

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF IRAQI
NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ARABIC: A
SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION

by

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ABSTRACT

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This study investigates language attitudes of Iraqi native speakers of Arabic towards two Arabic varieties in Iraq, Standard Arabic (SA) and Iraqi Arabic (IA). The sample of the study comprises 196 participants divided into 107 college students and 89 non-students with no post-secondary degree. The instrument used in the study is a language survey of 44 questions falling into five groups, language preference and use in social interaction, language preference in media, language preference and use in the academic domain, language ideology, and Open-ended questions. The findings showed that the differences in language attitudes between students and non-students were significant, i.e. students showed more favorable attitudes towards SA than IA, whereas non-students overwhelmingly preferred IA. No significant gender-based differences were found among participants.

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DEDICATION

To my family and all my friends who are caught in the violence that turned Iraq into a
battlefield.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

Among key research areas that raise the interest of researchers, especially variationist sociolinguists, anthropologists, and psychologists, are speakers' attitudes toward language. Variationist linguists are interested in any type of correlation that characterizes relationships between speakers' language ideology and language behavior. The main purpose of this study is to investigate, analyze, and assess language attitudes of Iraqi native speakers of Arabic towards Standard Arabic (henceforth SA) and Iraqi Arabic (henceforth IA). These attitudes bring afore the coexistence of two language forms of Arabic in Iraq where there has not been a lot of previous research on language. A considerable body of language research has been done in many Arab countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco. In Iraq, the number of works conducted on language, especially during the last five decades, is scarce. That might not be surprising given decades of turmoil and a state of unrest in Iraq characterized by wars and violence that continue to plague life in that country. Beside language attitudes, another issue that will also be explored in the present study is whether language attitude in Iraq is unique or similar to other situations in the Arab World.

1.2 Research Questions

Do different levels of education significantly influence Iraqis' attitudes towards standard and dialect forms of Arabic? Do Iraqi males and females hold the same language attitudes? These are the two questions that I will try to answer in this study. Many studies (see Chapter Two) investigated attitudes of college students towards standard and dialect varieties of Arabic. It is, no doubt, significantly important to study language attitudes of college students, being an educated segment of society. However, studying attitudes of only students does not fully address some of the gaps currently present in language attitude research. Investigating other groups' attitudes towards language may prove significantly important as well. If different patterns of attitudes are found between speakers with different levels of education, then we may make further inquiries as to the potential cause of the difference. Many Arabic speakers see SA as much more difficult than any other Arabic dialect. One of the reasons behind this is simply the fact that SA is only learned as a second language i.e. it is not the mother tongue of any native speaker. Even though university students, given their relatively higher level of education, have more familiarity with and exposure to SA than are non-students with no post secondary degree, it is still unclear whether the level of education plays a significant role their attitude towards SA. In this study, I will also investigate the role of gender to ascertain if there are any different pattern of language attitude between males and females. Given that political, historical, and social factors may influence attitudes towards language, I will explain

in Chapter Five these factors and their impact on language attitudes and lives of Iraqis.

1.3 Structure of Study

In Chapter One, the main purpose of conducting this study, along with the research questions are presented. Chapter Two deals with the nature of attitude, language attitude and its importance, differences between SA and IA, language variation and attitudes in the Arab World, educational level and language attitude, language and gender, and general trends as influenced by language attitudes. In Chapter Three, I focus on the methodology of the study and talk about the hypothesis, variables, participants, survey, procedures, and data analysis. All the findings of the study along with illustrating charts, tables, and statistical tests are presented in Chapter Four. Afterwards, the discussion of findings will follow in Chapter Five. In Chapter Six, the conclusion, along with implications on the study findings are presented. Finally, English and Arabic versions of the study survey are provided in appendices A and B respectively.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 What is Attitude?

Attitudes usually refer to one's typically learnt or adopted predisposition to classify with favor or disfavor. Baker (1992) defines attitude as "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior" (p. 10). Generally, human beings tend to evaluate many aspects or entities in the world such as countries, politics, and people. Attitudes are formed as a result of this evaluative process. Attitudes almost always influence one's thoughts and behaviors. Given that attitudes are cognitive states of individuals that cannot be directly observed, a researcher aiming to observe and analyze human attitudes may not in fact find herself dealing with an easy task. The most common way to identify human attitudes is through individual responses or reactions that are likely to characterize specific patterns of observable behaviors. The relationship between observable behaviors and attitudes is usually accounted for through a theoretical framework due to the complexity of the relationship. The interaction between attitudes and behaviors is shaped and influenced by many factors such as individual opinions or beliefs that make an individual act in a specific manner, and the social norms an individual absorbs and grows up around. For example, before doing something a person might ask herself "Are my parents and friends going to approve of it?" It is difficult to study

attitudes because at times attitudes influence and are influenced by behaviors. For instance, one might notice that people use a specific variety of language in particular settings and start to do the same. After some time, one starts to think “This seems to be the right way to do it.” Consequently, individuals will develop positive attitude towards that variety and see it as the appropriate variety of speech. Measuring attitudes could pose a problem to researchers because attitudes are prone to change with more experience. For example, one’s political, social, and moral attitudes might change as one learns more information and gains more knowledge with further experience. When it comes to language, attitude plays a significant role because it helps us understand how speakers feel about language. Language attitude brings us closer to an understanding of language ideologies of speakers and how these ideologies influence language.

2.2 Language Attitude and its Importance

The concept of attitude has attracted the attention of researchers in a variety of disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, anthropology, psychology, and education. When speakers’ views of language are positive or negative, researchers such as sociolinguists refer to these views as language attitude or, sometimes, language ideology which highlights the values speakers of a language hold towards that language or any other languages. Researchers in second language field study language attitude for its significant role in language acquisition process and for its

influence on language behavior. Almost all research that has been conducted on Arabic sociolinguistics has in some way approached and discussed patterns of language attitude in the Arab world. Haeri (1997) refers to the importance of language attitude when investigating language in its social context, “An important part of the study of language in its social context is to investigate speaker’s attitudes towards the varieties of speech available in the linguistic repertoire of their communities” (p. 193). Second language learners’ readiness and willingness to learn a particular language is related to and shaped by their attitudes towards that language. Language attitude subsumes all of the unconscious values speakers relate to language. These values lead speakers to formulate opinions of what is considered an appropriate or inappropriate way of speech. The investigation of people’s attitudes towards language is an interesting field through which we can understand the social distribution of language varieties and the trend of language development. It will also bring us closer to the nature of language variability in a given society. Attitudes towards different language varieties might, for instance, account for reasons behind use of specific varieties in particular domains.

Sometimes, negative language attitude is mistakenly taken to be related to or caused by the linguistic “poverty” of a specific language variety such as dialects. Linguists agree that dialects are, in fact, systematic varieties and rule-governed. Although it is true that dialects develop at a faster pace than standard written forms of language and the development is sometimes accompanied by some sort of update in

linguistic functions, dialects will still abide by lexical, phonetic, and syntactic rules. The development does not violate these rules. Theoretically, it will be impossible to acquire and use any language variety if it does not conform to linguistic rules. If language users are free to make up whatever rules they like when using language, there will be a wide range of differences among speakers, making communication between groups fundamentally impossible. Through any language variety, speakers are capable of communicating and delivering written and verbal messages. Simply, what is said in one language can be transmitted in another. The aforementioned discussion might initiate the need to investigate the real reasons and motives that influence and shape a speaker's attitudes towards a specific language variety.

At times, positive attitudes towards standard languages are driven by the need for a standard language form which has its model in writing (Lippi-Green, 1997). This represents a belief in a standard, uniform way of speaking, which is thought to be a superior way of communication. A good example of language attitude can be seen in the U.S. where a debate about English and Spanish has recently been initiated early in 2007. The demand for the adoption of one standard and national language, English, may be based on trends in language attitude. The belief that there should be one unified and standard language form is enhanced by the attitudes towards that unified form.

Thakerar, Giles, and Brown (1985) conducted a language attitude study in which participants listened to tape recordings of a speaker with two varieties, a standard British accent and a Welsh accent. Participants rated the standard British variety higher than the Welsh variety. Participants in Thakerar's study preferred standard British accent because they perceived it as more correct and appropriate language. They saw British accent as more standard and acceptable than Welsh. This indicates the general preference for standard language over vernaculars. Giles, Williams, Mackie, and Rosselli (1995) investigated the reactions of U.S. participants to British and Hispanic accents of English. The study findings showed that participants rated speakers with a non-standard accent lower than other standard accent speakers. Ladegaard (1998) studied the attitudes towards British, American, and Australian dialects of English in Denmark. Participants rated speakers with more standard-like accents higher than participants whose accents were less standard.

The importance of attitude towards language has been underlined by some writers, "The status, value, and importance of a language is most often and mostly easily (though imperfectly) measured by attitudes to that language" (Baker, 1992, p. 10). Speakers' views on language intrinsically connect their language ideologies and language behaviors. Language learning, success, and sometimes even attrition could be a direct result of how speakers feel about language. Some studies have shown that attitude towards language is so important that, under certain circumstances, it determine the fate of language, be it its longevity or demise. For example, in his

interesting work “A Dialect Murders another Dialect”, Fat (2005) discussed the crucial importance of language attitude when he investigated the reasons behind the disappearance of *Hakka* from Hong Kong. Hakka was the most widespread language spoken by the natives of Hong Kong. During the past 50 years, the natives have completed a total shift to Cantonese. Parents’ unwillingness to use Hakka when talking to their children, compounded by the low status of Hakka as held by its native speakers, has led to the attrition of the language in Hong Kong within a span of two generations. There are a good number of studies that have investigated language attitude, its importance, and its impact on language use and status, see (Koch, 1999) in the U.S., (Pavlou & Papapavlou, 2004) in Greece, (Haeri, 2003) in Egypt, and (Hussein & El-Ali, 1989) in Jordan. These studies underscore general attitudes towards standard and vernacular forms of language. The broad conclusions we may obtain from these studies are the positive attitudes towards standard forms of language compared to the relative negative attitudes towards vernaculars. As this study is concerned with attitudes towards SA and IA, it is important to discuss the standings of the two varieties in Iraq and explain some linguistic differences between the two. It is also critical to discuss attitudes towards Arabic variation in the Arab world. These two topics will be discussed in the following two sections.

2.3 Standard Arabic vs. Iraqi Arabic

The situation of Arabic in Iraq is not considerably different from language situations across the Arab world. The coexistence of standard and dialect forms of Arabic characterizes the main linguistic scene in Iraq and other Arab countries. SA is the official language of Iraq and is widely used in a variety of formal domains, such as written and spoken media, education, governmental institutions, and when performing prayers. SA is not spoken in casual interaction; however, some of its forms are occasionally used by Iraqi speakers. IA is predominantly spoken in everyday face-to-face interaction. There is no tradition of writing in IA. Sometimes, however, vernacular poetry is written in IA. IA is a great vehicle for humor. Comedies are performed almost exclusively in IA. Very rarely, if any, SA is used in works of comedy. This is also true of other Arabic speaking communities such as Lebanon. Describing the usages of language varieties in Lebanon, Nader (1962) states “A Zahle¹ dialect would be imitated if one were telling a joke” (p. 280). The foregoing demonstrates that SA and IA each has its own distinct domains. Yet in certain speech contexts, forms of both varieties are mixed. Nader (1962) also points out “So we could say that colloquial Arabic and Quran sayings are mutually exclusive. On the other hand, classical Arabic and scolding a child would be mutually exclusive... whereas bidding someone farewell could be done either in colloquial or classical Arabic” (p. 280). Depending on the type of context, whether it is formal or informal for instance, the use of SA and/or IA is determined. When two, especially

¹ See page (28) for more information on Zahle.

educated, Iraqi speakers are engaged in a conversation about religion for instance, they always tend to use forms of SA as it is perceived as more serious than IA.

There are many linguistic differences between SA and IA. Below, I will go very briefly through some phonological, lexical, syntactic, and morphological differences between the two varieties. The intent is to highlight the dichotomy between the two forms. SA and IA differ in their phonological systems. Table 2.1 below presents the consonants in both IA and SA:

Table 2.1 The Consonants of Standard Arabic and Iraqi Arabic²

		Labial	Plain Interdental	Emphatic Interdental	Plain Dental	Emphatic Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops	VL ³	p+			t	ṭ	ç+	k	q		ʔ
	V	b			d	ḏ -	j	g+			
Spirants	VL	f	θ		s	ṣ	š		x	ħ	h
	V		ð	ḏ	z				ġ	ʕ	
Trill					r						
Lateral					l	ḷ					
Nasal		m			n						
Semi-vowel		w					y				

(Note: + = specific to IA; - = specific to SA)

² Adapted from Al-Toma (1969:10).

³ VL denotes voiceless and V denotes voiced.

Apart from /d/, IA accommodates all the consonants of SA. In total, IA has a system of 31 consonants whereas SA has 28 only. SA lacks three of IA consonants /p/, /g/, and /ç/. In SA, the emphatic or dark /l/ and the light /l/ are treated as two allophones of the same phoneme, /l/. In other words, they are phonetic variants of the phoneme /l/.

On the lexical level, there are many similarities between SA and IA, yet there are differences. In writing, only SA forms are used. IA forms are dominant in everyday oral interaction. Table 2.2 below demonstrates some examples of lexical differences between SA and IA:

Table 2.2 Lexical Differences between Standard Arabic and Iraqi Arabic

SA	IA	Meaning
qāl	gāl	‘he said’
raʔā	šāf	‘he saw’
ḏahaba	rāḥ	‘he went’
kān	çān	‘he (it) was’
maʔa	wiyya	‘with’
qurb	yam	‘near’
fī	bil	‘in’
amām	giddām	‘in front of’
hākaḏā	hīç	‘thus’ ‘like this’
matā	yamta	‘when’
kayf	šlōn	‘how’
yad	ʔīd	‘hand’
raqṣ	ruguş	‘dance’ (noun)
kalb	çalib	‘dog’
qiṭṭa	bazzūna	‘cat’
ḏalāḏa	tlāḏa	‘three’

On the syntactic level, there is a major difference between SA and IA in terms of subject-verb number agreement. When the order of the verbal sentence in SA is (VSO) i.e. verb → subject → object, the verb is always singular regardless of whether the subject is singular or plural. In IA, there is more restriction since the verb always agrees with the subject, i.e. it is singular when the subject is singular and plural when the subject is plural (see Al-Toma, 1969, pp.77-78). The following are two examples of SA and IA to clarify the difference:

Example 1: (SA)

katab-a	al-awlād-u	al-qīṣa
write.perfect-3sg.masc	the-boys-nom.pl	the-story

“The boys wrote the story”

Example 2: (IA)

kitb-aw	al-wilid	al-qīṣa
write.perfect-3pl.masc	the-boys.pl	the-story

“The boys wrote the story”

The two examples above show a syntactic difference between SA and IA. However, I should point out that the syntactic order of verbal sentences in SA is not only VSO. It can also take the order of SVO. When the order of verbal sentences is SVO, the verb agrees with the subject, similar to the case in IA. The sentence in the first example above could be grammatically re-ordered as shown in the following example:

Example 3: (SA)

al-awlād-u

katab-u

al-qīṣa

the-boys-nom.pl

write.perfect-3pl.masc

the-story

“The boys wrote the story”

On the morphological as well as syntactic level, SA and IA differ in their treatment of the dual. While SA marks dual forms for verbs and adjectives, IA provides singular and plural forms only, even when the subject of the sentence is dual. Many Arabic linguists consider IA treatment of the dual as a violation of linguistic rules of Arabic. The difference becomes clear in the following two examples from the two varieties:

Example 4: (SA)

al-bint-āni

jamīla-tān

the-girl-nom.dual

beautiful-nom.dual

“The two girls are beautiful”

Example 5: (IA)

al-bint-en

jamīlā-t

the-girl-nom.dual

beautiful-nom.pl

“The two girls are beautiful”

IA falls into two main categories, the *gilit* and *qeltu* (I said). In his book “*Communal Dialects in Baghdad*,” Haim Blanc describes this categorization of IA (Blanc, 1964). The *gilit* variety is spoken mainly by Muslims in central and lower areas of Iraq. The *qeltu* variety is used by Muslims and non-Muslims living in the center as well as the mountainous areas in northern Iraq (See Versteegh & Eid, 2006, p. 414). Many other minority languages are spoken in Iraq. The most important minority language is Kurdish which is spoken predominately in the northern part of Iraq. Kurdish became an official language in Iraq following the endorsement of the 2005 Iraqi constitution through a nation-wide plebiscite. According to the new constitution, both SA and Kurdish should be integrated into the educational curricula in schools across the country. SA is the primary language in Arab regions (central and southern Iraq) and Kurdish is the dominant language in the Kurdish region further northeast of Iraq (Kurdistan). On the formal level, all legislations, laws, and official documents should be in both languages. The Iraqi constitution itself is written in SA and Kurdish. A range of other minority languages are spoken by different ethnic groups in Iraq: Turkic languages such as Turkmen (500,000 speakers) and Azerbaijani (400,000 speakers), Aramaic languages such as Chaldean (120,000 speakers) and Turoyo (3,000 speakers), and Indo-European language such as Armenian (60,000 speakers)⁴. Most speakers of these languages speak IA as well. Within circles of their communities, they use their native language. They use IA when they interact with people outside of their communities, i.e. they use IA as a

⁴ The number of speakers of each language above is an estimate. Different resources might report slightly different figures.

lingua franca to interact with the majority of Iraqis. They integrate well into greater Iraqi society. Their language use has no influence on the prestige of SA and IA. At this moment in history, IA serves as a national unifying factor for Iraqis (see Chapter Five, Section 5.1). This is not true of speakers of minority languages who identify strongly with certain Islamic order and, as a result, are more pro-SA because it is the language of the Quran. For them, IA is not associated with any level of prestige. Their preference for SA is based on its religious significance, not pan-Arab sentiment. Having introduced in this section some of the linguistic differences between SA and IA and brief information about language variation in Iraq, I will talk about Arabic variation and language attitudes in the Arab world in the next section.

2.4 Arabic variation and attitudes in the Arab World

Arabic variation and the attitudes towards this variation in the Arab world are topics that have received particular attention from social psychologists and sociolinguists particularly after the first half of the twentieth century. Arabic variation in the Arab world draws identity boundaries. The different Arabic dialects spoken by Arabs across the Arab world characterize speakers from different Arab countries. For example, Egyptians speak Egyptian Arabic and Iraqis speak Iraqi Arabic. Being an Arab may entail, and sometimes means, several things. It may, for instance, refer to an individual of Arab descent. Many Arabs consider SA as a marker of Arab identity. Therefore, there is a strong belief that simply designates anyone who speaks Arabic

as Arab. As a result, the Arabic language has in some sense become a significant indicator of affiliation with Arabs. It has become an important factor representing patriotism, power, and pan-Arab nationalism in the Arab world (Suleiman, 1994, 1996, 1999). In the Islamic world in general, the Arabic language, being the language of the Qur'an, maintains a unique and exceptional status that is characterized by respect, admiration, and appreciation.

