamiʕ ʔal-ʕarab yufakkirū
 =I feel like ALL Arabs think (0.1)

- (6) هم لا يتحدثون بالعربية
hum lā yatahaddathūn bi-l-ʕarabiyya
=°They don't speak Arabic= ((change in voice quality))
- (7) Author: أه
ʔah
- (8) Amal: نعم
naʕam
Yes
- (9) Khalid: يتحدثون بالفرنسية
yatahaddathūn bi-l-faransiyya
=They speak French. (0.2)
- (10) أنا بصراحة عالية
ʔana biṣarāha ʕāliya
I, with *all/high* honesty=
- (11) ظننت كما ظننوا أن سأذهب هناك
ʔanant kamā ʔannū ʔan saʔaðhab hunāk
=I thought, just like they did, that I would go there=
- (12) وستكون الدارجة فرنسية وبعيدة جدا
wa satakūn ʔad-dāriʕa faransiyya wa baʕida ʒiddan
=And the dialect would be French and completely distant

As seen in this excerpt, the author asks the participants if they benefited from their trip to Morocco (line 1). Khalid, the Egyptian heritage speaker, confirms that he benefited linguistically. He also notes that prior to the trip, his idea, like that of all Arabs, was that Moroccans do not speak Arabic and that their dialect is French. In line (5) he uses the verb *ʔašʕur* “I feel,” which takes a cognitive function here meaning “I think” or “I believe.” It is also possible that the speaker is using the verb *ʔašʕur* “I feel” that is already put in place in the author’s question and taking it as a point of departure to express his feelings toward Moroccan Arabic. These reported feelings constitute language beliefs shown here to be in line with the prevalent language ideologies of Eastern Arabic speakers about Moroccan Arabic.

Describing Moroccan Arabic as French is not usually intended as a positive remark. The speaker, however, dissociates himself from this statement and shows that he no longer subscribes to such language ideologies. He uses the phrase "I used to," and he subsequently displays a clear stance regarding this stereotypical image through prosody. In lines (6–9) "they don't speak Arabic . . . they speak French," the speaker's voice shifts from slow with high pitch to fast and steady over the statement. These voice qualities indicate the frequency of such statements and emphasize the widespread language ideologies and attitudes, depicting Moroccan Arabic as less pure or completely foreign (see Finkbeiner, Meibauer, and Wiese [2016] for more on the overlap between intonation and attitudes).

In lines (4) and (5) "I, *not only me* I feel like *all* Arabs think," the speaker uses the pronouns (I, me) and the quantifier "all" to serve multiple purposes. The pronouns in the phrase "I, *not only me*" situate the speaker, who is a heritage learner, as an Arab. At the same time, perhaps unintentionally, the speaker seems to be creating two distinct categories; one made of "all Arabs" and the other of Moroccans, to which he referred by the pronoun "they." The meaning would have been different had the speaker inserted the word "other" as follows "I feel like all *other* Arabs think they [Moroccans] do not speak Arabic" (on the role of deictic shifts in stance construction, see Chakrani [2016]; on the ways in which repetition of pronouns indexes certain identities, see Cramer [2010]).

Additionally, Khalid supplements his statement with a confession in line (10), saying "with all/high honesty." This expression is a discursive tool for openness and disclosure. Its meaning also entails the possibility of speaking without honesty, but the speaker here is telling his addressee that he chooses to tell the truth. Also, the use of the adjective *sāliya* "high" presupposes other levels of honesty, but again the speaker opts for disclosing his language beliefs in a highly open manner. High honesty also indicates the existence of other language attitudes that the speaker can now openly share with his addressee after the trip. Finally, the *high honesty* expression is most likely directed toward the addressee, who is Moroccan. The expression discloses what is usually thought about Moroccan Arabic, giving the addressee insider information.

Similar ideas are expressed in nonheritage interviews. Adam and Anna both started learning Arabic as college students. By the end of their second year of study, they seem to have already been informed about the stereotypes regarding Moroccan Arabic. Consider the following segment:

- (13) Author: ما هي توقعاتك التي كانت؟
 mā hiya tawaqquṣātuk ʔallti kānat
 What were your expectations~? (0.1)

- (14) Adam: يعني صورة نمطية من المغرب
yaʕnī šūra namaṭiyya min ʔal-maʕrib
Like– a stereotypical image about Morocco=
- (15) هم لايتكلمون اللغة العربية
hum lā yatakallamūn ʔal-luḡa l-ʕarabiyya=°
They don't speak Arabic language= ((change in voice quality))
- (16) هم يتكلمون اللغة الفرنسية
hum yatakallamūn ʔal-luḡa l-faransiyya=
They speak French. (0.1)
- (17) Author: أه
ʔah
ah (0.1)
- (18) من يقول هذا من أين هذه الصورة؟
man yaqūl hāḏaa min ʔayna hāḏihi ṣ-šūra
Who says this ʔ where is this image from? =
- (19) Adam: كل
kull
⌊ All=
- (20) Anna: العرب
ʔal-ʕarab=
The Arabs (0.2)
- (21) Author: من العرب؟
min ʔal-ʕarab?
From Arabs (0.1)
- (22) Adam: كل العالم العربي ((يضحك))
kull ʔel-ʕālam ʔel-ʕarabi
ALL THE ARAB WORLD ʔ ((laughing))
- (23) Anna: ⌊*hHHh

The interviewer asks the two students about their expectations from the study trip. Adam links the expectations to stereotypes: "a stereotypical image about Morocco" (line 14). Statements about Moroccans not speaking Arabic are repeated here, as in the previous interview. Adam's statement is characterized with voice qualities that are comparable to Khalid's in the previous exchange. These are extra linguistic resources that speakers use to convey meaning, emphasize a statement or provide a stance display regarding a reported action or statement. Adam's prosody over the statement in lines (15) and (16), "they don't speak Arabic, they speak French," is characterized by a fast speech rate and low voice pitch delivered in a monotonous way. As in the previous interview, the prosody here serves to highlight the stereotypical image, and it shows the speaker's attitudes toward this discourse. The speaker reports preexisting language ideologies toward Moroccan Arabic but at the same time offers nonlinguistic comments on these language ideologies. Through prosody, the speaker trivializes these statements and expresses his disapproval toward the way Moroccan Arabic has been depicted.

To elicit more information, the interviewer asks in line (18) "who says this? where does the image come from?" Both participants collaborated to respond by saying in lines (19) and (20) "all Arabs." Thus, the social image of Moroccans as a non-Arabic-speaking community is juxtaposed with "*all Arabs*," an expression that seems to refer to speakers of Eastern Arabic dialects. In line (21), the author offered a rhetorical question: "from Arabs?" to which the participants reiterated their first answer and actually emphasized it by saying "all the Arab world" in a loud voice and they started laughing. Laughter is a powerful stance display, which creates the interactive social environment for both the speakers and the addressees (Soulaïmani 2017). The participants' laughter comes as a comment on the author's question, perhaps indicating that he should have already known about these stereotypes. Laughter could also be a reaction toward what the participants had just said about the whole Arab world sharing similar language attitudes about Moroccan Arabic. In reality, these are prevalent language ideologies of which non-heritage speakers are aware and able to accurately depict.

Similar impressions were brought up during the pre-trip preparations and orientations. While all participants were excited about the trip to Morocco, some of them were skeptical about their ability to learn the Moroccan dialect. When asked about the Moroccan dialect in a predeparture survey, non-heritage participants pointed to its difficulty. A female participant said that the dialect is "very hard to understand." Another female learner said, "I think it's very pretty, but not easy," while another female participant said that the Moroccan dialect "is influenced by French." A male participant also commented that "the dialect is difficult." Comparable comments were made by

heritage speakers. A female student compared the dialect to her own by saying, “It is very different from Shami [Shāmī: Levantine],” while a male student asked, “I wonder how much Fus’ha [*al-fuṣḥā*: Standard Arabic] is used [in Moroccan Arabic].”

Looking at these comments, it seems that the students are concerned about the difficulty of learning the Moroccan dialect. These are legitimate concerns, especially if we consider that Arabic is generally one of the most difficult languages to learn for English speakers. Hence, Moroccan Arabic might equally be difficult, that is, similar in difficulty to other Arabic dialects. This raises the question concerning the ways that students conclude that Moroccan Arabic is French, as mentioned in the interviews, or is “influenced by French” and “very hard to understand.” In other words, the question is how these perceived characteristics of the Moroccan dialect are appropriated by learners of Arabic.⁶

In the pre-trip surveys, participants’ comments address this point. Regarding their impression on Moroccan Arabic, students provided several sources. A female participant linked her impressions to predominant language beliefs by saying, “I have heard from so many native speakers.” Other participants connected their impression to what they learned in Arabic classrooms. A male student said, “my professor told me,” and another answered that his impressions come “from talking to professors.” Similarly, a male student wrote, “The graduate assistant spoke Moroccan Arabic and my professor never understood her.” A male student mentioned that his impressions came “from other Arab friends.”

These comments give context to existing language ideologies among learners of Arabic. The comments demonstrate how these language attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic can be acquired within an educational context. Students seem to be influenced by language beliefs of their peers and those of their educators; consequently, these language ideologies become produced and reproduced within educational settings.

As stated earlier, there exists within language ideologies a connectedness between language, on the one hand, and the speakers of the language, on the other. Accordingly, existing language ideologies result in a social image not only of the Moroccan variety but also of the Moroccan community and the country as a whole. The excerpt immediately below which is from an exchange with Amal, the Syrian heritage speaker, reveals this image; the speaker discusses stereotypes about Morocco among speakers of Eastern Arabic dialects.

- (24) Amal: فييه كئير من ال يعني ستريريوتايبس عن المغرب
 fiīh kathīr min ʔel yaʕnī stereotypes ʕan ʔel-maʕrib
 There are [so] many (0.2) –like– stereotypes about Morocco.
 (0.3)

- (25) أم يعني سمعت كثير ولكن تفاجأت عندما زرت المغرب
 ʔam yaʕnī samiʕt kathīr wa-lākin tafāʒaʔt ʕindamā zurt
 ʔel-maʕrib
 Um –like– I heard a lot but I was surprised when I visited
 Morocco=
- (26) ولم أر ذلك
 wa lam ʔara ḏālik
 =And I didn't see THAT (0.2)
- (27) أبدا
 ʔabadan
At all

Stereotypes count as central elements in language ideologies (Blommaert 1999; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998). In the example above, both Amal's linguistic and nonlinguistic information point to the unusual amount of stereotypes she has heard about Morocco.⁷ In line (24), Amal uses the adjective *kathīr* "a lot" with an elongated vowel (ī) to express this multitude. She also starts a word with the article *ʔal-* "the," then pauses for a while before inserting the word *yaʕnī* and switching to English. In the same line (24), Amal uses the determiner *ʔal-* "the" without an accompanying noun "*ʔal- yaʕnī*." This line can be interpreted at different levels, including the lexicon as well as discourse. Lexically, the speaker, as a heritage speaker, seems to be searching for an appropriate Arabic word before dropping the search and using the English word instead. Her pause after *ʔal-* coupled with the use of *yaʕnī* seems to indicate that the speaker is allowing herself time to complete the search for the Arabic phrase *ʕuwar namaʕiyya* "stereotypes."

Discursively, the speaker is portraying an intensely stereotypical image of Morocco through multiple semiotic resources, which include (1) expressive phonology (elongated vowels for intensification) (see Labov 1972); (2) stance display (pause), which indexes the importance of her proposition; (3) the discourse marker *yaʕnī*, which directs the addressee toward what is going to be said or done (Dermarkar 2014); and (4) the switch to English. Code switching is generally governed by multiple mechanisms, such as social settings, identities to be activated, and the semantic information related to the topic of conversation (Gumperz 1982; Zentella 1997). In the example above, the speaker's code switching to English not only indicates semantic information but could also represent the complexities of her Arab American identity.

As a heritage speaker, Amal demonstrates that she is equally able to switch between different Arabic registers. The use of the negative particle *lam* coupled with

the verb *lara* “see” emphasizes her surprise. This emphasis is overloaded through the use of the word *ʔabadan* “never/at all” that is also preceded by a pause in line (27). Thus, Amal’s surprise is manifested in a variety of ways that include speech, shift of registers, and the pause. Amal makes use of these tools to stress her surprise at the nonexistence of what was drawn to her about Morocco. Through her accentuated surprise, the speaker is actually acknowledging her subscription to these language beliefs prior to the visit. This exhibits the power of dominant language ideologies in creating imagined realities about places as well as speech communities.

Shifting Language Ideologies

Similar to other social relations, language ideologies are not only reproducible; they are also fluid (Kroskrity 2010), interconnected (Blommaert 2013), and shifting. Following the study trip to Morocco, the participants’ attitudes have shifted, showing a sociolinguistic change (Coupland 2016) in the way Moroccan Arabic is perceived. Table 1, which is based on surveys distributed before and after the trip, gives an example of how students’ opinions have changed.

Regarding the statement that Moroccan Arabic is more difficult than other Arabic dialects, pre-trip answers reveal that 80 percent of respondents agreed and 20 percent were neutral, while no participant disagreed with the statement. In post-trip surveys, however, the “agree” and “disagree” categories indicate a significant change, from 80 percent to 25 percent and from 0 percent to 58 percent, respectively. The neutral category is slightly reduced, from 20 percent to 17 percent. The post-trip numbers show that a quarter of the respondents still think that Moroccan Arabic is more difficult than other Arabic dialects, but the majority no longer sees the dialect in this manner.

Survey comments give more context to this change in opinion. The comments show positive attitudes toward the Moroccan dialect. One respondent said, “I was told Moroccan Arabic was very different, and harder to understand before coming, but realized that by learning a few key words (like in all Arabic dialects) it was very manageable.” Another said, “I no longer think the Moroccan dialect is more difficult than the others, once you learn the ‘rules’ of Darija [Dārīja] it makes sense—I have also started believing that the Moroccan dialect is very beautiful.” Another participant commented, “I know Moroccan words now and I enjoy using them *bizzaf* [‘a lot’ in Moroccan Arabic]!” Another added, “I learned how unique and also how nice Darija is.” Another participant said, “I’ve learned that the Moroccan language situation is more complex and nuanced than I had initially thought.” Similarly, another participant said, “I realized how it [Moroccan Arabic] is not so difficult after all if you keep

Table 1 Views on the difficulty of Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic is more difficult than other Arabic dialects	Agree (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagree (%)
Pre-Trip	80	20	0
Post-Trip	25	17	58

Note: Given the context of the questionnaire as a whole, it is assumed that other dialects refer to Middle Eastern Arabic varieties.

an open mind." One participant, however, compared Moroccan Arabic to another Arabic dialect and said that "it is still harder than Shami [Levantine]."

The comments above demonstrate an overall shift in language ideologies among participants after their real-life experience with Moroccan Arabic within Morocco. The positive change in their comments is displayed through valorizing words such as "unique," "nice," and "beautiful." These descriptions, which clearly do not refer to the physical appearance of the dialect, constitute the newly constructed image portrayed through experience, practice, and interaction with the Moroccan speech community. Similar impressions are drawn from the interviews. Consider the following excerpt taken from the interview with Khalid and Amal, the two heritage speakers:

- (28) Author: ما هو الشيء الأهم
 mā huwa š-šayʔ ʔal-ʔahamm
 What is the most important thing=
- (29) الذي استفدتموه من خلال الرحلة؟
 ʔallaḏī ʔistafadtumuuh min xilāl ʔer-rihla?
 =That you (plural) gained from the trip? (0.3)
- (30) Khalid: أن الدارجات أقرب مما نظن
 ʔanna d-dārižāt ʔaqrab mimmā nazunn
 That the dialects are closer than we think (0.1)
- (31) نظن أن لا افهم هذا ولا أفهم هذه
 nazunn ʔan lā ʔafham hāḏaa wa-lā ʔafham hāḏihi
 We think that we don't understand this nor this=
- (32) ولكن نحن أقرب لبعض مما نظن
 wa-lākin nahnu ʔaqrab li-baʔḏ mimmā nazunn
 =But we are closer to each other than we think (0.2)

- (33) Amal: أظن نعم
ʔazunn naʕam
I think yes=
- (34) Khalid: وأعتقد هي المشكل ليست فقط لغوية
wa-ʔaʕtaqid hiya l-muškil laysat faqaṭ luɣawiyya
=And I think that the problem is not only linguistic=
- (35) بل مشكلة ثقافية
bal muškila thaqāfiyya
=but rather 'a cultural problem=
- (36) Amal: ما في تعرض للغة للدارجة
mā fī taʕarruḍ li-l-luɣa li-d-dāriɣa
⌊There is no exposure to Moroccan Arabic
- (37) Khalid: هذا بعيد وبيتكلمون الفرنسية وبس
hāḏa baʕīd wa-biyetkallimūn ʔal-faransiyya w-bass
=This is far and they speak only French. (0.1)
- (38) وليسوا بعرب
wa-laysū biʕarab
=And they are not Arabs=
- (39) Amal: بالتأكيد
bi-t-taʔakīd
= 'For sure
- (40) Author: آه
⌊Aah (0.1)
- (41) Khalid: فتذهب وتقول نعم
fataḏhab wa-taɣūl naʕam
So you go and say yes=
- (42) يتحدثون بالعربي والدارجة ليس~
yatahaddathūn bi-l-ʕarabī wa-d-dāriɣa lays
=They speak Arabic and Moroccan Arabic is no~ (0.1)

- (43) مختلفة نعم و ليست بالبعد التي يتصورها الكثير
 muxtalifa naʕam wa-laysat bi-l-buʕd ʔallati yataṣawwaruhā
 ʔal-kathīr
 =[It is] different yes, but it is not as distant as many people
 imagine it to be (0.1)
 الصورة ليست لغوية
 ʔaṣ-ṣūra laysat luḡawiyya
 The picture is not linguistic

Following a question on the most important takeaway from the trip, Khalid immediately answers that “the [Arabic] dialects are closer than we think” (line 30). In his answer, the student demonstrates a sociolinguistic awareness that enables him to realize the proximity of Arabic dialects. This proximity applies not only to language varieties but also to speakers of these varieties. This is demonstrated more clearly in his subsequent line (32), in which he says, “but we are closer to each other than we think.” In this line, Khalid shifts the subject from a noun, “dialects,” to a pronoun, “we.” Khalid uses the collective pronoun “we” as an in-group member, displaying his social identity as an Arab and actually displaying how his language beliefs changed after the Morocco trip. Through using the pronoun “we,” Khalid also identifies with Arabic language and expresses the connection between different Arabic dialects despite existing language ideologies. The use of a personal pronoun “we” to substitute a noun, “dialects,” demonstrates the connectedness between language as a social entity and speakers of this language.

Amal, the other heritage speaker, agrees with Khalid and offers a discursive alignment (see also Heritage 2002; Streeck 2009; Soulaïmani 2017) by saying “I think yes” approvingly. She also tries to explain the situation by linking existing language ideologies to a lack of exposure to Moroccan Arabic. Indeed, speakers of Eastern varieties might not be widely exposed to Moroccan Arabic in Middle Eastern countries. In diasporic contexts, however, language ideologies and power asymmetries play an important role in the way Moroccan Arabic is perceived.

Non-heritage speakers also attempted to give explanation to the way Moroccan Arabic is perceived by Easterners. Consider the following excerpt:

- (44) Anna: أفكر أنه أم نفس الشيء في المغرب
 ʔufakkir ʔannahu ʔamm nafs ʔaṣ-ṣayʔ fi ʔal-maḡrib
 I think that it is –um– the same thing in Morocco. (0.3)
- (45) أنه لنا كطلاب اللغة العربية
 ʔannahu lanā ka-ṭullāb ʔal-luḡa l-ʕarabiyya
 For us as students of the Arabic language. (0.5)

- (46) كان من اللازم عندما وصلنا إلى المغرب
 kān min ṭal-lāzim ḡindamā waṣalnā ṭila l-mayrib
 It was necessary when we arrived in Morocco=
- (47) أن نتعلم الكلمات الخاصة من هذه اللهجة من الدارجة
 ṭan nataḡallam ṭal-kalimāt ṭal-xāṣṣa min hāḡiḡi l-lahṣa min
 ṭad-dāriṣa
 =That we learn the words specific to this dialect, to Moroccan
 Arabic. (0.6)
- (48) لهم ممكن يفكرون أنه الدارجة مختلفة جدا بسبب
 lahum mumkin yufakkirūn ṭannahu ṭad-dāriṣa muxṡalifa ṣiddan
 bisabab
 For them, they might think that Moroccan Arabic is very differ-
 ent because of (1.0)⁸
- (49) لأنهم دائما يعني يفهمون كل شيء
 li-ṭannahum dāṭiman yaḡnī yafhamūn kull ṣayṭ
 Because they always –like– understand everything=
- (50) ولا يريدون أن يتعلمون الكلمات الخاصة
 wa-lā yuridūn ṭan yataḡallamūn ṭal-kalimāt ṭal-xāṣṣa
 =And they don't want to learn the words specific [to Moroccan
 Arabic].

In her explanation, Anna compares Easterners' experience with Moroccan Arabic to her own as a student of Arabic. She needed to learn vocabulary that is specific to Moroccan Arabic in order to communicate. Through this comparison, Anna is taking her experience as an example, moving from the Arabic she already speaks (Standard Arabic) and taking it as a point of departure toward learning the Moroccan dialect. Similarly, as she seems to suggest, speakers of Eastern dialects would need to learn vocabulary that is not shared with their own dialect. This explanation shows that Anna, as a non-heritage student of Arabic, is aware of existing language ideologies that govern Eastern/Western Arabic dialects. Her sociolinguistic awareness has been influenced through the study trip and interaction with local community members.

Heritage speakers also benefited from these interactions. Khalid, for instance, reflected on his participation in the different events that took place in the trip.

عندما ذهبت إلى الشراء . . . تحدثت مع البائعة، تحدثت معها وسألتها أسئلة، وهي أيضا سألتني أسئلة.
وقالت لي . . . وتحدثنا عن زوجها وعن العائلة، فكان فيه حديث، وأعتقد أن هذا النوع من الإترأكشن . . .
يساعد التعرف على المجتمع. أينما تعلمت اللغة في الصف ولم تستعملها نحو الحياة لن تكون مفيدة جدا.

ʕindamā ḏahabt ʔila š-širāʔ . . . taḥaddathtu maʕa l-bāʔiʕa, taḥaddatht maʕahā wa-saʔaltuhā ʔasʔila, wa-hiya ʔayḏan saʔalatnī ʔasʔila. Wa-qālat lī . . . wa-taḥaddathnā ʕan zawʔihā wa- ʕan el-ʕāʔila, fakān fiḥ ḥadith, wa-ʔaʕ-taqid ʔanna ḥāḏa n-nawʕ min ʔal-ʔintarʔākšn . . . yusāʕid t-taʕarruf ʕala l-muʔtamaʕ. ʔaynamā taʕallamt l-luʕa fi ʕ-ʕaff wa lam tastaʕmilhā naḥwa l-hayāt lan takūn mufida ʔiddan.

When I went to buy . . . I spoke to the saleswoman, I spoke to her and asked her questions, she also asked me questions. She told me . . . and we talked about her husband and about the family. We had a conversation, and I think this kind of interaction helps in knowing the community. Whenever you learn a language in class and you do not use it in life, it will not be very useful.

Here Khalid talks about one of the activities he performed during the study trip. In this activity, students were instructed to find a local market and buy the ingredients necessary for cooking a Moroccan meal. For Khalid, this was a valuable experience as it allowed him to interact with a local saleswoman. He displayed his appreciation for their conversation and for the opportunity he had to gain more understanding of the local culture. This experience made Khalid rightly conclude that learning language in the classroom needs to be supplemented with real-life experience. Indeed, out-of-class activities such as study trips are essential not only for linguistic gains but also for increasing cultural and sociolinguistic awareness.

Conclusion

Attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic in educational settings seem to be linked to prevalent language ideologies that govern relations of Eastern and Western Arabic dialects. Existing language ideologies depict Moroccan Arabic as foreign, unintelligible, or at least more difficult than other Eastern varieties. Drawing from ethnographic data

gathered in a study abroad context, the study reveals an institutionalization of these language ideologies, which are reproduced and transformed into language beliefs among learners of Arabic (both heritage and nonheritage). These language ideologies, however, shift following a short study trip to Morocco, where students engage with local communities and use Moroccan Arabic in daily communication. Through these experiences, both heritage- and non-heritage learners are able to develop a sociolinguistic awareness of the unequal power relations between Arabic dialects. Students also show an overall positive attitude toward the Moroccan Arabic dialect following the trip.

In summary, this article contributes to the area of language ideologies and the social relations between Eastern and Western Arabic dialects. More research is needed to confirm if the small group studied here is representative of other student groups and to determine the variety of ways in which language ideologies are constructed and transmitted in different Eastern/Western linguistic and cultural interactions. Future studies can also address aspects of language ideologies and language attitudes toward not only Moroccan Arabic but also other devalued Arabic dialects.

Appendix 1: Pre-Trip Questionnaire

1. Gender (circle one): Male Female
2. Languages you speak: _____
3. Your major: _____
4. How long have you studied Arabic? _____
5. Are you a heritage speaker? _____

As a student of Arabic, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
6. It is important to learn Standard Arabic and at least one Arabic dialect.					

7. It is <u>not</u> important to learn Standard Arabic.					
8. Moroccan Arabic is more difficult than other Arabic dialects.					

- 9. The best Arabic dialect is _____
Why? _____
- 10. The most useful Arabic dialect is _____
Why? _____
- 11. If I had to learn only one Arabic dialect, I would choose _____
Why? _____
- 12. What do you know/what are your impressions about Moroccan Arabic?

- 13. How was your view of Moroccan Arabic shaped?

- 14. The benefits I expect in this trip are:

- 15. The difficulties I expect in this trip are:

- 16. In terms of language skills, my areas of strengths are:

- 17. In terms of language skills, my areas of weaknesses are:

- 18. I want to participate in this study abroad program because/in order to:

19. What other comments would you like to add regarding the use of language in Morocco?

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix 2: Post-Trip Questionnaire

Post Trip Questionnaire

After your trip to Morocco, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. It is important to learn Standard Arabic and at least one Arabic dialect.					
2. It is not important to learn Standard Arabic.					
3. Moroccan Arabic is more difficult than other Arabic dialects.					

4. How long have you studied Arabic? _____
 Are you a heritage speaker of Arabic? _____

5. How has your understanding of the language situation in Morocco changed after this trip?

6. How have your views about Modern Standard Arabic changed on this trip?

7. What other comments would you like to add regarding the use of languages in Morocco?

8. What are your impressions about your service learning activity?

Appendix 3: Transcription Conventions

The following symbols are used in the transcription of the excerpts from the interview (adapted from Sacks, Jefferson, and Schegloff 1992; see also Schegloff 1997; Jefferson 1978).

