

***Fuṣḥá, ‘āmmīyah, or both?:***

**Towards a theoretical framework for written Cairene Arabic**

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## Abstract

The Arabic language is a complex, diglossic language, with varying written (*fuṣḥá*) and spoken (*‘āmmīyah*) forms. While the study of mixing between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* in spoken Arabic has received some scholarly attention, far less attention has been paid to mixing in writing, which this study seeks to address.

Badawi's (1973) landmark study of Egyptian Arabic use identified five language levels, assuming naturally that written Arabic exists as either Classical or Modern Standard Arabic, while mixing between written and spoken forms is reserved as a feature of Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), despite the proliferation of mixed literary works by renowned writers such as Tawfiq al-Hakim, Yusuf Idris and Yusuf Sibai at the time. Since Badawi's (1973) study, studies of mixed Arabic have centred around ESA (Eid, 1988; Bassiouney, 2006), uncovering to some extent the type and degree of, and motivations for, mixing, which have been used as a backdrop for the examination of mixed writing in this study. More recently, Høigilt & Mejdell (2017), Mejdell (2014), Ibrahim (2010), and Rosenbaum (2000) have identified occurrences of mixing in written Arabic.

The aim of this study therefore, is to take a holistic view of Arabic writing, across different times and media, towards establishing a theoretical framework for Egyptian Arabic writing, including *fuṣḥá*, *‘āmmīyah* and so-called 'mixed' forms.

The catalyst for this study, as well as for the proliferation of mixed and *‘āmmīyah* writing, has been the expansion of the internet and the rapid increase in online writing. For Arabic at least, the Arab Spring and social media within it, have played an important role in the widespread use of *‘āmmīyah* in writing, which this study aims to place within the wider context of Arabic writing.

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## Transliteration Scheme

The Transliteration scheme used in this study is the Library of Congress Romanisation scheme for Arabic<sup>1</sup>, copied verbatim in Table 0.1 and the notes below.

For writers with standard English forms, e.g. 'Yusuf Idris', these forms are used, rather than strict transliterations.

For transliteration of *'āmmīyah* terms, the phoneme /g/ is used for ج and for the pronunciation of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in *'āmmīyah* the IPA symbols /o:/ and /e:/ are used (see Table 0.1 below; for a discussion see Chapter 4). In transliterations of CWA, some adaptations have been made, such as using *wi-* for the connective و instead of *wa-* (see 16.b below) and *il* for the definite article ال rather than *al* (see 17 below).

For transliteration of IA, LIA and bivalent/shared terms, MSA transliteration has been used.

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<sup>1</sup> Available from <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsa/romanization/arabic.pdf>

**Table 0.1** Library of Congress Romanisation scheme for Arabic

Letters of the alphabet	Romanisation
ا	omit (see Note 1)
ب	<i>b</i>
ت	<i>t</i>
ث	<i>th</i>
ج	<i>j</i>
ح	<i>ḥ</i>
خ	<i>kh</i>
د	<i>d</i>
ذ	<i>dh</i>
ر	<i>r</i>
ز	<i>z</i>
س	<i>s</i>
ش	<i>sh</i>
ص	<i>ṣ</i>
ض	<i>ḍ</i>
ط	<i>ṭ</i>
ظ	<i>ẓ</i>
ع	‘
غ	<i>gh</i>
ف	<i>f</i> (see Note 2)
ق	<i>q</i> (see Note 2)
ك	<i>k</i>
ل	<i>l</i>
م	<i>m</i>
ن	<i>n</i>
هـ، ة	<i>h</i> (see Note 3)
و	<i>w</i>
ي	<i>y</i>

Vowels and Diphthongs	Romanisation
اَ	<i>a</i>
و	<i>u</i>
يَ	<i>i</i>
آ	<i>ā</i> (see Rule 5)
أَ	<i>á</i> (see Rule 6(a))
وُ	<i>ū</i>
يُ	<i>ī</i>
اَوْ	<i>aw</i> (IPA /o:/ in CWA)
اَيُّ	<i>ay</i> (IPA /e:/ in CWA)

### Notes

1. For the use of *alif* to support *hamzah*, see rule 2. For the romanisation of *hamzah* by the consonantal sign ' (*alif*), see rule 8(a). For other orthographic uses of *alif* see rules 3-5.
2. The Maghribī variations ب and ف are romanised *f* and *q* respectively.
3. ة in a word in the construct state is romanised *t*. See rule 7(b).

### Rules of application

#### Arabic letters romanised in different ways depending on their context:

1. As indicated in the table, و and ي may represent:

- (a) The consonants romanised *w* and *y*, respectively.

<i>waḍ'</i>	وضع
<i>'iwaḍ</i>	عوض
<i>dalw</i>	دلو
<i>yad</i>	يد
<i>ḥiyal</i>	حيل
<i>ṭahy</i>	طهي

- (b) The long vowels romanised *ū*, *ī*, and *ā* respectively.

<i>ūlá</i>	أولى
<i>ṣūrah</i>	صورة

<i>dhū</i>	ذو
<i>īmān</i>	إيمان
<i>jīl</i>	جيل
<i>fī</i>	في
<i>kitāb</i>	كتاب
<i>saḥāb</i>	سحاب
<i>jumān</i>	جمان

See also rules 11(a) and 11(b)(1-2).

(c) The diphthongs romanized *aw* and *ay*, respectively.

<i>awj</i>	أوج
<i>nawm</i>	نوم
<i>law</i>	لو
<i>aysar</i>	أيسر
<i>shaykh</i>	شيخ
<i>‘aynay</i>	عيني

See also rules 11(a)(2) and 11(b)(3).

2. ʾ (*alif*), و and ى when used to support ء (*hamzah*) are not represented in romanisation. See rule 8(a).
3. ʾ (*alif*) when used to support َ (*waṣlah*) and ّ (*maddah*) is not represented in romanisation. See rules 9 and 10.
4. ʾ (*alif*) and و when used as orthographic signs without phonetic significance are not represented in romanisation.

<i>fa‘alū</i>	فعلوا
<i>ulā’ika</i>	أولائك
<i>ūqīyah</i>	أوقية

See also rule 12 and examples cited in rules 23-26.

5. ʾ (*alif*) is used to represent the long vowel romanised *ā*, as indicated in Table 0.1

<i>fā'il</i>	فاعل
<i>riḍā</i>	رضا

This *alif*, when medial, is sometimes omitted in Arabic; it is always indicated in romanisation. See rule 19.

6. Final *ى* appears in the following special cases:

(a) As *ى* ( *alif maqṣūrah*) used in place of *ا* to represent the long vowel romanized *ā*.

<i>ḥattá</i>	حَتَّى
<i>maḍá</i>	مَضَى
<i>kubrá</i>	كَبُرَى
<i>Yaḥyá</i>	يَحْيَى
<i>musammá</i>	مَسْمَى
<i>Muṣṭafá</i>	مُصْطَفَى

(b) As *ى* in nouns and adjectives of the form *fā'il* which are derived from defective roots. This ending is romanised *ī*, not *īy*, without regard to the presence of *◌* (*shaddah*). See rule 11(b)(2).

<i>Raḍī al-Dīn</i>	رضي الدين
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Compare the *fa'il* form of the same root الرضى [without *shaddah*] *al-Raḍī*.

(c) As *ى* in the relative adjective (*nisbah*). The ending, like (b) above, is romanised *ī*, not *īy*.

<i>al-Miṣrī</i>	المصريّ
-----------------	---------

Compare *المصريّة* *al-Miṣrīyah* and see rule 11(b)(1).

7. *ه* (*tā' marbūṭah*)

(a) When the noun or adjective ending in *ه* is indefinite, or is preceded by the definite article, *ه* is romanised *h*. The in *ه* such positions is often replaced by *o*.

<i>ṣalāh</i>	صلاة
<i>al-Risālah al-bahīyah mir'āh</i>	الرسالة البهية امرأة
<i>Urjūzah fī al-ṭibb</i>	أرجوزة في الطب

(b) When the word ending in ة is in the construct state [*muḍāf wa-muḍāf ilayh*], ة is romanised *t*.

<i>Wizārat al-Tarbiyah</i>	وزارة التربية
<i>Mir'āt al-zamān</i>	مرآة الزمان

(c) When the word ending in ة is used adverbially, ة (vocalised ة) is romanised *tan*. See rule 12(b).

### Romanisation of Arabic orthographic symbols other than letters and vowel signs

The signs listed below are frequently omitted from unvocalised Arabic writing and printing; their presence or absence must then be inferred. They are represented in romanisation according to the following rules:

#### 8. ء (*hamzah*)

(a) In initial position, whether at the beginning of a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article, ء is not represented in romanisation. When medial or final, ء is romanised as ' (*alif*).

<i>asad</i>	أسد
<i>uns</i>	أنس
<i>idhā</i>	إذا
<i>mas'alah</i>	مسألة
<i>mu'tamar</i>	مؤتمر

9. (*waṣlah*), like initial ء, is not represented in romanisation. See also rule 8(b) above. When the *alif* which supports *waṣlah* belongs to the article ال, the initial vowel of the article is romanised *a*. See rule 17(b). In other words, beginning with *hamzat al-waṣl*, the initial vowel is romanised *i*.

<i>Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr</i>	رحلة ابن جبير
<i>al-istidrāk</i>	الإستدراك
<i>kutub iqṭanat'hā</i>	كتب أقتنتها
<i>bi-ihtimām 'Abd al-Majīd</i>	باهتمام عبد المجيد

#### 10. ~ (*maddah*)

(a) Initial  $\bar{a}$  is romanised  $\bar{a}$ .

<i>ālah</i>	آلة
<i>Kullīyat al-Ādāb</i>	كلية الآداب

(b) Medial  $\bar{a}$ , when it represents the phonetic combination 'ā, is so romanised.

<i>ta'ālīf</i>	تأليف
<i>ma'āthir</i>	مآثر

(c)  $\tilde{a}$  is otherwise not represented in romanisation.

<i>khulafā'</i>	خلفاء
-----------------	-------

11.  $\ddot{a}$  (*shaddah* or *tashdīd*)

(a) Over  $\ddot{a}$ :

(1)  $\ddot{a}$ , representing the combination of long vowel plus consonant, is romanised  $\bar{u}w$ .

<i>adūw</i>	عدوّ
<i>qūwah</i>	قوّة

See also rule 1(b).

(2)  $\ddot{a}$ , representing the combination of diphthong plus consonant, is romanised  $\bar{a}ww$ .

<i>Shawwāl</i>	شوّال
<i>ṣawwara</i>	صوّر
<i>jaww</i>	جوّ

See also rule 1(c).

(b) Over  $\ddot{a}$ :

(1) Medial  $\ddot{a}$ , representing the combination of long vowel plus consonant, is romanised  $\bar{a}y$ .

<i>al-Miṣrīyah</i>	المصريّة
--------------------	----------

See also rule 1(b).

(2) Final  $\ddot{a}$  is romanised  $\bar{a}$ . See rules 6(b) and 6(c).

(3) Medial and final ىَ, representing the combination of diphthong plus consonant, is romanised *ayy*.

<i>ayyām</i>	أَيَّام
<i>sayyid</i>	سَيِّد
<i>Quṣayy</i>	قَصَيَّ

See also rule 1(c).

(c) Over other letters, ىَ is represented in romanisation by doubling the letter or digraph concerned.

<i>al-Ghazzī</i>	الغَزَيَّ
<i>al-Kashshāf</i>	الكَشَّاف

12. *Tanwīn* may take the written form ُ, ً (اُ), or ِ, romanised *un*, *an*, and *in*, respectively. *Tanwīn* is normally disregarded in romanisation, however. It is indicated in the following cases:

(a) When it occurs in indefinite nouns derived from defective roots.

<i>qāḍin</i>	قَاضٍ
<i>maʿnan</i>	مَعْنَى

(b) When it indicates the adverbial use of a noun or adjective.

<i>ṭabʿan</i>	طَبِيعًا
<i>fajʿatan</i>	فَجْأَةً
<i>al-Mushtarik waḍʿan</i>	المَشْتَرِكُ وَضْعًا
<i>wa-al-muftariq ṣuqʿan</i>	والمُفْتَرِقُ صُقْعًا

### Grammatical structure as it affects romanisation

13. Final inflections of verbs are retained in romanisation, except in pause.

<i>man waliya Miṣr</i>	من ولي مصر
<i>maʿrifat mā yajibu la-hum</i>	معرفة ما يجب لهم
<i>ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam</i>	صلى الله عليه وسلم
<i>al-Luʿluʿ al-maknūn fī ḥukm</i>	اللؤلؤ المكنون في حكم
<i>al-ikhbār ʿammā sa-yakūn</i>	الإخبار عما سيكون

14. Final inflections of nouns and adjectives:

(a) Vocalic endings are not represented in romanization, except preceding pronominal suffixes, and except when the text being romanized is in verse.

*uṣūluhā al-nafsīyah wa-ṭuruq tadrīsihā* أصولها النفسية وطرق تدريسها  
*ilā yawminā hādhā* إلى يومنا هذا

(b) Tanwīn is not represented in romanization, except as specified in rule 12.

(c) ّ (tā' marbūṭah) is romanised *h* or *t* as specified in rule 7.

(d) For the romanisation of the relative adjective (*nisbah*) see rule 6(c).

15. Pronouns, pronominal suffixes, and demonstratives:

(a) Vocalic endings are retained in romanisation.

*anā wa-anta* انا وانت  
*hādhihi al-ḥāl* هذه الحال  
*mu'allafātuhi wa-shurūḥuhā* مؤلفاته وشروحها

(b) At the close of a phrase or sentence, the ending is romanised in its pausal form.

*ḥayātuhi wa-ʿaṣruh* حياته وعصره  
*Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, afkāruh āthāruh* توفيق الحكيم، أفكاره، آثاره

16. Prepositions and conjunctions:

(a) Final vowels of separable prepositions and conjunctions are retained in romanisation.

*anna* أن  
*annahu* أنه  
*bayna yadayhi* بين يديه

Note the special cases: مما *mimmā*, ممن *mimman*.

(b) Inseparable prepositions, conjunctions, and other prefixes are connected with what follows by a hyphen.

*bi-hi* به  
*wa-ma'ahu* ومعه  
*lā-silkī* لاسلكي

17. The definite article:

(a) The romanised form *al* is connected with the following word by a hyphen.

<i>al-kitāb al-thānī</i>	الكتاب الثاني
<i>al-ittiḥād</i>	الإتحاد
<i>al-aṣl</i>	الأصل
<i>al-āthār</i>	الأثار

(b) When ال is initial in the word, and when it follows an inseparable preposition or conjunction, it is always romanised *al* regardless of whether the preceding word, as romanised, ends in a vowel or a consonant.

<i>ilá al-ān</i>	الى الآن
<i>Abū al-Wafā'</i>	ابو الوفاء
<i>Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣrīyah</i>	مكتبة النهضة المصرية
<i>bi-al-tamām wa-al-kamāl</i>	بالتمام والكمال

Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition ل followed by the article:

<i>lil-Shirbīnī</i>	للشربيني
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See also rule 23.

(c) The ل of the article is always romanised *l*, whether it is followed by a "sun letter" or not, i.e., regardless of whether or not it is assimilated in pronunciation to the initial consonant of the word to which it is attached.

<i>al-ḥurūf al-abjadīyah</i>	الحروف الأبجدية
<i>Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī</i>	ابو الليث السمرقندي

## Orthography of Arabic in romanisation

18. Capitalisation:

(a) Rules for the capitalisation of English are followed, except that the definite article *al* is given in lower case in all positions.

(b) Diacritics are used with both upper and lower case letters.

<i>al-Ījī</i>	الايحي
<i>al-Ālūsī</i>	الألوسي

19. The macron or the acute accent, as appropriate, is used to indicate all long vowels, including those which in Arabic script are written defectively.

The macron or the acute accent, as the case may be, is retained over final long vowels which are shortened in pronunciation before hamzat al-waṣl.

<i>Ibrāhīm Dā'ūd</i>	إبراهيم ، إبراهيم داؤود ، داؤد
<i>Abū al-Ḥasan ru'ūs</i>	ابو الحسن رؤوس
<i>dhālika</i>	ذلك
<i>'alā al-'ayn</i>	على العين

20. The hyphen is used:

- To connect the definite article *al* with the word to which it is attached. See rule 17(a).
- Between an inseparable prefix and what follows. See rules 16(b) and 17(b) above.
- Between *bin* and the following element in personal names when they are written in Arabic as a single word. See rule 25.

21. The prime (') is used:

- To separate two letters representing two distinct consonantal sounds, when the combination might otherwise be read as a digraph.

<i>Ad'ham</i>	أدهم
<i>akramat'hā</i>	أكرمتهَا

- To mark the use of a letter in its final form when it occurs in the middle of a word.

<i>Qal'ah'jī</i>	قلعهجى
<i>Shaykh'zādah</i>	شيخزاده

22. As in the case of romanisation from other languages, foreign words which occur in an Arabic context and are written in Arabic letters are romanised according to the rules for romanising Arabic.

<i>Jārmānūs (not Germanos nor Germanus)</i>	جارمانوس
<i>Lūrd Ghrānfil (not Lord Granville)</i>	لورد غرانفيل
<i>Īsāghūjī (not Isagoge)</i>	ايساغوجي

For short vowels not indicated in the Arabic, the Arabic vowel nearest to the original pronunciation is supplied.

<i>Gharsiyā Khayin (not García Jaén)</i>	غرسيا خين
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### Examples of Irregular Arabic orthography

23. Note the romanisation of الله, alone and in combination.

<i>Allāh</i>	الله
<i>billāh</i>	بالله
<i>lillāh</i>	لله
<i>bismillāh</i>	بسم الله
<i>al-Mustanşir billāh</i>	المستنصر بالله

24. Note the romanisation of the following personal names:

<i>Ṭāhā</i>	طه
<i>Yāsīn</i>	يس، يسن
<i>‘Amr</i>	عمرو
<i>Bahjat</i>	بهجت، بهجة

25. ابن and بن are both romanised *ibn* in all positions.

<i>Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Rabī‘</i>	احمد بن محمد بن ابي الربيع
<i>Sharḥ ibn ‘Aqīl ‘alā Alfīyat ibn Mālik</i>	شرح ابن عقيل على الفية ابن مالك

Exception is made in the case of modern names, typically North African, in which the element بن is pronounced bin.

<i>Bin Khiddah</i>	بن خده
<i>Bin-‘Abd Allāh</i>	بنعبد الله

26. Note the anomalous spelling مائة, romanised *mi’ah*.

## **Preface**

The Arab Spring is one of the most remarkable and significant moments in recent memory in the Arab world and resonated globally, as people witnessed revolt against decades-strong autocratic regimes. At the time the uprisings were unforeseen and seemed to come out of nowhere to experts and laypeople alike. Since the uprisings, much analysis has been done to try and understand how these uprisings came to be, what their impact has been and what they may lead to in the future. Despite the outcome of these remarkable uprisings and their range, from regime change to civil war, their impact is still being felt globally today. Much has been made of the role of the internet and online communication tools in the facilitation of the uprisings, at least initially, but much less attention has been paid to the language used online to formulate the messages that were communicated to thousands of followers, undetected by the notorious security services.

In the case of Egypt in particular, I witnessed with amazement the simple, bold, articulate messages being posted and shared online by a new generation of online youth political activists. They were expressing messages of hope for change, of anger and the power of the collective will to change a reality that was becoming more oppressive by the day. This generation's tipping point came after the brutal broad-daylight torture and murder of a young, local man, at the hands of the Egyptian security forces for daring to post images of police brutality in Egypt online.

Working online to spread the news and messages of discontent, and organising protest events, the language of choice for these activists showed a clear break with tradition, for they did not write in the Standard variety of Arabic found in newspapers and other forms of traditional political discourse, but started to write in the colloquial variety, in effect finding a more genuine voice for themselves that set them apart from the political establishments of the regime and the opposition.

This study began in 2011 by following one of the most influential youth political activist groups at the time, the 6th April Youth Movement and their Facebook page, the 6th April Youth Movement Facebook page, which was used for communicating with the group's members and followers. The

study first came to be as an initial observation by a curious researcher of what appeared to be a novel use of language, bearing the hallmarks of speech, but in writing. As the Arabic language is known for its use of a strict Standard variety for writing, which is separate from the spoken form used for everyday communication, this at first appeared to be something of a novelty, quite unique, and worthy of further investigation and research. The internet had been seen, up until the time of the uprisings in 2011, as trivial, both in content and form, by an older generation, who did not pay much attention to it, as it seemed to be used by the younger generation for gaming and chatting, and nothing much more. Part of this image of 'frivolity', believed this researcher, must have lain in the language used for communication and the conscious choice of using Spoken versus Standard Arabic. Now the internet plays a much greater role in all of our lives, and its use is seen across all generations and for all purposes in Egypt and around the world. Certainly in Egypt at least, its central role in daily life has come partly as a direct result of the events of 2011.

And so began the journey of discovery of Arabic language use online, and later the use of Spoken Arabic forms in print writing. At the time I began this study, scholarly interest in online Arabic writing centred around the use of Latinised or Romanised Arabic, that is Arabic written in Latin or Roman script. Little to no research had been conducted around online Arabic writing in Arabic script, and to my knowledge very little research into mixed or colloquial print writing. However, after personal circumstances dictated a break from this study, and upon returning to it two years later, I found a relative abundance of new literature on mixed Arabic writing, including online writing. This became an exciting opportunity to make valuable observations and reflections on the state of Arabic writing, both online and in print, and to compare my findings with those of the new studies. It has certainly been a fascinating and enlightening journey, the results of which are shared in this study, which I hope will contribute to shining a light on the breadth and depth of written Arabic, alongside the established literary cannon.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Arabic is a complex language with distinct forms for writing (a standard form referred to as *fuṣḥá*) and speaking (a non-standardised form referred to as *‘āmmīyah*) in distinct social settings; a situation which has been described as ‘diglossia’. This situation is further complicated by the existence of numerous regional and local dialects. And while the diglossic situation has been well documented for spoken Arabic, when it comes to written Arabic, less attention has been paid to the influence of diglossia. In *The Politics of Written Language*<sup>1</sup>, Brustad argues that the very existence of diglossia can be seen as the result of the ideology that arose at the time of the *nahḍah*, or Arab enlightenment at the beginning of the twentieth century, which led to the modernisation of *fuṣḥá* and the emergence of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Before this variations in the history of written Arabic were found, as well as changing attitudes and practice towards writing in the spoken form (Brustad, 2017). In fact, standardisation and de-standardisation have existed in ‘waves’ over time, with standardisation waves occurring at the time of the early codification of Arabic and the *nahḍah*, while de-standardisation occurred with so-called ‘Middle’ Arabic, referring to a form of Classical Arabic that makes use of spoken forms and existed up to the time of the *nahḍah*, and the current trends of mixing standard and spoken forms of Arabic (Høigilt & Mejdell, 2017). Mixed Arabic therefore, can be seen as the ‘true’ native use of Arabic, since *fuṣḥá* is rarely produced other than by religious scholars or in the media (Badawi, 1973). All other evidence (Bassiouny, 2006, 2013; Mejdell, 2006, 2014) points to the mixed style as being the dominant style in formal speech, rendering diglossic or ‘level’ models as outdated or even obsolete, such that even approaching Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) as a ‘form’ or ‘level’ would be considered equally outdated. The continuum

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<sup>1</sup> Brustad, K. 2017. Diglossia as Ideology. In: Hoigilt, J., Mejdell, G. eds. *The politics of written language in the Arab world: writing change*. Studies in semitic languages and linguistics; **90**. Leiden; Boston: Brill, pp. 41-67. Available from: <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/>

concept (Rickford, 1987) is an interesting one and its application to Arabic by Hary (1996) is discussed below, but it would seem native speakers have underlying intuitions and give themselves much further scope for language mixing than the model suggests. Standard Arabic, with its prescriptive grammar, can be seen on the continuum as a kind of target, which speakers may aim to hit, or aim roughly towards hitting. In more practical terms, we should view language use in terms of style and register in relation to formality or informality of situations, with the implication that formal situations 'call for' (have the standard linguistic correspondents of) formal language, while informal situations 'call for' (have the standard linguistic correspondents of) informal language; rather than having a fixed frame of reference for speech - for who nowadays, apart from newsreaders speaks completely in MSA? On the other hand, who speaks in a way that manipulates the wide range and scope of the language, to suit the tone, register, formality of the situation and their message? This does however, raise questions about how we divide up the types of Arabic available to identify for 'formality' and 'informality' (etc.) in Arabic. As general literacy rates have risen across the Arabic-speaking world, the division between 'educated' and 'non-educated', even illiterate spoken Arabic is becoming less of an issue specific to Arabic, and more of a universal one, since in any language society a person's education (or lack of it) will undoubtedly play a part in the way they speak. In writing the case is similar where literacy is a given, however the level of education a person has will undoubtedly affect their writing style, as is true of any language.

The question for researchers now is how to define the way language is used in reality, rather than ideologically. The same questions must be applied to writing, since studies have shown that the mixed style has existed at least since the middle ages, and it is a deliberate style used by the writers, not the result of mistakes as was previously thought. This is certainly reflected in the Facebook posts presented in this study, which are written in a mixed style by highly literate speakers. So the main questions driving this study are: given the diglossic situation of Arabic, how have writers adapted to and in some cases exploited, the language situation? Which

strategies do they use and which conscious decisions have been made regarding their use of the language? In the age of the *nahḍah*, when Arabic writing proliferated in response to the threat of the widespread use of English, writers employed a colloquial or intermediate form of written Arabic in order to bring the language to a level that ordinary people could comprehend. With the rise of modern drama and fiction, writers faced an internal struggle with the language situation and resolved to use another form of mixed or intermediate Arabic. And as authoritarian rule took hold and with it widespread censorship and control of the press and print publishing, control of the language was also imposed, with a rigid editing process and use of correctors (Haeri, 2003). Now, in the age of the internet, we are witnessing a democratisation of the language with writers feeling more freedom to use whatever type of language they choose.

This study looks at non-Standard Arabic, or *‘āmmīyah* writing both online and in print, looking specifically at Egyptian, or rather Cairene, *‘āmmīyah*. In searching for literary precedents for *‘āmmīyah* writing, two examples were immediately identified: the use of *‘āmmīyah* in national newspapers during the *nahḍah*, or Arab enlightenment at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the use of *‘āmmīyah* in the Arabic novel, a new form of literature that took hold and gained widespread popularity in the mid-twentieth century. In fact, “the occurrence of a new function (the novel) in modern Arabic literature resulted in considerable tension between [Standard Arabic, *fuṣḥá*] and [*‘āmmīyah*]. It is in response to that tension that a new linguistic style [...] has appeared in Arabic literature” (Abdel-Malek, 1972: 141). These two examples occur at times of significant political upheaval in Egypt: the age of the *nahḍa* with its associated struggle against imperialism, and the modern age with its overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy and establishment of a republic. These examples and their associated political climates can be compared to the rise of *‘āmmīyah* writing online and the political events and upheaval surrounding the events of 2011.

So it is against this backdrop that this study is presented in two parts: Part I presents a review of existing theoretical frameworks of Arabic, and a proposed theoretical framework for Arabic writing; while Part II presents

an application of the proposed framework on an online case study of an influential Facebook page at the time of the 2011 protests in Egypt, the 6th April Youth Movement Facebook page, as well as a review of other studies of online and print examples of 'mixed' Arabic writing. The term *fuṣḥá* is used to refer to the Modern Standard and Classical varieties of Arabic traditionally used in writing, while the term *'āmmīyah* is used to refer to the spoken variety, or varieties, known as 'colloquial' Arabic, and more specifically the Cairene dialect of Egypt, on which this study is focused.

To begin with, a literature review is presented in Chapter 2 covering three main areas related to this study: Arabic sociolinguistics, internet linguistics, and social media and the Arab Spring. In the field of Arabic sociolinguistics, a review of the major studies to date is presented: Ferguson's diglossia (1959), Badawi's Arabic language levels (1973), Educated Spoken Arabic (equivalent to the third of Badawi's (ibid.) five Arabic language levels) and Rickford's continuum theory as applied to Arabic by Hary (1996). I compare these with the findings of this study, and find that interestingly, the results of the continuum studies stem from native speakers' perceptions of only single words or single sentences, in some cases contradicting the findings of other studies of longer texts. This point is relevant because in this study, the argument for contextualisation when analysing written texts (of single words within a sentence as well as the wider text as a whole) leads to a very different conclusion about language use to other studies whose analysis is based on single-word distinctions. These findings are discussed more fully in Chapter 6. Finally in the literature review I present an overview of studies of *'āmmīyah* in writing, including:

- Middle Arabic (Bellem & Smith, 2014), a mixed literary style of writing predominant in the Middle Ages and found in texts up until the mid-nineteenth century
- *Zajal* poetry and early print newspapers from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, such as *Abū Naḍḍārah Zarqā* by Ya'qūb Ṣannū' and *al-Ustādh* by 'Abdallah al-Nadīm, with a comparison between the use of

*āmmiyyah* in these early nationalist papers and its use in online youth political activism today, made later in the same chapter

- Modern drama and fiction, which redefined modern Arabic writing and left a lasting legacy in the Arabic literary canon by such prominent writers as Tawfiq al-Hakim, Yusuf Idris and Yusuf Sibai, whose innovative writing styles are explored in more detail in Chapter 3. The role of gender in the use of *‘āmmīyah* is also explored in this section, referring to both the influence of gender on the use of *‘āmmīyah*, as well as the use of *‘āmmīyah* as an expression of female characters by male writers.

The section on internet linguistics includes Crystal's (2006) work on English internet linguistics and his definition of Netspeak, as well as studies of Arabic use online such as Aboelezz (2008) and the larger Spot On Public Relations (2010) study of social media use in the Arab World. Crucially, these studies of Arabic use online include non-Arabic language and script use by Arab users, whereas this study focuses on Arabic language in Arabic script only.

Finally, the section on social media and the Arab Spring looks at online youth political activism and the role of social media in the Arab Spring and traces the build up of activism for a decade prior to the events of 2011. The activism of Wael Ghonim and the Facebook page We are all Khaled Said (Ghonim, 2012) is compared with that of the 6th April Youth Movement and their Facebook page, particularly their choice of language and close collaboration. A further comparison is made between the online youth political activism of the early twenty first century, and that of the nationalist activists and the early print press in Egypt in the early twentieth century, a century apart but showing striking similarities in their use of *‘āmmīyah* to reach and strike a chord with their readers.

Part I is made up of two chapters: Chapter 3 is a review of existing theoretical frameworks for Arabic writing and Chapter 4 presents a new theoretical framework for written Arabic. Chapter 3 identifies three distinct writing styles of modern Arabic literary writers: *fuṣṣḥá*, *āmmīyah* and an intermediate level, with the salient feature of being neither wholly *fuṣṣḥá* nor wholly *‘āmmīyah*. Chapter 3 also presents a review of the literature on code-switching and mixing in speaking and writing, and translanguaging.

It explores in detail the concept of Intermediate Arabic and its application by three prominent writers: Tawfiq al-Hakim, Yusuf Sibai and Yusuf Idris, comparing and contrasting its definitions, usage and evolution between these writers. Next, it explores the concept of strategic bivalency (Mejdell, 2004) an overall style that is written in such a way that it can be read equally as either *fuṣṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah*, or both. The term *fuṣṣḥāmmīyah* (Rosenbaum, 2000) is also explored and finally, precedents for *‘āmmīyah* writing are presented, including the examples in Doss & Davies (2013).

Chapter 4 presents the proposed theoretical framework for Arabic writing as a set of ‘styles’ of Arabic writing based on the observations in Chapter 3, and assuming the Arabic language to be one, unified language with variations in style between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. The framework assumes the basis and majority of the two forms to be similar or the same, with a defined group of differences of varying degrees. Details of each category and subcategory are given, with examples of each.

Part II presents an application of the proposed theoretical framework on examples of contemporary language use, both online and in print. Chapter 5 is a case study of the 6th April Youth Movement Facebook page. The study’s methodology and findings are given, including the categorisation of the selected posts for analysis into clear groups that correspond to their respective language use. An analysis of examples in each category follows, with an assignment of a writing style to each, between MSA, IA and CWA. Chapter 6 is a comparative review of three mixed-style studies: Ramsay (2012), which examines language use in online blogs; Kosoff (2014), which analyses tweets from ten prominent Arabic Twitter users; and Håland (2017), which looks at code-switching in satirical writing. Ramsay’s findings about language use of online bloggers are found to correspond to the findings of the case study, Kosoff’s analysis of online tweets is reexamined in light of the proposed theoretical framework, and Håland’s findings are compared to the findings of this study and the proposed theoretical framework.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

This study is concerned primarily with the practical use of Arabic and takes a descriptive, rather than prescriptive view. As such, Arabic sociolinguistics is identified as a main relevant area of study and has been included in the literature review presented in this chapter. Secondly, the online content included in this study leads us to the field of internet linguistics, which has been instrumental in breaking down the language of the internet into defined areas of study. Finally, the role of social media and the Arab Spring as catalysts for the use of *āmmīyah* in online writing is another major area of study and as such is included in this literature review.

So the literature review for this study covers the three relevant areas to the topic of this study:

1. Arabic sociolinguistics
2. Internet linguistics
3. Social media and the Arab Spring

#### **2.1 Arabic sociolinguistics**

In order to understand the current state and usage of the Arabic language, it is important to understand the framework of linguistic and sociolinguistic studies relevant to it. In the case of the Arabic language, two main challenges appear on the linguistic and sociolinguistic scene, namely that it is a diglossic language spoken in more than twenty countries, each with their own regional and local varieties; and the prestige of the 'High' varieties, namely Classical Arabic and more recently Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which are the standard, formally-taught forms of Arabic. Badawi (2006) highlights the fact that whereas the "Qur'anic" variety of Arabic was previously the model for standard (spoken) Arabic, the language of the media is becoming the model for present-day educated and non-educated native Arabic speakers. Badawi has identified the media as a contemporary language model for MSA, so it follows that the language of Arabic media and its influence should be explored. It is worth noting that despite the fact that traditional news media does use MSA, the

language of the news varies from one region to another (Parkinson, 2010), and that Egyptian mass entertainment media uses colloquial Egyptian Arabic.

A further challenge is the lack of discourse analysis of Arabic, and the relative paucity of linguistic and sociolinguistic studies of contemporary Arabic language use. Although some work in the field of Arabic sociolinguistics has been carried out and is discussed below, Ryding (2006) and Badawi (2006) both confirm the lack and subsequent need for more discourse analysis. In El-Said Badawi's Foreword to the landmark book *Handbook for Arabic Language Teaching Professionals in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, he remarks that:

Modern learners face the unenviable task of trying to learn an ill-defined, ill-researched, socially diffused phenomenon whose properties and functions are badly and disparately understood by non-native and native speakers alike. The lack of clearly defined language objectives that the teaching profession is suffering from today is a function of the lack of a clear understanding (or at least appreciation) of the sociolinguistic role it plays in present-day Arab societies. (Badawi, 2006: ix)

Versteegh (1997) echoes this point and believes that the dialects have struggled to gain recognition as a "serious object of study" in the Arab world. He attributes this to the political significance of MSA as the unifying language of the Arabs and by contrast the interest of British orientalists in the various dialects, which came to be "symbols of the fragmentation of the Arab world" (Versteegh, 1997: 132). In fact, the first orientalist to push for teaching colloquial Arabic in schools and even to write Arabic in Latin script was Daniel Fiske in the late nineteenth century (Zack, 2014). Since then attempts to codify or push for writing in the colloquial language, particularly by non-native speakers of Arabic, have been met with suspicion (for example see the study of Saïd, 1964).

More recently however, Arabic dialectology has emerged as a field of study and emerging studies are paving the way for further research, including Al-Wer & Jong (2009) and Miller (2007).

Despite this lack of understanding of Arabic sociolinguistics, the studies and research discussed below have gone some way to describing the contemporary language situation. What these studies have established, however, is that MSA is the accepted form of writing despite its being a relatively unfamiliar variety of Arabic to native speakers, who learn their local dialect as their 'mother tongue' from the earliest age at home, and use it in most everyday situations albeit for spoken communication only.

In addition to spoken Arabic, colloquial Arabic writing is similarly under-researched (if not more so). Despite the predominance of MSA as the language of writing, publications in colloquial Arabic do exist and recent fields of study have emerged to focus on these, and are explored in further detail below.

### **2.1.1 Diglossia**

A term first introduced by William Marçais (1930), it gained further prominence after Charles Ferguson published his landmark article *Diglossia* to describe the situation in which "Two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play" (Ferguson, 1959: 325). Ferguson defines 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) super-imposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either in 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. (Ferguson, 1959: 336)

Ferguson describes the 'super-imposed' variety as the High (H) variety and the dialects as the Low (L) variety. Equating Ferguson's 'H' variety with MSA as the written, formal variety, and his 'L' with Egyptian Arabic, we see that MSA enjoys a higher status but that it is also the less familiar variety since it is learned formally and not acquired naturally like Egyptian Arabic.

However, in describing the features of diglossia, Ferguson identifies a third variety that falls in between the H and L varieties. He describes this as:

...a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary. (Ferguson, 1959: 332)

So although diglossia views the language as having two varieties, each with its own distinct features and uses, we see that this view is rather simplistic and that even a diglossic language has multiple levels and layers with overlapping features and even uses. This is perhaps the first identification of what has come to be known as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), which is explored further in the next section. In terms of online political writing, perhaps ESA is the best way of describing the type of language used, since it is not strictly MSA, nor is it purely dialectal, as we will see below. One of the effects of labelling Arabic as diglossic, is that studies of Arabic have tended to observe written and spoken Arabic separately, often assuming written Arabic to be constant and unchanging.

### 2.1.2 Arabic Language Levels

Badawi's (1973: 89) landmark study describes the contemporary Arabic language situation in Egypt and identifies five language levels:

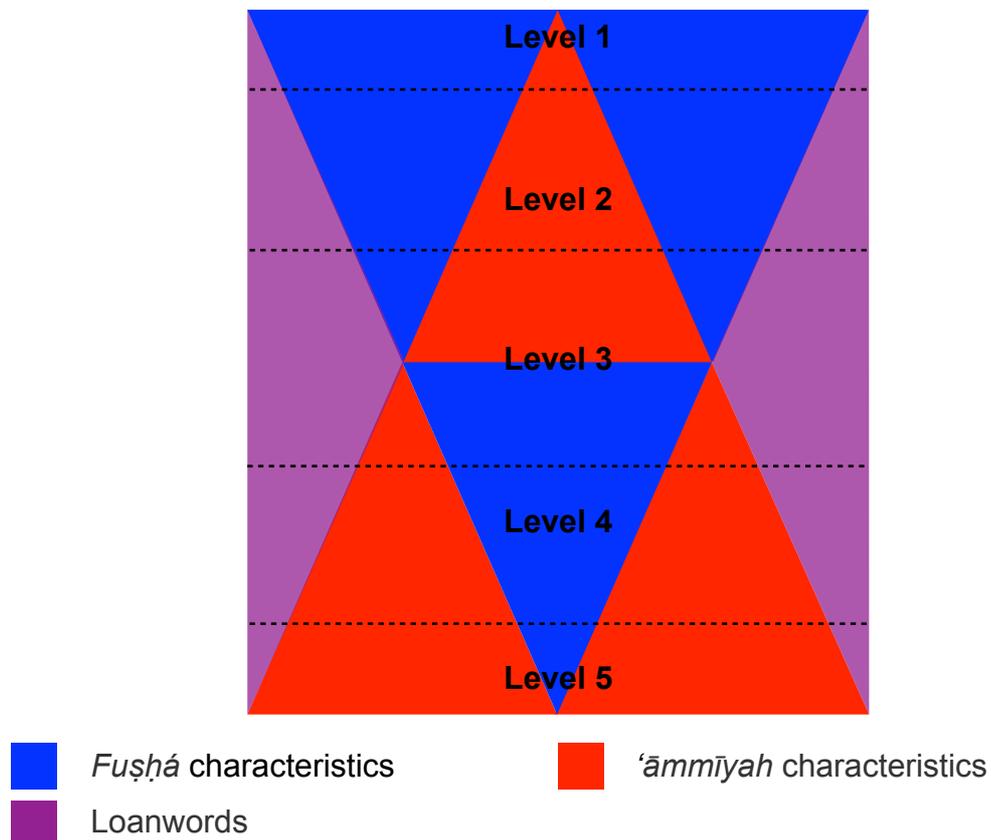
1. *fuṣḥá al-turāth* (Classical Arabic)
2. *fuṣḥá al-‘aṣr* (Modern Standard Arabic)
3. *‘āmmīyat al-muthaqqafīn* ('high' Educated Spoken Arabic)
4. *‘āmmīyat al-mutanawwirīn* ('low' Educated Spoken Arabic)
5. *‘āmmīyat al-‘ummīyyīn* (illiterate spoken Arabic)

A comparison can be drawn between Badwi's levels and Ferguson's. In fact, Holes (1995) views Badawi's levels as an expansion of Ferguson's High (H) and Low (L) levels:

Levels 1 and 2 [of Badawi's model] correspond to Ferguson's 'H', Levels 4 and 5 to his 'L', with Level 3 representing a bridge between them, and equating to his 'semi-formal' level. Badawi's terminology points to a fault-line in the continuum between Levels 2 and 3: whereas Level 2 is still *fuṣḥá*, Level 3 is *'āmmīyah*. His explanation is that while Level 2 may show dialectal phonological influences, its morphosyntactic base remains grammar-book *fuṣḥá*. Level 3, on the other hand, whilst it may show quite heavy use of *fuṣḥá*: vocabulary and phraseology and concomitant phonological and morphological influences, its syntactic systems – in particular word order, expression of mood and aspect, systems of negation and concord – remain non-standard. (Holes, 1995: 281)

As for the variances between each level, Badawi (ibid.: 97-119) finds that use of *fuṣḥá* characteristics is highest at level 1 and decreases as we move down the scale towards level 5, while conversely *'āmmīyah* characteristics are highest at level 5 and decrease as we move up the scale to level 1, as shown in Figure 2.1 below, based on Badawi's figures 3-4 (p. 104).