In Arabic-speaking countries, language attitude is an entangled topic due to the large spectrum of linguistic variation on which a great body of ideas and ideologies is based. The linguistic phenomenon that characterizes the linguistic situation in the Arab world is the coexistence of SA along with many national dialects which in Arabic are called *ṣammiyyat* (singular: *ṣammiyya*) such as Algerian, Egyptian, Iraqi, and so forth. Several terms have been used to designate standard forms of Arabic such as *fuṣḥā* “eloquent”, Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Literary Arabic. The use of these terms may sometimes be ambiguous. For instance, Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic are sometimes treated as two different varieties. There are, in fact, slight differences between the two. A case in point, Modern Standard Arabic, unlike Classical Arabic, does not pronounce certain vowel endings in many contexts. However, the difference between Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic is vague and irrelevant to most Arabs. Bentahila (1983) supports this when he states “The term Classical Arabic has not always been well defined, and many other terms have been used to refer to more or

less the same thing” (p. 3). Many native speakers of Arabic who are not linguists or do not have broad knowledge of Arabic varieties do not recognize the difference between the two terms and think they basically refer to the same thing. To many native speakers of Arabic, the term *fuṣḥā* refers to both Standard and Classical Arabic. The term *fuṣḥā* could refer to the language used in the media and to the language of the Qur’an which is, in fact, standard Classical Arabic. Since this study does not concern phonological or syntactic differences between standard forms of Arabic and because the main intent is to examine the attitudes of Iraqis towards standard and dialect varieties of Arabic, I have opted to mainly use SA which serves as an umbrella for other terms such as Classical Arabic and Literary Arabic. The terms *fuṣḥā* or Classical Arabic may also be used throughout this research especially when referring to other works in the field.

Besides the focus on language variation, Arabic sociolinguistics also investigates people’s attitudes and ideologies about Arabic forms. Arabic sociolinguistics has emerged, following the quantitative approach of Labov (1966), as a field that attracts the attention and interest and of sociolinguists. Examples of previous works in the field are those of Charles Ferguson in 1959. Charles Ferguson is a well-known American sociolinguist who studied and paid particular attention to language variation and attitudes in the Arab world. Ferguson’s controversial work “*Diglossia*” has opened the door for further areas of research. In language studies, the term *diglossia* refers to a sociolinguistic phenomenon in which two varieties of the

same language coexist and are used in a speech community. Typically, one of the varieties is standard, prestigious, and formal; while the other is slang, colloquial or dialectal. In the Arabic-speaking world, SA is used in a variety of domains such as print media, education, religious rituals, and formal settings. The Arabic dialects, on the other hand, are used extensively in everyday life for verbal communication purposes. The vast majority of Arabic speakers highly revere SA and associate it with knowledge, religion, and inspiration. The dialects, on the other hand, are seen as the low and uneducated distorted forms of Arabic (Haeri, 2003). In 1959, Charles Ferguson introduced the term diglossia in the English context. He provided examples from four diglossic speech communities, Swiss German, Modern Greek, Haitian Creole, and Arabic. Ferguson defined diglossia as:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (1959, p. 336).

The German scholar Karl Krumbacher discussed diglossia and gave particular attention the language situations in Greece and the Arab world. In the early 20th century, Krumbacher called upon the Greeks to adopt a dialect as the national language of Greece⁵. He also called upon Arabs to adopt one of their vernaculars, preferring the Egyptian dialect, as a national language. Al-Toma (1969) stated that “Arabic diglossia can be traced as far back as the pre-Islamic period (i.e. to a period

⁵ See page (33) for more details on the history of language development in Greece.

preceding the seventh century A.D.)” (p. 4). Ferguson drew a binary distinction between the standard form “High” and the dialect “Low.” He studied language attitudes and views of native speakers of Arabic and called these views and attitudes “myths” which underscores the complexity of the topic. In his work “Myths about Arabic,” Ferguson explained general attitudes towards Arabic which could be characterized by the feelings of the ascendancy of SA due to its beauty and exceptionally rich vocabulary, its divinity as the language of the Quran, and its robust syntactic structure (C. Ferguson, 1959). As for the various forms of Arabic vernaculars, Ferguson referred to their stigmatized nature and the way speakers view them in comparison to *fushā*. SA and other dialect forms of Arabic are seen as genetically related although the differences between SA and other dialects may be very large if compared with, for instance, the differences between Standard British English and the cockney English dialect of the East End London. Romaine (1995) points out that there are situations where the “High” and “Low” varieties may be genetically related or the two could be separate languages. She introduced a four-point classification of High and Low relationships as follows: (Note: H stands for High or standard and Low stands for low or vernacular)

1. H as classical, L as vernacular, where the two are genetically related, e.g. classical and vernacular Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi;
2. H as classical, L as vernacular, where the two are not genetically related, e.g. textual Hebrew and Yiddish;

3. H as written/ formal spoken and L as vernacular, where the two are not genetically related to one another, e.g. Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay;
4. H as written/ formal-spoken and L as vernacular, where the two are genetically related to one another, e.g. Urdu and spoken Panjabi (p. 34).

Language attitudes in the Arab World are significant in that they may, as Ferguson predicted, lead to an emergence of primary linguistic forms that are based on dialects (mother tongues) of Arabic speakers. Ferguson's prediction about the language situation in the Arab world is quite interesting, and indeed worth noting. He predicted that there would be some sort of slow development of three major linguistic forms that are based on dialects with a mixture of vocabularies from SA. The first form is "*Maghrebi*" (Moroccan) Arabic that is primarily based on Tunisian Arabic, the second form is Egyptian Arabic which would be a developed form of Cairene Arabic, and the third form is what is labeled Eastern Arabic and would be based on the Baghdadi dialect (C. A. Ferguson, 1959), (also see Walters, 2003, p. 102). Kaye (1972) criticized Ferguson's definition of diglossia by pointing out that it was impressionistic. According to Kaye, diglossia, especially in the context of Arabic speaking communities is a language situation that does not tend to be stable. He labeled the two language varieties in the Arab world as "well-defined" which refers to the Arabic vernaculars, and "ill-defined" which refers to the standard form. Kaye argued that any Arabic dialect is well-defined because a child grows up around it and acquires it as a native language; whereas the standard form is ill-defined since

children learn it primarily at school as they would learn a foreign language. The diglossic situation in Arabic, according to Kaye, is not steady as there is constant interaction between the standard and the dialectal forms of the language. Schiffman (1993) described diglossia as an unstable language situation caused by the imbalance of power among the language forms that make up diglossia. According to Schiffman, the imbalance in power will lead to shift from one language form to another and, in the long run, the dominance of one form. Linguistic variation is a phenomenon that is in fact not unique to one language situation. It could, for instance, be seen in almost any language situation around the world. In the U.S. for example, there are “Standard American English” and many dialects such as those spoken in New York and Texas. In the Arab world however, the state of language variation may not entirely parallel other situation. This point will be more obvious in the following paragraph.

The situation of language variation in the Arab world is, in some respects, similar to situations elsewhere; still, many aspects make it actually quite different. For instance, in Hong Kong, Hakka has disappeared although it was the main variety widely spoken by the natives as their first language. Hakka speakers have shifted to Cantonese Chinese which they value as the prestigious standard language that promises a better future for them and their children. Motivated by strong feelings of independence and the need for national languages, European nations developed, centuries ago, their local vernaculars, some of which have their roots in Latin or Germanic languages, into national and literary languages. In Great Britain, for

example, the old London variety developed into a national language. The German variety of the church reformist Martin Luther expanded throughout Germany. What encouraged its expansion is the fact that Luther translated the Bible into his language. In Arab countries, the majority of Arabs typically hold SA in high regard and their regional dialects in low regard (see Haeri, 2003); however, the predominance of dialects in daily communication is evident in most Arab countries. Unlike the situation with Hakka, it is extremely unlikely that Arabic dialects will cease to be the spoken varieties, although they are generally seen as less prestigious than SA. The general preference for the standard over the vernacular forms of the same language exist not only in the Arab world, but also elsewhere such as the U.S. (Koch, 1999) and Greece (Pavlou & Papapavlou, 2004).

Across the Arabic-speaking world, attitudes towards Arabic dialects are usually characterized by substantial disdain. Arabic dialects are deemed by speakers as distorted and corrupted forms of Arabic. One of the reasons Arabic speakers regard Arabic dialects as impure is the fact that many Arabic dialects have borrowed a great deal from other languages such as the European languages. Some speakers of Arabic think dialects do not conform to linguistic restrictions. Linguistic evidence does actually refute this argument since dialects possess almost all the linguistic features, although reduced, of the standard forms. Dialects can, for example, be studied and analyzed on phonetic, phonological, semantic, and syntactic levels. The differences between standard and dialectal forms of Arabic, particularly on syntactic and

morphological levels, are much greater than differences between standard and vernacular forms of other languages. It is possible for a native speaker of English, for instance, to acquire Standard American English by belonging to a specific social class (Ibrahim, 1986). This is not true of Arabic where the social status of speakers does not play any specific role in language acquisition. SA cannot be acquired by native speakers of Arabic the same way dialects are acquired. Although children have some passive exposure to SA through, for example, TV programming, it is for the most part learned at school. Therefore, SA is much more difficult than any other Arabic dialect. In all Arab countries, students have their first actual encounter with SA at primary school where they often feel shocked at the level of its difficulty compared to their dialectal varieties that they grew up with and learned at home. Haeri (2000) made this clear by pointing out, “If we define ‘mother tongue’ as a language that is learned at home without instruction, there is no community of native speakers of Classical Arabic” (p. 64). Kaye (1972) also remarked “if language and native speaker go together, then Classical Arabic is not a language since it has no native speakers” (p. 34).

In spite of their coexistence and proximity, SA and the Arabic dialects have their own separate functions (See Dweik, 1997, p. 45). Both have their own level of prestige, and literary heritage and each one preserves its own distinct domains where the use of one rather than the other is deemed by most speakers as strange. For the most part, writing is monopolized by the standard form. Some speakers regard any piece of writing written in dialect, even a brief correspondence, as inappropriate,

improper, or even unworthy. Religious rituals, education, and politics are domains where SA is the predominant form. The dialect forms are prevalent in informal daily communication. There is however some literature such as poetry and short stories written in dialect, for example, a well-known Egyptian novel “Zaynab” by the Egyptian writer Haykal was written in Egyptian Arabic. The difference between SA and Egyptian Arabic has a significant influence on language attitudes of Egyptian speakers (see Haeri, 1997, 2003). Mainly because of its religious ties and its status as the language of the Quran, SA is considered as the high variety by the masses of Muslims in and outside the Arabic-speaking world. Many Muslim immigrants in other countries consider SA as a mark of religious identity and a tool that is absolutely necessary to understand the Qur’an in its original language (Seymour-Jorn, 2004). Since, as stated earlier, SA is learned at school, speakers with different levels of education have different views about it. Speakers with higher level of education have more access to SA and show more preference towards it. This topic will be further discussed in the following section.

2.4 Educational Level and Language Attitude

Of particular interest in this study are the patterns of language attitude as influenced by speakers’ educational levels. It is relevant and important here to talk in brief about the main divisions of the educational system in Iraq where this study was done. The educational system is divided into four divisions: primary school (six

years), intermediate school (three years), high school (three years), and college or institute (two-four years). The teaching of SA is emphasized at the beginning of primary school and up to the end of high school. Many colleges and institutes include Arabic language among core courses. Al-Wer (2002) highlighted the significant role of education in linguistic variation and change. She argued that by classifying speakers according to level of education, researchers are provided with fairly accurate results in terms of locating the social groups responsible for initiating new features, “Education is the major channel through which members of the community have opportunities of contact with speakers of the target features” (p. 52). In Tunisia, *monophthongization*⁶ of the vowels /ai/ and /au/ is steered by Tunisian educated speakers. The occurrences of diphthongs is common among the illiterate, while it is absent in the speech of the young educated speakers which causes some sort of contradistinction (Jabeur, 1987 in Al-Wer, 2000, p. 12). In her study of the speech of Qatari women, Al-Muhannadi (1991) found that the occurrences of the uvular plosive [q] which is associated with SA as opposed to the colloquial pronunciation [g] noticeably increases as the speaker’s level of education increases. Al-Muhannadi’s study showed that educated speakers have more favorable attitudes towards SA and use more SA forms than speakers with a lower level of education. Cremona and Bates (1977) showed that as the level of education increases, positive attitudes toward standard forms increase too. Education can, at times, refer to the ability of an individual to read or write. In other contexts, education may indicate whether an

⁶ Monophthongization generally refers to a situation where diphthongs became monophthongs i.e. one vowel sound in a diphthong disappears, for example /ai/ → /a/.

individual is highly educated or not. However, an individual may be able to read and write, even without having had a primary education. The aim of the aforementioned statement is to make the reader aware that it is the level of education that lies at the heart of the main arguments in this study, not education by itself. As we will see in Chapter Three, the sample surveyed in the present study comprises two main parts: university students from six different majors with perceived high level of education and non-students with no post-secondary degree. I do not make any claim here that non-students in this study are uneducated. The participants, as will be explained in Chapter Three, are with different levels of academic education, higher for college students and lower for non-students with no post-secondary degree. In this study, I attempt to ascertain whether language attitudes of students with higher level of education are different from language attitudes of non-students with a lower level of education. Higher levels of education provide college-educated individuals the ability to access and understand SA complexities inaccessible to people with a lower level of education. Many attitude-focused sociolinguistic studies conducted on the Arabic-speaking participants have looked at entire samples of students, without further investigating whether non-students hold similar attitudes towards language varieties. Below, I will examine a number of attitude-related studies most of which investigated language attitudes of students.

Dweik (1997) investigated language attitudes of 25 Arab students at the University of Buffalo, New York, U.S.A. The major findings of Dweik's study

demonstrated that students regard *fushā* and any other Arabic dialect as two separate varieties each of which has its own distinct domains. Participants considered *fushā* as the language of knowledge and prestige while Arabic dialect as a form used in informal oral communication. Dweik's findings did not show that students had a preference for either of the two forms, rather, they preferred both and did not see any problem in the diglossic coexistence of SA and Arabic dialects (Dweik, 1997), (cf. Al-Kahtany, 1997). In Chapter Four, we will see that the findings of the present study show different results from Dweik's study. Studying language attitudes of students, Hussein and El-Ali (1989) surveyed the attitudes of 303 Jordanian rural students towards the main Arabic varieties in Jordan; Bedouin (spoken by Arabic-speaking desert nomads), Madani (spoken mainly by inhabitants of towns in the West Bank), Fallahi (spoken by Arab inhabitants of villages in the West Bank), and *fushā*. Fallahi and Madani are usually referred to as sedentary Arabic whereas Bedouin is referred to as non-sedentary Arabic. The finding showed that students hold *fushā* in a higher regard than other varieties. The interesting finding of Hussein and El-Ali's study was that the social status of speakers of a language variety did not play a role in language preference. Bedouin, the variety spoken by inhabitants of Arab deserts, was preferred next after *fushā*. Another study demonstrating that the prestige of and admiration for language is not related to the socio-economic status of its speakers is Nader (1962) in Lebanon. Nader found that upper and middle class Lebanese Christians in Zahle (the third largest prestigious metropolitan in Lebanon with around 100,000 inhabitants) hold in high regard the variety used by the Muslim villagers in the Bekka Valley.

Regarding this point, Ferguson (1959) remarks “Sedentary Arabs generally feel that their own dialect is best, but on certain occasions or in certain contexts will maintain that the Bedouin dialects are better” (pp. 79-80). Using matched guise technique, El-Dash and Tucker (1975) studied attitudes of Egyptian university and high school students towards “Egyptian English” (they used this term to refer to English spoken by educated Egyptians), Classical Arabic, Cairene Arabic, American English, and British English. Students showed more preference for Classical Arabic and also for their own dialect when they use it at home. Al-Kahtany (1997) examined language attitudes of 40 university students studying in the U.S. The sample comprised students from 14 Arab countries. Students in Al-Kahtany’s study were found to be aware of the differences between Arabic language varieties, and they did not see the differences as a problem. Students also indicated that vernaculars could be used in other domains such as education and media. Al-Haq (1998) surveyed the language attitudes of 211 faculty members at Yarmouk University in Jordan. Participants showed clear preference for *fushā* and asserted that it is a marker of high level of prestige, knowledge, and originality. Participants remarkably supported arabization of all courses of study offered at educational institutions. Al-Haq’s findings also highlighted the mere functional purposes of using vernaculars. In some Arabic-speaking communities, the diglossic coexistence of standard and dialect forms of Arabic is situated within a larger frame of diglossic coexistence of Arabic and other foreign languages. For instance, Arabic and French coexist in bilingual speech communities such as in Tunisia and Morocco. Dawn (2004) studied the attitudes of

Moroccan high school students and teachers towards French, SA, bilingualism, and the nation policy of arabization. The study used two types of questionnaires. The first questionnaire was distributed to 159 students. The second questionnaire was given to the teachers. All participants, teachers and students, highly viewed SA and French. Participants were shown to be in favor of bilingualism since they regard it as openness to other cultures and an important factor for future success. The majority of participants believed that SA should be the national language of the nation, but that does not mean they should dispose of other languages (French) as a result. Both students and teachers highly favored the Arabic–French bilingual situation in education system. They also showed positive attitudes toward the idea of introducing more foreign languages in schools. In Lebanon, Shaaban and Ghaith (2003) investigated language attitudes of 176 Lebanese college students towards Arabic, English, and French. These three languages characterize the multilingual population of Lebanon. Students perceived English as the language of science and future. Nevertheless, they did not deny the importance of Arabic for daily communication, news media, and education. They also recognized the historic importance of French as the language of education and culture. The motives behind students' preference of English were found to be instrumental.

In Egypt, people with higher level of education such as writers, journalists, poets, and publishers regard *fushā* as the language of thinking, science, and creativity. They also think of it as the language used by those in power (government and clergy)

for political and religious domination. Egyptian Arabic vernacular on the other hand is seen as a “backward” language of ignorance and low status (Haeri, 2003). Haeri however looked at a handful of informants, and the language attitudes expressed by the informants may have been exaggerated. Although standard forms of language are generally considered prestigious, some writers criticized this idea and argued that there is a level of prestigious status among dialects as well (Ibrahim, 1986). Some dialects are perceived as more prestigious than others. For example, Saddam Hussein, the former president of Iraq, used SA and Baghdadi Arabic (rather than his Tikriti dialect) during press conferences where Iraqi and foreign diplomats and journalists were present (Mazraani, 1995).

Some studies such as Dweik (1997) have shown that Arabic speakers do not consider their regional dialects as “mother tongue.” Rather, they perceive the prestigious SA as their first language. Ferguson (1996) remarked:

In all the defining languages the speakers regard High as superior to Low in a number of respects. Sometimes the feeling is so strong that High alone is regarded as real and Low is reported ‘not to exist.’ Speakers of Arabic, for example, may say in Low that so-and-so does not know Arabic. This normally means he does not know High, although he may be a fluent, effective speaker of Low (p. 29).

Arabic learning is another different aspect between SA and Arabic dialects. For example, Iraqi children acquire IA as a mother tongue since they grow up with it and use it to communicate with family members and friends in casual everyday interaction. The actual learning of SA is mainly accomplished through formal education. The fact that children learn SA as a second or foreign language influences

their attitudes towards it i.e. they will be more comfortable with IA (their mother tongue) than SA which is a foreign language to them.

