



Levantine Arabic: A Surface Register Contrastive Study

Mohammad Jafar Jabbari^{[a],*}

^[a] Faculty of Literature & Humanities, Yasouj University, Yasouj, Iran.
 * Corresponding author.

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Abstract

Levantine Arabic, also referred to as Eastern Arabic, is a variety of spoken Arabic. It is considered one of the major dialects of Arabic, spoken within the eastern Mediterranean coastal strip, including Lebanon, part of Palestine, Syria and western Jordan. In the frame of the general diglossic status of the Arab world, Levantine Arabic is used in informal situations, while most of the written and official documents and media use Modern Standard Arabic, also referred to as Classical Arabic. Levantine colloquial Arabic is so different from the Modern Standard Arabic that the two varieties are not mutually intelligible. This study aims to introduce the major differences between the two varieties within the framework of Surface Strategy Taxonomy.

Key words: Modern Standard Arabic; Levantine Arabic Surface strategy taxonomy

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INTRODUCTION

Major dialects of Arabic are Egyptian Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Peninsular Arabic and Levantine Arabic. Levantine Arabic, also referred to as Eastern Arabic, is a broad variety of Arabic spoken in the Eastern Mediterranean coastal strip, i.e. Lebanon, part of Palestine, Syria and western Jordan. In the frame of the diglossic situation of the Arab world, Levantine Arabic,

like any other colloquial variety of Arabic, is used at home or in other informal situations, however, in any formal circumstance, e.g. in academic circles, mosques, political speeches and media the Modern Standard Arabic, also called Classical Arabic is used. The two varieties are so drastically different that they are mutually inconceivable. This research aims to find and scrutinize the differences between Levantine and Classical Arabic, at the levels of phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax within the framework of Surface Strategy Taxonomy.

BACKGROUND

Watson (2002) asserts that “Dialects of Arabic form a roughly continuous spectrum of variation, with the dialects spoken in the eastern and western extremes of the Arab-speaking world being mutually unintelligible” (p. 8).

This linguistic situation was termed ‘diglossia’ by Ferguson (1959). He introduces the phenomenon this way: a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly coded (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p. 336).

Trudgil (2009) defines diglossia as:

A particular kind of language standardization where two distinct varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the speech community (not just in the case of a particular group of speakers, such as Scots or Blacks) and where each of the two varieties is assigned a definite social function. (p.113)

A key point in diglossia is that the two varieties are kept apart functionally. One variety, referred to as Low (L), is used at home or in other informal situations, however, if someone needs to give a lecture at a university or in any formal circumstance, (s)he is expected to use the other

variety, referred to as High (H).

According to Wardhaugh (2006, p. 90), "The two varieties cannot be interchangeably used.]... [You do not use an H variety in circumstances calling for an L variety, e.g. for addressing a servant; nor does one use an L variety when an H variety is called for, e.g., for writing a serious work of literature".

Children, in the Arab communities acquire the low variety at home. Some may simultaneously learn the high variety, usually at school, but many do not learn it at all. There has been this view that the spoken varieties of Arabic are corruptions of MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) or CA (Classical Arabic) as found in the Quran and are, therefore, less prestigious varieties of Arabic. According to Wardhaugh (2006):

The H variety is the prestige variety; the L variety lacks prestige. In fact, there can be so little prestige attached to the L variety that people may even deny that they know it although they may be observed to use it far more frequently than the H variety].....[This feeling about the superiority of the H variety is reinforced by the fact that a body of literature exists in that variety and almost none in the L variety. That literature may reflect essential values about the culture. Speakers of Arabic in particular gain prestige from being able to allude to classical sources. The folk literature associated with the L variety will have none of the same prestige. (p. 90)

Jabbari has compared the Modern Standard Arabic with the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (2012) and with Iraqi Colloquial Arabic (2013). He has introduced the drastic phonological, semantic, and morphosyntactic differences between the two varieties and showed how these differences have resulted in a mutual incomprehensibility.