**Figure 2.1** Distribution of *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* characteristics between Badawi's levels.



Interestingly, as can be seen from the figure, Badawi does not define level 1 as pure *fuṣḥá* i.e. without any *‘āmmīyah* characteristics, and vice versa, since he claims one can determine a native Arabic speaker’s country of origin through their pronunciation, even when speaking in pure *fuṣḥá*, or level 1, and in even in writing, where regional influences are found in the choice of some lexis. This shows that some *‘āmmīyah* influence can be found even at the highest level of *fuṣḥá*, and that ‘pure’ *fuṣḥá* has become an ideal, rather than reality. This is significant, as although Badawi is primarily describing the spoken form of the language, this type of influence (*‘āmmīyah* in *fuṣḥá* and vice versa) can also be observed in written language, as will be seen in Chapter 3 below.

Examples of some of the characteristics of each language type are given by Badawi as follows:

- \* **Phonological:** the *fuṣḥá* pronunciation of *q*, is found in level 1, decreasing as we go down to level 3 and disappearing altogether by level 5 (with the exception of one word: *al-qur’ān*); conversely the *‘āmmīyah* pronunciation of *q* as *hamzah* is found in level 5, increasing as we go up the scale to level 3 (it is hardly ever found in level 2, and not found at all in level 1).
- \* **Syntactic:** generally speaking the V-S order preference is found in level 1, while the S-V order preference is found in levels 4-5. More or less equal preference is found in level 2; and in level 3 there is a S-V preference with the exception of the passive voice, which tends to prefer V-S order.
- \* **Borrowing:** use of foreign words is found unreservedly in level 3, followed by level 2 (mainly for scientific and technological terms that have no *fuṣḥá* equivalent); level 1 has some historical loanwords (opposed to new or modern ones); and some foreign words are found in level 4 (mainly names of household items, clothes and beauty products); while very few are found in level 5 (restricted mainly to words that have been absorbed into *‘āmmīyah* through wider society, such as *ماتش* (*mātsh*, ‘match’), *جراج* (*garāj*, ‘garage’) and *تليفون* (*tilifūn*, ‘telephone’).

In these levels and the description of their characteristics we see a development in Arabic sociolinguistics from a simplistic diglossic model

with two language levels, H and L, towards a more sophisticated model that attempts to explain the multiple and at times overlapping layers of the Arabic language. This view of the language, with its interactions and overlaps, mirrors that of this study of written Arabic. It has also raised another area identified for further study, which is that of the different types of continua, since it is possible to have continua where there is clustering of occurrences around particular points or in particular areas. Apparently, this is something which occurs in prosody but is outside the scope of this study. Criticisms of Badawi's model have been made, such as Versteegh's (2014) claim that "the association with socio-economic groups that Badawī proposes is doubtful. There is not much empirical research on the social distribution of speech levels in Egypt, or for that matter in any Arab country" (ibid; 244). Also Elgibali (1985), who showed that "only the upper and lower level (Ferguson's H and L, Badawī's level V and I) could be called discrete levels with a characteristic set of features. The middle part of the continuum cannot be divided into separate levels" (Versteegh, 2014; 244). This shows that like Ferguson's (1959) diglossic model, Badawi's (1973) model provided a platform from which further sociolinguistic study could emerge and build on them, in the absence of a theoretical framework for contemporary Arabic use.

### **2.1.3 Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)**

Out of the five levels identified by Badawi (1973) above, it is the middle level 3 (ESA) that has been the subject of many further studies that aim to identify its salient features. The identification of ESA has been a significant development in the field of Arabic linguistics and sociolinguistics, as the form of language used by educated native Arabic speakers. Al-Husari (1985: 283) describes ESA as a spoken language that has developed in 'educated environments' in all Arab countries that has acquired many of the characteristics of Standard Arabic (*fuṣṣḥá*) while avoiding many of those of colloquial Arabic (*'āmmīyah*). Conversely, Wilmsen (2006: 130) describes ESA as essentially *'āmmīyah* with some of the more formal and technical lexicon borrowed from *fuṣṣḥá*. Wilmsen's view seems to echo that of Ferguson and Holes, mentioned above. Mazraani (1997) believes ESA is the result of the spread of literacy:

The spread of literacy saw the emergence of a new elite that felt unhappy about MSA as an expressive tool, inadequate for many aspects of modern life, while the dialect, suitable for mundane needs, was deemed equally inadequate. ... The urge to develop a modern spoken idiom which could be understood at all levels of the population resulted in the emergence of Educated Spoken Arabic, which has been given different names by different observers. ESA was, moreover, officialized and legitimized in the fifties and sixties through the speeches of politicians such as Gamal Abdul Nasser” (Mazraani, 1997: 12).

Mazraani refers to Nasser as the first known Arab politician to take advantage of the language situation in Egypt. Prior to Nasser, political speeches were delivered in *fuṣḥá*. However, Nasser often mixed *‘āmmīyah* with *fuṣḥá* in his speeches for oratorical effect. The result was a highly effective rhetoric that resonated well with ordinary Egyptians. Since then, other Arab leaders such as the former Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and the former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, followed suit and it has become not only acceptable but also desirable for Arab politicians to use local dialects for rhetorical effect in their political speeches.

Nasser’s use of ESA has particular resonance when viewed alongside the young political activists of today, and their use of *‘āmmīyah* in their online writing. At different points in time, both have paved the way for using colloquial Arabic for political effect - Nasser in speeches and the activists in writing.

In terms of use and function, it is widely accepted that ESA is used in formal contexts such as academia and political speeches. In fact, Holes (1995: 283) describes the language employed by Nasser, known for the strength of his rhetoric, as switching between Levels 2 and 3 of Badawi’s model; using mainly Level 3 (ESA) with a heavily Cairene dialect for rhetorical effect. Holes believes that Nasser was the first to “go against the grain of the traditions of formal public speaking which had lasted until as late as the mid 1950s”. In fact, Holes states that since Nasser, both Muammar Gaddafi and Saddam Hussein frequently used ESA to deliver their speeches, further highlighting that it was Nasser who “broke this oratorical mould”.

ESA is also used by educated Arabic speakers in informal contexts. Although many of the studies of ESA have focused on its use in Egypt and particularly in Cairo, such as Schmidt (1974), Schulz (1981), Mitchell (1986, 1990), Mitchell and El-Hassan (1994), Haeri (1996) and Badawi (1973); Holes (1995) and Abdel-Jawad (1981) confirm that ESA is also used in Bahrain and Jordan respectively. Holes states that:

in a conversation between a group of educated Bahraini acquaintances, the dialectal base will be Bahraini ... it is unlikely that any group of Bahrainis talking relaxedly among themselves, or indeed any group from any other single speech community, would deviate markedly from the local linguistic common denominator, that is, the dialectal features which they all share. This means that the phonology, morphology and sentence syntax would be dialectal virtually whatever they were talking about; choice of vocabulary however, which depends much more directly on topic, would be more variable ... We are, in other words, talking about a Bahraini incarnation of Badawi's Level 3 'the colloquial of the educated' [ESA]. (Holes, 1995: 287-8)

Holes' view supports the notion that ESA is essentially *'āmmīyah* with some *fuṣḥā* lexicon and that this is true across different Arabic speaking countries, not just in Egypt. This observation has been made in this study below with regards to some forms of the written language that appear to have the structure and lexicon of ESA.

#### **2.1.4 Arabic language continuum/multiglossia**

The concept of the language continuum was developed with reference to creole and pidgin languages by Rickford (1987). However, Hary (1996) found that the concept could be applied to Arabic, and conducted a small study to observe patterns of perception of Arabic speakers with regards to intermediate forms and their hypothetical place on the continuum. Interestingly, to investigate a continuum, it is probably necessary to break it up into separate categories, imposing an 'arbitrary but appropriate' division (Hjelmslev 1953: 24-25).

Although the continuum concept, like diglossia and Badawi's levels discussed above, is primarily concerned with the spoken form of the language, *'āmmīyah*, it is nonetheless worth noting some of the main

findings regarding the intermediate form of Arabic, since it is speakers' exposure to the spoken form (with all its attributes, from formal *fuṣṣḥá* to informal *'āmmīyah*), that have undoubtedly influenced their language choices in writing, which is the focus of this study.

Generally speaking, studies of variation in spoken Arabic tend to focus on variation between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* words (such as رأى *ra'ā*, 'to see', used in *fuṣṣḥá* and شاف *shāf*, 'to see', used in *'āmmīyah*), as well as intermediate forms, including theoretical hybrids, such as the *fuṣṣḥá* verb رأيتَه ('I saw him') pronounced *ra'e:tuh* with a *'āmmīyah*-style diphthong, or the *'āmmīyah* verb شفته ('I saw him') pronounced *shuftuhu* with the *fuṣṣḥá*-style vocalisation. In writing however, these finer points of pronunciation are less immediately obvious, rendering much of the shared vocabulary between the Standard and non-Standard/colloquial forms in intermediate or mixed-style writing as ambiguous, or open to interpretation.

Hary's (ibid.: 83) relevant findings of the intermediate variety which exists theoretically on the continuum between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* extremes either side, are as follows:

- \* *Fuṣṣḥá* markers are not compatible with *'āmmīyah* elements, or with elements that are perceived as *'āmmīyah* - this is relevant to this study as the main argument for contextualising shared forms in mixed-style writing, where an identifiable *fuṣṣḥá* word or marker renders that section of text as *fuṣṣḥá*, and vice versa.
- \* Some *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* markers can go unnoticed by native speakers - this is significant as although it relates to the pronunciation of orthographically identical words, it shows that native speakers' perceptions do not always match the expectation or 'rules' of *fuṣṣḥá*/*'āmmīyah* forms, which could help to explain some of the mixed-style writing we see today.
- \* The results stem from native speakers' perceptions of single words or single sentences, in some cases contradicting the findings of other studies of longer texts. This is relevant because in this study, the argument for contextualisation when analysing written texts (of single words within a sentence as well as the text as a whole) leads to a very

different conclusion about language use to other studies whose analysis is based on single-word distinctions, as will be seen in Chapter 6 below.

### **2.1.5 ‘*āmmīyah* in writing**

Traditionally, studies of written Arabic have tended to assume that the language of writing is *fuṣḥá* (Modern Standard, if not Classical, Arabic). Some notable exceptions have been found in modern poetry and prose literature, but studies of these are limited and even where writers themselves have made an explicit case for their using ‘*āmmīyah* in their writing, very little systematic linguistic or sociolinguistic analysis has been applied to their works. On the contrary, writing in anything other than the accepted form of Standard Arabic has at times been met with derision.

However, recent studies have emerged looking at what has been described as ‘Middle’ or ‘Mixed’ Arabic (Bellem & Smith, 2014; and Mejdell, 2014). These studies cover works from the Middle Ages until the present day, showing that mixing ‘*āmmīyah* and *fuṣḥá* Arabic in writing existed long before the advent of the internet or even modern drama and literature. Additionally, a recent publication by Doss & Davies (2013) has documented various forms of (Egyptian) ‘*āmmīyah* writing, from 1401 to 2009. Again this shows that writing in ‘*āmmīyah* has a long, albeit less well-known history.

It is clear to anyone reading in Arabic today that writing in ‘*āmmīyah*, or using some form of ‘mixed’ Arabic has become widespread, whether online or in print. Documenting these forms of writing has become imperative, as has the need to look more closely at the writing styles and strategies used by writers, contemporary and historical, in order to gain a better, more accurate and vital understanding of this complex aspect of Arabic writing.

What follows is an outline of some of the historical examples of ‘*āmmīyah* writing that have been found, in an attempt to start to trace the history, trends and development of ‘*āmmīyah* writing.

#### **2.1.5.1 Middle Arabic**

Middle Arabic generally refers to a style of writing that is both linguistically and historically in the ‘middle’: linguistically it is essentially *fuṣḥá* (Classical Arabic), with some ‘*āmmīyah* features, as well as the more

intriguing features that belong neither to *fuṣṣḥá* nor *‘āmmīyah* (Bellem & Smith, 2014); while the texts that have been identified as written in this style generally date to the Middle Ages. However, Bellem & Smith (ibid.) reject the term ‘Middle Arabic’ and prefer ‘Literary Mixed Arabic’ (LMA). Despite this rejection, it is not clear that this style appears outside of this historical period, or beyond the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore the adoption of the term ‘literary’, implying lack of temporal restriction, may not be accurate, since a distinctive feature of Middle Arabic is the third category of features that fall neither within Classical/Standard Arabic, nor Spoken Arabic, which does not seem to have been identified in modern Arabic literature. The ‘mixed’ style of Arabic found in modern texts contains elements from both Standard and Spoken Arabic (and many shared elements between them) and are identifiable as such, but do not seem to contain elements that are **neither *fuṣṣḥá* nor *‘āmmīyah***. Further, modern mixed writing, as will be discussed further in Chapter 3 below, follows different stylistic patterns, such as distinctly *fuṣṣḥá* narrative and *‘āmmīyah* dialogue in some cases, or other forms of inter-sentential code-switching in others. The distinct feature of LMA, i.e. its use of forms that are neither Standard nor Spoken, but an intra-sentential mix of the two, is as yet not fully understood - these forms were initially seen to be grammatical mistakes, but are currently being reanalysed as a deliberate stylistic choice, the patterns and origins of which are only beginning to be explored. This can be said of modern mixed Arabic texts, which although composed of mixed language, do not appear to involve mixing as a result of mistakes made in writing, and in which the mixing does not appear to be random but follows clear inter-sentential patterns of and motivations for switching as shown in this study. Another feature of LMA is that *fuṣṣḥá* seems to dominate the style, with many *‘āmmīyah* features mixed into the *fuṣṣḥá* base. This is not always the case for modern mixed Arabic, where the base can be *fuṣṣḥá* with clear, typographically marked instances of borrowing of a single foreign or *‘āmmīyah* lexical item or inter-sentential code-switching to *‘āmmīyah*, such as direct speech quotes or dialogue and some newspaper headlines; or the text base can be seen to be predominantly *‘āmmīyah* with an initial code-switch from *fuṣṣḥá*. Lastly, it

would appear that Judeo-Christian MA texts may have a greater proportion of *'āmmīyah*-type features (ibid.). Although a comparison between modern-day mixed texts by Christian and Muslim authors is beyond the scope of this study, most of the examples and the case study presented in the following chapters are written by Muslim writers, which indicates that modern-day mixing has been adopted as a general feature of writing, regardless of the writer's religious identity.

#### **2.1.5.2 *Zajal* poetry and early print media**

The earliest examples of *'āmmīyah* writing as a genre are found in *zajal* poetry, which started to appear in nationalist newspapers in the late 19th century. The appearance of *zajal* poetry in newspapers is closely tied with the Egyptian nationalist movement and the nationalist newspapers soon started to adopt *'āmmīyah* writing for some of their articles, in order to reach the uneducated masses who were illiterate and relied on public readings of these newspapers. The first of these papers were *Abū Naḍḍārah Zarqā* by Ya'qūb Ṣannū' and *al-Ustādh* by 'Abdallah al-Nadīm. A comparison of the use of *'āmmīyah* in these nationalist papers and in online youth political activism is made in this chapter below.

#### **2.1.5.3 Modern drama and fiction**

The use of *'āmmīyah* in poetry and print media paved the way for later writers in the mid-twentieth century to use elements of *'āmmīyah* in their plays, novels and short stories, such as the leading Egyptian writers Muhammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Tawfiq al-Hakim and Yusuf Idris, and the Sudanese writer Tayeb Salih (Dickins, 2002: 84 and Holes, 1995: 304-9). The language use of some of these writers is discussed further in Chapter 3 below. Now with the advent of the internet, there has been a notable rise in the use of *'āmmīyah* in writing for various purposes, which this study aims to investigate.

#### **2.1.5.4 The role of gender in *'āmmīyah* writing**

In at least two works referred to as part of this study, there have been references made to the need for writing in *'āmmīyah* either to express the way a female character would speak or to target a readership of women. It seems that the historic lack of education available to women played a

part in motivating (predominantly male) writers to write in *‘āmmīyah*. Examples of this include:

- \* ‘Abdallah al-Nadīm (1843/44-1896): al-Nadīm published articles written in *‘āmmīyah* in his magazine, *al-Ustādh*, which he justified as needed for the ‘refinement’ of women and children (Doss & Davies, 2013: 75).
- \* Farah Anton (1874-1922): in his play *Miṣr al-Jadīdah* Anton writes that he has used a ‘middle language’ for the female characters specifically, described as ‘neither *fuṣḥá* nor *‘āmmīyah*’, but a ‘simplified *fuṣḥá* or enlightened *‘āmmīyah*’ (Badawi, 1973: 70).

Bassiouney (2013) found that studies of linguistic variation in relation to gender in the Arab world show “that women sometimes do not have access to education and professional life to the same extent as men do and thus their use of [*fuṣḥá*] is less than that of men” (p. 161). Further, “when women have a choice between the prestigious urban variety, a rural variety and [*fuṣḥá*], they are more prone to choose the urban variety” (ibid.). This seems to support the view held by the writers above that women are less likely to speak in *fuṣḥá*, or even understand it, perhaps due to lack of mastery caused by lower access to education.

However, in two studies of cross-dialectal conversations between highly educated (degree-level or higher and proficient in a second language, English) native Arabic speakers, gender was again found to influence linguistic choice, with male participants borrowing more from *fuṣḥá* than their female counterparts, despite their high levels of education (Abu-Melhim, 1992; and Soliman, 2014).

The sociolinguistic studies mentioned above are part of an established body of literature that deals with Arabic language use in its spoken and written forms, and there are many aspects of these that can be applied to online writing with regards to the use of *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* forms, and the ways in which mixing occurs between the two. However, since these studies do not deal directly with online writing, it is worth taking a look at the general literature about internet linguistics, as presented in the next section below.

## **2.2 Internet linguistics**

David Crystal (2006) coined the term 'internet linguistics' to describe the vast new medium for language use that is the internet. Since the internet is the same medium used all over the world regardless of the language used, Crystal's observations about language use online in English, can be a good starting point for observing internet linguistics in Arabic, especially since there do not appear to have been any major studies of Arabic internet linguistics.

With regards to studies of Arabic use on the internet, these seem mainly concerned with the use of Latin script to write in Arabic online, a practice that arose from the technological limitations of writing in Arabic. More recently writing in Arabic script has become much more widespread due to technological advances in both hardware and software, and studies into Arabic language use online have started to appear that focus on, or include, writing in Arabic script. These studies are mainly small-scale and focus on one particular aspect of language use, or on one particular platform with a limited number of users. New Arabic online corpora have helped researchers start to analyse the vast amounts of Arabic language data online, such as the arTenTen Corpus of the Arabic Web<sup>2</sup>.

### **2.2.1 English Internet linguistics**

Crystal (2006) recognises there are a number of misconceptions surrounding the use of language online and the effect writing online is having on language in general. As a linguist, he sets out to take an objective look at the language of the internet and demythologise some of the unfounded and yet widespread concerns about the internet and the English language. The same can be said for any language that is used online and certainly the same misconceptions about the corruption of language have been argued about the Arabic language. Before the Egyptian revolution of 2011, the internet and particularly social networking were not taken seriously by the authorities – partly at least due to the

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<sup>2</sup> Available from <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/artenten-arabic-corpus/> [Accessed 30 January 2018]

informal nature of online communication as well as the informal language used.

Crystal further points to a number of research challenges that any internet linguistics study will encounter, including the sheer amount of data available on the internet, which “contains more written language than all the libraries in the world combined” (2006, p.10) and continues to expand daily. There is also the diversity of the language encountered on the internet and the stylistic range: from webpages and email to social networking, which makes it difficult to generalise. Additionally, there is the speed of change with new technologies and communicative opportunities being created every day, which creates with it new forms of language and new data to be analysed. There is also the very specific dating of webpages, making it easy to be too specific with data collection between certain dates or even times, anonymity and the difficulty of collecting personal emails for example for analysis. This leads to ethical considerations such as what is considered public and what is private information? All of these considerations have been made for the purposes of this study and they are discussed further in Part II below.

With regards to the question of whether Netspeak is in fact closer to written or spoken language, Crystal considers the internet as a new electronic or digital medium of language, which he lists as a fourth medium after speech, writing and signing. He concludes that while it has differences and similarities with both writing and speech, it is a new medium in itself, worthy of research. A similar argument could be made for Arabic as for English (or any other language): that the variety of language used online has similarities and differences to the spoken and written forms of the language (*‘āmmīyah* and *fuṣḥá*), and that it is worthy of study and research as a separate form of the language.

Crystal approaches the language of the internet by breaking it up and exploring language use in its various domains, and builds his chapters around the language of each domain, such as the language of email, the language of chatrooms, etc. This does not appear to have been attempted previously for Arabic, and has been identified as an area for further research.

### 2.2.2 Arabic Internet linguistics (studies of Arabic language use online)

Due in part to the availability (or lack) of Arabic language software until relatively recently, studies of online activity and language use in the Arab world seem to focus on the use of 'Latinised' or Roman script Arabic as opposed to writing in Arabic script, as well as the mixing of other languages such as English and French, with Arabic. Latinised or Roman script Arabic is when users type what they want to say in Arabic using Latin or Roman characters and is popular on the internet, especially when Arabic language software or hardware is unavailable.

These studies have found that when using Latinised or Roman script Arabic, users prefer to use the spoken form of Arabic (*'āmmīyah*) over the traditional written form of *fuṣḥá*. One of those studies (Aboelezz, 2008: 4) states that:

[diglossia] presents a complexity when dealing with LA [Latinised Arabic], as the Latinised form of Arabic is often the spoken form, which essentially reflects the regional variety that the user/speaker is accustomed to (Bianchi, 2006).

This supports the idea that in their diglossic language situation, the form of choice for Arabic language internet users is the spoken form of Arabic, *'āmmīyah*, as opposed to the more formal standard form of *fuṣḥá*. This shows that although people are writing on the internet, they are not using the traditionally accepted form of writing; instead they are bringing the traditionally spoken form of the language into the written realm.

There have also been ensuing print publications from original online pieces of writing, such as personal blogs, which show that this new form of written Arabic is spilling over from the virtual realm into the physical world of print. Although the idea of writing in colloquial Arabic is not new and several prominent authors have done this in the past, notably to write passages of dialogue in works of drama and fiction, it has not been usual for entire volumes of prose writing to be written and published in *'āmmīyah*. In fact, the status of *fuṣḥá* and its use for writing is so ingrained

in the Arab world and the minds of native Arabic speakers that even Younes (2006), who developed an integrated Arabic language teaching programme that includes teaching both *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* at Cornell University in the US, states that:

I believe that the main difference between Arabic and other languages resides in the unique status that the written version of the former enjoys for historical and religious reasons. It has not allowed, nor is it likely to allow at any time in the foreseeable future, the development of a writing system for any of the spoken dialects that closely reflects its structure. Any attempt at writing or codifying specific dialects is seen as a serious invasion of the territory of *fuṣṣḥā*, which is held in the utmost esteem by the overwhelming majority of Arabs. (Younes, 2006: 165).

The younger generation of internet users seem to have bypassed this convention and organically developed a writing system for the spoken dialect, based apparently largely on existing ‘normal’ ways of writing *‘āmmīyah* – e.g. what people have done for generations in writing postcards, etc. – and adopting these. And although they would likely claim the same esteem and regard for *fuṣṣḥá*, they do not (whether consciously or otherwise) tend to use it exclusively in writing online. Although the overwhelming majority of printed texts continue to be in *fuṣṣḥá*, we have seen that the popularity of online media is overtaking that of print media, and now that there have been publications originating online being published as physical books, the language of the online media is being adopted in print. If this trend continues, we will see an increase in the number of print publications that are not *fuṣṣḥá*, since it does not appear that a formal process of ‘translating’ online content into *fuṣṣḥá* for print is taking place in the same way as spoken Arabic is ‘translated’ into *fuṣṣḥá* in the state-controlled press. In that case, *fuṣṣḥá* may cease to be the only major form of written Arabic in the future, given the popularity of the internet in general, and the preference of young activists to discuss their views online rather than in print. If traditionally Arabic news media were the newspapers and official news broadcasts, they now include online

blogs and news posted on social networks. In fact, a report published by the communications firm Spot On Public Relations claims that:

... there are more subscribers to social media service Facebook in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) than there are copies of newspapers circulated in the region. The report, 'Middle East and Africa Facebook Demographics', shows Facebook has over 15 million users in the region, while the total regional Arabic, English and French newspaper circulation stands at just under 14 million copies (Spot On Public Relations, 2010: 1).

The use of *'āmmīyah* for writing online and also in print as we have seen above, is a phenomenon that undoubtedly will need further attention and research, and can be considered to be the next pertinent area of study in Arabic linguistics and sociolinguistics. The role of the internet in our lives, and particularly social media, for Arabic at least, can be traced back to the defining moment of the Arab Spring and so the relevant literature is explored next in the section below.

### **2.3 Social media and the Arab Spring - the role of online political activism**

The role of social media in facilitating the popular protests of 2011 cannot be overstated, particularly the Facebook pages of the youth political group 6th April Youth Movement, who first called for protests on 25 January 2011 and who were echoed in their calls by another popular Facebook page, We are all Khalid Said (Ghonim, 2012). The role of these young people, through the internet alone, and specifically through social networking websites, was to mobilise thousands to take to the streets in physical (as opposed to virtual) protest.

In fact, a protest and opposition movement had been building up for a decade prior to 2011, with groups like Youth for Change, Tadamon, 6 April, We are all Khalid Said, and Baradei's National Society for Change, which were able to use information and communication technology to create an alternative political space, and develop innovative tools of organisation and mobilisation, in addition to adopting a cross-ideological

discourse, which allowed them to overcome the traditional weaknesses and divisions of the Egyptian opposition (Shehata, 2012).

The close relationship between the 6th April Youth Movement and We are all Khalid Said is important to note, as well as the similarities and differences between the two groups. Both are youth movements, consisting mainly of youth leadership and membership. While both groups describe themselves as non-political, 6 April can be seen to be the brains of the operation since they organised the protests, while We Are All Khalid Said was the mouthpiece, simply relating to its followers the information as organised by 6 April (Ghonim, 2012).

What is striking about both groups, and common amongst most internet pages, is the language used. The administrator of the We are all Khalid Said Facebook page, who at the time remained anonymous, explicitly chose to write in Egyptian *'āmmīyah* (Ghonim, 2012). The page has since been shut down, making it unfeasible if not impossible to view and analyse its content. In addition to its language use, this page made use of visual images that spread rapidly online, including an image of a smiling Khaled Said that started an important iconography of the revolution. Little is known about 6 April's conscious decisions regarding language use and its content seems to be written by more than one person from the group. However, given the pertinent role of 6 April before, during and immediately after the protests of January 2011, the group's Facebook page has been chosen as the object of this study.

It is interesting to note the parallels between these Facebook pages and Abdallah al-Nadim's magazine *al-Ustādh*, more than a century earlier. Firstly, their political activism: Abdallah al-Nadim was a prominent figure in the Egyptian nationalist movement and was arrested and exiled from Egypt in 1891-92 (Ramaḍān, 1994<sup>3</sup>). Similarly, the writers of the Facebook pages, Wael Ghomin of *We are all Khaled Said* and a prominent founder of the 6th April Youth Movement, Ahmed Maher, have

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<sup>3</sup> In his introduction to *Min Turāth 'Abdallah al-Nadīm: Majallat al-Ustādh*. [Online]. Published by Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyīyah al-'āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1994, pp.3-4. [Accessed on 03 February 2018]. Available from: <http://dar.bibalex.org/webpages/mainpage.jsf?PID=DAF-Job:119250>

been in self-imposed exile and imprisoned respectively, since the 2011 uprising. Secondly, their timing: both the Facebook pages and the magazine were set up at times of (and for the purposes of) political discord under authoritarian rule - the Facebook pages in the lead up to the 2011 protests against the Mubarak regime in Egypt, and the magazine at the time of the Egyptian nationalist movement and resistance against the British occupation of Egypt. Thirdly, their influence: Abdallah al-Nadim was an influential figure for the youth of his time<sup>4</sup> and certainly the Facebook pages had a great influence in mobilising the youth to take to the streets in protest in 2011 (Ghonim, 2012). Fourthly, and most notably for this study, is the language: al-Nadim, 6th April Youth Movement and Wael Ghonim (the writer behind the We are all Khaled Said Facebook page), all used firstly Arabic, at a time when English seemed to be predominant over Arabic (in the case of al-Nadim his use of Arabic was a retaliation against British rule and the imposition of English as the language of education<sup>5</sup>, in the case of the Facebook users it came at a time when English dominated the internet); secondly they all used *'āmmīyah* in their writing in order to reach as wide an audience as possible, and influence, even mobilise, a non-political, non-activist mass; thirdly the use of *'āmmīyah* was not ideologically driven, nor intended to be to the detriment or as a replacement of *fushḥá*, but rather a pragmatic choice, in order simply to reach the widest audience possible, that would have been traditionally excluded from political discourse and activism - a form of consequentialism whereby the end justifies the means. Interestingly, the difference in the educational levels of the audiences shows how use of *'āmmīyah* and perceptions of it have changed over the last century - in the early print newspapers it was used as a way to reach the illiterate, uneducated masses since people would gather around a

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<sup>4</sup> ibid

<sup>5</sup>In 'Abd al-Mun'im Ibrahīm al-Jumaymī's Analytical Study (*Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah*) in *Min Turāth 'Abdallah al-Nadīm: Majallat al-Ustādh*. [Online]. Published by Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyīyah al-'āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1994, pp.10-13. [Accessed on 03 February 2018]. Available from: <http://dar.bibalex.org/webpages/mainpage.jsf?PID=DAF-Job:119250>

'reader' reading aloud from a newspaper to hear the news, while in the case of the online activists their audience is literate as well as computer literate, implying some degree (if not a high degree) of education. So the present day use of *'āmmīyah* is not intended as a 'dumbing-down' of the language, but rather a way to reach the hearts of people, just as Nasser did in his political speeches (Mazraani, 1997).

After this exploration of the established literature in the relevant fields of Arabic sociolinguistics, internet linguistics and social media and the Arab Spring, the two main parts of the study are presented below. The first part presents the proposed theoretical framework of this study, followed by a practical application of the framework in the second part.

## **Part I**

### **Towards a theoretical framework**

### Chapter 3

#### Review of existing theoretical frameworks

This chapter looks at existing theoretical frameworks and analytical studies of 'mixed' language use, including code-switching in speaking and writing, in English and Arabic, as well as the more recent concept of translanguaging. In the literature review above, the established sociolinguistic frameworks introduced by Ferguson (1959) and Badawi (1973) were presented as both pinnacles of Arabic sociolinguistics and launchpads for subsequent studies of Arabic language use, particularly ESA. Studies looking at the practical aspects of ESA such as code-switching, are presented below, as well as the more recent sociolinguistic literature about translanguaging, which does not seem to have been applied to Arabic yet.

Additionally, an initial investigation as part of this study has revealed something of a trend in descriptions of some of the most prominent writers of *'āmmīyah*, namely, that they tend to have three different writing styles identified throughout their writing careers. The three styles have either been used in succession across the writers' careers, or deployed strategically within the same work to suit different purposes. Among this group of writers, Farah Anton, Tawfiq al-Hakim and Yusuf Sibai, as well as others including contemporary influential online bloggers, have variously been described as having three distinct writing styles: ***fuṣḥá*** (that is exclusive use of *fuṣḥá* with perhaps the exception of a few words or phrases that are usually highlighted between quotation marks or brackets), ***āmmīyah*** (either exclusively or alongside *fuṣḥá*, for example for the dialogue alongside the narrative in literary works), and something of an **intermediate** level that is either described as a simplified *fuṣḥá*, a mix of *'āmmīyah* and *fuṣḥá*, or something else, with the salient feature of being neither wholly *fuṣḥá* nor wholly *'āmmīyah* and therefore something in-between, often the result of a writer's internal struggle with the language situation, between appeasing the writing establishment and writing in *fuṣḥá* and wanting to write more freely and naturally using *'āmmīyah*. In spoken Arabic, this style could be perhaps most closely associated with what has come to be known as ESA. Intermediate Arabic

is looked at more closely in the last part of this chapter in order to begin to define what it is and how it is identified and achieved.

### **3.1 Code-switching and mixing**

Gumperz (1982) defines conversational code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982, p.59). Gumperz notes that code-switching occurs between two subsequent sentences or within a single sentence (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 59-60). Gumperz further states that bilingual code-switching has often been stigmatised and thought to be the result of poor mastery of one of the language codes. However, his study shows that “code switching does not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question” (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 64-5).

In Arabic, code-switching may occur between Arabic and a foreign language (such as French or English), or between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. Studies of code-switching in Arabic tend to focus on speaking, with a smaller number of studies investigating code-switching in writing. The major studies of code-switching in Arabic speech have been identified as Eid (1988), which established the principles for code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*; Bassiouney (2006), with a focus on motivations for and functions of code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*; and Mejdell (2006), which added empirical evidence to the concept of the Arabic language continuum (Kaye, 2010).

This section is in two parts: the first provides a general overview of the main findings of the *fuṣḥá-‘āmmīyah* code-switching studies by Eid (1988), Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006); the second looks at code-switching in writing studies.

#### **3.1.1 Code-switching in speaking**

Several code-switching studies have shed light on consistent code-switching patterns, such as Eid (1988), Bassiouney (2006) and Albirini (2011). The overarching findings point towards a tendency for code-switching to occur intra-sententially in speaking, that is within a sentence. The question of

ambiguous, overlapping, or homophonous words in Arabic that can be said to belong equally to *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* is addressed in each of the studies and approached in different ways. For example, in determining the focal (switch) points in her study, Eid (1988) disregards switches at ambiguous words and includes only those from clearly one group or the other. Bassiouney (2006) concludes that the sheer amount of mixed content between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* constrained her application of the Myers-Scotton matrix language frame model (MLF) to Arabic. It is not clear that there has been any direct approach to investigating this group of ambiguous words in code-switching studies so far. As for motivations for code-switching, studies have often focused on specific situations, such as political discourse, where “there is a direct relation between change of role [in relation to the audience] and change of code. [...] The speaker will usually choose a linguistic code in order to convey her or his aim” (Bassiouney, 2013, pp.72-73), using MSA to establish an authoritative role, and switching to colloquial to a ‘friend’ or fellow citizen (Bassiouney, 2013, pp.74-6) - using MSA to state abstract facts and then explaining them in colloquial (Bassiouney, 2013, p.83). The ultimate aim in political discourse is persuasion, which is achieved through code-switching (Bassiouney, 2013, p.85). It is also important to note that in general code-switching literature nowadays, the question of code choice is often put as down to the speaker, rather than the situation, as per Ferguson (1959), as confirmed by Bassiouney (2013).

### **3.1.1.1 Principles of Code-Switching (Eid, 1988)**

Eid conducted two breakthrough studies into diglossic code-switching in Arabic speech (1982 and 1988). The earlier study “examined the linguistic performance of educated speakers in Egypt as represented in a number of interviews and panel discussions aired over Cairo radio and television in 1978.” (Eid, 1988, p.53). This speech can be described as ESA, the equivalent of Badawi’s (1973) level 3. This level is arguably the most interesting linguistically, since it includes the highest level of mixing between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* forms. Eid (1988) found that “all participants without exception alternated in their use of Egyptian and Standard Arabic,

switching from one variety to the other in what appeared to be a very 'natural' and appropriate mode of communication" (Eid, 1988, pp.53-4).

One of the first and most significant findings of the earlier study is that diglossic code-switching in Arabic is not random, as it had been thought to be. Secondly, it identified four 'focal points' at which a switch can occur, by examining four syntactic constructions: relative clauses, subordinate clauses, tense and verb constructions, and negative and verb constructions. Eid found that switches can occur freely (i.e. in both *fuṣṣḥá*->'*āmmīyah* and '*āmmīyah*->*fuṣṣḥá* directions) **before** a focal point, but that they were more constrained **after** a focal point. Specifically, if a focal point is *fuṣṣḥá*, it must be followed immediately by a *fuṣṣḥá* element. Where a focal point is '*āmmīyah*, it can be followed by a '*āmmīyah* or *fuṣṣḥá* element, except after the negative, meaning that a *fuṣṣḥá* verb cannot follow a '*āmmīyah* negative, since the tense in *fuṣṣḥá* is carried by the negative, not the verb itself. For example, *مش بيقرا* (*mish biyi'rā*, 'isn't reading') is acceptable but not *مش يقرأ* (*mish yaqra*, 'not reading').

Significantly, Eid (1988) made a methodological decision to disregard ambiguous forms (forms identical in both varieties) so that conclusions were "based on cases that were clearly identifiable as belonging to one or the other variety" (Eid, 1988, p.56). It is not clear how many of these forms were disregarded, but this differs from the approach taken in Chapters 5 and 6 of this study, which is to take into account the context of ambiguous forms in order to determine how to categorise them. Another point of difference between this study and Eid's is that Eid does not address the question of motivations for code-switching, focusing only on the linguistic aspects of the switches, whereas this study finds clear motivations in instances of code-switching in Chapters 5 and 6 below. The fact that Eid examined diglossic code-switching in speaking while this study is concerned with diglossic code-switching in writing is worthy of note at this point, since ambiguous forms (those shared between *fuṣṣḥá* and '*āmmīyah*) are much more easily disguised in writing - especially if it is the writer's intention to do so, and possibly more difficult to assign to either category, since potential phonetically distinguishing features may be lost in apparently orthographically identical words. That is why this

study argues that context and apparent motivations must be taken into consideration in assigning ambiguous forms to either category. Conversely, in speaking, instances of *fuṣṣḥá* words spoken with *‘āmmīyah* pronunciation (such as a diphthong for the pronunciation of *ra'aytu* as *ra'e:t*) pose a similar issue in terms of categorisation between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. Eid treats these as an 'intermediate' variety and disregards them for the purposes of identifying clear switch points.