2.5 Language and Gender

Gender is a topic that has initiated more interest in sociolinguistic research. Males' and females' relations to language can designate two distinct subcultures for men and women (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Studies on language and gender are within a framework of an interdisciplinary field that comprises, for instance, linguistics, anthropology and cultural studies. The variety in style of language use between males and females can be seen in the way women and men talk. For example, male speech is usually dominant and lengthy whereas female speech is characterized by support and attention. The variety of style in usage of language between males and females draws boundaries between women and men subcultures. Studies such as Abu-Haidar (1989) and Ladegaard (2000) showed that gender plays a role in the sociolinguistic behavior of speakers. For example, in Abu-Haidar' study Iraqi woman were found to use more prestigious forms of language than do men. In contrast to Abu-Haider's study, Bakir (1986) showed that Iraqi women do not hold favorable attitude towards SA since they perceive it as a masculine language and would, therefore, avoid using it. Some studies did not show gender to be a significant player in language attitudes (see Shaaban & Ghaith, 2003). In Western societies, women generally tend to use prestigious forms of language more than do men. The

educational level is the primary independent variable in this study; however, gender will also be investigated (see Chapter Five). The present study will look at patterns of language attitude of females and compare them with those of males to ascertain whether there are any significant differences based on the gender of participants.

2.6 Language Attitudes: General Trends

The attitudes towards standard and dialect forms of language create distinct trends vis-à-vis language status and future. The diglossic coexistence of standard and dialect forms of language may create problems to its speakers. Diglossia is sometimes perceived as a hindrance to education, an impediment to cultural development, and a threat to national unity. For example, in Greece, the conflict between standard and dialectal forms of Greek came to end when the Greek government passed a law in 1976 formally declaring *Katharevousa* (previous standard form of Greek) no more the official language of the nation. The Greek daily spoken variety *Dhimotiki* was adopted as the official language of Greece. The language situation in Arabic-speaking countries has been, more or less, similar to a struggle for survival of SA. Suleiman (1996) highlighted the problem of Arabic variation “A total opposition between the standard and the colloquial in a way which might in the long run favor the latter at the expense of the former” (p. 3). Due to problems posed by language variation in the Arab world, three general language trends have emerged on stage. Proponents of each

trend suggested solutions to language problems present in the Arab world. Below is a brief account of these trends and their advocates.

Proponents of the first trend called for the adoption of Arabic vernaculars as national languages in Arab countries because the dichotomy between SA and Arabic dialects is so large that some people tend to treat the two as separate languages, not two varieties of one language. Investigating the linguistic differences between SA and IA, Al-Toma (1969) did a comparative study between the two forms and concluded that, “The differences between the two forms of Arabic are too numerous to be ignored, and that the problem is too complex to lend itself to practical solution” (p. 112). Most of the calls to adopt Arabic dialects as official languages are, for the most part, motivated by promoters of nation-state nationalisms in the Arab world. Adopting Arabic vernaculars as official languages, written and spoken, may lessen the effects of the problematic diglossia of Arabic. The proposals to adopt Arabic vernaculars as official language are almost always confronted by strong opposition and rejection. The reasons behind the rejection have their roots in the wide sentiment of unity across the Arab world where SA is seen as a unifying power of all Arabs. According to many groups such as pan-Arab nationalists, Arabic vernaculars, if adopted as official languages in countries where they are spoken, would pose a big threat to Arab unity. Another reason leading to immense opposition are the religious ties and functions of SA. Being the language of the Quran, any endeavor aiming at replacing it end up most likely unsuccessful. Among those who criticized SA or

called for the adoption of dialects as national languages are Anees Fraiha in Lebanon, Salama Musa in Egypt, and Said Akil in Lebanon. Another justification for adopting national-state vernaculars as official languages is the extreme level of difficulty with which SA is learned, especially by pupils when they start learning it at school. Spitta (1880) supported this claim when he commented on the diglossic situation in Egypt “How much easier would the matter become if the student had merely to write the tongue which he speaks instead of being forced to write a language which is as strange to the present generation of Egyptians as Latin is to the people of Italy” (Spitta (1880) in Al-Toma, 1969, p. 5). Advocates of the second trend maintained that SA should stay the official language provided that efforts are made to simplify and modernize it so as to make it “suitable for handling the rigorous demands of the modernization program” (Suleiman, 1996, p. 28). They asserted the necessity of large-scale language modernization programs in the Arabic -speaking world to update SA so that it can cope with the fast development in technological and scientific terms. Dwyer (2005) remarked, “All languages can potentially be used of technical purposes. But when a language lacks technical terminology, however, a well-funded planning organization is necessary to create, standardize, and disseminate neologisms in the language” (p. 28). One of the exponents of this trend is the Egyptian teacher and scholar Rifa'ah Rafi' al- Tahtawi. Taha Hussein, one of the most well-known Egyptian thinkers, supported this trend and criticized the Egyptian dialect and the outdated methods of teaching SA in Egypt, “I warn those who are resisting reform that we face the dreadful prospect of Classical Arabic becoming, whether we want it

or not, a religious language and sole possession of men of religion” (Husayn, 1954, in Al-Toma, 1969, p. 166). And finally the third trend advocates, who may be called classicists, maintained that Classical Arabic must stay intact for its religious status as the language of the Quran. They would oppose any attempt to modernize it. Among those who support this trend are religious groups. The main challenges these groups face are the widespread cultural use of vernaculars and the high level of difficulty of the standard form of Arabic which have caused many complaints even among educators in the Arab world.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Hypothesis and Variables

The educational levels of Iraqis and how these levels influence language attitudes towards SA and IA are the focus of interest in this study. Will Iraqi students with a perceived high level education show more preference towards SA than IA? Will non-students, with no-postsecondary degree, show more preference towards IA than SA? I will try to answer these questions based on the finding of this study. I hypothesize that higher level of education provides college students greater access to SA which, in turn, leads to a more favorable attitude towards it. Non-students with no post-secondary degree, therefore, would in general have a less favorable attitude towards SA than their student counterparts. It follows then, given the difficulty of SA, that non-students tend to show more preference towards IA. Beside the educational level of participants, I will also look at gender-based differences. Although gender is not part of the hypothesis of this research, I am interested to look at any possible differences in language attitudes between Iraqi males and females. I will draw statistical comparisons between groups to find out whether gender plays any significant role in language attitude. The independent variable in this study is speakers' educational level. According to the research hypothesis stated above, it is predicted that the level of education will influence language attitude of participants

towards SA and IA i.e. students will prefer SA over IA. Participants' Language attitude is the dependent variable in this study. Attempts will be made to determine whether participants show different patterns of language attitude as influenced by their levels of education.

3.2 Participants

The sample surveyed in this study consists of 196 participants who fall into two main groups, 107 (54.59%) students and 89 (45.41%) non-students. It is important to remind the reader of the fact that I do not make any claim that non-students in this study are uneducated. The study investigates participants with different levels of education. The average age of participants is 24.15. The participants' ages range from 18 to 33. Age is controlled by focusing only on participants within this range. Participants who were less than 18 or over 33 years old were excluded from the analysis in order to keep the sample as comparable as possible. The average age in the student sample is 24.1. Attempts were made to select a sample of non-students whose age range is close to age range of students. The average age of participants in non-student sample is 24.4. All students attend the University of Baghdad and all are seniors majoring in six different areas of specialization. The distribution according to academic major is as follows: Arabic 19 (17.76%), Religious Studies 15 (14.02%), Physics 18 (16.82%), English 21 (19.63%), History 15 (14.02%), and Philosophy 19 (17.76%). Males number 114 and compose

58.16% of the entire sample, whereas females total 82 and compose 41.84%. Male students number 60 and form 56.07% of the entire sample of students, whereas female students number 47 and constitute 43.93%. As for the non-student sample, males number 54 (60.67%) and females number 35 (39.33%) of the entire sample. Ethnicity and native language of all participants are Arab and Arabic respectively. Out of the entire sample, Muslims number 193 (98.47%), and non-Muslims number 3 (1.53%). Out of the entire student sample, 38 (35.51%) are employed, whereas the unemployed students total 69 (64.49%). The number of employed participants among non-students is 59 (66.29%), while those who are unemployed are 30 (33.71%). The basic distribution of participants is reported below in Table 3.1 which shows the numbers of participants in the two groups, students and non-students, as well as numbers of males and females in each group. Following Table 3.1, the distribution of students according to academic major is reported in Table 3.2.

Table 3.1 Distribution of the Entire Sample

Groups	Males	Females	Total
Students	60	47	107
Non-students	54	35	89
Total	114	82	196

Table 3.2 Distribution of the Student Group according to Academic Major

Students	Arabic	English	History	Philosophy	Religion	Physics	Total
Number	19	21	15	19	15	18	107

3.3 Survey

Surveys and quantitative approaches have been the most common data-elicitation techniques used in sociolinguistic research. They are useful tools through which informants self-report their views and attitudes. The instrument utilized to elicit data for the present study is a five-page language survey designed to examine language attitudes and ideologies of participants. The English and the Arabic versions of the survey are provided at the end of this paper in appendices A and B, pages 124 and 129 respectively. The survey is composed of 44 items which fall into five main groups as follows:

3.3.1 First Group: Social Interaction

The first group is about social interaction and has 16 items. It consists of two sections: A (language preference) and B (language use). The contents in A and B are almost identical. The only difference is that items in section A concern language preference, whereas items in section B concern language use. Participants were asked to mark their choice, either SA or IA, of language preference and use. The Arabic

version of the survey has the term *fuṣḥā* which designates the standard form of Arabic). The following are two examples of the first group, sections A and B:

A (preference):

*If you were at work, which would you **prefer** to hear?*

SA IA

B (use):

*If you were at work, which would you **use**?*

SA IA

3.3.2 Second Group: Language Preference in Media

The second group includes six items that are designed to examine participants' language preference toward varieties of Arabic used in media. As in the first group, participants were required to indicate their preference of either SA or IA. Unlike the first group however, the second group of items is about language preference only. This is because people do not have a choice to determine which variety to be used in media.

Below is an example of items used in the second group:

If you were watching local news on TV, which variety would you prefer?

SA IA

3.3.3 Third Group: Language in Education

The third group has 8 items, and it appertains to language preference and use in academic domain. As in the first group, the third group has two sections A (language preference) which is composed of four items and B (language use) which is composed of four items too. Participants were asked to indicate which variety they prefer and which variety they use in, for example, Physics class, Religion class, and when writing an article or book.

Two examples of items in the third group are given below:

A (preference):

If you were reading an article or book, which variety would you *prefer*?

SA IA

B (Use):

If you wrote an article or book, which variety would you *use*?

SA IA

3.3.4 Fourth Group: Language Ideology

The fourth group has ten statements designed to examine participants' ideologies about SA and IA. By reacting to the statements, participants indicated on a Likert scale⁷ (*Strongly disagree* → *Disagree* → *Neutral* → *Agree* → *Strongly agree*) the extent to which they agree or disagree with each item.

Two examples of statements in the fourth group are provided below:

Iraqi Arabic could be used in writing.

Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

All that we hear or say should be in standard Arabic.

Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

3.3.5 Fifth Group: Open-ended Questions

The fifth and last group of the survey has four open-ended questions. The first two questions were designed to allow informants to express their views regarding the future potential status of SA and IA. In the third question, informants were asked to report any event in which they switch between the two varieties. In the last question,

⁷ Likert Scale is often used in research to measure participant's attitude towards issues or matters. Participants usually indicate their answers on a scale from full agreement on one side to full disagreement on the other side.

participants were asked to explain the reasons behind their language preference. The following is an example of the open-ended questions in the fifth group.

Please explain briefly why you generally prefer SA or IA:

After filling out the main five parts, participants were asked to provide demographic information on the last page of the survey. Through the demographic information, it was possible to elicit data on participants' age, gender, educational background, ethnicity, religion, native language, and so forth.

3.4 Procedures

As this study targeted two different populations, students and non-students, the procedures designed to elicit data from the two populations were different. For the student sample, the data collection process took place at the University of Baghdad to survey the language attitudes of 107 students. One class of graduating seniors was selected from each of the six departments, Arabic, English, Religion, Physics, History, and Philosophy. After talking to instructors in each class and explaining the design and aims of the study, efforts were coordinated to carry out the data-elicitation process. Some instructors agreed to allocate the last 15 minutes of class time for data collection. Other instructors allowed only the last 10 minutes. To ensure that students would not rush to fill out the survey, they were not required to finish the survey in 10 or 15 minutes. Rather, students were allowed as much time as needed to report their

answers. As for non-students, the procedure of data collection was different. Ordinary people were randomly selected at different locations such as a street, a mosque, a mall, and so forth. It was relatively harder to survey non-students because not every individual would agree to take part in the study. All participation in this study was voluntary. Among student informants, there was 100% return rate from participants in Arabic, English, Physics, and Philosophy departments. The return rate in History and Religious Studies departments were less than 100%.

3.5 Analysis of the Data

Before conducting the statistical analyses, all data were screened for missing values or outliers. The only cases containing missing data were some of the open-ended questions left unanswered by a few non-students. This however did not actually pose a problem. All the answers to the open-ended questions have been coded and will be reported in percentages in Chapter Four.

The collected data were analyzed through SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) and Microsoft Office Excel. The main statistical tests that were performed on the data were *Chi-square*⁸ test and *ANOVA*⁹ univariate analyses of

⁸ Chi-square “is an interesting nonparametric test that allows you to determine if what you observe in a distribution of frequencies would be what you would expect to occur by chance” (Salkind, 2007, p. 290).

⁹ ANOVA “is a hypothesis-testing procedure that is used to evaluate mean differences between two or more treatments or (proportions)” (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2007, p. 389).

variance. Chi-square was used to test for any significant differences in participants' answers to the first three groups of items in the survey. ANOVA univariate analysis of variance was used to test for any significant differences in participants' answers to the ten statements in the fourth group. The answers to the open-ended questions were reported in percentages. All findings were tabulated, reported, and graphed whenever applicable.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This study yielded some surprising results. For instance, I had expected to find different patterns of language attitude between males and females. Instead, however, interesting results that challenge prevailing beliefs about the relationship between language and gender were found. Many studies that were discussed in Chapter Two found that students generally have high opinion of SA. The current study is, to some extent, similar to other studies in that it examined students' attitudes towards language. However, it also contributes more to the study of language attitude and adds significant weight to the literature in the field through surveying attitudes of students and non-students. Analysis of the raw study data yielded numerous findings that will be detailed throughout this chapter.

In this chapter, I statistically analyzed participants' responses to the first four groups of the survey (social interaction, media, academic domain, and Likert statements). I used the chi-square statistical test to detect any significant differences in participants' responses to questions in the first three groups which mainly concern preference and use of language. I used ANOVA analysis of variance to analyze participants' reactions to the ten statements in the fourth part (Likert statements) of the survey. Tables, percentages, and outputs of statistical tests are also presented in this chapter to further delineate the findings. Figures such as bar graphs are also

provided to help visualize the research findings because these figures make it easier to understand different patterns of data. Student and non-student preferences and uses of language were analyzed and compared. Moreover, males' and females' patterns of language preference and use were also examined for any significant differences. Within the student sample, findings were divided according to student majors to ascertain whether there were any significant differences among students from different disciplines. The first three groups of the survey consist of 30 questions about language preference and use. Participants' responses to these questions were combined and reported collectively instead of analyzing each question separately. Analyzing each question separately would have proven monotonous and might have eclipsed the main point of data analysis, i.e. demonstrating the difference in patterns of language attitude between students and non-students.

As for the ten Likert statements in group four of the survey, each statement was analyzed separately. Percentages, tables, ANOVA outputs, and figures are introduced in this chapter to make the findings more meaningful and easy to understand. Responses to the open-ended questions were classified and categorized. Given the large variety of answers to the open-ended questions in the fifth group of the survey, conducting statistical analyses would not render a clear picture of significant differences in the data, i.e. it would be very difficult to detect or see the differences among groups. Therefore, the findings were discussed, tabulated, and reported in percentages measured against the total number of each group such as

students and non-students. Throughout the data analysis process, percentages may add up to slightly more or less than 100% due to rounding errors. The focal independent variable in this study is the participants' level of education; however, distribution based on gender was also analyzed to determine whether any significant gender-based differences exist among groups. The dependent variable is language attitude. There are some cases where figures for specific analyses are not presented because significant differences were not found, for example, no significant differences were found between male and female reactions to the Likert statements in the fourth group of the survey.

In sections 4.1 and 4.2, I analyzed language preference and use for the first three groups of the survey. Then, in sections 4.3 and 4.4, I performed the same process analyzing language preference and use as related to gender of participants. Next, in section 4.5, the student sample was exclusively analyzed for any possible significant differences in language preference and use according to student majors. Later on, reactions to the ten Likert statements in the fourth group of the survey were analyzed and reported in section 4.6. Finally, answers to open-ended questions in the fifth group were analyzed and reported in section 4.7.

4.1 Language Preference

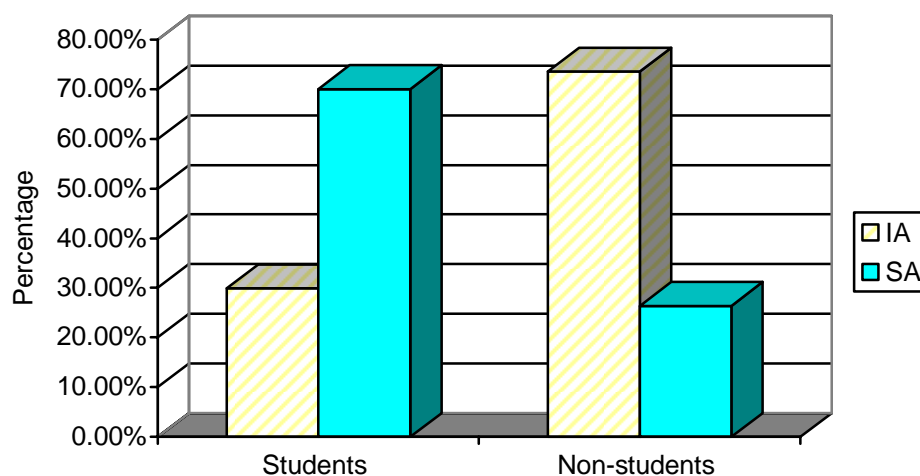
Students expressed exceedingly more positive attitudes towards SA (70.04%) than did non-students (26.40%). In contrast, non-students showed an overwhelming preference (73.60 %) for IA than did students (29.96%). It is obvious that the educational level of participants plays a strong role in their language attitude. Non-students have a lower educational level than students because they have no post-secondary degree. Another important point to highlight is that the non-students' age range is very close to the age range of students. Recall that any participant less than 18 years old or over 33 years old were excluded from the sample. Table 4.1 below demonstrates the difference in language preference between students and non-students:

Table 4.1 Language Preference of Students and Non-students

Groups	SA	IA
Students	70.04%	29.96%
Non-students	26.40%	73.60%

To further illustrate the differences between the two groups, Figure 4.1 below portrays the above results of language preference of students and non-students:

Figure 4.1 Language Preference of Students and Non-students



The chi-square statistical test reported a significant difference in language preference between students and non-students. The statistics of chi-square were reported as follows¹⁰: $\chi^2(1, n = 196) = 36.2, p < 0.001$. Students vastly preferred the standard form of Arabic over the dialect, which was the opposite of non-students. This indicates that the educational level of speakers correlates strongly with their attitudes towards the standard form of Arabic. The findings specified above showed that people with higher level of education in Iraqi society are favorably inclined towards SA while those with a lower level of education are favorably inclined towards IA. Furthermore, the findings serve as an indication that people with a higher level of education hold SA in high regard and associate it with knowledge. People with a

¹⁰ In the chi-square (χ^2) test output, the first value between parentheses is the degree of freedom which is the number of groups minus one (There are two groups, students and non-students. Therefore, the degree of freedom equals 1). The second value (n) represents the sample size which is 196 here. The value of chi-square follows the equal sign, which is here 36.2. The (p) represents the probability of committing Type 1 Error, i.e. rejecting a true null hypothesis. The null hypothesis simply states that no relationship exists between variables i.e. language attitude and educational level in this study.

lower level of education would favor IA because it is the language that they understand the best. This is not the case with SA since they perceive it as a difficult language (see responses to the last question of the survey at the end of this chapter).