. Falling intonation

((words)) Nonverbal activity

(0.1) Silence in tenths of a second

[Overlap

= Latched or contiguous utterances (no pause between the previous utterance and the next)

wo: Vowel lengthening

? Rising intonation

° Low volume

WORDS Increased volume (e.g., WAH)

words/words Some type of emphasis
 *hh Inbreath
 with~ Missing words or parts of words
 with- Short filler words
 [words] Words added for clarification of translation

Notes

1. I use “Eastern” to refer to central Middle Eastern dialects and “Western” to refer to North African Arabic dialects.
2. Stigmatization of certain language varieties has been discussed in a number of sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological studies (see, for example, Zentella 1997 and Makihara 2005).
3. Abunasser’s (2015) study, for example, claims that Moroccan Arabic is the furthest from MSA in comparison to Gulf, Levantine, and Egyptian Arabic. Comparison between these varieties is performed through a lexical list, using two modern dictionaries (*Almawrid* and *Elias*) to represent Standard Arabic, and two male native speakers from a major city for each variety. Besides the complexity of making such a comparison (Ferguson 1997), this study poses methodological issues related to the number, gender, and location of participants, in addition to using two dictionaries written by Eastern Arabic speakers to represent Modern Standard Arabic (see also Abu Kwaik et al. 2018, 4).
4. Names and identifying details of the participants are changed to protect their identities.
5. Transcription represents participants’ actual speech with no grammar correction.
6. The Moroccan sociolinguistic field is diverse. It counts different varieties of Arabic, multiple dialects of Berber, and different ways of speaking that depend on various factors including geographies, social classes, and educational backgrounds.
7. The focus here is on the way the speaker describes the stereotypes.
8. The long pauses here are most likely due to the student’s oral proficiency level in Arabic.

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The Effects of Songs on Vocabulary Retention in Foreign Language Acquisition

THE CASE OF ARABIC



*Guilnard Moufarrej, US Naval Academy, and Charbel Salameh,
Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de la Croix Rousse, Lyon, France*

This article discusses the role of songs in vocabulary retention among English-speaking students of Arabic. It is based on a study conducted at an American university among students of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) at the intermediate level. Two groups of students—an experimental group and a control group—participated in the study. The experimental group learned songs in their sung form, whereas the control group learned the same songs in their spoken form. Data were collected through class observations, questionnaires given before and after the experiment, and vocabulary pre-tests and post-tests. The results of the study show that vocabulary retention was significantly higher among the experimental group and that singing increased the students' motivation and engagement. Finally, based on previous research on the role of music in implicit language learning, we argue that songs can be a useful tool in addressing the issue of diglossia in teaching Arabic as a foreign language.

Key words: foreign language acquisition, vocabulary retention, music, songs, diglossia, implicit learning

Introduction

Language educators, linguists, and psychologists have long supported the use of music in foreign language acquisition. They suggest that music, and more specifically songs, help second-language learners acquire vocabulary and grammar and improve writing, speaking, and listening (Jolly 1975; Ludke, Ferreira, and Overy 2014; Medina 1993; Salcedo 2010; Stansell 2005). Recent studies conducted by neuroscientists have expanded on this discussion; contrary to earlier theories, which claimed that speech and music are lateralized—in that the speech functions are thought to be localized in the left hemisphere of the brain and music functions in the right hemisphere—new studies reveal that music and language share certain characteristics and mechanisms in the brain (Gordon et al. 2010; Jäncke 2012; Maess et al. 2001; Patel 2003; Schön et al. 2008).

This article examines the effects of songs on the acquisition of Arabic as a foreign language. It is based on a study that was conducted in the spring of 2017 at an American university among students of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) at the intermediate level. It aims to show the role of songs in helping students acquire and retain new vocabulary and in fostering a relaxed classroom atmosphere. Furthermore, based on previous research on the role of music in implicit language learning (Ettlinger, Margulis, and Wong 2011; Saffran, Aslin, and Newport 1996), we argue that songs can be a useful tool in dealing with diglossia, a prominent issue in teaching Arabic as a foreign language (Al-Batal 2018; Bassiouney 2009; Ryding 2013).¹ While language educators of Arabic have begun creating music-based courses for language students (Aquil 2012; Ossama 2015), we would like to expand on these protocols, making songs an incorporated component of foreign language curricula, specifically for Arabic.

Literature Review

Recent advancements in brain-imaging technology have led to two major discoveries regarding the relationship between music and language. First, it was revealed that some brain regions that had long been considered language specific (e.g., Broca's and Wernicke's areas) are also activated by music processing (Maess et al. 2001). Second, it became increasingly clear that language processing is largely distributed within the left hemisphere (Vigneau et al. 2006, for a meta-analysis of functional magnetic resonance imaging data), involving more regions than solely the Broca's and Wernicke's areas, and that the right hemisphere also plays an important role in language perception and comprehension (Federmeier, Wlotko, and Meyer 2008, based on event-related potential [ERP] data). These overlapping language and music

mechanisms in the brain imply that speech functions can benefit from music functions, and vice versa (Jäncke 2012).

These results become more significant in the context of songs, which combine music and speech and in which “language and music are merged in one acoustic signal with two salient dimensions” (Schön, Gordon, and Besson 2005, 71). Daniele Schön and colleagues (2008, 976) note that songs may contribute to language acquisition in several ways, including increasing arousal and attention, enhancing phonological discrimination, and optimizing the operation of learning mechanisms.

Similarly, studies conducted by linguists and psychologists argue for the efficacy of songs in foreign language acquisition (Ludke, Ferreira, and Overy 2014; Medina 1993). Ludke, Ferreira, and Overy (2014, 51) note that “the benefits of singing in foreign language are greatest for spoken recall in the new language.” Carmen Fonseca-Mora (2000, 151) asserts that songs have a positive outcome on students’ language acquisition and that lexical patterns stored in long-term musical memory can be more easily retrieved at a later date for mental rehearsal, memorization, or conversation.

Findings from studies conducted by foreign language educators are consistent with data from these neuroscientific and psychological studies, both of which support the use of music, and more particularly songs, in teaching a foreign language. Many of these studies have focused on the acquisition of French (Abrate 1983; Elliott 1977; Meguido and Sandvoss 1976), Italian (Bruno 1989; Nuessel and Cicogna 1991; Viera 1990), Japanese (Jolly 1975), and Spanish (Acuna 2002; Nuessel and Marshall 2008).

Whereas the use of songs is often endorsed by teachers of Arabic as a foreign language, to our knowledge, no empirical studies have formally assessed songs’ actual effectiveness on language learning in general and vocabulary retention in particular. Recently published textbooks incorporate songs that complement some of the course material (Brustad, Al-Batal, and Al-Tonsi 2011; Younes and Al-Masri 2014), and many Arabic instructors with whom we have communicated tend to use music in the classroom; however, these songs do not always fulfill a pedagogical role in helping students overcome learning difficulties in pronunciation, vocabulary retention, and grammar. We argue that, to be effective, song selection in the classroom should account for the melodic range, the musical complexity, and the cultural relevance of the songs, and a complementary song repertoire should be fully integrated into existing curricula in order to enhance vocabulary and grammar retention.

Issues in Foreign Language Vocabulary Retention

Linguists and language specialists emphasize that vocabulary is key to the mastery of a new language. According to David Wilkins (1972, 111–12), “without grammar

very little can be conveyed, without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed.” Similarly, Michael McCarthy (1990, viii) notes, “No matter how well the student learns grammar, no matter how successfully the sounds of second language (L2) are mastered, without words to express a wide range of meaning, communication in L2 just cannot happen in any meaningful way.” In a questionnaire given in the current study prior to the experiment, participating students mentioned that vocabulary is one of the main obstacles in learning Arabic.

Numerous studies have dealt with the role of songs in ameliorating vocabulary learning and retention in foreign language acquisition (Kuśnerek 2016; Li and Band 2009; Madani and Nasrabadi 2017; Medina 2002). Suzanne Medina (2002) notes that vocabulary can be acquired in two ways: incidental and intentional. In reference to Stephen Krashen’s “Comprehensible Input Hypothesis” (1982), Medina argues that “vocabulary is incidentally acquired through stories because (1) familiar vocabulary and syntax contained in the stories provide meaning to less familiar vocabulary, and (2) picture illustrations clarify the meaning of unfamiliar words” (3). Medina remarks that, apart from oral stories, the acquisition of vocabulary can be done through songs. In a study she conducted on the effects of music on the acquisition of English vocabulary among second grade students with limited English proficiency, Medina (2002, 12) notes that the descriptive data demonstrated definite and consistent patterns favoring music. In her experiment, Medina used both music and an extralinguistic support, which in this case was story illustrations, thus complementing the students’ auditory processing with visual mediums. Another study conducted by Xiangming Li and M. Band (2009) on the relative effectiveness of varied use of songs on vocabulary acquisition, language usage, and meaning for adult-level English as a second language (ESL) students in China shows that an “ESL classroom that is intensively music/song based appears to be highly effective in the teaching of English, both in terms of achievement and attitudes” (82). The current study expands on previous research by focusing on the acquisition of Arabic as a foreign language in English-speaking university students and examines the effects of songs on vocabulary learning using only auditory processing, without any visual mediums.

Research Questions

Based on findings in neuroscience, psychology, linguistics, and language education regarding the role of songs in foreign language acquisition, this study investigated the role of songs in vocabulary retention in teaching Arabic as a foreign language (TAFL) by addressing the following questions:

1. Is teaching new vocabulary in sung forms more effective than in spoken forms?
2. Does singing help with long-term vocabulary retention?
3. What musical and textual characteristics should be taken into consideration when selecting the repertoire of songs?

Research Design

The purpose of this study was to examine the effectiveness of songs in vocabulary retention in the classroom among college students of Arabic as a foreign language. A study was structured using two English-speaking groups of students of MSA at the intermediate level (second semester of first-year Arabic) in a four-year undergraduate program. Two groups of students—a control group and an experimental group—participated in the study. The experimental group learned songs in their sung forms, whereas the students in the control group learned the same songs in their spoken form. Data were collected through class observations, questionnaires given before and after the experiment (appendixes 1 and 2), and vocabulary pre-tests and post-tests. In the first questionnaire, students were asked about any musical training they may have had in order to examine how this may affect their memorization of the songs. In addition, the questionnaire asked students what they thought was most challenging in learning a new language and whether they saw any connection between music and language learning. Students were assigned random numbers to maintain their anonymity and to prevent any bias in the results. Institutional approval was obtained through the Office of Human Research, and consent was obtained from the students to allow their participation in the study.

Participants

Twenty students from two class sections of first-year (second semester) Arabic participated in the experiment. The students were enrolled in an intensive Arabic program, which consists of five contact hours per week. The students' enrollment in the sections, which consisted of twelve and eight students, respectively, dictated the number of participants in each group. The selection of the experimental and the control groups was done through a drawing. As a result, the control group was composed of the twelve-student class, while the experimental group was composed of the eight-student class.

The average ages of the participants in each group were very similar. The control group had a mean age of 20, while the experimental group had a mean age of 21.5.

The control group consisted of 58 percent female and 42 percent male participants, whereas the experimental group was divided equally (four male and four female).

Materials

Two songs were taught during the experiment. The sung versions of the songs were played in class using YouTube. The spoken versions were recited by the researcher using the same rhythmic tempos as those used in the songs. Since the participants were students of MSA for a semester and were taught songs only by the researcher, the chosen songs were known to be from an unfamiliar repertoire, thus eliminating any bias and any effect of priming. In addition, the participants were exposed to the songs only in the classroom. Therefore, they all listened to the songs an equal amount of times.

Testing Instrument

The pre-tests and post-tests consisted of eighteen and sixteen multiple-choice vocabulary sets for the two songs, respectively (appendixes 3 and 5). During the tests, the Arabic words were presented orally; each word was repeated twice. Multiple-choice options consisted of three words in English. The participants were asked to circle the English word that they believed best matched the meaning of the sung or spoken Arabic word. A second post-test was later administered to assess the students' intermediate-term memory. The post-test for song 1 was given six weeks after the first post-test, and the post-test for song 2 was given four weeks later because the semester was coming to an end.

Procedure

Participants in both groups learned two songs over a period of nine weeks. The songs were taught in class. Each song was practiced for a total of nine sessions. The control group learned the songs in their spoken form, and the experimental group learned them in their sung form. The practice took place at the beginning of the class and lasted approximately ten minutes. Participants learned the songs aurally, without any access to the written texts or any visual aid. The sung version was first played using YouTube. After playing the recordings, the researcher would lead the class by singing one phrase at a time, followed by the students' rendition. The spoken version was recited by the researcher rhythmically and repeated by the students.

The selected songs aimed at complementing the topics discussed in class during the semester. For instance, the first song, *Baytik yā sitti l-khityārah* "Your house, old grandma" (see appendix 4), addressed to a grandmother, complemented the theme of the lesson on the family's house and the role of the grandmother in the family.² The second song, titled *Bukra btishru' shams il-'īd* "Tomorrow the sun of the feast will rise"

(see appendix 6), aimed at teaching the students vocabulary terms that they can use on a regular basis and that they had not yet learned when the song was presented to them, such as *bukra* “tomorrow,” *‘id* “feast,” *‘ish* “live,” and *btishru’* “to rise.” In addition, both songs were chosen because of their easy tune and melodic range, which was within the vocal range of the students, thus encouraging the participation of all the students.

In order to determine whether the participants were familiar with the vocabulary words that were to be used in the tests, the researcher consulted the vocabulary lists in the textbook *Al-Kitaab fi Ta'allum al-'Arabiyya: A Textbook for Beginning Arabic*, which was the only textbook that the students had used previously and were using during the current semester (Brustad, Al-Batal, and Al-Tonsi 2011). The vocabulary words included in the tests were all unfamiliar to the participants, except for two words (*l-yawm* “today” and *shams* “sun”) from the second song, *Bukra btishru' shams il-'id*, which were presented to the students in chapters 2 and 5, respectively. During the pre-test, 50 percent of all participants chose an incorrect answer for the word *l-yawm* and 45 percent gave a wrong answer for the word *shams*; therefore, the authors decided to keep the two words in the post-tests. The overall results obtained in the pre-tests among the two participating groups in both songs were close to 50 percent, with a mean of around 45 percent for the first song and around 55 percent for the second song. These relatively low results suggest that the answers were chosen rather randomly.

The songs were in the Lebanese dialect and not in MSA, even though the class is offered in MSA. This choice was made for practical and cultural reasons. As mentioned earlier, the songs were chosen to complement the topics discussed in class. Songs with such topics could not be easily found in MSA, in which songs tend to focus more on love and patriotism and less on culture and everyday events. The choice of the two songs was also based on their musical characteristics, including their melodic range and level of difficulty. Both songs have a small melodic range, unlike many songs in MSA, which have more complex melodies and often a large melodic range, potentially discouraging students, especially those who are not musically inclined, from participating in the songs. Besides, musically complex melodies could make it difficult to focus on the lyrics because more attention would be given toward learning the melody. The rhythm of the songs was also taken into account; the chosen songs had a simple rhythm and a moderate tempo because fast-spoken songs would prevent participants from clearly discerning the lyrics, thus hindering their aural understanding of the vocabulary.

Proficiency Level and Prior Musical Training

To eliminate any bias regarding language competency between the groups, we compared the results of the pre-test using the students' *t*-tests. The statistics did not show

any significant difference at the basic language level for vocabulary pre-tests of both songs $t(11.99) = 0.823, p = 0.42$ for song 1 and $t(16.99) = 0.346, p = 0.73$ for song 2. We also examined differences concerning prior musical training. We found that ten students out of twelve in the spoken group and seven out of eight in the singing group had prior musical background. Using Fisher's exact test, we did not find any significant statistical difference, with a p -value = 1.

Results

Before analyzing the results of the participants' vocabulary tests, we verified the normality of the distribution of our data set. Since our sample was small, we used the Shapiro–Wilk test through the statistical program SPSS. The resulting p -value of the Shapiro–Wilk test was 0.893 in song 1 among the experimental group. Since this p is greater than 0.05, we can state with 95 percent confidence that the data does fit the normal distribution. The p -value among the control group was 0.291, which suggests that this dataset is normally distributed as well. We performed the same test for song 2, and we found again that the datasets for both groups were normally distributed ($p = 0.741$ for the singing group and $p = 0.510$ for the spoken group). Given that all datasets were normally distributed, we proceeded with a student's t -test for statistical analyses as shown below. In order to make multiple comparisons with group sizes this small, we adjusted the p -value using Bonferroni correction. Since we had to test six hypotheses, we divided alfa (0.05) by 6, with alfa being the probability for Type I errors and which consists of rejecting the null hypothesis when the latter is true.

In order to ensure that statistically significant results of the t -tests would not be trivial, we calculated the effect size (which is the measure of the strength of an effect) using Cohen's d . For song 1, Cohen's $d = 0.392$, which is considered a medium effect size. For song 2, Cohen's $d = 0.229$, which is considered a small to medium effect size. Since both effect sizes are greater than 0.2, we can assume that any statistical significance is relevant.

Song 1: *Baytik yā sitti l-khityārah* بيتك يا ستي الاختياراة “Your house, old grandma”

We now discuss the results of the study regarding vocabulary retention. In song 1, titled *Baytik yā sitti l-khityārah* “Your house, old grandma,” the scores of both participating groups improved in the short-term and intermediate-term post-tests (see fig. 1);³ however, the experimental group showed greater improvement in comparison to the pre-test, with a mean of 44 percent and 32 percent progress on post-tests

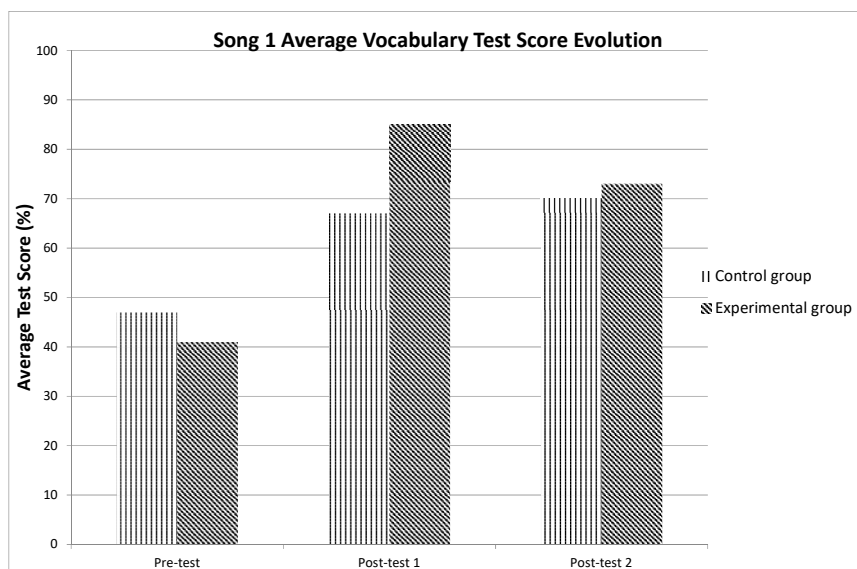


Figure 1 The overall progress of each group in song 1 between the pre-test and the two post-tests

1 and 2, respectively, whereas the control group showed 20 percent and 23 percent improvement on the respective post-tests.

To determine whether this difference is significant, we performed a student's *t*-test to compare the two groups. The comparison of the two groups in the short-term post-test gave a result of $t(15.54) = 2.123, p = 0.05$, and in the intermediate-term post-test a result of $t(11.38) = 0.07, p = 0.94$. Thus, based on the Bonferroni correction, the difference between the two groups in the short and intermediate term is not statistically significant. As for the learning progress within each group, we found a significant improvement on vocabulary retention in both groups both in the short and intermediate terms. In comparing the short-term and intermediate-term tests with the pre-test results in the control group, we found $t(8) = 6.99, p = 0.00012$ and $t(10) = 6.76, p = 0.000049$, respectively. In the experimental group, the results showed a $t(7) = 6.89, p = 0.0023$ for the short-term test and $t(7) = 5.51, p = 0.000889$ for the intermediate-term test.

In summary, the experimental group outperformed the control group in the short-term memory test and did slightly better in the intermediate-term memory test. The difference in vocabulary retention was more noticeable in the short term than in the intermediate term.

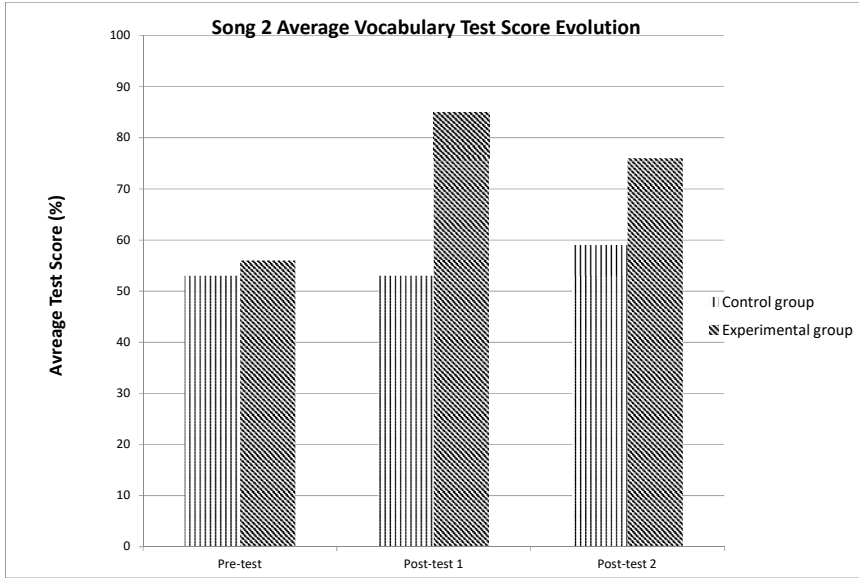


Figure 2 The overall progress of each group in song 2 between the pre-test and the two post-tests

Song 2: *Bukra btishru' shams il-'id* بكرة بتشرق شمس العيد

“Tomorrow, the sun of the feast will rise”

For the vocabulary tests for the second song, the median score of the experimental group rose by 30 percent in the first post-test and 20 percent in the second post-test, whereas the control group showed no progress in post-test 1 and only ~6 percent progress in post-test 2.⁴

Students' *t*-tests were used again to compare the two groups to determine whether this difference is significant. The test showed a statistically significant greater mastery of the vocabulary words among the students in the experimental group compared to the control group, both in the short term $t(11.3) = 3.63, p = 0.003$ and intermediate term $t(15.69) = 3.21, p = 0.0055$. Figure 2 shows the overall progress within each group. We notice the absence of any remarkable improvement in the control group, either in the short or intermediate terms, with $t(10) = 0.85, p = 0.41$ and $t(9) = 2.68, p = 0.02$, respectively. In contrast, the experimental group showed an outstanding improvement in both short and intermediate terms, with $t(11.2) = 3.64, p = 0.0038$ and $t(11.84) = 4.39, p = 0.00074$, respectively.

These results show a remarkable difference in vocabulary learning between the two groups, with vocabulary retention in the experimental group persisting in the intermediate term (see table 1).

Table 1 Student vocabulary pre-test and post-test scores: mean (M), standard deviation (SD), range (R), and standard error (SE) of experimental group and control group

		Experimental Group (N = 8)	Control Group (N = 12)
Song 1 Pretest (out of 18)	M	41.67%	45.94%
	SD	12.60	8.99
	R	38.89	27.78
	SE	4.45	2.71
Song 1 Posttest 1 (out of 18)	M	77.08%	65.56%
	SD	9.12	13.81
	R	22.22	44.45
	SE	3.22	4.37
Song 1 Posttest 2 (out of 18)	M	68.06%	68.52%
	SD	15.92	10.94
	R	50.00	38.89
	SE	5.63	3.16
Song 2 Pretest (out of 16)	M	58.59%	56.82%
	SD	9.41	12.95
	R	31.25	37.50
	SE	3.33	3.90
Song 2 Posttest 1 (out of 16)	M	82.81%	58.85%
	SD	16.28	11.14
	R	43.75	37.50
	SE	5.76	3.21
Song 2 Posttest 2 (out of 16)	M	83.04%	62.50%
	SD	11.25	15.81
	R	37.50	56.25
	SE	4.25	4.77

Discussion

The results found in this study show that songs can play a beneficial role in vocabulary retention among college students of Arabic as a foreign language. The experimental group noticeably outperformed the control group in the vocabulary tests for both songs. While the difference in vocabulary learning was not statistically significant in the first song, most likely due to the small sample size, it was noticeably and statistically significant in the second song, in both the short and intermediate terms.

This study supports previous studies on the role of music in foreign language learning regarding the efficacy of songs in vocabulary retention; however, whereas most of these studies have used multiple mediums (aural and visual), the present study focused on testing the aural effect of music on the participants' learning without giving access

to written texts or visual media in order to avoid bias from visual memory. For instance, Medina's experiment (2002) employed, in addition to songs, an extralinguistic support—in this case, story illustrations—thus complementing auditory processing with visual mediums. Similarly, in the study conducted by Li and Band (2009), students were provided with the texts of the songs and were asked to circle the unfamiliar words; thus, the study used both visual and aural mediums. In the present study, unlike other previously mentioned studies, the researcher explained the meanings of the vocabulary terms orally; during the tests, the students listened to the words in Arabic recited by the researcher while they circled the correct meaning in English.

The two songs used in the study were in the Lebanese Arabic dialect, even though the class was offered in MSA. By selecting songs in colloquial Lebanese to teach in an MSA class, the study proposed that songs can be used to help learners of Arabic acquire a colloquial language while studying MSA or *al-fuṣḥā*, which may contribute to solving the issue of diglossia in teaching Arabic as a foreign language. In the Arabic-speaking world, “spoken forms have evolved over more than a millennium to accommodate the needs of everyday existence and are vital, sophisticated, complex, living languages. However, in the Arab world, they are not considered suitable for written communication and, therefore, not written down, nor are they taught in educational institutions” (Ryding 2013, 14). Current pedagogical practice in the Arab world makes *al-fuṣḥā* the sole focus of curricula, while Colloquial Arabic remains the means of daily communication, although it is not integrated into the curriculum. Arabic diglossia becomes problematic for students of Arabic outside the Arab world, where, by learning only *al-fuṣḥā*, they find themselves unable to communicate with native Arabic speakers.

Teaching songs in an Arabic dialect could solve this issue of diglossia because it indirectly introduces the students to one of these dialects through implicit learning, allowing it to be embedded in their memory for future retrieval. In fact, empirical studies on music and language processing in the brain have shown that “implicit memory seems to play an important role in syntactic processing in both language and music . . . and explicit training is not required for processing of language or music” (Ettlinger, Margulis, and Wong 2011, 7). Even though these studies have examined music or language separately, we believe that the combination of music and language in songs will help with implicit learning of foreign languages. We refer to Aniruddh Patel (2003) who, in his *Shared Syntactic Integration Resource Hypothesis*, postulates that while musical and linguistic syntactic representations are maintained separately, the processing of both musical and linguistic syntactic structures overlap in neural resources. Similarly, Fonseca-Mora (2000) and Claudia Salcedo (2010) argue that subvocal involuntary mental rehearsal is corroborated as potential evidence for why songs in the language

classroom have such a positive effect on delayed recall of vocabulary, formulaic lexical phrases, and extended texts (Fonseca-Mora 2000; Salcedo 2010).