In her later study, Eid (1988) explains her earlier findings with two underlying principles of code-switching: the **Contradictory Effect Constraint** (CEC) whereby switching is “not permitted if the grammars of the two language varieties involved include contradictory conditions ... that cannot be satisfied immediately” (Eid, 1988, p.74) and the **Directionality Constraint** (DC) where “if the focal point is from [*fuṣṣḥá*], switching to [*‘āmmīyah*] would not be permitted at the position immediately after that focal point” (Eid, 1988, p.74).

Examples of switches given (Eid, 1988, pp.58-61) include the following:

1. Acceptable switching before a focal point (*‘āmmīyah* -> *fuṣṣḥá*):

في الطرف الطارق ده الذي لن يستمر

(*Fī il-ṣarf il-tāriq dah al-ladhī lan yastamirr*, 'in this urgent situation that will not continue)

The focal point in this example is the relative clause marker *الذي* (*al-ladhī*, 'that'), which is preceded by a *‘āmmīyah* clause (evidenced by the use of *ده*), but must be followed by a *fuṣṣḥá* clause, in this case *لن يستمر* (*lan yastamirr*, 'will not continue').

2. Acceptable switching before a focal point (*fuṣṣḥá* -> *‘āmmīyah*):

بالقضايا اللي بتواجهها مصر

(*Bi-al-qaḍāyā illī bitwāgihhā Maṣr*, 'with the issues that Egypt is facing')

Eid considers the focal point here to be the relative clause marker *اللي* (*illī*, 'that'), which is preceded by the *fuṣṣḥá* word *قضايا* (*qaḍāyā*, 'issues') pronounced in the transcript with an initial 'q' sound as opposed to replacing it with a glottal stop '*hamzah*' in *‘āmmīyah*.

3. Unacceptable switching after a *fuṣṣḥá* focal point:

في الوقت الذي بنعيشه دلوقتي

(*Fī al-waqt al-ladhī bin'īshuh dilwa'tī*, 'in the time that we are living')

In this example, based on responses from participants, Eid states it is unacceptable for the *fuṣḥá* focal point *الذي* (*al-ladhī*, 'that') to be followed by a switch to *'āmmīyah*.

4. Acceptable switch after *'āmmīyah* focal point:

دي اللي وقفت حياتها علينا

(*Dī illī waqafat ḥayat-ha 'ale:nā*, 'she who devoted her life to us')

**Table 3.1** Summary of Eid's code-switching principles

Switch position	Constraint
Before focal point	Free ( <i>'āmmīyah-fuṣḥá</i> , <i>fuṣḥá-'āmmīyah</i> )
After <i>'āmmīyah</i> focal point	Free except negative+verb (due to CEC)
After <i>fuṣḥá</i> focal point	<i>fuṣḥá-fuṣḥá</i> only; <i>fuṣḥá-'āmmīyah</i> not permitted (due to DC)

### 3.1.1.2 Mixing, and stylistic variation (Mejdell, 2011-12)

Mejdell's (2011-12) study is presented as a survey of the various models and approaches that have been applied to spoken mixed Arabic data, including diglossia and related diglossic/continuum models; and code-switching and mixing models, where bilingual models are adapted and applied to diglossic code-code-switching in Arabic; and suggests that the shared structures and forms of Arabic should receive more attention from analysts, as well as speakers' perceptions of their linguistic choices (Mejdell, 2011-12, p. 29).

Mejdell proposes moving from code-switching to stylistic variation as a framework for diglossic mixed data, where "the notion of style being the link between linguistic form and context rests on the assumption that a language community develops conventions for the language forms appropriate to various contexts" (Mejdell, 2011-12, p. 33), particularly speakers' perception of the degree of formality and degree of competence in the H variety, and whether the speech is planned or unplanned. Style variation is described as a matter of tendencies, rather than prescribed rules. In an earlier study, Mejdell (2006) compares mixed speech data in an attempt to identify variation patterns and despite not finding a pattern for the frequency of variation between speakers or contexts, she does find

a hierarchical preference for *fuṣṣḥá* variants in mixed speech. The highest level usage, or highest preference, was for the **attributive demonstrative**, followed by the **negative markers**, then the **relative marker** and/or **complementiser**. The lowest usage/preference was for pronoun suffixation. Mejdell found the same relative ordering in Bassiouney (2006) and Schulz (1981).

In word-internal mixing specifically, Mejdell also found common features in constraints on diglossic mixing in Arabic identified across a number of studies. Firstly, Petersen's (1988) Dominant Language Hypothesis (DLH) in which "dominant language (DL) grammatical items may combine with DL and with non-DL lexical items/stems, whereas non-DL grammatical items may only combine with non-DL lexical items." (Mejdell, 2011-12, p. 35). Similarly, in the MFL model, "ML system morphemes may combine with ML and EL [embedded language] content morphemes, whereas EL system morphemes may only combine with EL content morphemes" (Mejdell, 2011-12, p.35). Further, "[all] the data on diglossic word-internal mixing in Arabic appears to confirm the principle" (Mejdell, 2011-12, p.35). The theory can be applied to Arabic with the underlying assumption for native speakers of Arabic being that the DL or ML is *'āmmīyah*, with the non-DL, or EL, as *fuṣṣḥá*. With this in mind, it is significant as it resonates with the view discussed above that ESA is essentially an elevated form of *'āmmīyah*, with insertions of *fuṣṣḥá* vocabulary.

### 3.1.2 Code-switching in writing

Generally speaking, studies of written language mixing are far fewer than those of code-switching in speaking, as confirmed by Sebba (2012), who notes that despite the existence of a body of work in the field, that:

"To say that written multilingual discourse is under-researched is an understatement. [...] It has no independent theoretical framework; all linguistic research in this area to date which is not purely descriptive, has drawn on theoretical frameworks originally developed for spoken code-switching research" (ibid; 9)

Furthermore, Sebba notes that “published research tends to take the form of stand-alone papers, which typically deal with a single set of data [...] Book-length treatments are extremely rare” (Sebba, 2012, pp.9-10), and that much of the research remains unpublished as MA dissertations. He adds that the reasons for this neglect is firstly the monolingual bias that favours the study of a specific language, and secondly the lack of a coherent framework. He therefore proposes a new approach to written mixed-language discourse, that situates it “within a broader field which deals with the semiotics of mixed-language texts in the broadness sense” and “within a *literacy* framework, in order to understand the acts of writing, reading and language mixing within the context of of literacy *practices* of which they are a part” (italics in the original), and takes into account visual and spatial elements of the written form (Sebba, 2012, pp.10-11).

Sebba’s (2012) analytical framework is outlined below, along with Jonsson’s (2012) study in the same volume of code-switching in Swedish texts, focusing on the local and global functions of code-switching. Finally, with regards to diglossic code-switching between *fushá* and *‘ámmiyah* in written Arabic, Ibrahim’s (2010) study is included below as it identifies diglossic code-switching patterns in Egyptian opposition newspapers. The findings are relevant and applicable to wider patterns of diglossic code-switching in Arabic writing found in this study.

### **3.1.2.1 Analytical framework for multilingualism in written discourse (Sebba, 2012)**

Sebba (2012) presents a framework for the analysis of multilingual texts, in which there is a clear focus on multimodal texts (e.g. posters, signage, advertisements) and the visual and spatial elements within these. Sebba describes these texts as potentially multidimensional, containing both linguistic and visual dimensions. As such, Sebba identifies “at least two different ways in which languages can alternate within the same textual composition (such as a sign, advertisement or magazine article), reflecting degrees of integration or separation of the languages” (Sebba, 2012, p.25). These are **parallelism**, where the same content is repeated in the different languages, such a Welsh/English public sign, and **complementarity**, where the content between the languages is different,

and may contain intra- or inter-sentential code switches, such a Maltese governmental website which contains English and Maltese text, with various forms of mixing found on both the sentential and page level (Sebba, 2012, pp.26-28). This approach focuses on the visual aspects of multilingual texts, however it would seem that in the context of longer texts, such as articles or novels, these visual aspects are perhaps less prominent and therefore would require more of a focus on the content itself in relation to the switching patterns and motivations. This, along with Sebba's clear distinction between the use of discrete languages, such as Welsh and English, or Maltese and English, makes it unsuitable as a framework for analysis of diglossic switching in the case of Arabic, as *fushhá* and *'āmmīyah* are not discrete languages and applying these type of models can prove problematic, at least in part due to the large amount of (orthographically, if not phonologically) identical elements, as Bassiouney (2006) found when attempting to apply an established framework for spoken code-switching to Arabic, as discussed above.

Further, Sebba identifies 'units of analysis' (p.106-8) that cover language-spatial relationships (the spatial relationships between units of language), language-content relationships (where content language is either equivalent, different or overlapping), and **language mixing type**, referring to the type of mixing or indeed lack of mixing, of which he identifies **mixed units** (those containing elements from two or more languages and corresponding to the commonly-held prototype of code-switching in spoken language (namely that languages alternate inter- and/or intra-sententially); and **language-neutral units**, which "consist entirely of items that cannot be assigned exclusively to one language but belong equally to both (or all) the languages involved in the text. These tend to be smaller units, for example, words or headings. Brand names and other proper names often fall naturally into this category" (Sebba, 2012, p.108). It is these language-mixing types (mixed units and language-neutral units) that seem most applicable to the types of mixed-text found in Arabic, both in print and online. The visual aspects of multilingual texts (such as posters, advertisements, etc) fall outside of the scope of this study, but are an area identified for further investigation.

### **3.1.2.2 Local - global functions of code-switching in writing (Jonsson, 2012)**

Jonsson (2012) explores the motivations behind code-switching between Swedish and Finnish in Swedish novels across the multilingual text as a whole, and concludes that code-switching serves local as well as global functions (Auer, 1998, 1999); where the local functions exist on the textual level (in conversations and explanations for non-bilingual readers), and where the global functions are **power**, **identity** and **hybridity**, in “novels published in a setting in which a monolingual norm prevail ... and in which a high degree of code-switching has not been standard practice” (pp. 283-4).

On the function of power, she states that: “The use of code-switching is inextricably linked to the concept of power. Code-switching can be used to resist, challenge and transform power relations and domination, to make silent voices heard, [and] to legitimize a certain linguistic variety (e.g. minority languages, multiethnic varieties)” (p. 284).

Hybridity allows the setting up of a ‘third space’ where the relationship between two languages and/or cultures is reinforced, while at the same time maintaining a strong tie to the ‘home culture’. This is the space where new structures of authority and new political initiatives can be set up (p. 286).

These global functions have a particular resonance when considering online youth political activism in Arabic, and the effect that writing, particularly with regards to code-switching and use of the vernacular, had on achieving mass political protest, discussed further in Chapter 5 below.

### **3.1.2.3 Written code-switching in opposition newspapers (Ibrahim, 2010)**

Ibrahim’s (2010) study seems to be the first to examine dialectal code-switching in Arabic writing. Its focus on opposition newspaper headlines in Egypt is not surprising, since it is only after the 2011 protests that online writing, particularly online political writing, came under the spotlight. The study’s finding that the majority of identified switches are **inter-sentential** (p. 31), is significant, since as mentioned earlier, dialectal code-switching in speaking studies has tended to focus on intra-sentential switching (e.g.

focal points, which occur within the boundaries of a sentence) and even switches within the same word. So here we see the first major difference between code-switching patterns in writing and speaking. Given the fact that writing is always something of a 'deliberate', 'planned' quality (being slower than speech and therefore allowing more time for planning than spontaneous speech), it is likely to involve less 'spontaneous', 'momentary' code-switches, e.g. where the speaker/writer cannot remember the word in the code which they have been using up to that point.

The second major difference between studying code-switching in speech and in writing is the way in which it is possible to identify and treat heteronyms or 'ambiguous' words, which could mean the difference between a word being classed as either *fuṣṣḥá* or *'āmmīyah*. In speech it is relatively easy to identify how a word is pronounced, but unless it is clearly pronounced in such a way that would place it on either extreme of the *fuṣṣḥá*-*'āmmīyah* continuum, the difficulty lies in deciding where to draw the lines on the spectrum between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, and therefore where to place the ambiguous word on the spectrum, or how to classify it.

However, in writing, the diacritical marks that could determine how a word is pronounced are rarely used. It is therefore more difficult to decide how to treat heteronyms or ambiguous words (i.e. those that are used in both *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*). This results in studies focusing on either clearly *fuṣṣḥá* or clearly *'āmmīyah* words, and excluding or overlooking the remaining words in a text. These ambiguous words that often make up the majority of the words in a sentence or text can be seen as comparable to the 'language-neutral units' identified by Sebba (2012) above, and clearly further research around them is needed.

In the proposed theoretical framework in Chapter 4 below, the argument is made for embracing ambiguous words, and taking their use into account, rather than excluding them from the analysis, resulting in a smoother, more natural and less ambiguous or conflicted view of language use. The way this is done is by taking into account the wider context (the sentence in which the ambiguous words fall as well as the wider text), in order to

classify them within the wider text, and in order to identify instances of code-switching, particularly inter-sentential code-switching. This entails making a judgement about how they are best 'read' based on the clearly *fuṣḥá* or clearly *'āmmīyah* words among them, as well as the wider context and message of the text. This approach is also highlighted in Mejdell (2014) in her reference to the work of Katryn Woolard, "who claims that studies on language contact phenomena almost exclusively focus on the *divergent* features, while the *ambiguous* elements tend to "drop out of the analytic account" (Woolard, 1999)" (ibid., 274). Mejdell's study of strategic bivalency is discussed further below.

### 3.3 Translanguaging

Rather than viewing language as a system or structure within itself, **linguaging** views language as a dynamic process encompassing the way in which we interact with the world (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p.10). Within linguaging, bilingualism is seen as **dynamic**, not simply additive (whereby one keeps adding more languages to one's repertoire) (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p.13). Bilinguals are seen to have one language system made up of different languages, rather than two or more separate language systems. Since society forces us to act monolingually, **translanguaging** is the process whereby bilinguals are constantly searching the language repertoire for the appropriate features, which gives bilinguals a cognitive advantage (ibid.: 15).

Translanguaging differs from code-switching in that it refers to the entire linguistic repertoire of an individual, and the individual's freedom to choose items from their repertoire as they see fit, in contrast to the code-switching view that a speaker shifts or shuttles between two languages (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p.22).

If we translate the process of translanguaging to the context of Arabic, the linguistic repertoire could be seen to consist of the Arabic language as a single language repertoire, rather than two separate languages or language systems, in which translanguaging is the process of searching for and choosing the appropriate items. This would explain the trends of mixing, switching, levelling, etc, that have been observed in Arabic

speaking and writing, since “Translanguaging is the discursive norm in bilingual families and communities” (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p.23), that is if we take the view that the bilingual communities in this case are Arabic-speaking societies. It could also explain practices such as bilingual code-switching between Arabic and foreign languages, as well as the practice of writing Arabic in Latin script. Arabic speakers are simply using the full scope of their linguistic repertoire, including *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* forms as well as foreign languages, and constantly searching for and choosing the appropriate features within their repertoire.

### 3.4 Intermediate Arabic

Intermediate Arabic has been described as a writing style of several prominent writers, referred to as simplified *fuṣṣḥá*, a compromise between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, or a middle language between the two. Several writers who have written in an intermediate form of Arabic, and studies of their language use are discussed below, revealing some salient features of Intermediate Arabic.

Among the writers that have been described as writing in intermediate Arabic, are the following:

- \* **Farah Anton (1874-1922):** in his play *Miṣr al-Jadīdah* (‘New Egypt’) Anton writes that he uses three levels of language: *fuṣṣḥá*, for the elite class; *‘āmmīyah*, for the lower class; and a ‘middle language’ for the female characters specifically, described as “neither *fuṣṣḥá* nor *‘āmmīyah*”, but a “simplified *fuṣṣḥá* or enlightened *‘āmmīyah*” (Badawi, 1973, p.70). He is also mentioned as using a “mixed dialogue” in Somekh (1975, p.90). Anton is the least well-known writer in this group, as confirmed by Badawi, so a further analysis of his language use and works has not been included in this study.
- \* **Tawfīq al-Hakim (1898-1987):** although well-known for his ‘third language’ concept, al-Hakim’s writing can be said to cover three styles: *fuṣṣḥá*, *‘āmmīyah* - albeit in only three of his 80 plays (Badawi, 1987), and his ‘third language’, discussed in more detail below.
- \* **Yusuf Sibai (1917-1978):** in his struggle between the urge to write at least partially in *‘āmmīyah*, and the “uncompromising prejudice” against it,

Sibai's writing passed through three stages: in the first stage he wrote strictly in *fuṣṣḥá*; in the second stage he wrote *fuṣṣḥá* narrative and '*āmmīyah* dialogue; and finally his third stage was a 'compromise' between the two, which seems to be his dominant and favoured style (Abdel-Malek, 1972).

- \* **Yusuf Idris (1927-91)**: most well-known for his use of *fuṣṣḥá* narrative and '*āmmīyah* dialogue, upon closer inspection it seems Idris used a style that can be said to be Intermediate, since the narrative text has been described as following the patterns and structures of '*āmmīyah*, as well as being interspersed with '*āmmīyah* words (Kurpershoek, 1981). Meanwhile the dialogue, although often identifiably '*āmmīyah*, has at times been seen to be 'mixed' (Somekh, 1975).

Although the different writers have taken different approaches to each writing style, it would appear that use of a middle/mixed/third style is an established writing technique, characterised by a somewhat relaxed approach to the rules of *fuṣṣḥá* and an incorporation of elements of '*āmmīyah* - whether single words, phrases or expressions. It is this style, and aspects of it, such as code-switching and strategic bivalency, that are discussed in more detail below.

### 3.4.1 Tawfiq al-Hakim's 'Third Language'

Tawfiq al-Hakim (1898-1987), the prominent Egyptian writer, advocated his novel approach to writing in Arabic, which he called the 'third language' and which he believed would eventually replace the *fuṣṣḥá* - '*āmmīyah* dichotomy. Hakim's 'third language' seems to have been born out of his frustration with the *fuṣṣḥá* - '*āmmīyah* language situation that meant his work needed to be 'translated' in order to be performed on stage, an absurdity he believes is completely avoidable by expanding *fuṣṣḥá* to absorb some of the features of '*āmmīyah*, as is the case in other languages. Hakim's aim is for the Arabic language to become one, unified language - an aim he sees as perfectly realistic given that, in his view, the similarities between the two forms are greater than the differences, and that '*āmmīyah* is evidently and naturally being 'elevated' towards *fuṣṣḥá*.

Hakim addresses directly the 'language problem' of *fuṣṣḥá* and '*āmmīyah* in two of his plays, written ten years apart. In his 1956 play '*Al-Safqah*' ('The

Deal', pp. 157-158), he stated that he had previously written two plays in the same context, that of the Egyptian countryside: one in *fuṣṣḥá*, the other in *'āmmīyah*. The result, in Hakim's view, was that the former was suitable for reading but needed 'translation' in order to be suitable for the stage and therefore did not provide a final solution to the language problem, while the latter posed a problem in its universality, since it would not be understood in any time or place, so similarly could not provide a final solution to the language problem.

The result was the language of *'Al-Safqah'*, born of an attempt to achieve a form that would not contradict the rules of *fuṣṣḥá* and at the same time would sound natural when spoken and could be understood in any time or place. This language can be read equally as wholly *fuṣṣḥá* or *'āmmīyah*, simply by changing one's pronunciation of words by their phonetic variations (for example pronouncing the /q/ phoneme in *fuṣṣḥá* but as the glottal *hamzah* in the urban dialects, or /g/ in the rural dialects (of Egypt).

This new language, argues al-Hakim, would lead to the linguistic unification of the literary Arabic, and (more importantly) bring closer the different social classes and Arabic nations.

al-Hakim addresses the language of his play again and in more detail in *'Al-Warta'* (pp. 166-176), his 60th published play, to clarify his position on the Arabic language and vision for the 'third language', which can be summarised as follows:

1. Despite his writing in a simplified form of *fuṣṣḥá*, he finds his plays still need adaptation into *'āmmīyah* (a language situation that al-Hakim finds unacceptable due to his ultimate vision of a unified Arabic language and society)
2. The gap between *'āmmīyah* and *fuṣṣḥá* is getting smaller each day: while others believe that there is a big gap between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* and that *fuṣṣḥá* is under threat (because it is not spoken), al-Hakim believes the gap is in fact getting smaller each day and it is *'āmmīyah* that is under threat, citing examples of how *fuṣṣḥá* terms and structures have entered everyday language even in the language of the *fellah* (farmer/peasant) as evidence of its growing influence over *'āmmīyah*.

3. al-Hakim further believes that *fuṣḥá* should embrace and absorb the **phonetic variances** and **abbreviations** found in *‘āmmīyah*, for example the demonstrative pronoun *دا* (*da*, ‘this’) instead of the full *fuṣḥá* form *هذا* (*hādha*, ‘this’), the negative marker *ماش* (*mā-sh*, ‘not’) as in *ماعرفش* (*mā’rafsh*, ‘I don’t know’) instead of the full *fuṣḥá* form *ماأعرف شيء* (*mā a’rif shay’*, ‘I don’t know’) in the same way that ‘I’m’ is accepted as a shortened form of ‘I am’ in English, ‘I’ll’ for ‘I will’ etc, believing this to be an example of English *fuṣḥá* embracing common features of speech leading to the loss of the duality of language in English.
4. Rather than viewing *‘āmmīyah* as a separate language, al-Hakim argues that it is made up of abbreviations and phonetic variations to *fuṣḥá* and that recognising and accepting this, and absorbing its variations into *fuṣḥá* would unify the language and remove the need for separate written and spoken forms of the language. Hakim cites the example of the seven readings of the Qur’an as evidence that one written language can be read in different ways.
5. al-Hakim’s ultimate aim is the unification of the Arabic language, and gradual **‘elevation’** of *‘āmmīyah* to the level of *fuṣḥá*, as a natural progression of the language given the trajectory he sees in evidence around him. He views the Arabic language as one language with phonetic variants and abbreviated forms, rather than two separate languages that require ‘translation’ between them. He stresses the similarities between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* rather than the differences, and views them as minor variants rather than there being a huge gulf between them.

Despite al-Hakim’s description of the third language, it is not clear to what degree he applied it consistently in his works. An initial look at his post-1956 works seems to suggest that his writing style varied from work to work, at times using language that can be read as either *fuṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah*, and at other times using clearly either *fuṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah*. As for the allowances he says should be made in *fuṣḥá*, we find again that he seems to apply these inconsistently, at times using the full *fuṣḥá terms*, such as the demonstrative pronoun *هذا* (*hādha*, ‘this’) and the relative pronoun *الذي* (*al-ladhi*, ‘that/who’) etc, while at other times using the

abbreviated *'āmmīyah* forms such as *دا* (*dah*, 'this') and *اللي* (*illī*, 'that/who') etc. To what extent these variations are deliberate is an interesting question and identified as an area for further study. In fact, a detailed linguistic study of al-Hakim's use of language throughout his career would no doubt shed further light on his practical application of the 'third language' and the ways in which he adapts it to best suit his needs as a dramatic writer. Badawi (1973) confirms that to his knowledge no systematic study of al-Hakim's third language has been undertaken, and to my own knowledge, no such study seems to have been undertaken in the years since 1973.

In conclusion, we can say that al-Hakim's third language is a vision for a unified Arabic language, that is largely a simplified form of *fuṣḥá*, and that accepts some widespread (and one could say, compatible) features of *'āmmīyah* such as phonetic variations and abbreviations. The third language highlights the similarities between written and spoken Arabic as part of one, unified language, rather than highlighting their differences. Further, al-Hakim believes that in the *fuṣḥá* - *'āmmīyah* dichotomy, it is *'āmmīyah* that is under threat from the influence of *fuṣḥá* on everyday language, rather than the other way around. In light of this, al-Hakim believes the third language will be realised as a natural result of the decline of *'āmmīyah* due the infiltration of *fuṣḥá* into everyday spoken Arabic.

To what extent al-Hakim's vision has been realised in the Arabic language situation today is another point worthy of further study, since it can be argued that the gap between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* as two distinct varieties is indeed diminishing, as evidenced by this study and others like it of modern Arabic usage.

### **3.4.2 Yusuf Sibai (1917-1978)**

Yusuf Sibai is another prominent Egyptian writer and contemporary of Tawfik al-Hakim. Several of Sibai's novels have been adapted into films, which

have gained widespread recognition<sup>6</sup>. In Abdel Malek (1972), he is described as:

“...one of the most prolific of all Arab novelists: between 1947 and 1968 he wrote forty-five books of which *Rudd Qalbī*, *Nādīyah*, *Jaffat al-Dumū‘*, *Layl Lahu Ākhir* and *Naḥnu Lā Nazra‘ al-Shawk* consist of almost a thousand pages each. Furthermore, Sibai is one of the most widely-read of all Arab novelists, and one of the most popular.” (p. 134-5)

Abdel-Malek further describes Sibai as having “passed through three stages of linguistic expression” (p. 133). These are: *fuṣṣḥá*, then *fuṣṣḥá* with an occasional borrowing from *‘āmmīyah* in the narrative and *‘āmmīyah* in the dialogue, and finally what Abdel-Malek sees as a ‘compromise’ between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, which he describes as “more acceptable to the purists than the style of the preceding stage though less acceptable than the style of the first stage [and which] succeeds in creating the impression that the characters converse in the normal speech of everyday life” (p. 134).

In his analysis of the third stage, the compromise between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, Abdel-Malek describes the writing style of the novels as being *fuṣṣḥá* for the narrative, with occasional (single-word) borrowings from *‘āmmīyah* or foreign languages. For the dialogue Abdel-Malek identifies “four devices that bridge the gap between MSA and the speech of everyday life” (p. 135). They are: borrowing, use of ‘low-Standard’ vocabulary, reshaping of colloquial expressions, and elimination of case contrasts from some nouns and adjectives. Below are some of the examples from Abdel-Malek’s study (p. 135-41), which is the most detailed study of an intermediate style of Arabic writing that exists, with the addition of Romanisation and translation of examples, which were not provided in the original study. Further challenges are the lack of context in

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<sup>6</sup> The Egyptian national newspaper Al-Ahram claims six of the 100 top Egyptian films as being adaptations of Sibai’s novels: <http://www.ahram.org.eg/archive/Cinema/News/25083.aspx>

the original study, with single-word examples and phrases given with no context or explanation so the Romanisation and translations given below are best estimates. It is also unclear from the original study whether shared forms were intended to be read in *fuṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah*, so the phonetic equivalent of the letters written are given in the Romanisation, for example ظهر is transliterated as *ẓuhr* (‘noon’ or ‘early afternoon’), although its pronunciation in *‘āmmīyah* would be *ḍuhr*. The Romanisation of the definite article الـ (‘the’) is given as *il* in *‘āmmīyah* phrases, and similarly the connector و (‘and’) is given as *wi* in *‘āmmīyah* phrases.

### 3.4.2.1 Borrowing

Abdel-Malek finds that Sibai makes use of foreign (mainly French and English) and *‘āmmīyah* content words. Abdel-Malek points out that despite Sibai’s use of *‘āmmīyah* words and expressions, his spelling conventions are very close to *fuṣḥá*, which seems to be typical in *‘āmmīyah* writing, as discussed further in Chapter 4 below.

- \* **Foreign words:** excluded from Abdel-Malek’s analysis are foreign words that have been absorbed into Arabic; either into *fuṣḥá* such as تلفون (*tilfūn*, ‘telephone’), بنك (*bank*, ‘bank’) and دكتور (*duktūr*, ‘doctor’), or into *‘āmmīyah* such as ساندوتش (*sāndawitsh*, ‘sandwich’) and دركسيون (*diriksīyūn*, ‘steering wheel’). This leaves words like هالو (*hālū*, ‘hello’), ول (*wil*, ‘well’), تيم (*tīm*, team), جمنازيوم (*jimnazyūm*, ‘gymnasium’), and بونجور (*būnjūr*, ‘bonjour’). This type of borrowing is often found in online writing, as will be discussed further in Chapter 5 below.
- \* **‘āmmīyah words and expressions:** these are divided into: contentives, functors, stereotyped expressions, non-stereotyped expressions, and grammatical constructions. Examples of each are given in Table 3.2 below, since they highlight specific words, phrases and techniques used in Intermediate Arabic, which hitherto has been described vaguely as a mix, compromise or in-between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, without specific examples or details of what IA actually looks like or how it is achieved in literary writing.

**Table 3.2** Examples of *‘āmmīyah* words and expressions as categorised by Abdel-Malek (1972)

<b>Contentives</b>		
'playground'	<i>fasaḥah</i>	فسحة
'jacket'	<i>jākittah</i>	جاكتة
'vest'	<i>fānillah</i>	فانلة
'thread'	<i>fatlah</i>	فتلة
'foolish'	<i>‘abīṭah</i>	عبيطة
'to glare'	<i>yuzghud</i>	يزغد
<b>Funcctors</b>		
'of course', 'why!'	<i>ummāl</i>	أمال
wow!'	<i>Allāh!</i>	الله!
'what a' (What a surprise!)	<i>amma</i>	أما (أما مفاجأة!)
'Mr' ('Mr Omar')	<i>sī (sī ‘umar)</i>	سي (سي عمر)
'I wish'	<i>yā re:t</i>	يا ريت
'why not'	<i>wi-māluh</i>	وماله
<b>Stereotyped expressions (Idioms, Sayings, Others)</b>		
<b>- idioms</b>		
(expression of pride)	<i>‘alā sinn wi-rumḥ</i>	على سن ورمح
lit. 'empty eyes' (a person who is never satisfied with what they have)	<i>‘uyūn fārgḥah</i>	عيون فارغة
'no way'	<i>yiftaḥ Allāh</i>	يفتح الله
'anyway'	<i>mā ‘ale:nā</i>	ما علينا
'neither here nor there'	<i>lā hinā wa-lā hināk</i>	لا هنا ولا هناك
('I'm neither here nor there')	<i>(anā lā hinā wa-lā hināk)</i>	(أنا لا هنا ولا هناك)
<b>- sayings</b>		
(to make a futile attempt to advance/improve an aspect of your life)	<i>gih naqqabha ‘alā sho:nah</i>	جه نقبها على شونة
'like mother like daughter'	<i>ikfi il-garraḥ ‘alā fammahā tiṭla ‘ il-bint li-ummaḥā</i>	اكف الجرة على فمها تطلع البنت لامها
<b>- others</b>		
'(God) damn you'	<i>Allāh yikhrīb be:tuh</i>	الله يخرب بيته
'(God) bless you'	<i>Allāh yi‘ammar be:tuh</i>	الله يعمر بيته
'Excuse me'	<i>lā mu‘akhdhah</i>	لا مؤاخذه
<b>Non-stereotyped expressions</b>		
'He left, may he never return'	<i>rāḥ, Allāh lā yiragga‘uh</i>	راح، الله لا يرجعه
'Which one should I help?'	<i>ashīl mīn fiḥum?</i>	أشيل مين فيهم؟
'a snob' (male)	<i>rāgil alīt</i>	راجل الليط

'not bad'	<i>mish baṭṭāl</i>	مش بطل
'yes, sir/madam'	<i>ḥāḍir yā fandim</i>	حاضر يا فندم
<b>Grammatical constructions:</b>		
<b>- conjoining verbs by mere juxtaposition (i.e. without a conjunction)</b>		
'go get dressed'	<i>ūmī ilbisī</i>	قومي البسي
<b>- repetition of an element to signal indifference</b>		
'communist communists'	<i>shīyū'īyīn shīyū'īyīn</i>	شيوعيون شيوعيون
<b>- apposition between an indefinite noun and a definite one</b>		
'at nanny Fatma's'	<i>'and dādah Fāṭmah</i>	عند دادة فاطمة
<b>- the use of wa to indicate continuity</b>		
'three hours while waiting on my feet'	<i>thalāth sā'āt wa-anā wāqif 'alá qadamī</i>	ثلاث ساعات وأنا واقف على قدمي
<b>- lack of agreement between certain modifiers nouns</b>		
'a pink dress'	<i>fustān bambah</i>	فستان بمبة
'pink flowers'	<i>zuhūr bambah</i>	زهور بمبة
'unsophisticated people' (lit. country people)	<i>nās baladī</i>	ناس بلدي

### 3.4.2.2 Use of 'low-Standard' vocabulary

Abdel-Malek identifies three levels of *fuṣḥá* vocabulary:

- \* High Standard: these are words that are used exclusively in *fuṣḥá*, such as حذاء (*ḥidha*, 'shoes').
- \* Mid-Standard: shared words between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, that do not have alternatives in *fuṣḥá* or *'āmmīyah*, but may have phonetic variants, such as صائم (*ṣā'im*, 'one who is fasting').
- \* Low-Standard: words that exist in both *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, but their use in *'āmmīyah* means they have "acquired a colloquial flavour that discourages the purists from using them" (p. 139), such as دوّخ (*dawwakh*, 'made tired', lit. dizzied), which in *fuṣḥá* would be expressed as the high-Standard أرهق (*arhaqa*, 'made tired').

**Table 3.3** *Fuṣṣhá* levels and example vocabulary

<i>Fuṣṣhá</i> level	Examples		
<b>High-Standard</b> (exclusive)	'get up' (fem.)	<i>inhaḍī</i>	انهضي
	'laid down (fem.)	<i>muḍṭagi'ah</i>	مضطجعة
	'made tired'	<i>arhaqa</i>	أرهق
	'shoes'	<i>ḥidhā'</i>	حذاء
<b>Mid-Standard</b> (shared, no alternatives)	'one who is fasting'	<i>ṣā'im</i>	صائم
<b>Low-Standard</b> (shared, but have high-Standard alternative)	'get up' (fem.)	<i>qūmī</i>	قومي
	'laid down' (fem)	<i>rāqdaḥ</i>	راقدة
	'made tired' (lit. dizzyed)	<i>dawwakh</i>	دوّخ

The vocabulary items that are shared between *fuṣṣhá* and *'āmmīyah* can be divided into three types:

\* identical items, such as:

(*katab*, 'to write') كتب                      (*dars*, 'lesson') درس  
(*min*, 'from') من                              (*balad*, 'country') بلد

\* phonetically-variant items, where the pronunciation is consistently and identifiably different in each form, such as:

(*qalb*, pronounced 'alb, 'heart') قلب  
(*'arabīy*, pronounced 'arabī) عربيّ  
(*nā'im*, pronounced *nāyim*) نائم

\* similar items with undefined variations, such as:

(*rāgil*, 'man') راجل / (ragul, 'man') رجل  
(*marā*, 'woman') مرا / (*imra'ah*, 'woman') امرأة  
(*'arabīyah*, 'car/t') عربية / (*'arbah*, 'car/t') عربة

Abdel-Malek observes that Sibai prefers to use low-Standard words, which can be said to be a characteristic of Intermediate Arabic. The differences between shared items in *fuṣṣhá* and *'āmmīyah* that are highlighted above are discussed further in Chapter 4 below.

### 3.4.2.3 Reshaping of ‘āmmīyah expressions

At the same time as using shared, ‘low-Standard’ vocabulary, Sibai uses ‘āmmīyah expressions reshaped with *fuṣḥá* structures and vocabulary, such as:

**Table 3.4** Examples of reshaped ‘āmmīyah expressions

Reshaped expression	Romanisation, translation	‘āmmīyah expression
سليم أربعة وعشرين قيراطا	<i>salīm arba‘ah wi-‘ishrīn qīrāṭ,</i> ‘completely sound/intact/correct’	سليم أربعة وعشرين قيراط
سليم مائة في المائة	<i>salīm mīyah fī il-mīyah,</i> ‘completely sound/intact/correct’	سليم مائة في المائة
كالجنّ الأزرق	<i>zayy il-ginn il-azraq,</i> ‘versatile’; ‘Jack of all trades’	زَيّ الجنّ الأزرق
فاتك نصف عمرك	<i>fātak nuṣ ‘umrak,</i> ‘you’ve missed out’	فاتك نص عمرك
أراني نجوم الظهر	<i>warrānī nugūm il-ḏuhr,</i> ‘caused me hell’	ورّاني نجوم الظهر
تشتغل عليه	<i>tishtaghal ‘ale:h,</i> ‘to work on it’	تشتغل عليه
أعطاها لي وأنا واقف	<i>addahā lī wi-anā wāqif,</i> ‘he gave it to me on the spot’	أدها لي وأنا واقف
لا يهمني رمضان	<i>mayhimminīsh Ramaḍān,</i> ‘I don’t care about Ramadan’	ما يهمني رمضان
رجل أمير	<i>rāgil amīr,</i> ‘a princely [kind] man’	رجل أمير
تعملين العملة	<i>ti‘milī il-‘amlah,</i> ‘(you fem.) do the deed’	تعملي العملة
لمّي جسمك	<i>limmī nafsik,</i> ‘behave yourself’	لمّي نفسك
لا بدّ أن الثوب لم يأت من عند المكوجي	<i>lāzim il-tho:b’ magāsh min ‘and il-makwagī,</i> ‘it seems the clothes are not back from the ironer’	لازم “الثوب” ماجاش من عند المكوجي

It is interesting to note that Sibai uses some unmodified ‘āmmīyah expressions as mentioned above, as well as modifying others. This can be said to be a feature of Intermediate Arabic, although precisely why some expressions are modified and others aren’t, such as راجل أليط (*rāgil alīt*, ‘a snobbish man’) and راجل أمير (*ragul amīr*, ‘a princely [kind] man’) is an interesting point worth investigating further.

It could be that ‘āmmīyah expressions are left unmodified if their component words are shared between *fuṣḥá* and ‘āmmīyah, and fall within the ‘identical’ or ‘phonetically-variant’ type, since they could ‘pass’ for *fuṣḥá*

while retaining their *'āmmīyah* flavour or meaning; whereas undefined variations or unshared items are modified if the rest of the component words of the expression are 'identical' or 'phonetically-variant', possibly because reshaping the expression would be minimal and allow the reference to the *'āmmīyah* expression to remain recognisable; and finally undefined variations that occur with non-shared vocabulary are left unmodified as any modification would take too much away from its 'colloquial' flavour. Taking the راجل أليط (*rāgil alīt*, 'a snobbish man') and رجل أمير (*ragul amīr*, 'a princely [kind] man') example, they can be analysed as follows:

رجل أمير (*ragul amīr*, 'a princely [kind] man')

undefined variant + identical item = modified expression

راجل أليط (*rāgil alīt*, 'a snobbish man')

undefined variant + non-shared item = non-modified expression

Applying this same procedure to the rest of the examples of modified *'āmmīyah* expressions given above, shows it seems to be applied fairly consistently:

سليم أربعة وعشرين قيراطا

(*salīm arba'ah wa-'ishrīn qīrāṭā*, 'completely sound/intact/correct')

3 x identical words (including the prefixal conjunction *wa*) + phonetic/  
grammatical variant = modified expression

سليم مائة في المائة (*salīm mi'ah fī al-mi'ah*, 'completely sound/intact/correct')

identical word + phonetic variant + identical word + phonetic variant =  
modified expression

كالجَنِّ الأزرق

(*ka-al-jinn al-azraq*, 'versatile'; 'Jack of all trades')

identical word (excluding the prefixal preposition *ka*\*) + identical word =  
modified expression

\*the modification of the prefixal preposition *ka* in this instance is interesting, but without the full context one needs to make a judgement about its inclusion. Since it is not a stand-alone word, its effect on the expression can be said to be minimal (i.e. the *'āmmīyah* expression doesn't lose its flavour),

and is also close in meaning and form to the shared, phonetically-variant form كَان.

فاتك نصف عمرك (fātak niṣf ‘umrika, ‘you’ve missed out’):

identical word + undefined variant + identical word = modified expression

أراني نجوم الظهر (arānī nujūm al-ẓuhr, ‘caused me hell’):

non-shared word + identical word + phonetic variant = modified expression

تشتغل عليه (tashtaghal ‘alayh, ‘to work on it’):

(It is not immediately clear what has been modified from this expression.)