4.2 Language Use

Both groups claimed to use IA more than SA. This should not come as a surprise, given the fact that SA has no native speakers and that Iraqis use IA in everyday life. However, language use showed significant difference between the two groups as well. Non-students claimed to use IA more than did students. Results showed that over half (57.17%) of students use IA, whereas an overwhelming percentage (85.58%) of non-students use IA. The level of education plays a significant role here. Students, although claiming to use IA more than SA, showed a highly significant difference from non-students. Students seem to be in command of the two varieties, which is not the case with non-students who overwhelmingly use IA. Table 4.2 below demonstrates the differences between the two groups:

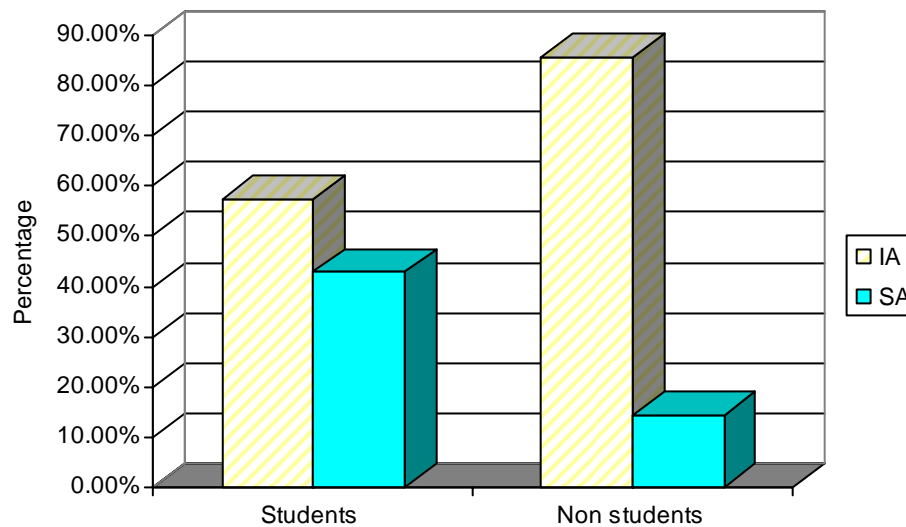
Table 4.2 Language Use of Students and Non-students

Groups	SA	IA
Students	42.83%	57.17%
Non-students	14.42%	85.58%

The interesting finding here is that the claimed usage of SA among students is 42.83%, which is more than I expected. Students' use of SA correlated strongly with

their attitudes towards it. Figure 4.2 below puts in a clear picture the differences in language use between the two groups:

Figure 4.2 Language Use between Students and Non-students



The difference between students and non-students in their use of language was significant, $\chi^2(1, n = 196) = 18.6, p < 0.001$. This suggests that the educational level of participants does play a significant role in language use.

To sum up on the language preference and use analyzed thus far, I argue that the level of education strongly interacts with Iraqis' attitudes towards standard and dialect forms of Arabic. The educational levels of respondents are related to their opinions about and usage of language. Higher level of education leads to more favorable views of SA, while less education makes participants inclined to favor IA.

4.3 Language Preference and Gender

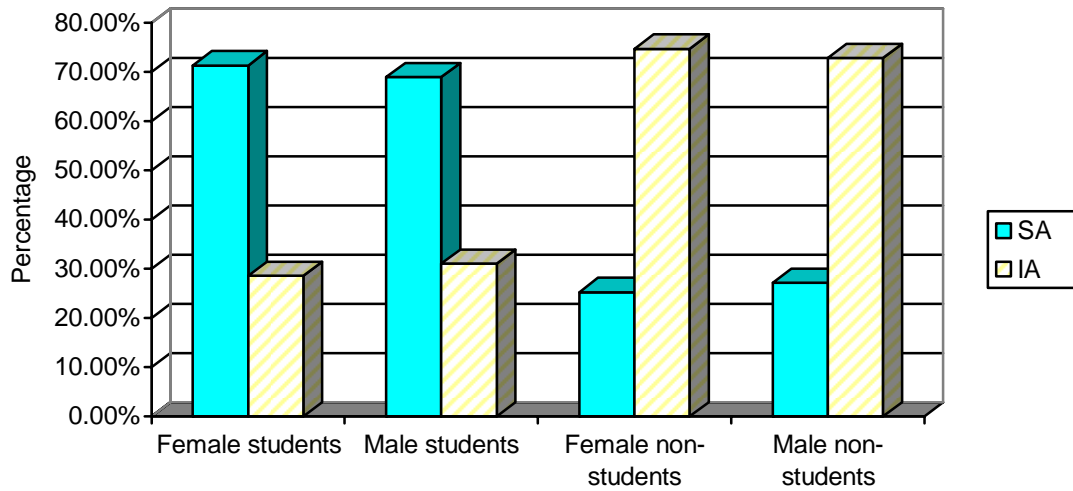
Statistical analyses were conducted to find any different patterns in language preference and use in the sample according to gender of participants. Although slight differences in language preferences were found between males and females, statistical analysis did not report the differences as significant. Unlike the case with educational level of participants, gender does not correlate with attitudes towards language. Table 4.3 below exhibits the findings:

Table 4.3 Language Preference Based on Gender of Participants

Groups		SA	IA
Students	Females	71.39%	28.61%
	Males	68.98%	31.02%
Non-students	Females	25.24%	74.76%
	Males	27.16%	72.84%

The findings reported in the table above are pictorially graphed in Figure 4.3 below. As can be seen in the figure, the differences are clear between students and non-students. As for gender, no differences can be clearly seen between males and females in each group. Unlike the case with students and non-students, this suggests that gender does not play a role in language preference.

Figure 4.3 Language Preference based on Gender



The chi-square statistical test was conducted on students and non-students separately. For students, the chi-square analysis did not show a significant difference between males and females, $\chi^2(1, n = 107) = 0.20, p < 1$. For significance at the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 3.84 based on the sample statistics. As for non-students, the chi-square analysis did not show a significant difference between males and females either, $\chi^2(1, n = 89) = 0.04, p < 1$. For significance at the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 3.84 based on the sample statistics. Gender is not a factor that would lead to different patterns of language preference between males and females. Unlike the case with educational level of participants, gender does not correlate with attitudes towards language.

4.4 Language Use and Gender

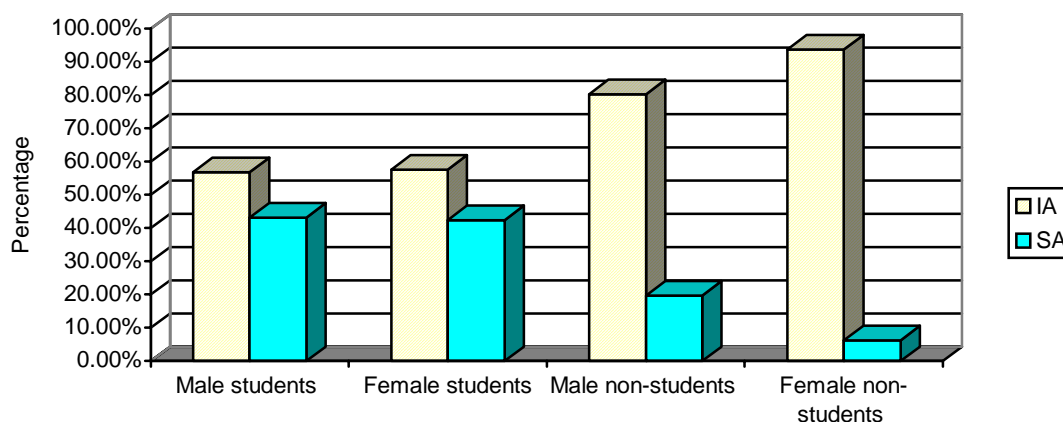
While the previous section examined the relationship between language preference and gender, this section investigates the relationships between language use and gender. Participants generally claimed to use IA more than SA. Differences in language use between males and females were found, yet these differences were not significant. Table 4.4 below demonstrates the findings:

Table 4.4 Language Use based on Gender of Participants

Groups		SA	IA
Students	Females	42.38%	57.62%
	Males	43.19%	56.81%
Non-students	Females	6.19%	93.81%
	Males	19.75%	80.25%

Percentages in the table above indicate that there is a very little difference, less than 1%, between male and female students. The difference between male and female non-students at 13.56% was not statistically significant. Figure 4.4 below shows the findings more clearly. If we compare Figure 4.4 below with Figure 4.2 above, we can see that the greatest difference is caused by the educational levels of participants. Similar to the case of language preference and gender, gender does not play a significant role in language use.

Figure 4.4 Language Use based on Gender



The chi-square statistical test was conducted on students and non-students independently. For students, the chi-square analysis did not show a significant difference in language use between males and females, $\chi^2(1, n = 107) = 0.006, p < 1$. Based on the statistics of the sample, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 3.84 for significance at the .05 level. As for non-students, the chi-square analysis did not show a significant difference in language use between males and females, $\chi^2(1, n = 89) = 3.66, p < 0.10$. Chi-square should be greater than or equal to 3.84 for significance at the .05 level.

To sum up on the relationship between gender on one side and language preference and use on the other, being a male or female does not correlate with a speaker's use of and attitudes towards Arabic varieties in Iraq. This has come as a surprise since I expected females to show different patterns of language attitude and use from their male counterparts. Abu-Haidar (1989) showed that gender plays a role in language

behavior of speakers; females tend to use more prestigious standard forms of Arabic than do males. Abu-Haidar interviewed 50 participants, 25 men and 25 women from Baghdad. She observed the frequency of occurrence of SA forms and IA forms in the speech of participants and found that women tend to use standards forms more than men do. Here, we did not observe statistically different patterns of language use between males and females. This suggests that, in modern Iraqi society, gender difference may not significantly influence language practices of speakers. However, as we shall read in Chapter Five, other points are to be taken into consideration before we can make any gender-related argument.

4.5 Student Majors

Additionally, statistical analyses were conducted on the student sample to determine whether the areas of specialization lead to any different patterns in language attitude of students from different majors. The student sample is composed of students majoring in Arabic, English, History, Philosophy, Religion, and Physics. As previous statistical analyses did not report any significant role of gender within the student sample, only language preference and use are examined hereto to detect any possible significant differences among student majors.

4.5.1 Language Preference according to Student Majors

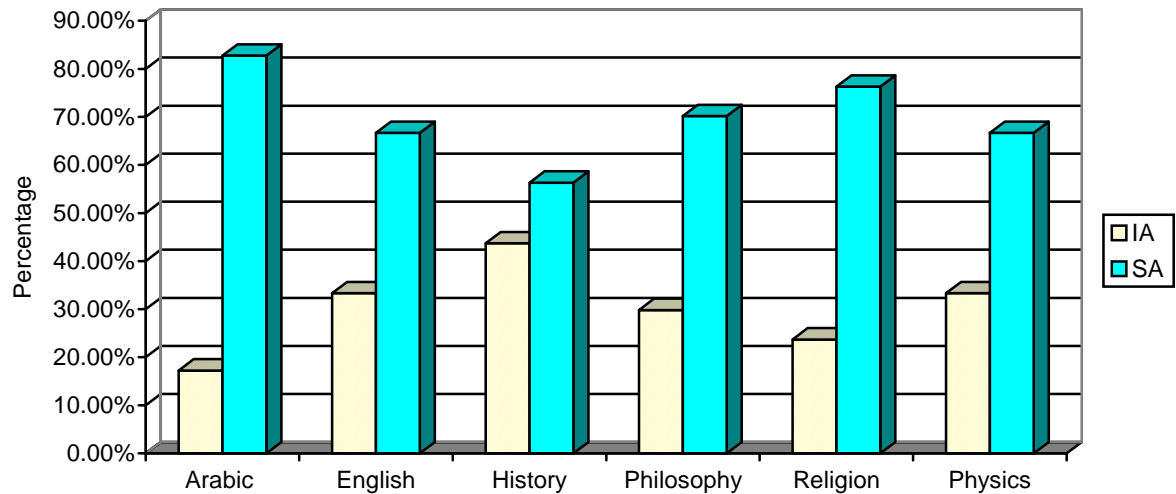
Table 4.5 below, which distinguishes student responses according to their majors, shows clearly that students prefer SA more than IA:

Table 4.5 Language Preference of Students according to Majors

Majors	SA	IA
Arabic	82.75%	17.25%
English	66.67%	33.33%
History	56.30%	43.70%
Philosophy	70.18%	29.82%
Religion	76.30%	23.70%
Physics	66.67%	33.33%

The highest two percentages of SA preference came from Arabic and Religion students. The findings are graphed in Figure 4.5 below:

Figure 4.5 Language Preference according to Student Majors



I expected students from Arabic and Religious Studies departments to show more preference for SA than students from other departments. My prediction was supported

by the percentages reported, but the findings did not support my prediction in terms of statistical significance. Only one significant difference was detected between students of Arabic and students of History, $\chi^2(1, n = 34) = 3.85, p < 0.05$. Testing the student sample as a whole, the output of chi-square analysis showed no significant differences among students from the six majors, $\chi^2(5, n = 107) = 4.02, p < 1$. For significance at the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 11.07 based on the sample statistics.

4.5.2 Language Use according to Student Majors

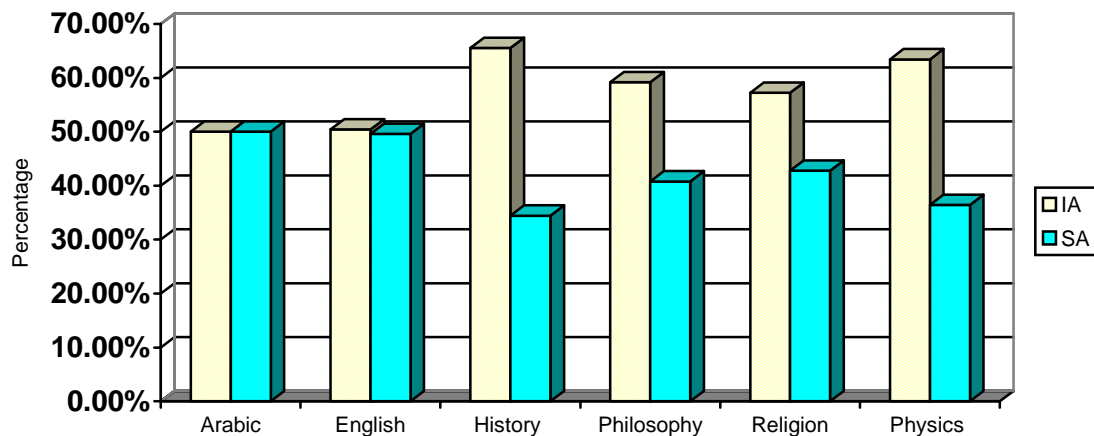
Students' claimed language use was statistically analyzed to detect any significant differences within the student sample. The findings are tabulated according to academic majors in Table 4.6 below, which reports in percentage the findings of language use:

Table 4.6 Language Use of Students according to Majors

Groups	SA (Use)	IA (Use)
Arabic	50.00%	50.00%
English	49.60%	50.40%
History	34.44%	65.56%
Philosophy	40.79%	59.21%
Religion	42.78%	57.22%
Physics	36.57%	63.43%

Interestingly, Arabic students claimed to use SA at 50%, which could be the direct result of majoring in Arabic. In college, Arabic students study SA, not IA. Students from other majors claimed to use IA more than SA. English students claimed to use SA at 49.60%, which is very close to percentage reported by Arabic students. Figure 4.6 below makes the comparison across student majors easier to see:

Figure 4.6 Language Use of Students according to Major



The results of chi-square analysis showed no significant differences in language use among student majors, $\chi^2(5, n = 107) = 1.66, p < 1$. For significance at the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 11.07.

To summarize the findings of students' claimed language use, differences in academic major did not significantly correlate with language use of SA and IA. Only one significant difference was found between Arabic and History students.

4.6 Language Ideology

In this section, reactions to the ten statements in the fourth part (Likert statements) of the survey are analyzed. The reactions were measured according to an attitude measurement scale known as Likert Scale¹¹ in which responses to given statements are rated on a scale ranging from full agreement on one side to full disagreement on the other side. In this study, answers were initially measured on a five-level Likert scale as follows: *Strongly disagree* → *Disagree* → *Neutral* → *Agree* → *Strongly agree*. Afterwards, in order to easily observe differences in the findings, the responses *Strongly disagree* and *Disagree* were combined into one category “Disagree”. Likewise, the responses *Agree* and *Strongly agree* were combined into one category “Agree”. For each statement, two tables are provided; one presenting the responses of students and non-students and the other presenting responses according to gender. Since gender did not appear to play a significant role, no figures are provided to illustrate gender differences. Due to rounding errors, percentages may be slightly higher or lower than 100%. ANOVA analysis of variance was performed on the data to detect any significant differences. Analyses of all statements, one by one, are provided below.

First Statement: *Iraq Arabic represents the identity of Iraqis.*

Students’ and non-students’ reactions to this statement differed, only 36% of students agreed with the statement compared to 51% of non-students. This indicates that over

¹¹ See page (43) for more details on Likert Scale.

half of non-students perceive Iraqi Arabic as marker of their Iraqi identity and national culture. Of students, 41% were neutral, which is an indication of uncertainty or ambivalence. ANOVA statistical analysis of variance reported the differences as significant, as can be seen in the bottom cell of Table 4.7 below which demonstrates the percentages of the reactions to the first statement:

Table 4.7 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 1

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	36%	41%	23%
Non-students	51%	33%	17%
F (1, 194) = 4.440, p < .036 (Significant)			

As seen in the table above, the percentages of disagreement to the statement are small compared to percentages of agreement and neutrality. We can see that the majority of participants did not disagree with the statement; however, not all of them showed agreement either. Of students, 41% were neutral. Although students hold SA in high regard, they do not deny the important role of IA as a symbol of Iraqi identity and culture. The findings are graphed in Figure 4.7 below for ease of comparison between students and non-students:

Figure 4.7 Percentages of Responses to Statement 1

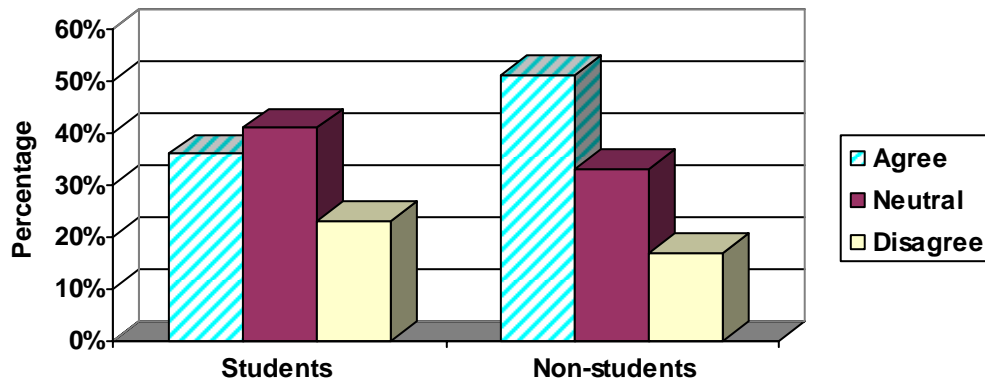


Table 4.8 below reports the percentages of male and female reactions to the first statement. ANOVA statistical test, in the bottom cell of the table, did not report significant differences between males and females. Males and females did not significantly differ in their reactions to the statement.