In the present study, the vocabulary terms consisted of words that are both commonly used in MSA and colloquial Lebanese, and words that pertain only to the Lebanese dialect. For example, in the song *Bukra btishru' shams al-'id*, the participants learned that the word *shams* "sun" is the same in dialect and MSA, whereas the Lebanese word *bukra* "tomorrow" is different from the MSA word *ghadan*. Class observations have shown that, whenever possible, students can match the colloquial terms with their equivalents in MSA or can recall the colloquial words in specific cultural contexts. In addition, while the focus of the study was on vocabulary retention, it can be argued that learning the songs also helped the students with pronunciation and fluency in the language.

Whereas it can be argued that songs, both in colloquial and MSA, can be beneficial in learning colloquial and MSA-based curricula, more research needs to be conducted in order to document the benefits of using colloquial songs in learning MSA and one or more Arabic dialects simultaneously. In the questionnaire that was given to the participants after the experiment, they commented that learning songs in dialect was beneficial, allowing them to draw parallels between vocabulary terms in MSA and Arabic dialect (in this case the Lebanese dialect) and to attune their ears to a new form of the language.

In addition to the effective role of songs in improving vocabulary retention, it should be noted that singing helps create a relaxed environment in the classroom, which is relevant to language learning. Krashen (1982), in his "affective filter" hypothesis, argues that the most effective learning occurs in a setting of low anxiety and high self-confidence and motivation. Similarly, Dwayne Engh (2013, 117) suggests that "music lowers affective barriers and assists in making students more relaxed, thereby more receptive to language learning." This approach has also been proposed by Guy Cook (1997), who argues that the use of song and linguistic play in the language classroom increases individual language-learner motivation.

Finally, in a study conducted among students in an elementary school in Taiwan, Yi-Chun Chen and P. Chen (2009) note that a majority of the students were interested in learning English popular songs and that their motivation to learn increased after engaging in this activity. They add that the students felt that their English abilities, especially their listening ability, had improved after learning the songs. Therefore, there seems to be a correlation between learning motivation and performance.

In the current study, class observations showed a great motivation among the singing group. During the singing sessions, students physically reacted by swaying their bodies to the music. Even after the ten-minute practice, the class atmosphere

remained relaxed, which resulted in a good learning environment. In the post-questionnaire, 85 percent of the participants in the singing group said that they would be willing to participate again in a similar study versus 42 percent among the spoken group. Furthermore, about 60 percent of the singing group participants asked for the permanent inclusion of music and singing in the curriculum versus about 50 percent in the spoken group. This suggests that another benefit of using songs in the classroom is creating a relaxed and enjoyable environment, which fosters effective learning.

Shortcomings of the Study

A few shortcomings may have affected the generalizability of this study. These limitations include a low number of participants, time constraints, and the timing of the experiment. Because study participation was dictated by student enrollment in the class, the number of participants in the study can be considered low; a larger number would give more accurate and generalizable results. Furthermore, the allocated time for the study was not enough to conduct a long-term test. The study was conducted during one semester, with interruptions due to breaks and exams. The time interval for the second post-test of the second song was shorter than that of the first song because the semester was coming to an end.

In the second song, two vocabulary words, *l-yawm* “today” and *shams* “sun” that were included in the tests were presented to the participants in previous chapters in the textbook; however, as mentioned earlier, due to considerably lower results for these two words in the pre-test, the authors decided to keep the two words in the post-tests.

Finally, participants in the control group did not progress at all between the pre-test and the first post-test in the second song. This may reflect different reasons, including higher stress levels because of the proximity to the final exams of the semester and lack of motivation. In fact, the students constantly expressed a desire to hear the sung version of the songs and complained that they were learning the lyrics and new vocabulary in a spoken form and without melody. Finally, it is possible that the boosted results among the singing group may not be only a result of the effectiveness of the treatment but also a reflection of the positive environment that resulted from engaging the students with a new learning technique.

Conclusion

The present study is consistent with previous studies regarding the role of music in general, and songs in particular, in language learning (Jäncke 2012; Ludke 2009;

Madani and Nasrabadi 2017; Salcedo 2010; Schön et al. 2008). However, to our knowledge, besides an earlier article on the use of songs in TAFL at the university level (Suleiman 1990), this topic has not been explored in the teaching of Arabic as a foreign language. Recently, there have been some attempts to include songs in Arabic textbooks (Abuhakema, Isleem, and Qasem 2014; Brustad, Al-Batal, and Al-Tonsi 2011; Younes and Al-Masri 2014) and to create music courses for higher education foreign language students (Aquil 2012; Ossama 2015). However, more attention should be given to the musical characteristics of these songs, which are not always easy to sing since their range may exceed the vocal range of several students in the classroom, potentially leading to feelings of discouragement. Additionally, songs are often added to the chapters solely for their cultural content and are discussed as such, without giving the students the opportunity of benefiting from their musical content in terms of vocabulary retention or verbatim recall of new terms.

This study has provided promising results for the use of songs in learning Arabic as a foreign language, particularly in vocabulary retention. Songs can also be effective in teaching grammar, including verb conjugations, verb tenses, and gender rules as well as pronunciation and listening and reading skills. By choosing easy-to-learn songs with simple melodies and rhythms and with varying grammatical structures and different themes, teachers of foreign languages can effectively reach their students through multiple dimensions of learning, allowing them to develop their understanding of the language in an easily accessible and memorable manner. Future research should address the benefits of songs in acquiring these different language skills, which will help the students increase their versatility in complex and unique forms of the language.

Appendix 1

Pre-Study Questionnaire

1. Have you ever taken singing lessons?
Yes No
For how long? _____
Do you still practice singing? _____
2. Have you ever learned to play a musical instrument?
Yes No
Which instrument(s) did you play? _____
For how long? _____
Do you still play/practice? _____

3. Do you participate in a choir, band, or music ensemble?
Yes No Sometimes
4. About how many hours do you listen to music each week?

5. As a second language learner, what do you think is most challenging in learning a new language?

6. Do you see any connection between music and language learning?

Thank you!

Appendix 2

Post-Study Questionnaire

1. Please rate on a scale of 1 to 10 your satisfaction with the experiment, with 1 being least satisfied and 10 being very satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
2. If you were asked to participate one more time in such an experiment, would you do it again? Please explain
Yes No

3. Do you suggest that music/singing should be integrated more into the curriculum? Please explain.
Yes No

Thank you for your time and participation!

Appendix 3

Pretest—Teacher's Version

Song #1- *Baytik yā sitti l-khityāra* بيتك يا ستي الختيارة “Your house, old grandma”

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. ستي | 9. حيطان |
| A. six | A. walls |
| B. my grandma | B. boxes |
| C. your grandma | C. garden |
| 2. ختيارة | 10. دار |
| A. old | A. door |
| B. airplane | B. home |
| C. hidden | C. dress |
| 3. بيدكرني | 11. تقعدني |
| A. I remember | A. makes me sit down |
| B. it reminds me | B. tells me |
| C. it gives me | C. teaches me |
| 4. ترندح | 12. تحكيالي |
| A. she yells | A. tells me |
| B. she scans | B. reads for me |
| C. she cries | C. makes me sit down |
| 5. أشعار | 13. حكايات |
| A. hair | A. books |
| B. poems | B. children |
| C. children | C. stories |
| 6. تشتي | 14. الجنّ |
| A. my grandma | A. fairy |
| B. six | B. girl |
| C. it rains | C. boy |
| 7. فرشات | 15. زبيب |
| A. mattresses | A. apricot |
| B. brushes | B. raisin |
| C. cars | C. nuts |
| 8. ديوان | 16. جوز |
| A. door | A. walnut |
| B. water | B. pistachio |
| C. divan | C. raisin |

17. تخبيلي
A. shows me
B. hides for me
C. eats with me
18. ركوة قهوة
A. coffee pot
B. teapot
C. cup

Appendix 4

بَيْتِكَ يَا سِتِّي الْخْتِيَارَةَ
“Your house, old grandma”

Arabic Version	English Transliteration	English Translation
اللازمة بَيْتِكَ يَا سِتِّي الْخْتِيَارَةَ بِيدَكْرِنِي بُبَيْتِ سِتِّي	<i>Baytik yā sitti l-khityāra bi-ydhakkirnī b-bayt sitti</i>	Refrain Your house, old grandma reminds me of my grandmother's house.
تَبَقَى تُرْنَدِحَلِي أَشْعَارَهَا وَالدَّيْنِي عَمَّ بِتَشْتِي. يُوكُ وَفَرَشَاتٍ وَدِيوَانٍ عَتَقِي الْبَابَ وَهَالْحَيْطَانِ دَارِكِ مِثْلِ دَارَا يَا سِتِّي الْخْتِيَارَةَ.	<i>tib'a trandiḥlī 'ash'āra wi-ddinyī 'am bi-tshattī. yūk w-farshāt w-dīwān 'it'i l-bāb w-hal ḥiṭān dārik mitil dāra yā sitti l-khityāra</i>	she used to scan her poems to me while it was raining. The closet, mattresses, and divan the old-age of the door and walls your house is like her house, old grandma
المقطع الأول تَبَقَى تُقْعَدُنِي وَتَحْكِيَلِي حِكَايَاتِ الْجِنِّ الْحَلْوَةِ وَزُبَيْبٍ وَجُوزِ تَخْبِيَلِي وَأَعْمَلُ لَهَا رَكْوَةَ قَهْوَةَ	<i>Tib'a t'a'idnī w-tiḥkīlī ḥkāyāt il-jinn il-ḥilwi wi-zbib w-jawz tkhabbīlī w'a'milla rakwit 'ahwi</i>	Verse 1 She used to make me sit and tell me the beautiful stories of the jinn and she would hide for me raisins and walnuts and I would prepare a coffee pot for her.
سِتِّي الْيَوْمِ بَعِيدِي وَبَشُوحًا بِإَيْدِي مِشْتَاقَةً لِأَخْبَارَهَا يَا سِتِّي الْخْتِيَارَةَ.	<i>sitti l-yawm b'īdī wi-bshawwiḥla b'īdī mishtā'a l'akhbāra yā sitti l-khityāra</i>	Today, my grandma is far away and I wave at her with my hand I miss her stories My old grandma!

Appendix 5

Pretest—Teacher's Version

Song #2- *Bukra btishru' shams al-'id* بكرة بتشرق شمس العيد "Tomorrow, the sun of the feast will rise"

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1. بكرة | 9. الدنيي |
| A. run | A. world |
| B. tomorrow | B. sea |
| C. now | C. garden |
| 2. بتشرق | 10. جروح |
| A. rises | A. fairies |
| B. sunset | B. wounds |
| C. rains | C. smiles |
| 3. شمس | 11. دمعاتك |
| A. sky | A. your tears |
| B. sun | B. your laughs |
| C. hill | C. your hands |
| 4. عيد | 12. ما بتفيد |
| A. feast | A. don't come |
| B. far | B. don't help |
| C. break | C. don't take |
| 5. نهار | 13. يغتبي |
| A. hair | A. he sings |
| B. fire | B. he reads |
| C. day | C. he thinks |
| 6. عيش | 14. لا تخالي |
| A. live | A. don't let |
| B. dream | B. don't go |
| C. sleep | C. don't say |
| 7. يوم | 15. تروح |
| A. now | A. rest |
| B. today | B. come |
| C. late | C. go |
| 8. حب | 16. بعيد |
| A. live | A. feast |
| B. run | B. far |
| C. love | C. funny |

Appendix 6

بُكْرًا بِتَشْرِقِ شَمْسِ الْعِيدِ
 “Tomorrow the sun of the feast will rise”

Arabic Version	English Transliteration	English Translation
اللازمة		
بُكْرًا بِتَشْرِقِ شَمْسِ الْعِيدِ	<i>bukra btishru' shams il-'id</i>	Refrain Tomorrow the sun of the feast will rise
وَيُنَبِّئُ بِنَهَارِ جَدِيدِ	<i>w-bitbashshir bi-nhār jdīd</i>	and will announce a new day
عِيشَ الْيَوْمِ وَحَبَّ الْيَوْمِ	<i>'ish il-yawm w-ḥibb il-yawm</i>	live (your life) today and love today
الْيَوْمِ بِيَدِكَ بُكْرًا بَعِيدًا.	<i>l-yawm b'idak bukra b-'id</i>	today is in your hands and tomorrow is far away
المقطع الأول		
إِنَّ كُنَّا الدِّنْيِي كِلَا جُرُوحِ	<i>'in kanna d-dinyī killa jrūḥ</i>	Verse 1 If the whole universe is full of wounds
دَمْعَاتِكَ مَا يَتَفِيدُكَ	<i>dam'atak mā bitfidak</i>	your tears will not help you.
خَلِّي الْمَوَالَ الْمَجْرُوحِ	<i>khallī l-mawwāl il-majrūḥ</i>	Let the wounded song
يُغَنِّي بِلَيْلَةِ عَيْدِكَ	<i>yghannī bi-laylit 'idak</i>	sing on your birthday's eve
لَا تَخَلِّي الْإِيَّامَ تَرُوحِ	<i>la tkhallī l-'iyyām trūḥ</i>	don't let the days go by
تَرُوحِ وَتَقْلُتْ مِنْ إِيَدِكَ	<i>trūḥ w-tiflut min 'idak</i>	go by and slip from your hand
عِيشَ الْيَوْمِ وَحَبَّ الْيَوْمِ	<i>'ish il-yawm w-ḥibb il-yawm</i>	live (your life) today and love today
الْيَوْمِ بِيَدِكَ بُكْرًا بَعِيدًا.	<i>l-yawm b'idak bukra b-'id</i>	today is in your hands and tomorrow is far away.

Notes

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1. Arabic diglossia refers to the fact that Arabs in the Arabic-speaking world read and write one form of language, known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or *al-fuṣḥā*, and speak variants of it or dialects that vary from one region to another. Dialects are used in daily life whereas MSA

is the language of literature and the media and is taught at schools and universities. It is also used in government-sponsored conferences and seminars and in religious contexts, including sermons and prayers.

2. In Arabic culture, *bayt al-ʿāʾila* (the family's house) is the house of the grandparents, where, traditionally, the whole family would meet on weekends and during holidays.

3. This song was written and composed by renowned Lebanese composers Assi and Mansour Raḥbānī, also known as the Raḥbānī Brothers, and sung by the Lebanese diva Fairuz, who is known for her distinguished vocal timbre and quality and has performed very complex songs; however, this song addressed to the grandmother has a simple melody and is easy to sing and learn.

4. This song was written and composed by renowned Lebanese composer Romeo Lahoud, and sung by the Lebanese diva Ṣabāḥ. Similar to Fairuz, Ṣabāḥ's voice is strong and has a wide vocal range. This song, however, has a simple melody and upbeat rhythm, which makes it accessible to all students, regardless of their musical capabilities.

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Rhetoric of Argumentation in Al-Mutanabbī's 'Ayniyya Poem

“OTHERS ARE DECEIVED BY MOST OF THESE PEOPLE”



Mufleh Al-Hweitat, The University of Jordan, Aqaba Branch

This study aims to provide a textual approach to Al-Mutanabbī's 'Ayniyya poem, which starts with the following: “Others are deceived by most of these people.” The study starts with a brief introduction of the concept of *argumentation* and then provides an overview of some crucial methodological parameters. The study then proceeds into its main part, the practical aspect through which the researcher seeks to make use of the outcomes of argumentation theory in discourse and, thus, employs them in reading one of al-Mutanabbī's poems. The researcher divides the text into five textual units, revealing in each unit the rhetorical, stylistic, and instrumental mechanisms used by the poet to present his arguments and assertions. The researcher examines the logic of the poem that governs its entire structure as a text in a coherent existing structure and links the text to its context due to the important role that this linkage plays in such argumentation studies in order to overcome the closed textual view in analyzing literary discourse.

Key words: rhetoric, argumentation, textual approach, Abbasid poetry, Al-Mutanabbī

ملخص الدراسة

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تقديم مقارنة نصية حجاجية لقصيدة المتنبي العينية التي مطلعها: "غري بأكثر هذا الناس يخذع...". وتتنظم الدراسة في مقدمة تعرض لمفهوم الحجاج ولبعض الاحترازات المنهجية التي يرى الباحث ضرورة توضيحها. ثم تنتقل الدراسة إلى الجزء الرئيس منها وهو الجانب التطبيقي الذي يسعى الباحث من خلاله إلى الإفادة من منجزات نظرية الحجاج في الخطاب، وتوظيفها في قراءة هذه القصيدة من شعر المتنبي. وقد قسم الباحث - لغايات إجرائية ومنهجية - القصيدة إلى خمس وحدات نصية، كاشفاً في كل وحدة الآليات والوسائل الحجاجية والبلاغية والأسلوبية والإيقاعية التي استخدمها الشاعر في تقديم حججه وتوكيدها، محاولاً إيجاد المنطق الحجاجي الذي يحكم القصيدة كلها بوصفها نصاً يستوي في بنية قائمة متماسكة. وقد حرص الباحث على ربط النص بسياقه؛ وذلك لما لهذا الجانب من أثر في مثل هذه الدراسات الحجاجية التي تتجاوز مقارباتها النظرة النصية المغلقة في تحليل الخطابات. وتنتهي الدراسة بخاتمة يجمل فيها الباحث ما توصل إليه من نتائج واستخلاصات.

مقدمة

حظي الحجاج argumentation على المستوى النظري بدراسات كثيرة استقصت تعريفاته ووجوهه وأنواع الحجج وآليات تشكيلها... إلخ. وليست الغاية هنا تفصيل الحديث في هذه الجوانب التي بلغ بها الدارسون حد التشبع؛ فمطلب هذه الدراسة في الأساس إجرائي تطبيقي يسعى إلى استثمار جوانب من منجزات نظرية الحجاج بما يفيد في دراسة نص من الشعر العربي القديم من هذا الجانب الحجاجي البلاغي تحديداً. وإذا كان من الصعوبة تحديد تعريف جامع شامل للحجاج أو حصره في نظرية محدّدة في مثل هذا المقام؛ وذلك لتشعب الموضوع وامتداد أطرافه وتوزعه بين عدد من العلوم كاللغويات والمنطق والبلاغة والقانون التي يذهب كل منها إلى انتمائه إليه بوصفه أدخل في مجال اشتغالات هذا العلم دون ذلك، فإن الباحث سيكتفي في هذا المدخل النظري بتقديم ما يراه كافياً لإضاءة المصطلح وتوضيحه، والإشارة إلى بعض الإجراءات المنهجية التي ينبغي تحديدها ابتداءً، مع التأكيد على أن النظرية لن تغيب تماماً عن الجانب التطبيقي في هذه الدراسة؛ إذ سيعتمد الباحث على استثمار مكوناتها كلما دعت متطلبات التطبيق إلى ذلك، وربما كان هذا الإجراء أجدى في ربط النظرية بالتطبيق ربطاً محكماً، والإفادة منها على نحو واضح صريح. ومهما يكن من أمر، فإن المعنى اللغوي لكلمة حجاج، كما يرد لدى ابن منظور، هو على النحو الآتي: "يقال: حاجته أحاجه حجاجاً ومُحاجَّةً حتى حججته أي غلبته بالحجج التي أدلّيت بها (...). والحجّة: البرهان؛ وقيل: الحجّة ما دُفِعَ به الخصم؛ وقال الأزهري: الحجّة الوجه الذي يكون به الظفر عند الخوصمة (ابن منظور، د.ت، مادة حجج).

أما في الاصطلاح فالتعريفات تتعدّد، وتعدّد نتائج عن مرجعياتها المختلفة؛ "ولا غرابة، والحالة هذه، أن هناك حجاجاً خطابياً (لسانياً)، وحجاجاً خطابياً (بلاغياً)، وآخر قضائياً أو سياسياً أو فلسفياً... إلخ" (أعراب ٢٠٠١، ٩٨). ومع كل ذلك فإن هذا لا يمنع من القول إن "الحجاج يتكئ على مقولات رئيسية يلتقي عليها منظّروه، على اختلاف اتجاهاتهم وتنوع نظرياتهم" (عيد ٢٠١٣، ١٢)؛ فحدّ "الحجاج أنه فعالية تداولية جدلية؛ فهو تداولي لأن طابعه الفكري مقامي واجتماعي؛ إذ يأخذ بعين الاعتبار مقتضيات الحال من معارف مشتركة ومطالب إخبارية وتوجهات ظرفية (...). وهو أيضاً جدلي لأن هدفه إقناعي قائم بلوغه على التزام صور استدلالية أوسع وأغنى من البنيات البرهانية الصيقة" (عبدالرحمن ٢٠٠٠، ٦٥).

وعليه، فإنَّ الحِجاج- كما يعرفه شاييم بيرلمان- هو ”دَرَسُ تقنيات الخطاب التي من شأنها أن توَدِّي بالأذهان إلى التَّسليم بما يعرض عليها من أطروحات أو أن تزيد في درجة التَّسليم“ (صولة ١٩٨٨، ٢٩٩). وغايته هي ”الفاعل في المتلقِّي على نحو يدفعه إلى العمل، أو يهيئه للقيام بالعمل“ (الديري ٢٠١١، ٢١). واستناداً إلى ذلك، فإنَّ مسألة جَدْب الآخرين- كما يقرّر بيرلمان وتيتكا- والاستحواذ على موقفهم لدعم الفكرة التي يقدِّمها صانع الخطاب تبدو هدفاً تسعى إليه كلُّ عمليَّة حِجاجيَّة (Rieke, Sillars, and Peterson ٢٠٠٥، ٤).

وهذا الهدف هو ما سَعَتْ إليه من قبل النظريَّة الأرسطيَّة في الحِجاج، فهذه النظريَّة تنهض في تصوُّرها العامِّ على إستراتيجيَّات ثلاث تُعدُّ المقوِّمات الأساسيّة في التحليل البلاغيّ الحِجاجي للخطاب، وهي: إستراتيجيَّة اللوجوس المعتمدة على محتوى الخطاب ذاته، وإستراتيجيَّة الباتوس المعتمدة على مشاعر المخاطب، وإستراتيجيَّة الإيتوس المعتمدة على شخصيَّة الخطيب (بروتون وجوتيه ٢٠١١، ٣٢). ومن الواضح أنَّ هذه الإستراتيجيَّات الثلاث تشمل أركان التواصل الأساسيّة: الخطاب، ومُنشئ الخطاب، ومُستقبل الخطاب. ولكلِّ واحدةٍ من هذه الإستراتيجيَّات وسائلها وأدواتها في تشكيل الخطاب الحِجاجي وبنائه، وهي تتعاون مجتمعةً لإحداثٍ وظيفتها الإقناعيّة والتأثيريّة في متلقِّي الخطاب.

والباحث إذ يقدِّم هذه المحدِّدات فإنَّه لا بدُّ أن يُدكِّر بأهميَّة الإشارة إلى الإطار النوعي الذي يندرج فيه النُّص مدار المقارَبة الحاليَّة؛ فالنُّص هنا نصُّ شعريٌّ، وكثيراً ما وُصِفَ الشُّعرُ بأنَّه فنُّ جماليّ تخييليّ، وأنَّه بذلك أبعدُّ ما يكون عن الحجَّة والاستدلال والبرهان؛ لأنَّ البعد الجماليّ هو الغالب على البعد الإقناعيّ فيه. غير أنَّ ما خلَّص إليه النُّظَر النقديّ في هذا المجال أنَّ الحِجاج أمرٌ لا يقتصر على النَّثر دون الشُّعر، وقد ألمح إلى شيء من ذلك قديماً ناقداً عربيّ هو حازم القرطاجني (ت ٦٨٤هـ) الذي رأى تداخل الوظائف بين الخطابة والشُّعر. يقول: ”واستعمال الإقناع في الأقاويل الشُّعريَّة سائغ، إذا كان ذلك على جهة الإلماع في الموضوع بعد الموضوع، كما أنَّ التخيل سائغ استعمالها في الأقاويل الخطابيَّة في الموضوع بعد الموضوع. وإمَّا ساع لكليها أن يستعمل يسيراً فيما تتقوم به الأخرى؛ لأنَّ الغرض في الصناعتين واحد، وهو إعمال الحيلة في إلقاء الكلام من النفوس بمحلِّ القبول لتتأثَّر بمقتضاه“ (القرطاجني ١٩٨٦، ٣٦١).

إنَّ كلَّ هذا يدعو إلى القول إنَّ الشُّعر ”مُترَعٌ بقيم حجاجيَّة قويَّة. وهو يُخرج المتلقِّي من دائرة التذوق الجماليّ الحياديّ. إنَّه لا يتركنا حياديين إزاء ما يرويه (. . .) إنَّه يعدلُّ أو يرسِّخ رأياً ما أو إحساساً ما“ (الولي ٢٠١١، ١٦)؛ فالتأثير في النفوس إذن غايةٌ مشتركةٌ بين كثير من الخطابات، ولكن لا بدُّ من التأكيد على أنَّ لكلِّ نوعٍ أدواته ووسائله في ذلك. وفيما يخصُّ الشُّعر، موضوع هذه المقارَبة، فإنَّ حجاجيَّته تتأتَّى من غير وجه؛ فالأغراض/الموضوعات الشُّعريَّة التي يندرج في إطارها أغلب الشُّعر العربيّ القديم، من مثل المديح والهجاء والفخر والغزل موضوعات ”كلِّها محكومة بمقصديَّات تداوليَّة حِجاجيَّة، يُراد بها التأثير والإقناع، إمَّا الوصول إلى قلب المحبوب، أو التبعئة الجماعيَّة، أو الإعلاء من قيمة الذات“ (عادل ٢٠١٧، ٥٠؛ وانظر مشبال ٢٠١٧، ٢٢). وإلى جانب هذا الوجه الإقناعيّ، فإنَّ ما يتَّسم به الشُّعر من لغة جماليَّة واستعاريَّة، وما يوظِّفه من مؤثِّرات إيقاعيَّة وأسلوبية وخياليَّة، كلُّ ذلك له مفعوله الواضح في شدِّ القارئ واستمالته والتأثير في توجُّهه وقناعاته (عادل ٢٠١٧، ٥٠).

وهذه الدِّراسة تتوخَّى الوقوف على نصِّ واحد ليحتِّب بنية الحِجاج فيه بحثاً مفصلاً شاملاً براعي خصوصيَّة هذا النُّص ومعمارهِ البنائيّ؛ فالنُّص الشُّعريّ بنيةٌ متكاملةٌ تتجاوب فيه العناصر اللغويَّة والصوتيَّة والإيقاعيَّة لتوَدِّي وظيفته التأثيريّة التي يسعى في إحداثها، ”وهذا يجعل مستويات النُّص اللغويَّة الصُّغرى والكبرى وكيفيَّة تشكُّل النُّص بنائياً موضعَ اعتبار قارِّ، لا ينبغي تجاوزه منهجياً؛ إذ هو مناط التَّميِّز ومحطُّ الاعتبار“ (عيد ٢٠١٦، ١٨٥).