أعطاه لي وأنا واقف (a‘ṭāhā lī wa-anā wāqif, ‘he gave it to me while waiting’):

non-shared word + 3x identical word (including the prefixal conjunction wa) = modified expression

لا يهمني رمضان (lā yahummunī Ramaḍān, ‘I don’t care about Ramadan’):

identical word (يهمني) + identical word = modified expression (\*grammar of لا يهمني modified to ما يهمني)

تعملين\* العملة (ta‘malīn al-‘amlaḥ, ‘(you fem.) do the deed’):

identical word (تعملي) + identical word = modified expression (\*grammar of تعملين modified to تعملين)

لمي جسمك (limmī jusmaki, ‘behave yourself’):

identical word (لمّي) + non-shared word (نفسك)\* = modified expression

\*this is an assumption that the word نفسك, technically a shared word but not used in the same sense, has been replaced with جسمك

لا بدّ أن الثوب لم يأت من عند المكوجي

(lā budd anna al-thawb lam ya’tī min ‘ind al-makwajī, ‘it seems the clothes are not back from the ironer’)

(Abdel-Malek gives the fuṣṣḥá equivalent of this phrase as عند الكواء, which seems to suggest that Sibai tried to keep the ‘colloquial flavour’ by keeping the ‘āmmīyah structure (لازم الثوب“ ما جاش من عند المكوجي) and replacing ‘āmmīyah words with fuṣṣḥá equivalents, but keeping the final

'*āmmīyah* word (مكوجي). Otherwise it is not immediately clear why this sentence has been categorised as a '*āmmīyah* expression.)

In short, it seems Sibai is indeed concerned with preserving the flavour of '*āmmīyah* expressions, while at the same time applying as many narrowing strategies between *fuṣḥá* and '*āmmīyah* as possible. The result is seen in the modifications to '*āmmīyah* expressions are made where possible, such as keeping spelling and grammar conventions as close to *fuṣḥá* as possible; while at the same time allowances are made for keeping '*āmmīyah* expressions whose constituent components are shared lexical items between *fuṣḥá* and '*āmmīyah*, and expressions that contain exclusively '*āmmīyah* items that would lose their flavour if modified. This can be seen as one of the writing strategies of Intermediate Arabic, along with al-Hakim's tolerance of abbreviated and phonetically-variant forms.

#### **3.4.2.4 Elimination of case contrasts from some nouns and adjectives**

Abdel-Malek observes that the elimination of case endings is usually applied to proper nouns (names of characters), and occasionally to borrowings from '*āmmīyah*. So it can be said that overall, case (and mood) endings have been observed, with the exception of proper nouns and occasionally with borrowed words. This is important to note, since it shows that the overall grammar of *fuṣḥá* is observed in this example of Intermediate Arabic.

#### **3.4.3 Yusuf Idris (1927-91)**

One of the most recognisable names in Arabic literature, Yusuf Idris is widely known for his adoption of the *fuṣḥá* narrative, '*āmmīyah* dialogue writing technique. However, he is included in this section about Intermediate Arabic because despite this binary *fuṣḥá*-'*āmmīyah* label of his work, it has been observed that his style is more complex than this would suggest. Firstly, the *fuṣḥá* narrative and '*āmmīyah* dialogue do not seem to be as strictly separate in terms of language use as they have been labelled, with '*āmmīyah* insertions made into the *fuṣḥá* text and vice versa (Kurpershoek, 1981), while the language of the narration reflects "the patterns of ordinary speech rather than the rules of classical grammar" (Kurpershoek, 1981: 115). This seems to suggest a language

form closer to Intermediate Arabic than purely *fuṣṣḥá*. Secondly, his attitude towards the language situation suggests that he views the language as a single linguistic repertoire of which he makes full use, a view that is compatible with the use of Intermediate Arabic. In fact, he was quoted as saying, “I only distinguish between standard and dialectal language in so far as one word rather than another accurately expresses what I want to say<sup>7</sup>.” (ibid.: 124). It would seem that rather than being driven by ideology to find an intermediate form of language between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, Idris simply did what we see many native speakers doing today, which is to use the full breadth of their linguistic repertoire, navigating through it in search of the appropriate term for what they want to express. Or in other words, what he is expressing is the process of ‘translanguaging’, as discussed previously in this chapter.

A more detailed study of Idris’s language use (Somekh, 1975) confirms that:

“... it would be untrue to say that in Idrīs’ stories in general the *‘āmmīyah* is confined to the dialogue, or that the dialogue is always rendered in purely spoken idiom. For one thing, the narrative parts are heavily permeated with elements of *‘āmmīyah* - both in matters of vocabulary as well as structure.” (p.90)

In comparing Idris’s use of Intermediate Arabic as per Somekh’s (1975) study to Sibai’s, using Abdel-Malek’s (1972) terminology as discussed above, one finds that both:

- \* make frequent use of or ‘borrow’ *‘āmmīyah* words (in *fuṣṣḥá* passages)
- \* use ‘low-Standard’ *fuṣṣḥá* vocabulary (i.e. words that exist in *fuṣṣḥá* but are commonly used in *‘āmmīyah* and have thus acquired a colloquial ‘flavour’)
- \* use syntactic structures of *‘āmmīyah* in passages of *fuṣṣḥá*, or to use Abdel-Malek’s words, borrow colloquial expressions (stereotyped and non-stereotyped), grammatical constructions, and reshape (or modify) colloquial expressions

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<sup>7</sup> Quotation in Kurpershoek from N. Farag. 1971. Yūsuf Idrīs. In *Mag. Jan*, 102.

- \* borrow from foreign languages (notably English): in the case of Sibai by transcribing foreign words not absorbed into Arabic (neither *fuṣṣḥá* nor *‘āmmīyah*); and in the case of Idris by borrowing syntactic structures from English.

While less comprehensive than Abdel-Malek, Somekh has shed some light and dispelled some myths around Idris's language use. Rather than describing his language use as *fuṣṣḥá* narrative and *‘āmmīyah* dialogue, what Somekh has described bears closer resemblance to an Intermediate form of Arabic in the narrative, accompanied by *‘āmmīyah* or at times 'mixed' *‘āmmīyah* dialogue.

Finally, in comparing Sibai and Idris, it seems that Sibai (perhaps owing to his background in senior government positions and therefore his role as part of the establishment), faced an internal struggle between the way he would have liked to have written (i.e. *‘āmmīyah*) and the established way of writing (i.e. *fuṣṣḥá*). After writing initially in *fuṣṣḥá*, he switched to *fuṣṣḥá*-narrative and *‘āmmīyah*-dialogue, before reaching a 'compromise' between the two; a compromise that perhaps he would have felt appeased himself as well as the writing establishment. On the other hand, Idris (who as a medical doctor was something of an outsider to the writing establishment) makes unapologetic use of *‘āmmīyah*, whether in whole passages of dialogue, or in his *‘fuṣṣḥá* narrative. In his own words he writes whichever words he feels best suit his message, making less of a distinction between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*.

Adding al-Hakim to the comparison, it seems he is the most reserved with his vision for the third language, in which he seems to make allowances only for abbreviated forms and phonetic variants. His ideological aim of elevating *‘āmmīyah* to the level of *fuṣṣḥá* seems to suggest a gradual erasure of *‘āmmīyah* forms that are not compatible with *fuṣṣḥá*, and an ideological stance against *‘āmmīyah*, despite his advocacy of adopting its abbreviated forms and phonetic variants. Perhaps his being the earliest adopter of an 'intermediate' form of the language resulted in his reservation about deviating too far from *fuṣṣḥá*, since there would not have been a major precedent for using this type of intermediate Arabic.

A consideration of al-Hakim, Sibai and Idris shows that writers have at their disposal a rich language with many varieties, shades and levels of meaning, which they attempt to make full use of, in order to simultaneously exploit and highlight the similarities between the forms of the language on one hand, and on the other, to try to blur the lines between them and perhaps eventually erase the boundaries altogether. It is worth noting that al-Hakim, Sibai and Idris were contemporaries, writing at a significant time for Arabic literature, whose collective works have helped to shape the body of work known as Modern Arabic literature, each forging new traditions and leaving an immense literary and linguistic legacy that has influenced subsequent generations of Arabic writers.

#### **3.4.4 Strategic Bivalency**

Mejdell (2014) identifies a writing style termed strategic bivalency to describe the style of the Egyptian journalist Ibrahim Eissa. Use of strategic bivalency in Arabic can be likened to the use of 'language neutral units' in multilingual texts as discussed above (Sebba, 2012). Like al-Hakim, Eissa makes use of the vast congruent lexicon between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, as well as graphically identical words, making full use of the ability to 'hide' vowel differences in Arabic writing. The result, is an overall style that can be read equally as either *fuṣṣḥá* or *'āmmīyah*, or rather, both, which Mejdell views as a border erasure strategy (p. 274-5). Mejdell's identification of strategic bivalency is similar to Abdel Malek's identification of Sibai's use of mid-Standard and low-Standard vocabulary (i.e. vocabulary shared between the two forms, *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*), as a 'bridge' between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*. It therefore seems appropriate to view strategic bivalency as a common strategy used in Intermediate Arabic (IA) by literary writers. In addition to strategic bivalency, Mejdell identifies instances of code-switching between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* in Eissa's writing, indicating further that his style fits under the Intermediate Arabic (IA) umbrella, since code-switching (or 'borrowing' in Abdel-Malek's terms) is another IA feature identified in Sibai's writing above.

A re-examination of the examples Mejdell provides sheds light on further strategies used by Eissa in his writing that can be said to combine other styles and features of Arabic writing, although without the wider text from

which the examples are taken it is difficult to make a fully informed decision regarding his overall language use.

The first example Mejdell gives (p. 273) is that of his book title, كتابي عن مبارك وعصره ومصره (*Kitābī ‘an Mubārak wa-‘asruh wa-Maṣruh*, ‘My Book About Mubarak, His Era and His Egypt’), which is given as a linguistically bivalent form. It is correct that the title can be read as either *fuṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah*, although it rhymes in *‘āmmīyah* but not in *fuṣḥá*. Crucially, Eissa himself pronounced it as *‘āmmīyah* in an episode of his television programme where he is seen holding the book and pronouncing the title<sup>8</sup>. This indicates that either it is intended as an *‘āmmīyah* title, with the bivalency serving to ‘disguise’ this, or that it is truly bivalent in the way that al-Hakim envisioned his third language - that it is intended to be read in *fuṣḥá* but spoken in *‘āmmīyah*. Given the author’s preference for shared forms (vocabulary and structures), it can also be seen as simply a reflection of his preference for using bivalent forms where possible, effectively erasing borders where possible, as Mejdell suggests.

The second example (p. 275) is given as the following:

يضرب البعض كفا بكف ويقول طيب واخرته ايه؟ الناس تقول (مش معقول حسني يتغير أو يمشي أو يرحل هو ونظامهه)]

[final bracket added in square brackets as it is present in Mejdell’s transcriptions, but not in the Arabic, which would appear to be a typo]

*Yaḍrib al-ba‘ḍ kaffan bi-kaff wa-yaqūl ṭayyib wi-akhrītuḥ e:h? Il-nās ti’ūl (mish ma ‘qūl Husnī yitghayyar aw yimshī aw yirhal huwwa wi-niḏāmuh)]*, ‘Some people throw their hands up in despair and say “how will it end?” They say “Hosni won’t change or leave, nor will his regime”’

Mejdell firstly divides the sentences into two parts:

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<sup>8</sup> Seen in an episode of his television programme مع ابراهيم عيسى (*Ma’ Ibrāhīm ‘Īsá*, ‘With Ibrahim Eissa’) on the satellite television network OnTV, episode 25/30, aired on 30 November 2014. His pronunciation of the book title appears at 1:07 in the online video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l114Flzfipg&t=380s>.

1. يضرب البعض كفا بكف ويقول طيب واخرته ايه؟

*Yaḍrib al-ba‘ḍ kaffan bi-kaff wa-yaqūl ṭayyib wi-akhrituh e:h?*, ‘Some people throw their hands up in despair and say “so how will it end?”’

In this first part, Mejdell offers two alternative readings, in *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* respectively, highlighting each of the underlined elements as the only exclusively *fuṣṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah* elements. I would read this part slightly differently: the first part, *يضرب البعض كفا بكف ويقول* (*Yaḍrib al-ba‘ḍ kaffan bi-kaff wa-yaqūl*, ‘Some people throw their hands up in despair and say’), I view as being *fuṣṣḥá*, followed by a switch to *‘āmmīyah* for the ‘quote’ of what people say: *طيب واخرته ايه؟* (*ṭayyib wi-akhrituh e:h?*, “so how will it end?”). Alternatively, the switch point can be seen as the word *يقول* (*yaqūl*, ‘say’), since in *fuṣṣḥá* it could be expected to appear in the plural form *yaqūlūn*, ‘[they] say’), in which case it would be pronounced *wi-yi‘ūl* (‘and say’).

2. الناس تقول (مش معقول حسني يتغير أو يمشي أو يرحل هو ونظامهه[.])

*Il-nās ti‘ūl (mish ma ‘qūl Husnī yitghayyar aw yimshī aw yirḥal huwwa wi-niṣāmuh[.])*, ‘They say “Hosni won’t change or leave, nor will his regime”’

Mejdell offers only a *‘āmmīyah* reading for this second part. I would agree and add that the whole sentence reads as *fuṣṣḥá* at the beginning with a switch to *‘āmmīyah* after *يقول* (*yaqūl*, ‘say’).

The third example (p. 275) is given below, as shared lexicon with one *‘āmmīyah* and one *fuṣṣḥá* element, underlined below:

فإنك راحل عن الحكم بعد دورتين ويمكن دورة فقط

*Fa’innaka rāḥil ‘an al-ḥukm ba‘da dawratayn wa-yumkin dawrah faqaṭ*, ‘You will leave power after two terms or maybe just one’

This example can be seen as an epitome of Intermediate Arabic, since it can be read as *fuṣṣḥá* with a *‘āmmīyah* ‘flavour’ as Abdel-Malek would put it. Although not flagged by Mejdell as such, *فإنك* is clearly a *fuṣṣḥá* marker at the beginning, which would lead the reading in the direction of *fuṣṣḥá*, confirmed by the *fuṣṣḥá* marker *فقط* (*faqaṭ*, ‘just’) at the end. His use of *يمكن*

(*yumkin*, 'maybe') lends the '*āmmīyah* 'flavour' towards the end, as it can be seen to be of the low-Standard group of words identified by Abdel-Malek.

The fourth example (p. 275) is given as an example of bivalency followed by code-switching to '*āmmīyah*, underlined below:

وهي حكمة تليق فعلا بشعبنا الكريم وتضعها إلى جانب درره الميمونة من عينة ضل ولا [sic] رجل ولا  
ضل الحيطه [sic]

*Wa-hīya ḥikmah talīq fi'lan bi-sha'binā al-karīm wa-taḍa'hā ilá gānib durarih al-maymūnah min 'ayyinat ḍill [...] rāgil wa-la ḍill il-ḥe:ṭah*, 'It is a fitting saying for our good nation and one that can be counted amongst its best, such as 'better to be under the protection of a man than a wall'

I agree with Mejdell that this is a bivalent/intermediate style of language, with a clear switch to the 'unmodified' '*āmmīyah* proverb *ضل رجل ولا ضل حيطه* (*ḍill rāgil wa-la ḍill ḥe:ṭah*, 'better to be under the protection [lit. 'shadow'] of a man than a wall').

A fifth example (p. 275-6) is given as an example of flagging (by use of asterisks as per Mejdell) a *fuṣṣhā* variant that has a '*āmmīyah* function, and a switch to '*āmmīyah* at the end (underlined):

أكذوبة أننا مرسلون من العناية الإلهية للدفاع عن العروبة والإسلام \*جائز\* هذا [sic] كان ماضيا عريقا  
عظيما لكنه الآن [sic] ولا حاجة

*Ukdhūbah annanā mursalūn min al-'ināyah al-ilāhīyah lil-difā' 'an al-'urūbah wa-al-Islām \*gā'iz\* hādhā kān māḍīyan 'arīqan 'azīman lakinnuh al-ān wa-lā hāgah*, 'It is a lie that we are sent from divine care to defend Arabness and Islam. \*Maybe\* that was an ancient and noble past but now it is nothing'

I would agree that the bivalent/intermediate *fuṣṣhā* form is carried through to the switch to '*āmmīyah* at the end, however I would add a comparison of the use of *جائز* to the use of the low-Standard *يمكن* in the third example above, which appears to be characteristic of IA and perhaps idiomatic to the author's overall style, i.e. inserting low-Standard words to give his

language an overall *'āmmīyah*/bivalent feel, thereby shifting the language from *fuṣḥá* to IA.

The sixth and final example (p. 276) shows a switch to *'āmmīyah* and the rare use of a *bi*+verb:

ولو كان هناك إصلاح سياسي ما تمكنوا من بيع القطاع العام بأنجس الأثمان وبكل الفساد ... ساعتها نبقى  
عارفين مين يبييع إيه ولمين وفين

*Wa-law kān hunāk iṣlāh sīyāsī mā tamakannū min bay' al-qitā' al-'āmm bi-  
angas al-athmān wa-bi-kull al-fasād... sā'it-ha nibqá 'arfīn mīn bībī' e:h wi-  
li-mīn wi-fe:n*, 'And if there were political reform they would not have been  
able to corruptly sell the public sector at the cheapest (lit. 'impurest')  
price... rather, we would know who sold what to whom and where'

Although Mejdell does not specify where the switch to *'āmmīyah* occurs, I would place it immediately after the ellipsis, which I have found to be a typical feature of code-switching to *'āmmīyah*, i.e. that it is marked by some form of punctuation. In terms of function it also follows the pattern I have identified in this study of making a factual or informative statement in *fuṣḥá*, followed by a non-statement such as an opinion or emotion, or in this case it appears, a hypothetical wish or desire.

It would seem that for all intents and purposes the use of strategic bivalency, i.e. exploitation of the shared lexical item between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, particularly that of the 'low-Standard' variety, coupled with strategic inter-sentential code-switching from *fuṣḥá* to *'āmmīyah* (leading to 'borrowing' words and phrases from *'āmmīyah*), is a predominant feature of IA as identified in the writing of Eissa by Mejdell, Sibai by Abdel-Malek and Idris by Somekh, as well as that expressed by al-Hakim as his aim for a unified language. These are however, all literary writers, so to what extent IA is an imitable style for the non-literary writer is a question that needs further investigation. The identification of *fuṣḥāmmīyah* as another style of writing and how it fits in with the writing styles identified so far is discussed below.

### 3.4.5 *Fuṣḥāmmīyah*

*Fuṣḥāmmīyah* is a relatively new term coined by Rosenbaum (2000) to describe an alternating style that is from a mixed/third language, and is not code-switching as there is no 'base' language, with apparently random insertions/switches. According to Rosenbaum, writers of this style have admitted it is aimed at "less educated" readers (p. 80) and creating humour is one of the aims of *fuṣḥāmmīyah* (p. 81). This style has had a mixed reception; some have found it humorous while others were dissatisfied with it and were not convinced it has become a standard way of writing (p. 80). This view echoes the criticism that some resurgent satire has received, as a 'low brow' form of literature, which some prefer to call *كتابة ساخرة* (*kitābah sākhīrah*, 'satirical writing'), and which has the sole aim of providing humour, as opposed to the more traditional or 'high brow' form of satire, *الأدب الساخر* (*al-'adab al-sākhīr*, 'satire', lit. 'satirical literature'), which deals with 'serious' subjects with humour (Håland, 2017: 146).

Rosenbaum believes this style is a random mix of *fuṣḥā* and *'āmmīyah*, with no constraints or base language. This claim is taken and explored further below since it appears to be bold and rather simplistic, while failing to take into account the context and motivations for the use of this style, bringing to mind the claims that mixing in Middle Arabic was a result of errors, and that code-switching in speech is random; claims that have been shown to be inaccurate once studied in more detail. Indeed, upon closer inspection it does seem that Rosenbaum has failed to analyse the style more deeply, and that this writing style is not as random as it appears at first. However, without looking into the full context of the texts quoted it is difficult to make a fully informed decision with regards to this style. An examination of the quoted lines of text therefore, is sufficient in the first instance to raise several points worth highlighting and exploring in more detail:

- \* Firstly, the emphasis on **humour** in the texts quoted gives a context and motivation for the use of this writing style, where use of *'āmmīyah*, to whichever degree, is expected.
- \* Secondly, the type of **publication** in which this style is found: newspapers (or magazines or others; it is not always clear in which type of

publication the text is found), which tend to use *‘āmmīyah* for humour (e.g. cartoons), as well as quotations, letters, headlines (or titles of columns) and lower-brow articles, alongside *fuṣṣḥá* for the main articles; and humorous short stories (it has already been established above and will be seen in the next section below that use of *‘āmmīyah* or a form of simplified or intermediate Arabic is common in Arabic literature).

- \* Thirdly, the **subjects and readership** of most the texts seem to be ‘low brow’, aimed at less-educated readers, with a direct correlation between the amount of alternation and the level of the target reader and subject of the text. A re-examination of the quoted texts highlights this below. The use of *‘āmmīyah* in targeting less-educated readers is not new and has echoes of Ya‘qūb Ṣannū‘ and ‘Abdallah al-Nadīm’s use of *‘āmmīyah* in their publications, *Abū Naḍḍārah Zarqā* and *al-Ustādh* respectively.
- \* Fourthly, the **alternations** themselves appear to show some general patterns. For example the use of hendiadys and parallelism (p. 77) shows that this style serves a purpose of emphasis, as well as a “poetic function” to attract the attention of the reader (p. 78). I add to this the more specific functions of *fuṣṣḥá* as the factual, informative form and *‘āmmīyah* as the humorous, emotive form, which may shed some light on their use and the motivations for alternating between them below. To demonstrate the randomness of the alternations, Rosenbaum reverses the *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* alternations of one of the quoted texts, believing “there is no difference in acceptability, meaning and style between the two versions” (p. 78). This claim seems woefully simplistic, since the very use of parallelisms indicates a purposeful style with specific motivations behind its use, in addition to the traditional uses and motivations for switching between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. In Chapters 5 and 6 I argue that context is key when analysing mixed language, which does not seem to be taken into account in Rosenbaum in analysing the alternations and his reversal of them. This therefore merits a closer look in the re-examination below.
- \* Lastly, a point not mentioned in Rosenbaum but found to be significant in taking into account the context of mixing or alternation, is punctuation and the wider typography of the text. This point has been taken into

consideration in the analysis below and found to reinforce claims about some of the switch points in the text.

Based on these points and on the analysis below, it can be said that *fuṣḥāmmīyah* may indeed be a unique style as Rosenbaum suggests, but I argue that it can also be seen as a natural extension of the literary intermediate style described above, or even a 'low brow' version of it. By further extension, the difference between what has been termed intermediate Arabic and *fuṣḥāmmīyah* in writing, is to some extent comparable to the difference between Badawi's levels 3 and 4, i.e. 'high' and 'low' Educated Spoken Arabic. Rosenbaum's first example is reproduced here, and re-examined below:

Text 1 (p. 72): newspaper article titled *Khēbit 'Amal Rakba Gamal* by Sakīna al-Sādāt in the column *al-Sittāt al-Hilwīn*, in the weekly *Karikātēr*:

[...] وما في هذه الخيبة القوية التي نغصت على حياتي لعدة ايام؟ هي انني كنت قد طلبت من الجهاز المركزي للتعبئة والاحصاء تقريراً عن مواليد مصر خلال سنة ١٩٩٣، وحقيقة الامر ان الناس لم يتأخروا عني وارسلوا التقرير الذي زعلني واحزنني جدا جدا خالص، اذ تبين - ويا اسفاه ويا خيبته - ان مواليد مصر وحصوة في عين الحسود بلغوا بالتمام والكمال خلال سنة ٩٣ مليوناً وربع مليون طفل!! يا خبر اسود ومنيل بستين نيلى؟ من اين نطعم هذا العدد المهول من العيال؟ وفي المدارس التي تستوعبهم؟ ومن اين ناتي بالمال الكافي لبناء مستشفيات جديدة لعلاج كل العيال دول؟ وهو ما فيش ذوق ولا انسانية يا عالم واحنا قاعدين نهاتي ونكتب ونعمل ندوات ونازلين توعية وزفت وقطران ومفيش فايدة خالص في هذا الكلام، السبب بسيط جدا ومفهوم جدا، لكننا اصبحنا - ويا ندماه - نحب الطناش وعمل وذن من طين وودن من عجبن وآخر حاجة نعملها نقول زي سمير غانم في شخصية فطوطة.. يعني اعمل ايه؟ اموت نفسي؟

[...] *Wa mā fī hādhihī al-khaybah al-qawīyyah al-latī naḡhasat 'alá hayātī li-'iddat ayyām? Hiya annanī kunt qad ṭalabt min al-gihāz al-markazī lil-ta'bi'ah wa-al-iḥṣā' taqrīran 'an mawālīd Miṣr khilāl sanat 1993, wa-haqīqat al-amr anna al-nās lam yata'akharū 'annī wa-arsalū al-taqrīr al-ladhī za'allanī wa-ahzannanī gidḡan gidḡan khāliṣ, idh tabayyan - wa-yā asafāh wa-yā khaybatāh - anna mawālīd Miṣr wa-ḡaṣwah fī 'ayn al-ḡasūd balaghū bi-al-timām wa-al-kamāl khilāl sanat 93 milyūnan wa-rub' milyūn ṭifl!! Yā khabar iswid wi-minayyil bi-sittīn nīlah? Min ayna nat'im*

*hādha al-‘addad al-mahūl min al-‘īyāl? **Wi-fe:n** al-madāris al-latī tastaw’ibuhum? Wa-min ayna na’tī bi-al-māl al-kāfī li-binā’ mustashfayāt gadīdah li-‘ilāg kull il-‘īyāl do:l? **Wi-huwwa mafīsh dhuq wa-lā insānīyah yā ‘ālam wi-iḥnā qa’dīn nihātī wi-niktib wi-nī’mil nadawāt wi-nazlīn taw’īyah wi-zift wi-qatrān wi-mafīsh faydah khālis fī** hādha al-kalām, al-sabab basīt giddan wa-mafhum giddan, lākinanā aṣbahnā - wa-yā nadamāh - nuḥibb **al-ṭanash wi-‘amal widn min ṭīn wi-widn min ‘agīn wi-ākhir ḥāgah nī’milhā niqūl zayy Samīr Ghānim fī shakhsīyāt Faṭūṭah.. ya’nī a’mil e:h? Amawwit nafsī?***

(‘āmmīyah words highlighted in bold as per original text, underlined words as per italicised ones in the original, are those that belong to both codes. However, at ‘transition points’ it is unclear to which they are intended to belong.)

Translation (from Rosenbaum, ibid.) [I have added the bold (‘āmmīyah) and underlining (bivalency) to show where they are found in the text]:

[...] And what is this strong frustration which spoiled my life for several days? It is that I asked the Central Authority for Mobilization and Statistics for a report on the newborn babies in Egypt during the year 1993. The truth is that these people did not keep me waiting and sent me the report which **grieved** and saddened me very very much **completely**, for it turns out - oh!, how sad and disappointing! - that the newborn of Egypt - **may they be protected from the evil eye!** - have reached all-in-all together during the year 1993 (the number of) a million-and-a-quarter babies!! **How awful and bloody unlucky!** Whence shall we feed this alarming number of **children? And where** are the schools that will take them in? Where will we get enough money for building new hospitals to treat all **these children? Is there no more good taste and humanitarianism, people, while we keep on writing and having conferences and all kinds of lousy stuff (lit.: "pitch and tar"),** and none of this talk is of any use. The reason is very simple and well understood. But we have come - to our great regret! - to love **indifference and to pretend not to hear (lit.: "to have one ear made of mud and the other one of dough"),** and in the

**end what we do is say, as Samir Ghanem does in the character of Fattuta15: "What should I do then? Kill myself?"**

It appears as if this text is a complete article, and so a good candidate for re-examination. It is also the text that is later reversed by Rosenbaum, so the comparison will also be re-examined below. It is not clear, however, why certain words were highlighted as *'āmmīyah* and others as bivalent, and the rest left unhighlighted. For example, the words زعلني (*za“alnī*, 'grieved') and عيال (*'īyāl*, 'children') are highlighted as *'āmmīyah*, but they could be described as technically bivalent, since the verb زعل (*za'al*, 'grieved') and the noun عيال (*'īyāl*, 'children') are found in *fuṣṣḥá*. Their frequent use in *'āmmīyah* gives them the colloquial flavour of the 'low standard' variety described above, and use of bivalent terms is a significant finding of mixed and intermediate Arabic writing. For the purposes of reanalysis, I have taken Rosenbaum's classification of the *'āmmīyah* and bivalent words as it is, and looked more closely at the patterns of and motivations for code-switching. I have also used Rosenbaum's translation for individual words, rather than providing my own translations.

Taking the overall text into consideration, it appears that the writer has used a technique that has been identified in online writing in Chapter 5 below - that is of starting the text in *fuṣṣḥá*, followed by *'āmmīyah*. We see that in the first two lines, it is clearly *fuṣṣḥá*, the first of the underlined words being a reference to the one of the words in the title الخيبة (*al-khaybah*, 'frustration') which is a shared vocabulary item between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* so its use is not highlighted in bold as a *'āmmīyah* word. The two underlined words in the first line can be said to be of the 'low-Standard' group as per Abdel-Malek's classification above.

The use of the two *'āmmīyah* words زعلني (*za“alnī*, 'grieved') and خالص (*khāliṣ*, 'completely') highlighted in bold in the third line, interestingly, falls within a section of writing between two commas. This is significant as it clearly separates the first part of the sentence (*fuṣṣḥá*), from the second part, which is also *fuṣṣḥá*, but contains two *'āmmīyah* words. Another explanation may be that زعلني (*za“alnī*, 'grieved') is a bivalent word, as the verb زعل is shared between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*. Secondly, if the word

زعلني (*za* “*alnī*, ‘grieved’) is taken to be ‘*āmmīyah*’ it can be said to serve the purpose of hendiadys and parallelism mentioned above, since although it is translated as ‘grieved’ it is used to mean ‘saddened’ in *āmmīyah* which is the same as the use of احزنني (*aḥzananī*, ‘saddened’) in *fuṣṣḥá*. Its purpose here is to catch the attention of the reader (before it is lost through the use of exclusive *fuṣṣḥá*) by adding a sense of humour, since thus far the information has been factual. So we see a turning point here from the factual retelling of events, to the humorous reaction of the author, which naturally lends itself to expression in ‘*āmmīyah*. The same can be said for the use of خالص (*khāliṣ*, ‘completely’), which is simply a semantic repetition of جدا (*giddan*, ‘very’), and the fact that the word جدا (*giddan*, ‘very’) itself is repeated anyway, exaggerates the author’s sadness and introduces humour to the otherwise serious topic. The two ‘*āmmīyah* words in this section of the text زعلني (*za* “*alnī*, ‘grieved’) and خالص (*khāliṣ*, ‘completely’) can be seen as a ‘soft’ introduction of ‘*āmmīyah* into the narrative, a way of seamlessly blending it in, rather than an abrupt or random alternation between *fuṣṣḥá* and ‘*āmmīyah* forms. This second sentence can be highlighted as a ‘transitional sentence’ after the predominantly *fuṣṣḥá* text preceding it, used to introduce the use of much more ‘*āmmīyah* in the text that follows. This technique of using a transitional sentence is another that is identified as a feature of IA in Chapter 4 below, and found in online writing as discussed in Chapter 5 below. The third part of the sentence similarly introduces ‘*āmmīyah* into the otherwise *fuṣṣḥá* language softly, and with purpose. The part حصوة في عين الحسود (*ḥaṣwa f-’īn il-hasūd*, ‘may they be protected from the evil eye’) serves the same two functions as the two ‘*āmmīyah* words in the section before it; it catches the reader’s attention before highlighting the finding of the high number of births, rather than simply presenting it as a statistic, which is how this part of the sentence can be read if we exclude the ‘*āmmīyah* saying from it. It also serves another important function in that it takes on the voice of the target reader (i.e. women, mothers), whom the writer is subtly criticising for being part of the problem in the first place. Instead of appearing to attack the high number of births, which could offend women and mothers reading the article, it adopts their viewpoint

(that having children is a good thing), to get them on board, before changing the tone to the lament that follows يا خبر اسود ومنيل بستين نيلة (*yā khabar iswid wi-mnayyil bi-sittin nīlah*, 'How awful and bloody unlucky'). It can also be seen as a sarcastic comment, to ridicule the view that so many children could be a good thing - either way it catches the attention of the reader before revealing the statistic. The abrupt switch in tone (from sympathetic with the reader to a lament for the high number of births) is reflected in the language switch to *'āmmīyah*, in a complete, stand-alone sentence. The switch mirrors the switch to the core of the message, from the presentation of the facts to the problem itself, which is the state's inability to cope with the rapid population growth.

What follows are more transitional-style sentences; after getting the reader's attention the writer poses a series of questions that present the problem in a way that would resonate with the reader. The questions are mostly *fuṣḥá* with some *'āmmīyah* words, notably العيال (*il-īyāl*, 'the children'), before another noticeable switch to full use of *'āmmīyah* in the second lament that follows. The use of the demonstrative هذا (*hādha*, 'this') at the end of the lament appears to be a common technique seen in another example of satirical writing in Håland below, as well as in mixed speech (Mejdell, 2011-12). The section that follows uses what can be identified as an Intermediate form, that could be read as either *fuṣḥá* or an elevated *'āmmīyah*. In my opinion the whole final section of the article can be seen as *'āmmīyah*, based on the predominance of *'āmmīyah* text identified and highlighted in bold, with insertions of *fuṣḥá* words to elevate it at certain points.

So the overall structure of the article can be seen as *fuṣḥá* - Intermediate - *'āmmīyah*, with the *fuṣḥá* message at the beginning serving the purpose of presenting the facts of a serious topic at the beginning, followed by a transitional Intermediate midsection whose purpose is to gain the attention of the reader and introduce humour to an otherwise serious topic, followed by a final *'āmmīyah* section that presents the emotions of the writer, a lament or even tirade against the status quo. The use of *'āmmīyah* can also be related back to the target audience of the piece i.e. women, as we have seen in section 2.1.5.4 above that women typically

have lower access to education (Bassiouney, 2013) and some writers feel *'āmmīyah* best represents women's speech, or is the form they are most comfortable reading and understanding. Particularly in the case of this piece, the author is attempting to make a point to presumably less educated women about the need for family planning.

In light of this analysis, Rosenbaum's reversal of *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* terms without changing the meaning of the text can be explained by the hendiadys and parallelism predominant in the text, which does not affect the meaning per se, but I would say adds to the overall effect (emphasis, humour, etc) and therefore style, which has been shown to be generally structured. In terms of acceptability, it has been shown in other studies (Hary, 1996; Parkinson, 1993) that native speakers' perceptions vary greatly and they may accept or be unsure about hypothetical forms that are presented to them. The fact that the piece may be understood may render it acceptable, but the point of this style is not merely to convey meaning: it is to address a serious issue using humour in a structured and meaningful way, and to simplify the language by infusing *fuṣḥá* with *'āmmīyah* to make it easier to read, while at the same time elevating the *'āmmīyah* where necessary to mirror Educated Spoken Arabic, giving the overall impression of an informed, yet relatable voice with which to convey a serious message through the use of humour.

Further examples from Rosenbaum are similarly challenged and found to be more structured and less random in the style of language used than suggested, as appropriate to the message, readership and genre of the text. It is therefore proposed that the style identified as *fuṣḥāmmīyah* be viewed within the wider context of Arabic language use, as a 'lower' form of Educated Spoken Arabic, or in the context of writing, a lower form of Intermediate Arabic.

A more recent example presented as *fuṣḥāmmīyah* was found in Håland (2017), as an example of an alternating style in prose texts (p. 153-4), but upon closer inspection it appears to follow a similar structure to the one identified above, starting in *fuṣḥá* and ending in *'āmmīyah*. A review of the study is given in Chapter 6 below.

As for the point about equal distribution of *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* in *fuṣṣḥāmmīyah*, it is true that there seems to be equal weight lent to both forms in these examples, but given the humorous nature of the examples, and the title of the column given above (*al-Sittāt al-Hilwīn*), it can be said that the language leans more towards *‘āmmīyah*, or that the underlying or dominant form of language is *‘āmmīyah*, with switches to/from *fuṣṣḥá* and insertions of *fuṣṣḥá* words and phrases to ‘elevate’ the overall language, given its written context, which deems writing in ‘pure’ *‘āmmīyah* relatively unacceptable, so infusing the *‘āmmīyah* with *fuṣṣḥá* in this way makes it more acceptable in a written context. The opposite view, that this is a simplified form of *fuṣṣḥá*, is also valid, since the writers themselves express a desire to make their writing easier to understand, given that professional writing is usually in *fuṣṣḥá*. Perhaps the best way to view this type of language use is through the lens of the average native speaker, who sees the language as one entity, and uses its full repertoire to serve their aims, regardless of the label of *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. For the purposes of this study, and in order to better define how this language repertoire is used, we will use the terminology of lower-intermediate Arabic, to reflect the balance of *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* within it, as opposed to more of a weight towards *fuṣṣḥá* in (literary) intermediate Arabic, as well as the ‘low brow’ nature of its associated genres.

### **3.5 *‘āmmīyah* writing**

Perhaps one of the most overlooked areas of Arabic language studies is *‘āmmīyah* writing, since writing in Arabic is assumed to always be in *fuṣṣḥá*, with the usual exception of some literary works. References to *‘āmmīyah* writing are mostly limited to mentions in passing, without much further thought or attention to this style of writing. I make a distinction here between *‘āmmīyah* and intermediate writing, as seen above. While intermediate writing is an effective narrowing of the perceived gap between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, *‘āmmīyah* writing is the unfiltered use of the spoken vernacular (structure and lexicon) in writing. Not included in this section are literary works that make use of *‘āmmīyah* in the dialogue only;

nor those that make use of a mixed style such as having some characters speak in *fuṣḥá* while others in *‘āmmīyah*.

There are few systematic studies of *‘āmmīyah* writing, but an initial investigation of primary sources written in *‘āmmīyah* as well as secondary studies have revealed a far greater breadth and depth to this form of writing than previously thought. The main studies found are: Saīd, *Tārīkh al-Da‘wah ilá al-‘āmmīyah* (1964) and *‘Abdallah al-Nadīm: Bayna al-fuṣḥá wa-al-‘āmmīyah* (1966); Cachia (1967) *The Use of the Colloquial in Modern Arabic Literature*; and Doss & Davies (2013) *al-‘Āmmīyah al-Miṣrīyah al-Maktūbah*. Interestingly, these studies appear at two moments of resurgence of *‘āmmīyah* writing, almost 50 years apart: Saīd and Cachia at the height of modern Arabic literature and its associated experiments with language (see Intermediate Arabic above), and Doss & Davies after the advent of the internet and its associated language revolution (see Social Media and the Arab Spring in Chapter 2 above, and Chapter 5 below).

Nowadays, writing in *‘āmmīyah* is seen widely in print and online, in a coexistence with more traditional styles of writing in *fuṣḥá*. This coexistence is in stark contrast to the struggles of the literary writers mentioned above. This relatively newfound harmony is reminiscent of the following eloquent description in Cachia (1967):

“For the language that the educated Arab speaks and the language that he writes are both his, and he does not divest himself of any essential of his personality when he uses the one or the other [...] It is easier to be flippant in the one, to be articulately lofty in the other; it is possible to be human, wise, sincere, elegant in either.” (Cachia, 1967: 14)

The history of *‘āmmīyah* writing is well documented by Saīd (1964) and Doss & Davies (2013). While the latter takes a neutral stance regarding the issue of writing in *‘āmmīyah*, the former takes a stand against it, declaring the call to adopt *‘āmmīyah* in writing to be dangerous and divisive. This difference in attitude can be said to be reflective of the time of writing and the prevalent language attitudes: on one hand, the 1960s was the height

of Arab nationalism and the view of the unity of the Arabs being intrinsically tied to the unity of the Arabic language, and the corresponding establishment stance on Arabic writing, which discouraged the use of *‘āmmīyah* in writing; on the other hand, post-2011 saw the rise of the age of the internet in Egypt and the associated democratisation of the language and widespread use of *‘āmmīyah* in online writing, in addition to rather than instead of *fuṣṣḥá*. New and creative writing styles have appeared away from (or perhaps as a counter to) the censorship of the establishment, where predominantly young writers feel they have the freedom to write in whichever way they choose.