Table 4.8 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 1

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	32%	51%	17%
	Males	38%	33%	28%
Non-students	Females	60%	26%	14%
	Males	44%	37%	19%
F (1, 194) = .554, p < .458 (Nonsignificant)				

Second Statement: *In Iraq, the spoken variety should be Iraqi Arabic.*

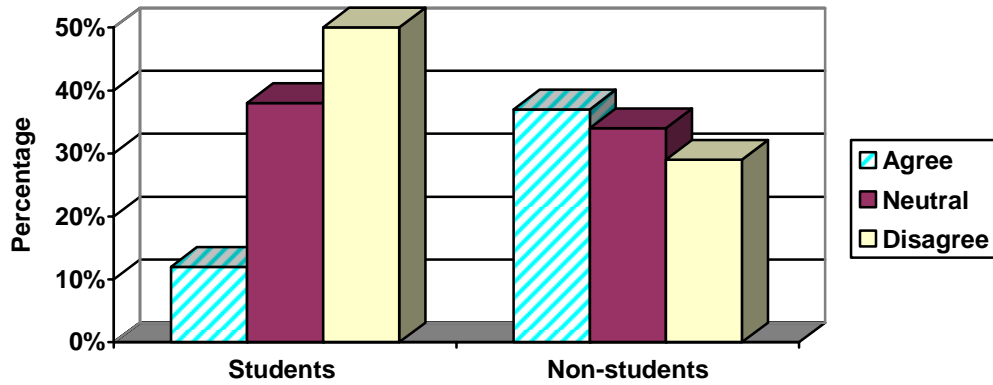
This statement was designed to elicit information about attitudes of participants towards IA as a spoken variety in Iraq. Student and non-student reactions were significantly different. For instance, around 50% of students disagreed with the statement, compared to only 29% of non-students who expressed disagreement. This is an indication that students do not hold as favorable attitude towards IA as they do SA. Non-students who agreed with the statement were 37% compared to 12% of students. Non-student answers are not a clear indication of their opinions as there is nearly one third in each of the three categories. Approximately one third of participants in the student sample as well as the non-student sample were neutral. ANOVA reported the differences as significant, as shown in the bottom cell of Table 4.9 below that demonstrates in percentage the responses to the second statement above:

Table 4.9 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 2

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	12%	38%	50%
Non-students	37%	34%	29%
F (1, 194) = 19.487, p < .001 (Significant)			

Responses to the second statement are graphed in Figure 4.8 below:

Figure 4.8 Percentages of Responses to Statement 2



Responses were analyzed to ascertain any possible differences between males and females. Table 4.10 below reports the percentages of responses. ANOVA statistical test did not report significant differences between males and females.

Table 4.10 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 2

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	15%	36%	49%
	Males	10%	40%	50%
Non-students	Females	43%	31%	26%
	Males	33%	35%	31%
F (1, 194) = .670, p < .414 (Nonsignificant)				

Third Statement: *In Iraq, the spoken variety should be Standard Arabic.*

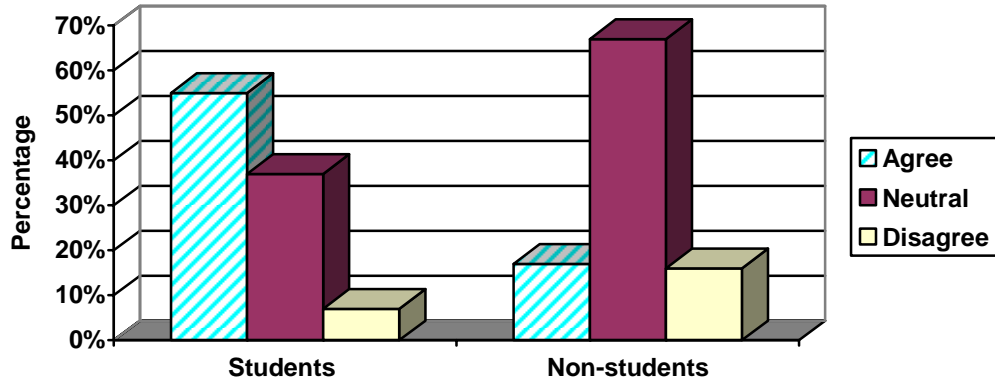
While the second statement was intended to test attitudes towards IA as a spoken variety, the statement above was designed to elicit information about speakers' attitudes towards having SA as the spoken variety in Iraq. Students' and non-students' responses differed significantly. More than half of students (55%) agreed with the statement compared to only 17% of non-students. This indicates a large difference between the two groups. The majority of students supported using SA as the spoken variety in Iraq. Non-students who disagreed with the statement were 16% compared to only 7% of students. The largest percentage of non-students (67%) were neutral. This shows that non-students have some sort of ambivalent attitudes towards speaking SA in daily life. Table 4.11 below displays the responses to the third statement. ANOVA reported significant differences as shown in the bottom cell of the table.

Table 4.11 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 3

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	55%	37%	7%
Non-students	17%	67%	16%
F (1, 194) = 33.569, p < .001 (Significant)			

Responses to the third statement are depicted in Figure 4.9 below:

Figure 4.9 Percentages of Responses to Statement 3



Findings were analyzed to detect any significant differences between male and female responses. Table 4.12 below reports the percentages of responses to the third statement. ANOVA statistical test, reported at the bottom of the table, showed no significant differences between males and females. The findings here showed that gender is not a factor that plays a significant role in participants' language attitudes.

Table 4.12 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 3

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	49%	38%	13%
	Males	60%	37%	3%
Non-students	Females	11%	71%	17%
	Males	20%	65%	15%
F (1, 194) = 1.990, p < .160 (Nonsignificant)				

Fourth Statement: *The variety that should be used in education is Iraqi Arabic.*

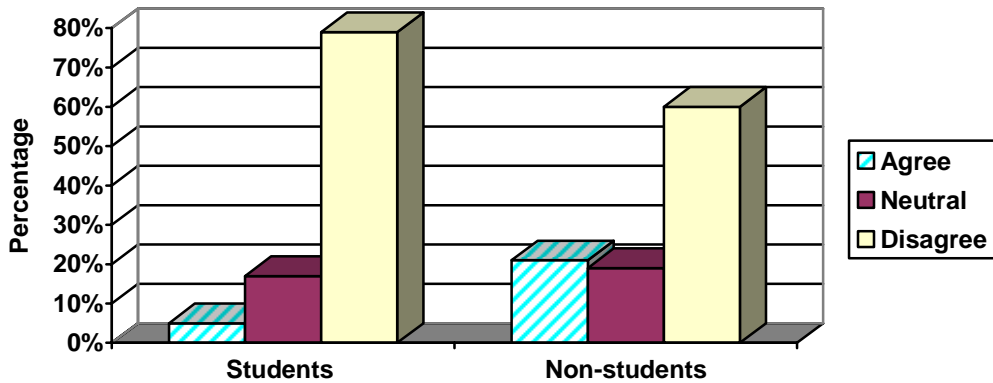
This statement was designed to collect information about participants' attitudes towards having IA as the language used in education. Students and non-students responded differently to this item. Interestingly, only 5% of students expressed their agreement while the majority of them (79%) totally opposed the statement. Other interesting findings came from non-students of whom 60% disagreed with the statement, yet 21% agreed. Over all, more than two thirds in the student sample and over half of the non-student sample expressed their disagreement with the statement. This shows that IA is not seen as a language of knowledge and pedagogy. Table 4.13 below demonstrates the responses in percentage. At the bottom of the table, ANOVA reported significant differences although the responses were relatively close in percentages.

Table 4.13 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 4

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	5%	17%	79%
Non-students	21%	19%	60%
$F(1, 194) = 14.119, p < .001$ (Significant)			

In order to clearly observe the differences in responses, the findings above are demonstrated pictorially in Figure 4.10 below:

Figure 4.10 Percentages of Responses to Statement 4



Findings were analyzed to determine whether there were any significant differences between males and females. Table 4.14 below displays, in percentage, the responses to the fourth statement. ANOVA statistical test did not indicate any significant differences between males and females.

Table 4.14 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 4

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	6%	19%	74%
	Males	3%	15%	82%
Non-students	Females	17%	11%	71%
	Males	24%	24%	52%
F (1, 194) = .538, p < .464 (Nonsignificant)				

Fifth Statement: *The variety that should be used in education is Standard Arabic*

As in the fourth statement, the fifth statement above was designed to elicit information about attitudes of speakers towards the type of language variety used in education. This time however the statement concerns SA. Students' and non-students' answers were significantly different. An overwhelming percentage of students (86%) stated their full agreement to the statement compared to only 29% of non-students. Surprisingly enough, not even one student in the whole sample disagreed with the statement. This shows that students hold SA in high regard as the language of knowledge and learning. Another interesting finding came from non-student reactions. Over half of non-students (65%) were neutral. It could be that non-students wish to remain neutral or they may think both varieties should be used in education simultaneously instead of using exclusively one. Table 4.15 below shows, in percentage, the responses to the fifth statement. ANOVA, reported in the bottom cell of the table, indicated that the differences between the two groups are highly significant.

Table 4.15 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 5

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	86%	14%	0%
Non-students	29%	65%	6%
$F(1, 194) = 98.568, p < .001$ (significant)			

Findings in Table 4.15 above are graphed in Figure 4.11 below to visualize the large differences between the student and non-student samples:

Figure 4.11 Percentages of Responses to Statement 5

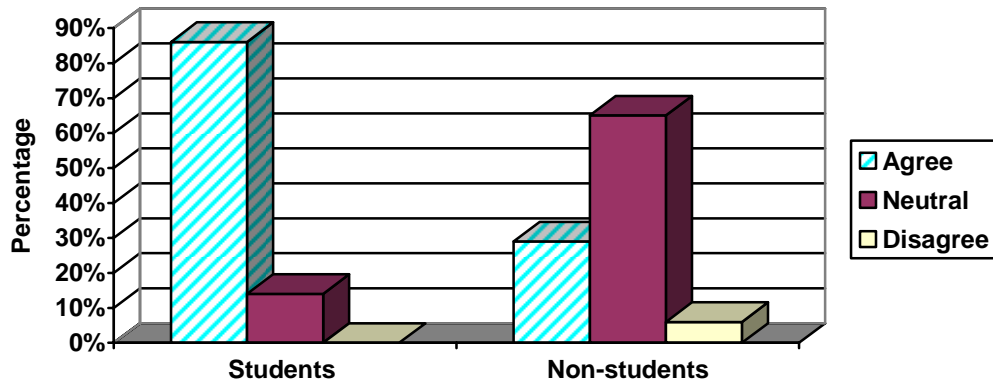


Table 4.16 below demonstrates the percentages of male and female responses to the fifth statement. ANOVA statistical test, reported at the bottom of the table, showed no significant differences between male and female responses. This tells us that gender does not play a role in attitudes of participants.

Table 4.16 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 5

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	94%	6%	0%
	Males	80%	20%	0%
Non-students	Females	26%	71%	3%
	Males	31%	61%	7%
F (1, 194) = 1.397, p < .239 (Nonsignificant)				

Sixth Statement: *In religious institutions such as a mosque, the variety that should be used is Iraqi Arabic*

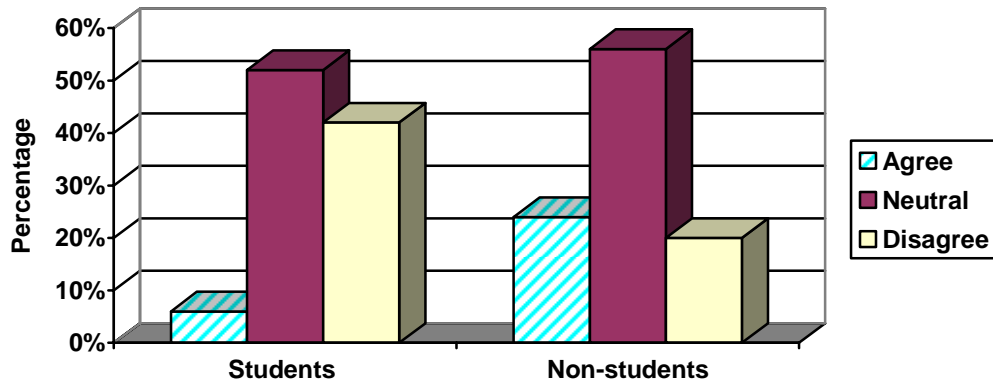
This item was intended to examine participants' attitudes towards the type of Arabic variety that should be used in religious institutions. In this statement the focus was on IA. The overwhelming majority of Muslims attach religious values to SA. Responses of students and non-students were different. Of students, 42% showed their disagreement to using IA in religious institutions, compared to only 20% of non-students who shared the same opinion. Only 6% of students and 24% of non-students agreed with the statement. Surprisingly enough, more than half of participants in each group (52% of students and 56% of non-students) gave neutral responses. Many participants held ambivalent attitudes towards using IA in religious institutions. The findings could also indicate that participants want both forms to be used. Table 4.17 below shows the responses in percentages. At the bottom of the table, ANOVA reported the differences as significant.

Table 4.17 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 6

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	6%	52%	42%
Non-students	24%	56%	20%
$F(1, 194) = 20.407, p < .001$ (Significant)			

The findings in Table 4.17 are charted in Figure 4.12 below to make the comparisons between groups easy to recognize:

Figure 4.12 Percentages of Responses to Statement 6



Responses were further analyzed to detect any significant differences between males and females. Table 4.18 shows the percentages of responses to the sixth item. ANOVA statistical test, shown in the bottom cell of the table, did not report any significant differences between male and female responses. Gender did not play a significant role or cause any significant differences between sexes here.

Table 4.18 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 6

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	6%	40%	53%
	Males	5%	62%	33%
Non-students	Females	17%	66%	17%
	Males	28%	50%	22%
F (1, 194) = 2.055, p < .153 (Nonsignificant)				

Seventh Statement: *In religious institutions such as a mosque, the variety that should be used is Standard Arabic.*

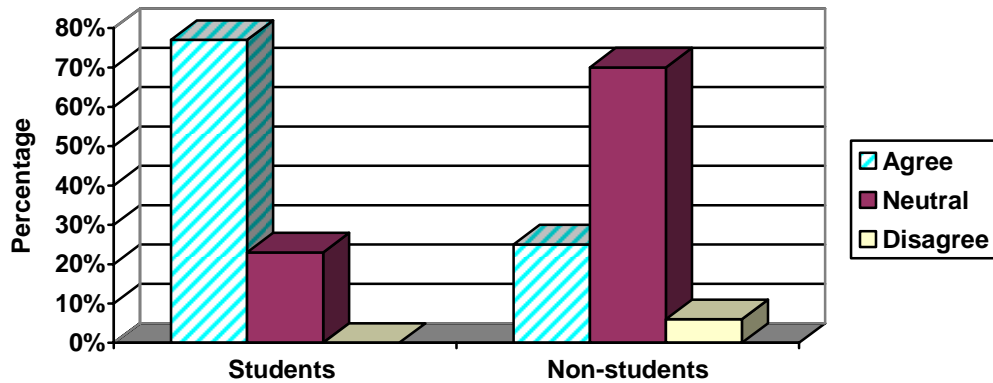
While the sixth statement concerned IA, this one was about SA. This statement was intended to elicit information about the religious regard of SA as held by participants in this study. It is predicted that this statement would draw much agreement from participants. Student and non-student responses varied significantly. Among interesting findings obtained from reactions to this statement was that not even one participant from the student sample disagreed with the statement. Students stupendously (77%) showed their agreement with the statement, which indicates the high regard with which they perceive SA as the language of liturgies and religious ceremonies. Another interesting finding came from non-students who gave neutral answers at a high rate (70%). Non-students expressed ambivalent attitudes towards using SA in religious ceremonies. They may prefer both varieties to be used. Only 6% of non-students showed disagreement compared to 25% of agreement. Table 4.19 below shows the differences. ANOVA reported the differences as significant.

Table 4.19 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 7

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	77%	23%	0%
Non-students	25%	70%	6%
F (1, 194) = 74.021, p < .001 (Significant)			

Findings in Table 4.19 above are graphed in Figure 4.13 below for easier recognition of the differences between students and non-students:

Figure 4.13 Percentages of Responses to Statement 7



To determine whether there were any significant differences between male and female responses, the data were further analyzed according to gender of participants. Table 4.20 presents the percentage of answers. ANOVA statistical test did not report significant differences between males and females. Gender did not play any significant role here.

Table 4.20 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 7

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	72%	28%	0%
	Males	80%	20%	0%
Non-students	Females	17%	83%	0%
	Males	30%	61%	9%
F (1, 194) = .470, p < .494 (Nonsignificant)				

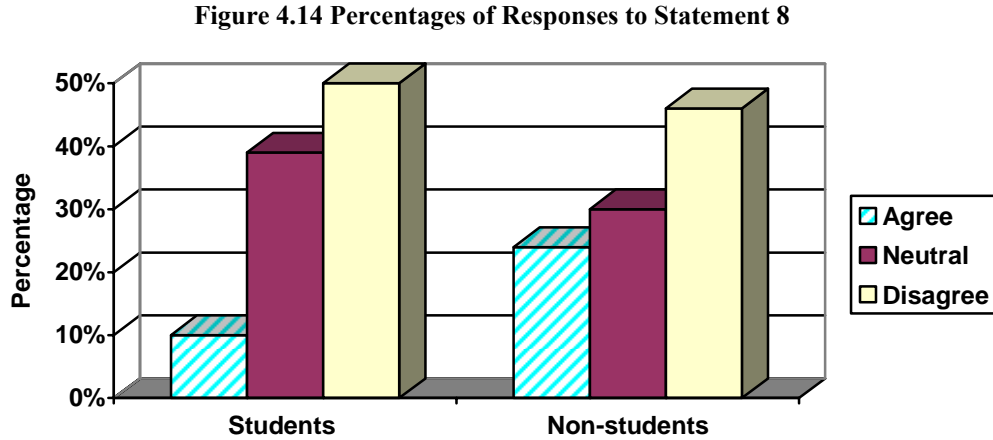
Eighth Statement: *All that we hear or say should be in Iraqi Arabic.*

This statement was designed to elicit information regarding what participants feel about using only IA in oral communication. This statement created some imaginary situation where the dominant language variety is IA. Approximately one third in each group was neutral, 39% of students and 30% of non-students. Half of students (50%) expressed their disagreement compared to 46% of non-students who disagreed as well. The use of a particular variety of Arabic is tied to particular social contexts. In other words, participants feel that each variety has its own domains and functions. Those who agreed with the statement were 24% of non-students and only 10% of students. Table 4.21 below presents the percentages of responses. The differences in percentages may sound small, yet ANOVA reported the differences as significant, as shown in the bottom cell of table.