والمتنبِّي أحد ”شعراء المعاني“ الكبار الذين يحضر المرتكز الفكريّ في شعرهم حضوراً واضحاً (الخطيب ١٩٩٦، ٢٨٢). ومن المؤكَّد أنَّ شعراً بهذا الوصف سيكون من أكثر الشُّعر احتفاءً بالحجَّة والإقناع^(١)؛ ذلك أنَّه



بمحمولة الفلسفي، ووضوح ما يسميه دارسوه "بالحكمة" فيه، واتكاؤه على النظر العقلي والخبرة العملية، حتى إنه، كما يرى القاضي الجرجاني (ت ٣٩٢هـ)، قد "خرج عن رسم الشعر إلى طريق الفلسفة" (الجرجاني ٢٠٠٦، ١٦٠). كل ذلك يعزز حضور المآحى الججاجي في هذا الشعر وتمكّنه منه. وقد سئل المتنبي عن أبي تمام وعن البحري وعن نفسه فقال: "أنا وأبو تمام حكيمان والشاعر البحري" (ابن الأثير ١٩٣٩، ٣٦٩/٢)، وهو قول، بقدر ما يكشف عن فهم وتصوّر معينين للشعر، فإنه يدلّ على أنّ المتنبي نفسه قد فطن إلى ما ينماز به شعره وشعر أبي تمام من حمولة فكرية وتعدّ معرفي.

وليس أدلّ أيضاً على وضوح هذا البعد الججاجي والتداوليّ في شعر المتنبي من كثرة ما يتداوله الناس من مأثور شعره فيما يعرض لهم من مواقف وحالات، وهو مأثور يأتي دالاً في التعبير عما يجول في أعماق أنفسهم من مشاعر واختلاجات. وقد "قيل في تفسير سرورة شعر المتنبي بل خلوده إنه كأنما كان ينطق بلسان كلّ إنسان في كلّ زمان ومكان" (الموسى ٢٠١٣، ١٢٣). وقد اتخذت كثير من أبياته (أو أشطر منها) صفة الأمثال السائرة، والحكم المتداولة على مرّ الزمان، فمن مثلاً لم يورد أو يتمثل بأحد أبياته الآتية أو غيرها في موقف عابر أو حادثة عارضة بقصد التأثير والإقناع: "... مصائب قوم عند قوم فوائد، ... وخير جليس في الزمان كتاب"، و"ما كلّ ما يتمنى المرء يدركه تجري الرياح بما لا تشتهي السفن"، و"طعم الموت في أمر صغير/كطعم الموت في أمر عظيم" و"... ما لجرح يميت إيلام" ... إلخ. وهي حكم متداولة إلى الحدّ الذي يدفع الباحث إلى عدم توثيقها لشهرتها وذيوعها بين الناس. كما أنها أكثر من أن يحصيها الباحث ويوردّها كلّها في هذا المقام.

الججاج في قصيدة: "غيري بأكثر هذا الناس يتخددع . . ."

تأتي هذه القصيدة (انظر المتنبي ١٩٨٦، ٢٣٠-٣٤٣)^(١) في ذكر الموقعة التي نكب فيها جيش سيف الدولة أمام الروم بالقرب من بحيرة الحدّث سنة ٣٣٩هـ (ابن كثير ٢٠١٠، ١٨٣/١٢؛ المعري ١٩٩٢، ١٧٥/٣-١٧٦). ومع أنّ هذه الموقعة قد شهدت في بدايتها انتصاراً لسيف الدولة، إلا أنها آلت في نهايتها إلى هزيمة مؤلمة. فالقصيدة إذن جاءت، على ما بدا فيها من حديث عن النصر، في وصف هزيمة، وذلك على غير ما اعتاد أبو الطيّب أن يقول الشعر في سيف الدولة الذي اتّجه أغلب شعره فيه إلى وصف النصر والانتشاء به. وإذا كان الحديث عن النصر حديثاً أثيراً على النفس، تدفع نشوئه الشاعر إلى القول، وتمدّه بفيوض من الطّاقة لا تنفد، فإنّ الحديث عن الهزيمة، على نقيضه، حديث قاس على النفس، تضيق فيه مسالك القول، وتصعب فيه مهمة الشاعر فيما يمكن أن يقدم أو يقول.

من هذه الزاوية تحديداً تبدو الحاجة إلى توظيف "الججاج"، واستثمار فاعليته في تهوين آثار الهزيمة، أمراً له ما يسوّغه في هذه القصيدة، بل إنّ الأمر يتطلبه ويستدعيه؛ فمصّاب سيف الدولة كبير، ووَفَع ما حدث على نفسه كان مؤلماً وشديداً، فلا بدّ إذن أن يكون ثمّة من يواسيه، ويخفف عنه في نكبته هذه. ومعروف أنّ للكلمة دورها وأثرها الكبيرين في مثل هذا المقام، وربما أخذ هذا الدور منحى مختلفاً لدى العرب خاصة؛ ذلك أنّهم "يسندون للكلمة أهمية أكبر ممّا تفعله مجتمعات عديدة أخرى لأسباب مختلفة قابلة للاكتناه والتّحديد، بين أكثرها أهميّة الطبيعة القدسيّة للكلمة والنّص الذي شكّلت نصوصه الأولى منبعاً رئيسياً من منابع اللّغة والكتابة والقول والإنشاء بكلّ أشكالها" (أبو ديب ٢٠١٢، ١٤٨).

وإذا كان هذا المسوّغ يتعلّق بالمحفّزات والمؤثّرات والأهداف التي دفعت إلى إنشاء هذا النّص، فإنّ مضمون النّص نفسه يعبر عن الأساس عن موقف تواصليّ محدّد؛ إذ يخضع لمقصدية عملية تتحكّم في إنتاجه، وهذا شأن أغلب النصوص التي تتوخى المدح أو الهجاء أو السخرية كما أُشير إلى ذلك من قبل. وتتمثّل



مقصديّة هذا النَّصِّ الحِجَاجِيَّةِ في: (١) الفخر بالذّات وإبراز ملامح تفردّها (٢) مدح البطل/سيف الدّولة (٣) السُّخريّة من الرّوم وقائدهم (٤) السُّخريّة من الفئّة المنهزمة من جيش سيف الدّولة (٥) التّعريض ببعض الشّعراء المنافسين؛ فالنّصُّ إذن يسطح-كما تنبئ محاوره المذكورة- بوظيفة حِجَاجِيَّةِ تداوليّة غابِئها الإقناع والتأثير.

ومع أنّ محاور النَّصِّ متداخلة، ويصعب تقسيمه على وجه الدقّة إلى أجزاء متعدّدة؛ باعتبار أنّ المعنى الواحد فيه قد يمتدّ فيدخل في نسيج غيره ويتماهى به، إلاّ أنّه يمكن مع ذلك تقسيم النَّصِّ، إجرائياً وعلى سبيل التّجوز، إلى الوحدات النَّصِّيّة الآتية التي أُدرج كلّ منها تحت عنوان مقترح. وقد روعي في تحديد هذه الوحدات غلبه معنى ما، ومركزيّته بالنّظر إلى غيره من معانٍ.

الاستهلال وتدشين صورة الذات:

عَبْرِي بِأَكْثَرِ هَذَا النَّاسِ يَنْخَدِعُ	إِنْ قَاتَلُوا جَبَنُوا أَوْ حَدَّثُوا شَجَعُوا
أَهْلَ الْحَفِيظَةِ إِلَّا أَنْ تُجَرَّبَهُمْ	وَفِي التَّجَارِبِ بَعْدَ الْعَيِّ مَا يَزَعُ
وَمَا الْحَيَاةَ وَنَفْسِي بَعْدَ مَا عَلِمْتُ	أَنَّ الْحَيَاةَ كَمَا لَا تَسْتَهِي طَبَعُ ^(٣)
لَيْسَ الْجَمَالَ لَوْجَهُ صَحَّ مَارِنُهُ	أَنْفُ الْعَزِيزِ يَبْقَعُ الْعِزَّ يَجْتَدِعُ ^(٤)
أَطْرَحُ الْمَجْدَ عَنْ كَتْفِي وَأَطْلُبُهُ	وَأَتْرُكُ الْعَيْتَ فِي غَمْدِي وَأَنْتَجِعُ
وَالْمَشْرِفِيَّةَ لَا زَالَتْ مُشْرِفَةً	دَوَاءُ كُلِّ كَرِيمٍ أَوْ هِيَ الْوَجَعُ ^(٥)

أول ما يلحظه الناظر في هذه القصيدة أنّ المتنبّي لم يلتزم في بنائها البناء التقليديّ للقصيدة العربيّة القديمة، ذلك البناء الذي يقوم، وفقّ تحديد ابن قتيبة (ت ٢٧٦هـ) الذي ينقله عن "بعض أهل الأدب"، على البدء بذكر الأطلال، فالنسيب، فالرحيل، وصولاً إلى المديح (ابن قتيبة د. ت، ٧٤١-٧٥٠)؛ وإمّا هي قصيدة تقارب موضوعها مباشرة دون مقدّمات أو إضافات. ولعلّ في هذا ما يدلّ على أنّ هذه القصيدة مشغولة في الأساس بموضوعها بعيداً عن التزام الأعراف والشروط الفنيّة الموروثة التي ظلت تلتزمها في الغالب قصيدة المديح. وقد يكون لمناسبة القصيدة بما تعبّر عنه من موقف مؤثّر تمثّل في هزيمة مؤلمة مني بها سيف الدّولة دوراً في اختيار هذا البناء تحديداً؛ فالشاعر يؤثّر هذا البناء المباشر الذي يربط أبيات القصيدة، ويوحّد بين أجزائها وفقّ منطقٍ بنايٍ مُحكّم.

يبدأ النَّصُّ بحديث الذات العارفة القادرة على مميّز النَّاسِ، وكشف جوهرهم الذي يتخفى دائماً على الآخرين: "عبري بأكثر هذا النَّاسِ يندع... " ويوظف الشاعرُ تقنيّة المفارقة القائمة على أسلوب الشّريط والتضادّ في كشف هذا الجوهر وفضحه: "إنّ قاتلوا جبنوا أو حدّثوا شجعوا"؛ فالمفارقة الحاصلة بين سلوكين متنافرين: جبنهم عند القتال، وشجاعتهم عند الحديث، هي التي تُظهر هذا التناقض الذي ستتكفل التجربة وحدها بكشفه؛ ولذا يؤكّد الشاعر في البيت الثاني هذا المعنى ويفصّله؛ فهؤلاء النَّاسِ هم أهل الحفيظة (الحميّة والألفة)، وهم يكونون على ذلك ما لم يُجرّبوا: "إلاّ أن تجرّبهم... "، أمّا إذا جرّبهم فلن تجدّهم على ما يصفون به أنفسهم؛ ففي التجارب تتكشف الحقائق، وينماز "الفاعل" من "القول/الادعاء": "وفي التجارب بعد العيّ ما يزع". وواضح أنّ الشاعر هنا يستند إلى "حجّة التجربة" (انظر بروتون ٢٠١٣، ٨٦) بما هي حجّة تقوم على ممارسة فعلية خبّرها النَّاسِ، وتيقنوا من صحّة حكمها ودقّة نتيجتها.

ولعلّ اتّخاذ الشاعر هذا الموقف الجدّي من النَّاسِ كان بتأثير من الهزيمة التي لحقت بسيف الدّولة وجيشه؛ فكأنّ شدّة وفّع هذه الهزيمة اقتضت هذا المدخل الحِجَاجِيّ؛ وذلك لدفع أيّ إشارة قد توحى

بأن الهزيمة كانت بسبب تقصير سيف الدولة أو سوء تدبيره. ومع أن الحديث يتخذ معنى عاماً في وصف طبيعة الناس كما يراها الشاعر، إلا أن ارتباطه بمناسبة هذا النص واضح لا يخفى؛ فالتعريض بتلك الفئة من الناس التي تجبن عند القتال تحديداً أمر يتعاقق وفحوى الخطاب الذي يصدر عنه النص. ومن هنا جاء وصف عزالدين إسماعيل لمطلع هذه القصيدة بـ "المثير"؛ فكأن الشاعر يلخص به "الدرس المستفاد من تلك التجربة التي انتهت بهزيمة سيف الدولة" (إسماعيل ١٩٩٤، ١٥٠).

وإذا كان موقف المتنبي من الناس له ما قد يسوغه في هذا النص باعتبار أن مفاجأة الحدث وقسوته دفعنا إلى إصدار هذا "الحكم التعميمي" على "أكثر" الناس، فإن لهذا الموقف أيضاً جذوره الممتدة التي تعود أصلاً إلى موقف الشاعر السلبي من الناس عموماً، وهو موقف متوجس شك يلمسه كل من يقرأ متنه الشعري الذي اتسم في مجمله بقدر من الارتباب وسوء الظن والحذر من عموم الجنس البشري، وليس أدل على ذلك من وضوح هذا المعنى واطراده في كثير من شعره (انظر مثلاً: المتنبي ١٩٨٦، ٩٢/٣-٩٣، ٤٧/٣، ٢٧٤/٤).^(١)

إن حديث الذات العارفة بالناس الذي بدأ به الخطاب الشعري، كما بدأ، يرمي أيضاً إلى تقديم صورة متعالية لهذه الذات التي تظهر على تمايز وافتراق دائمين عن الآخرين، وكأن الشاعر يهدف إلى تأكيد ذاته منذ مفتتح النص، وهو إجراء كثيراً ما يلجأ إليه المتنبي، بل إنه ملمح بات من الخصائص الفارقة في قصيدته؛ أعني حديثه المتكرر عن ذاته وبروز هذه الذات الممتلئة في كثير من نصوصه. وقد وقف الدارسون كثيراً على هذا الجانب في شعره وحياته وأوسعوه بحثاً وتحليلاً (انظر مثلاً: أدونيس ١٩٧٩، ٥٥-٥٧؛ الغدامي ٢٠٠١، ١٢٥-١٢٨). والحال في هذا النص لا يفارق هذا التصور كثيراً؛ فالذات تبدو هنا على قدر كبير من التسامي والترفع عن كل ما من شأنه أن يدنس صفاءها ويخدش نقاء صورتها: "وما الحياة ونفسي بعدما علمت/ أن الحياة كما لا تشتهي طبع"، وكأن الذات هنا تسعى إلى مفارقة المجموع الذي قدمت له صورة على وجه بالغ من السلبية والخواء كما بدأ في البيتين الأول والثاني. واللافت أن هذا المعنى سيعاود حضوره في الوحدة النصية الأخيرة من النص، حين تفسح الذات عن غايتها ومقصدها من هذا الحضور بوضوح لا يخالطه أدنى لبس.

في الأبيات الثلاثة التالية من هذه الوحدة النصية يحشد الشاعر عدداً من الأساليب البلاغية والإيقاعية التي يهدف من استخدامها إلى تحقيق الوظيفة التأثيرية في المخاطب؛ ذلك أن هذه الأساليب ذات أثر بالغ في هذا الجانب بالنظر إلى تعدد مكوناتها الحجاجية (البهلول ٢٠١٣، ٣٦٩). وهي مكونات يسعى الشاعر من توظيفها جميعها إلى تعزيز توجهه الحجاجي المتمثل هنا في رغبته في تأكيد صورة ذاته بما هو نذ حاضر في كل قصيدة مديح له؛ ففي البيت الرابع يوظف التمثيل: "ليس الجمال لوجه صح مارنه . . ."، بما يمكن أن يكون له من أثر في توكيد الدلالة، والتأثير في متلقي الخطاب وإقناعه؛ ذلك أن التمثيل، كما يقرر عبدالقاهر الجرجاني (ت ٤٧١هـ)، "إذا جاء في أعقاب المعاني، أو برزت هي باختصار في معرضه، وقُلت عن صورها الأصلية إلى صورته، كساها أبهه، وكسبها منقبة، ورفع من أقدارها، وشب من نارها، وضاعف قواها في تحريك النفوس لها، ودعا القلوب إليها، واستثار لها من أفاصي الأفئدة صبابه وكلفاً، وقسر الطباع على أن تعطيهما محبة وسعفاً، فإن كان مدحاً، كان أبهى وأفخم، وأنبل في النفوس وأعظم . . . وإن كان ذماً، كان مسه أوجع . . . وإن كان حجاجاً، كان برهانه أنور، وسلطانه أقهـر، وبيانه أبهر" (الجرجاني ١٩٩١، ١١٥).

وفي البيت الخامس يلجأ الشاعر إلى أكثر من وسيلة بلاغية؛ فثمة توظيف لأسلوب الاستفهام: "أطرح المجد عن كتفي وأطلبه/ وأترك الغيث في غمدي وأنتجع"، والاستفهام رابط حجاجي فاعل (الدريدي ٢٠١١، ١٤١)، وفي توظيف الشاعر له هنا، بما يتضمنه من معنى استنكاري في هذا السياق، نزوع حجاجي إلى تأكيد قيمة القوة، وإقراراً ضمنياً بجدواها وأثرها في رحلة الحياة هذه. ويكتمل هذا المعنى في البيت التالي: "والمشرفة لا زالت مشرفة . . .؛ فحياة المرء، إن أراد العيش بعز أو الموت بكرامة، لا تكون إلا في اختيار هذه السبيل. وهو يعز هذا المعنى ويؤكدده، ما يعني تمكن هذه الرؤية لديه. ولعل من نافلة القول الإشارة

إلى أن تمجيد القوة كان معنًى كثير التوارد في شعر المتنبي (انظر مثلاً: أمين ١٩٤٣، ٩١/٤-١٠٠؛ العقاد ١٩٨٧، ١٧٤-١٤٨)، وهو من الملامح الواضحة التي ظلت تصدر عنها رؤيته الشعرية في شعره كله. ومن المؤثرات الإيقاعية التي يستثمرها الشاعر أيضاً في هذا البيت (الخامس) بنية التوازي؛ إذ تتوازي البنية التركيبية وتتشابه على المستوى النحوي والصرفي بين شطري البيت؛ لتحقيق إيقاعاً نغمياً يمكن أن يكون له دوره في التأثير في مستقبل الخطاب؛ ذلك "أنه لا يمكن دراسة البنية الأسلوبية منفصلة عن أهدافها الججاجية، فحتى ما ينشأ في الخطاب من تناغم وإيقاع وغير ذلك من الظواهر الشكلية المحضة يمكن أن يكون له تأثير ججاجي من خلال ما يتولد عنه من إعجاب ومرح وانبساط وحماس (كذا) لدى جمهور السامعين" (صولة ١٩٨٨، ٣١٧).

وفي البيت السادس (الأخير من هذه الوحدة النصية) يعمد الشاعر أيضاً إلى توظيف أكثر من أسلوب بلاغي؛ فهو يوظف أولاً المجانسة اللفظية في: المشرفة- مشرفة، وقد عمق هذا الجناس بين المشرفية ومشرفة التي رويت بفتح الراء المشددة أو كسرهما الجانب الصوتي والإيقاعي في النص بما يمكن أن يكون له من أثر أيضاً في شد انتباه السامع/القارئ وإثارة انتباهه. وهو يوظف ثانياً الدعاء في جملة: "لا زالت مشرفة"، والدعاء من الأساليب الإنشائية ذات الطاقة الانفعالية المؤثرة؛ فالدعاء للسيوف بأن تبقى شريفة فيه ما يقوي توجه الشاعر الججاجي في الدعوة إلى الشجاعة، والاستبسال في تحقيق الغاية مهما صعبت. وهو يوظف ثالثاً التضاد في: دواء/وجع، والشاعر هنا في جمعه بين هذين الصدين يحدد مسلكه في هذه الحياة، وهو مسلك يتمثل، وفق تقديره، في خيارين لا ثالث لهما؛ فالسيوف قد تكون داء الكريم (المتنبي) أو دواء؛ بمعنى أن المرء يحقق بها غاية وجوده على كل الأحوال؛ فإذا نال بها مراده كانت له حينئذ بمثابة الدواء، وإذا قتل بها في سبيل هذه الغاية كانت له بمثابة الداء. ومن الواضح أنه يرى ألا تريب عليه في كلتا الحالتين، فهو يحقق المنجد في أيهما سلك. وعليه، فإن توظيف الشاعر لهذه الأساليب البلاغية كان من أجل "إكساب قوله قوة تأثيرية تساعد على ترسيخ المضمون التداولي، وتحقيق المقصد الإقناعي الذي رسمه لخطابه" (الغرافي ٢٠١٣، ٦٤).

صورة البطل وخوارق الفعل:

وَقَارِسُ الْخَيْلِ مَنْ حَفَّتْ فَوْقَهَا وَأَوْحَدَتْهُ وَمَا فِي قَلْبِهِ قَلَقٌ بِالْجَيْشِ تَمْتَنِعُ السَّادَاتُ كُلَّهُمْ قَادَ الْمَقَانِبِ أَقْصَى شُرْبَهَا نَهْلٌ لَا يَعْتَقِي بَلَدٌ مَسْرَاهُ عَنْ بَلَدٍ حَتَّى أَقَامَ عَلَى أَرْبَاضِ حَرَشَتِهِ لِلسَّيِّ مَآ نَكَحُوا وَالْقَتْلَ مَا وَلَدُوا مُخْلِ لُهُ الْمَرْجُ مَنْصُوبًا بِصَارِحَةٍ يُطْمَعُ الطَّيْرُ فِيهِمْ طُولُ أَكْلِهِمْ وَلَوْ رَأَهُ حَوَارِيُوهُمْ لَبَتُوا	فِي الدَّرْبِ وَالِدَمُّ فِي أَعْطَافِهَا دُقْعٌ وَأَغْضَبَتْهُ وَمَا فِي لَفْظِهِ قَدْعٌ ^(٧) وَالْجَبِشُ بَابُنِ أَبِي الْهَيْجَاءِ يَمْتَنِعُ عَلَى الشَّكِيمِ وَأَذَنِي سَيْرِهَا سِرْعٌ ^(٨) كَالْمَوْتِ لَيْسَ لَهُ رِيٌّ وَلَا شَبْعٌ ^(٩) تَشْقَى بِهِ الرُّومُ وَالصُّلْبَانُ وَالْبَيْعُ ^(١٠) وَالنَّهْبُ مَا جَمَعُوا وَالنَّارُ مَا زَرَعُوا لَهُ الْمَنَابِرُ مَشْهُودًا بِهَا الْجَمْعُ حَتَّى تَكَادَ عَلَى أَحْيَانِهِمْ تَقْعُ عَلَى مَحَبَّتِهِ الشَّرْعَ الَّذِي شَرَعُوا
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يقدم الشاعر في هذه الوحدة النصية من الأبيات صورة البطل/سيف الدولة، ولئن جاءت صورة تلك الفئة من الناس على ما جاءت عليه من ادعاء وجبن كما بدا في مستهل هذا النص، فإن صورة سيف الدولة تأتي

على التّقيض من ذلك، فتجمع قيمتي الشّجاعة والبطولة المقترنتين بالإنتاج والفعل. ويسعى الشّاعر إلى انتهاج مسلك حجاجي في تقديم هذه الصّورة وإبرازها، منطلقاً في البداية من "حجّة الشّخص وأعماله" (الديري ٢٠١١، ٢٢٨؛ صولة ١٩٨٨، ٣٣٤)؛ فالشّاعر لا ينطلق في تصوير هذه البطولة من فراغ، ولا يخاطب المتلقّي وذهن هذا الأخير خالٍ عمّن يُدار عنه الحديث. صحيح أنّ الشّاعر يقدّم صورة بطله على نحوٍ من المبالغة واضح، وهو أمرٌ يعود على كلّ حال إلى طبيعة الشّعر وإستراتيجيته الحجاجية التي تُعدّ المبالغة إحدى أدوات التأثير النافذة فيه (البهلول ٢٠٠٩، ١٠)، ولكنّه (الشّاعر) يتكئ قبل ذلك على مخزون كبير من المواقف والبطولات التي عُرف بها سيفُ الدّولة، واستقرّت في الذاكرة عنه، حتى بات لقبه الذّائع (سيف الدّولة) يُشكّل علامة سيميائية دالّة على قيم البطولة والقتال؛ فالنّعالي مثلاً يصفه بـ "غزّة الرّمان، وعماد الإسلام، ومَن به سداد الثّعور، وسداد الأمور . . . وغزواته تدرك من طاغية الرّوم الثّار، وتحسم شرهم المثار" (النّعالي ١٩٨٣، ٣٧/١)، ويذكر أنّه "غزا الرّوم أربعين غزوةً له وعليه" (النّعالي ١٩٨٣، ٥٠/١).

هكذا يجد المتنبّي الأرض أمامةً موطّأةً لمديح سيف الدّولة، وكأنّ ثمة اتفاقاً ضمّنيّاً بين الشّاعر والمتلقّي على مشروعية هذا المديح واستحقاق سيف الدّولة له. وقد استقرّ في مدوّنة التلقّي العام لشعر المتنبّي تقبّل هذا المديح، والتّعامل معه تعاملًا متسامحًا يختلف عن التّعامل مع عامّة شعر المديح العربيّ الذي نُظر إليه في المجمل بقدر من الاستياء وعدم الرّضا، بل إنّ هذا التّعامل يختلف حتّى عن مدائح المتنبّي نفسه في ممدوحه الآخرين؛ فالقارئ يحسُّ بحقّ، كما يستنتج حسين مروّة، "في أنّ قصائد أبي الطّيب عند سيف الدّولة أنّه ينطلق فيها من جانب يختلف كثيراً عن تلك الجوانب التي كان يصدر عنها شعره في غير سيف الدّولة من جميع ممدوحيه، سواء منهم الذين مدحهم قبل لقائه سيف الدّولة، أم الذين مدحهم بعد ذلك، إلى أنّ لقي حتفه" (مروّة ١٩٨٦، ٦٥)^(١).