Examples of *‘āmmīyah* writing appear in different genres and across different time periods, including *zajal* poetry, prose literature, online websites, with some examples of non-Egyptian *‘āmmīyah* writing outlined below.

### **3.5.1 Pre-internet *‘āmmīyah* writing**

Doss & Davies (2013) is a collection of excerpts of *‘āmmīyah* writing, from the very few surviving early manuscripts (from the 15th century to the end of the 18th century), to the resurgence in *‘āmmīyah* writing in the late 19th century coinciding with the age of the *nahḍah*, or Arabic renaissance, through to the present age of the internet. The samples cover a range of genres, from prose to drama and poetry, beginning with the satirical writing and poetry of Ya‘qūb Ṣannū’, ‘Abdallah al-Nadīm (both also playwrights) and Bayram al-Tūnisī, who were all political activists and exiled because of their political activism. This highlights an obvious link between humour, political activism and early colloquial writing, which mirrors online youth political activism that is characterised by *‘āmmīyah* writing, as separate to the literary realism behind *‘āmmīyah* and intermediate writing in modern Arabic literature. The effectiveness of the use of *‘āmmīyah* is clear in the popularity of the early writers, which was enough to deem them a threat to the political establishment of the time and lead to their exile. The online youth activists of today have been similarly effective through their use of *‘āmmīyah*, to the extent of mobilising the masses in 2011, and the subsequent imprisonment and self-imposed exile of many of them in Egypt today.

### 3.5.2 Print & online ‘*āmmīyah* writing

Since the advent of the internet, ‘*āmmīyah* writing has proliferated online.

Examples of this style of online writing are explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6 below. Significantly, this style of writing has spilled out into the physical world, with many new print publications written in ‘*āmmīyah*, and some taken directly from their online source, such as the earliest, most well-known example of the blog ‘*Ayza Atgawwiz* (‘I want to get married’), which started in 2008 and gained such popularity that it was published in print in the same year (reaching its tenth reprint by 2012<sup>9</sup>), and subsequently adapted into a popular Ramadan television series broadcast in 2010.

In another well-known example of the interaction of the online and print worlds, is the popular Saudi novel *Banāt al-Rīyaḍ*<sup>10</sup> that is written as a series of emails, in the Saudi dialect. It was translated into English by Penguin Books in 2007.

Finally the web-based encyclopaedia Wikipedia Masry<sup>11</sup> (Egyptian Arabic Wikipedia) has been written entirely in Egyptian ‘*āmmīyah* since 2008 and is the first Wikipedia to be written in an Arabic ‘*āmmīyah* and in 2010, it had nearly 6,000 articles (Panovic, 2010; 94). As of 24 August 2018, it contains 19,271 articles, a growth of more than threefold, showing it has continued to grow since its inception a decade ago. However, it remains much smaller than Wikipedia Arabic written in *fuṣḥá* since 2003 with 118,870 articles on 15 January 2010 (ibid.), and an increase of around fivefold to 595,066 articles as of 24 August 2018<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Ghādah ‘Abd al-‘Āl. 2012. ‘*Ayza atgawwiz*. 10th ed. al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Shurūq.

<sup>10</sup> Rajā’ ‘Abdallah al-Ṣani’. 2005. *Banāt al-Rīyaḍ*. Lebanon: [?].

<sup>11</sup> Available at [https://arz.wikipedia.org/wiki/الصفحة\\_الرئيسية](https://arz.wikipedia.org/wiki/الصفحة_الرئيسية)

<sup>12</sup> Information retrieved on 25 August 2018 from [https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/ويكيبيديا\\_العربية](https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/ويكيبيديا_العربية)

## Chapter 4

### Proposed Theoretical Framework

We have seen above the main theoretical frameworks for Arabic, beginning with Ferguson's (1959) diglossia, followed by Badawi's (1973) levels and Rickford's (1987) continuum concept adapted to Arabic by Hary (1996). We have also seen the strategies employed in speaking, from code-switching and mixing to translanguaging. With regards to writing, we have seen that code-switching patterns have been found to vary from those of speech, and identified IA as a diverse writing style alongside *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* writing, that employs various techniques to achieve a seamless narrowing of the perceived gap between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*. We have seen that Middle Arabic appears to apply to historical writing, while other forms of mixing (such as *fuṣṣḥāmmīyah* and strategic bivalency) are comparable to the techniques we see employed by literary writers in IA, and proposed that the style described as *fuṣṣḥāmmīyah* may be viewed more integrally as a lower intermediate style. The contentious subject of *'āmmīyah* writing has been broached and shown to have a long history with parallels drawn between its rise at the turn of the twentieth century that of the twenty-first century, most notably in the political climates of both eras, its link to humour and its aim of reaching and eventually mobilising the masses.

In this chapter a new theoretical framework for Arabic writing is proposed, outlining a range of 'styles' based on the findings above and applied in the analyses of the following chapters. It aims to draw together the various threads observed in Arabic writing, in a coherent framework that is not exhaustive, but can be added to and adapted as new or existing forms and styles of writing come to light. The focus of this study is Arabic writing produced in Arabic script, so non-Arabic script (such as Romanised or Latinised Arabic, Arabeze, etc) has not been included.

An underlying assumption of this framework, is that in the same way that a speaker can move between Badawi's (1973) levels to suit the sociolinguistic need or situation, a writer may employ the same or different styles between works or within the same work to suit the aims of the text, although it is expected that most texts can be said to be written in one of

the overall styles, containing a range of 'techniques' to achieve the overall stylistic aims. For example, **code-switching** can be found in *fuṣṣḥá* texts, as well as Intermediate and *'āmmīyah* texts. The degree to which it is employed and the associated patterns, however, may differ to some extent between the writing style of one text compared with another, as we have seen in the previous chapter and will see in the next chapter. Similarly **borrowing** from *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* as well as foreign languages may be seen across the different writing styles, but the ways in which borrowing is employed can vary between them. Finally, we see in most writing styles that *fuṣṣḥá* **spelling** conventions are followed, even in *'āmmīyah* writing. That is not to say that spelling conventions do not differ, but in many cases they seem to be consistent to a high degree.

More importantly, underpinning this framework is the view that the Arabic language is one whole, unified language, with a rich spectrum of forms, structures and features, from which writers are free to choose and make full use of. This view is compatible with the translanguaging model, which views bilingual speakers as having one language system that they continuously search and navigate. Translanguaging views society as forcing individuals to act monolingually, which to a certain degree can be said of Arabic writing; so Arabic writers contain within them one language system, which they continuously search and navigate for the appropriate forms with which to communicate.

Crucially, what makes the Arabic language a unified language, is the enormous group of shared vocabulary items and structures between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* styles, i.e. they are part of one and the same whole. Viewing these shared forms as the majority, allows us to focus on the differences as a discrete set of features that is particular to each style. Following this line of thinking, it is worth highlighting these features, in order that they are known as the exception in an otherwise uniform language.

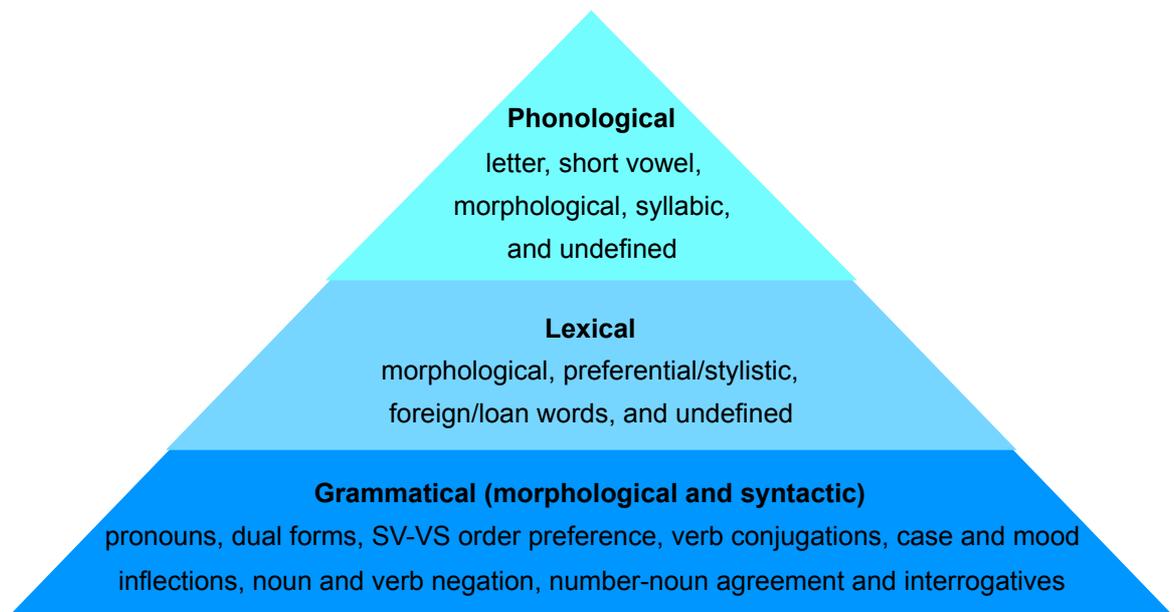
The proposed framework is therefore presented in two parts: the first takes a view of *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* in a nuanced way, breaking down the particular aspects of the language in which they differ and explains the degree of difference between them as phonological, lexical and

grammatical (morphological and syntactic). I have included many examples in order to document these language features, as well as to highlight the nuance in difference, in order to distinguish the various degrees of difference between them. The second part looks at the writing styles, for which I have kept as much existing terminology as possible, in order for them to be recognisable and to link them to existing concepts, rather than produce racially new ones. The objective of the proposed styles is to frame the body of Arabic literature - past and present, in print and online - as far as possible under one unified framework.

#### 4.1 Summary of variations between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*

It is my view that the differences between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* can be grouped into three main categories: phonological, lexical and grammatical (morphological and syntactic). Given that the aim of the proposed framework is to view the language as a whole with regular and predictable variations, which in themselves have varying degrees of difference, the categories of variation are outlined in this section and summarised in Figure 4.1 below:

**Figure 4.1** Summary variations between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*.



To begin with, Phonological variations are those which describe predictable variations in the pronunciation of particular sounds between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, in otherwise identical shared words. Next, Lexical variations are those where a different lexical item is used in *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* to describe the same thing. Finally, Grammatical variations are those which exist in the grammatical system, including morphological and syntactic differences. A detailed outline of all three aspects is presented below.

#### 4.1.1 Phonological variation

This first category covers the large group of words that are the same in *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, except for their being pronounced slightly differently in each, with these differences conforming to general rules. This group of words is easily ‘disguised’ in IA as usually *fuṣṣḥá* spelling conventions are followed. Thus, in terms of spelling the words appear identical, although they are in fact pronounced differently between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. This group can be further divided into: expected letter variation, short vowel variation, morphological variation and non-defined variation.

##### 4.1.1.1 Expected letter variation

If we look at the Arabic alphabet, we expect and indeed do find it is the same in *fuṣṣḥá* and Egyptian *‘āmmīyah*, i.e. there are no characters that are exclusive to either form. There are, however, Arab countries in which non-standard letters are used for certain sounds. Thus, in Tunisia, the symbol **ق** is sometimes used to represent dialectal ‘g’, while **ق** is used to represent the corresponding Standard Arabic ‘q’<sup>13</sup>. In Moroccan Arabic, **گ** is used to represent ‘g’<sup>14</sup>. However, we find in Egyptian *‘āmmīyah* that the pronunciation of a specific group of letters varies from that of *fuṣṣḥá*, whether in some cases or all. These are: **ث ذ ظ** as described below:

\* **Interdentals:** <sup>15</sup>ث ذ ظ

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<sup>13</sup> See: [http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Ve\\_\(Arabic\\_letter\)](http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Ve_(Arabic_letter))

<sup>14</sup> See: <http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Gaf>

<sup>15</sup> Adapted from [http://sites.middlebury.edu/arabicsociolinguistics/files/2013/02/class5\\_phonetics\\_consonants.pdf](http://sites.middlebury.edu/arabicsociolinguistics/files/2013/02/class5_phonetics_consonants.pdf)

Egyptian Arabic and most other sedentary dialects lost the interdental ث (*th*), ذ (*dh*) and ظ (*ẓ*), which have shifted to different sounds in basic and higher-level words as follows:

- \* *th* has generally shifted to *t* in basic contexts and to *s* in contexts that have a *fuṣṣḥá* flavour to them;
- \* *dh* has shifted to *d* in basic contexts and to *z* in *fuṣṣḥá* contexts;
- \* *ẓ* has shifted to *ḍ* in basic contexts and to *z* in *fuṣṣḥá* contexts

**Table 4.1** Interdental sound shifts in Egyptian *‘āmmīyah*

Arabic letter	Shift sound		Examples			
	Basic words	Higher level words				
ث ( <i>th</i> )	ت ( <i>t</i> )	س ( <i>s</i> )	<i>talḡ</i> (‘ice, snow’)	ثلج	<i>talātah</i> (‘three’)	ثلاثة
			<i>sānawīyah</i> (‘secondary’)	ثانوية	<i>masalan</i> (‘for example’)	مثلا
ذ ( <i>dh</i> )	د ( <i>d</i> )	ز ( <i>z</i> )	<i>mazhab</i> (‘sect’)	مذهب	<i>dahab</i> (‘gold’)	ذهب
ظ ( <i>ẓ</i> )	ض ( <i>ḍ</i> )	ز ( <i>z</i> )	<i>ẓulm</i> (‘injustice’)	ظلم	<i>ḍuhr</i> (‘noon, early afternoon’)	ظُهر

- \* **The letter ج** in Egypt is normally pronounced as a plosive /g/ (IPA) rather than the voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ (ibid.) in both *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* except in recitations of the Qur’an. /g/ is, in

fact, the older pronunciation of ج; i.e. Egyptian Arabic has preserved something which is older than the pronunciation 'j'<sup>16</sup>.

- \* **The letter ض** is pronounced *ḍ* as it is in *fuṣṣḥá*, except in some cases where it is pronounced as *z* in 'āmmīyah e.g. the pronunciation of ضابط (*ḍābit*, 'officer') as زابط (*zābit*).
- \* **The letter ق** pronounced often as the glottal stop (*hamzah*) ء in 'āmmīyah but not always. Again, the pronunciation with 'q' is basically found in words borrowed from Standard Arabic:
  - \* قال ('āl, 'said') : where the ق is pronounced as the glottal stop (*hamzah*) ء;
  - \* قضية ('issue', 'case/lawsuit'): where pronunciation of ق can alter the meaning of the word - قضية المرأة (*qadīyat al-mar'a*, 'women's issue') is different to رفع قضية (*raf' adīyah*, 'to file a lawsuit')
  - \* قانون (*qānūn*, 'law'): where ق is nowadays normally pronounced
- \* **The diphthongs وَاي (ay / aw)**: where in *fuṣṣḥá* the و (*w*) and ي (*y*) consonants are preceded by a *fatha* making *aw* and *ay* sounds respectively, they shift to long vowel sounds unique to 'āmmīyah, represented as the IPA sounds /o:/ and /e:/ as in Table 4.2 below:

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<sup>16</sup> See:

1. [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Manfred\\_Woidich/publication/254917451\\_The\\_gg-question\\_in\\_Egyptian\\_Arabic\\_revisited/links/575ed03208ae9a9c955f7fff/The-g-g-question-in-Egyptian-Arabic-revisited.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Manfred_Woidich/publication/254917451_The_gg-question_in_Egyptian_Arabic_revisited/links/575ed03208ae9a9c955f7fff/The-g-g-question-in-Egyptian-Arabic-revisited.pdf)
2. <http://aschmann.net/BibleChronology/Proto-SemiticSoundsInDaughterLanguages.pdf>

**Table 4.2** Diphthong sound shifts in Egyptian 'āmmīyah

<i>Fuṣṣá</i> sound	Sound shift in 'āmmīyah	Examples			
او (aw)	/o:/	<i>lo:z, lo:zah</i> (‘almonds’, ‘almond’)	لوز، لوزة	<i>mo:z, mo:zah</i> (‘bananas’, ‘banana’)	موز، موزة
		<i>ḥo:d</i> (‘sink’)	حوض	<i>lo:n</i> (‘colour’)	لون
		<i>mo:t</i> (‘death’)	موت	<i>šo:t</i> (‘sound, voice’)	صوت
		<i>fo:’</i> (‘above’)	فوق	<i>sho:’</i> (‘longing’)	شوق
		<i>to:r</i> (‘bull’)	ثور	<i>qo:s</i> (‘bow, arc’)	قوس
		<i>bo:s, bo:sah</i> (‘kissing’, ‘kiss’)	بوس، بوسة	<i>sho:k,</i> <i>sho:kah</i> (‘thorns’, ‘fork’)	شوك، شوكة
اي (ay)	/:e/	<i>ḥe:l</i> (‘strength’)	حيل	<i>le:l</i> (‘night’)	ليل
		<i>be:t</i> (‘house’)	بيت	<i>ze:t</i> (‘oil’)	زيت
		<i>še:d</i> (‘hunting’, ‘fishing’)	صيد	<i>de:l</i> (‘tail’)	ذيل
		<i>khe:r</i> (‘goodness’)	خير	<i>ghe:r</i> (‘other’)	غير
		<i>be:ḍ</i> (‘eggs’)	بيض	<i>ghe:ṭ</i> (‘field’)	غيط

\* **The hamzah glottal stop ء** : when assimilated into the *ā* or *ī* vowel ‘chair’ in some cases when:

- \* preceded by a *fathā* and followed by *sukūn* e.g. رأس (ra’s, ‘head’) pronounced as راس (rās), similarly فأس (fās, ‘axe’) and كأس (kās, ‘cup’);
- \* medial in the active participle فاعل form e.g. صائم (ṣā’im, ‘fasting’) pronounced as صائم (ṣāyim), similarly طائر (ṭāyir, ‘flying’, ‘bird’) and نائم (nāyim, ‘sleeping’);
- \* on or beside final *alif* (e.g. السماء (samā’, ‘sky’) pronounced as سما (sama) and مساء (masā’, ‘evening’) pronounced as مسا (masa or misa).

**Table 4.3** Summary of expected letter variation between *fuṣṣḥá* and ‘*āmmīyah*

Letter	Pronunciation in <i>fuṣṣḥá</i>	Pronunciation in ‘ <i>āmmīyah</i>
ث	<i>th</i>	<i>t / s</i>
ج	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>
ذ	<i>dh</i>	<i>z</i>
ض	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>z</i>
ظ	<i>ẓ</i>	<i>z</i>
ق	<i>q</i>	<i>’ / q</i>
و / ي	<i>aw, ay</i>	<i>o:, e: (IPA)</i>
ء	<i>’ (glottal stop)</i>	<i>(assimilated with vowel)</i>

#### 4.1.1.2 Short vowel variation

These are words whose letters are orthographically identical, however the difference in pronunciation between *fuṣṣḥá* and ‘*āmmīyah* is in the (unwritten) short vowels, such as: مَهْمَةٌ (*mahammah*, ‘task’) and مُهِمَّةٌ (*muhimmah*). This is also, of course, true of a lot of purely *fuṣṣḥá* words.

#### 4.1.1.3 Morpho-phonological variation

This includes a slight variation in pronouncing morphological suffixes or prefixes. A purely phonological variation, it has no grammatical implication i.e. the word order and usage remain the same as in *fuṣṣḥá*. Examples include:

- \* the *nisba* adjective ending *ِي* (*īy*) in *fuṣṣḥá* pronounced without the *shaddah* as *ي* (*ī*) in *'āmmīyah*
- \* the definite article *ال* (*al*) pronounced as *il* in *'āmmīyah*

#### 4.1.1.4 Syllable variation

This refers to the vowel dropping tendencies in *'āmmīyah*, such as dropping of the *kasrah* and shortening of the *alif* in the feminine singular active particle *فَالْعَلَّة* (*fā'ilah*) form, as in: *سَامِعَةٌ* (*sāmi'ah*, hear/s) which is pronounced *sam'ah* in *'āmmīyah*; similarly *كَامِلَةٌ* (*kamlah*, complete) and *شَامِلَةٌ* (*shamlah*, comprehensive)

#### 4.1.1.5 Undefined phonological variation

Words that do not have an immediately identifiable overarching category for the variation such as the examples in Table 4.4 below:

**Table 4.4** Examples of undefined phonological variation

Meaning in English	Word in <i>fuṣṣḥá</i>	Pronunciation in <i>'āmmīyah</i>
turtle	<i>sulaḥfāh</i> سلحفاة	<i>sulḥifāh</i> سلحفة
vehicle	<i>'arbah</i> عربة	<i>'arabīyah</i> عربية
someone	<i>aḥad</i> أحد	<i>ḥad</i> حد
man	<i>rajul</i> رجل	<i>rāgil</i> راجل
knife	<i>sikkīn</i> سكين	<i>sikkīnah</i> سكينه
rice	<i>urz</i> أرز	<i>ruz</i> رز
spoon	<i>mil'aqah</i> ملعقة	<i>ma'la'ah</i> معلقة
rowing	<i>tajdīf</i> تجديف	<i>ta'dīf</i> تآديف
morning	<i>ṣabāḥ</i> صباح	<i>ṣubḥ</i> صبح

#### 4.1.2 Lexical variation

This second group is where the variation between *fuṣṣhá* and *‘āmmīyah* is not limited to a single phonological variation in a word, but varying degrees of change in whole lexical items. This group can be subdivided into morphological variations, preferential/stylistic variations foreign/loan words, and undefined variations:

##### 4.1.2.1 Morphological lexical variation

This is where morphologically different lexical items are used in *fuṣṣhá* and *‘āmmīyah* to describe the same thing, but share the same root, as in Table 4.5 below:

**Table 4.5** Examples of morphological lexical variation

Meaning in English	Word in <i>fuṣṣhá</i>	Word in <i>‘āmmīyah</i>
clothes	<i>malābis</i> ملابس	<i>libs</i> لابس
cafe	<i>maqhá</i> مقهى	<i>qahwa</i> قهوة

##### 4.1.2.2 Preferential/stylistic variation

This describes the ‘shared’ group of words between *fuṣṣhá* and *‘āmmīyah* that tend to be used in one rather than the other, therefore acquiring either a *fuṣṣhá* or *‘āmmīyah* ‘flavour’ as in the examples in Table 4.6 below:

**Table 4.6** Examples of preferential/stylistic variation

Meaning in English	Preferred word in <i>fuṣṣhá</i>	Preferred word in <i>‘āmmīyah</i>
go	<i>dhahaba</i> ذهب	<i>rāḥ</i> راح
want	<i>arāda</i> أراد	<i>‘āz</i> عاز
leave	<i>taraka</i> ترك	<i>sāb</i> ساب
drive	<i>qāda</i> قاد	<i>sāq</i> ساق

#### 4.1.2.3 Foreign or loan words

These are commonly-used foreign or loan words in ‘*āmmīyah*’ which in some cases have been absorbed into *fuṣṣhā* and in other cases the *fuṣṣhā* has been absorbed into ‘*āmmīyah*’. In most of these cases however, the Arabic form is in fact a neologism, designed to replace the foreign borrowing with a ‘genuine’ Arabic form, as in the examples in Table 4.7 below, including some of the examples from Abdel-Malek (1972):

**Table 4.7** Examples of foreign words

Meaning in English	Word in <i>fuṣṣhā</i>	Word in ‘ <i>āmmīyah</i> ’
bank	<i>maṣraf</i> مصرف	<i>bank</i> بنك
computer	<i>ḥāsūb</i> حاسوب	<i>kumbīyūtar</i> كمبيوتر
trousers	<i>sirwāl</i> سروال	<i>bantalūn</i> بنطلون
sandwich	<i>shatīrah</i> شطيرة	<i>sandawitsh</i> سندوتش
hat	<i>quba‘ah</i> قبعة	<i>burnīṭah</i> برنيطة
purple	<i>banafsajīy</i> *بنفسجي	<i>mo:v</i> موف
Mrs	<i>ustādhah</i> *أستاذة	<i>mādām</i> مادام
Miss	<i>ānisah</i> *آنسة	<i>madmuze:l</i> مادموزيل
bus	<i>ḥāfilah</i> حافلة	<i>utubīs</i> أوتوبيس

\*Examples of *fuṣṣhā* neologisms absorbed into ‘*āmmīyah*’

#### 4.1.2.4 Undefined lexical variation

This is the case where different lexical items are used in *fuṣṣhā* and ‘*āmmīyah*’, but neither form is shared with the other, such as (ستّ - امرأة؛) (عربية - سيارة؛ جزمة - حذاء)

**Table 4.8** Examples of undefined lexical variation

Meaning in English	Word in <i>fuṣṣhā</i>	Word in ‘ <i>āmmīyah</i> ’
woman	<i>imra‘ah</i> امرأة	<i>sitt</i> ست
car	<i>sayyārah</i> سيارة	‘ <i>arabīyah</i> عربية
shoe(s)	<i>ḥidhā‘</i> حذاء	<i>gazmah</i> جزمة

### 4.1.3 Grammatical (morphological and syntactic) variation

Perhaps the largest subgroup of differences between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, it includes (but is not limited to): personal, demonstrative and relative pronouns, dual forms, SV-VS order preference, verb conjugations, case and mood inflections, noun and verb negation, number-noun agreement and interrogatives.

#### 4.1.3.1 Pronouns

\* **Personal pronouns:** the number of distinct personal pronouns in *fuṣṣḥá* (12) is larger than the number in *‘āmmīyah* (8). The 8 overlapping pronouns are largely similar, with some phonetic variations as shown in the table below:

**Table 4.7** Personal pronouns in *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*

Personal pronouns		<i>Fuṣṣḥá</i>	<i>‘āmmīyah</i>	
Singular	1st person	<i>ana</i> أنا	<i>ana</i> أنا	
	2nd person	masculine	<i>anta</i> أَنْتَ	<i>inta</i> إِنْتَ
		feminine	<i>anti</i> أَنْتِ	<i>inti</i> إِنْتِي
	3rd person	masculine	<i>huwa</i> هُوَ	<i>howwa</i> هُوَّ
		feminine	<i>hiya</i> هِيَ	<i>hiyya</i> هِيَّ
Dual	2nd person	<i>antumā</i> أَنْتُمَا	-	
	3rd person	<i>humā</i> هُمَا	-	
Plural	1st person	<i>naḥnu</i> نَحْنُ	<i>iḥna</i> إِحْنَا	
	2nd person	masculine	<i>antum</i> أَنْتُمْ	<i>intu</i> إِنْتُمْ / إِنْتُو
		feminine	<i>antunna</i> أَنْتُنَّ	
	3rd person	masculine	<i>hum</i> هُمْ	<i>humma</i> هُمَّا
		feminine	<i>hunna</i> هُنَّ	-

\* **Demonstrative pronouns:** the ten demonstrative pronouns in *fuṣṣḥá* are reduced to three in ‘*āmmīyah* (دا - دي - دول) as shown in Table 4.6 below:

**Table 4.8** Demonstrative pronouns in *fuṣṣḥá* and ‘*āmmīyah*

Demonstrative pronouns			<i>Fuṣṣḥá</i>	‘ <i>āmmīyah</i>
Singular	Masculine	this	<i>hādhā</i> هذا	<i>dā</i> دا
		that	<i>dhālika</i> ذلك	
	Feminine	this	<i>hādhihi</i> هذه	<i>dī</i> دي
		that	<i>tilka</i> تلكَ	
Dual	Masculine	nominative	<i>hādhāni</i> هَذَانِ	-
		accusative /genitive	<i>hādhayni</i> هَذَيْنِ	
	Feminine	nominative	<i>hātāni</i> هَاتَانِ	
		accusative /genitive	<i>hātayni</i> هَاتَيْنِ	
Plural	these		<i>hā’ulā’i</i> هؤلاءِ	<i>do:l</i> دول
	those		<i>ulā’ika</i> أُولَئِكَ (أُولَئِكَ)	

In terms of agreement in ‘*āmmīyah*, we see the dual noun taking the plural demonstrative, as in *il-kitābe:n do:l* (الكتابين دول) (‘these (pl.) [two] books (dual)’).

Additionally, while there is no syntactic difference in the use of the demonstrative pronouns between *fuṣṣḥá* and ‘*āmmīyah* when together with a noun they form a complete equational sentence. However, as a demonstrative-noun phrase their order is reversed. For example:

‘This [is a] book’      *da kitāb*      دا كتاب      =      *hādhā kitāb*      هذا كتاب

‘This book [is] beautiful’      *il-kitāb da gamīl*      الكتاب دا جميل      =      *hādhā al-kitāb jamīl*      هذا الكتاب جميل

\* **Relative pronouns:** as with demonstrative pronouns, the number of relative pronouns is greatly reduced in ‘*āmmīyah*. In fact, there is only one relative pronoun in ‘*āmmīyah*, compared with nine in *fuṣṣḥá*. The grammatical use of the relative pronoun is the same as

in *fuṣḥá*, where it is used in a relative clause with a definite noun, and omitted when the noun is indefinite, as in:

رجل يعمل في مصنع = راجل بيشتغل\* في مصنع

'A man [who] works in a factory'

الرجل الذي يعمل في مصنع = الراجل اللي بيشتغل\* في مصنع

The man who works in a factory'

- \* The verb *شغل - عمل* is an example of preferential/stylistic lexical variation. For the *b+* imperfect verb suffix see case and mood inflections below.

#### 4.1.3.2 Dual forms

As seen above, the dual is largely absent in *'āmmīyah* except for dual counted nouns, so no dual pronouns or verb conjugations are used. Dual nouns take the *ين* ending pronounced as /e:n/ (see Table 4.2 above and Table 4.7 below), without modification for gender or case.

#### 4.1.3.3 SV-VS order preference and agreement

In both *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, both verb-subject or subject-verb order are used, however, in *fuṣḥá* the preference is V-S order while in *'āmmīyah* the preference is S-V order. Whereas in *fuṣḥá* the verb in V-S order is singular, in *'āmmīyah* the verb agrees with the subject in number (singular or plural).

#### 4.1.3.4 Verb conjugations

The absence of dual pronouns and the third person feminine plural pronouns in *'āmmīyah* naturally results in no verb conjugations for these pronouns in *'āmmīyah*. In imperfect verb conjugation in *'āmmīyah* we see the dropping of the final *ن* in the second person feminine singular conjugation (*ين - ي*), and the second and third plural conjugations (*ون - و*). Perfect verb conjugation is largely similar with some minor variations of internal vowels and omission of final vowels except for the second person feminine singular (*فَعَلْتِ*).

#### 4.1.3.5 Future tense marker

While both *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* use a future tense marker + imperfect verb to indicate future tense, and both use a single letter prefix, in *fuṣḥá* this single prefix is the letter *س* + imperfect verb, while in *'āmmīyah* it is the

letter ه or ح + imperfect verb. Additionally, *fuṣṣá* has another future tense marker, the word سوف + imperfect verb, which is not used in *āmmīyah*.

#### 4.1.3.6 Case and mood inflections (indicative, accusative, genitive and jussive)

We find these mostly absent in *āmmīyah*, which can explain to some extent the description of *āmmīyah* as being a ‘simplified’ form of *fuṣṣá*. However, we do find the *b+* prefix added to *āmmīyah* imperfect verbs, but not in *fuṣṣá*. Further, the *b+* suffix is dropped in the subjunctive case in *āmmīyah*. Too numerous to include a full list here, a few examples of case and mood inflections are given in the table below:

**Table 4.9** Examples of case and mood inflections absent in *āmmīyah*

Case/mood	Ending in <i>fuṣṣá</i>			Ending in <i>āmmīyah</i>
	indicative	accusative / subjunctive	genitive / jussive	
masculine plural ending	ون	ين	ين	ين
indefinite noun ending	ة	(ا)	ة	(none)
definite noun ending	ة	ة	ة	(none)
imperfect verb ending (singular)	* ة	(subjunctive) َ	(jussive) ُ	subjunctive dropping of the <i>bi</i> prefix
imperfect verb ending (plural)	نَ	in some cases dropping of ن		(none)
dual noun ending	ان	ين	ين	ين**
imperfect dual verb ending	ان	ا (dropping of ن)		(none)

\* Or َ for 2nd person singular feminine ending (ينَ)

\*\* Pronounced as /e:n/ (see Table 4.2 above)

#### 4.1.3.7 Noun and verb negation

Nouns, adjectives and adverbs in *fuṣḥá* are negated with the verb *لَيْسَ*, (*laysa*, 'to 'not' be') which is conjugated for the 12 personal pronouns, while in *'āmmīyah* nouns, adjectives and adverbs are simply negated with *مِش* (*mish*, 'not'). Verbs in *fuṣḥá* are negated using the negators *لَمْ / لَا / لَنْ* + imperfect verb (with the negators carrying the tense: *لَمْ* for the past tense, *لَا* for the present tense, and *لَنْ* for the future tense), or *مَا* + perfect verb. In *'āmmīyah* the imperfect and future tense verbs are negated using *مِش* while the perfect verb is negated by adding the *مَا* prefix and *ش* suffix, along with a 'helping vowel' if this results in a 3-consonant cluster, as in:

كَتَبْتُ - < مَاكَتَبْتِش

The imperfect verb can also take this form of negation, as in:

باكتب - < ماباكتبش / مش باكتب

#### 4.1.3.8 Number-noun agreement

While the numbers themselves remain largely similar between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, with some phonetic variation in *'āmmīyah*; *fuṣḥá* has notoriously complicated number-noun agreement rules, which are somewhat simplified in *'āmmīyah*. The table below summarises the agreement rules for each, with differences between them highlighted in **bold**.

**Table 4.10** Summary number-noun agreement rules for numbers 1-100

Number(s)	Number-noun agreement	
	<i>fushá</i>	<i>'ammīyah</i>
1	Singular noun, optional addition of number for emphasis, number agrees with noun number, gender and <b>case</b>	Singular noun, optional addition of number for emphasis, number agrees with noun gender
2	Dual noun, optional addition of number for emphasis, <b>number agrees with noun number, gender and case</b>	Dual noun, optional addition of number for emphasis
3-10	Number + plural noun, <b>with number reverse-agreement with gender</b>	Number + plural noun, <b>with dropping of final ʾ in the number</b>
11-19	11-12: Number + singular noun: <b>unit and ten agreement with gender, noun and number in accusative case</b>	Number + singular noun
	13-19: Number + singular noun: <b>unit reverse agreement with noun gender, ten agreement with noun gender, number and noun in accusative case</b>	
20-99	Number + singular noun: <b>numbers decline for case, nouns in accusative case. Gender agreement/reverse agreement rules apply.</b>	
100	Number + singular noun [Number and noun in an <i>idāfah</i> with associated pronunciation of ʾ and noun in genitive case]	Number + singular noun [The number <i>miyyah</i> is pronounced <i>mīt</i> in the <i>idāfah</i> ]

#### 4.1.3.9 Interrogatives

These are different lexical items in *fushá* and *'ammīyah*, although in many cases it is merely a case of phonological variation, as shown in Table 4.9 below:

**Table 4.11** Interrogatives in *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*

Interrogative	<i>Fuṣṣḥá</i>	<i>‘āmmīyah</i>
Who	مَنْ	مِين
What	noun + ما verb + ماذا	إيه
Why	لِمَاذَا	ليه
Where	أَيْنَ	فين
Where from	مِنْ أَيْنَ	منين
When	مَتَى	إمتى
How	كَيْفَ	إزاي
How many	كَمْ	كام
How much (price)	بِكَمْ	بكام
Do/does/did	هَلْ	(none, although هل is used for emphasis/elevation)

In terms of syntactic variation, interrogatives in *fuṣṣḥá* are always placed at the beginning of the question, whereas in *‘āmmīyah* the syntax is more flexible and the interrogatives may be placed at the beginning of the question or after the noun, as in *سامي فين؟* ('Sami [is] where?') for example.

This list of differences between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather illustrative of their regularity and depth. We see that even within these differences lie similarities and degrees of variation, highlighting the fact that the forms do in fact belong to one language, derived from and influenced by each other. Additionally, in most cases where forms differ between *fuṣṣḥá* and Egyptian *‘āmmīyah*, we find these same forms differ between *fuṣṣḥá* and other *‘āmmīyāt*, on all levels: phonological, lexical and grammatical (morphological and syntactic). Furthermore, as Ferguson (1959b) notes, similarities in forms do exist between the various *‘āmmīyāt*, which along with classicising and levelling, (Blanc, 1960), and even hybridisation (Abu-Melhim, 1992), raises to some extent their mutual intelligibility (Ezzat, 1974). In fact, a study of Arabic

cross-dialectal conversations (Soliman, 2014) showed that MSA use in cross-dialectal situations has decreased over the last few decades, with more participants than previously observed using more of their local dialect to communicate in cross-dialectal situations, with a high level of mutual intelligibility (ibid.). Although a comparison between the differences found between *fuṣḥá* and Egyptian *‘āmmīyah* and those between *fuṣḥá* and other *‘āmmīyāt* falls outside of the scope of this study, it is nonetheless an interesting point and an area identified for further study.

## 4.2 The proposed theoretical framework: 7 Arabic writing styles

In light of the proposed view of the language as a whole, with identifiable variations of forms, the proposed theoretical framework highlights various writing ‘styles’ that have been observed in use, from the Classical to the Modern. These styles employ various strategies and techniques, including code-switching, borrowing and adherence to or variation from traditional spelling conventions, as appropriate for the aims of the text:

1. **Classical Arabic (CA)**: the dominant pre-*nahḍa* writing style, characterised by use of Classical lexicon, grammar, morphology and structures, and abundant use of rhyme and repetition.
2. **Middle Arabic (MA)**: also referred to as Literary Mixed Arabic, it is essentially Classical Arabic (CA), with some Spoken Arabic (SA) features, as well as the more intriguing features that belong neither to CA nor SA (Bellem & Smith, 2014), characteristic of pre-modern writing, particularly in the Middle Ages.
3. **Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)**: shaped by the post-*nahḍa* reforms and modern media, it is characterised by a more terse style than Classical Arabic, and modern scientific, technological and political vocabulary. It may include some ‘borrowings’ from *‘āmmīyah* or a foreign language, however these are usually typographically marked by insertion between quotation marks or brackets. Speech may be quoted in *‘āmmīyah*, such as in newspaper headlines.
4. **Intermediate Arabic (IA)**: as a literary style, it is a conscious attempt to seamlessly blend *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* lexicon and structures, relying

heavily on the shared language between them, particularly (ortho)graphically identical words that may be pronounced differently in spoken *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. In non-literary use, particularly online, we see an initial, inter-sentential code-switch from *fuṣḥá* to *‘āmmīyah*, often with a ‘transitional’ (bivalent) sentence in-between. It started appearing in the mid-twentieth century with the rise of Modern Arabic Literature.

5. **Lower-Intermediate Arabic (LIA)**: aimed at less-educated readers with a focus on humour in discussing serious as well as everyday topics. It may include a single, initial code-switch from *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, or employ a series of switches to lower or elevate the language as required.
6. **Colloquial Written Arabic (CWA)**: identifiably colloquial texts that do not aim to hide or blend *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* forms. It may be used to discuss anything from high-brow, political topics to everyday humour. Spelling conventions remain largely close to *fuṣḥá*. It may include an initial switch from *fuṣḥá* to *‘āmmīyah*, in which case the *‘āmmīyah* predominates the text. It may also include *fuṣḥá* terms to ‘elevate’ the language as required, as has been observed with ESA.
7. **Chat-Speak (ChS)**: a very informal form of colloquial Arabic, used mostly online in chat-style forums and texting. Spelling conventions are more fluid and phonetic, and less bound to *fuṣḥá* conventions.