Table 4.21 Students' and Non-students' Percentages of Responses to statement 8

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	10%	39%	50%
Non-students	24%	30%	46%
F (1, 194) = 4.253, p < .041 (Significant)			

The percentages reported in Table 4.21 are pictorially graphed in Figure 4.14 below to clearly visualize the differences between the students and non-students:



The findings were further analyzed to ascertain any significant differences between male and female responses. Table 4.22 below demonstrates, in percentage, the responses to the eighth statement. ANOVA statistical test, shown in the bottom cell of the table, did not report any significant differences. Gender was not a significant player that influences language attitudes here.

Table 4.22 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 8

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	19%	38%	43%
	Males	3%	40%	57%
Non-students	Females	17%	23%	60%
	Males	28%	35%	37%
F (1, 194) = .072, p < .788 (Nonsignificant)				

Ninth Statement: *All that we hear or say should be in Standard Arabic.*

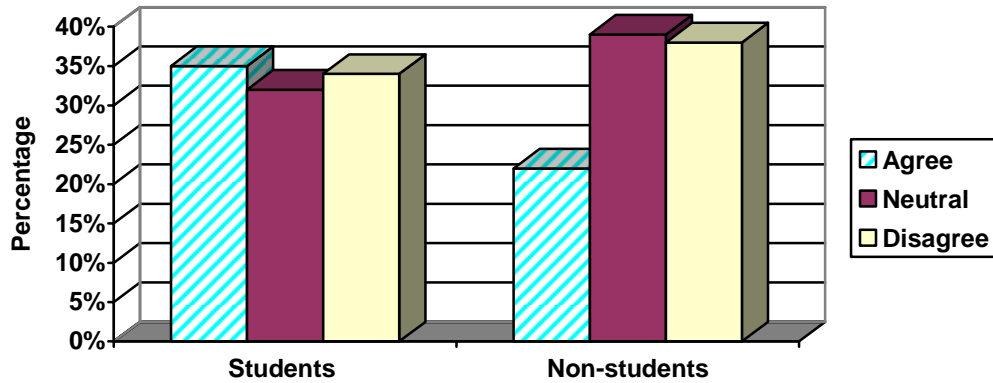
This statement, in contrast to the previous statement's focus on IA, dealt with SA. It created an imaginary ideal situation where SA is the dominant variety that is used in all types of oral communication. The differences found in language attitudes between the two groups were very small and, according to ANOVA, were nonsignificant. Within the student sample, students were almost equally divided among the three categories of the answers i.e. 35% agree, 32% neutral, 34% disagree. This was, to some extent, true of non-students as well. Non-students responses were 22% agree, 39% neutral, and 38% disagree. This shows that although SA is highly perceived by some groups in Iraqi society such as students, these groups do not decline to acknowledge the importance of IA in their daily life. Table 4.23 below displays the differences between students and non-students. The level of education did not significantly influence language attitudes of participants here.

Table 4.23 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 9

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	35%	32%	34%
Non-students	22%	39%	38%
$F(1, 194) = 2.747, p < .099$ (Nonsignificant)			

Findings displayed in Table 4.23 are depicted in Figure 4.15 below for further illustration. Looking at the figure below, we can easily tell that there are no large differences between students and non-students.

Figure 4.15 Percentages of Responses to Statement 9



As for gender, Table 4.24 below presents the percentages of responses to the ninth statement. Similar to the case with the level of education, gender did not play a significant role here. In the bottom cell of the table, ANOVA statistical test did not report significant differences.

Table 4.24 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 9

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	36%	38%	26%
	Males	33%	27%	40%
Non-students	Females	17%	43%	40%
	Males	26%	37%	37%
F (1, 194) = .036, p < .850 (Nonsignificant)				

Tenth Statement: *Iraqi Arabic could be used in writing.*

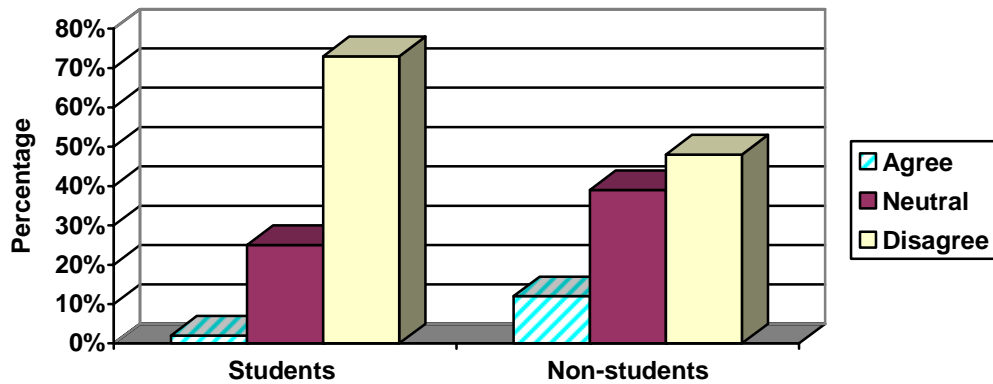
The tenth statement above was intended to examine participants' attitudes towards using IA in writing. In Iraq, and most of the Arabic-speaking world, formal writing is monopolized by SA as it is perceived as the language of knowledge and creativity. Publications such as text books, magazines, and newspapers are written almost exclusively in SA. IA, on the other hand, is mainly used in spontaneous speech and in informal speech acts. Some Iraqis use IA in informal writings, for instance, when they correspond informally with a friend or a relative on email. It was predicted that students would express considerable opposition to the tenth statement. Responses of students and non-students varied significantly. The majority of students (73%) expressed disagreement with the statement compared to 48% of non-students. Only 2% of students and (12%) of non-students agreed that IA could be use in writing. As predicted, students showed more preference toward SA by exhibiting large opposition to the statement. Table 4.25 below displays the responses in percentages. ANOVA reported significant differences.

Table 4.25 Students' and Non-students' Percentage of Responses to Statement 10

Groups	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	2%	25%	73%
Non-students	12%	39%	48%
$F(1, 194) = 16.744, p < .001$ (Significant)			

Findings in Table 4.25 are pictorially represented in Figure 4.16 below for easier recognition of the differences between students and non students:

Figure 4.16 Percentages of Responses to Statement 10



Findings were further analyzed to determine whether any significant differences exist between males and females. Table 4.26 below presents the percentages of responses. ANOVA, shown in the bottom cell of the table, did not report significant differences between male and female responses. Gender did not have a significant influence here.

Table 4.26 Male and Female Percentage of Responses to Statement 10

Groups		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Students	Females	2%	40%	57%
	Males	2%	13%	85%
Non-students	Females	3%	37%	60%
	Males	19%	41%	41%
F (1, 194) = .582, p < .447 (Nonsignificant)				

4.7 Open-ended Questions

Open-ended questions are often intended to glean thorough and detailed responses from individuals. When answering open-ended questions, individuals usually use their knowledge to comment or elaborate on a topic. This is not always the case with closed-ended questions where participants are left with specific answers to choose. In this section, responses to the four open-ended items in the fifth part of the survey are analyzed. The first two questions (see below) were designed to allow informants to express their views regarding the status that SA and IA may attain in the future. I constructed the first two questions as multiple-choice questions but the last choice, “Other”, allowed respondents to fill in a blank. The third question concerned events where participants code-switch between SA and IA. The fourth and last question was designed to obtain information about reasons behind participants’ general preferences for SA and IA. The various responses were grouped into categories. For instance, responses to the third item were classified into nine categories and responses to the fourth item were classified into sixteen categories. Given the large array of responses, conducting statistical analyses may not lead to a clear understanding of the findings. Moreover, some groups’ answers indicated 0% in some categories. This renders statistical tests such as chi-square non-performable. Therefore, responses are explained and reported in percentages only.

First Question: “*Thinking ahead, how do you see the future of Standard Arabic?*”

This question is followed by the following choices:

- Standard Arabic will continue to be the official language of Iraq
- Standard Arabic will decline and eventually be replaced by Iraqi Arabic
- Standard Arabic will become the spoken variety in Iraq
- Other, please briefly specify:

Participants’ responses to this question differed widely. Among students, 73% thought that SA would continue as the official language of Iraq while 46% of non-students shared the same view. Interestingly, over half of non-students (51%) predicted that SA would decline and eventually be replaced by IA. This was true of only 16% of students. This highlights the different patterns of attitudes of both groups towards SA and IA. It is obvious that students have more favorability towards SA than they do IA. It is interesting that almost half of non-students (46%) picked the first choice. This shows that non-students were divided into two groups, one predicted the demise and eventual disappearance of SA and the other group predicted its perpetuation. The few responses under *Other* category were “Standard Arabic will preserve its formal domains only,” “Standard Arabic will not die out,” and “Both Standard and Iraqi Arabic will continue.” These responses represented small percentages in each group, 5% of students and 3% of non-students. Table 4.27 below presents the percentages of answers to the question:

Table 4.27 Participants' Responses regarding Future of Standard Arabic

Answers	Students	Non-students
Standard Arabic will continue to be the official language of Iraq	73%	46%
Standard Arabic will decline and eventually be replaced by Iraqi Arabic	16%	51%
Standard Arabic will become the spoken variety in Iraq	7%	0%
Other	5%	3%

Findings were also tabulated according to gender of participants. Within the student sample, 83% of females thought that SA would remain the official language of Iraq, compared to 65% of males who thought the same. This was true of 48% of male non-students and 43% of female non-students. Moreover, only 6% of female students compared to 23% of male students predicted that IA will overtake SA in future. This is a clear difference i.e. the percentage of female students who predicted the demise of SA is less than the percentage of male students. Responses of male and female non-students were not at large variance. Table 4.28 below shows the percentages of the answers:

Table 4.28 Male and Female Responses regarding Future of Standard Arabic

Answers	Students		Non-students	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Standard Arabic will continue to be the official language of Iraq	65%	83%	48%	43%
Standard Arabic will decline and eventually be replaced by Iraqi Arabic	23%	6%	46%	57%
Standard Arabic will become the spoken variety in Iraq	7%	6%	0%	0%
Other	5%	4%	6%	0%

Second Question: “Thinking ahead, how do you see the future of Iraqi Arabic?”

As the first question, four choices come after this question as follows:

- Iraqi Arabic will become the official language of Iraq
- Iraqi Arabic will decline and be replaced by Standard Arabic
- Iraqi Arabic will cease to be the spoken variety
- Other, please briefly specify:

A clear difference can be seen between students’ and non-students’ responses. Over half of non-students (52%) thought that IA would become the official language of Iraq. This was true of only 20% of students. More than half of students (58%), compared to 35% of non-students expected SA to replace IA and become the widely spoken variety among Iraqis. Students had more preference for the Standard form of Arabic. Non-students, on the other hand, had more preference for IA than SA. Responses falling under the *Other* category were “Iraqi Arabic will always be the spoken variety,” “Iraqi Arabic will not disappear,” and “Both Iraqi Arabic and Standard Arabic will continue”. These responses came from small percentages of student and non-student samples, 15% and 12% respectively. Table 4.29 below demonstrates the percentages of responses:

Table 4.29 Participants’ Responses regarding Future of Iraqi Arabic

Answers	Students	Non-students
Iraqi Arabic will become the official language of Iraq	20%	52%
Iraqi Arabic will decline and be replaced by Standard Arabic	58%	35%
Iraqi Arabic will cease to be the spoken variety	7%	1%
Other	15%	12%

Responses of males and females were split to recognize any differences between the two groups. Among students, 50% of males and 68% of females expected the demise of IA and the actualization of SA as a spoken variety. Moreover, 27% of male students and only 11% of female students anticipated that IA would displace SA and become the official language of Iraq. This is an indication that, within the student sample, female students hold more favorable attitudes towards SA than do male students. We do not know however whether the differences are significant. As for non-students, 41% of males expected that IA would decline and be replaced by SA; 26% of females shared the same prediction. This implies that female non-students are less favorable of SA than are male non-students. Table 4.30 below displays the percentages of the answers:

Table 4.30 Male and Female Responses regarding Future of Iraqi Arabic

Answers	Students		Non-students	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Iraqi Arabic will become the official language of Iraq	27%	11%	48%	57%
Iraqi Arabic will decline and be replaced by Standard Arabic	50%	68%	41%	26%
Iraqi Arabic will cease to be the spoken variety	5%	11%	0%	3%
Other	18%	11%	11%	14%

Third Question: “If you can think of one or two examples where you switch between Standard Arabic and Iraqi Arabic when you talk, please name them”

The purpose of this question was to determine under which circumstances participants code-switch in their speech between IA and SA. I should point out that self-reports do not always reflect reality. People may report what they think they do, not what they actually do. The answers to the question, although are interesting, should not be overgeneralized. I expected students to use more code-switching in their speech than do non-students. This is due to the higher educational level of students and given that all of them are college seniors. Participants provided different responses such as “switch to Standard Arabic in classroom” and “switch to Standard Arabic in formal settings.” Interestingly, more than half of non-students (53%) did not answer the question, which indicates that they do not switch to SA. Among students, 34% reported that they switch to SA to express a complicated topic. This was true of only 9% of non-students. Table 4.31 below presents all the answers:

Table 4.31 Events where Participant Shift from Iraqi Arabic to Standard Arabic

Answers	Students	Non-students
Switch to Standard Arabic in classroom	24%	3%
Switch to Standard Arabic in formal settings	11%	6%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking about religion	8%	19%
Switch to Standard Arabic to emphasize my opinion	4%	0%
Switch to Standard Arabic to express a complicated topic	34%	9%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking about politics	2%	1%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking to educated people	4%	3%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking to non-Iraqi Arabs	3%	1%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking about Arabic Literature	0%	4%
No answer	10%	53%

Responses of males and females were divided and tabulated in Table 4.32 below. Within the student sample, 40% of females and 28% of males reported that they switch to SA to express a complicated topic, which indicates that female students switch to SA in their speech more than male students do. In the non-student sample, 31% of females and 11% of males would switch to SA when talking about religion. This shows that female non-students switch to SA more than do male non-students. However, I can not tell for sure whether the differences are significant. Notice that 57% of male non-students and 46% of female non-students did not give any answers. This indicates that they do not switch to SA.

Table 4.32 Male and Female Responses regarding Future of Iraqi Arabic

Answers	Students		Non-students	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Switch to Standard Arabic in classroom	25%	23%	2%	6%
Switch to Standard Arabic in formal settings	15%	6%	6%	6%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking about religion	13%	2%	11%	31%
Switch to Standard Arabic to emphasize my opinion	3%	4%	0%	0%
Switch to Standard Arabic to express a complicated topic	28%	40%	15%	0%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking about politics	2%	2%	0%	3%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking to educated people	3%	4%	6%	0%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking to non-Iraqi Arabs	3%	2%	2%	0%
Switch to Standard Arabic when talking about Arabic literature	0%	0%	2%	9%
No answer	7%	15%	57%	46%

Fourth Question: “Please explain briefly why you generally prefer Standard Arabic or Iraqi Arabic”

The interesting finding obtained from this question was that over half of non-students (55%) expressed their preference for IA for its simplicity. Only 19% of students shared the same view. We may ask whether the situation will be the same if non-students find SA easy to understand and use. The main reason for non-students’ preference for IA is the complexity and difficulty they face with SA which is learned as a second language from primary school onwards. Perhaps, most of non-students will have different views of SA and IA if their level of education is higher, i.e. they will show more a favorable attitude towards SA than IA. Table 4.33 below presents participants answers’ accompanied by percentages:

Table 4.33 Preference for Standard Arabic and Iraqi Arabic

Answers	Students	Non-students
Standard Arabic is more beautiful	9%	1%
Standard Arabic is the identity of all Arabs	3%	0%
Standard Arabic has rules	8%	2%
Standard Arabic emphasizes my opinion	1%	0%
Standard Arabic is the Islamic identity	3%	0%
Standard Arabic is the language of the Quran	6%	2%
Iraqi Arabic is easier in daily communication	19%	55%
Almost everyone speaks Iraqi Arabic	5%	7%
Standard Arabic is more eloquent	7%	1%
Because I love Standard Arabic	2%	1%
Prefer Standard Arabic to preserve it	3%	0%
Standard Arabic is the root	11%	4%
Standard Arabic is the language of knowledge	13%	0%
Standard Arabic is more prestigious	5%	0%
Prefer both	2%	10%
Standard Arabic is more persuasive	1%	0%
No Answer	3%	16%

As can be seen in Table 4.33, 13% of students regard SA the language of knowledge and 11% see it as the root of the Arabic language. The findings were further divided according to gender of participants. Within the non-student sample, a big percentage (77%) of females compared to 41% of males expressed their preference for IA because it is easier than SA which they perceive as a difficult language. This was true of 17% of male students and 21% of female students. This may indicate that there are differences between males and females i.e. males have less preference for IA than do females. Table 4.34 below displays the answers with percentages:

Table 4.34 Males' and Females' Preference for Standard Arabic and Iraqi Arabic

Answers	Students		Non-students	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Standard Arabic is more beautiful	12%	6%	2%	0%
Standard Arabic is the identity of all Arabs	3%	2%	0%	0%
Standard Arabic has rules	12%	4%	2%	3%
Standard Arabic emphasizes my opinion	2%	0%	0%	0%
Standard Arabic is the Islamic identity	5%	0%	0%	0%
Standard Arabic is the language of the Quran	7%	4%	4%	0%
Iraqi Arabic is easier in daily communication	17%	21%	41%	77%
Almost everyone speaks Iraqi Arabic	3%	6%	7%	6%
Standard Arabic is more eloquent	10%	4%	0%	3%
Because I love Standard Arabic	0%	4%	0%	3%
Prefer Standard Arabic to preserve it	2%	4%	0%	0%
Standard Arabic is the root	10%	13%	6%	3%
Standard Arabic is the language of knowledge	8%	19%	0%	0%
Standard Arabic is more prestigious	2%	9%	0%	0%
Prefer both	3%	0%	13%	6%
Standard Arabic is more persuasive	2%	0%	0%	0%
No Answer	3%	2%	26%	0%

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I begin in section 5.1 with a discussion of the historical and political developments in Iraq and how these developments have shaped language attitudes of many Iraqis. In sections 5.2 and 5.3, I will discuss findings from language preference and use of SA and IA as reported by participants. Next, in sections 5.4 and 5.5, I will proceed to elaborate on the role and impact of gender on preference and use of Arabic varieties. Afterwards, in section 5.6, I will discuss the findings obtained from different student majors. Then, a detailed discussion of findings about language ideology in the fourth part of the survey will follow in section 5.7. Lastly, section 5.8 will contain discussions of the findings from the four open-ended questions.