والمتنبّي إذ يحرص على تجويد هذه الصّورة، وإخراجها هذا الإخراج المتّقن بما وفّر لها من وسائل فنيّة، ومؤثّرات جماليّة بالغة كما سيّضح بعد، فإنّما لتكون أداة حجاجية يهون فيها مرارة ما حدث، وكأنّه باستجلاب هذه الصّورة المضيئة المحفّزة يسعى إلى حجب قتامة الصّورة السلبية التي بدا عليها بعض جند سيف الدّولة في هذه الموقّعة. والتّخفيف، في الوقت نفسه، من شدّة المصاب وما تركه من آثار مُحبطة في نفس سيف الدّولة وبقية جنده كما لحظ في الوحدة النّصية الأولى من هذا النّص. وكان الشّاعر أيضًا يحاول أن يصرف متلقّي خطابه عن أمر الهزيمة وينسيه إياها، وذلك بالإسهاب في الوقوف على هذا الوهج البطوليّ اللاف، والشّاعر في أبياته يحتاج ويذكر أنّ حدّث الهزيمة ما هو إلا جانبٌ محدودٌ من صورة أعمّ وأشمل، أو هو هامشٌ صغيرٌ على متن أكبر؛ ذلك أنّ سيف الدّولة كان في هذه الموقّعة غازيًا؛ أي أنّه كان المبادر في مهاجمة الرّوم وقتالهم، وقد حقّق بالفعل النّصر في موقعته هذه، وتمكّن من إحراق ريش خرسنة وكنائسها، وأقام فيها أيامًا كما تصوّره الأبيات، ثمّ لقي الدّمستق في ألوف من الخيل، ودار قتالٌ عنيف بين الفريقين انتهى بهزيمة الدّمستق، وقتل عدد كبير من فرسانه (المعري ١٩٩٢، ١٧٥/٣). هكذا يتوسّع الشّاعر في حديث النّصر، ويفصّل في سرد مجرياته وآثاره، ويشدّب، في المقابل، من حديث الهزيمة، ويحصر حضوره في مجال ضيق يتمثّل في تخاذل "فئة قليلة" من جند سيف الدّولة الذين لا يستحقّون، وفقّ الشّاعر، الانتساب إلى قائدهم الهمام أصلًا، فلحقوا بذلك "جزاءهم" بما آلوا إليه من مصير! وفقّ ما سيّضح ذلك في حديث قادم. وقد وفّر الشّاعر لهذه الصّورة العديد من الوسائل والأساليب الحجاجية والبلاغية الهادفة إلى تدعيم موقفه التّواصلي، ومن ذلك توظيفه تقنية السرد، وهو سردٌ يفيد ممّا توفّره له عناصر الشّعر النوعية من صورة وإيقاع ووصف في تمكين مقصده الإقناعي وتأثيره العاطفيّ في نفس المتلقّي؛ فالشّاعر يحكي سيرة سيف الدّولة/فارس الخيل كما يصفه، ويسرد جوانب من بطولته وهو يُخفّف من روع خيله، فيثبّتها في المعترك بعد أن همت بالهزيمة من هلع الموقف وشدّته. ويساعد التّضادّ في: خفت/وقرها- بما يكشف عنه من فارق في المعنى بين إحجام الخيل واندفاع فارسها/سيف الدّولة- والصّورة في: "والدمّ في أعفافها

دَفْعٌ- بما تتضمنه من معطيات اللون والحركة والصوت- على تعميق المعنى وتأكيده في النفس. ويضفي الشاعر على بطله وجوهًا بالغة من القوة والشجاعة، موظفًا عنصر المبالغة كما ذُكر بأقصى ما يتوافر عليه من إمكانات في الامتداد بالدلالة إلى أبعد مدّياتها (البيتان الثاني والثالث).

ويوظف الشاعر في البيت الثالث وجهًا أسلوبياً حجاجياً لافتاً هو "قلب العبارة" كما يعرفه فيليب بروتون الذي يحدّد هذا الوجه بأنه "يرتكز على قلب عبارتين متقابلتين بشكل تعادلي" (بروتون ٢٠١٣، ١٠٩)، وهو وجهٌ كما يرى "يمكن أن يستعمل لدعم الوصف الحجاجي" (بروتون ٢٠١٣، ١٠٩)؛ إذ يستخدم المبدع وسائل وصف يختار منها ما يمنح الامتياز للفظ من الألفاظ بدلاً لفظ آخر" (بروتون ٢٠١٣، ١٠٩)؛ ففي قول المتنبي: "بالجيش تمتنع السادات كلهم/والجيش بابتن أبي الهيجاء تمتنع" استتمار لهذا الوجه البلاغي ليؤدّي وظيفة حجاجية؛ إذ "يمكن أن يُفعل القلبُ تقابلاً بين العبارات بقصد إزاحة أحدهما لإبراز الآخر" (بروتون ٢٠١٣، ١٠٩)؛ فعين يذكر المتنبي أنّ منعة الملوك وعزهم يكونان بجيوشهم، فإنّه يزيح هذه العبارة ليؤكد العبارة الأخرى التي تقول إنّ منعة الجيش تكون بسيف الدولة نفسه؛ فعين يكون سيف الدولة في الجيش تتحقّق لهذا الأخير المنعة والنصر، على عكس أولئك الملوك الذين لا يقوون ويمتنعون إلا بجيوشهم. وفي هذا المعنى يحقّق الشاعر لسيف الدولة التميّز والاختلاف، ويظهره أمام من يتلقّى الخطاب بصورة البطل المتفرد ذي الأفعال الخارقة، والقائد المتجاوز لغيره من قادة وملوك.

ثمّ يأخذ السرد صفة الحركة والحيوية حين يبدو سيف الدولة وهو يقود جيشه، ويسرع للقاء العدو حتّى كان أقصى شرب هذه الخيل مرة واحدة وهي مُلجّمة؛ إذ لم يتمكّن فرسانها، لشدة السير، من خلع لُجمها، وهو أمرٌ لم يحدّ مع ذلك من اندفاعها وسرعتها.

ويظهر سيف الدولة منتصراً وهو يسير بجيشه من بلد يفتحه إلى آخر دون أن يعيقه الأول عن مواصلة المسير؛ إذ لا يقنع بفتح بلد من بلدان أعدائه حتى تعاوده الهمة إلى فتح غيره. ويتخيّر الشاعر في تصوير اندفاع سيف الدولة في هذه السبيل تشبيهاً تمثلياً دالاً: "كالموت ليس له ريّ ولا شبع"؛ إذ ليس أبلغ من الموت في التعبير عن ديمومة هذا الفعل وقسوته وشدّته. وتصف الأبيات، من ثمّ، مسير سيف الدولة حتّى يصل إلى خرّسنة، فيُعْمَل فيها القتل والخراب. ويستخدم الشاعر، لكي يُخدث التأثير المطلوب في نفس المتلقّي، وسيلتين بلاغيتين في تصوير مشاهد القتل والتدمير التي أحدثها سيف الدولة في أعدائه؛ أولاهما أسلوب التقسيم الذي يستوفي به الشاعر أقسام المعنى؛ إذ يُقسّم البيت إلى أربع وحدات تركيبية متوازبة يحصر من خلالها المآلات المأساوية التي انتهى إليها الزوم: "للسبي ما نكحوا/والقتل ما ولدوا/والنهب ما جمعوا/والنار ما زرعوا". وثانيتها الصورة البلاغية في قوله: "يُطمع الطير فيهم طول أكلهم/حتّى تكاد على أحيائهم تقع". وهي صورة سيكون لها مفعولها في ذهن المتلقّي بما تحيل عليه من موروث شعري قديم من جهة (انظر الرباعي ١٩٨٨، ١١٨-١٢١)، وما تحمله من طاقة تأثيرية قابلة أن تحرك في المتقبّل مشاعر وانفعالات متضاربة من جهة ثانية. وهكذا تمضي حركة السرد حتّى يستقرّ بسيف الدولة المقام في مدينة "صارخة"، فتنصب له المنابر، وتُقام الصلوات، ويتبدّل واقع المكان من حال إلى حال، ويتحقّق لصانع النصر ما كان يسعى إليه ويجهد في إنجازه.

ولا شك في أنّ السرد يودّي هنا دوراً حجاجياً ملموساً؛ ذلك "أنّ العلامات الحسية (الصفات والأفعال والشخصيات والأمكنة والأزمنة...) تمنح السرد القدرة على توصيل المعنى والتأثير النفسي في المتلقّي لما للحسية من عُلقة بالنفوس؛ فالمعرفة بواسطة الحواس تُذكر الإنسان بأصوله الأولى عندما كان يُعبّر عن أفكاره بالرسم والحركات والرموز... [و] بطبيعته الأولى المفطورة على كلّ ما هو حسيّ" (مشبال ٢٠١٥، ٢٢). وقد ساعد على فاعلية السرد أيضاً أنه جاء في الوحدة النصّية السابقة من الأبيات على شكل حكاية مكثفة من شأنها أن تدفع المتلقّي إلى التفاعل مع الحدث، والاستغراق في تفاصيله، وحمله، من ثمّ، على الإعجاب والاعتزاز بما حققه سيف الدولة من بطولات وانتصارات.

ومن الحجج التي يتكئ عليها الشاعر في هذه العتبة من النصّ الحجج التي تستدعي المُشترك؛ إذ "ثمّة نزوعٌ واضحٌ في الخطابات الحجاجية إلى استدعاء المُشترك، أي الاستناد إلى ما يُشكّل موضوع اتفاق بين المتلقين، أو ما يمثل جملة من المعارف المُشتركة الشائعة بينهم؛ ذلك أنّ للمُشترك سلطته على النفوس" (الديري ٢٠١١، ٢٨٧). وترداد قيمة هذا المُشترك، ويكون تأثيره أقوى حين يتعلق الأمر "بالمُشترك الديني" أو المُعتقد؛ فلا أحد يجادل في سطوة القيم الدينية، وتمكّنها من نفوس المؤمنين بها. والشاعر يستثمر هذا المعطى، ويوظفه توظيفاً واضحاً في بنية خطابه الحجاجي؛ فهو يُظهر في البداية ما أصاب الروم من بؤس وشقاء حين قام سيف الدولة بحرق صلبانهم وتخريب بيعتهم: "حتى أقام على أرباض حَرَسْنَه/تشقى به الروم والصُّلبان والبيع". وواضح أنه يختار الرموز الدينية عند الآخر بهدف التأثير في الفئة المسلمة التي تستقبل خطابه، ولا بدّ أن ندرك ما يمكن أن يحدثه فعل سيف الدولة هذا من أثر في نفوس مستمعي الخطاب الممتلئة أصلاً بالحماس والشعور الدينيين، في عصر بلغ فيه صراع العقائد أوجه (إسماعيل ١٩٩٤، ١٤٩).

في مقابل ذلك يسعى الشاعر إلى استثارة الوجدان المُسلم واستمالته حين يذكّر أنّ سيف الدولة، بعد أن خرب بيع الروم وصلبانهم، قام بنصب المنابر (شعار الإسلام)، وإقامة صلوات الجُمع: "مُخْلِى له المرجُ منصوباً بصارخة/له المنابرُ مشهوداً بها الجُمع"؛ فالشاعر إذن يقدم رموزاً دينية مقابل رموز دينية أخرى؛ فكأنّه بذلك يبني عالماً جديداً على أنقاض عالم منهار! والشاعر حين يقدم صورة الرموز الدينية الإسلامية بما أصبحت عليه من رسوخ وثبات، فإنّما ليقابلها بالصورة الأولى؛ صورة رموز الروم الدينية بما آلت إليه من خراب وزوال. وفي هذا مقابلةً بين حالين غايتها دفع مُستقبل الخطاب إلى مباركة هذا المسعى، فتأس بذلك نفسه، وبيبت قرير العين، راضياً بما حقق بطله من تمكين لعقيدته ونصرة لدينه؛ إذ بدا سيف الدولة في صورة البطل المخلص الذي يخوض "حرباً دينية" غايتها صلاح الأمة الإسلامية، ودفع ما يواجهها من أخطار. وكما لا تتبدى صورة سيف الدولة في هذا الجانب على وجه واحد هو وجه القوة والعنف، فإنّ الشاعر يستحضر من وجه آخر قصة الحواريين (أصحاب السيد المسيح): "ولو راه حواريوهم...". إذ لو رأى هؤلاء الحواريون سيف الدولة "لبنوا على محبته الشرع الذي شرعوا"، وكلّ ذلك بسبب جملة الفضائل التي يتحلّى بها سيف الدولة كما يذهب الشاعر. وفي استخدام مفردة (محبته) تقدّم لوجه الإنساني الذي يجهد الشاعر في إلباغه على شخصية بطله/سيف الدولة.

الدُّمستق ومفارقة التقدير:

سُودُ الْعَمَامِ قَطَنُوا أَنَّهُ قَرَعُ	دَمَ الدُّمُسْتُقِ عَيْبَتِهِ وَقَدْ طَلَعَتْ
عَلَى الْجِيَادِ الَّتِي حَوَّلِيهَا جَدْعُ	فِيهَا الْكُمَاهُ الَّتِي مَفْطُومُهَا رَجَلُ
وَفِي حَنَاجِرِهَا مِنْ أَلْسِ جَرَعُ	تَذَرِي اللَّقَأُ غُبَارًا فِي مَنَاجِرِهَا
فَالطَّعْنُ يَفْتَحُ فِي الْأَجُوفِ مَا تَسَعُ	كَأَنَّهَا تَتَلَفَّاهُمْ لِتَسْلُكِهِمْ
مِنَ الْأَسِنَّةِ نَارٌ وَالْقَنَا سَمْعُ	تَهْدِي نَوَاطِرَهَا وَالْحَرْبُ مَظْلِمَةٌ
عَلَى نُفُوسِهِمُ الْمُقَوَّرَةُ الْمُرْعُ ^(١٧)	دُونَ السَّهَامِ وَدُونَ الْفُرِّ طَافِحَةٌ
أَطْمَى تُفَارِقُ مِنْهُ أَحْتَهَا الصَّلْعُ	إِذَا دَعَا الْعِلْجُ عَلْجًا حَالَ بَيْنَهُمَا
إِذْ قَاتَهُنَّ وَأَمْضَى مِنْهُ مُنْصَرَعُ	أَجَلٌ مِنْ وَدِّ الْفُقَاسِ مُنْكَتِفُ
نَجَا وَمِنْهُنَّ فِي أَحْسَائِهِ قَرَعُ	وَمَا نَجَا مِنْ شِفَارِ الْبَيْضِ مُنْقَلَتُ
وَيَشْرَبُ الْخَمْرَ حَوْلًا وَهُوَ مُمْتَقِعُ	يُبَاشِرُ الْأَمْنَ دَهْرًا وَهُوَ مُحْتَبَلُ

كَمْ مِنْ حُشَاشَةٍ بِطَرِيقِ تَصَمَّتْهَا
يُقَاتِلُ الْخَطْوَ عَنْهُ حِينَ يَطْلُبُهُ
تَعْدُو الْمَنَايَا فَلَا تَنْفُكُ وَأَقْفَهُ
لِلْبَاتِرَاتِ أَمِينٌ مَا لَهُ وَرَعٌ
وَيَطْرُدُ النَّوْمَ عَنْهُ حِينَ يَضْطَجِعُ
حَتَّى يَقُولَ لَهَا عُودِي فَتَنْدَفِعُ

تبدأ هذه الوحدة النصية من القصيدة بالمفارقة التي تتلبس الدمستق وجيشه حين دهمتهم خيل سيف الدولة؛ إذ قدرُوا أن ما رأوه ليس سوى سحُب متفرقة: "فظنوا أنها قرع"، لكنَّ الموقف كان ينطوي على مفارقة لم تُدر في حسابان الدمستق وجيشه. ويظهر الشاعر عمق المفارقة وحِدَّتْهَا فإنه يفضل القول في تقديم صورة هذه الخيل التي خاب حدسُ الدمستق في تقديرها، مسترسلاً في رسم أبعادها، موظفاً الصورة الشعرية بما يمكن أن تؤدبه من دور حجاجي في هذا المجال؛ فالشاعر "يلجأ إلى الصور لإثارة مشاعر المتلقي والاستحواذ عليه لإقناعه بخطابه، وهو في سبيل ذلك يستخدم كل ما يسهم في الحضور الحسي للمعاني، والقيم التي يحاجج بها" (مشبال ٢٠١٧ ب، ٣٢٣).

ومع أن حضور الخيل لم يغب تماماً عن صورة البطل في العتبة السابقة من النص، إلا أن الصورة هنا تأخذ حيزاً أكبر وتفصيلاً أوسع، وهي تأتي لتعصّد صورة البطل وتكملها؛ إذ تتشكل هذه الصورة في سياق مخاطبي غايته إظهار قوة جيش سيف الدولة، وتدعيم ثقة المخاطبين، من ثم، به. وواضح أن الصورة بما تتضمنه من وصف دال في تقديم صورة هذه الخيل، وإبراز قوة فرسانها وشدة بأسهم ذات قيمة حجاجية؛ فبهذا الوصف يهدف الشاعر إلى التأثير في متلقي خطابه واستدراجه، وكأنه يسعى، من وجه موارد، إلى القول: إن جيشاً بهذه القوة والقدرة سيتحقق له النصر لا محالة!

هكذا يصور الشاعر عساكر سيف الدولة بـ "سود الغمام"، وهو تصوير يثير في هذا الموضوع، على أقل تقدير، دالتين: أولاهما دلالة الجمع والكثرة التي تستشف من مقابلة "سود الغمام" بـ "القرع" (السحاب المتفرق). وثانيتهما دلالة الهول والقوة التي يمكن أن يثيرها اللون الأسود في نفس المتلقي؛ فـ "السواد [كما يذكر الجاحظ] أبداً أهول... ودُهم الخيل أبهى وأقوى" (الجاحظ ١٩٦٤، ٢٠٣/١). والشاعر هنا يكتفي عن الخيل بسود الغمام، ولا يذكر اسمها تصريحاً. والكناية، وفق الجرجاني، أبلغ من التصريح؛ ذلك "أنك لما كتبت عن المعنى زدت في ذاته، بل المعنى أنك زدت في إثباته، فجعلته أبلغ وأكد وأشد". (الجرجاني ٢٠٠٤، ٧٠).

وهذه العساكر فيها كُمة (شجعان) صبيهم رجل في الحرب، وحوالي خيلهم جَدَع؛ أي أن الصغير فيهم كبير لعظم أمره. ويصف الشاعر سرعة جري هذه الخيل التي تشرب الماء من نهر "الس" فتبلغ موضع "اللقان" قبل أن تبتلع ما شربته من ماء ذلك النهر، على ما بين المكانين من مسافة بعيدة! وتأخذ الصورة بُعداً حسياً مشهيداً من شأنه أن يحدث في المتلقي إحساساً مؤثراً؛ وذلك حين يذهب (الشاعر) إلى أن سعة الطعن الذي تركه خيل سيف الدولة في الأعداء يفتح جراحات تسع الخيل لتعبر من خلالها! فكأما "تتلقى هذه الخيل [بعبارة ابن الإفيلي] الرّوم لتسلق أجسادهم، وتتخذ طرقاً في جسومهم؛ فطعن فرسانها فيهم يفتح ما يسعهم، ويخرق ما لا يضيّق بهم" (ابن الإفيلي ١٩٩٢، ٣٥١/١).

ويصور الشاعر نار الأسنة التي تشبه المصابيح لضياها في رؤوس الرماح، وهي تهدي عيون الخيل، والحرب مظلمة نتيجة ما تحدثه من غبار. وهي صورة بصرية سمعية تستثمر عناصر الحركة واللون والصوت في إحداث تأثيرها المطلوب. ويلجأ الشاعر أخيراً إلى تشخيص المجرّد، فيصور "نفوس" الرّوم وقد وطأتها خيل سيف الدولة الضامرة السريعة بحوافرها بالنّيء الملموس المشخص؛ وذلك قبل أن تصل إليهم سهام الرّماة ويتمكنوا من الفرار.

والملاحظ أن المبالغة كانت هي السمة الفنية البارزة في تقديم صورة الخيل في هذه الوحدة النصية. وقد اتخذها "الشاعر للتعبير عن الغاية التي يطمح إلى تحقيقها، والأبعاد التي يتطلع إليها؛ فهي ذات صلة بما يحدثه القول في النفس من تأثير آت من جهة التخييل والمحاكاة والرغبة في إثارة الدهشة والاستغراب.

وهي، بمخالفتها الحقيقة وخروجها عن المألوف وتجاوزها الحد في وصف الشيء، متبينة الصلة بالشعر " (البهلول ٢٠٠٩، ١١) الذي يتجاوز الواقع دائماً ملتصقاً بصورة الكمال؛ وكان رغبة الشاعر تكمن في إضفاء هذه الصورة على جيش سيف الدولة وخيله. ولعل كل ذلك كفيل بأن يثير المتلقي، ويوقظ في نفسه وجوهاً من الغرابة والمتعة، فتحقق بذلك الصورة وظيفتها الإقناعية ومقصدها التأثيري.

وإذا كانت هذه العتبة من النص قد بدأت، بالمفارقة الساخرة من الدمستق على نحو عرضي، فإن الشاعر يعود، بعد أن استوفى صورة الخيل بما تطلبت منه من تفصيل، إلى حديث المفارقة ثانيةً للسخرية من الدمستق وجنده. ويأتي توظيف المفارقة^(١٧) لأنها تُعد من الوسائل الفنية المؤثرة في الخطاب بسبب ما تنطوي عليه من حس ساخر في النظر إلى الأشياء والناس. والمفارقة أسلوب يقوم "على قانون الضدية أو مبدأ المسار التوتري الباعث على الدهشة واللامتوقع" (عليما ٢٠١٦، ٤٢)، ومن هنا تأتي إصابتها وقدرتها على شد المتلقي ولفت انتباهه. وغالباً ما يقصد بها صاحبها معاني متعدّدة من مثل الهجاء والسخرية والتمثيل وتجريد الخصم من مميزات على نحو هزلي (قطوس ١٩٩٢، ٧٩).

وتبدى فاعلية هذه التقنية الفنية عند النظر في الإستراتيجية التي اتخذها الشاعر في صنع مفارقاته في هذه الوحدة النصية، وهي إستراتيجية تجعل من الخصم ضحية مستهدفة؛ ذلك أن المفارقة تستلزم وجود ضحية لتكون الهدف الذي تسعى إلى إصابته (ميويك ١٩٩٣، ١٤٥/٤). ومن الواضح أن لهذا الإجراء وظيفته تأثيرية من شأنها أن تدفع المتلقي إلى الاستخفاف بجن الأخر الرومي، وإبداء التشفي بنهايته البائسة التي آل إليها، وكل ذلك يخدم الغاية الحجاجية التي يرمي الشاعر إلى تحقيقها.

تبدأ المفارقة كما تحسدها الأبيات حينما يدعو العليج الرومي علجاً آخر ليغيته، لكن هذه الدعوة توجّه بوجود أظمى (رمح)، إذا طعن به فرق بين الصلح وأختها، على ما بينهما من تلازم والتحام، فكيف يكون الحال بين شخصين منفصلين! وتبلغ المفارقة حدتها حين يبدو الأسير والقتيل من جند الروم أكثر شجاعة من قائدهم: "أجل من ولد الفقاس (لقب الدمستق) . . ."; فقد خاض كل واحد من أولئك الجنود المعركة، فلقي ما لقيه من مصير، في حين أن القائد ولي هارباً، مخلعاً جيشه لهذا القدر المأساوي، مع أنه ينبغي أن يكون القدوة لجنوده في الشجاعة والإقدام! ويوظف الشاعر اسمي التفضيل: (أجل، أمضى) بما يمكن أن يكون لهما من أثر في تجسيد المفارقة بين موقفين يبدو الثباين بينهما لافتاً.

أما الناجي من الروم في هذه الموقعة فليس بأحسن حال من الذي أسر أو قتل؛ ذلك أن نجاته تظل منقوصة غير مكتملة؛ فشفار البيض (السيف) تركت في أحشائه قرعاً لا يفارقه، وهو أمر قد يؤدي إلى هلاكه ولو بعد حين، أو على أقل تقدير، سيجعله يتعذب ويتألم مدة ما هو حي، ويتبدى ذلك في المفارقة التي يصنعها الشاعر لهذا "الناجي" الذي يعيش في الأمن حيناً، ولكنه عيش الذاهل مختبل العقل، وكل ذلك لشدة ما سكنه من فزع وخوف، فأبى عيش هذا وأي أمان ذاك! وكذا هو حين يشرب الخمر، فهي غير قادرة على تغيير حاله وجلب المسرة له، فيبقى هلعاً ممتقع اللون. ولعل بنية التوازي التي اتخذت تركيباً تطابقياً تماماً بين شطري البيت الذي عبر عنه هذا المعنى قد حققت أثراً موسيقياً ساعد على تقوية الدلالة وتعريضها في النفس؛ فالموازنة في الكلام، كما يذهب ابن الأثير، "نوع من التأليف شريف المحل، لطيف الموضع، وللکلام به طلاوة ورونق، وسبب ذلك الاعتدال؛ لأنه مطلوب في كل الأشياء. وحيث كانت مقاطع الكلام معتدلة في الوزن لذ بها السمع، ووقعت من القلب موقع الاستحسان، وهذا لا مرأ فيه بحال من الأحوال لبيانه ووضوحه". (ابن الأثير ١٩٥٦، ٢٧٠).

وتبدو صورة البطريق (الفارس من الروم) وهو مقيد ناطقة بالمفارقة الساخرة، ووجوه المفارقة في هذه الصورة متعدّدة، أولها أن الشاعر يستخدم لفظة حشاشة (بقية الروح)؛ أي أن ذلك البطريق لم يبق منه إلا رمقه، فعال، إذن، تستدعي العطف والشفقة، ومع هذا فإن الباترات (السيف) تكون في انتظار هذه البقية من روحه! وثانيها أن الشاعر يكتب عن القيد بلفظ "أمين"، والمفارقة تتمثل في الجمع بين:

”أمين“ و”ليس له ورع“، وهذا الوصف كما يذهب العكبري ”من أحسن الكلام؛ لأنّ الأمين هو الذي يؤتمن على الأشياء، فلا بدّ له من ورع“ (العكبري د.ت، ٢٣٩/٢)؛ فالمفارقة متولّدة إذن من هذا التّضادّ الذي يحكم منطق هذه العبارة. وثالثها أنّ هذا القيد يمنع البطريقَ الخطو عند السير، ويمنعه كذلك النّوم عند الاضطجاع، فهو يسبّب له الإكراه والتّغصيص كلّما رام الحركة أو الراحة. ورابعها أنّ هذا القيد يبقى هو المتحكّم في مصير هذا البطريق؛ فحين ”تغدو عليه [البطريق] المنيةُ فتنظُرُ؛ إن كان يُقتل حكمتُ فيه، وإن كان يُترك القيدُ عليه رجعتُ عنه؛ لأنّ تركه بقيدته يدلُّ على أنّ قتله لم يُؤمر به؛ إذ العادةُ جاريةٌ بأن يُؤخذ قيده لينتفع به في تقييد سواه“ (المعري ٢٠٠٨، ٦٨٨/٢)^(١٤).

والشّاعر لا يقدّم هذا المعنى تقديمًا صريحًا مباشرًا، وإنما هو يلجأ إلى التّصوير، فيستخدم الاستعارة في قوله: ”يقاتل الخطو... ويطرد النّوم... وتغدو المنايا فلا تنفك واقفة...“، والاستعارة، كما يؤكّد بعض الدّارسين، مقوّم حجاجي إقناعي (العزاوي ٢٠١٠، ٤٧)، وهي قادرة—بما تضيفه على المعاني المجرّدة من ملموسيّة وتشخيص—على تقريب المعنى وتأكيدِه في النّفس، ومن هنا تكتسب قوتها الحجاجيّة. إلى جانب ذلك يورد الشّاعر هذه الصّور وفق بنية متوازية لافتة: ”يقاتل الخطو عنه حين يطلبه/ويطرد النّوم عنه حين يضطجع“. والتّوازي—كما هو واضح—ملمح متمكّن في هذه القصيدة، بل في شعر المتنبي كلّ، ودوره الحجاجي في النّص واحد، ما يغني عن إعادة القول وتكراره في هذا الجانب. وهكذا يتضح أنّ الشّاعر يستثمر أقصى طاقات اللغة الجماليّة والتّصويريّة والإيقاعيّة بما يمكن أن تحدّثه في نفس المتلقّي من تأثير ونشوة، فتكون استجابته لها أكبر وتفاعله معها أشدّ.