Table 1
Shared Consonants

Consonant	Arabic Letter	Arabic Example	Meaning	English Example
/b/	ب	بحر	sea	by
/t/	ت	تمر	dates	table
/θ/	ث	ثلاجه	refrigerator	think
/dʒ/	ج	جمل	camel	John
/ʒ/	ح	جميل	beautiful	Genre
/h/	ح	حبيب	friend	hand
/d/	د	درس	lesson	day
/ð/	ذ	ذلك	that	that
/r/	ر	روح	soul	run
/z/	ز	زهر	bloom	zoo
/s/	س	سيارة	car	say
/ʃ/	ش	شيء	thing	ship
/f/	ف	فرنسا	France	France
/k/	ك	كتاب	book	key
/l/	ل	لك	for you	love
/m/	م	من	who	man
/n/	ن	ناس	people	nice
/w/	و	وقت	time	way
/h/	ه	هذا	this	home
/j/	ي	يمن	Yemen	yes

DATA OF THE STUDY

The data of the study are collected from three colloquial Arabic guides, i.e. Colloquial Arabic (Levantine) by (McLoughlin, 1982), The Syntax of Spoken Arabic, by (Brustad, 2000) and Syrian Colloquial Arabic, by Liddicoat, Lennane and Abdul Rahim (1999).

The Standard Arabic data are collected from Classical Arabic grammar book and the news broadcast by the Arab media.

METHODOLOGY

To illustrate the linguistic differences between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Levantine Colloquial Arabic (LCA), the Surface Strategy Taxonomy has been utilized. This taxonomy, "highlights the ways surface structures are altered" (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982, p. 150). Categorizing linguistic items according to the surface strategy taxonomy helps researchers analyze linguistic alterations, in more details. To achieve this, (1) the collected data were transcribed phonemically¹, (2) the meanings were given in English, (3) when needed, a rough literal (morpheme-based) translation of the (Arabic) examples into English was added, to help the non-Arab reader follow the discussions, and (4) necessary explanations were provided.

PRONUNCIATION KEY

Arabic shares a good number of phonemes with other languages. Yet, there are a few phonemes, only found in Arabic and some sister languages. The Arabic phonemes are presented in tables (1) to (4).

Table 2
Consonants Specific to Arabic

Consonant	Arabic Letter	Arabic Example	Meaning	Phonetic Features	
/S/	ص	صباح	/Saba:h/	morning	(Emphatic) Voiceless alveolar fricative
/D/	ض	ضيف	/Dajf/	guest	(Emphatic) Voiced alveolar fricative
/T/	ط	طالب	/Ta:lib/	student	(Emphatic) Voiceless dental-alveolar stop
/Z/	ظ	ظرف	/Zarf/	envelope	(Emphatic) Voiceless dental-alveolar stop
/ʔ/	ء	أنا	/ʔana/	I	(Voiceless) glottal stop
/ʕ/	ع	عين	/ʕajn/	eye	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
/s/	س	سبح	/sadan/	tomorrow	Voiced uvular fricative
/x/	خ	خال	/xa:l/	uncle	Voiceless uvular fricative
/q/	ق	قريب	/qari:b/	relative	Voiceless uvular stop

Table 3
Arabic Vowels

Vowel	Arabic Letter	Arabic Example	Meaning
Short	/a/	نحن /nahnu/	we
	/i/	من /min/	of, from
	/u/	غرفة /ʕurfa/	room
long	/a:/	باب /ba:b/	door
	/u:/	صابون /Sa:bu:n/	soap
	/i:/	في /fi:/	in, at

Table 4
Arabic Diphthongs

Diphthong	Arabic Example	Meaning	English Example
/aw/	يوم /jawm/	day	house
/aj/	ضيف /D.ajf/	guest	eye

DATA ANALYSIS

In a diglossic situation “most linguistic items belong to one of the two non-overlapping sets” (Hudson, 2005, p.55). The differences between H and L are manifested in (1) phonology, (2) lexicon, (3) morphology and (4) syntax. According to Dittmar (2000):

“1-L has fewer grammatical (morphological) categories and a reduced system of inflection; H has a greater grammatical (morphological) complexity.

2- H and L have, in the main, a complementary lexicon. It is a particular characteristic of the diglossic situation that pairs are used situation-specifically with the same meaning in the H variety and the L variety.

3- H and L share one single phonological system, in which the L phonology represents the basic system and the deviant characteristics of the H phonology from a subsystem or parasystem” (p. 120).

Phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic differences between MSA and LCA will be introduced and analyzed, in detail, in the forthcoming sections.

PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

Phonologically speaking, “the L system will often appear to be the more basic”...[there is quite a difference between Classical Arabic and the colloquial varieties” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 91).

SOME ARABIC PHONOLOGICAL RULES

Classical Arabic, lacks consonants /ʒ/, /ʤ/, /g/, /v/ and /p/, however, the first three sounds, are not ruled out in different colloquial varieties of Arabic. The only phonemes not found in any variety of Arabic are the voiceless bilabial stop /p^h/ and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/.

Classical Arabic syllable structure is CV(C)(C). It means that: (a) any syllable necessarily starts with a consonant, (b) the initial consonant is necessarily followed by a vowel, i.e. consonant clusters are not allowed syllable initially, and (c) the (nucleus) vowel can be followed by 0 up to 2 consonants.

Some phonological differences between the MSA and LCA are:

Consonant Change

Some consonants in MSA tend to change in LCA. Examples are as follows:

	MSA	LCA	Meaning
	/q/	/ʔ/	
(1)	/qalb/	/ʔalb/	heart
(2)	/qubba/	/ʔubba/	dome
(4)	/qa:fila/	/ʔa:fila/	caravan
(3)	/na:qa/	/na:ʔa/	camel
(5)	/Tala:q/	/Tala:ʔ/	divorce
(6)	/su:q/	/su:ʔ/	market
(7)	/farq/	/farʔ/	east
(8)	/Sadi:q/	/Sadi:ʔ/	friend
(9)	/rafi:q/	/rafi:ʔ/	companion
	/dʒ/	/ʒ/	
(10)	/dʒami:l/	/ʒami:l/	beautiful
(11)	/dʒama:l/	/ʒama:l/	beauty
(12)	/dʒiddan/	/ʒiddan/	very

(13)	/dʒamal/	/ʒamal/	camel
(14)	/fadʒar/	/ʃaʒar/	tree
	/ ¹ /	/j/	
(15)	/maː ¹ /	/majj/	water
(16)	/mi'a/	/mijja/	hundred
	/θ/	/t/	
(17)	/θala:θa/	/tala:ta/	three
(18)	/θama:ni:n/	/tama:ni:n/	eight
(19)	/θa:ni:/	/ta:ni:/	second
(20)	/miθ/	/mitl/	like

Vowel Change

Some vowels in MSA also tend to change in LCA. Examples are as follows:

	MSA	LCA	Meaning
	/a/	/i/	
(21)	/dʒadd/	/dʒidd/	ancestor
(22)	/baTT/	/biTT/	duck
(23)	/ʾanta/	/ʾinta/	you (mas. sing.)
(24)	/ʾanti/	/ʾint-/	you (fem. sing.)
(25)	/ʾal/	/ʾil/	definite article

Final Deletion

There is a tendency of final deletion in LCA. The deleted item can be a (V), as in (26) and (27), a (C), as in (28) or a (CCV) as in (29):

(26)	/katab-tu/	/katab-tØ/	I wrote
(27)	/katab-a/	/katab-Ø/	He wrote
(28)	/katab-tum/	/katab-tuØ/	You (pl. mas.) wrote
(29)	/katab-tunna/	/katab-tuØ/	You (pl. fem.) wrote

Change of Initial CV to CVC

In LCA the empty morph /ʾi-/ may be added to the beginning of a word, while the following vowel is deleted. This phonological rule usually occurs in words of more than one syllable. This way the initial syllable changes from CV (in MSA) to CVC (in LCA). This phonological process is very productive in LCA and may happen in words of different parts of speech. Examples (30) and (31) illustrate this rule. The deleted vowel is underlined and the syllable boundary is marked (#):

(30)	/dʒa#di:d/	/ʾidʒ#di:d/	new
(31)	/Sa#ʾi:r/	/ʾiS#ʾi:r/	little

Initial Consonant Cluster

As was mentioned earlier, syllable structure in Classical Arabic is CV(C)(C). In other words consonant clusters are not allowed syllable initially. However, initial two-consonant clusters are frequently formed in LCA:

(32)	/kita:b/	/kta:b/	book
(33)	/min ʾajn/	/mni:n/	Where.....from?
(34)	/taktubu/	/btuktub/	You (sin. mas.) write.
(35)	/jaktubu/	/bjuktub/	He writes.
(36)	/ju:Sal/	/bju:Sal/	He arrives
(37)	/qali:l/	/fwajj/	little

Multiple Processes

Sometimes two or more phonological processes occur simultaneously. MSA words in (38 to 42) have undergone three phonological processes in LCA:

Regressive Vowel Harmony (RVH): The first vowel /a/ has changed to /u/ in harmony with the following vowel /u/.