5.1 Iraq: Historical and Political Context

The historical and political events that happened in Iraq have touched the realities of life there and influenced the way Iraqis think of their identity, language, life, and future. Understanding the historical and political context of Iraq will bring us closer to an understanding of how and why Iraqis perceive SA and IA the way they do. The turmoil of past four decades is directly related to why many Iraqis are now rallying around IA in a nation-building process. Events such as wars and crises have played a significant role in shaping Iraqis' language attitudes towards SA and IA.

Before discussing the responses of participants, I will consider the influence of historical and political factors on life in Iraq and how these factors have had a considerable impact on language attitudes of Iraqis. As we have seen in Chapter Four, students expressed preferences for SA whereas non-students overwhelmingly preferred IA. These differences reflect how participants feel about the two varieties, but this is not the entire story. I would like to remind the reader that the reported use of participants (what they say they do) and their actual use (what they actually do) are different things. Therefore, findings of any survey-based research should be evaluated with caution.

During the last four decades, Iraq has had many crises and predicaments. During the 35-year dominance of the Ba'ath regime (1968 – 2003), Iraq witnessed devastating wars. The first war was with Iran and lasted for eight years, 1980 – 1988. The second was the first Gulf War that broke out in 1991 between Iraq and a US-led coalition. The third was the 2003 US-led military campaign (second Gulf War). During the period between the first and second Gulf Wars, Iraq was put under strict UN-imposed economic sanctions. As a direct result of the sanctions, Iraq was greatly impoverished and Iraqis suffered severe shortages of life's basic needs. Iraqis were made to pay for the mistakes of the previous Ba'ath regime under which they themselves had been the most oppressed and trodden victims for decades. Instability was and still is the main characteristic of the political scene in Iraq. The turmoil, violence, and terrorism that followed the 2003 war are among the main factors that

continue to plague life in Iraq and to create a dark and hopeless vision of the country's future.

As a result, a growing sense of seclusion and isolation from their fellow Arabs and the rest of the world became widespread among Iraqis, especially the Iraqi Arab majority. There is a strong sentiment among Iraqis of feeling abandoned by their fellow Arabs. Iraqis now stand alone and face persistent dilemmas characterized by increasing terrorism and mass exodus of intellectuals. No forms of official help have been declared or promised to Iraq by any Arab country. Consequently, a growing sense of isolation has grown among many Iraqis. Iraqi Arabs began to think of themselves more as Iraqis and less as Arabs. This led to a shift in identity recognition from Arab to Iraqi. The feelings of being abandoned have led to sentiments of inward migration for many Iraqis. All these factors significantly contribute to the growth of inward, rather than outward sentiments among the Iraqi people.

I have argued that years of wars, turmoil, suffering, and economic sanctions have led to widespread feelings of isolation and an inward migration among many Iraqis especially Iraqi Arabs who have ethnic ties with non-Iraqi Arabs. In turn, the shift in attitudes towards identity has had an impact on linguistic attitudes. This shift has considerably influenced perceptions of and attitudes towards Arabic varieties in Iraq. The growing feeling of inward sentiments among many Iraqis has boosted the IA status. IA, as spoken exclusively by Iraqis, comes to play a significant role in

framing Iraqi identity. The symbolic function of IA has become as important as its communicative role in indicating identity boundaries in terms of inclusion and exclusion. Many Iraqis perceive IA as their own language that is not shared by others and that is capable of reflecting their identity to the world. I predict that the inward sentiment among Iraqis, if it keeps growing, will determine the status of IA, i.e. it may become the official language of Iraq in the long run.

As for SA, it is an important marker of Arab affiliation and a unifying tool that projects the Arab identity to the world because it is, besides its religious significance, the official language of all Arab countries. However, it is unlikely this significant role will persist when a growing sense of disconnection grows among Arab groups. Many Iraqi people, especially the Arab majority, have come to realize that no one, close or distant, is likely to support them. As a natural consequence, being Arab may not carry as much weight as being Iraqi. This leads in the long run to shifts in language and group loyalties. Affiliation with Iraqis and speaking IA carries more significance than affiliation with Arabs. The superiority with which highly educated elites perceive SA is not shared by many people with lower levels of education who compose the vast majority living in Iraq at the present time. The large socio-demographic developments that occurred in Iraq have tremendously influenced the demographic distribution of the Iraqi society and have had a direct impact on language attitude among Iraqis.

Dramatic demographic changes have led to social changes in Iraq. Many affluent and educated Iraqis, with college education and higher, left Iraq and became expatriates in other countries. They left mainly due to the current violence that continues to plague life in Iraq. The educated and affluent people still living in Iraq represent a very small percentage of the Iraqi population. The majority of Iraqis with a lower income level and education cannot afford to travel and live abroad. Therefore, most of them still live in Iraq. Being the vast majority of the population, these Iraqis with a lower income level and education play a major role vis-à-vis language status in the country as they promote and support IA. Given the current state of affairs in Iraq, I will dedicate more attention to Iraqis currently living in Iraq and who are, to a large extent, represented by non-students in this study. Non-students are, as the findings of this study indicate, in favor of IA over SA. Looking carefully at the responses to the last open-ended question in the survey, we can see that students provided answers such as “*Standard Arabic is the identity of all Arabs,*” “*Standard Arabic is the language of knowledge,*” and “*Standard Arabic is more prestigious*”. No similar responses were found among non-students who serve as prototypes of the majority rather than the elites in Iraqi society. The individual as well as party-line opinions arguing that IA is a corrupted form of Arabic that should be eliminated come almost exclusively from educated elites most of whom are not living in Iraq. They see the mere existence of IA as a serious threat to SA. The majority of Iraqis with a lower level of education see SA as an esoteric language. They find themselves struggling with a form that is no-one’s mother tongue. There is a considerable difficulty of

identifying with a language that goes beyond one's own linguistic competence. They perceive IA as a separate and independent language from SA. They believe this gives IA the right to exist and be treated as any other language. To many of them, IA is the language of home, friends, and life. On the other hand, SA, even if it reaches the brain, will not reach the heart. With the current state of affairs, the high regard for SA may grow weaker as far as language attitudes of the majority of people are concerned. Moreover, people who are perceived as "guardians" of SA such as clergymen are gradually losing the clout they used to formerly enjoy.

Being the language of the Quran, SA or (standard Classical Arabic) is endowed with a special status among Muslims around the world. Therefore, Muslim clergymen and religious institutions always stand as guardians of the language. Their support helped SA to survive through the ages. Many clergymen in Iraq however are gradually losing popularity because they do not condemn large-scale terrorist acts in Iraq that are always portrayed by terrorists as "religious commitments." The current violence carried in the name of faith against innocent civilians has led to an increasingly growing gap between spiritual and secular ideologies especially among younger generation of Iraqis. The terrorist acts that are carried out in the name of God and committed against Iraqi civilians on daily basis have created a wide public cynicism, scornful attitude, and callous negativity towards clergymen who fail to publicly condemn these acts. Among many Iraqis, there is a growing feeling of strong distrust of the integrity of many clergymen who consecrate violent acts. The

clergymen's role as guardians of SA is growing weaker as their actions estrange the majority of Iraqi society.

5.2 Language Preference

The findings, as reported in Chapter Four, indicate that there is a strong correlation between participants' educational levels and their language preference. The differences along educational lines were in fact expected since the average university student in the Arab world associates SA with expertise, creativity, and capability (see Dweik, 1997). Students perceive SA as the language of knowledge since all academic curriculums are in SA. All text books, articles, and documentaries are written in SA, not IA. A considerable percentage of students expressed their preference for SA, while few non-students had the same view. Many non-students showed more preference for IA because of its simplicity and practicality in their daily life comparing to the relative complexity of SA (see responses to the last question of the survey in Chapter Four). The findings on language preference support the hypothesis of this study. There are correlations between preference for SA and the educational level of the participant, i.e. the higher the educational level of a participant, the more positive attitude they will have towards SA. I confidently argue that there is a positive correlation between the educational levels and language preference towards SA; and negative correlation between the educational levels and language preference towards IA. The general linguistic situation in Iraqi society may

witness dramatic changes if the number of native Arabic speakers who have the opportunity to achieve a higher level of education increases substantially. As discussed in section 5.1, the vast majority of Iraqis with a higher level of education (college degree and higher) are currently living in a diaspora-like situation, i.e. most of them have left Iraq mainly because of the violence currently afflicting life in Iraq. With possible positive changes such as the return of many intellectuals to Iraq, the numerical gap between people with higher and lower levels of education will be minimized.

5.3 Language Use

Before further proceeding, it is important to point out that participants' claimed usages of the two varieties may not be entirely accurate. Self-reports may not always reflect reality. Romaine (1995) points out, "It must be remembered that large – scale surveys and census statistics will yield quite a different perspective on questions of language use" (pp. 25 – 26). However, I hope that presenting the findings on participants' claimed language use will bring us close to an understanding of Arabic usage in Iraqi society. All students and non-students report that they use IA more than SA. This was actually expected since IA is their mother tongue which they feel at home with, while SA is learned at school almost as a foreign language. Although the use of SA by participants is less than their use of IA, the findings did actually indicate significant differences between the two groups. While (57.17%) of

students claimed to use IA, the percentage among non-students was large (85.58%). It is important to point out that these percentages were obtained from answers to twelve questions in the survey. For instance, the questions were about language use in writing, the classroom, the mosque, and so forth. If, for example, it was just one question about language use in daily life, the percentage may dramatically increase for IA, most likely mounting to 100%. Based on the findings on language use, I argue that if more Iraqis have the chance to proceed to a college education, the use of Arabic varieties in Iraq will witness some change. For instance, it could lead to linguistic developments in Iraqi society as more SA expressions spill over into the spoken variety and, in the long run, become the accepted norm. There are already many SA forms used in daily life such *al-salām slaykom* (peace be upon you). We can see a type of consequential correlation between language use and educational levels of speakers i.e. more education entails increasing use of SA forms.

5.4 Language Preference and Gender

Unlike the educational level, which is a significant actor that considerably influences language preference of participants, gender does not play any significant role in participants' language preference. I can not argue, based on the findings of this research, that there is a correlation between gender and language preference. We may ask whether the absence of any gender differences reflects a trait in the sociolinguistic structure of Iraqi society. It may be the case that males and females in Iraqi society

are not quite different from each other. There is however another explanation that accounts for the absence of gender-based differences in Iraq. Following the end of Iraq-Iraq war, many women started to work in jobs previously occupied by men. As the number of men decreased dramatically because many died in action, women (especially widows) did not find it easy to stay at home if they are to keep their families. Iraqi women began to have more involvement in the public domain where standard Arabic is the dominant variety. It believed that woman in the Arab world in general do not have adequate access to standard variety because their place is with family or, more precisely, the private domain whereas SA is more prevalent in the public domain. This has created some approximation in language attitudes towards SA and IA between Iraqi men and women. Until now, little research was done on the role of gender in Iraq society. Further studies are needed to reach more solid arguments on the role and influence of gender on Arabic varieties in Iraq.

5.5 Language Use and Gender

Previous research such as Abu-Haidar (1989) showed that Iraqi females tend to use more SA forms than do Iraqi males. Another study (Bakir, 1986) showed the opposite, i.e. Iraqi females perceive SA as a masculine language and would avoid using it. The main arguments in these studies were the existence of sex-linked variation in language use. This study did not show differences between Iraqi males and females. According to the findings of this study, gender has not been found to be

a significant actor in language use. I need to point out however that the methodologies used in Abu-Haidar's and Bakir's studies on one hand and the methodology used in this research on the other are quite different. Abu-Haidar and Bakir interviewed participants and recorded their speech patterns whereas in this study participants were asked to self-report their use of language through a survey. Therefore, the gender-related findings in this study should be evaluated with caution. The gender-based differences still need to be carefully studied through further variationist research. The attention should be focused on male and female spontaneous and actual occurrences of language forms in order to reach stronger conclusions about the role and influence of gender on language in Iraq. Although no significant role of gender has been detected, this study provides some general and interesting background information about males and females in Iraqi society. As far as gender differences are concerned, Iraqi society seems to be more homogenous than other societies.

5.6 Student Majors

I predicted that areas of specialization might distinctly influence students' language attitude. For instance, students who major in Arabic and Religion were expected to show more preference for SA than students from other majors. Arabic and religion students generally have some sort of puristic attitudes towards SA. Arabic students major in the language due to their love for and interest in SA. It is

important to point out that, at the university, Arabic students study the Standard form of Arabic, not the Iraqi dialect. University students have the choice to use either SA or IA in classroom. As for students majoring in Religion, they are expected to associate high liturgical or ritualistic values with SA since all Muslim religious duties are performed in this variety. My predictions were supported by the percentages obtained from student answers. Arabic students, for example, showed more preference (82.75%) for SA than did students from other majors. Students majoring in Religion expressed more preference for SA (76.30%) than all other students except Arabic students. However, of all the differences among student majors, only the difference between Arabic students and History students was reported as statistically significant. The reason for this could be the fact that History students, compared to other student majors, expressed the least preference for SA and most preference for IA. History students are also aware of many historical facts about Iraq, “Arabs are invaders, they invaded Iraq in the seventh century and brought their language with them,” One of the History students said after filling out the survey, “Had not the Arabs invaded it, Iraq would have been quite different now.” This and other historical facts may have influenced History students’ language attitudes, i.e. they expressed more preference for IA and less preference for SA than did students from other majors. As for language use, most students reported they use IA more. The interesting findings were obtained from Arabic and English students who claimed to use SA at 50% and 49.60% respectively. Given that they are specialized in the language, it is understandable why Arabic students use SA more than other students i.e. they

specialize in it. As for English students, the most common activity they do is translation from English into Arabic and vice versa. Most, if not all, of translations are in SA when the source is an English text. English students use SA in the classroom, and at work (translation). Although findings reported in percentages showed that there are some relative differences among student majors, none of these differences were reported as statistically significant. No gender differences were found among student majors. This may be typical of university students, whose gender-based language attitudes are different than the rest of society. This is in fact interesting because it may reflect that Iraqi universities have transformed into micro-societies where patterns of language behavior are unique. University students are generally perceived by society as advanced and open-minded. Therefore, university students are, most likely, leading a change in greater Iraqi society.

5.7 Language Ideology

Reactions to the ten statements in part four of the survey have provided a great deal of interesting information regarding participants' ideologies about SA and IA. By analyzing participants' agreement, neutrality, and disagreement with each statement, I was able to ascertain differences between student and non-student views on SA and IA. I did not find differences between males and females, which led me to argue that, as far as general language attitudes are concerned, males and females do not significantly differ. Participants' reactions to the first statement "*Iraqi Arabic*

represents the identity of Iraqis” showed that over half of non-students perceive IA as a marker of their national identity compared to approximately one third of students. Most of the educated Iraqis are currently living abroad. The majority of Iraqis currently living in Iraq have no college education. The fact that Iraq was isolated from the rest of the Arab world for a long time created some sort of inward sentiment among Iraqis. The ties with the rest of the Arab world are growing weaker. Many people in Iraq see themselves as Iraqis before Arabs. Reactions to the statement above may show whether speakers use IA as a tool to project their identity to the world. Defining identity, Norton states, “how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how people understand their possibilities for the future” (Norton 1997, in Llamas, Mullany, & Stockwell, 2007, p. 101). Two interesting findings came as a surprise to me. First, the percentages of disagreement to the statement were small compared to percentages of agreement and neutrality. I expected to see more disagreement with the statement given the high regard of SA in Iraq. Second, 41% of students were neutral. This indicates that, in spite of the fact that students hold SA in high regard, they do not deny the importance of IA as a symbol of Iraqi identity. Consequently, many of them preferred to remain somewhere in the middle and not give a straight response to the statement. The second statement “*In Iraq, the spoken variety should be Iraqi Arabic*” drew disagreement from students and undecided opinions from non-students. This highlights the different views held by the two groups towards IA. While half of students disagreed with the statement, non-students did not show significant

unfavorable reactions to the statement. Apropos the third statement “*In Iraq, the spoken variety should be Standard Arabic*” students showed considerable agreement while the majority of non-students were neutral. These findings demonstrated that students hold SA in high regard and perceive it as the most appropriate and ideal variety for every day casual communication. Many of the non-students, although expressing a general preference for IA, remained neutral as they do not totally discredit the importance of SA. Students and non-students reacted differently, yet not at a large variance, to the fourth statement “*The variety that should be used in education is Iraqi Arabic.*” A few students agreed with the statement compared to 21% of non-students. Interestingly, both groups expressed their substantial disagreement to the statement. This clearly shows that participants do not consider IA an appropriate pedagogic medium. As for using SA in education as expressed in the fifth statement “*The variety that should be used in education is Standard Arabic,*” students overwhelmingly agreed with the statement and, more interestingly, did not express any disagreement at all. This put in plain words how students highly esteem SA. Approximately two thirds of non-students remained neutral, and very few of them disagreed with the statement. Non-students prefer the use of both varieties in education, which is why they did not provide clear-cut answers to the statement. Generally, reactions to the fourth and fifth statements highlight the high regard of SA and the relatively low status of IA as far as pedagogy is concerned. The sixth statement “*In religious institutions such as a mosque, the variety that should be used is Iraqi Arabic*” was met with different reactions from students and non-students.

Over half of participants in each group expressed neutral opinions as to using IA in the mosque. It could be the case that participants want both varieties to be used. Non-students showed more agreement to the statement than did students, which underline that the two groups hold different attitudes towards IA. Students and non-students reacted differently to the seventh statement “*In religious institutions such as a mosque, the variety that should be used is Standard Arabic.*” I expected participants to agree largely with this statement for a significant reason. The Qur’an is written in the standard Classical Arabic. Therefore, Muslims, in general, associate religious values with SA and believe that it is a major symbol of the Muslim identity. These values are never tied to any Arabic vernacular. The fact that a larger percentage of students (77%) agreed with the statement did not surprise me. Two findings, however, were unexpected. First, not even one participant in the entire student sample disagreed with the statement. This is a clear indication of the high regard in which students hold SA. Second, a large number (70%) of non-students were undecided in their views which may be explained by the assumption that non-students prefer both varieties to be used in the mosque. I predicted that the eighth statement “*All that we hear or say should be in Iraqi Arabic*” would draw large disagreement from participants due to the high regard for SA. Nearly 50% of both students and non-students alike disagreed with the statement. These findings showed that the usage of SA and IA is strongly linked to specific social contexts. For example, participants feel that SA should be the only form used when broadcasting local news on television or radio. Answers to the ninth statement “*All that we hear or say should be in Standard*

Arabic” surprised me, as I had anticipated the statement to draw large agreement from participants. There were, surprisingly, no significant differences between students and non-students. Moreover, the answers of the entire sample were, more or less, equally divided into agreement, neutrality, and disagreement. This implies that participants do not prefer to see one variety, in this case SA, overwhelmingly dominate verbal communication, although some of them (students) have positive attitudes towards it. It is also evidence that participants do not want to deny the significance of IA in verbal communication. I expected the tenth and last statement “*Iraqi Arabic could be used in writing*” to receive broad disagreement from most participants. In Iraq, SA is the dominant form used in formal writing since it is seen by the vast majority of Iraqis as the language of knowledge and learning. There is no tradition of writing in IA. The only exception is some vernacular poetry written in IA. The use of any dialect in writing would cause debate and draw unsympathetic criticism. Therefore, I predicted that many participants, especially students, would strongly oppose the statement. The findings show that the majority of students oppose the statement. Slightly less than half of non-students oppose the statement as well. The findings also show meager agreement among students. The reactions to the tenth statement show that, as far as writing is concerned, the apparent superiority of SA and the relative low status of IA.