Within each style, several strategies and techniques can be observed. For example, modern opposition newspapers as we have seen, may contain *‘āmmīyah* quotes. Although these are normally typographically marked in some way (usually inserted between brackets), and are therefore highlighted from the rest of the (*fuṣḥá*) text, it is still nonetheless a strategy employed by the writer/editor - perhaps to provide an air of authenticity to the quote, rather than the ‘translated’ version that otherwise would be provided in *fuṣḥá*.

Similarly, *‘āmmīyah* texts may contain elements of *fuṣḥá*, that have either entered everyday language or for the purposes of ‘elevating’ the language (through register, tone, etc). A marked difference however, is that while *fuṣḥá* texts will normally highlight use of *‘āmmīyah* typographically, in

*'āmmīyah* texts, *fuṣḥá* is used without this highlighting, in a much more seamless way, that seems to harmonise between the two varieties within the same text.

The way these styles have been adopted in writing has been shown initially in the previous chapter above, where obvious variations in style between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* have been long observed, but lacking a coherent theoretical framework in which to view them. In addition to Classical and Modern Standard Arabic writing styles and genres, modern Arabic literature can be said to have given rise to the Intermediate style, and most recently the digital age has witnessed a surge in use and popularity of Colloquial Written Arabic. This latter style is explored in a detailed and systematic study of the Facebook page of the influential online activist group at the time of the 2011 uprisings, 6th April Youth Movement, in Chapter 5 below.

## **Part II**

**Application of proposed theoretical framework on  
contemporary language use: online and in print**

## **Chapter 5**

### **6th April Youth Movement Facebook page study**

At the time of popular protests in January 2011 in Egypt that led to the end of President Mubarak's 30-year reign, they seemed to come out of nowhere. The activities that led to the mass protests went largely unnoticed until people started pouring out onto the streets. The groundwork for these protests, however, was laid for several years prior to 2011. In fact, as per its own Facebook (FB) page, the youth activist group, 6th April Youth Movement, was founded in 2008 and the name 6th April refers to the date of the 2009 textile workers' strikes in Mahallah, Egypt, which the group supported with protests. The ominous death of Khaled Said in June 2010 led the group to call for protests against police brutality, garnering the support of another popular FB page, We Are All Khaled Said, which was set up after the same incident. After the Tunisian protests of December 2010, the group's calls for protest intensified, culminating in a wave of protests over the eighteen days between 25 January and 11 February 2011.

Much has been said of the role of social media in facilitating communication between the activists and the general public, and the aim of this study is to extend the body of knowledge towards the activists' language use, which is noticeably different to traditional forms of writing. Since the events of 2011, social media uptake has soared (Spot On Public Relations, 2010) and the language used online is an area ripe for study. Some studies into language use (in Arabic script) have emerged, and the findings of three such studies (Ramsay, 2012; Kosoff, 2014; Håland, 2017) are compared to the findings of this study in Chapter 6 below.

#### **5.1 Methodology**

This study adopts a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach, analysing the FB posts of the 6th April Youth Movement page over the five-year period from the page's creation in 2008 through to the protests calling for the removal of then-president Morsi in June 2013. Their FB

page, as of 8 October 2013, had 542,220 'likes'<sup>17</sup> (this figure has more than doubled to 1,388,724 in the five years since<sup>18</sup>). This is equivalent to around 10% of all Facebook traffic from Egypt at the time of the 2011 revolution, as reported by Al Masry Al Youm English Edition<sup>19</sup>, meaning it has a significant following in the online world. This page, along with the We Are All Khaled Said page, were the catalysts that moved people from the virtual, online world to protest in the streets of the physical world in 2011. The aim is to analyse a range of linguistically-varied posts from the page in order to find an overall pattern for language use.

The methodologies of two other studies seem to be relevant to this study: Mazraani's (1997) study of language variation in Arabic political speech making and Aboelezz's (2012) study of intertextuality and dialectology in protest messages<sup>20</sup> observed in images of signs bearing slogans used in Tahrir Square during the protests of 2011. Mazraani (1997) analyses and compares a total of 55 speeches by three different speakers: the late presidents of: Egypt, Gamal Abdul Nasser; Iraq, Saddam Hussein; and Libya, Muammar Gaddafi. In order to deduce an equivalent volume of data for this study, I have calculated roughly that Mazraani analyses a total of around 10,000 words, or around 3-4,000 words per speaker. Aboelezz (2012) analyses 1,500 protest messages from Tahrir Square in her study of intertextuality. Although it is not clear how much text was involved in each message, there seemed to be as little as one word, *irḥal* (leave) through to four words, *al-sha'b yurīd isqāt al-nizām* (the people want the fall of the regime), to possibly more. This gives roughly an equivalent of the words per speaker in Mazraani (1997). Due to the nature of the data in this study, it was not possible to gather as much data as the

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<sup>17</sup> Source URL (retrieved on 8 October 2013 at 15:50): <https://www.facebook.com/shabab6april>

<sup>18</sup> Source URL (retrieved on 5 March 2018 at 19:19): <https://www.facebook.com/shabab6april>

<sup>19</sup> Source URL (retrieved on 24 March 2011 at 21:08): <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/node/373027>

<sup>20</sup> Aboelezz, M. 2012. 1001 Images from Tahrir Square: A study of intertextuality and dialogicality in protest messages. BRISMES Annual Conference, London.

two studies mentioned, since dealing with a live Facebook page presented technical challenges in the first instance of following, selecting, downloading and storing the posts as data for the study. At the beginning of this study the technological options available were limited and a manual process for selection and analysis of the data was followed, as detailed in the next section below. So to begin with all posts from the group's FB page were selected and analysed, but as the number, length and frequency of posts increased, it became unfeasible to gather and store all of them. This led to posts being selected on a qualitative, rather than quantitative basis, with linguistically interesting and lengthier posts being selected for further analysis, as well as more popular posts (measured by the number of 'likes', comments and 'shares') being selected.

### **5.1.1 Data selection**

The method for data selection and analysis was manual; at the time the study began technological options for gathering and storing the data were limited. A computational approach for analysing the language was considered but at the time no computational method for analysing and comparing *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* text could be found, and to create one would have been outside of the scope of this study. Aboelezz (2012) was contacted and confirmed she also used manual analysis methods to compare the images in her study. Therefore the FB page was manually monitored over a five-year period and posts were collected, stored and analysed manually.

### **5.1.2 Data organisation**

The FB posts used in this study were collected in chronological order and organised following a timeline of prominent events in the group's activities as follows:

1. Founding of the 6th April Youth Movement Facebook page and initial posts: posts dated August-December 2008
2. Call for protests in support of the Mahallah textile workers' strike on 6 April 2009 and advertisements of the Movement's annual conference: posts dated early-late 2009

3. Death of Khaled Said in June 2010 and subsequent calls for protest: posts dated late 2010
4. Tunisian uprising in December 2010 and intensification of calls for protest: posts dated January-February 2011
5. Presidential elections of July 2012: posts dated January-July 2012 (after the election of the People's Assembly)
6. Protests calling for the removal of then-president Morsi: posts dated June 2013 (coinciding with the Tamarrod movement)

### **5.1.3 Data categorisation**

As the data was collected, it quickly became clear that a distinction could be made between the group's language use pre- and post-December 2010, the time of the Tunisian uprising, and the awareness and momentum building up after the death of Khaled Said. Much of the earlier posts related to the formalities of setting up the group, its mission, aims, forms of conduct and some relaying of news via photo and video uploads, and the corresponding language use was found to be mainly in the MSA writing style, with some CWA observed mostly in cartoon captions and direct quotes. However, a distinct shift in content and language can be seen after the events of December 2010, when the group's calls for protests intensified and more emotive language can be seen, with a corresponding increase in the use of CWA-style language.

The approach taken towards the categorisation of the data is holistic and contextual, so posts are analysed in their entirety in order to determine the language style of each post as per the proposed theoretical framework outlined in the preceding chapter. In cases where there is mixing between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, or where shared or ambiguous language is used, the entire post has been analysed in order to take into account the context of the post and its aims, and categorised accordingly, with an accompanying description of the language techniques used within the post such as strategic bivalency and code-switching, including the apparent switch points and motivations for switching. The three levels of difference between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* outlined in the previous chapter were used to consider ambiguous cases. Cases of phonological differences that would be often disguised in writing by omission of short

vowels for example, were considered within the context of the whole post and categorised as either MSA, IA or CWA accordingly. Examples of posts in each style and category are given below, with an accompanying analysis of the text to show how a conclusion was reached in each case.

The posts themselves were grouped by content into the categories listed in Table 5.1 below. These categories were shown to correspond in many cases to distinct linguistic styles, so they were further divided into MSA and IA/CWA groups, with IA and CWA style posts containing similar content as per the table below. The linguistic features of the posts in each of these categories were analysed further, with the salient findings presented in the next section below.

**Table 5.1** Data categories grouped by linguistic style and motivations

<b>MSA</b>	<b>IA/CWA</b>
'Formal' posts that appear to represent the group, its mission activities, rules, etc.	<b>Cartoons</b> (pre and post December 2010) and <b>jokes</b> (post Dec 2010): humorous posts mostly in CWA style
<b>Announcements:</b> posts that clarify the group's position on certain issues and often address an external audience (critics and those hostile to the group, or simply a non-Egyptian/international audience)	<b>Appeals:</b> posts appealing to the reader to take part in a certain form of action, such as a protest or vote. Appeals are usually emotive, written in IA or CWA style
<b>Knowledge and learning:</b> posts that espouse the importance of these	<b>Ideas, thoughts and feelings:</b> these are often longer posts of a few sentences that resemble 'thought' pieces or expressions of an idea or emotion, mostly in CWA

<p><b>Photo and video captions</b> (pre-December 2010): posts with neutral (i.e. non-emotive) descriptions of attached photos and videos</p>	<p><b>Photo and video 'commentaries'</b> (December 2010 onwards): these posts express a reaction to or analysis of the content of the accompanying photo or video, as opposed to the neutral 'captions' we find in pre-December 2010 posts</p>
<p><b>Invitations, opinion polls, surveys and questions</b> to the collective members of the group: invitations are to 'real' events, such as protests and conferences, and can be seen in this context as 'formal' invitations, and the opinion polls, etc. can be seen as neutral, or even 'scientific', hence the corresponding use of MSA.</p>	<p><b>Opinion polls and surveys:</b> in contrast to pre-December 2010 written in MSA style, opinion polls and surveys start to appear in IA and CWA styles</p>
<p><b>Reports and quotes:</b> statements of events written in a newspaper-style MSA as well as direct quotes from well-known figures</p>	<p><b>Slogans:</b> short, one-line posts, written either in CWA or IA (i.e. mixing MSA, CWA, and bivalent forms)</p>

## 5.2 Findings

The first finding of the study is that the frequency and content of the posts vary greatly between periods of high-intensity activity, which correspond directly to periods of 'real world' political activity as described in the timeline of events above, and 'lull' periods in-between. For example, the number of posts from the founding of the Facebook page up until the death of Khaled Said are relatively small - a total of 65 posts between the page's founding in August 2008 and the call for protests in December 2010, when the number of posts reached over 600 posts in December 2010 alone. The earlier posts of August 2008-December 2010 were all analysed and categorised, whereas not all of the posts from December

2010 onwards were collected and analysed due to the tenfold increase in the number of posts.

In terms of language use, the periods of increased activity were found to be the most linguistically diverse, with the use of MSA alongside an increase in the use of CWA and IA styles. Further, during periods of high intensity on the political scene, e.g. during the 2012 presidential elections, there was a notable increase in activity and more emotive, CWA-style language is used. In relatively quiet periods between two big events, such as the ousting of Mubarak and the subsequent presidential elections, activity on the page is kept up, although the language seems to largely revert back to MSA as the content becomes less urgent and emotive.

The language styles that have been identified in the posts are consistent with the proposed theoretical framework. The analysed posts are almost exclusively identifiable as either MSA, CWA or IA, as outlined below, with the small exceptions of quotes from the Quran for example, which were made in the original CA. No use of LIA nor CS was observed. The most salient findings regarding language styles are listed below:

- \* MSA was found to be used predominantly for non-emotive or 'neutral' posts, such as photo and video captions pre-December 2010, official announcements, invitations and surveys, all of which do not include emotion towards, or analysis of, the content.
- \* Posts addressed to an external (i.e. non-Egyptian) audience are in MSA, possibly as the 'lingua franca' or language of diplomacy between different Arab nations, in this case Egypt and Tunisia. In one case a post was found to contain English, presumably a message to a wider international audience. Such instances of use of English on this FB page were found to be extremely limited and rare.
- \* MSA was also found to be used when addressing critics or more hostile audiences of the page, using the neutral, non-emotive tone of MSA to diffuse rather than inflame any conflict. This use of MSA serves as a polite, non-confrontational way of addressing critics.
- \* In some cases, MSA was found to be used with switches to the colloquial in order to quote direct speech, which tends to be highlighted between quotation marks, as is the case in traditional print media.

- \* Generally speaking, MSA dominates the posts at the initial stage, from the founding of the page in 2008 up until December 2010, and during periods of relative lull in the political scene.
- \* Conversely, colloquial Egyptian Arabic was found to be used more frequently during periods of intense political activity, which is reflected in the emotive content of the posts, including humour and satire, and often reflects the urgency of the posts.
- \* Use of IA strategic bivalency strategy was found in some posts, mainly slogans and emotive appeals, in 'transitional' sentences as described below.

Perhaps the most significant finding was that code-switching appears fairly regularly in the FB posts. Like code-switching in speaking studies, code-switching in writing is not random. However, while there is a tendency towards intra-sentential switching in speech, code-switching in writing appears to be inter-sentential. In fact, in cases where code-switching was identified, the switch point could be immediately identified, and one of two distinct code-switching patterns seem to be followed: in the first, the post begins in MSA and is followed by a 'transitional' sentence where the language is bivalent (IA), and finally followed by a switch to CWA; in the second, the post also begins in MSA but is followed by a switch directly to CWA. Both of these patterns appear to be consistent with the code-switching patterns identified in the studies mentioned in Chapter 3 above and Chapter 6 below. The code-switches are found to be consistent with switches in the content of the posts, which reflect clear motivations for switching: from initially informative, non-emotive content, to more emotive or humorous content towards the end of the post. Again, these motivations are consistent with those identified in Chapter 3 above and Chapter 6 below, regarding the use of or switch to colloquial for humour or emotion, and the use of MSA for a more factual, informative, authoritative, official or neutral tone. Insertions of MSA words or text serve to 'elevate' the colloquial, a feature observed in IA, LIA and CWA. It is significant that code-switching in this case study appears to be mono-directional, i.e. in one direction only, from MSA to CWA, compared to LIA, in which bi-

directional code-switching has been observed after an initial MSA-CWA switch in the text.

These findings work to dispel some of the myths around CWA, particularly online, namely, that it is used randomly or due to a lack of knowledge of MSA. Like the findings that Middle Arabic texts contain deliberate mixing of H and L forms, rather than 'mistakes' due to a lack of mastery of Classical Arabic (Bellem & Smith, 2014), the findings of this study point towards a deliberate (perhaps subconscious) manipulation of the full spectrum of the Arabic language, continuously choosing a style and applying techniques such as code-switching for maximum rhetorical effect. The ways in which each style is applied are found to be consistent with previous print and literary works, from use of colloquial for humour and emotive content, to use of typographically marked colloquial quotes in otherwise MSA text, to code-switching patterns and use of strategic bivalency.

Lastly, the content of the posts was found to directly and consistently correspond to the style of language used, which leads clearly to the motivations for their use. The posts were initially categorised by language style based on observable linguistic features and sub-categorised by content, as detailed in Table 5.1 above. The IA/CWA categories were further refined and the use of IA was found in posts that seemed to contain clearly MSA sentences followed by clearly CWA sentences, where IA seems to be used as a 'transition' between a mono directional switch from MSA to CWA, i.e. switches in the other direction, from CWA to MSA, were not observed. IA was also seen in shorter posts employing strategic bivalency. The content of IA posts falls into the following sub-categories, which are shared with CWA:

1. Appeals: these are posts appealing to the reader to take a certain form of action. Appeals are usually emotive, beginning with a factual or informative sentence in MSA, then a transitional sentence in IA before launching into the emotional appeal of the post in CWA.
2. Slogans: these are short, one-liners, appearing either as a stand-alone post, a cartoon caption or at the end of a longer post. The language

can be classed as either IA or CWA, as it often employs a mix of CWA and bivalent forms.

3. Jokes: these are humorous posts that use the mono-directional MSA-IA-CWA code-switching pattern described above, which is consistent with the use of mono-directional MSA-CWA code-switching in the jokes observed in satirical works in Chapter 3 above.

Examples of each language category and content sub-category are provided in the section below.

### **5.3 Analysis**

Each post analysed was categorised according to its language use (MSA, IA or CWA) and sub-categorised by its content. Examples of each type of post are provided below, with an accompanying analysis of their language use and a translation into English of their content. The translation is meant to be as close to a literal translation of the Arabic as possible, rather than an idiomatic translation of the posts, with use of as much of the original punctuation and sentence length as possible.

#### **5.3.1 Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) posts**

Use of MSA can be seen in mainly formal posts, announcements, posts espousing the importance of knowledge and learning, photo and video captions that simply state the content of these rather than stating an opinion about their content, as well as invitations to 'real' (as opposed to virtual) events, opinion polls, surveys and questions to the collective audience. MSA posts are found to be written in the third person, often in the style of newspaper headlines and reports. Examples of each of these types of posts are provided below:

##### **5.3.1.1 Formal posts**

Formal posts introduce the group and outline their mission, activities, rules, etc. For example, the very first post on the group's FB page appeared in August 2008 (although it relates to an event in June 2008). The content is written mostly in the third person, in the style of a news report and the language, as would be expected in a traditional news report, is mostly MSA. There is one direct quote and the name of a television series written

in *'āmmiyah* as evidenced by the spelling of the word بيضا (*be:ḍa*, 'white'), which would in MSA be بِيضَاء (*bayḍā'*, 'white'). There are two expected phonetic variations in this word: the first is the unwritten initial *fathah* vowel, which precedes the *yaa'* in the diphthong *ay* and becomes the long vowel *e:* in *'āmmīyah*; the second is the final *hamzah*, which would have been written in MSA but disappears into the long *'alif* sound in *'āmmīyah*. Both *'āmmīyah* occurrences are indicated with typographical marks as expected in the MSA style, so both occurrences appear between quotation marks in the original post and underlined below. There are a further two typographically-marked parts of speech, that appear between brackets in the original post and underlined below. These two parts of speech are not obviously *'āmmīyah* nor, intriguingly, bivalent, so the parentheses here can be seen as simply highlighting additional (non-essential) information in the text, or possibly IA, since they can be seen as shared forms between both *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmīyah*:

#### Example 5.01

يونيو 2008 | في إعادة إنتاج لمسلسل "الراية البيضاء" لكن تلك المرة على أرض الواقع..  
قرر شباب 6 أبريل (وكانوا وقتها قلة) النزول إلى أهالي عزبة أبو رجيلة، خلف حديقة بدر،  
بمدينة السلام، للتضامن معهم، والجلوس يداً بيد أمام الجرافات والمعدات الآلية المجهزة لهدم  
البيوت والعشش وتسويتها بالأرض، وطرد الأهالي منها! ما زلت أذكر، بعد أن عرقلت هذه  
الخطوة (بفضل من الله) تنفيذ هدم البيوت وطرد الأهالي، عندما هم شباب 6 أبريل بالرحيل،  
ناشدهم الأهالي البقاء حتى لا تغدر الحكومة بهم بعد أن يرحل الشباب عن المنطقة!

"ماتمشوش، هايغدروا بينا بعد ما تمشوا" تكررت هذه النداءات ونحن نغادر! كان مدعاة  
للإستغراب والدهشة عندنا، كيف ان "بضع" من الشباب، وهم قلة، نظر إليهم الأهالي على  
أنهم سند وقوة لهم ضد الظلم والتتكيل! رغم أن أهالي المنطقة أكثر بكثير جداً عددياً من  
هؤلاء الشباب! إنه "الإتحاد والتحدي" هكذا قولنا [sic] لهم، لا تخشوا الظلم ولا تنفروا،  
ونحن هنا دوماً معكم.. وبفضل الله بقى أهالي أبو رجيلة في منطقتهم البائسة، الفقيرة، التي  
تعج بكل أنواع الأمراض والحشرات ونقص الموارد والخدمات.

[Dated August 2008]

Yūnyū 2008 | fī i'ādat intāg li-musalsal "il-rāyah il-be:ḍā" lakin tilka  
al-marrah 'alá arḍ al-wāqī'.. qarrar Shabab 6 Abrīl (wa-kānū  
waqtuha qillah) al-nuzūl ilá ahālī 'izbat Abū Rigīlah, khalfa ḥadīqat

*Badr, bi-madīnat al-Salām, lil-taḍāmun ma‘ahum, wa-al-gulūs yadan bi-yad amāma al-garrāfāt wa-al-mu‘iddāt al-ālīyah al-mugahhazah li-hadm al-biyūt wa-al-‘ishash [‘ishāsh] wa-taswīyatihā bil-‘arḍ, wa-ṭard al-ahālī minhā! Mā ziltu adhkur, ba‘da an ‘urqilat hādhihī al-khuṭwah (bi-faḍl min Allāh) tanfīdh hadm al-biyūt wa-ṭard al-ahālī, ‘indamā hamma Shabāb 6 Abrīl bil-raḥīl, nāshadahum al-ahālī al-baqā’ ḥattā lā taghdur al-ḥukūmah bi-him ba‘da an yarḥal al-shabāb ‘an al-mintaqah!*

*“Matimshūsh, hayughdurū bīnā ba‘d mā timshū” takarrarat hādhihī al-nidā‘āt wa-naḥnu nughādir! Kāna mud‘ātan lil-istighrāb wa-al-dahshat ‘indanā, kayfa anna “bid‘a” min al-shabāb, wa-hum qillah, nadhara ilayhim al-ahālī ‘alā annahum sanad wa-quwwah la-hum ḍidd al-zulm wa-al-tankīl! Raghm anna ahālī al-mintaqah akthar bi-kathīr giddan ‘adadīyan min hā‘ulā’i al-shabāb! Innahu “al-ittihād wa-al-taḥaddī”. Hākadhā qulnā lahum, lā takhshaw al-zulm wa-lā tatafarraqū, wa-naḥnu hunā dawman ma‘akum.. wa-bi-faḍl Allah baqīya ahālī Abū Rigīlah fī mintaqatihim al-bā‘isah, al-faqīrah, allatī ta‘uggu bi-kull anwā’ al-amrāḍ wa-al-ḥasharāt wa-naqṣ al-mawārid wa-al-khadamāt.*

Translation: June 2008 | In a reproduction of the series “The White Flag” but this time in reality.. 6th April Youth decided (and at the time they were very few) to go to the families of the Abu Rigilah Farm, behind Badr park, in the city of Salam, in solidarity with them, and to sit hand in hand in front of the bulldozers and machinery preparing to demolish the houses and homes by razing them to the ground, and evicting their families from them! I still remember, after impeding this step[,] (with God’s grace) the demolition of the houses and eviction of the families, while the 6th April Youth were concerned about leaving, the families implored them to stay so that the government would not betray them after the youth had left the area!

“Don’t leave, they will betray us after you leave” These calls were repeated as we were leaving! It was cause for astonishment and amazement for us, how a “few” youths, a small group, were looked upon by the families as if they were a support and strength for them against injustice and torture! Despite the families outnumbering the youth by far! It’s a case of “unity and

defiance” is what we told them, do not fear injustice and do not disperse, and we are always here with you.. and with God’s grace the families of Abu Rigilah stayed in their poor, miserable area, which is teeming with every kind of disease and insect, and lacks resources and services.

A second example, is the following set of rules laid out by the group in a post and written in MSA, with two borrowed words from English [underlining added in rule 9 and 11 below], and one CWA sentence [underlining added in 11 below] in addition to the slogan at the bottom of the post:

#### Example 5.02

#### تعليمات هامة - برقاء الإقباع

- 1- نحن هنا عائلة واحدة ويمكن مناقشة أى شئ مع إقبام كل الأعضاء الآخرين
- 2- نرحب بالمصريين فى شتى بقاع الأرض بلا أى تقريق
- 3- برقاء عدم الخوض فى أى مناظرات دينية أو عرقية أو مذهبية
- 4- غير مسموح بأى نقاش طائفى او مقارنه بين الاديان
- 5- كل عضو مسئول مسئولية كاملة عن أى صورة أو فيديو أو إعلان أو أى محتوى آخر يتم إضافته من طرفه
- 6- غير مسموح باى دعايه حزبيه من اى نوع
- 7- غير مسموح باى مجادله بين الابدلوجيات لإثبات صحتها من عدمه
- 8- غير مسموح بسبب اى تيار او فصيل سياسى ايا كان
- 9- عند التجهيز لحملة ما أو موضوع ما أو نقاش ما... غير مسموع بفتح اى توبيكات تشتيت [sic] هذا الهدف
- 10- غير مسموح بالخروج عن آداب الحوار او الخوص [الخوض] فى مسائل شخصية
- 11- أى حد هيقالف التعليمات هيتم اللغاء [الغاء] عضويته من الجروب

\*

\*[At the bottom of the post appeared the group’s logo with the words]:

الشباب اللى بجد ... شباب حُر ... مش عبد

[Dated 2 September 2010]

*Ta’līmāt hāmmah - bi-ra-gā’ al-ittibā’*

1. *Naḥnu hunā ‘ā’ilah wāḥidah wa-yumkin munāqashat ayyi shay’  
ma’a iḥtirām kull al-a’dā’ al-ākharīn*

2. *Nuraḥḥib bil-Miṣrīyyīn fī shattá buqā’ al-arḍ bi-lā ayy tafriq*

3. *Bi-ragā' 'adam al-khawḍ fī ayy munāzarāt dīnīyah aw 'irqīyah aw madhhabīyah*
4. *Ghayr masmūḥ bi-'ayy niqāsh ṭā'ifī aw muqāranah bayna al-adyān*
5. *Kull 'uḍw mas'ūl mas'ūlīyah kāmīlah 'an ayy šūrah aw fidīyū aw i'lān aw ayy muḥtawá ākhar yatimm idāfatuh min ṭarafih*
6. *Ghayr masmūḥ bi-ayy da'āyah ḥizbīyah min ayy naw'*
7. *Ghayr masmūḥ bi-ayy muḡadalat bayna al-īdulūjīyāt li-ithbāt ṣiḥḥatihā min 'adamih*
8. *Ghayr masmūḥ bi-sabb ayy tayyār aw faṣīl siyāsī ayyan kān*
9. *'inda al-taghīz li-ḥamlatin mā aw mawḍū'in mā aw niqāshin mā.. ghayr masmūḥ bi-fath ayy tūbīkāt tashṭīt hādha al-hadaf*
10. *Ghayr masmūḥ bi-al-khurūḡ 'an ādāb al-ḥiwār aw al-khaw[ḍ] fī masā'il shakhsīyah*
11. *Ayy ḥad haykhālif il-ta'līmāt haytimm ilghā' 'uḍwīyyituh min il-grūb*

[Logo]

*Il-shabāb illī bi-gadd ... shabāb ḥurr ... mish 'abd*

Translation: Important instructions - please follow

1. We here are one family and anything can be discussed with respect for all other members
2. We welcome all Egyptians in all parts of the world without discrimination
3. Please do not get into any religious, racial or sectarian debates
4. Sectarian discussions or comparisons between religions are not allowed
5. Each member is wholly responsible for any photos, videos or advertisements or any other content added by themselves
6. Publicity for any political party is not allowed
7. Ideological debates for the purpose of proving their truth or not are not allowed
8. Insulting any political movement or group is not allowed

9. When preparing a campaign, topic or discussion, starting other topics [threads] that may distract from the aim is not allowed
  10. Discussions must be kept civil and non-personal
  11. Anyone who breaks these rules will have their membership to the group revoked
- [Group logo and the words:] True youths.. are free youths.. not slaves

This second example is interesting as MSA is dominant throughout and suits the formal, authoritative tone of the post, which effectively sets out the group's code of conduct. The borrowed word from English in rule 9 توبيكات (*tūbīkāt*, 'topics') as well as الجروب (*il-grūb*, 'the group') in 11 can be said to be commonly used words online, so their use here is not surprising considering the online context and both words can be said to be a 'technical' borrowing, as a feature of online writing. The first instance of CWA, or even mixing between MSA and CWA at number 11 is not random, since although it is numbered in sequence with the other rules set out above it, rather than being another rule, it is in fact another section separate to the list of rules. It sets out the consequence of breaking the rules, i.e. cancellation of the offender's membership, and therefore the code-switch corresponds to a switch in content from listing the rules to stating the consequence of breaking them. The word هـيتم (*haytimm*, equivalent to 'will have' in the text) is interesting as it is a hybrid form combining the MSA verb يـتم (*yatimmu*, equivalent to 'have') with the colloquial future marker هـ (*ha*, 'will'). This combination is a common feature of code-switching in speaking and is consistent with the focal switch points (in this case a subordinate clause) identified by Eid (1988) above. Its purpose seems to elevate the CWA, which would be fitting in the context of this formal post. The final slogan, which in the original post appears alongside the group's logo, can be said to be independent of the rest of the text, rather than a continuation or integral part of it, as it is a stock phrase used by the group as one of their slogans, which are usually written in CWA or IA. It can be described as CWA as evidenced by the use of اللـي (*illī*, 'who') and مـش (*mish*, 'not').

### 5.3.1.2 Announcements

Below is an example of one of the group's announcements, in this case addressing those who disagree with the group, in MSA with no borrowing, mixing or code-switching:

Example 5.03

إلى كل من اختلف مع شباب 6 أبريل إذا لم تستطع المشاركة فلا تصادر على الآخرين حق المشاركة ولا تبتئ اليأس في نفوس من لم ييأس وما زال لديه الأمل

[Dated 2 April 2009]

*Ilá kull man ikhtalaf ma'a Shabāb 6 Abrīl idha lam tastaṭī' al-mushārahah fa-lá tuṣādir 'alá al-ākharīn ḥaqq al-mushārahah walā tabuthth al-ya's fī nufūs man lam yay'as wa mā zāl ladayhi al-amal*

Translation: To all who may disagree with 6th April Youth, if you cannot participate do not take away the right of participation from others, and do not spread despair to those who have not despaired and who still have hope

A second example of MSA use in announcements also addresses an external audience, in this case one that the group is allying itself with. The language of the post is mostly bivalent, but the use of the MSA *يبدأ بيد* (*yaddan bi-yadd*, 'hand in hand') lends the whole text towards MSA:

Example 5.04

شباب 6 أبريل يبدأ بيد مع شباب حملة البرادعي وشباب الحرية والعدالة

[Dated 26 November 2010]

*Shabāb 6 Abrīl yaddan bi-yadd ma'a shabāb ḥamlat al-Barad'ī wa-shabāb al-Ḥurīyyah wa-al-'adālah*

Translation: 6th April Youth [are] hand in hand with the youth of the Baradei campaign and the youth of Freedom and Justice

The following example announces in MSA the end of internal disputes within the group after certain 'troublemakers' had been excluded from the group, written in the style of a newspaper headline:

Example 5.05

شباب 6 ابريل تغلق صفحة الخلافات نهائيا بعض [بعد] خروج مثيرى المشاكل من الحركة

[Dated 17 July 2009]

*Shabāb 6 Abrīl taghliqu ṣafḥat al-khilāfāt nihā'īyyan ba'[da] khurūg muthīrī al-mashākil min al-ḥarakah*

Translation: 6th April Youth ends internal disputes after expelling troublemakers from the movement

### 5.3.1.3 Knowledge, learning and religion

The two examples below illustrate the type of posts that simply encourage the seeking of knowledge and learning as essential for achieving freedom, written in MSA, as well as posts about religion or from religious figures, or quotes from the Quran:

Example 5.06

اقرأ.. تحرّر

*lqra' .. taḥarrar*

Translation: Read.. become free

Example 5.07

يا اهلي وعشيرتي .. اذا كنتم تريدون النهضة فعلا، فعليكم بالقراءة والتعمق في بحور العلم  
وكنوز المعرفة .. فالعلم والعمل الجاد هما اساس النهضة

[Dated 26 June 2012]

*Yā ahlī wa-'ashīratī ... idhā kuntum turīdūna al-naḥḍah fī'lan, fa-'alaykum bil-qirā'ah wa-al-ta'ammuq fī buḥūr al-'ilm wa-kunūz al-ma'rīfah .. fa-al-'ilm wa-al-'amal al-gādd huma asās al-naḥḍah*

Translation: My fellow family and clan members... if you want to truly rise up, you must read and delve into the oceans of knowledge and treasures of wisdom... for knowledge and hard work are the foundations for renaissance

#### Example 5.08

أتمني أن يصل الدين إلي أهل السياسة.. ولا يصل أهل الدين إلي السياسة | فضيلة الشيخ  
محمد متولي الشعراوي

[Dated 22 March 2011]

*Atamannā an yaṣil al-dīn ilá ahl al-sīyāsah... wa-lā ahl al-dīn ilá al-sīyāsah | faḍīlat al-shaykh Muḥammad Mutawallī al-Sha'rāwī*

Translation: I hope for religion to reach politicians, but not for the people of religion to reach politics | the honourable Sheikh Mohamed Metwally Shaarawy

#### Example 5.09

كن إنساناً | قال تعالى، ورحمتي وسعت كل شيء

[Dated 14 December 2011]

*Kun insānan | qāla ta'ālá, wa-rahmatī wasi'at kull shay'*

Translation: Be a human [humane] | the Almighty said: 'my mercy is wide enough to contain everything'

#### 5.3.1.4 Photo and video captions

These captions simply state the content of the accompanying photos and videos, without offering an opinion about the content. This style of caption appears in the group's pre-December 2010 posts and is written in MSA, after which they start to post commentaries in CWA about the content of the photos and videos instead (see below). In the examples below, the underlined text is a hyperlink to the video, while the rest of the text is a description of the content:

#### Example 5.10

شباب 6 إبريل مع فلاحي سراندو مساندة شباب 6 إبريل لفلاحي سراندو

[Dated 31 August 2008]

Shabāb 6 Abrīl ma' fallāhī Sarandū Musānadat Shabāb 6 'Abrīl li-fallāhī Sarandū

Translation: 6th April Youth with the farmers of Sarando 6th April Youth supporting the farmers of Sarando

Example 5.11

شباب 6 إبريل - ماذا حدث في الإسكندرية أزمة إعتقالات يوم 23 يوليو وتعامل شباب 6 إبريل مع الموقف

[Dated 2 September 2008]

Shabāb 6 Abrīl - mādhā ḥadathā fī al-Iskandarīyah azmat yawm 23 Yūliyū wa-ta'āmul Shabāb 6 Abrīl ma' al-mawqif

Translation: 6th April Youth - What happened in Alexandria The crisis of the 23 July arrests and 6th April Youth's handling of the situation

The following is an example of a video caption, similarly containing a hyperlink followed by a description of the content:

Example 5.12

مؤتمر شباب 6 إبريل تغطية للمؤتمر الأول 28/06/2008 - العاشرة مساءً

Mu'tamar Shabāb 6 Abrīl Taghṭiyah lil-mu'tamar al-awwal 28/06/2008 - al-'āshirah masā'an

Translation: 6th April Youth conference coverage of the 1st conference 28/06/2008 - 10pm

Below is a caption for photos of an event held as "Students Day":

### Example 5.12

مظاهرة فى جامعة القاهرة للمطالبة بإخراج الأمن من الحرم الجامعى, المشاركون (حركة شباب 6 إبريل - حركة حقى - رابطة شباب حزب العمل - رابطة طلاب حزب العمل - طلاب الإخوان المسلمين), التاريخ 21 [sic]

[Posted 24 February 2009; event may have taken place on 21 February 2009]

*Muḏāharah fī gāmi'at al-Qāhirah lil-muḏālahah bi-ikhrāg al-amn min al-ḥaram al-gāmi'īy, al-mushārikūn (Ḥarakat Shabāb 6 Abrīl - Ḥarakat Ḥaqqī - Rābitat Shabāb Ḥizb al-'amal - Ṭullāb al-'Ikhwān al-Muslimīn), al-tārīkh 21*

Translation: A demonstration at Cairo University demanding the removal of security forces from the university campus. Participants: 6th April Youth Movement, My Right Movement, [Egyptian Islamic] Labour Party Youth Association, [Egyptian Islamic] Labour Party Student Association, Muslim Brotherhood Students, 21 [sic]

### 5.3.1.5 Invitations, opinion polls, surveys and questions to the collective members of the group

The group's invitations are to local, 'real world' (as opposed to virtual) events. The first example below is of one of the group's invitations, to the closing session of the group's annual conference in Cairo:

### Example 5.13

تدعوكم حركة شباب 6 ابريل غدا 2 نوفمبر لحضور الجلسة الختامية لمؤتمرها القلة المندسة في حزب الجبهة الديمقراطي بالمهندسين .... لمزيد من المعلومات [www.6april.org](http://www.6april.org)

[Dated 1 November 2009]

*Tad'ūkum ḥarakat Shabāb 6 Abrīl ghadan 2 Nūfimbir li-ḥudūr al-galsah al-khitāmīyyah li-mu'tamariha al-Qillah al-Mundassah fī Ḥizb al-Gabhah al-Dīmuqrātī bil-Muhandisīn ... li-mazīd min al-ma'lūmāt [www.6april.org](http://www.6april.org)*

Translation: 6 April Youth Movement invites you tomorrow 6 November to attend the closing session of its conference 'The

Minority of Infiltrators' at the Democratic Front Party in Muhandiseen... for more information [www.6april.org](http://www.6april.org)

Below are further examples of invitations to various events, in MSA:

Example 5.14

مؤتمر القلة المندسة - فعاليات اليوم الثاني - كلمات الشخصيات العامة و السياسية للمؤتمر:  
- الإعلامية/ بثينة كامل - أ/كمال أبو عيطة - النائب حمدان صباحي - أ/علاء الأسواني  
[...]

[Dated 31 October 2008]

*Mu'tamar al-Qillah al-Mundassah - fa'ālīyāt al-yawm al-thānī - kalimāt al-shakhṣīyāt al-'āmmah wa-al-sīyāsīyah lil-mu'tamar:*

- *al-i'lāmīyah / Buthaynah Kāmil / [al-]U[stādh]/Kamāl Abū 'atīyah - al-Nā'ib Ḥamdayn Ṣabbāḥī - [al-]U[stādh] 'alā' al-Aswānī [...]*

Translation: The Minority of Infiltrators Conference - Effectiveness of the second day - talks by public and political figures to the conference:

- the journalist Buthayna Kamil, Mr Kamal Abu Atiyah, the representative Hamdeen Sabbahi [and] Mr Alaa Al-Aswany

Example 5.15

قريباً مؤتمر القلة المندسة.. تحت رعاية شباب 6 ابريل .. هنا القاهرة و ليس الجابون

*Qariban mu'tamar al-Qillah al-Mondassah .. taḥta ri'āyat Shabāb 6 Abriī .. hunā al-Qāhirah wa-laysa al-Gābūn*

Translation: Coming soon The Minority of Infiltrators Conference... sponsored by 6 April Youth... here is Cairo and not Gabon

Example 5.16

غداً أمام نقابة الصحفيين في تمام السادسة و النصف.. بدعوى [sic] من سيادة السفير إبراهيم يسرى و حركة شباب 6 ابريل و بمشاركة القوى الوطنية.. وقفة احتجاج

*Ghadan amāma niqābat al-ṣaḥāfiyyīn fī tamām al-sādisah wa-al-niṣf.. bi-da‘wá min sīyādat al-safīr Ibrāhim Yusrī wa-Ḥarakat Shabāb 6 Abrīl wa-bi-mushārakat al-quwwá al-waṭanīyyah.. waqfat iḥtigāg*

Translation: Tomorrow in front of the journalism syndicate at half past six o'clock... by invitation from the ambassador Ibrahim Yousry and the 6 April Youth Movement with the participation of national powers... a protest stand

The two examples below show how the group conduct opinion polls and surveys, and pose questions to their audience. The choice of MSA reflects the formal, official tone of the questions, given that the responses gathered inform the group's plans and policies. MSA is the expected language choice for scientific study, including opinion polls and surveys. The first of the two examples is simply MSA, while the second is split into two parts, in terms of both content and language, as shown below:

#### Example 5.17

هل توافق على تنظيم عمل إحتجاجي يوم 26 نوفمبر القادم, إنتصاراً للضحايا [sic] التعذيب في مصر؟ توافق أن تكون صوت, من لا صوت له؟

[Posted 21 November 2010]

*Hal tuwāfiq ‘alá tanzīm ‘amal iḥtigāgī yawm 26 Nūfimbir al-qādīm, intiṣāran li-ḍahāyā al-ta‘dhīb fī Miṣr? Tuwāfiq an takūn ṣawt, man lā ṣawt lah?*

Translation: Do you agree with organising a form of protest on 26 November, for the victims of torture in Egypt? Do you agree to be a voice, for those without a voice?