وهكذا يتضح أنّ الشّاعر قد استثمر المفارقة في السّخرية من الآخر استثمارًا واضحًا، فكانت سلاحًا هجوميًا فاعلاً في الحطّ من الدّمستق وجنده، ونزع أيّ قيمة إيجابيّة عنهم؛ فبدوا على هذه الصّورة من الجبن والخواء وقلة العزيمة. وهي صورة سيكون مفعولها الحجاجي بالغًا ومؤثّرًا في نفس المتلقّي، ولا سيّما إذا ما استحضّر هذا الأخير، من وجه مقابل، صورة البطل/سيف الدولة كما قدّمها الشّاعر في اللوحة الثّانية من هذا النّص؛ إذ ستساعد هذه المقارنة على جلاء كلتا الصّورتين، فيبدو تأثير كلّ منهما في النّفس أبلغ وأشدّ؛ إذ ”بضدها تبيّن الأشياء“ (المتنبي ١٩٨٦، ٢٢/٨) كما يقرّر المتنبي نفسه في موضع آخر من ديوانه.

المُسلّمون^(١٥) والجزاء المستحقّ:

قُلْ لِلدُّمُسْتَقِّ إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لَكُمْ
وَجَدْتُهُمْ نِيَامًا فِي دِمَائِكُمْ
صَعَقَى تَعَفَّى الْأَيَادِي عَنْ مِثَالِهِمْ
لَا تَحْسَبُوا مَنْ أَسْرْتُمْ كَانَ ذَا رَمَقٍ
هَلَّا عَلَى عَقَبِ الْوَادِي وَقَدْ صَعِدَتْ
تَشْفُقُكُمْ بِفَتَاهَا كُلَّ سَلْهِيَةٍ
وَأَمَّا عَرَضَ اللَّهُ الْجَنُودَ بِكُمْ
فَكُلُّ عَرَوْ إِيْنِكُمْ بَعْدَ ذَا فَلَهُ
يَمْشِي الْكِرَامَ عَلَى آثَارِ غَيْرِهِمْ
وَهَلْ يَشِينُكَ وَقَتٌ كُنْتَ فَارِسَهُ
مَنْ كَانَ قَوِّقَ مَحَلِّ الشَّمْسِ مَوْضِعُهُ
لَمْ يَسْلِمِ الْكُرِّ فِي الْأَعْقَابِ مُهْجَتَهُ

خَانُوا الْأَمِيرَ فَجَارَاهُمْ مِمَّا صَنَعُوا
كَأَنَّ قَتْلَكُمْ إِيَاهُمْ فَجَعُوا
مِنَ الْأَعَادِي وَإِنْ هَمُّوا بِهِمْ نَزَعُوا
فَلَيْسَ يَأْكُلُ إِلَّا الْمَيْتَ الصُّبُعُ
أَسَدٌ مَرُّ فَرَادَى لَيْسَ تَجْتَمِعُ
وَالصَّرْبُ يَأْخُذُ مِنْكُمْ قَوِّقَ مَا يَدَعُ
لِيَكِي يَكُونُوا بِلا فَسَلِ إِذَا رَجَعُوا^(١٦)
وَكُلُّ غَازٍ لَسِيْفِ الدَّوْلَةِ النَّبْعُ
وَأَنْتَ تَخْلُقِي مَا تَأْتِي وَيَتَبَدَّرُ
وَكَانَ غَيْرَكَ فِيهِ الْعَاجِزُ الصَّرْعُ^(١٧)
فَلَيْسَ بَرَفَعَهُ شَيْءٌ وَلَا يَضَعُ
إِنْ كَانَ أَسْلَمَهَا الْأَصْحَابُ وَالشَّيْعُ

بعد استرسال الشَّاعر في تقديم صور البطولة كما بدا في الوحدات النَّصبيَّة السَّابقة من القصيدة، كان لا بدَّ من الوقوف على موضوع الهزيمة؛ فالقصيدة جاءت، كما دُكر، بمناسبة هزيمة، وليس من الممكن تجاوز هذا الموضوع أو إغفاله نهائيًّا. ومع هذا فإنَّ وقوف الشَّاعر على الهزيمة اتَّسم بأمرين: الأول ضيق المساحة التي شغلها من النَّص، وقد أُشير إلى شيء من هذا فيما سبق. والثاني حضور البطولة حتَّى في هذا الموضوع، فبدت البطولة كأنَّها تقابل الهزيمة وتعارضها، بل كأنَّها تسعى إلى تنحيها وتهميشها تمامًا.

وأوَّل ما يبدو على حديث الشَّاعر عن الهزيمة هو السَّعي إلى التَّقليل من قيمة ما أنجزه الرُّوم من نصر؛ فالشَّاعر يعمد إلى التَّشكيك في قوَّة الجنود الذين قتلهم الرُّوم وأسروهم من جيش المسلمين، والغصَّ من شجاعتهم وبأسهم. ويرى أنَّ تلك الفئة المُستسلمة من جنود سيف الدَّولة قد نالت جزاءها المستحقَّ؛ فكأنَّ وقوعها في يد العدو هو "خيانة" لسيف الدَّولة وجيشه، ولذا وجب عقابها بتسليمها لهذا العدو. ويكفي يهون الشَّاعر من قيمة النَّصر الذي حقَّقه الرُّوم، يذهب إلى أنَّهم قد وجدوا أولئك الجنود نيامًا بين قتلاهم الذين أجهز عليهم سيفُ الدَّولة، ويصوِّر هؤلاء الجنود بأنَّهم بدوا كالمفجوعين بأولئك القتلى من أعدائهم؛ وكأنَّ الشَّاعر يُدكِّر بأنَّ ما أحدثه سيفُ الدَّولة بالرُّوم من قتل وترويع كان أشدَّ وأقسى من أسْرهم وقتلهم هذه الفئة من جند المسلمين الذين يصفهم بالضعف وقلة العزيمة.

ويواصل الشَّاعر حديثه عن جند سيف الدَّولة المُستسلمين؛ فهم، زيادةً على ما دُكر، من الخِساس الضَّعفاء إلى الحدِّ الذي جعل سيف الدَّولة يعفُّ عن أمثالهم من جند أعدائه حين يقعون في يده. ويدعو الشَّاعر الرُّوم ألا يفخروا بأسر هؤلاء الذين لا رمق فيهم ولا بقيَّة حياة؛ إذ لو كان فيهم شيءٌ من ذلك لعجز الرُّوم عن أسْرهم أو قتلهم من الأصل، ويلجأ الشَّاعر في تأكيد هذا المعنى الجِجاجيِّ إلى التَّمثيل: "فليس يأكل إلا الميِّت الضَّبع"؛ فالتمثيل هنا ليس سوى حجة لإثبات الدَّعوى التي قرَّرها في السَّطر الأوَّل من البيت، وهي حجة لها سندُها فيما يعاينه النَّاس ويخبرونه؛ فالضَّبع تهاب الحيَّ وتحذره، وتتسلَّط في المقابل على الميت وتأكله، وهذا الأسلوب في التَّمثيل طريقة مألوفة لدى الشَّاعر؛ ف"قد كان أبو الطَّيِّب يعتمد هذا كثيرًا ويحسِّن وضع البيت الإقناعيِّ من الأبيات المخيَّلة؛ لأنَّه كان يصدر الفصول بالأبيات المخيَّلة ثمَّ يختتمها بيت إقناعيِّ يعضد به ما قدَّم من التَّخييل، ويجمُّ النَّفوس لاستقبال الأبيات المخيَّلة في الفصل التالي، فكان لكلامه أحسنُّ موقع في النَّفوس بذلك" (القرطاجني ١٩٨٦، ٢٩٣).

وعند النَّظر في طبيعة الحجج التي قدَّمتها الشَّاعر في هذا الجانب يلاحظ أنَّها تنتمي إلى ما يُعرف بـ "الأساليب المغالطيَّة"، وهي الأساليب التي "يعتمدها الشَّاعر لخداع المتلقِّي وإيهامه بصدق ما يقول، وصحة ما يصوِّر ويصف؛ ولا غرابة في ذلك وأعلى رتب البلاغة عند الكثيرين أن يحتجَّ للمذموم حتَّى يخرج منه معرض المحمود، وللمحمود حتَّى يصيِّره في صورة المذموم" (الدريدي ٢٠١١، ١٣٩؛ وانظر العسكري ١٩٥٢، ٥٣)؛ فالشَّاعر يتخذ هذا المنحى الجِجاجيِّ بهدف التَّأثير في متلقِّي الخطاب، دون الإصرار على إقرار حقيقة أو إثباتها؛ ذلك أنَّ المتممَّع في الحجج التي ساقها الشَّاعر في ذمِّ أولئك الجنود الأسرى، ووصمهم بالخيانة والضعف، يجد أنَّ الأمر لم يكن كذلك على وجه التَّحديد؛ فثمة مغالطة وإيهام متعمَّدان، بل لعلَّ أولئك الجند "الذين أُسْلِمُوا للرُّوم كانوا أعظمَّ الجيش نصيحةً، وأشدَّهم بُعدًا عن الخيانة" (المعري ٢٠٠٨، ٦٨٩/١) كما يذهب المعري، ولكنَّ الشَّاعر يتخَّر هذا الوجه الجِجاجيِّ "من باب الافتراء الذي يحسِّن به أمر الممدوح، ويُقام به العذر في الهزيمة" (المعري ٢٠٠٨، ٦٨٩/١)، وفق رأي المعري أيضًا. إنَّه إذن منطق الشَّعر الذي كثيرًا ما يُقرن بالسَّحر والبيان؛ "لأنَّ السَّحر يخيِّل للإنسان ما لم يكن للطافته وحيلة صاحبه، وكذلك البيان يتصوَّر فيه الحقُّ بصورة الباطل، والباطل بصورة الحقِّ؛ لرفَّة معناه، ولطف موقعه، وأبلغ البيانين عند العلماء الشَّعر بلا مدافعة" (الفيرواني ١٩٨١، ٢٧/١). ومن هنا تكون قدرته على استدراج المتلقِّي واستمالاته إلى الوجهة التي يريد.

ويبدو أنَّ ما ساقه الشَّاعر من حجج لتأكيد ضعف أولئك الجنود من جهة، وتصغير قيمة إنجاز الرُّوم من جهة أخرى، ما يزال، حتَّى هذا الموضوع، يحتاج في تقديره إلى مزيد من إضافة؛ ولذا فإنَّه يوظفُ المقابلة

التي تُعدُّ "من التقنيات الخطابية المهمة الملوّدة للسؤال والباعثة على النظر والتدبر، بل إنَّ حقائق الأشياء لا تتضح بجلاء حتى تنتظم بينها علاقات التّضادّ... وللمقابلة في الخطاب الحجاجي قوةً تأثيريةً بالغة وطاقمة إبلاغيّة مهمّة" (البهلول ٢٠١٣، ٢٥٥-٢٥٦)، وهي وسيلة لجأ إليها الشّاعر كثيرًا في هذا النص. وقد تبدّى ذلك في المقابلة بين سيف الدولة والدّمستق، وبين جند المسلمين وجند الرّوم، وبين الرّموز الدينيّة عند كلا الطرفين، وستتبدّى لاحقًا بين الشّاعر وغيره من شعراء. والشّاعر يقيم المقابلة هنا بين هذه الفئة التي وقعت في الأسر من جند سيف الدولة، وفئة ثانية من جنده يبدأ الحديث عنها بأداة التحضيض "هلاً" التي تفيد من بين دلالاتها التوبيخ (الحمد والزعبي ١٩٩٣، ٣٤٤)؛ وكأنّ سياق الكلام يقول إنّه بدل أن يتباهى الرّوم بالنصر على أولئك الجنود الضّعفاء كان الأولى بهم أن يتفاخروا بالنصر على هؤلاء الجنود الذين سيفصل الشّاعر في تقديم ملامح قوتهم ومناحي اختلافهم.

وإذا كان الشّاعر قد بالغ في التقليل من قدر الفئة الأولى من الجند كما بدا، فإنه يبالح، مقابل ذلك، في تصوير قوة الفئة الثانية، موظفًا الصّورة البلاغيّة بما تتضمنه من مؤثّرات عاطفيّة بغية التأثير في متلقّي الخطاب. هكذا يخاطب الشّاعر الرّوم فيرى أنهم أضعف من أن يُواجهوا أبطال سيف الدولة الآخرين الذين يُسرعون إلى الحرب أفرادًا لا يتوقّف بعضهم على بعض لشجاعتهم وثقتهم بقوتهم: "هلاً على عقب الوادي وقد صعدت/أسد تمّ فرادي ليس تجتمع". إنهم الفرسان الذين يشقّ كلّ منهم صفوف الرّوم بفرسه، ممكّنًا سبقه منهم حتى يكون من يأتي عليه الضّرب أكثر ممّن يده: "تشقّم بفتاها كلّ سلهية (الطويلة من الخيل)/والضّرب يأخذ منكم فوق ما يدع".

ولا يغادر الشّاعر الحديث عن تلك الفئة المستسلمة من الجند حتى يقرّر أنّ الخلاص منها كان ضرورة لازمة لنقاء الجيش من العناصر الضّعيفة العاجزة التي هي، وفق الشّاعر، السّبب في الهزيمة؛ وكأنّ ما حصل ما هو إلا تدبير إلهي ليتخلص جيش سيف الدولة من هذه الفئة من الجند؛ فبخلاصه منها لن يُهزم أبدًا، وبذا يصبح الجيش نقيًا لا يضمّ إلا الفرسان الحقيقيين، وهو أمر يقود بالنتيجة إلى القول: إنَّ أيّ غزوة قادمة من غزوات سيف الدولة لبلاد الرّوم سيكون النصر نتيجتها المؤكّدة: "فكلّ غزو إليك بعد ذا فله...".

ويتمّج الشّاعر في الأبيات الأربعة المتبقية من هذه الوحدة النصّية إلى سيف الدولة، موظفًا ما يُعرف في البلاغة الأسطويّة بـ "إستراتيجيّة الباتوس" التي تقوم على استمالة المخاطب والتأثير في نوازه وأهوائه. وهي إستراتيجيّة مهمّة في العمليّة الحجاجيّة؛ ذلك "أنّ القدرة على الحجاج الجيّد، أي القدرة على الإقناع، تقتضي المعرفة بما يمكن أن يحرك الدّات التي تتوجّه إليها بالخطاب؛ أي معرفة ما يحركها" (الولي ٢٠١١، ٣٠). وسيف الدولة هو المخاطب الأوّل الذي يتقصد الشّاعر التأثير فيه، وبما أنّه (سيف الدولة) مكلوم، وأثر الهزيمة بدا عليه قاسيًا، فقد كان لا بدّ من مواساته، والتخفيف من شدّة المصاب الذي لحق به، بل السّعي إلى إبعاد كلّ إحياء يشي بأيّ قصور صدر منه؛ ولهذا يلجأ الشّاعر في هذه الأبيات إلى صنّ صورة متجاوزة له، قوامها المبالغة التي تصوّره ذاتًا متفردّة تمتاز عن غيرها بقدرة الخلق والابتداع. إنّه الفارس الشّجاع الذي لا يشينه عجز الضّعفاء، ولا تخادّل الخانعين؛ فقد بلغ الغاية في الرّفعة التي ليس وراءها موضع؛ فهو لا يرتفع بنصرة هذا، ولا يتضع بخذلان ذلك، وهو إن كان بعض أصحابه قد خذلوه وأسلموه لأعدائه، فإنّ شجاعته وقوته تجعلانه دائمًا في منعة عن أيّ هزيمة أو انكسار.

هكذا يذهب الشّاعر في رسم هذه الصّورة لسيف الدولة. وهي صورة متعالية تقدّم نموذجًا لافتًا من نماذج البطولة في صوّرها الخارقة. ولعلّ هذه الصّورة تأتي بمثابة تعويض لمبلغ الخسارة التي نزلت بسيف الدولة وجيشه، ولعلّ فيها أيضًا دفعة للإحباط الذي سكن سيف الدولة بسبب ما حصل؛ وكأنّ المنتبّي يداوي بذلك "جراح نفس سيف الدولة، ويخفّف من وقع الهزيمة عليه. وماذا يضر سيف الدولة من هذا كلّ، ومكانته عالية مرموقة، لا يرفعها نصر، ولا يضع منها الهزيمة؟" (إسماعيل ١٩٩٤، ١٥٢).

وقد عمد الشاعر في بناء هذه الصورة المفارقة لسيف الدولة إلى توظيف عدد من المحددات الأسلوبية والبلاغية، كالمبالغة، كما ذكر، في: "وأنت تخلق ما تأتي وتبتدع"، و"فوق محلّ الشّمس موضعه"، والاستفهام الإنكاري في: "وهل يشينك وقتّ كنت فارسه..."، والشّروط في: "من كان فوق محلّ الشّمس... فليس يرفعه..."، و"لم يسلم الكرز... إن كان أسلمها..."، ومن المؤكّد أنّ هذه الوجوه الأسلوبية والبلاغية تتضمّن أبعاداً حجاجية واضحة؛ فالمبالغة بما تدلّ عليه من تجاوز الممكن والمألوف تتوخّى الوصول بالمعنى إلى حدود الكمال. والاستفهام الإنكاري ينطوي على موقف حجاجي رافض ينفى عن سيف الدولة العجز والضعف حين أسر أصحابه. أما الشّروط فيقوم على علاقة تدخل "في نطاق الحجاج المضمر؛ لأننا إن عقدنا علاقة شرطية بين طرفين، فإننا أضمرنا أنّ الشّروط يستوجب الجواب؛ أي يكون الشّروط سبباً لنتيجة هي الجواب" (الدردي ١٩٩٦، ٢٥٤). وواضح من كلّ ذلك ما لهذه الوسائل الأسلوبية والبلاغية من دور في استثارة وجدان الملقّي وتحريك عاطفته؛ وذلك بما يمكن أن تحدّته تحولات الأسلوب وجماليات البلاغة في النفس من تجاوب أو تفاعل أو اعتراض، وهو ما تنهض عليه في الأساس إستراتيجية الباتوس التي كثيراً ما تقوم على الحجج العاطفية في إحداث غايتها المطلوبة وتأثيرها المقصود (مشبال ٢٠١٧، ب، ٢٥٧).

تأكيد الذات والعود على بدء:

قَلَمٌ يَكُنْ لِدَيْءٍ عِنْدَهَا طَمَعٌ وَأَنْ قَرَعَتْ حَبِيكَ الْبَيْضِ فَاسْتَمَعُوا ^(١٨) مَنْ كُنْتَ مِنْهُ بَعِيرِ الصَّدَقِ تَنْتَفِعُ وَأَرْضَهُمْ لَكَ مُصْطَافٌ وَمُرْتَبِعُ وَلَوْ تَنْصَرُ فِيهَا الْأَعْصَمُ الصَّدْعُ ^(١٩) حَتَّى بَلَوْتُكَ وَالْإِبْطَالَ مَمْتَصِعُ ^(٢٠) وَقَدْ يُظُنُّ جَبَانًا مَنْ بِهِ زَمَعُ ^(٢١) وَلَيْسَ كُلُّ ذَوَاتِ الْمِخْلَبِ السَّبْعُ	لَيْتَ الْمُلُوكَ عَلَى الْأَقْدَارِ مُعْطِيَةً رَضِيَتْ مِنْهُمْ بَأَنَّ زُرْتَ الْوَعَى فَرَأَوْا لَقَدْ أَبَاكَ عِشًا فِي مَعَامَلَةٍ الدَّهْرُ مُعْتَذِرٌ وَالسَّيْفُ مُنْتَهَرٌ وَمَا الْجِبَالُ لِنَصْرَانٍ بِحَامِيَةٍ وَمَا حَمْدُكَ فِي هَوْلٍ تَبَّتْ لَهُ فَقَدْ يُظُنُّ شُجَاعًا مَنْ بِهِ حَرْقُ إِنَّ السَّلَاحَ جَمِيعُ النَّاسِ تَحْمِلُهُ
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تبدأ هذه الوحدة النصية بالشكوى المتوسّلة بالتمني اليأس: "ليت الملوك على الأقدار معطية..."، وهي شكوى تُذكر بشكوى الشاعر المريرة في قصيدته الشهيرة (واحر قلباه)، وتحديدًا في قوله منها: "إن كان يجمعنا حبّ لغزته/فليت أنا بقدر الحبّ نقتسم" (المنتبي ١٩٨٦، ٨١/٤). ويبدو أنّ معاناة الشاعر مع خصومه من شعراء وغيرهم في بلاط سيف الدولة كانت من القضايا الحاضرة في نفسه^(٢٢)، والتي كثيراً ما كانت تجد مكانها في قصائده (انظر مثلاً: المنتبي ١٩٨٦، ٣٩٤/٨، ١٣/٢، ٢٣٦/٣). هذا ملحظ قد يلمسه المتأمل في مطلع هذه الوحدة النصية ابتداءً. وثمة ملحظ آخر يمكن استخلاصه منها أيضاً، وهو "أنّ الشّعريّ، في العصر العباسي، بوصفه سلعةً تداوليةً، كان يحقق وظائف فرديةً تخصّ الأبعاد الاجتماعية والسياسية والمادية للشعراء" (عبداللطيف ٢٠١٧، ٢٦٠). وفي قول الشاعر: "ليت الملوك على الأقدار معطية" ما يؤكّد هذه الوظيفة؛ فالشاعر يطالب ممدوحه/سيف الدولة أن يكون عطاؤه الشعراء على أقدارهم؛ إذ لو فعل ذلك فلن يكون ثمة مكانة أو حظوة إلا لمستحقّيها. وفي هذا إشارتان دالتان، الأولى الإلماح إلى قيمة الذات وتمييزها، والثانية التعريض بالشعراء الآخرين والانتقاص من قدرهم. وربما وجد فيه الباحث شيئاً من اللوم الخفي أيضاً لسيف الدولة؛ إذ يبدو كأنّ الشاعر يأخذ على الأمير أنّه كان يفسح المجال لمثل هؤلاء الشعراء، وإلا لما كانت مثل هذه الشكوى قد صدرت عن الشاعر من الأساس على هذا النحو المؤرّر^(٢٣).

ولذا فإنَّ الشَّاعر يعمد في مواجهة ذلك إلى توظيف شكل من أشكال حضور الذات، أو حجة الإيتوس في الخطاب، وهي الحجة التي تحيل "بوساطة جملة من الاختيارات المعجمية والأسلوبية إلى السمات المرتبطة بالمتكلم، بوصفه صورةً تتوخى الإقناع والتأثير؛ وقد تحدت هذه الحالة بما يقوله المتكلم عن ذاته، أو بما يتلفظ به" (مشبال ٢٠١٧ب، ٢٤٩). ويمكن تبين ذلك من خلال الصورة التي قدمها المتنبي لذاته في الأبيات السابقة؛ فقد ظهر في صورة "الشاعر المختلف" الذي يجمع صفتي القول والفعل معاً، على خلاف أولئك الشعراء الذين وقفوا، كما يصورهم، عند حدود النظر إلى قتال سيف الدولة، والاستماع إلى قراعه في الوغى، ولم يجاوزا ذلك في شيء: "رضيت منهم بأن زرت الوغى فرأوا/وأنا قرعت حبيك البيض فاستمعوا؛ فكأنهم بذلك يعاملون سيف الدولة بالغش حين يقدمون له أقوالاً غير مصحوبة بأفعال. ويورد الشاعر هذا المعنى على شكل مثل سائر بغية الإقناع والتأثير: "لقد أباحك غشا في معاملة/من كنت منه بغير الصدق تنتفع"؛ فالشاعر إذن يسعى إلى نزع أي قيمة عن خصومه المنافسين، مقابل بناء صورة فاعلة و متميزة للذات؛ وهو إن لم يكن أشار إلى ذاته على نحو صريح، إلا أن تعرف فضائل هذه الذات ومناقبها يكون بمقابلتها بنواقص صورة الشعراء الآخرين؛ ذلك "أن بناء الإيتوس عمل طبائقي في أساسه؛ فالخطيب [الشاعر في الحالة الراهنة] يبني صورته الذاتية في تعارض مع صور أخرى، سواء أكانت تتعلق بشخصه أم بأشخاص آخرين يواجههم، ويروم التفوق عليهم" (مشبال ٢٠١٧ب، ١٧٦).

ويرد في هذه الوحدة النصية بيتان (الرابع والخامس منها) هما أصق بالوحدة السابقة؛ إذ يأتيان لغاية التخفيف من وقع الهزيمة، ومواساة سيف الدولة، وشحن روحه وهمته، كما تبدى قبلاً؛ فها هو ذا الدهر يعتذر له عما حصل، والسيف ينتظر بلهفة ليشفي غليله، ويأخذ بثأره في جولاته القادمة، وحيثما ستصبح أرض الروم "مصطافاً ومرتبغاً" لسيف الدولة ينزلها صيفاً وربيعاً متى شاء. ويلجأ الشاعر إلى الاستعارة في قوله: "الدهر يعتذر والسيف ينتظر"، والاستعارة، كما مر، من الوسائل اللغوية الفاعلة في تقوية حجة المتكلم؛ وذلك بما يمكن أن يكون للجماليات من قدرة على تمرير الفكرة وإيصالها على نحو يفوق التعبير العادي. هذا فضلاً عما تتسم به هذه الأداة من تشخيص يجسد المجرد فيبدو على صورة حسية مرئية يمكن للمتلقي أن يتأملها ويتخيلها، فتحدث بذلك في النفس تأثيرها اللازم. ويستثمر الشاعر أيضاً الصفة الدنيبة في تحديد موقفه من الآخر: "وما الجبال لنصران بحامية..."، وهي إستراتيجية وظفها الشاعر سابقاً؛ وذلك لقناعته بالتأثير الذي قد تحدثه في متلقي الخطاب الذي ستأخذه الحماسة الدنيبة لمباركة مسعى سيف الدولة في قتال الروم الذين لن يحميهم اعتصامهم بالجبال من بطشه وقوته.

ويواصل الشاعر، بعد هذه الانعطافة السريعة، تشييد صورة الذات وتقديمها على الوجه المرغوب. ولعل هذه الفكرة هي التي كانت تشغله أكثر من غيرها في خاتمة قصيدته، باعتبار أن هذه الخاتمة هي آخر ما يعلق في ذهن المتلقي/سيف الدولة ويستقر، و"خاتمة الكلام [كما يقرر ابن رشيق] أبقى في السمع، وأصق بالنفس لقرب العهد بها" (القيرواني ١٩٨١، ٢١٧/١)، وللشاعر غاياته ومراميه التي يحرص على إيصالها. والصورة التي يلجأ الشاعر على تثبيتها، كما بدا في مفتح هذه الوحدة النصية، هي صورة الذات المستحوذة على صفة الشجاعة، في تقابل واضح مع صورة الشعراء الآخرين الذين يجردهم من هذه الصفة؛ فالشاعر لم يمدح شجاعة سيف الدولة في الحرب، كما يذهب، إلا بعد أن جرَّبه: "... حتى بلوتك والأبطال تمتع"، متخذاً من حجة التجربة إستراتيجية مناسبة في الإقناع والتأثير؛ إذ ليس أصدق من التجربة في ميز الأمور وبيان صحيحها من زائفها. والشاعر يقدم هذا المعنى بشيء من المواربة؛ فمع أنه (الشاعر) يشيد بشجاعة سيف الدولة وبطولته، إلا أنه يهدف أيضاً إلى الإشادة بذاته وإبراز شجاعته وإقدامها، وللدارس أن يقف على لفظه "بلوتك" (خبرتك وجربتك)؛ فالشاعر إما خبر سيف الدولة وجرَّبه لأنه رافقه وخاض معه المعارك مشاركاً وواصفاً^(٤٤). فالإشارة إذن إلى الذات وتأكيد أفضليتها على الخصوم المنافسين غاية لا تغيب في مقام المديح هذا.