Final Vowel Deletion (FVD): The final vowel /u/ is deleted, and

Initial Consonant Addition (ICA): A voiced bilabial consonant is often added before present verb prefixes. It is /b/ in all forms except 1st person plural, where it is /m/:

	MSA	LCA			Meaning
		RVH	FVD	ICA	
(38)	/aktubu/	/uktubu/	/uktubØ/	/buktub/	I write
(39)	/taktubu/	/tuktubu/	/tuktubØ/	/btuktub/	You (sin. mas.) write.
(40)	/jaktubu/	/juktubu/	/juktubØ/	/bjuktub/	He writes.
(41)	/taktubu/	/tuktubu/	/tuktubØ/	/btuktub/	She writes.
(42)	/naktubu/	/nuktubu/	/nuktubØ/	/mnuktub/	We write.

Morphological Differences

According to Palmer (2000, P. 120), "L has fewer grammatical (morphological) categories and a reduced system of inflection; H has a greater grammatical (morphological) complexity". This implies that the two varieties do not necessarily follow the same set of grammatical rules.

Suffix Deletion

A good example of the said reduced system of inflection is the tendency of suffix deletion in LCA. This deletion, some examples of which were also mentioned as a phonological process, is of morphological importance too. As a matter of fact, the said deleted items are verb suffixes or case markers:

(43)	/katab-a/	/katab-Ø/	He wrote
	wrote-3 rd Sing.Mas.		
(44)	/ʾamm-u-hu/	/ʾamm-u-Ø/	His (paternal) uncle
	uncle-NOM-his		
(45)	/xa:l-u-hu/	/xa:l- u-Ø/	His (paternal) uncle
	uncle-NOM-his		
(46)	/ʾammat-u-hu/	/ʾammat- u-Ø/	His (paternal) aunt.
	aunt-NOM-his		
(47)	/xa:lat-u-hu/	/xa:l-at-u-Ø/	His (paternal) aunt.
	aunt-NOM-his		

Neutralization

There is a tendency of neutralization of different linguistic forms in LCA. The following examples show how different verb suffixes in MSA are neutralized in LCA:

	MSA	LCA	Meaning
(48)	/katab-tum/	/katab-u:/	You (pl. mas.) wrote
(49)	/katab-tunna/	/katab-u:/	You (pl. fem.) wrote
(50)	/katab-u/	/katab-u:/	They (pl. mas.)
(51)	/katab-na/	/katab-u:/	They (pl. mas.)

Lexical Differences

In a diglossic situation, “There may be distinctly different pairs of words, i.e., doublets, in the H and L varieties to refer to very common objects and concepts. Since the domain of the two varieties do not intersect, there will be an L word for use in L situations and an H word for use in H situations with no possibility of transferring the one to the other” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p.91). In other words, the “H and L have, in the main, a complementary lexicon. It is a particular characteristic of the diglossic situation that pairs are used situation-specifically with the same meaning in the H variety and the L variety” (Dittmar, 2000, p.120). Lexical Complementary Distribution includes all parts of speech. Some examples are:

Adjectives

(52)	/dʒajjid/	/kuwajjis/	good
(53)	/bilmaɖɖʒa:n/	/bila:f/	free of charge
(54)	/qali:l/	/fwajj/	little
(55)	/kaəi:r/	/ihwa:ja/	much

Adverbs

(56)	/ʔadan/	/bukra/	tomorrow
(57)	/huna:/	/hawn/ ,/hu:n/	here
(58)	/huna:k/	/huni:k/	there
(59)	/ʔajDan/	/kama:n/	also
(60)	/ʔalʔa:n/	/halla/ /ʔissa/	now
(61)	/faqaT/	/bass/	only

Prepositions

(62)	/li/	//min fa:n//	for
(63)	/bi-daxil/	/juwwa/	inside
(64)	/ʔila:/	/li/	towards
(65)	/ʔala:/	/ʔa/	on, over