#### Example 5.18

شباب.. ياريت كل اللي يشوف الستاتوس ده يدّينا رأييه لأنه مهم للغاية  
هل تعلن رفضك لنتائج إنتخابات مجلس الشعب؟ وأن مجلس الشعب الجديد غير شرعي ولا  
يُمتلنا؟ نعم أم لا.. رجاء التصويت بكثافة الآن

[Posted 28 November 2010; underlining added]

*Shabāb.. yāre:t kull illī yishūf il-stātūs dah yiddīnā ra'yuh l-innuh muhimm lil-ghāyah*

*Hal tu'lin rafḍuka li-natā'ig intikhābāt maglis al-sha'b? Wa-anna maglis al-sha'b al-gadīdi ghayr shar'ī wa-lā yumaththilunā? Na'am am la' .. rajā' al-taṣwīt bi-kathāfah al-ān*

Translation: Guys... we wish for everyone who sees this status to give us their opinion because it's of the upmost importance

Do you declare your rejection of the parliamentary election results? And that the new parliament is unlawful and does not represent us? Yes or no... please vote in large numbers now

The first part of the second example is an appeal to the readers to respond to the post and is written in CWA, which is consistent with the style of the group's appeals, followed by the actual questions posed to the audience in MSA, to which they are seeking a response. The use of the MSA word للغاية (*lil-ghāyah*, 'of the utmost') at the end of the CWA appeal raises the seriousness of the tone of the appeal and signals the switch to MSA in the questions that follow.

### 5.3.1.6 Reports and quotes

Reports in this category such as Example 5.21 below, are written in the style of news reports or official witness statements. This style is comparable to the official report style found in activist blogs as discussed in the following chapter. Quotes are from public figures, often quoted from newspaper headlines/articles.

#### Example 5.19

سمير رضوان "وزير الشعب" يقول : مصر لم تعجز حتى تقبل استثماراً  
إسرائيلياً على أرضها مهما كان العائد الاقتصادي | تحيا الثورة

[Dated 16 April 2011]

*Samīr Raḍwān "Wazīr al-Sha'b" yaqūl : Miṣr lam ta'jaz ḥattā taqbal istithmāran Isrā'īliyyan 'alā arḍihā mahmā kān al-'ā'id al-iqtisādī | taḥyā al-thawrah*

Translation: Samir Radwan “Minister of the People” says” Egypt is not weak until it accepts Israeli investment on its land, whatever the economic return may be | long live the revolution

#### Example 5.20

جلال عامر | مشكلة المصريين الكبرى، أنهم يعيشون في مكان واحد.. لكنهم، لا يعيشون في زمان واحد

[Dated 1 December 1 2011]

*Jalāl ‘āmir | mushkilat al-Miṣrīyīn al-Kubrā, annahum ya’īshuna fī makān wāḥid... lākinnahum lā ya’īshūna fī zamān wāḥid*

Translation: Galal Amer | Egyptians’ biggest problem is that they live in one place, but not in one time

#### Example 5.21

الآن سيارة كاديلاك سكليد فور باى فور سوداء نمرة: ل ج أ 135 فوق كوبري أكتوبر أعلى ميدان عبد المنعم رياض تقوم بتوزيع مبالغ مالية على البلطجية المتأهبين لإفتحام ميدان التحرير فجر اليوم.. رجاء النشر في كل مكان

[Dated 3 February 2011]

*Al-ān sayyārah Kadīlāk Sklīd fūr bāy fūr sawdā’ nimrah: 135 a j fawqa kūbrī Aktūbar a’lá maydān ‘abd al-Mon‘im Rīyāḍ taqūm bi-tawzī’ mabāligh māliyyah ‘alá al-balṭagīyah al-muta’ahibīn li-iqtihām Maydān al-Taḥrīr fajr al-yawm... rajā’ al-nashr fī kull makān*

Translation: A black Cadillac Escalade 4x4 number plate 135 A J is now on the 6th October Bridge above Abdel Moneim Riad Square. It is distributing money to thugs preparing to invade Tahrir Square at dawn today... please share widely

### 5.3.2 Colloquial Written Arabic (CWA) and Intermediate Arabic (IA) posts

Posts written in colloquial on the group’s FB page are those which contain cartoons, slogans, appeals, thoughts and emotions, and commentaries accompanying photos and videos, examples of which are included below:

### 5.3.2.1 Cartoons, jokes and satire

The text in the group's cartoon posts is consistently colloquial, which is comparable to the use of colloquial in newspaper cartoons. Jokes and satire tend to include features of IA such as code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, at times making use of a 'transitional' IA sentence in between.

Below is an example of a cartoon post with a simple caption:



Example 5.22

كان في وخلص

[Dated 30 August 2008]

*Kān fī wi-khilīṣ*

Translation: There was some but now it's finished

Another post with a photo of Mubarak had the following humorous caption in CWA, including use of the underlined word ريس (*rayyis*, 'president') using the phonetically *'āmmīyah* spelling as opposed to the *fuṣḥá* spelling رئيس (*ra'īs*, 'president'):

Example 5.23

حد يعرف يشمخ الشمخة دي يا ولاد.. الرئيس في لحظة شموخ وإنشماخ

[Dated December 12 2010]

*Ḥadd yi'raf yishmakh il-shamkhah dī ya wilād.. il-rayyis fī lahẓit  
shumūkh wi-inshimākh*

Translation: Anyone know how to look this arrogant guys... the President [Mubarak] in a moment of arrogance

An example of satire on the group's page is a series of posts mocking then president Mubarak, all ending with the word المومياء (*al-mūmīā'*, 'the mummy') in reference to Mubarak: his age, his 30 years in office and his status as an undisputed ruler likening him to a 'pharaoh' of Egypt. The example below highlights the difference between popular opinion and the presidency's foreign policy, particularly towards Israel:

Example 5.24

يا ريت الرئيس كان ضربنا إحنا الضربة الجوية, وحكم إسرائيل 30 سنة  
الغاز لإسرائيل, طيارات إطفاء حرايق لإسرائيل, سور عازل لإسرائيل  
تحية للرئيس وولده, مُفَجِّرًا ثورة التدعيم والتطوير والحماية لإسرائيل الإرهابية  
المومياء

[Dated December 14 2010]

*Yā re:t il-rayyis kān ḍarabna ihna il-ḍarbah il-gawwīyah, wi-ḥakam  
Isrā'īl 30 sanah*

*Il-ghāz li-Isrā'īl, ṭayyārāt iṭfā' ḥarā'iq li-Isrā'īl, sūr 'āzil li-Isrā'īl*

*Taḥīyah lil-ra'īs wa-waladuh, mufaggiran thawrat al-tad'īm wa-al-  
taṭwīr wa-al-ḥimāyah li-Isrā'īl al-irhābīyah*

*Al-mūmyā'*

Translation: We wish the president had struck us with the air strike, and ruled Israel for 30 years

Gas for Israel, fire-fighting jets for Israel, a separation wall for Israel

A salute for the president and his son, detonator of the revolution of support, development and protection for the terrorist Israel

The mummy

The post starts with a lament with clear use of CWA: *ياريت الرئيس كان ضربنا إحنا*: *الضربة الجوية* (*yā re:t il-rayyis kān ḍarabna ihna il-ḍarbah il-gawwīyah*, 'we wish the president had struck us with the air strike'), in reference to his air strike on Israel in the Air battle of Mansoura of 1973. The use of CWA is clear from the use of the phrase *ياريت* (*yā re:t*, 'we wish') as well as the use of the phonetically *'āmmīyah* spelling of *ريس* (*rayyis*, 'president') as opposed to the *fuṣḥá* spelling *رئيس* (*ra'īs*, 'president'), which was also used in the example above and another example below. The rest of the post can be read as IA, since the text is bivalent. Interestingly, the latter part includes the use of the *fuṣḥá* word *مُفَجِّرَا* (*mufaggiran*, 'detonator', lit. 'exploder') in the accusative case and the use of diacritics to emphasize the *fuṣḥá* pronunciation (underlined in the text below), in otherwise *'āmmīyah* text. This further makes the case for IA, as it does not interrupt the flow of the text but taking the wider context into consideration, it seems to elevate the tone of the message with the linguistic features of formal speech, given its political nature. This form of elevation is also seen in the switch to the use of the conventional *fuṣḥá* spelling of the word *رئيس* ('president') as opposed to the more phonetic *'āmmīyah* spelling *ريس* at the beginning of the post, creating a subtle shift in the tone of the message. The shift from *'āmmīyah* to *fuṣḥá* seems a more unusual shift considering most examples have shown a shift in the other direction, from *fuṣḥá* to *'āmmīyah*, but is seen again to a lesser degree in another satirical post below.

The following example may also be described as a form of satire, since it proposes creating a new award for the most corrupt politician or public figure as voted for by the members of the group, written in CWA with subtle use of *fuṣḥá* forms towards the end as seen in the example above (*fuṣḥá* terms underlined in the text below). It does not seem that these *fuṣḥá* forms necessarily present a code-switch, rather they seem to be borrowed forms from *fuṣḥá* used seamlessly as elevated *'āmmīyah*, appropriate to the context of formal awards:

### Example 5.25

شباب.. في فكرة ماكملتش, عايزين نفكر فيها, كلنا سوا, ولو وصلنا لشكل أو صيغة كويسة لها, 6 أبريل ممكن تنفذها, ويمكن كمان يبقى في تغطية إعلامية لها! عايزين نعمل إستفتاء عن اسوأ الشخصيات في الشارع المصري, والجوائز تبقى تعبيرية.. يعني مثلاً جائزة التزوير التعبيرية وحصل عليها أحمد عز وهكذا, إيه رأيكم في الفكرة ولو عملنا المسابقة تسميها إيه؟

[Dated December 12 2010]

*Shabāb.. fī fikrah makimlitsh, ‘āyẓīn nifakkar fī-hā, kullina sawā, wi-law waṣalnā li-shakl aw ṣīghah kuwayyisah la-hā, 6 Abrīl mumkin tinafidhhā, wi-yimkin kamān yibqá fi taghtiyah i’lāmīyah la-hā! ‘āyẓīn ni‘mil istiftā’ ‘an aswa’ il-shakhsīyāt fī il-shārī’ il-Masrī, wi-il-gawā’iz tibqá ta‘bīriyah.. ya’nī mathalan gā’izat al-tazwīr al-ta‘bīriyah wa-ḥaṣal ‘alayha Ahmad ‘izz wa-hākadhā, e:h ra’yukum fī il-fikrah wi-law- ‘amalnā il-musābqah tisamīhā e:h?*

Translation: Guys... there’s an idea we haven’t completed, we want to think about it, all together, and if we reach a good form for it, 6 April can implement it and there might even be media coverage for it! We want to have a referendum about the worst characters on the Egyptian street, and the prizes would be expressionistic... so for example the expressionistic award for fraud and the winner is Ahmed Ezz, etc. What do you think of the idea and if we have a competition, what should we call it?

The following post follows on from the previous post about creating a corruption award and lists the categories for nomination. It is clearly intended as a parody of real, prestigious awards, but the humour is exemplified in the use of the borrowed word ‘award’ from English, transliterated as أورد *awūrd* and underlined below. The parody award categories can be seen as linguistically bivalent, since there are no exclusively *fuṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah* features - they are shared between both. The final sentence also can be said to be bivalent, but because it combines elements that belong to *fuṣḥá* and elements that belong to

'āmmīyah, but not shared between both. The overall language of the post could therefore be described as IA, with the mix of fuṣḥá and 'āmmīyah features expressing the dichotomy in the parody of a serious/prestigious award (fuṣḥá) and the absurd/satirical categories the group has presented ('āmmīyah):

Example 5.26

- 1 - مسابقة 6 أبريل التعبيرية - فساد أورد
- 2 - مسابقة 6 أبريل التعبيرية - تزوير أورد
- 3 - مسابقة 6 أبريل التعبيرية - من الأراضي المصرية المحتلة  
شباب رجاء وضع رقم الإسم اللي إنتوا شايفينه مناسب للمسابقة ف التعليقات.. الرقم فقط

1. *Musābqat 6 Abrīl al-ta'bīriyah - fasād awūrd*
2. *Musābqat 6 Abrīl al-ta'bīriyah - tazwīr awūrd*
3. *Musābqat 6 Abrīl al-ta'bīriyah - min al-'arādī al-Maṣrīyah al-muḥtallah*  
*Shabāb ragā' waḍ' raqam al-ism illī intū shāyfinuh munāsib lil-*  
*musābqah f al-ta'līqāt.. al-raqam faqat*

Translation:

1. 6 April Expressionist Competition - Corruption Award
2. 6 April Expressionist Competition - Fraud Award
3. 6 April Expressionist Competition - From the Occupied Egyptian Territories

Guys please put the number of the name that you see as suitable for the competition in the comments.. just the number

Another example of IA use can be seen in the following post, which is a joke about president Morsi roughly nine months into his presidency and another parody - this time of a real advertisement from the deodorant brand Axe in Egypt in which it claims it will send the winner of the most votes to the moon (brackets and ellipses from the original):



### Example 5.27

شباب 6 ابريل يرسل مرسي الى الفضاء في ثلاثة ايام (وبصوت نزيه من غير زيت وسكر) ... مبروك المركز الأول يا ريس

[Dated 22 February 2013]

*Shabāb 6 Abrīl yursil Mursī ilá al-faḍā' fī thalāthat ayyām (wa-bi-ṣawṭ nazīh min ghayr zayt wa-sukkar) ... mabrūk il-markaz il-awwīl yā rayyīs*

Translation: 6 April Youth send Morsi into space in three days (in genuine elections without oil and sugar)... congratulations on winning first place, Mr President

Here we see an example of a seamless transition from MSA to IA to CWA, beginning with the MSA statement:

شباب 6 ابريل يرسل مرسي الى الفضاء في ثلاثة ايام

(*Shabāb 6 Abrīl yursil Mursī ilā al-faḍā' fī thalāthat 'ayyām*, '6 April Youth send Morsi into space in three days').

Written in the style of a newspaper headline, it is informative and seemingly neutral. The second part (between brackets) can be seen as strategically bivalent, transitional IA, since it can be read as wholly MSA or CWA. The final part following the ellipses can be said to be a code-switch to CWA due to the use of the phonetic spelling of ريس (*rayyīs*, 'president') as seen above, and the separation of this part of the text with the ellipses.

### 5.3.2.2 Appeals

The third example of CWA we see on the group's FB page is the type of posts which fall into this 'Appeals' category. These appeals are generally a call to action of some form, their tone is positive and persuasive, appealing to the better side of their reader in order to move them to protest, vote or act in a humane way.

#### Example 5.28

باق من الزمن ما يقرب من الثلاث ساعات علي [sic] غلق باب الاقتراع في اول انتخابات رئاسية في مصر بعد الثورة .. بصرف النظر عن اي خلط للاوراق او عك شاب الفترة الانتقالية فيما يخص اجراءات التحول الديمقراطي .. لكن كلنا لازم نكون ايجابيين في اختيار اول رئيس لمصر بعد الثورة .. ممكن يكون لسة مصوتش عشان مش لاقى مرشحك المثالي في اسماء المرشحين ويمكن لسة مصوتش عشان خايف ان قرارك مش هايجترم زي ما العسكر ما احترامش قرارات الشعب في الاستفتاء. من فضلك فكر الان واحسبها صح .. الملايين اللي نزلت من امبارح نزلت عشان تختار لنا كلنا .. ليه ماتشاركش في اختيار الرئيس؟! اهداف الثورة في حاجة الي [sic] صوتك .. لو كنت صوت اتصل بكل اللي تعرفه لسة مصوتش وخليه ينزل يدعم اهداف الثورة .. اما لو كنت انت نفسك لسة ماخترتش، يبقى حكم عقلك وضميرك وانزل من بيتك.

[Dated May 2012]

***Baqī min al-zaman mā yuqrib min al-thalāth sā'āt 'alā ghalq bāb al-iqtirā' fī awwal intikhābāt ri'āsīyah fī Miṣr ba'd al-thawrah .. bi-ṣarf al-naẓar 'an ayy khalṭ lil-awrāq aw 'ak shābb al-fatrah al-intiqāliyah fī-mā yakhush igrā'āt al-taḥawwul al-***

**حركة شباب 6 ابريل - 6th of April Youth Movement**  
Yesterday

باق من الزمن ما يقرب من الثلاث ساعات علي غلق باب الاقتراع في اول انتخابات رئاسية في مصر بعد الثورة .. بصرف النظر عن اي خلط للاوراق او عك شاب الفترة الانتقالية فيما يخص اجراءات التحول الديمقراطي .. لكن كلنا لازم نكون ايجابيين في اختيار اول رئيس لمصر بعد الثورة .. ممكن يكون لسة مصوتش عشان مش لاقى مرشحك المثالي في اسماء المرشحين ويمكن لسة مصوتش عشان خايف ان قرارك مش هايحترم زي ما العسكر ما احترمش قرارات الشعب في الاستفتاء، من فضلك فكر الان واحسبها صح .. الملايين اللي نزلت من امبارح نزلت عشان تختار لنا كلنا .. ليه متشاركش في اختيار الرئيس؟! اهداف الثورة في حاجة الي صوتك .. لو كنت صوت اتصل بكل اللي تعرفه لسة مصوتش وخليه ينزل يدعم اهداف الثورة .. اما لو كنت انت نفسك لسة ماخترتش، يبقى حكم قلبك وعقلك وضميرك وانزل من بيتك.

[See Translation](#)

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*dīmuqrātī .. lākin kullinā lāzim nukūn igābīyīn fī ikhtiyār awwil ra'īs li-Maṣr ba'd il-thawrah .. mumkin yikūn lissah maṣawwatish 'ashān mish lāqī murashiḥak il-mithālī fī asmā' il-murashiḥīn wi-yimkin lissah maṣawwatish 'ashān khāyif inn qarārah mish hayuḥtaram zayy mā il-'askar mā iḥtaramsh qarārat il-sha'b fī il-istiftā'. Min fadlak fakkar il-ān wi-iḥsibhā saḥ .. il-malāyīn illī nizlit min imbāriḥ nizlit 'ashān tikhtār lī-na kullinā .. līh matshāriksh fī ikhtiyār il-ra'īs!? Ahdāf il-thawrah fī ḥāgah ilā ṣo:tak .. law kunt ṣawwat ittisil bi-kul illī tī'rafuh lissah ma-ṣawwatsh wi-khalīh yinzil yid'am āhdaf il-thawrah .. ammā law kunt inta nafsak lissah ma-khtartish, yibqa ḥakkim 'aqlak wi-damīrah wi-inzil min be:tak.*

**Nearly three hours left before voting closes in the first presidential elections in Egypt after the revolution. Setting aside any mixing of papers or foul play during the transitional period with regards to the transition to democracy... we all must be positive about choosing the first President of Egypt after the**

revolution... it may be that you haven't voted yet because you can't found your ideal candidate amongst the **names** of the candidates or maybe you haven't voted yet because you fear your decision won't be respected just as the army didn't respect the people's decisions in the referendum. Please think now and calculate it correctly... the millions who have gone out since yestedat went out to choose for us all... why don't you take part in choosing the **President!**? The aims of the revolution **need** your vote (voice)... if you have voted call everyone you know who hasn't voted and make them go out and support the aims of the revolution .. and if you yourself haven't chosen, then listen to your mind and your heart and go out of (leave) your house.

In the example illustrated above, we see a clear example of the MSA-IA-CWA structure found elsewhere in the group's posts, as well as in other online forums and print publications, discussed in this study. The MSA style and *fuṣḥá* terms in the CWA part have been highlighted in bold, with underlining added to highlight the transitional IA part and the hybrid form in the CWA. In this post as in others above, we take any punctuation (whether full stop or ellipsis) to indicate a break and therefore a marker of the sentence boundary. We see that the structure of the post follows a set and predictable pattern that is seen elsewhere, where the first part of the text, in this case the first sentence highlighted in bold in the text, is written in MSA style. The language use mirrors the content well, since this first part of the text sets an 'official' tone, using the language of an official or public statement. The content is informative, presenting facts, and neutral or non-emotive. The second sentence, which is underlined in the text can be seen as a transitional sentence written in IA as it is predominantly but the underlined word عك ('ak, 'foul-play') is 'āmmīyah. This can be said to be the reverse of Educated Spoken Arabic, which uses some *fuṣḥá* lexical items in predominantly 'āmmīyah speech. The remainder of text is in CWA, with monovalent words underlined. There are also three high-'āmmīyah or even *fuṣḥá* terms highlighted in bold, highlighted because they could have been written using more phonetically-'āmmīyah spellings, but their appearance in this form serves to elevate the overall

CWA style and bring more of a sense of urgency or seriousness to the appeal. These words are: اسماء (*asmā*, 'names'), رئيس (*ra'īs*, 'president') and في حاجة الي (*fī ḥāgah ilá*, 'need'). We see a switch in content coinciding with the switch in writing style, from informative and factual to emotive and urgent, in the appeal to potential voters to go out and vote for the next president.

The following post is an appeal to leave out water for birds and animals to drink in the heat, written in CWA with the typographically marked borrowed words "كولدير/برّاد" that are regularly used in ESA:



6th of April Youth Movement - حركة شباب 6 ابريل - Saturday

سلام عليكم.. في الأيام الحر المميّنة دي، اللي جنب بيته أو محله "كولدير/برّاد" مية في الشارع، يا ريت يهتم بنضافته ولو يقدر يشتري له كوبايات بلاستيك جديدة يبقى كويس.. واللي عنده عصافير رينة في البلكونة يا ريت يبقى يدخلها البيت شوية عشان ماتتسلقش في الحر، ويغير لها المية كل ما تحتاج.. ممكن تحط طبق فيه مية في سور البلكونة بتاعتك أو على سطح البيت جايز طيور تشرب منه.. واللي عنده ققط أو كلاب، أو مرببين فراخ وبط أو أرانب وخرقان، يهتم إنه يكون عندهم يشربوا طول الوقت ويرش خفيف على الارضية تحتهم مية كل شوية.. اللي يقدر يخفف لو بأقل القليل عن إنسان أو حيوان، يبقى كتر خيره

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#### Example 5.29

سلام عليكم.. في الأيام الحر المميّنة دي، اللي جنب بيته أو محله "كولدير/برّاد" مية في الشارع، يا ريت يهتم بنضافته ولو يقدر يشتري له كوبايات بلاستيك جديدة يبقى كويس.. واللي عنده عصافير زينة في البلكونة يا ريت يبقى يدخلها البيت شوية عشان ماتتسلقش في الحر، ويغير لها المية كل ما تحتاج.. ممكن تحط طبق فيه مية في سور البلكونة بتاعتك أو على سطح البيت جايز طيور تشرب منه.. واللي عنده ققط أو كلاب، أو مرببين فراخ وبط أو أرانب وخرقان، يهتم إنه يكون عندهم يشربوا طول الوقت ويرش خفيف على الارضية تحتهم مية كل شوية.. اللي يقدر يخفف لو بأقل القليل عن إنسان أو حيوان، يبقى كتر خيره

[Dated 2 June 2013]

*Salāmu ‘ale:kum.. fī il-ayyām il-ḥarr il-mumītah dī, illī ganb be:tuh aw maḥalluh “cūlde:r/barrād” mayyah fī il-shāri’, yā re:t yihtamm bi-naḍaftuh wi-law yiqdar yishtirī luh kūbbāyāt bilāstīk gidīdah yibqá kwayyis.. wi-illī ‘anduh ‘asāfir zīnah fī il-balako:na yā re:t yibqá yidakhhkhālā il-be:t shwayyah ‘ashān ma-titsili’sh fī il-ḥarr, wi-yīghayyar la-hā il-mayyah kull mā tiḥtāg.. mumkin tuḥutt tabaq fīh mayyah fī sūr il-balako:nah bitā’tak aw ‘alá saḥḥ il-be:t gāyiz ṭuyūr tishrab minnuh.. wi-illī ‘anduh quṭaṭ aw kilāb, aw mirabbīyīn firākh wi-baṭṭ aw arānib wi-khīrfān, yihtamm innuh yikūn ‘anduhum yishrabū ṭūl il-waqt wi-yirushsh khafīf ‘alá il-’arḍīyah taḥtuhum mayyah kull shwayyah.. illī yiqdar yikhaffif law bi-’aqall al-qalīl ‘an insān aw ḥayawān, yibqá kattar khe:ruh*

Translation: Hello... in these days of extreme heat, whoever has a water cooler in the street near their house or shop, we hope will take care to clean it and if they can buy some new plastic cups for it, that would be great... and anyone who keeps birds in their balcony we hope will bring them indoors for a while so they don't melt in the heat, and change their water when needed... you could put a dish of water on your balcony wall or on your roof for birds to drink from... and those who have cats or dogs, or keep chickens or ducks or rabbits and sheep, make sure they have enough to drink at all times and sprinkle water on their floor often.. whoever can lighten the load by the smallest amount of a human or animal, is very kind

Another post, dated December 14 2010, provides another example of appeals written in CWA. This appeal is for a name for the parody awards the group's members have agreed to set up:

#### Example 5.30

شباب إحنا إتعودنا هنا كل خطوة جديدة ناخذها سوا.. من غالبية تعليقاتكم بخصوص الإستفتاء على اسوأ شخصيات الأمة, كله تقريباً وافق إننا نعملها.. دلوقتي عايزين إسم بس للمسابقة, أفضل عنوان أو إسم, هانختاره سوا.. هو اللي هانعمل المسابقة بيه

*Shabāb iḥnā it‘awwidnā hinā kull khaṭwah gidīdah nakhudhā sawā.. min ghālibīyit ta’līqātkum bi-khuṣūṣ il-istiftā’ ‘ala aswa’ shakhṣīyāt*

*il-ummaḥ, kulluh taqrīban wāfiq inninā ni'milhā.. dilwa'tī 'ayzīn ism  
bas lil-musābqah, afḍal 'inwān aw ism, hanikhtāruh sawā..  
huwwa illī hani'mil il-musābqah bīh*

Translation: Guys we're used to taking each new step together... from the majority of your comments regarding the referendum about the worst national characters, almost everyone agreed that we should do it... now we want just a name for the competition, the best title or name, we'll choose it together... it will be used for the competition

This post is interesting in that it can be compared to earlier (pre-December 2010) opinion polls and questions to the audience, which were written in MSA and perhaps by virtue of being written in MSA, sounded more formal and distant. This post begins with an immediate connection to the audience by using the word شباب ('guys') to address the reader. The rest of the post is written in the first person plural, emphasising the unity and closeness of the group, as well as the equality of its members, giving the sense of a democratic group, which is further emphasised by their stating: هانختاره سوا ('we will choose it [the name] together'). In previous pre-December 2010 invitations for example, the third person was used, creating a perceived distance between the physical group (6th April Youth Movement) and the virtual one (members of the online group). It is posts like these, written in CWA as opposed to MSA, in the first person as opposed to the second person, emphasising the democratic decision-making process of the group and explicitly including the wider group in this decision-making process, that allowed the group to organise and lead its members to take action in the form of protests in the physical-world.

### **5.3.2.3 Ideas, thoughts and feelings**

Something of an inspirational post, the first example below in CWA refers to the January 25 2011 protests and again uses the first person voice in order to create a sense of closeness between the writer and reader, as well as a sense of democracy and equality between the members of the group. Its tone is optimistic and the writer is reaching out to the rapidly

growing membership of the group. Together with the other examples written in CWA below, we can see how language use was able to create a sense of unity, collective strength and purpose, and later mobilise the group's members in increasing numbers to take to the streets in solidarity together, defying the authorities and political convention in Egypt.

### Example 5.31

حقيقي يا شباب تحية جامدة جداً مننا, لكل عضو بالصفحة بعث لنا وطلب الإنضمام.. شيء  
مُفرح إن العدد الكبير ده مننا يكون عنده رغبة حقيقية إنه يعمل شيء ملموس لمصر.. كلنا  
هنا سواء أعضاء في 6 أبريل, أو بس أعضاء في الصفحة هاتحاول نمد إيدنا لبعض ونعمل  
حاجة لبلدنا.. أنا متفائل جداً والأمل في ربنا كبير, حد فيكم متفائل معاياً؟

*Ḥaḡīqī yā shabāb taḥīyah gāmdah giddan minninā, li-kull 'uḡw bi-il-  
ṣafḡah ba'at li-nā wi-ṡalab il-inḡimām.. she:' mufriḡ in il-'adad il-  
kibīr dah minninā yikun 'anduh raghbah ḡaḡīqīyah innuh yī'mil  
she:' malmus li-Maṣr.. kullinā hinā sawā' a'ḡā' fī 6 Abrīl, aw bas  
a'ḡā' fī il-ṣafḡah hanḡāwil nimidd īdīnā li-ba'ḡ wi-nī'mil ḡāḡah li-  
baladnā.. anā mutafā'il giddan wi-il-amal fī rabbbinā kibīr, ḡadd fī-  
kum mutafā'il ma'āyā?*

Honestly guys a huge thank you, to every member of the page who's sent us a member request.. it makes us so happy to see so many people with the desire to do something tangible for Egypt... we will all, whether members of 6 April or just the page, try to extend our hands to each other and do something for our country.. I'm very optimistic and have a lot of hope, are you optimistic with me?

### Example 5.32

شباب مصر لما ب يكون إيد واحدة ب يعمل كتير  
إضراب 6 أبريل 2008  
الحكومة هددت اللي هايشارك فيه, الإخوان رفضوا المشاركة فيه, الأحزاب إتريقت ع اللي  
هايشارك فيه  
لكن شباب مصر كان أقوى من الكل بإيمانه ب ربنا وب حبه لمصر  
إحنا نقدر يا شباب

*Shabāb Maṣr lammā bi-yikūn īd waḡdah bi-yī'mil kitīr*

*Iḍrāb 6 Abrīl 2008*

*Il-ḥukūmah haddidit illī hayshārik fīh, il-lkhwān rafaḍū il-mushārkah  
fīh, il-aḥzāb ittaryaḳit ‘a[lá] illī hayshārik fīh*

*Lākin shabāb Maṣr kān aḳwá min il-kull bi-īmānuh bi-rabbinā wi-bi-  
ḥubbuh li-Maṣr*

*Iḥna niḡdar yā shabāb*

Translation: When the youth of Egypt stand hand in hand they can  
do a lot

6 April 2008 Strike

The government has threatened whoever takes part, the  
Brotherhood have refused to take part, the [other political] parties  
have made fun of whoever takes part

But the youth of Egypt is stronger than all with their faith in God  
and their love for Egypt

We can do it guys

### Example 5.33

الثورة مش معناها اننا نغير رؤوس نظام فاسد وبس... الثورة اكبر من كذا واعمق من  
كدا.. الثورة تعنى تغيير حقيقى للاحسن يحس بيه المواطن العادى فى حياته اليومية... لسه بقايا  
الفساد متغلغلة ومادة جذورها فى مجتمعنا... ولسه المشوار طويل عشان نغيره  
للاحسن... الثورة علمتنا اننا منسكتش على الظلم واننا ناخذ حقنا مهما كان التمن... اذا كان  
هما عندهم دولة فساد عميقة فاحنا هنخلى ثورتنا اكثر عمقا عشان توصل لكل فاسد  
وتغيره..... ثورتنا مستمرة

*Il-thawrah mish ma'nāhā inninā nighayyar ru'ūs nizām fāsīd wi-  
bass ... il-thawrah akbar min kidā wi-a'maq min kidā ... il-  
thawrah ta'nī taghyīr ḥaḳīqī lil-ahsan yiḥiss bi-h il-muwātin il-'ādī fī  
ḥayatuh il-yawmīyah ... lissah baqāyā il-fasād mutaghalghilah wi-  
māddah gudhūrhā fī muḡtama'nā ... wi-lissah il-mishwār tawīl  
'ashān nighayyaruh lil-ahsan ... il-thawrah 'allimitnā inninā ma-  
niskutsh 'alā il-zulm wi-inninā nākhud haḳqinā mahmā kān il-  
**taman** ... idhā kān hummā 'anduhum dawlit fasād 'amīqah fa-  
iḥnā hankhallī thawritnā akthar 'umqan 'ashān tūwṣal li-kull fāsīd  
wi-tghayyaruh ... thawritna mustamirrah*

Translation: Revolution doesn't mean changing only the  
figureheads of a corrupt regime... revolution is bigger and deeper

than that... revolution means real and positive change that can be felt by the average citizen in their everyday life... the remnants of corruption still lay deep in our society... and we have a long way to go to achieve positive change... the revolution has taught us not to keep quiet about injustice and to take our rights whatever the price may be... if they have a corrupt deep state then we will make our revolution deeper in order to reach each corrupt person and change them... the revolution continues

In the example above, we see an elevation of the CWA, with the use of two *fuṣḥá* features in bold above (bold added): the feminine imperfect verb *تعني* (*ta'nī*, 'mean'), instead of the use of the masculine, which is more customary in *'āmmīyah*; and *اكثر عمقا* (*akthar 'umqan*, 'deeper', lit. 'more depth'), with the spelling of *اكثر* (*akthar*, 'more') rather than the more phonetically *'āmmīyah* spelling *اكثر* with a /t/ as was used in the underlined word (underlining added) *التمن* (*il-taman*, 'the price') which would be *التمن* (*il-thaman*, 'the price') with a /th/ phoneme in *fuṣḥá*; and the accusative case of *عمقا* (*'umqan*, 'depth') with the *alif* signalling nunation. These two examples could be seen as intra-sentential code-switches or simply borrowings from *fuṣḥá* with the purpose of elevating the *'āmmīyah*.

#### 5.3.2.4 Photo and video commentaries

This category contrasts with the 'photo and video captions' category of MSA posts, which appeared early in the group's timeline and were neutral in terms of content, simply describing the content of a photo or video. Commentaries on photos and videos expressing the group's reaction to or analysis of the content shared, started to appear after the death of Khaled Said in June 2010.

A photo of the group sharing a meal during Ramadan together, was posted with the following text in CWA to show the reader they are fun, normal young people, despite being political:

### Example 5.34

الإفطار بتاعنا مش بيكون خنيق .. ولا احنا شباب خنيق احنا شباب عادى .. بنهزر وبنلعب ..  
فيينا سوكا ولوكا وموتا وشكلمه .. بس الفرق اننا مهمومين بالبلد دى .. وموجودين  
بأوجاعها .. ونفسنا نغيرها للأفضل .. احنا شباب مصر .. شباب حر .. ييحب مصر

*Il-iftār bita'nā mish biykūn khanī'... wa-lā iḥnā shabāb khanī' iḥnā  
shabāb 'ādī... binhazzar wi-nil'ab... fī-nā sūkā wi-lūkā wi-mūtā  
wi-shaklamah... bass il-farq inninā mahmūmīn bi-il-balad dī... wi-  
mawgū'īn bi-awgā'ha... wi-nifsinā nighayyarhā lil-afḍal... iḥnā  
shabāb Maṣr... shabāb ḥurr... bīyḥibb Maṣr*

Translation: Our Iftars [evening meal during the month of Ramadan] are not boring, and we are not boring people, we are normal young people... we joke and play, mess about and hang around... but the difference is that we are concerned about this country... we feel its pains and wish to change it for the better... we are the youth of Egypt... we are free... and love Egypt

A video shared of an on-air argument between a prominent Egyptian journalist (Mahmoud Saad) and the Minister for Higher Education at the time, had one line at the top written by the group, clearly expressing their low opinion of the minister, in CWA:

### Example 5.35

كذاب قوى.... داننا بتحج يا منيل. إتلم و لم لسانك بقى

[Dated 7 November, 2010]

*Kaddāb qawī... dāntā [dā intā] bithigg yā minayyil. Itlamm wi-limm  
lisānak baqá*

Translation: Such a liar... and you go on the Haj pilgrimage you scum. Have some shame and stop lying

Further examples of commentary-style posts written in CWA:

### Example 5.36

دي الأفكار اللي زرعا الحزب الوطني الفاسد في الناس البسطاء والغلابية.. إبعد عن السياسة, وإمشي جنب الحيط, وعايزين ناكل عيش.. وآلاف الجمل الموروثة اللي عموا بيها الناس وضللوهم وخوفوهم.. كل واحد من حقه يعيش بحرية وكرامه في بلده

*Dī il-afkār illī zara‘hā il-hizb il-watanī il-fāsid fī il-nās il-busatā’ wi-il-ghalābah... ib‘id ‘an il-sīyāsah, wi-imshī ganb il-ḥiṭ, wi-‘ayzīn nākul ‘īsh... wi-ālāf il-gumal il-mawrūthah illī ‘amū bi-hā il-nās wi-ḍallilūhum wi-khawwifūhum... kull wāḥid min ḥaqquh yī‘īsh bi-ḥurrīyah wi-karāmah fī baladuh*

Translation: These are the thoughts that the corrupt National Party [the leading political party of Mubarak’s era] planted into the minds of the poor and simple people... stay away from politics, play it safe, we need to eat... and thousands of inherited lines they used to blind, mislead and instil fear in people... everyone has the right to live with freedom and dignity in their country

#### Example 5.37

وحضرتك هربت ليه لما انت واثق؟ ولا اللي هرب بيرجع واللى اختفى بيظهر والمقرات اللي اتقفلت رجعت اتفتحت. النظام راجع ده حلمكم و الثورة راجعة ده وعدنا

*Wi-ḥadritak hiribt līh lammā intā wāthiq? Wallā illī hirib bīyirga‘ wi-illī ikhtafā bīyizhar wi-il-maqarrāt illī itqafalit rig‘it itfataḥit. Il-nizām nāgī‘ dah ḥilmukum wi-il-thawrah rāg‘ah dah wa‘dinā*

Translation: So why have you run away sir, if you are so sure? Or does the one who runs away come back, and the one who has disappeared reappear / the things that have disappeared reappear, and the headquarters that have closed reopen. That the regime is returning is your dream and that the revolution is returning is our promise

#### Example 5.38

\* لغاية ما المواطن ده يلاقى شقة ينام فيها هنفضل مكملين ، و لغاية ما الراجل ده يبقى له شغل يقدر يصرف بيه على نفسه و يتجوز بيه و يصرف على أولاده احنا مكملين ، و لغاية ما يحس الراجل ده بكرامته كاتسان و يفخر أنه اتولد و جنسيته مصرية احنا مكملين.