5.8 Open-ended Questions

Through the four open-ended questions at the end of the survey, I aimed to examine participants' general views and predictions about SA and IA. Given the current linguistic situation in Iraq and the potential for linguistic changes that may take place in the short or long term, I designed the first two open-ended questions to elicit participants' predictions of the future standing of SA and IA. Responses to the first question "*Thinking ahead, how do you see the future of Standard Arabic?*" were interestingly different according to groups. The majority of students predicted the continuance of SA as the official language of Iraq. On the contrary, over half of non-students expected the demise of the standard form and the eventual emergence of the Iraqi dialect as the official language. The findings demonstrated significant differences in language attitudes between the students and non-students. Because they highly esteem SA, students do not support the idea that IA becomes the official language of Iraq. As for non-students, it could be the case that most of them see SA as a foreign language that should no longer be considered their official language. They find it difficult to identify with a language that is beyond their linguistic competence. Participants' predictions for the future of IA as can be seen in their answers to the second question "*Thinking ahead, how do you see the future of Iraqi Arabic?*" indicate large differences between students and non-students. Over half of non-students believe that IA will eventually emerge as the official language of Iraq. This view is shared by only 20% of students. This highlights the differences between the two groups regarding the future of IA. Actually, the fact that over half of non-

students predicted the adoption of IA as the official language surprised me because I did not expect the percentage to be so high, although non-students clearly showed their preference for IA in previous sections of the survey. Many of non-students want IA, the language they grew up with and feel comfortable using, to be the official language of their country. They perceive IA as their own language that is capable of representing their identity as Iraqis. In the third question *“If you can think of one or two examples where you switch between SA and IA when you talk, please name them”* I aimed to ascertain two things. First, I wanted to determine whether there are differences between students and non-students. Second, I was interested in the type of settings in which participants switch their speech between the two varieties. I would like to reiterate here that self-reports do not necessarily reflect reality. However, responses to this question may bring us closer to an understanding of code-switching phenomenon. Code-switching needs the type of research oriented towards the actual and spontaneous (rather than reported) occurrences of language forms. One surprising finding is that over half of non-students did not report any event in which they switch between the two varieties. This is a clear indication that many of non-students do not switch to SA. This showed that non-students are not proficient in SA and see it as a relatively difficult language and, therefore, will avoid using it. Haeri (1997) found that Egyptians articulate positive attitudes towards Egyptian Arabic and describe it as “easy” and “full of life” whereas they perceive SA as “powerful” and “heavy” and avoid using it in face to face communication. Students use SA to talk about important topics such as politics because SA is perceived as more serious than IA which is more

casual. In Iraq and almost the entire Arabic-speaking world, SA is seen as the language of knowledge and science. It is obvious that educated Iraqis are capable of speaking both IA and school-taught SA. At times, educated Arabic speakers engaging in a conversation find that their national-state dialects are not mutually intelligible and will switch to SA as it serves as a lingua franca among Arabic speakers.

Responses to the last question “*Please explain briefly why you generally prefer SA or IA*” showed the general reasons behind participants’ preferences for either of the two varieties. Over half of non-students expressed their preference for IA on the basis of its simplicity compared to the relative complexity of SA. This supports findings from other studies in the field. For instance, in her study of Egyptians’ attitudes towards SA and Egyptian Arabic, Haeri (1997) found that the main reason behind participants’ preference for Egyptian Arabic is their fear of making mistakes in SA (p. 211). We may ask whether the situation will be the same if non-students find SA less difficult. We may further question whether language attitudes of non-students will remain the same or change if their educational levels increase.

Generally, most of the findings support the hypothesis set forth in this study. The educational levels of participants significantly influence their language attitudes. The relationship between educational level and attitude towards SA can be described as a direct correlation, i.e. the higher the educational level of participants the more positive their attitudes towards SA. The relationship between educational level and attitude towards IA is an inverse correlation, i.e. the higher the educational level of

participants the less positive attitudes they have towards IA. As for gender, no findings in the study showed significant differences between males and females in their languages attitudes in this study. This may reflect a change in Iraqi society where males and females are not quite different from each other. However, I need to reiterate that further research is needed before such argument can be satisfactorily supported or refuted.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study showed a significant relationship between speakers' educational levels and their views on different language varieties. Based on the obtained findings, I argue that, in Iraqi society, we can predict speakers' general attitudes towards SA and/or Iraqi Arabic based on their educational level. I conducted this study as a preliminary step towards the identification of differences in language attitudes in Iraq. Through the examination of views vis-à-vis SA and IA among students and non-students, this study brought us closer to an understanding of the nature of the variability in language perceptions in Iraqi society. The main theoretical question this study revolves around is how speakers' educational levels distinctly influence their attitudes towards language varieties. Research on language attitude has generally shown that different language varieties induce different views on language among speakers. This study demonstrated a systematic and quite interesting relationship between language attitude and the speakers' educational level. The findings showed that the higher the speaker's educational level, the more they are inclined to favor SA over IA. Conversely, the lower the speaker's educational level, the less favorable their attitude would be towards SA and the more favorable their disposition would be for IA. Haeri (1997) touches on the influence of educational level on speakers' views and practice of language, "There is no doubt that educated speakers exhibit certain

linguistic habits and practices that are different from those who are not educated” (p. 234).

In Chapter Four, findings concerning preference and use of language showed that there were large and highly significant differences between students and non-students. I am inclined here to make a strong argument that the extra-linguistic independent variable, education level, does play a highly significant role in how speakers perceive language varieties. Students with a college education, who composed slightly over half of the entire sample, hold SA in high regard as they consider it the language of knowledge and creativity. Nonetheless, some findings showed that many students do not disdain IA or downplay its importance, although they are evidently in favor of SA. Non-students preferred IA over SA. It is critical to emphasize an important point here. The main reason for non-students’ preference of Iraqi Arabic is its simplicity compared to the difficulty of SA. Non-students’ views and practices will be different if they can afford and have access to further education.

Another point I am inclined to highlight is related to participants’ claimed usage of language and the methodology of the study. At times, participants in a survey may report what they perceive as appropriate in principle. For instance, if we conduct a survey and ask a group of people a question such as “What is your opinion about smoking?,” the return response rate will be, most likely, high disapproval of smoking, over 90% if not higher. In reality however, not all of those who disapproved

of smoking are non-smokers. Therefore, I think research focusing on investigating the actual and spontaneous occurrences of language forms is necessary in order to reach stronger conclusions on language usage. Surprisingly, according to the study findings, no indication of significant differences between males and females were found. This led me to presume that language attitudes in Iraqi society may not be significantly influenced by gender-based differences. However, conducting further research to fully and empirically investigate male and female language practices in Iraqi society may yield different findings that help reach a stronger conclusion and generalization. There is the possibility that males and females may have reported their language usages according to what they think they would use instead of what they actually use. Therefore, research to investigate the actual spontaneous languages practices of males and females is necessary here too.

I had predicted finding different patterns of language attitude within the student sample. As explained in section 5.6 in Chapter Five, students who major in Arabic and Religion were predicted to demonstrate more favorability towards SA and less favorability towards Iraqi Arabic than students from other majors. The percentages reported in section 4.5.1 in Chapter Four concurred with the prediction. Nevertheless, the findings, according to statistical analyses, did not go hand in hand with the prediction. Findings of students' language use were not at a great variance either.

Findings about language ideology from the fourth part of the survey (Likert statements) supported the hypothesis of this research. Reactions to the ten statements painted a clear picture of the large differences in attitudes between students and non-students towards SA and IA. For instance, to many of the non-students, Iraqi Arabic is a symbol that reflects their national identity and culture. In addition, non-students expressed an ambivalent attitude towards having either SA or IA as a dominant spoken variety, whereas students were clearly in favor of SA. Students overwhelmingly believed that SA would continue as the official language of Iraq. Non-students, on the other hand, predicted that Iraqi Arabic would eventually emerge as the official language of their country. With regard to code-switching, many non-students did not report any event where they code-switch between SA and IA, whereas many students provided examples where they switch between the two varieties. The educational levels significantly correlate with linguistic stratification, repertoires, or registers speakers use for communicative purposes.

I highly expect, based on the findings of this study, that language attitudes in Iraq are unlikely to remain static if the educational situation receives more attention and witnesses a dramatic improvement. It is very crucial to understand and evaluate the linguistic situation in Iraq. The linguistic needs and difficulties of Iraqi native speakers of Arabic should be addressed, especially by governmental institutions that are keen to deal with any presumable future change of the language situation in Iraq. Among problems language gatekeepers, such as government, constantly face in Iraq

is the need to find a way to enliven or preserve SA. In the light of the findings of this research, the broadly-acknowledged complicated task of promoting SA in Iraq might become much easier if more efforts were made to provide further opportunities for the Iraqi population, especially the youth, to pursue higher levels of education. I urge all those who are involved with language policy and maintenance in Iraq such as governmental and educational institutions to steer serious efforts to work towards this end.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Survey in English

Group 1: A- Social Interaction: (Preference)

- 1- If you were at home with family, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA
- 2- When talking to friends or neighbors, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA
- 3- If you were at work, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA
- 4- If you were at mosque or church, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA
- 5- If you were at the mall, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA
- 6- If you were told a joke, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA
- 7- If you were listening to a story, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA
- 8- If you were listening to poetry, which would you *prefer* to hear?
 SA IA

B- Social Interaction: (Use)

- 9- If you were at home with family, which would you *use*?
 SA IA
- 10- When talking to friends or neighbors, which would you *use*?
 SA IA
- 11- If you were at work, which would you *use*?
 SA IA
- 12- If you were at mosque or church, which would you *use*?
 SA IA

13- If you were at the mall, which would you *use*? SA IA

14- If you wanted to tell a joke, which would you *use*? SA IA

15- If you were narrating a story, which would you *use*? SA IA

16- If you were to recite poetry, which would you *use*? SA IA

Group 2: Media

17- If you were watching a TV series, which would you prefer to hear? SA IA

18- If you were watching a comedy, which would you prefer to hear? SA IA

19- If you were listening to a song, which would you prefer to hear? SA IA

20- If you were watching a political debate, which would you prefer to hear? SA IA

21- If you were watching local news on TV, which would you prefer to hear? SA IA

22- If you were watching educational programs on TV, which would you prefer to hear? SA IA

Group 3: A- Academic Domain (Preference)

23- In the classroom which variety do you *prefer*? SA IA

24- If you were in a religious education class, which variety would you *prefer*? SA IA

25- If you were in a science class such as physics, which variety would you *prefer*? SA IA

26- If you were reading an article or book, which variety would you *prefer*?
 SA IA

B- Academic Domain (Use)

27- In the classroom, which variety would you *use*?
 SA IA

28- If you were in a religious education class, which variety would you *use*?
 SA IA

29- If you were in a science class such as physics, which variety would you *use*?
 SA IA

30- If you wrote an article or book, which variety would you *use*?
 SA IA

Group 4: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following?

31- IA represents the identity of Iraqis.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

32- In Iraq, the spoken variety should be IA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

33- In Iraq, the spoken variety should be SA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

34- The variety that should be used in education is IA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

35- The variety that should be used in education is SA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

36- In religious institutions such as a mosque, the variety that should be used is IA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

37- In religious institutions such as a mosque, the variety that should be used is SA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

38- All that we hear or say should be in IA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

39- All that we hear or say should be in SA.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

40- IA could also be used in writing.
 Strongly disagree *Disagree* *Neutral* *Agree* *Strongly agree*

Group 5: Open-ended questions

41- Thinking ahead, how do you see the future of SA?
 SA will continue to be the official language of Iraq
 SA will decline and eventually be replaced by IA.
 SA will become the spoken variety in Iraq
 Other, please briefly specify:

42- Thinking ahead, how do you see the future of IA?
 IA will become be the official language of Iraq
 IA will decline and eventually be replaced by SA.
 IA will cease to be the spoken variety
 Other, please briefly specify:

43- If you can think of one or two examples where you switch between SA and IA when you talk, please name them:

44- Please explain briefly why you generally prefer SA or IA:

Demographic information

Participant number (to be added by researcher):

Name (optional):

Age:

Gender: *Male* *Female*

Ethnicity:

Native language:

Religion:

Educational background: *Primary* *Intermediate* *High school*

Currently college student

Finished college

Amount of time spent studying Standard Arabic at school:

If you are a student, what degree are you pursuing?

What is the name of your school and department?

Are you employed?

Yes

No

If yes, what is your profession?

If no, how do you spend you time?

Appendix B: The Survey in Arabic

الجزء الاول: التفاعل الاجتماعي (التفضيل اللغوي)

- 1- إذا كنت في البيت مع عائلتك، فايهما تفضل الاستماع اليه؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 2- ايهما تفضل الاستماع اليه عند الحديث مع الاصدقاء او الجيران؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 3- ايهما تفضل الاستماع اليه في مكان عملك؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 4- ايهما تفضل ان تكون اللغة المستخدمة في دور العبادة كالجامع او الكنيسة؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 5- ماذا تفضل الاستماع اليه اذا كنت في السوق؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 5- ايهما تفضل عندما تستمع الى نكات مضحكة؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 7- ايهما تفضل عندما تستمع الى قصة؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 8- اذا كنت تستمع الى ابياتاً من الشعر، ايهما تفضل؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

التفاعل الاجتماعي (استخدام اللغة)

- 9- إذا كنت في البيت مع عائلتك، ايهما تستخدم؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 10- عند التحدث الى الاصدقاء او الجيران، ايهما تستخدم؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 11- اذا كنت في مكان عملك، ايهما تستخدم؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى
- 12- إذا كنت في مكان عبادة كالجامع او الكنيسة، ايهما تستخدم؟
 اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

13- ماذا ستستخدم لو كنت في السوق؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

14- ايهما ستستخدم اذا اردت ان تروي نكتة مضحكة؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

15- ايهما ستستخدم اذا اردت ان تسرد قصة؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

16- اذا اردت ان تلقي ابياتاً من الشعر، فايهما ستستخدم؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

الجزء الثاني: (الإعلام)

17- ما الذي تفضله عندما تشاهد مسلسل تلفازي؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

18- ما الذي تفضله عندما تشاهد مسرحية كوميدية؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

19- إذا استمعت الى اي اغنية، ايهما تفضل؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

20- اذا كنت تشاهد حواراً سياسياً على شاشة التلفاز، ايهما تفضل؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

21- ما الذي تفضله عندما تشاهد نشرة الاخبار على شاشة التلفاز؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

22- اذا كنت تشاهد برامج تعليمية على شاشة التلفاز، ايهما تفضل؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

الجزء الثالث: التعليم (التفضيل اللغوي)

23- ما الذي تفضل الاستماع اليه اذا كنت جالساً في صف دراسي؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

24- ايهما تفضل الاستماع اليه اذا كنت في درس للتربية الدينية؟

اللهجة العراقية الفصحى

25- ايهما تفضل الاستماع اليه اذا كنت جالساً في درس علمي كالفيزياء؟

الفصحى

اللهجة العراقية

26- اذا كنت تقرأ مقالة او كتاب، ايهما تفضل ان تكون اللغة المستخدمة؟

الفصحى

اللهجة العراقية

التعليم (استخدام اللغة)

27- اذا كنت جالساً في صف دراسي، ماذا تستخدم؟

الفصحى

اللهجة العراقية

28- اذا كنت في درس للتربية الدينية، ماذا تستخدم؟

الفصحى

اللهجة العراقية

29- اذا كنت في درس علمي كالفيزياء، ماذا تستخدم؟

الفصحى

اللهجة العراقية

30- ماذا تستخدم اذا اردت ان تكتب مقالة او تألف كتاب؟

الفصحى

اللهجة العراقية

الجزء الرابع: إلى اي مدى تتفق او لا تتفق مع التالي؟

31- اللهجة العراقية تمثل هوية العراقيين.

أتفق تماماً

أتفق

محايد

لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق

32- ينبغي ان تكون اللهجة العراقية لغة الكلام في العراق.

أتفق تماماً

أتفق

محايد

لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق

33- ينبغي ان تكون الفصحى لغة الكلام في العراق.

أتفق تماماً

أتفق

محايد

لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق

34- ينبغي ان تكون اللهجة العراقية اللغة المستخدمة في قطاع التعليم.

أتفق تماماً

أتفق

محايد

لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق

35- ينبغي ان تكون الفصحى اللغة المستخدمة في قطاع التعليم.

أتفق تماماً

أتفق

محايد

لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق

36- في دور العبادة كالجوامع، ينبغي استخدام اللهجة العراقية.

أتفق تماماً

أتفق

محايد

لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق

37- في دور العبادة كالجوامع، ينبغي استخدام الفصحى.

أتفق تماماً

أتفق

محايد

لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق

- 38- ينبغي ان يكون كل ما نسمعه أو نقوله باللهجة العراقية.
 لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق محايد أتفق أتفق تماماً
- 39- ينبغي ان يكون كل ما نسمعه أو نقوله بالفصحى.
 لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق محايد أتفق أتفق تماماً
- 40- يمكن استخدام اللهجة العراقية في الكتابة.
 لا أتفق أبداً لا أتفق محايد أتفق أتفق تماماً

الجزء الخامس: اسئلة مفتوحة

- 41- عندما تفكر، كيف ترى مستقبل الفصحى؟
 ستبقى الفصحى اللغة الرسمية للعراق
 ستضمحل الفصحى وتحل محلها اللهجة العراقية
 ستصبح الفصحى لغة الكلام المستخدمة في العراق
 شيء آخر، يرجى ذكره باختصار:
- 42- عندما تفكر، كيف ترى مستقبل اللهجة العراقية؟
 ستصبح اللهجة العراقية اللغة الرسمية للعراق
 ستضمحل اللهجة العراقية وتحل محلها الفصحى
 سيتوقف استخدام اللهجة العراقية في الكلام اليومي
 شيء آخر، يرجى ذكره باختصار:
- 43- عندما تتكلم، قد تغير كلامك من اللهجة العراقية الى الفصحى او بالعكس. يرجى ذكر مثال او مثالين حدث خلالهما مثل هذا التغيير:
- 44- يرجى شرح باختصار وبشكل عام سبب تفضيلك للفصحى أو اللهجة العراقية:

معلومات احصائية

رقم المشارك (يملأ من قبل الباحث):

الاسم (اختياري):

العمر:

الجنس: ذكر انثى

العرقية او القومية:

اللغة الأم:

الديانة:

التحصيل الدراسي:

ابتدائي متوسط إعدادي طالب حالياً في معهد أو جامعة خريج

كم عدد السنوات التي درست خلالها العربية في المدرسة؟

إذا كنت في الوقت الحالي طالباً، ما هو مجال تخصصك؟

اسم القسم الدراسي والجامعة أو المعهد اللذي تدرس فيه؟

هل لديك وظيفة أو عمل؟ نعم كلا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، ما هو عملك أو وظيفتك؟

إذا كان الجواب كلا، كيف تقضي وقتك؟