Interrogative Pronouns

(66)	/mata:/	/ʔajmata/	when
(67)	/kam/	/ʔadajf/	how much, how many
(68)	/ʔajj/	/ʔilli:/	which
(69)	/ʔajna/	/wajjn/ /fajn/	where
(70)	/lima:ða:/	/lajf/ /laj/	what for, why
(71)	/ma:ða://	/fu:/	what

Verbs

(72)	/ʔun Zur/	/fu:f/	see, look
(73)	/ha:t/	/ɖʒib/	bring

Pronouns and Demonstratives

(74)	/ða:li:ka/	/ha:da:k/	that(mas.)
(75)	/tilka/	/ha:di:k	that (fem.)

(76)	/nahnu/	/ʔihna/	we
(77)	/ha:ða:/	/h:da//	this (mas.)
(78)	/ha:ðihi:/	/ha:da/	this (fem.)
(79)	/ha:ða:/	/ha:dul/	these (mas., fem.)

Nouns

Nouns tend to be in complementary distribution, in the two varieties, much more than any other grammatical category, (80 to 91) being only few examples:

(80)	/ʔimraʔa/	/mara/	woman
(81)	/maTar/	/ʔita:/	rain
(82)	/fulu:s/, /nuqu:d/	/mafa:ri:/	money
(83)	/ma:ʔida/	/sufra/	table (clothes)
(84)	/ʔal-masi:h/	/ʔas-sajjid/	Christ
(85)	/raqi:b/	/ʔa:wi:f/	sergeant
(86)	/ziwa:ɖʒ/	/farah/	wedding
(87)	/qarja/	/daʒfa/	village
(88)	/sajjida/	/sitt/	lady
(89)	/sajjid/	/si:d/	gentleman, sir, Mr.
(90)	/ʔab/	/bajj/	father
(91)	/qawwa:d/	/ʔakru:t/	pi:mp

Borrowed Words

“The L variety shows a tendency to borrow learned words from the H variety, particularly when speakers try to use the L variety in more formal ways” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 91). This has resulted in a certain admixture of H vocabulary into the L. Some examples of borrowing are as follows. The borrowed words, are either borrowed from (geographically) neighboring languages such as Persian and Turkish, or from European languages, particularly English and French. It should be born in mind that any borrowed word may have undergone phonological and/or semantic change.

(92)	/ha:tif/	/tilfun/	telephone
(93)	/ha:su:ba/	/kambi:ju:tir/	computer
(94)	sajjarat-ul-ʔudgra/	/taksi:/	taxi
(95)	/ʔariTa/	/ka:si:t/	cassette
(96)	/tahakkum min bu ʔd/	/ri:mu:t kuntru:l/	remote control
(97)	/Sala/ , /nafha/	/baxfi:f ⁱⁱⁱ	tip
(98)	/sajjid/	/baj/ /ba:ʔa:/ ^{iv}	Sir

Syntactic Differences

MSA and LCA also differ in syntax, particularly in word order:

Different Word Order

(99)	/ʔaTTa:biq iə-əa:ni:/	/əa:ni: Ta:biq/	Second floor
(100)	/ʔal-bina:ja aθ-əa:ni:ja/	/əa:ni: bina:ja/	Second building
(101)	/Saba:h ba:kir/	/bukra is-sibh/	Early in the morning.

While the MSA tends to form “sentences with the

word order Verb+Subject+Object, e.g. /qara'a-aT-Talib-u 'al-qasida'/' (Awn & Alrajehi, 2004, p. 17). LCA, however, tends to use the word order Subject+Verb+Object:

	MSA	LCA	Meaning
(102)	/kataba 'il-walad-u maka:ti:b/	/'ilwalad kataba maka:ti:b/	The kid wrote letters
	wrote the kid letters	the kid wrote letters	

Total Differences

The above-mentioned partial differences, hand in hand, make the two varieties totally different at the levels larger than phonology and lexicon. MSA and LCA use drastically different phrases and sentences in the same situations. The following examples clarify the extent of the difference.