ويدفع الشاعر بعد ذلك أي لبس قد يقدم الأشياء على غير حقيقتها؛ فاعتماداً الظن وسيلة قد تخطئ في تقدير جوهر الناس الحقيقي؛ إذ قد يبدو الأخرق شجاعاً، والشجاع الذي تعتره رعدة جباناً؛ ويؤكد الشاعر هذا المعنى بالتمثيل الذي يقوم على إحداث مشابهة بين قوله إن السلاح قد يحمل جميع الناس، دون أن يعني ذلك أنهم كلهم شجعان، وبين صورة مشخّصة تتمثل في أن ليس كل ذي مخلب أسداً؛ "فالتخييل في قول... [الشاعر] بما ينطوي عليه من اقتناص لعلاقة التشابه بين مجالين متباعدين، ونقل للفكرة من دائرة التجريد إلى حقل المحسوسات أسبغ على المعنى المجرد لوناً من التأثير الجمالي صار به أقرب إلى النفوس، وأعلق بالأذهان" (مشبال ٢٠١٥، ١٨).

ومع خاتمة هذه القصيدة يخطر في ذهن الباحث السؤال التالي: ما الدافع الذي جعل المنتبّي يسوق هذا المعنى؛ أعني حرصه على كشف اللبس الذي قد يؤدي إلى الخطأ في تقدير حقيقة الناس، وعدم القدرة على معرفة الشجاع من غير الشجاع فيهم؟ من المؤكّد أنّ هذا الحديث ليس له علاقة بسيف الدولة؛ فمقام هذا الأخير وشجاعته التي تحدّث بها الرُكبان، وسارت أخبارها في الزمان والمكان، لا يجعلان لهذا الحديث قيمة أو مغزى. هل لهذا الحديث ارتباطاً بأشخاص محدّدين؟ أو أنّ الشاعر أراد أن يكون حكمة عامّة بعدما تكشّفت له في هذه الموقعة حقائق الناس الذين لا يُخبر مظهرهم دائماً عن صدق جوهرهم! كلّ ذلك جائز ووارد. ولكنّ المرجّح في تقدير الباحث أنّ هذا المعنى ذو ارتباط بالمنتبّي نفسه؛ وتفسير ذلك أنّ ثمة حكايات وروايات كثيرة كانت تعمد إلى وضمّ الشاعر بالجن (انظر البديعي د.ت، ٧٨-٧٩). وهي روايات تعددت مرامي حابكها وأهدافهم، ولا شك في أنّ لخصومات الشاعر التي اشتعلت منذ أن وطئ بلاط سيف الدولة أثراً في إنتاجها وانتشارها. وليست الغاية هنا مناقشة هذه الحكايات، وإثبات زيفها من صدقها^(٣٥)؛ فلهذا الحديث مجال غير هذا المجال. يكفي القول هنا إنّ هذا الحديث ربّما جاء ردّاً على إحساس دفين ظلّ المنتبّي يستشعره بسبب هذه الصّورة المتداولة عنه. وهي صورة من المؤكّد أنّ لها تأثيراً قاسياً في نفسه، وهو ما دفعه فيما يبدو إلى توظيف إستراتيجية الججاج المعتمدة على المثل السائر والتمثيل الدالّ في نقض ما كان يعتنه به خصومه من عيوب، وما يلصقونه به من نواقص.

خاتمة

وبعد؛ فقد قدّم الباحث قراءة ججاجية لقصيدة المنتبّي العينية ذات المطلع: "غيري بأكثر هذا الناس بنخدع/ إن قاتلوا جبنوا أو حدّثوا شجعوا". وقد تبين أنّ المنحى الججاجي كان بالغ الوضوح في هذه القصيدة، ابتداءً من مطلعها الذي تقنّع بصوت الحكمة، وانتهاءً بخاتمتها التي أقفلت على هذا الصوت أيضاً. وما بين المطلع والخاتمة نوع المنتبّي في أساليبه بغية شدّ متلقّي خطابيه إلى قصيدته، معتمداً بناء نصياً محكماً لم يخرج عن الغاية التي حدّدها قبلاً، فجاء بناء قصيدته وفقّ تسلسل متّفنن تُسلم كلّ عتبة فيه إلى أخرى بسلاسة وانسجام.

وإذا كانت اللغة مكوّناتها الجمالية المتعدّدة هي وسيلة الشاعر في الإقناع والتأثير، فإنّ المنتبّي قد استطاع توظيف هذا الجانب توظيفاً فاعلاً؛ فعمد إلى استخدام جملة من التقنيات البلاغية والأسلوبية والمعنوية والإيقاعية التي هي مادة الشعر وأساسه، ولكنها أيضاً ذات أثر في استمالة المتلقّي والتأثير فيه. ومن هذه التقنيات والوسائل التي بدت واضحة في النصّ: التمثيل والصّورة والمقابلة والمبالغة والسرد والوصف والمفارقة والسخرية والتوازي والمجانسة...، وكلّها تقنيات/أدوات تمّ توظيفها بمهارة وقدرة بالغتين وفقّ ما جهدت الدراسة في بيانه. ولعلّها كانت وراء انسراب مقاصد النصّ إلى نفس المتلقّي لتجد مكانها هناك فتستقرّ وتتمكّن.

وخلص الباحث إلى أن الشاعر سعى في قصيدته إلى تأكيد موقفين: موقف عام يتعلّق بالجماعة التي ينتمي إليها، وفيه يقدم الولاء للممدوح ويعلن عن نُصْرته للجانب المسلم في حربه مع الآخر الرومي، ولعل هذا الموقف هو الأكثر حضوراً ووضوحاً في النّص، وموقف ذاتي/شخصي يتعلّق بالشاعر نفسه بوصفه فرداً ذا كينونة مستقلة وسط المجموع. وهو موقف وإن بدا أقلّ وضوحاً من سابقه إلا أنه مع ذلك كلّه حاضرٌ في النّص مستقرّ فيه. وعليه، فإنّه يمكن القول، استناداً إلى كلّ ما سبق، إنّ المتنبي اتخذ من شعر المديح وسيلةً/سلعةً تداوليّةً حجاجيّةً لها سلطتها النافذة التي حرص على استثمارها وتوجيهها في خدمة الجماعة/السُّلطة من جهة، وخدمة ذاته بما لها من مطامحٍ ومآربٍ وآمالٍ من جهة أخرى.

هوامش وملاحظات

١. من الدّراسات التي أطلع عليها الباحث وتناولت موضوع الحجاج في شعر المتنبي:
 - بوخشرة، خديجة. ٢٠١٠. "الروابط الحجاجية في شعر أبي الطيب المتنبي: مقارنة تداوليّة." رسالة ماجستير، جامعة وهران.
 - عزوزي، البشير. ٢٠١٤. "حجاجية الاستعارة في الشعر العربي: ديوان المتنبي أمودجاً." رسالة ماجستير، جامعة أكلي محند أولحاج.
 - فلاقي، فضيلة. ٢٠١٦. "الروابط الحجاجية في شعر المتنبي: السّيفيات أمودجاً." رسالة ماجستير، جامعة العربي بن مهيدي.
 - التويجري، صالح بن عبدالله بن صالح. ٢٠١٧. "الحجاج في كافوريات المتنبي: مقارنة تحليليّة في أنساق الحجج." مجلة العلوم العربية، جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية، ع٤٥: ٣٣١-٤٠٦.
 - عزوزي، البشير. ٢٠١٨. "الحجاج المغالط في شعر المتنبي: مقارنة حجاجيّة لآليات المغالطة في الكافوريات." حوليات الآداب واللغات، جامعة محمد بوضياف، م٥، ١٠٤: ٣٣٠-٣٤٣.
٢. وواضحٌ من عناوين هذه الدّراسات التي انصبّت على شعر المتنبي كلّهُ، أو أجزاء واسعة منه اختلافها عن توجه الدّراسة الحاليّة التي تقف على نصّ واحد بعينه، مراعيةً سياقه وبنيتها القائميتين، لتناول موضوع الحجاج فيه على قدر من الإحاطة والشّمول.
٣. وهذا الشّرح هو المعتمد في توثيق شعر المتنبي في هذه الدّراسة.
٤. الطّبع: الدّنس.
٥. المارن: ما لان من الأنف. اجتدع أنفه: قطعه.
٦. المشرفيّة: السُّيوف.
٧. عن الموقف من الآخر في شعر المتنبي، انظر الحويطات (٢٠١٥، ١٤٣-١٨٢).
٨. القُدّع: الفحش.
٩. المقانب: جمع مقنب، جماعة الخيل زهاء الثلاثمائة. النهل: الشّرب الأول. الشّكيم: جمع شكيمة، الحديدة المعترضة في فم الفرس من اللجام.
١٠. لا يعتقي: أي لا يعتاق، يقال: عاقه واعتاقه.
١١. خرشنة: بلد بالروم؛ الأرباض: جمع ريبض، ما حول المدينة من العمارة.
١٢. في خصوصيّة علاقة المتنبي بسيف الدّولة، وتجاوز هذه العلاقة شكلها النمطيّ بين شاعرٍ وممدوح، انظر شاكر (١٩٨٧، ٣٣٠-٣٣٥).
١٣. السّهام: حرّ السّموم؛ القُر: البرد؛ المقوِّرة: الضّامرة؛ المُرّع: السّريعة.
١٤. حظيت المفارقة بدراسات كثيرة على المستوى النظريّ والتطبيقيّ، ويبدو أنه بات من المتعدّد الاتفاق على تحديد تعريف دقيق لهذا المصطلح. عن المفارقة انظر مثلاً: Abrams (١٩٩٩، ١٣٤-١٣٨)؛ ميويك (١٩٩٣، ١١٨/٤-٣٦٧).



١٤. وقد ذهب أكثرُ شروح ديوان المتنبي في شرح قوله: "تغدو المنايا فلا تنفك واقفةً . . ." إلى أن البيت يعود على سيف الدولة؛ أي أن المنايا تأتمر بأمره في الإقدام أو الرجوع. وقد بدا شرح المعري في "اللامع العزيمي" لافتًا ومختلًا؛ إذ إنه يرى أن البيت يجب أن يعود على القيد لأنه متصل بصفته؛ فالبيت مرتبط بما قبله ارتباطًا يشهد بأنه مشفوع به. وقد أخذت بهذا التأويل لأنه يعزز فكرة انسجام الخطاب وترابط أجزاء النص واتساقها.
١٥. المُسَلِّمُونَ (بفتح اللام): الذين أسلمهم سيف الدولة للعدو لتخاذلهم عنه.
١٦. القَسَلُ: العاجز الدنيء.
١٧. الصُّرَعُ: الضَّعِيفُ.
١٨. الحبيكة: جمع حبيكة، وهي الطرائق التي في السيوف.
١٩. الأعصم: الوعل الذي في إحدى يديه بياض. الصَّدَعُ: الوعل لا بالمسن ولا بالصغير.
٢٠. تمتصع: تتقاتل وتتجادل بالسيوف.
٢١. الخرق: الخفة والطيش؛ الرَّمْعُ: الرعدة.
٢٢. لعلَّ ممَّا يؤكِّد مثل هذه المعاناة ما كان يُنسب للمتنبي من أقوال تتخذ صفة الاتهام الصريح لسيف الدولة، من ذلك قوله: "فهو [سيف الدولة] الذي أعطاني لكافور بسوء تدبيره، وقلة تمييزه" (انظر البديعي د. ت، ١٠٠).
٢٣. في استقراء هذا الجانب من علاقة الشاعر بسيف الدولة، انظر حسين (د. ت، ٢٦١-٢٦٩).
٢٤. يقول ابن الأثير في المتنبي: ". . . ولا شك أنه كان يشهد الحروب مع سيف الدولة ابن حمدان، فيصف لسانه ما أدى إليه عيانه" (انظر ابن الأثير ١٩٣٩، ٣٦٩/٢).
٢٥. في مناقشة مثل هذه الروايات، انظر اليوسفي (٢٠٠٢، ٣٢٣-٣٢٧).

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REVIEW

Mastering Arabic 1. 3rd ed.

Jane Wightwick and Mahmoud Gaafar

New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc., 2015. iv + 278 pp., reference, answer key, English-Arabic glossary, index. ISBN: 9780781813389. Paperback (with two audio CDs), \$40.00.

Mastering Arabic 2. 3rd ed.

Jane Wightwick and Mahmoud Gaafar

New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc., 2010. iv + 225 pp., answer key, English-Arabic glossary, index. ISBN: 9780781812542. Paperback (with two audio CDs), \$35.00.

Reviewed by Mahmoud Ali, University of Kansas

The teaching of Arabic as a foreign language (TAFL) profession faces a number of challenges that continue to keep it from catching up with the advancements in other foreign language professions, particularly English as a second language (ESL). Among these is the availability of well-designed textbooks that guide curriculum planning by providing instruction and assessment materials that follow trending approaches and standards for foreign language learning while also taking into consideration the rather complex situation of diglossia in Arabic. To this end, Arabic textbook authors have strived over the past ten years for innovation to live up to current expectations and to meet the needs of both teachers and learners. Jane Wightwick and Mahmoud Gaafar, the authors of the *Mastering Arabic* series, are no exception.

The books under review, *Mastering Arabic 1* and *Mastering Arabic 2* are part of the *Mastering Arabic* series. In addition to these two main course books, the series also

includes the companion books *Mastering Arabic 1 Activity Book*, *Mastering Arabic 2 Activity Book*, *Mastering Arabic Grammar*, and *Mastering Arabic Script*. There is also a companion website that features online resources, including video activities and other printable material. The series teaches Modern Standard Arabic, the *lingua franca* in the Arab world.

As the title suggests, *Mastering Arabic 1* is an introductory course for beginners, from which *Mastering Arabic 2* follows, building proficiency at the intermediate level. Each of the two books, the authors claim, can be used for the classroom or self-study. The books cover a wide range of topics that are relevant to language use for general communication. Each also contains varied texts, dialogues, and exercises that cater to all language skills. In addition, they are rich in cultural insights about the people, society, geography, and dialects of the Arab world.

In the following sections, I provide an overview of each book, looking more closely at each one's features in terms of structure, form, and content. Then I evaluate the two books based on a set of criteria developed by Hussein al-Rababah and Ibrahim al-Rababah (2013) intended for assessing textbooks designed for teaching Arabic to non-Arabic speakers. These two researchers suggest what they refer to as a "Criteria 1" checklist, which comprises two main categories of textbook evaluation: general characteristics and special characteristics. The second category is employed in this review of *Mastering Arabic* and consists of two subcategories: content-related criteria and form-related criteria. The former subcategory is composed of twelve criteria addressing those features that are related to the appearance, design, clarity, and age-appropriateness of the textbook in question. The latter subcategory, on the other hand, has thirty-one criteria covering a variety of content-related aspects such as the organization and structure of the materials, language-skills development and integration, task type and design, content attractiveness and authenticity, and learning autonomy and critical-thinking development (for the complete list, see Rababah and al-Rababah 2013, app. 1). Finally, I provide some suggestions for improvements based on personal experience using the books in the language classroom.

Overview

As their titles suggest, the textbooks under review, and the series more broadly, assume mastery of Arabic upon completion. This can be encouraging and motivating for both learners and teachers. However, the authors do not specify the level of mastery that learners are expected to reach. Apart from this, the structure of the textbooks is easy to follow. Each textbook has two main parts: Language Units and

Reference Material. The topics covered in Language Units are thematically designed such that each unit focuses on one main theme, providing practice across all language skills in that theme. While the authors recognize the communicative significance of Colloquial Arabic used for everyday communication, the language variety used in the books is Modern Standard Arabic, the formal variety of media and literature. However, *Mastering Arabic 2* has a section in each unit, “A Look at [Arab country],” in which it introduces the colloquial variety of that country.

Mastering Arabic 1 has a total of twenty units covering a wide variety of topics, starting in unit 3 (“The Family”) and ending in unit 19 (“Future Plans”). Units 1 to 3 introduce the alphabet, and units 7 and 20 are for review. Interestingly, the Arabic letters and sounds are presented throughout the first six units in groups based on similarities among individual letters within each group. Reference materials include Arabic letters, verb conjugation tables, a list of plurals, the months, an Arabic–English glossary, and answers to all exercises.

Mastering Arabic 2 has a total of fourteen language units, two of which, 7 and 14, are for review. Some of the topics covered overlap with those in *Mastering Arabic 1*. For example, in *Mastering Arabic 2*, unit 3 is titled “Work and Routine,” while in *Mastering Arabic 1*, unit 16 is titled “Every Day.” However, these differ from one another in terms of content and structure. Reference material is in three appendices, which include answers to exercises, an English–Arabic glossary, and a grammar index.

Evaluation

Mastering Arabic 1

Among the advantages of *Mastering Arabic 1* is that it is a very well-structured and well-illustrated textbook. The authors made use of feedback concerning form and content in this new third edition, adding colors and restructuring the language units, among other revisions. This edition is supplemented by a companion website with many useful activities and helpful advice. For example, while absent from earlier editions, the companion website includes guidelines for teachers. The book includes well-designed exercises, the answers to which are provided in the useful “Answer Section.” The structure of the book ensures that learners use the language they have learned in each unit over the subsequent units. Thus, Wightwick and Gaafar have produced a textbook that could be described as a self-study course for learning Arabic. Moreover, it is also a great asset in a taught course, as the student has material to review and can do homework tasks in their own time. However, the book still contains errors in the text and recordings as well as some typos.

Mastering Arabic 1 does benefit from useful and interrelated appendices. For example, different Arab countries use different names for months, and these alternatives are given in the appendixes. However, the appendixes are less prominent than they could be, and it would be more helpful for the learner if references to the appendixes were included at appropriate points in the text.

The third edition incorporates some useful changes and additions. Compared to the second edition, it is produced in color and has a larger page size and a companion website. More useful exercises have been added in some cases and better illustrations in others. Some of the new exercises add spice to the book as they also include some interesting cultural concepts. Others place the learner in a situation from everyday life, thus engaging the student to the fullest possible degree. For example, in unit 17, exercise 6 encourages the learner to think about different possible scenarios before listening to the dialogue. Some of the new additions to the text and exercises help students gain a better understanding of grammar and simultaneously practice reading the Arabic they have learned up to that point. In addition, the third edition contains some important illustrations that were missing from the previous edition. For example, in unit 14 of the previous edition, one had to search online to find a weather forecast to help students practice, but this is now provided in the book.

Nevertheless, the third edition will need to be revised, perhaps in a fourth edition. This has become necessary due to two issues: failure to correct the mistakes extant in the second edition, and a change in the order of the units in the third edition. For instance, unit 17 in the second edition was moved to become unit 12 in the third edition. Placing this unit at its current location in the new edition has caused many difficulties. For example, verbs do not feature until after unit 13, while unit 12 (formerly unit 17) contains both past and present tense verbs. In addition, the common usage of *fa'al* as a means of learning forms and patterns in Arabic is not properly introduced until unit 14, even though it now appears in unit 12. Furthermore, students now must deal with numbers greater than ten in this unit when they calculate the bill for restaurant orders, and these numbers are only introduced in the following units. Moreover, providing transliterations after the first six units does more harm than good because students should have learned how to pronounce the letters correctly after completing unit 6. Overall, the book adds to the development of the Arabic-as-a-foreign-language profession, and making the few changes noted above would render it almost perfect.

Mastering Arabic 2

Regarding form, *Mastering Arabic 2* has several advantages, particularly in this new edition. While the book makes references to specific regional dialects in the Arab world, it mainly presents and teaches Modern Standard Arabic used in the media,

literature, and formal settings. Thus, it avoids the nuances of different Arabic dialects while enabling students to communicate successfully with Arabic speakers regardless of their regional dialects, assuming those people are proficient in Modern Standard Arabic. Even in its presentation of the formal variety, the book does not overwhelm learners with case and diacritic marks since they do not really affect comprehension, which is the focus of the communicative/functional approach the authors adopt. Furthermore, both *Mastering Arabic 1* and *2* use a standard Arabic font that is suitable for the target audience, who may not be familiar with other fonts.

The book also reflects the culture and society of the Arab world in its visual and audio materials. For instance, pictures and drawings show relevant cultural elements and names and other proper nouns that are common in the Arab world are used in texts and audio dialogues. Moreover, all materials are presented in a clear, easy-to-follow design.

Unfortunately, other than the book's cover, the main text of *Mastering Arabic 2* is in black and white, which can be disappointing, especially for young learners. Another shortcoming is that, while it is helpful to provide the pronunciation of the target words in transliteration, these transliterations can be confusing for two reasons. First, there is no guide provided for the transliteration conventions used in the book. Second, the transliterations themselves employ both English script and Arabic script with diacritical marks. The use of Arabic script for certain sounds/letters can be accounted for by the fact that there are some sounds/letters that do not have English equivalents. Still, this can pose difficulty and confusion for learners.

Turning to the content-specific aspects of *Mastering Arabic 2*, the book continues to have many advantages, especially in its main part, "Language Units." A great advantage is that the content of each unit is well crafted and presented within a communicative, topic-based approach. To illustrate, each unit is designed and structured around one topic, providing a backdrop of vocabulary, grammatical structure, texts, dialogues, and practice activities.

All four language skills are promoted in every unit so that learners have the opportunity to develop and enhance those skills. Moreover, *Mastering Arabic 2* integrates a variety of language skills in task completions. For example, in some exercises, learners are presented with tasks that require the incorporation of both reading and listening skills, as when they are asked to fill in a form (e.g., unit 1, exercise 4; unit 2, exercise 6; unit 4, exercise 9; unit 6, exercise 7) or complete a text or dialogue (e.g., unit 6, exercise 10; unit 10, exercise 5; unit 11, exercise 3; unit 12, exercise 3). In other tasks, students are required to listen to and follow audio prompts to take part in a conversation, integrating listening and speaking skills. This makes *Mastering Arabic 2* stand out, as there are not many textbooks that adopt such an approach to skills integration.

Another important advantage of *Mastering Arabic 2* is its use of visual and audio materials to enhance understanding and production of the target language while presenting it through authentic or semi-authentic content. For example, in different parts of each unit, authentic pictures and texts are provided (e.g., unit 1, pp. 5, 15, and 19). Semi-authentic materials mainly comprise dialogues by native Arabic speakers. These can be found on the two audio CDs that come with the book.

The last, but equally important, advantage of this textbook is that the exercises are creatively designed and varied to cater to different learning styles. There are many visual and auditory supplements in the exercises in every unit; these touch on learners' auditory, visual, or kinesthetic skills while also integrating multiple language skills. Some exercises make use of visuals in the form of drawings and ask learners to listen to an audio recording. For example, a task on page 85 (unit 5, exercise 6) asks learners to check pictures representing features mentioned in a text on the previous page. Another example is unit 8, exercise 3 where the task is to listen to an audio recording of descriptions of what four different people are wearing and match pictures to those descriptions.

There are content-specific disadvantages of *Mastering Arabic 2* that may concern learners, teachers, and those choosing a curriculum. There is a potential inconvenience in using the book for self-study purposes. Bearing in mind that the authors suggest it for those with "some prior knowledge," the content materials can be challenging even for those who have that level of knowledge. Even for classroom use, it might be useful to include more teacher-support materials, such as a teacher's manual. In addition, whether for self-study or classroom use, there is no identification of the target users' age range. As it is, the content of the book makes it rather difficult to decide whether it should be for young learners, adult learners, or both. Finally, there is a lack of sufficient formative and summative assessment materials. There are only two review units, 7 and 14, which are designed to measure learners' understanding and application of the points covered in the preceding units.

Overall *Mastering Arabic 2* is a very good resource for those who are interested in learning Arabic as a foreign language. The book follows a functional, communicative approach that develops and enhances language learning at an intermediate level in all skills, thus achieving its stated pedagogical goals. However, it should be used only for classroom use and would benefit from a teacher's guide. Also, this reviewer suggests that there should be a clear identification of the potential users' proficiency levels and ages. Finally, it would be helpful if the book included end-of-unit tests as well as a final assessment test.

Reference

- Rababah, Hussein A., and Ibrahim H. Al-Rababah. 2013. "A Criteria for Evaluating Textbooks Used for Teaching Arabic to Non-Arabic Speakers: Language Teaching Methodology." *European Journal of Social Sciences* 38, no. 4: 453–69.



REVIEW

Arabic as One Language: Integrating Dialect in the Arabic Language Curriculum

Mahmoud Al-Batal, ed.

Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018. xvii + 332 pp., index.
ISBN: 9781626165045. Paperback, \$39.95.

Reviewed by Roger Allen, Professor Emeritus, University of Pennsylvania

The very title of this timely collection of articles is a forthright statement about the realities of the Arabic language, but in the pedagogical context within which it seeks to find a place (not least through its subtitle), it can also be seen as the culmination of a lengthy developmental process that traces its origins back some four decades. I was heavily involved in the earliest stages of that process, and I must begin this review by expressing my personal delight that a highly qualified and committed group of Arabic teachers has responded to the invitation of the editor by offering a variety of models whereby the goal stated in the subtitle can be essayed and indeed achieved. I also need to acknowledge here the central and pioneering role that Mahmoud Al-Batal, the editor of this volume, has played in the developments described here throughout those four decades and beyond.

The essays included in this volume are a reflection of the profound changes that have been and still are taking place in Arabic language pedagogy and that saw their beginnings in the 1980s. At that time came the realization—within several spheres both academic and nonacademic—that there was a national need for users of Arabic (and other languages) who could move beyond the purely textual skills of more traditional pedagogical approaches and acquire the communicative skills needed for meaningful contacts and exchanges with native speakers. The issues that immediately

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arose, and that have since that time involved discussion and implementation of a variety of pedagogical experiments (many of which are discussed in this volume), were and are focused on the need to develop curricula, methods, and materials that would endeavor to replicate as far as possible the learning sequences of native speakers while still meeting the expectations of academic institutions where the bulk of Arabic teaching and learning occurs. The pedagogical questions involved and a variety of possible solutions to them are well expounded in the four sections of this volume.

The first set of essays is concerned with the theoretical and practical background to the integration project and the various modes of implementation that have been tried. Al-Batal sets the scene, as it were, describing the more recent history of Arabic language instruction in the United States and noting what he terms the “firewall” that still exists in many, if not most, academic programs between instruction in the standard and colloquial forms of Arabic. This situation results certainly from vigorously maintained cultural attitudes of long standing in the Arabic-speaking regions and is duly reflected in resulting priorities long established in many academic programs of study. The rationales for the kind of integrative approach that he expounds and advocates are then explored and illustrated in essays that describe the planning and implementation of such programs at Cornell, Brigham Young, and Michigan State universities in the United States. An interesting comparative perspective is provided by an essay in which the introduction of such an integrative approach to a graduate program at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland and the “barrier of fear” that needs to be overcome are clearly discussed.