Some Productive Expressions Unique to Levantine Colloquial Arabic

(103)	/dʒajjid dʒiddan/	/helu: kaəi:r/	very good
(104)	/habbaða:/	/ja sala:m/	bravo
(105)	/maskum/	/fu: 'ismak/	What is your name?
(106)	/kajfa ha:luka/	/ki:fak/ /ma:fj: 'ilha:l/ /'iɫlawnak/	How are you
(107)	/dʒajjid dʒiddan/	/tama:m/	fine
(108)	/maʃa-s-sala:ma/	/xa:trak/	Good bye
(109)	/faZlan/	/'iða bitri:d/	please
(110)	/kami-s-sa:ʃa/	/qaddif is-sa:ʃa/	What time is it?
(111)	/ʃajdu ra'su-s-sana sa'i:d/	/kull sana 'inta bi-xajr/	Happy New Year
(112)	/marra əa:nija/	/kama:n marra/	again

Totally Different Sentences

(113)	/ma: huwa mihnatu-k/	/fu: btaʃtaʃil/	What is your profession?
(114)	/hal taqdar 'an taktub/	/bti'dir tuktub/, /btaʃrif tuktub/	Can you write?
(115)	/li-man haða-l-kita:b/	/tabaʃ mi:n ha-li kta:b/	Whose book is this?
(116)	/la: 'adri:/	/ma: baʃrif/	I don't know

SEMANTICALLY DIFFERENT PROVERBS

Proverbs with the same referential meanings, do not necessarily have identical semantic meanings, from language to language. The same thing holds true in MSA and LCA. Some examples are:

	MSA	LCA	Referential Meaning
(117)	/ʃuSfu:r-un fi-l-jad jusa:wi: 'iənajn fi-l-'aɖʒma/		sparrow- a in-ART-hand equals two in-ART-bush
	/ʃuSfu:r b-jad wa la: ʃusfura bi-f-ʃaɖʒar/		sparrow at-hand and no sparrow at-ART-tree
	A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush		
(118)	/'iʃtabar-ol-'ahda:θ ol-ma:Zi:jja 'ahda:θ ol-maZi:jja/		take-ART-accidents-ART- past accidents-ART-

	past
	/'illi: fa:t ma:t/
	what passed died
	Let bygones by bygones.
(119)	/'iða: dʒa:'al-Taʃa:m baTal-al-kala:m/
	when came-aRT-food voided-aRT-words
	/ʃindu-l-buTu:n Da:ʃat- il-ʃuqu:l/
	for-ART-bellies spoiled-ART-wisdoms
	When it was time for the bellies the minds were astray.
(120)	/'al-nawm-u ba:kiran wa-l-nuhu:Su bakiran
	jaksiba:ni-al-mar' Sihhatan wa θara:'an wa hikma/
	ART-sleep-NOM early and-ART-rise early
	brings-DUAL-ART-man health and wealth and wisdom
	/na:m ba:kir qu:m ba:kir fu:f il-Siha kajf betSi:r/
	sleep early rise early see-ART-health how comes
	Early to bed early to rise, makes man healthy, wealthy and wise.

CONCLUSIONS

The data of the study manifest a good number of differences between Modern Standard Arabic and Levantine Colloquial Arabic. These differences were found on the levels of phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. Phonological alterations were vowel change, consonant change, final deletion, and CV to CVC syllable change. Lexical differences were mainly a lexical complementary distribution between MSA and LCA. This complementary distribution was found to occur in words of different parts of speech, nominal alterations being the most frequent one. Morphological alterations included suffix deletion and neutralization, in Levantine Arabic. And, last but not least, at the syntactic level, the two varieties showed some word order differences. These differences, going hand in hand, have resulted in drastic differences, thereby a mutual unintelligibility.

SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Diglossic relationship holds between the Standard Arabic, on the one hand, and such other colloquial varieties as Egyptian, Moroccan, and Peninsular dialects of Arabic, etc, on the other. It is advisable that similar studies on any of the said varieties be conducted. Furthermore, while this article studies the differences between MSA and LCA synthetically and qualitatively, narrower analytic and quantitative studies on the subject are recommended.

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NOTES

- i- The transcription is read from left to right although Arabic is written from right to left in the script.
- ii- At least one word, i.e. /panki/ = (fan) is found in Iraqi Colloquial Arabic.
- iii- /baxfi:/ is a Persian word, however, it is borrowed by Arabic via Ottoman Empire.
- iv- /baj/ and /ba:fa:/ are borrowed from Turkish, used as titles in the Ottoman Empire.
- v- The student the ode.