The second set of essays looks in more detail at questions associated with curriculum design, in some cases within the context of specific external organizational mechanisms: the Common European Framework in Europe, for example, and the Flagship Program in the United States. Of particular interest and importance in the current (2018) environment for Arabic language studies is the chapter on the incorporation (at the University of Texas at Austin) of the colloquial dialect of Morocco into initial levels of Arabic instruction. Among the rationales cited is the current unavailability (for security reasons) of many study abroad programs in the “Middle Eastern” regions that have previously hosted such programs for many decades, and therefrom the increasing role that Morocco has been and is playing as a site for such programs. Each of the essays in this section provides extremely useful information on the decision-making processes regarding both the sequence and balance between the standard and colloquial levels of the language and, particularly important, on the resulting skill sets attained by students in the courses in question.

In the third part of the volume, three essays continue earlier discussions regarding curricular sequence and emphases, but those discussions as introductions to surveys

contain valuable information about actual student outcomes in terms of the performance of different skill-tasks at the various levels of the program in question. The illustrative material provided and the specific data collected and analyzed are clearly important sources for the further advocacy of the integrative approach. Of special interest here in the broader context of Arabic teaching and learning, particularly in the academic sector, is the study based on the Arabic program at West Point Military Academy that shows that the combined study of the standard and colloquial forms of the language produces no negative consequences regarding the textual skills that tend to be more emphasized in traditional Arabic programs.

The fourth and final section focuses on the expectations, attitudes, and perspectives of students and teachers. The essays focus on responses to survey questionnaires concerning students' initial expectations and concerns regarding the integration of the standard and colloquial forms of Arabic within the same class and their reactions following the experience. The institutions and programs involved surveyed students in a variety of numbers and levels of classes (including study abroad and, in one case, study at an Arab-world university [the American University in Sharjah]), from one semester, from one year, and from multiple years. What emerges clearly from these surveys is that the majority of students participating in the integrative courses in Arabic not only had an extremely positive attitude toward the learning process in general but also came to believe strongly—even if they did not do so at first—that the integration itself was a positive feature of the courses and curricula involved.

The final essay in this section examines the crucial role of the teacher in such a program and in particular the strategies and skills that are almost inevitably needed in selecting and using specific levels of language in the classroom in accordance with the functions, skills, and language types that are the particular focus at any given moment. That very issue inevitably raises one aspect of the study of native-speaker behavior that, at least to my knowledge, has not been the subject of sufficient research, namely, code switching and the modes of performing it effectively and authentically. Mention is also made of another interesting situation within this same framework: the desirability (feasibility?) of “writing” colloquial items in class in order to illustrate a particular feature.

What this final essay makes abundantly clear is that the would-be teacher of the Arabic language class using the integrative approach must inevitably be a highly trained, linguistically competent pedagogue who possesses of all the necessary enthusiasm (and time) to organize and teach a curriculum that will certainly make use of the increasing amount of useful material that is becoming available in book form and online but that must then be adapted in order to meet the goals of the particular program in question and the aspirations of the students who will take the

course(s) involved. In a return to the comments that I made in the initial paragraph of this review, I can comment that the essays contained in this volume are an excellent reflection of the increasing and much desired professionalization of the Arabic language teacher that has been in progress now for several decades.

This volume is, and is intended to be, a challenge to Arabic language programs in the United States and elsewhere, and to their goals of instruction—be they explicit or implicit, stated or unstated. When we bear in mind the current situation (2018) in many countries of the Arabic-speaking world, the need for continuing and, indeed, increased communication is surely not in question. The essays in this volume suggest unequivocally that there is an urgent need to address the most effective ways whereby a new generation of Arabic learners can be trained to undertake such communicative acts.

REVIEW

Arabic Literature for the Classroom: Teaching Methods, Theories, Themes and Texts

Muhsin J. al-Musawi, ed.

London, New York: Routledge, 2017. xx + 323 pp., index. ISBN: 9781138211971. Paperback, \$54.95.

Reviewed by Sawad Hussain, translator and literary critic

Arabic Literature for the Classroom: Teaching Methods, Theories, Themes and Texts, edited by Muhsin J. al-Musawi, is based on the premise that Arabic literature, and how it is taught today, is confined to Middle Eastern studies departments and is isolated at a classroom level from consideration by other disciplines such as anthropology, gender studies, and history. The purpose of the nineteen essays in this collection is to foster and encourage these interdisciplinary connections and to motivate those who may not have fluency in Arabic to approach Arabic literature from more than a merely linguistic perspective and freely dive into this rich literary tradition.

The essays, which encourage readers to teach the specific topics presented by each contributor, are grouped into three categories: Theory and Method, Themes, and Texts. Each essay explores an area of Arabic literature through the lens of theoretical frameworks like those of Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault, and Roland Barthes, to name a few, and then shifts to situating the topic at hand within the Arab cultural and historical landscape. Most of the essays then outline how the topic being broached can be linked to other disciplinary approaches. The most helpful and practical elements presented by just over half of the contributors are sample course descriptions, syllabus outlines, and lists for further reading. The lengthy bibliographies listed

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after each chapter will also prove essential for teachers who are considering teaching a particular topic and who may want to better familiarize themselves with it first.

The drawback of this book is that not every essay is as practical or successful in guiding the reader as most of the essays are. There are a handful that, rather than providing a framework to the reader on how to teach a chosen topic, read more as extended views on the subject, with references to personal publications but without any substantial guidance. However, the extremely generous nature of the remaining essays makes up for this shortfall.

The strongest aspect of this collection is the sheer diversity of topics chosen by contributors when it comes to form (letters, poetry, novels, film) and time (from medieval times to modern day). There is also a pleasing inclusion of topics focusing on the trajectory of women's writing through the ages. Although there is a focus on the francophone Maghreb, the collection lacks geographical focus on any topic engaging with Arabic literature from other African countries, such as Libya and Sudan. Arabic literature from the Gulf region is also underrepresented. However, the transferable toolkit presented to novice and seasoned experts alike provides more than enough for one to use when teaching literatures of areas not mentioned in this collection.

For those wanting to teach a course based on female-authored works, the most useful chapter is the innovative course on the lengthy Arab female epistolary tradition, "Teaching Arab Women's Letters"; for a survey course of more up-to-date writers, "Arab Women Writers 1980-2010" or "Teaching Francophone Algerian Women's Literature in a Bilingual French-English Context: Creative Voices, Dissident Texts" prove most beneficial. Teachers seeking ways to approach traditionally more complex classical Arabic literature and poetry will find "Teaching the Maqamat in Translation," "Approaches to Teaching Classical Arabic Literature in English Translation," and "Teaching the Modernist Arabic Poem in Translation" useful. Film as a sort of dynamic text is also not left out, with the following chapters proving worthwhile when mulling over how to teach it: "Teaching Humor in Arabic Literature and Film" and "The Politics of Perception in Post-Revolutionary Egyptian Cinema." For the more conventional comparative-literature approach of using the *Thousand and One Nights*, there is "The Arabic Frametale and Two European Offspring" and "Teaching the *Arabian Nights*."

Over a decade ago, the breadth and depth of the suggested courses in this collection for students who do not have fluency in Arabic would not have been possible. There simply were not enough works available in translation for entire courses to be focused on specific aspects such as "Teaching the City in Modern Arabic Literature." However, with the profile of Arabic works in translation—both classical and modern—on the rise, there is an infinite number of directions a class studying Arabic

literature could pursue. The contributors to this collection must be applauded for sharing so openly what is essentially their life's work in order to further the cause of Arabic literature being taught in departments other than those exclusively dedicated to the teaching and learning of Middle Eastern studies.



REVIEW

The Female Suffering Body: Illness and Disability in Modern Arabic Literature

Abir Hamdar

Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014. xiv + 166 pp., references, index.
ISBN: 9780815633655. Hardcover, \$29.95.

Reviewed by Aman Attieh, St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas

Abir Hamdar, in *The Female Suffering Body: Illness and Disability in Modern Arabic Literature*, undertakes a significant contribution to tracking the theme of the female suffering body in Arabic literature through the presentation of an impressive array of distinguished narratives, translated into English, by authors from Egypt and the Levant between 1950 and 2004. She clusters these narratives around three typologies, which are also three chapter titles in the book: “The Silent Subject” (24–64), “Mediating Voices” (65–96), and “Re-Writing the Suffering Body” (97–124).

The book’s content includes the acknowledgments, author note, introduction, the three main chapters noted above, conclusion, references, and index. The acknowledgments includes a long list of individuals whose knowledge of the subject matter or technical assistance undoubtedly contributed to the book’s strength.

The discourse theme is exhaustively explored in the introduction and provides a clear idea of the author’s position. The book’s aim is to recount the lack of depiction of women’s illness and disability per se in Arabic literature (1). To achieve that, Hamdar addresses three questions: (a) Why is there concealment of this phenomenon? (b) How is this obscurity carried out? and (c) How can the de-emphasis on women’s illness in Arabic narratives be articulated? (3). Another more defined set of

seven objectives that emanates from these three questions in order to investigate the lack of portrayal of the female suffering body is well-examined throughout the book (9). Despite a lack of female suffering bodies, Hamdar acknowledges that there is considerable portrayal of women's bodies, with a focus on their sexuality and their political and social constructs.

In her attempt to grasp and examine the meaning of "illness" in Arabic literature, Hamdar delves into an exhaustive list of publications within several disciplines and categorizes them on a spectrum of the book's cornerstone terms: "disease," "illness," "sickness," and "malaise" (4). The disciplines range from the geographical, biological, social, cultural, medical, and anthropological, all the way to health as conceived by the World Health Organization; they include physical identity, physical problems, and disorders. Correspondingly, she draws on an impressively vast number of Western and Arab theoreticians and researchers to render these terms' contextual meanings associated with the female body and to support her stance throughout the whole book.

Hamdar also explores the association between Islam and health. She states that seeking cures for illness, infertility, spirit possession, or blindness is gendered in that healing practices are performed by women who, in turn, encourage sick women to visit religious shrines and worship saints in pursuit of remedies and redemption (12, 13).¹ Alongside this discourse of women being subjugated to women caretakers for healing, Hamdar cites studies showing that the intimate relationship between the practice of spirit possession and clinical illness has resulted in Arab female empowerment: it allows women to escape their restricted space at home, to enhance sisterhood with women experiencing illness, to vent their feelings of frustration and concern, and to control conception and even manipulate divorce.² The lack of women's reproduction would agitate the husband and the household, and bearing many children would bestow on women more power and freedom (13–15). Conceptually, women's health is tied to that of their children and, by the same token, to their illness.

In chapter 1, "The Silent Subject," Hamdar sketches female illness and disability in the narratives of Arab male authors from 1950 to 2000. While referring at the outset of this chapter to several male authors' writings in this era, she focuses on selections from six—Mahmoud Taymur (26–30), Yusuf al-Siba'i (31–34), Ghassan Kanafani (37–43), Ziyad Qasim (43–48), Naguib Mahfouz (48–53), and Hanna Mina (53–57)—recounting the illnesses, disabilities, and malaise of these authors' female characters. The sick female voice is marginalized in these works, and its images are grouped into three configurations: the immoral fallen woman, woman as the personification of the nation in its political misfortune, and the idyllic mother or

wife of the household. Despite variation among these three narrative types, they all share a common feature, namely, that the voice of the sick female is not present, and her body, influence, and consciousness are nonexistent (59–63).

In chapter 2, “Mediating Voices,” Hamdar capitalizes on the narratives of six female novelists to scrutinize how the sick female body is depicted, given the impact of social, political, and cultural practices. The works she considers are Huyam Nuwaylati’s *Fī al-layl*, Colette Khoury’s *Layla wāhida*, Hanan al-Shaykh’s *Faras al-shaytān*, Alya Mamdouh’s *Habbāt al-naftālīn*, Salwa Bakr’s *al-‘Araba al-dhabābiya lā taṣ’ad ila al-samā’*, and Miral al-Tahawy’s *al-Khibā’*. Hamdar observes that the disabled and sick body “is almost totally absent, removed and abjected” (65), and female suffering is mediated by voices of other characters. She attributes this mediation process to societal changes that have resulted in a better life for Arab women. Thus, for these writers to ignore subjective voices of suffering female bodies, infertility, and women’s traditional roles of submissiveness, domesticity, and motherhood (65) may obliterate society’s conventional perception of women’s weakness.

The last chapter, “Re-Writing the Suffering Body,” focuses on three novels. Hamdar displays how the protagonists—Fadia in Hassan Daoud’s *Mākiyāj khafīf li-hādhih al-layla* (98–106), Dalal and Ilham in Betool Khedairi’s *Ghāyib* (106–13), and Maryam in Haifa Bitar’s *Imra’a min hadha al-‘aṣr* (113–20)—have assumed their subjective voices in speaking about their ailments and disabilities and are heard loud and clear. Her analysis of the physical and emotional states of characters (e.g., Fatima’s deformities after a bomb explosion and Maryam’s after her cancerous breast removal) is highly sophisticated, thought provoking, and seasoned with a coherent set of concepts that show how the suffering of these women is integral to their recovery from their plight to a more pacified existence. However, I personally question whether characters using their subjective voices in novels are more appealing to readers than characters on whose behalf others speak.

An issue in this book is the form of transliteration that it adopts. While it is intended to simplify matters for Anglophones, it poses some complications for readers of Arabic. First, there is a lack of distinction between short and long vowels such as in the word *al-Khibā’* instead of *al-Khibāa’*. Second, two different Arabic letters and sounds, ح and هـ, are represented by the letter H/h and another two letters, the ت and ط, by the T/t. Third, there is a lack of differentiation between single and double consonants, as in the case of Hassan instead of Hasan. All of these made it difficult for this reviewer to realize what some names were in Arabic. I am still not certain how the author’s name is articulated in Arabic. Hopefully, Hamdar will employ a more accurate transliteration of Arabic sounds in any second edition.

Notes

1. There are divergent views among Muslims concerning shrine visitations. Some Muslims, such as the Salafis, forbid these visits, while others, such as the Shi'ites, believe that Awliyā' (God's protectors) will intercede on their behalf to answer their supplications to God. Qur'anic verses related to health and healing do not mention shrine visits. The Qur'an does not make any reference to women visiting shrines. One has to make a distinction between teachings and instructions based on the Qur'an and Muslims who partake in a variety of practices that may divert them from the former. In support of this distinction, there are six verses that address healing and health, directly or indirectly. Two pertain to physical health and the other four to spiritual and psychological healing, all of which refer to God's healing and none to that of the saints.

2. Women's communal visits with one another in the Arab world go back to time immemorial and have served the same functions as those of the spirit-possession performance. The harems historically have played the same role.

REVIEW

Monarch of the Square: An Anthology of Muhammad Zafzaf's Short Stories

Mbarek Sryfi and Roger Allen, trans.

Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014. vii + 285 pp., afterword, glossary.
ISBN: 9780815633693. Paperback, \$29.95.

Reviewed by Katrien Vanpee, University of Minnesota

She threw herself out of the window; it was not very high off the ground.
He heard her running away, crying. Poking his head out the window,
he watched angrily as she disappeared into the frigid darkness. (68)

This powerful passage marks the opening of “Illusions,” one of forty-five stories by the late Moroccan author Muhammad Zafzaf, gathered in English translation by Mbarek Sryfi and Roger Allen in *Monarch of the Square*. Zafzaf’s characters overwhelmingly find that little is left for them: children whose only playground is the street, men whose jobs have been replaced by liquor, a fellow about to be robbed by a gang instead of pleased by the prostitute he pursued. Demoralizing as its cast may appear, *Monarch of the Square* is not a depressing work. For heroism, the reader should look elsewhere, and the human behavior Zafzaf foregrounds includes much cruelty. However, Zafzaf’s characters are also frank and unpretentious, and their matter-of-fact observations and comments are not devoid of humor.

Both Sryfi and Allen are experienced translators, not just of Arabic literature broadly speaking but specifically of Moroccan fiction. Sryfi’s list of published literary translations is largely centered on the work of Moroccan authors, and Allen’s numerous translations include some ten Moroccan novels. Together they have been

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publishing small numbers of translated stories by Zafzaf since 2008. *Monarch of the Square* was followed in 2016 by their translation of Zafzaf's novel *al-Tha'lab alladhī yazharu wa-yakhtafi* (*The Elusive Fox*). In other words, both scholars have been engaging with Zafzaf's work, and with each other as colleagues, for years.

The stories in *Monarch of the Square* are evenly drawn from nine of Zafzaf's short story collections—five stories from each collection, ordered chronologically by publication date. This generous selection spans more than twenty-five years of Zafzaf's literary career from 1970 to 1996. The book contains no introduction; a four-page afterword accompanies the stories instead. The afterword is followed by a glossary that includes terms in Moroccan *dārīja* and names of people, places, and events referenced in the stories.

Regardless of their chronological distance from each other, the stories in the collection are united by their characters. Zafzaf's protagonists are almost invariably drawn from society's vulnerable: not just children and the elderly but the poor, the unemployed, the disabled. In some cases, lethargy breathes through the pages in the form of empty hours spent drinking at a bar or café, or hanging around outside of said bar or café. In various stories, the characters are positioned as fringe elements to the squares these cafés overlook. While the choice for the volume's title, *Monarch of the Square* (also the title of one of the stories), remains unexplained, one senses its monarchical part could be packed with irony. By contrast, the heart-wrenching struggle that marks some of the most moving stories in the book, such as "The Baby Carriage," is presented with genuine sympathy.

On the whole, the translation is a pleasant read. This reviewer was not thrilled by the many occurrences of "by now" and "kept [doing x] / kept on [doing x]" strewn across the various stories, particularly in those instances where the Arabic text has no equivalent for them or where "kept [doing x]" is used to refer to an action that has not previously been mentioned. However, these phrases do effectively convey the sense of inertia that pervades the characters' lives. The only intervention that repeatedly raises doubt about its necessity is the translators' rendering of Zafzaf's connectors.

Zafzaf often, even if not consistently, wrote in short, choppy sentences; the connectors he used to make his prose gel appear largely straightforward. Despite that, in certain instances the translators replace Zafzaf's connectors by English ones that are not their equivalent, that establish different relations between sentences, and that occasionally affect the flow of the English text. One example will suffice. The following is a passage from "Antonio" (154):

I felt bad for the boy being beaten by the girl, but realized that he would certainly get his revenge when they both grew up—the way men usually do

with women. But then, he might still turn out to be the loser. Antonio had certainly been a loser years ago. That's just a guess, of course. *But*, given that such things are beyond human comprehension, everyone has the right to speculate about victories and defeats. [emphasis mine]

The Arabic source text has only *mā dāmat* (“as long as; given that”) at the start of the last sentence, and no equivalent for the “but” in the English text. No oppositional meaning is implied in the Arabic. Additionally, as two other instances of “but” appear in the preceding sentences, the English passage is weighed down by the repetition of this connector.

The translators' chronological ordering of the stories enables those reading the book from front to back, as opposed to cherry-picking stories to enjoy, to observe that Zafzaf's style evolved palpably in the course of the twenty-five years of writing sampled in this work. On this note, the simple gesture of including the publication date of the various original Arabic story collections is a courtesy to the reader interested in the development of Zafzaf's style over the course of his long career. This deserves mention as inclusion of the titles and publication dates of story collections in anthologies is by no means a given.

Despite the presence of this informative bit of detail, the translators are otherwise not forthcoming with additional details about their process of story selection, the principles that guided their translation, or the exact nature of their collaboration. Specifics on the work Sryfi and Allen undertook as translators may or may not be of great interest to every reader, but they will be to many academic readers and to colleagues in the profession of literary translation. As it stands, the afterword offers concise notes on Zafzaf's life, work, and the evolution of his style as well as his reputation as an author. While interesting, in particular the remarks on the development of Zafzaf's style would have benefited from greater contextualization. Ultimately, however, the inclusion of a richly informative introduction or afterword is, of course, not a *sine qua non* for an anthology of translated stories. The matter is not one of a missing essential; it is one of added value.

Overall, for anyone interested in Zafzaf's work, or in Moroccan literature more broadly speaking, this volume is well worth the read. Zafzaf insisted throughout his career on holding a magnifying glass to the life and times of the marginalized, and that close encounter is precisely what the reader will experience with the translation.



Contributors

Abdulkafi Albirini is an associate professor of linguistics and Arabic at Utah State University. His main areas of research and teaching include language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and pragmatics. He is the author of *Modern Arabic Sociolinguistics* (Routledge, 2016) and many articles on Arabic language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and pragmatics.

Mufleh Al-Hweitat is an associate professor of medieval Arabic literature in the College of Languages at the University of Jordan–Aqaba, where he serves as the chairman of the Department of Arabic Language and Literature. His teaching and research interests include classical and modern Arabic poetry. He has published several articles about classical, medieval, and modern Arabic literature in many international peer-reviewed journals. He has extensive experience in curriculum design and curriculum development in the Ministry of Education in Jordan.

Mahmoud Ali teaches Arabic (MSA/Egyptian) and is pursuing a PhD in curriculum and teaching at the University of Kansas. He received an MA in linguistics from Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, in 2017. He studied English language and literature, German, and Arabic for his BA degree in his home country, Egypt. Mahmoud has worked as an English instructor at the Defense Language Institute (Egypt) and Al-Baha University (Saudi Arabia) and as an Arabic instructor at Ohio University. His research interests include speech assessment, pronunciation instruction and research, and psycholinguistics.

Roger Allen is a professor emeritus of Arabic and comparative literature at the University of Pennsylvania. During his long and distinguished career, he has authored several books, dozens of articles, and numerous translations from modern Arabic literature. He is a past president of both the Middle East Studies Association and the AATA as well as a past associate and book review editor of *Al-Arabiyya*. He has made many significant contributions to Arabic pedagogy and served as an ACTFL

National Trainer for proficiency in Arabic from 1986 to 2002. In 2014 he received AATA's Lifetime Achievement Award.

Aman Attieh was born in Accra, Ghana, and completed most of her formal schooling in Lebanon, where she received a BA in English literature, a certificate in teaching English, and an MA in education from the American University of Beirut, after which she pursued a PhD in education at the University of Texas at Austin. With the exception of two years teaching education courses in Arabic at a women's college in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, she has been involved in teaching and training Arabic as a foreign language since 1984 at the University of Texas at Austin, Rice University, Swarthmore College, and St. Edward's University in Austin, Texas. Her research interests focus on Arab education, Arabic language and cultural proficiency, and women's issues. She currently serves as the AATA's executive director.

Michael Grosvald is an assistant professor of linguistics at Qatar University. In addition to his home of North America, he has lived and worked in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East, serving as an instructor in mathematics, linguistics, and English as a second/foreign language. His research interests include psycholinguistics and the phonetics and phonology of spoken and signed languages.

Rachel Hayes-Harb is a professor of linguistics at the University of Utah, where she also serves as associate dean of undergraduate studies. Her research focuses on a variety of phenomena related to the acquisition of the phonology of a second language (L2) by adult learners, specifically the development of L2 phoneme inventories and L2 phonolexical structure. She is the editor in chief of *Applied Psycholinguistics*.

Sawad Hussain holds an MA in Modern Arabic literature from the School of Oriental and African Studies. She was the co-revising editor of the Arabic-English side of the 2014 *Oxford Arabic Dictionary*. She regularly translates and critiques Arabic literature. Her latest translation is *Mama Hissa's Mice*, a Kuwaiti historical-fiction novel by Saud al-Sanousi, published in the fall of 2019. Her translation of Sahar Khalifeh's *Bab al-Saha* will be released in the spring of 2020.

Tariq Khwaileh currently serves as chair of the Department of English Literature and Linguistics (DELL) at Qatar University. He received his PhD in 2011 from the University of Sheffield, UK, specializing in clinical linguistics and psycho/neuro-linguistics. He received two grants from the Qatar National Research Fund in 2015 to develop diagnostic clinical tests for aphasia suitable for use in Qatar and the Gulf

region and to build an electroencephalography laboratory for research in neurolinguistics and psycholinguistics in collaboration with colleagues at DELL.

Guilnard Moufarrej is an assistant professor in the Languages and Cultures Department at the United States Naval Academy. Her research focuses on a wide variety of topics, including second-language pedagogy; the role of music in foreign language acquisition; issues of music and identity in Middle Eastern churches, both in the Middle East and the diaspora; music and social protest; and music intervention among traumatized children refugees. She has published articles in *al-Masaq* journal and the *Review of Middle East Studies*. Her most recent article, titled “Protest Songs, Social Media, and the Exploitation of Syrian Children,” appears in the edited book *Songs of Social Protest* (Rowman & Littlefield International, 2018).

D. Eve Olson is a master’s student in the Translation Studies program at Kent State University. She completed an Honors BA in linguistics at the University of Utah, where her research focused on the phonology of the Arabic language.

Charbel Salameh is an attending physician at Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de la Croix-Rousse in Lyon, France. In addition to his medical degree, he holds a master’s degree in molecular biology and is preparing a master’s degree in neuroscience at Bordeaux University. He has published articles in several journals, including *Gynécologie Obstétrique & Fertilité*, *World Journal of Cervical Oncology*, and *Lebanese Medical Journal*.

Dris Soulaimani received his PhD in applied linguistics from UCLA. He is currently assistant professor of Arabic and linguistics at San Diego State University. His research focuses on language ideologies and discourse analysis. His recent publications include “Embodiment in Moroccan Arabic Storytelling: Language, Stance and Discourse Analysis” in *Text & Talk* (2017).

Katrien Vanpee is the director of the Arabic program at the University of Minnesota. She holds a PhD from Georgetown University with a focus on Arabic literature and linguistics. Her research interests include classical and modern Arabic literature, TAFL, curriculum design and program management, *nabaṭī* poetry, and the cultural heritage of the Arabian peninsula. A recent book chapter on proficiency assessment, coauthored with Dan Soneson, appears in the edited volume *Foreign Language Proficiency in Higher Education* (Springer, 2019). Her current research involves the *nabaṭī* poetry competition Shā’ir al-Milyūn and the work of the late Syrian poet/playwright Muhammad al-Māghūṭ.











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Al-'Arabiyya welcomes scholarly and pedagogical articles and book reviews that contribute to the advancement of study, criticism, research, and teaching in the fields of Arabic language, linguistics, and literature. We also consider responses and comments on articles published in previous issues. Review articles are also welcome; contact the editor to propose one.

Please address all correspondence regarding submissions to the Editor, *Al-'Arabiyya* Journal, aataeditor@aataweb.org.

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Article length: 8,000 words max (Times New Roman, 12 pt.). Review article length: 1,500–2,000 words max. Book review length: 750–1,250 words max. Doulos SIL fonts must be used for transliterated text/words. SIL's Scheherazade font must be used for Arabic terms and text. Reviews must be in English. Reviews previously appearing in print or online will not be accepted. Articles in Arabic must use SIL's Scheherazade font.

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