*Li-ghāyit mā il-muwāṭin dah yilāqī shaqqah yinām fīhā hanifḍal mikammilīn, wi-lighāyit ma il-rāgil dah yibqa luh shughl yiqdar yiṣrif bī-h ‘ala nafsuh wi-yitgawwiz bī-h wi-yiṣrif ‘ala awlāduh ihnā*

*mikamilīn, wi-lighāyit ma yihiss il-rāgil dah bi-karamtuh ka-insān  
wi-yifkhar innuh itwalad wi-ginsīyituh Maṣrīyah ihnā mikammilīn*

Translation: Until this citizen finds an apartment to sleep in we will continue; until this man has a job so that he can provide for himself, get married and provide for his children we will continue; until this mans feels dignity as a human being and pride to have been born here and that his nationality is Egyptian we will continue.

The following are examples of photo and video commentaries written in IA style, with a clear, typographically-marked switch from *fuṣṣḥá* (description of the content) to *‘āmmīyah* (opinion of the content). Underlining is added to the *‘āmmīyah* text in the examples below:

#### Example 5.39

أغنية مؤلمة ومعبرة لأبعد مدى عن التفكير في الهجرة.. تفنكروا لو كلنا هاجرنا بجد.. مين  
هايقف لمصر الحزينة، ويمسح دموعها، مين يمد لها إيدته والديابة ب تنهش كل يوم ف  
لحمها.. نسيبها لمين؟ حد يعرف؟

*Ughnīyah mu’limah wa-mu’abbirah li-ab’ad madá ‘an al-tafkīr fī al-  
higrah.. tiftikrū law kullinā hāgirnā bi-gadd.. mīn hayuqaf li-Maṣr  
il-hazīnah, wi-yimsah dumū’hā, mīn yimidd la-hā ṭduh wi-il-  
dīyābah bi-tinhash kull yo:m fi lahmahā.. nisībā li-mīn? Hadd  
yi’raf?*

Translation: An extremely painful song about considering emigration... if we were all to emigrate.. who would stand up for sorrowful Egypt, and wipe her tears? Who would extend their hand to her while the wolves eat away at her flesh every day.. who would we leave it to? Does anyone know?

In the example above, the first part is bivalent, since it can be read as MSA or ‘elevated’ CWA. It is interesting that the content, a song about someone considering immigrating, is described as ‘painful’, which moves it out of the straightforward ‘neutral’ style of description and into a more emotional one, which may explain the bivalent/elevated CWA style of writing, rather than a more clearly/exclusively MSA style. The next part in

CWA is clearly separated with ellipsis and gives an opinion about immigrating from Egypt, including a rhetorical question at the end.

In the example below, we see a rather more straightforward use of MSA, which suits the factual, report-like tone, followed by a direct quote of what is said in the clip, indicated by the use of a colon after قال ('he said'):

#### Example 5.40

بالأمس في حلقة "آخر كلام" عندما سأل يسري فودة الروائي الرائع علاء الأسواني هل أنت متفائل رغم كل ما تمر به مصر؟ ف رد علاء الأسواني بإجابة رائعة حيث ذكر أن جزء من تفائله بسببكم أنتم وقال: تندھش إنك تشوف شباب يطالب بالتغيير، ويطالب بحقوقه، وماتعرفش دول طلغوا كده إزاي. رغم التعليم والإعلام المضلل! دي تحية من أديب كبير لكم يا شباب

*Bi-al-ams fī ḥalqat “Ākhir Kalām” ‘indamā sa’al Yusrī Fūdah al-ruwā’ī al-rā’ī’ ‘alā’ al-Aṣwānī hal anta mutafā’il raghm kull mā tamurru bihi Miṣr? Fa radda ‘alā’ al-Aṣwānī bi-igābah rā’ī’ah ḥaythu dhakara anna guz’ min tafā’ulih bi-sababikum antum wa-qāl: tandahish innak tishuf shabāb yutālib bi-il-taghyīr, wi-yutālib bi-huqūquh, wi-māti’rafsh do:l til’ū kidah izzāy, raghm il-ta’līm wi-il-i’lām il-mudallil! Dī tahīyah min adīb kibīr li-kum yā shabāb*

Translation: Yesterday in the episode of ‘Latest words’ when [the presenter] Yosri Fouda asked the brilliant novelist Alaa Al Aswani ‘are you optimistic despite all that Egypt is going through?’ Alaa Al Aswani gave a brilliant response and mentioned that part of his optimism is because of you (pl.) when he said: It’s amazing to see young people demanding change, and demanding their rights, and you wonder how they became this way, in spite of the misleading education and media! This is is a salute to you guys from a great writer

In another example of a direct quote below, the quote in MSA is stated in the first line, followed by a description of the content in the second line, also in MSA. There is a line break before the next part, indicating the code-switch to CWA, also signalled by the spelling of إسمعوه with a *hamzah*, since it would be written without in *fushḥá*. This matches the switch in content from a description of the video, to an appeal to the reader to watch (‘listen to’) it:

Example 5.41

عندما يملأ الحق قلبك، تندلع النار إن تتنفس، ولسان الخيانة يخرس  
دكتور محمد البرادعي في حديث رائع ولهجته ضد النظام تملو بحكمة لا لیس فيها  
إسمعوہ.. بیتکلم عن المقاومة وعن الإنسانية والحياة الكريمة، حاجات قربنا ننساها

*'indamā yamla' al-ḥaqq qalbuk, tandali' al-nār in tatanaffas, wa-  
lisān al-khīyānah yakhras*

*Duktūr Muḥammad al-Baradī fī ḥadīth rā'i' wa-lahgatuh ḍidd al-  
niḡām ta'lū bi-ḥikmah lā labs fīhā*

*Isma'ūh.. biyitkallim 'an il-muḡawmah wi-'an il-insānīyah wi-il-ḥayāh  
il-karīmah, ḥāgāt qarrabnā ninsāhā*

Translation: When truth fills your heart, fire breaks out if [when] you  
breathe, and the tongue of dishonesty becomes mute

Dr Mohamed ElBaradei in a brilliant talk, his tone becoming sterner  
towards the regime, his words wise and clear

Listen to [watch] it [the video], he talks about resistance, humanity  
and living with dignity, things we have almost forgotten

An example of using context to determine the style of an ambiguous or  
'bivalent' sentence is seen below, where the first sentence can be read as  
either MSA or CWA, until the final word قائلًا ('saying'), which is clearly  
MSA, and renders the sentence MSA. There is a clear switch indicated by  
the use of ellipses to the direct quote in CWA:

Example 5.42

وهنا إحتج الرئيس على تزوير الانتخابات قائلًا.. فضلنوا تقولولي فكر جديد فكر جديد، مع إن  
الفكر القديم كان شغال زى الحلاوة يا شوية أغيبا

*Wa-hunā iḡtagga al-ra'is 'alā tazwīr al-intikhābāt qā'ilan.. faḍaltū  
tuḡlūlī fikr ḡidīd fikr ḡidīd, ma' in il-fikr il-qadīm kān shaghghāl  
zayy il-halāwah yā shwayit aghbīyā*

Translation: And here the president protests the election fraud  
saying 'You kept telling me [about] new thought, new thought,  
although the old thought was working just fine you idiots'

Another example below shows use of MSA marked at the end by the use of double exclamation marks, followed by a sarcastic remark in CWA:

#### Example 5.43

في تحليل عبقرى قال عبد الله كمال (رئيس تحرير روزاليوسف الحكومية) أن علم شباب 6 أبريل، اللون الأسود فيه يدل على عودة الجماعات الإسلامية التكفيرية، والقبضة في هذا العلم رمز فاشى!! يعني إحنا تكفيريين فاشيين يا شباب.. ألف مبروك :)))

*Fī taḥlīl ‘abqarī qāla ‘abd Allāh Kamāl (ra’īs tahrīr Rūz al-Yūsuf al-ḥukūmīyah) anna ‘alam Shabāb 6 Abrīl, al-lawn al-aswad fīh yadullu ‘ala ‘awdat al-gāmi‘āt al-Islāmīyah al-takfīrīyah, wa-al-qabḍah fī hādha al-‘alam ramz fāshī!! Ya’nī ihnā takfīrīyīn fāshīyīn yā shabāb.. alf mabrūk :)))*

Translation: In a genius analysis Aballah Kamal (editor in chief of the nationalised publication Rose Yousef) said that black colour of the 6 April Youth banner signifies the return of the Islamist ‘Takfiri’ (accusing others of apostasy) groups, and that the fist is a symbol of fascism! So we are fascist Takfiris, congratulations guys :)))

#### 5.3.2.5 Opinion polls and surveys

Whereas these mainly appeared in MSA pre-December 2010, they begin to appear in CWA as per the following examples:

#### Example 5.44

ايه اكثر هتاف بعد الثورة بتردده في مليونية او مسيرة او مظاهرة؟

(+2k) يسقط يسقط حكم العسكر

Masra7ia Masra7ia wel 3esabah hia hia (234 people)

يا اهالينا انضموا لينا

(+84) الشعب والجيش ايد واحدة

(+65) يا نجيب حقهم يا نموت زيهم

[...]

[Dated 21 October 2011]

6th of April Youth Movement - حركة شباب 6 ابريل

ايه اكثر هتاف بعد الثورة بتردده في مليونية او مسيرة او مظاهرة؟

<input type="checkbox"/>	بسقط بسقط حكم العسكر	+2k
<input type="checkbox"/>	Masra7ia Masra7ia wel 3esabah hia hia	243 people
<input type="checkbox"/>	يا اهلنا انضموا لينا	...
<input type="checkbox"/>	الشعب والجيش ابد واحده	+84
<input type="checkbox"/>	يا نجيب حقههم يا نموت زيهم	+65
<input type="checkbox"/>	نوره نوره حتى النصر نورف ف كل شوارع مصر	+50
<input type="checkbox"/>	الشعب يريد اسقاط المنشير	+49
<input type="checkbox"/>	بلا يا مصري انزل من دارك الطنطاوي هو مبارك	+46
<input type="checkbox"/>	الجدع جدع والجبان جبان واجنا يا جدعان راجعين للميدان	+36
<input type="checkbox"/>	الداخلية ... بلطجية	+32
<input type="checkbox"/>	منش بشارك في مظاهرات تعطل احوال البلد	+22
<input type="checkbox"/>	الشعب يريد شرع الله	+11
<input type="checkbox"/>	الشعب يريد اسقاط النظام	+9
<input type="checkbox"/>	خسني مبارك ساب القصر و لسه عصائه يتحكم مصر	+8
<input type="checkbox"/>	ارفع راسك فوق انت مصري.	+8
<input type="checkbox"/>	الجيش و الشرطة ابد وسخة	+7
<input type="checkbox"/>	يا اهلنا انضموا لينا	+6
<input type="checkbox"/>	الكتاب الكباب هيخلي عينتكوا هباب	+5
<input type="checkbox"/>	بسقط حسني طنطاوي	+5
<input type="checkbox"/>	بلا نخطط صح و نبهض بمصر	+4
<input type="checkbox"/>	الجيش، والشعب ابد واحده	+4

*E:h aktar hitāf ba'd il-thawrah bi traddiduh fī milyunīah aw masīrah aw muzāhrah?*

(+2k) *yasquṭ yasquṭ ḥukm il-'askar*

(234 people) *Masrahīya Masrahīya wi-il 'iṣābah hiyya hiyya*

(+84) *il-sha'b wi-il-ge:sh īd waḥdah*

(+65) *ya nigīb haqquhum ya nimūt zayyuhum*

[...]

Translation: Which chant do you repeat the most in a million-march, demonstration, or protest?

Down down with military rule (+2k)

A play [show], a play, and the mob is the same (234 people)

Our families, join us

The people and the army are one hand [united] (+84)

Either we get justice for them or we die like them (+65)

[...]

The numbers in the post refer to the number of responses, or votes, and are added automatically by Facebook as the members vote. The use of a Romanised form of Arabic for one of the responses (chants) is interesting, since use of non-Arabic script is unusual on the group's Facebook page. It may indicate that responses were added by more than one person, the users themselves for example, or were 'copy and pasted' as options from elsewhere (perhaps sent in as suggestions by the members).

#### Example 5.45

في ضوء حركة المحافظين الأخيرة، ما هو تقييمك لأداء رئيس الوزراء دكتور عصام شرف  
منذ توليه المسؤولية وحتى اللحظة؟

للأسف وحش

1,254 votes

عظيمة يا مصر يا ارض اللواء

467 votes

متوسط

411 votes

يريد الخير لكنه مغلوب على أمره

119 votes

[...]

[Dated 4 August 2011]

*Fī ḍaw' ḥarakat al-muḥāfiẓīn il-akhīrah, mā huwa taqyīmak/ik li-adā'  
ra'īs al-wuzarā' Duktūr 'isām Sharaf mundhu tawalīh al-  
mas'ūliyah wa-ḥatta al-lahẓah?*

*lil-asaf wiḥish* (1,254 votes)

*'aẓīmah ya Maṣr ya arḍ il-liwā'* (467 votes)

*mutawassiṭ* (411 votes)

*yuṛdu al-khayr lākinnaḥu maghlūb 'alā amrih* (119 votes)

[...]

Translation: In light of the latest move by the Conservatives, what is your take on Prime Minister Essam Sharaf's performance since he took on his role until now?

Unfortunately it's bad (1,254 votes)

Egypt, the General's Land, is great (467 votes)

Mediocre (411 votes)

He wants what's best but there's not much he can do (119 votes)

[...]

It is interesting that in this post we see the main question in MSA, followed by the responses in various styles: CWA, IA (bivalent) and MSA. This reflects the earlier post in this category and may indicate multiple contributors, or simply a flexibility of styles, since the styles are consistent within each response, i.e. no code switches to CWA are identified in the MSA response, and vice versa. In terms of motivations for language use, a correlation emerges between the content and style of each response. The first and most popular response, expresses regret that Egypt is doing badly and the sense of regret is reflected in the use of CWA, which as we have seen is used to express emotive language. The second response can be described as bivalent IA, reflecting a clever subversion in the use of the phrase *ارض اللواء* (*ard il-liwā'*, 'the General's Land'), as it is a reference to a run down area of Cairo and would be pronounced as *اللوا* (*il-liwa*) with a shortening of the final long *alif* and omission of the *hamza*. The use of it here to describe Egypt juxtaposes the greatness of Egypt with the run down land of the General, as well as being a reference to the role of the military as the 'owner' of the land/country. The use of IA subverts the language of power and authority in order to mock it. The third response *متوسط* (*mutawassiṭ*, 'Mediocre' or literally 'middle') makes use of MSA/IA in that it reflects the non-emotive response, and use of the term itself can be considered MSA with specific uses in CWA (for example 'a mediocre student', 'the middle class' in society), so it is akin to comparing his performance to a mediocre student, and finally the fourth response in in MSA gives it a factual air - that he does indeed mean well, but is

powerless to do or change much. The clever subversion of language and meaning here shows how powerful the choice of style can be in conveying emotion, subversion and mockery, neutrality, and even fact.

### 5.3.2.6 Slogans

The following examples relate to the protests in support of the 6 April 2009 Mahallah textile workers' strike. The language use is CWA, with many bivalent IA features. However, the absence of any strictly MSA terms lends the overall language use in this category towards an elevated form of CWA. In the final example, we see a rare instance of use of English in a post, which indicates a message intended for an international audience [clearly CWA terms underlined for clarity]:

#### Example 5.46

ماتسبش حقك شارك وكفاية سلبية اللى بيحصل فى بلدنا مش شوية

[Dated 20 March 2009]

*Matsibsh ḥaqqak shārik wi-kifāyah salbīyah illī bīyihṣal fī baladnā  
mish shuwayyah*

Don't forgo your right, take part and enough with the passiveness,  
what's happening in our country is not insignificant

#### Example 5.47

إضراب عام لشعب مصر.. 6 إبريل 2009.. حقنا و هناخده

[Dated 21 March 2009]

*lḍrāb 'ām li-sha'b Maṣr.. 6 Abrīl 2009.. ḥaqqinā wi-hanākhdh*

General strike for the people of Egypt... 6 April 2009... our right  
and we will take it

#### Example 5.48

فكّر فى بلدك لو مرة.. فكّر فى عيشتك المرة.. إضراب 6 إبريل  
2009.. حقنا و هناخده

[Dated 21 March 2009]

*Fakkar fī baladak law marrah... fakkar fī 'īshtak il-murrah... idrāb 6  
Abril 2009... ḥaqqinā wi-hanākhduh*

Think of your country for once, think of your bitter life, 6 April 2009  
strike... our right and we will take it

Example 5.49

زَمَّرَ ر.. صَفَّرَ ر.. خَبَّبَ ط.. كَلَّكَسْ.. إَعْمَلْ ص..... وَت

*Zammar.. şaffar.. khabbaṭ.. kalkis.. i'mil şo:t*

Toot your horn, whistle, bang, beep, make a sound [make some  
noise]

Example 5.50

Down with Mubarak.. 6th of April'09.. a general strike & protest in  
Egypt - against the corrupted regime of Mubarak's family...

إضراب 6 إبريل.. 2009 حقا و هناخده

[Both dated 31 March 2009]

*[...] Idrāb 6 Abril 2009... ḥaqqinā wi-hanākhduh*

6 April 2009 strike... our right and we will take it

Overall we have seen in this chapter the styles outlined in the previous chapter applied consistently and with identifiable patterns of use that relate back to the content. In MSA posts, we have seen the traditional uses for mainly factual, non-emotive and authoritative content, while CWA is used mostly for humorous and emotive content. Where mixing has been found, it correlates closely to shifts in tone and content, with the use of transitional, IA (bivalent/mixed) to soften the shift between the two. The code-switching patterns are largely *fuṣṣḥá* to *'āmmīyah* and mainly inter-sentential. The vast majority of posts are written in Arabic script, with very few instances of English and Romanised script. The ease of use of both *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* shows a fluency in and high level of comfort with both, and the fluidity between the two shows that the group are skilled navigators between the two. Switching and mixing has been shown to

follow regular and predictable patterns, rather than being random and haphazard. Spelling conventions are largely *fuṣḥá*, with deliberate switches to more phonetically *'āmmīyah* spellings, often within the same post, to highlight the switch in style and content. In the following chapter, we further explore mixed language use, by reviewing other studies found looking at mixed language use online in blogs, on Twitter, and in print satirical writing, and comparing their findings with the findings of this study.

## Chapter 6

### Comparative review of mixed-style studies

In this chapter, the findings of three studies looking at mixed Arabic use are compared with the findings of this study and viewed through the lens of the proposed theoretical framework. The dialect in the three studies is Egyptian (Cairene). Two of the studies are concerned specifically with online texts: Ramsay (2012) analyses the language use of five prominent online blogs, while Kosoff (2014) analyses the tweets of ten prominent Twitter accounts. The blogs in Ramsay (2012) are all written in Arabic script, and the study looks at instances of code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, while the tweets in Kosoff (2014) employ Arabic script as well as Romanised Arabic and even English. For the purposes of comparison with the findings of this study, only examples of code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* in Arabic script have been considered. The third and final study (Håland, 2017) looks at code-switching in satirical works, the findings of which are reviewed in light of the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 5 above.

#### 6.1 Online blogs (Ramsay, 2012)

Ramsay (2012) analyses the language use of five prominent online Egyptian bloggers: Wael Abbas, a human rights and democracy activist since 2004 ([misrdigital.blogspot.com](http://misrdigital.blogspot.com)); Nawara Negm, a nationalist activist and open critic of the Mubarak regime, and the only female blogger included in the study ([tahyyes.blogspot.com](http://tahyyes.blogspot.com)); Ahmed Shokeir, a liberal activist with an entertaining/educating angle to his blog ([shokeir.blogspot.com](http://shokeir.blogspot.com)); Abdel Moneim Mahmoud, a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood whose blog informs readers about the ideas, standpoints and actions of the Brotherhood ([ana-ikhwan.blogspot.com](http://ana-ikhwan.blogspot.com)); and Ashraf al-Anany, a bedouin from Sinai who blogs about bedouin life and their mistreatment at the hands of the Egyptian government (his blog has been closed as per Ramsay 2012; 56). The five top-rated bloggers are all critical of Egyptian society, and each of them represents a different viewpoint and section of it. Similarly to this study, the bloggers all blog in Arabic, in Arabic script.

In order to compare Ramsay's (ibid.) findings with those of this study, one of the examples of the study is reexamined here. The example is from the blogger Wael Abbas, who worked as a journalist for several media outlets and as such 'commands MSA with ease' (Ramsay, 2012, p.57). Nonetheless, he chooses to write in *'āmmīyah* "as an act of resistance" since *fuṣḥá* is "the language of the elite, the intelligence... It's the language of the Koran..." (Ramsay, 2012, p.57). Abbas views the diglossic situation of Arabic as having a negative effect on democracy, since it is not understood by all sections of society. Despite Abbas's criticism of *fuṣḥá*, he does appear to employ it in his blog, although borrowing from and mixing with *'āmmīyah* as will be discussed below. Ramsay describes Abbas's language use as "ECA [Egyptian Colloquial Arabic] and a mixed variety" (Ramsay, 2012, p.58). Abbas's posts, similarly to 6 April's, include "video clips and images such as photos, posters and cartoons while texts may function as captions or a request to comment on the imagery" (Ramsay, 2012, p.57). Abbas's use of *'āmmīyah* can also be compared to 6 April Youth Movement's use of it, but while Abbas uses 'indecent words and expressions of indecorousness [... including] the 'low' language of the marketplace with its billingsgate and vulgarities" (Ramsay, 2012, p.58), relatively few instances of mild profanity are found on the Facebook page of 6th April Youth Movement, and the tone is rather more respectful, even when directing criticism at the regime or their critics.

One of the examples from Abbas's blog is copied below with the translations provided by Ramsay, as well as my own for the parts not included in Ramsay. The text is a blogpost<sup>21</sup> titled *التهمة بيدون* (*il-Tuhmah bīydawwin*, 'The accusation is he blogs'), which begins with a photo of a laptop under the title, followed by the main text of the blog and finally a poem in CWA by Mayādah Midḥat. Crucially, Ramsay only includes excerpts from the blogpost, so I have copied below the full text of the post, except the poem at the end, since it written by another person and so not directly relevant to the analysis of Abbass's particular writing style. The poem does,

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<sup>21</sup> <http://misrdigital.blogspot.com/archive/2009/08/index.html>. Last accessed on 26 August 2018.

however, add to the sense of seamless blending of *fuṣṣhá* and *‘āmmīyah* within the same text, showing how each can be used separately and together, to form layers and shades of meaning and emotion.

The main text under the photo begins with a caption of the photo, which is omitted in Ramsay but is included here as it is found to be an important part of contextualising the whole post and the use and subversion of language within it. So while Ramsay begins the example after the photo caption, I have included it here to illustrate a fuller view of the type of language mixing occurring in the post. I have added bold highlighting to the initial sentence, which I argue can be read as beginning with the ‘caption’ in MSA followed by a switch to CWA, signalled by the use of parenthesis (a common technique identified in this study above). I provide an explanation for this analysis below, and note that starting a post in MSA and switching to CWA is another common technique identified in the FB posts in Chapter 5 above. I have also underlined the two borrowed words from English and *‘āmmīyah* that Ramsay points out.

The text reads as follows:

صورة أرشيفية للمأسوف على شبابه - كنت لسه شاربه جديد ما بقاليش كام شهر لكن يظهر آخذ عين جامدة - **لاب توبي** الذي يقبع في مكان ما في أحد مقرات مباحث أمن الدولة بعد أن قام لاديل وحرامية ونصابين مصلحة الجمارك بمصادرته وسرقته بأوامر من خولات أمن الدولة بزعم عرضه على المصنفات الفنية في سابقة هي الأولى من نوعها في مصر ولم يسمع عنها أحد من قبل وعلى الرغم من ذلك تنفي المصنفات الفنية تلقيهم لجهاز من الجمارك نهائيا رغم مصادرته منذ حوالي شهرين بينما أخبرتنا مصادر داخلية موثوقة في جهاز الشرطة أن اللابتوب الآن في حوزة مباحث امن الدولة بالمخالفة للقوانين والدستور بإعتباره جهاز إتصال يحميه الدستور والقوانين التي تحظر التصنت والإطلاع على خصوصيات المواطنين وساهمت مصلحة الجمارك بدور قدر في هذه الجريمة

**Şūrah arshīfiyyah lil-ma’sūf ‘alá shabābih - kunt lissah shārīh  
gidīd mā baqālīsh kām shahr lākin yīzhar akhad ‘īn gāmdah -  
lāb tūbbī alladhī yaqba’ fī makān mā fī aḥad maqarrāt mabāḥith  
amn al-dawlah ba’da ann qāma dalādīl wa-ḥarāmīyyat wa-  
naṣṣābīn maṣlahat al-gamārik bi-muṣādaratih wa-sariqatih bi-  
awāmir min khawalāt amn al-dawlah bi-za’m ‘arḍih ‘alá al-  
muṣannafāt al-fannīyah fī sābiqah hiya al-ūlá min naw’ihā fī Miṣr  
wa-lam yasma’ ‘anhā aḥad min qabl wa-‘alá al-raghm min dhālik**

*tanfī al-muṣannafāt al-fannīyah tulqīhim li-jihāzī min al-jamārik niha'yyan raghm muṣādaratih mundhu ḥawālī shahrayn baynamā akhbaratnā maṣādir dākhilīyah mawthūqah fī jihāz al-shurṭah anna al-lābtūb al-ān fī ḥawdhat mabāḥith amn al-dawlah bi-al-mukhālafah lil-qawānīn wa-al-dustūr bi-i'tibārih jihāz ittiṣāl yaḥmīh al-dustūr wa-al-qawānīn allatī taḥzur al-taṣannut wa-al-ittilā' 'alá khuṣūṣiyāt al-mūwāṭinīn wa-sāhamat maṣlahat al-jamārik bi-dawr qadhir fī hādhihi al-jarīmah*

Translation: **An archival photo of the regrettably young thing - I'd just bought it new barely a few months ago but it seems the evil eye had struck - my laptop** that is now crouching in some corner in one of the state security investigation centres after the minions, thieves and swindlers of the customs authority sequestered and stole it on the authority of the state security bastards, claiming that they were going to display it in the technical section as the first of its kind in Egypt that no-one has heard of before. Despite this the technical section flatly denies that they have received my computer from the customs authority, even though it was confiscated it two months ago. Meanwhile our police sources informed us that the laptop is now in the possession of state security illegally, since it is a communications device which the constitution and laws protects by banning the tapping and examining of citizen's privacy. The customs authority played a big part in this crime.

The poem follows the text, written entirely in CWA. Ramsay describes Abbas's general style as ECA/mixed, and notes that "[t]hroughout his blog the narratives of his posts are posited on the two basic foundation stones of familiarization and officialdom, the first attracting the reader's sympathy and the second prompting his or her indignation." (Ramsay, 2012, p. 59). This seems to be true of this particular post, where the post begins with the 'obituary' of the 'young' laptop' and a lament of what happened in CWA to familiarise and attract the sympathy of the reader, followed by the 'official' report of what happened in MSA, prompting the reader's indignation. A full reexamination of this text reveals patterns consistent with those identified in Chapter 5 above, as follows: the first part, highlighted in bold, can be further divided into two subparts, separated by

the parenthesis - beginning in MSA (or even IA since the terms are all technically bivalent, or shared forms) and switching at the parenthesis to CWA. The former, left out of Ramsay's analysis, can be seen as the caption of the photo, describing the laptop in it. We have seen previously in this study two types of photo captions - the neutral, informative caption simply describing in a neutral way the content of the photo or video and usually written in MSA; and the commentary type, which gives a reaction to the content of the photo or video. The use of MSA here is consistent with its use for photo captions as we have seen in Chapter 5 above, since it factually states that it is 'an archival photo'. Further, the language style itself is journalistic - صورة أرشيفية - (*ṣūrah arshīfiyyah*, 'an archival photo') and مأسوف على شبابه (*ma'sūf 'alá shabābih*, 'regrettably young'), which is a common expression used in obituaries when the deceased is young. The CWA style of the latter parenthetical phrase is identified as such by Ramsay owing to the use of the 'āmmīyah words لسه (*lissah*, 'just'), which can be considered a lexical variant of 'āmmīyah since it is not used in *fuṣḥá*; ما بقاليش (*mā baqālīsh*, 'barely'), a grammatical variant, according to Ramsay, of the *fuṣḥá* ما بقى لي (*mā baqīya lī*); and كام (*kām*, 'a few'), a phonological variant of the *fuṣḥá* كم (*kam*) - although these grammatical and phonological variants are not used in *fuṣḥá* to the same meaning or effect, further lending the classification of this part to CWA. The switch to CWA in the parenthetical phrase is consistent with a switch to the 'commentary' on the photo, giving the additional information that it was purchased only recently, and the colloquialism about it being a victim of the 'evil eye' to attract the sympathy of the reader. The use of journalistic language and expressions in the first part lends it to an MSA reading, and the switch to CWA coincides with a switch from the essential or factual information, to an emotive commentary on it. The switch is also highlighted typographically, through the use of parenthesis, another common technique highlighted in Chapter 5 above.

After the parenthetical CWA phrase, we see another switch, this time to MSA for the remainder of the text. The use of non-*fuṣḥá* items in this part of the text can be seen as borrowings: from a foreign language such as the case of لاب توبي (*lāb tūbbī*, 'my laptop') from the English 'laptop' since it

is a technological term, and this form of technical borrowing has been observed before in online writing, in Chapter 5 above; or from *'āmmīyah* such as the the second word دلايدل (*dalādīl*, 'minions'), its unapologetic use seamlessly woven into the text to heighten the reader's sense of indignation and anger towards the culprits of the stolen laptop. In terms of the content, it is in the style of a report documenting serious accusations against state authorities, and so the use of MSA is more fitting to this type of content, and corresponds to the use of MSA for 'official' Facebook posts by the 6th April Youth Movement group, as seen in Chapter 5 above. Overall the mixed style identified by Ramsay can be said to correspond to the IA style presented in the proposed theoretical framework of this study, employing similar techniques and motivations for switching and mixing between CWA and MSA.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to reexamine all of the examples of blogs in Ramsay's study, Ramsay's overall findings are found to be consistent with those of this study: the language use of the online bloggers is found to include both MSA and CWA, which was found to be true of the Facebook case study, with similar techniques and motivations employed in their respective use. Further, Ramsay concludes that the bloggers' use of mixed code is not due to a lack of proficiency in MSA, rather they use it strategically to suit the aims of their message and are able to manipulate and even subvert its traditional and appropriated use by the authorities, for maximum rhetorical effect. These findings echo the findings of this study, that uses of Arabic online, particularly among young, influential political activists, are varied but not random, and that they navigate freely among the various forms of Arabic out of linguistic confidence rather than a lack of command of MSA. More recently several prominent blogs have been published online and it has been identified as an area for further comparison and study, including the blogs of Nael Eltoukhy<sup>22</sup> and Ahmed Naji<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> <http://hkzathdthcohen.blogspot.com>

<sup>23</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/ahnajeahmed/?\\_tn\\_=%2Cd%2CP-R&eid=ARDjeaYgwXNzt3Mui07WV489KjNFds-FVvnxJXj4DpVE\\_t5CUYTlvX30D3Xly9kKkwsG5AoOiHCHqi5L](https://www.facebook.com/ahnajeahmed/?_tn_=%2Cd%2CP-R&eid=ARDjeaYgwXNzt3Mui07WV489KjNFds-FVvnxJXj4DpVE_t5CUYTlvX30D3Xly9kKkwsG5AoOiHCHqi5L)

## 6.2 Twitter (Kosoff, 2014)

Kosoff's (2014) analysis of tweets from ten prominent Arabic twitter users between October and November 2011 looked at instances of code-switching between Arabic (*fuṣṣḥá*, Egyptian *'āmmīyah* and Romanised Arabic 'Arabizi' (both *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*)) and English, as well between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*. It is the interest in instances of code-switching between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* that is shared between this study and Kosoff's study, and her examples are reanalysed here in light of the proposed theoretical framework for Egyptian Arabic writing, with the style of each tweet analysed as either MSA, IA or CWA.

The similarities between this study and Kosoff's lie in the use of a qualitative approach and of observation to describe the sociolinguistic situation found in the respective speech communities (Kosoff, 2014; 83), as well as the use of social media as a medium for observation. The differences, however, are the different media channels chosen (this study focuses on Facebook while Kosoff's focus is on Twitter), and the choice of coding between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*. While both studies have acknowledged that there are distinctive language features in *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* respectively that enable each of them to be coded clearly as either *fuṣṣḥá* or *'āmmīyah*, there are a number of words that are common to both varieties (often only distinguishable by unwritten short vowels that would only be clear in an oral delivery of the word) and are therefore ambiguous. It is this latter category that has been treated differently in the two studies, as detailed below.

In Kosoff (2014, p.92), she cites 'Example 5' as an example of a mixed-code (*fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*) tweet from the popular Egyptian singer Hamza Namira:

لو كان مرور القاهرة رجلاً لحبسته ف جراج مليون تريللات مقفول ومفيهوش ولا شباك  
والشكمنات ف مناخيره والكلاكسات ف ودنه لحدمايموت بإسفوخصيا الخنق

*Law kān murūr al-Qāhirah rajulan la-ḥabastuh f garāj malyān tirillāt  
maqfūl wi-mafihūsh wa-lā shibbāk wi-il-shakmanāt f manākhīruh  
wi-il-kalāksāt f widnuh la-ḥadd mā yimūt bi-isfukhshīyā il-khanq*

[Kosoff's translation:] If Cairo traffic was a man, I would imprison him in a locked garage full of trucks and that doesn't have any windows and [there would be] exhaust in his nose and honking in his ears until he died from asphyxia

Kosoff rightly identifies the language of this tweet as a mix of *fuṣṣḥá* and 'āmmīyah, classifying individual words as either *fuṣṣḥá* or 'āmmīyah, for example the word رجلاً (*rajulan*, 'a man') is clearly *fuṣṣḥá* while the word مليون (*malyān*, 'full') is 'āmmīyah. Kosoff does not go further than labelling individual words as either *fuṣṣḥá* or 'āmmīyah, and does not analyse the context, motivation or patterns of code-switching in this tweet. Based on the observations of this study and applying them to Kosoff's example, the code-mixing found in the tweet is not random but rather follows the same pattern of starting the utterance (in this case the tweet) in *fuṣṣḥá*, followed by a clear orthographic switch to 'āmmīyah. In the first example, the beginning of the tweet is clearly *fuṣṣḥá* as identified by Kosoff: لو كان مرور القاهرة رجلاً لحبسته (*law kān murūr al-Qāhirah rajulan la-ḥabastuh*, 'If Cairo traffic was a man, I would imprison him'), which can be considered a complete, stand-alone phrase in itself as it is complete in meaning. It also seems to be a play on the *fuṣṣḥá* saying: لو كان الفقر رجلاً لقتلته (*law kān al-faqr rajulan la-qataltuh*, 'if poverty were a man, I would kill him').

It is therefore plausible that the code-switch occurs at the abbreviated form ف /f/ for the word في (*fī*, 'in'), since the rest of the tweet is clearly 'āmmīyah and is identified as such by Kosoff. Accordingly, this tweet can be seen to follow the same pattern observed in this study of inter-sentential code-switching from *fuṣṣḥá* to 'āmmīyah. As for the motivation behind the switch, the *fuṣṣḥá* part can at the beginning be seen to be a statement, almost factual and devoid of sentiment, followed by an elaborate, impassioned message that expresses the tweeter's hatred for Cairo traffic. It can be said that this tweet is written in an IA style, due to the seamless use of both *fuṣṣḥá* and 'āmmīyah in complete, stand-alone sentences.

Kosoff cites a second example, 'Example 6', of a mixed-code (*fuṣṣḥá* and 'āmmīyah) tweet by the same singer:

طالما التلفزيون المصري نفى الإستقالة يبقى شرف استقال فعلا

*Tālamā il-tilifizyūn il-Maṣrī nafá il-istiqālah yibqá Sharaf istaqāl fi'lan*

[Kosoff's translation:] As long as Egyptian television denies the resignation, then Sharif has actually resigned

In this second example, Kosoff identifies only one word يبقى (*yibqá*, 'then') as 'āmmīyah, while the rest she identifies as fuṣḥá. She concedes that the whole tweet may fall into the highest category of 'āmmīyah (ESA), but nonetheless categorises it as a mixed tweet, containing all but one fuṣḥá word and the one 'āmmīyah word. This is another example of classifying individual words as either fuṣḥá or 'āmmīyah, without taking into account the wider context of the tweet. The fact that all but one word in this tweet fall into the shared group of words that are used in both fuṣḥá and 'āmmīyah, renders it an interesting tweet linguistically speaking and a candidate for further inspection.

One way of looking at it would be to say, as Kosoff notes, that it can be read as one 'āmmīyah utterance, since there are no exclusively fuṣḥá words in it, while it does contain an exclusively 'āmmīyah word يبقى (*yibqá*, 'then'). Although she classes it as a high level of 'āmmīyah, it is 'āmmīyah nonetheless. Additionally, if we consider the word طالما (*tālamā*, 'as long as') we would expect in fuṣḥá for it to be followed by أن as in طالما أن (*tālamā anna*, 'as long as'). The absence of أن (*anna*, a particle) here further supports the view that the whole tweet can be read as 'āmmīyah, that is to say that it is written in a CWA style.

Alternatively, taking Kosoff's classification of the tweet as being a mixture of fuṣḥá and 'āmmīyah, and looking at it more closely, shows yet again, as this study has shown, that the code-switch is inter-sentential and that the utterance can be divided into two parts: the first part classed as fuṣḥá, while the second part, indicated by the switch at the word يبقى, as 'āmmīyah. In terms of motivation for this switch, the first part can be seen as the 'factual' information being presented in fuṣḥá (the fact that Egyptian television has denied the resignation), followed by the tweeter's

opinion, or speculation, in *'āmmīyah*, that Sharaf has indeed resigned. In this case it would be described as being written in an IA style.

This example is important as it highlights the difficulty, at times, in identifying ESA in writing. In speech, many of the shared words between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* can be identified by the way they are pronounced, but when they are identical orthographically, it can be difficult to be sure of the writer's intention. In such instances, a 'common sense' approach may be best, taking context into consideration and making a judgement as to which 'sounds' right. Whether the tweet is categorised as CWA or IA, it is important to look at the language of the tweet as a whole and understand the patterns, motivations and implications of code-switching. This study suggests that code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* in written contexts is not random, and follows an inter-sentential rather than an intra-sentential pattern, usually beginning in *fuṣḥá* and switching to *'āmmīyah*. Given this, it would be more likely that this particular utterance follows the same pattern, i.e. starting in *fuṣḥá* followed by a clear switch to *'āmmīyah*, supported by the switch in the content between fact (the resignation was indeed denied) and opinion (that he must have resigned). Taking Kosoff's rationalisation, if the utterance were read as *fuṣḥá*, it would sound a little odd with the *'āmmīyah* word *يبقى* (*yibqá*, 'then') inserted apparently randomly in the middle of a *fuṣḥá* sentence. If, however, it is read as CWA, it sounds natural and the elevated register is fitting in the context of discussing a national political issue. Kosoff herself argues that it is natural for Namira to use *fuṣḥá* as well as *'āmmīyah*, and to switch between the two in his tweets, given that his audience is made up of young, well-educated Egyptians who would be familiar with this style of language use.

This example highlights the importance of taking into account the wider context, motivation and message of the utterance, rather than simply classifying individual words within the same text as either *fuṣḥá* or *'āmmīyah*. It also shows that it is impossible to ignore the third category of shared words that at least orthographically if not also phonetically fit into both the *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* categories and could only be made distinguishable by looking at their wider context within the text.

### 6.3 Satire (Håland, 2017)

Håland (2017) looks at cases of inter-sentential code-switching found in satirical texts, where ‘switching between the varieties appear to be a stylistic device emphasizing a sarcastic comment’ (p. 152). The patterns of and motivations for switching are consistent with the findings of this study. Håland (ibid.) finds the code-switching patterns to be consistent with the description of *fuṣḥāmmiyya* (Rosenbaum, 2000). In an earlier discussion of *fuṣḥāmmiyya*, this study has placed it within the LIA style of the proposed theoretical framework, due to to the humorous context in which it appears, as well as the lower-educated readership. The below examples are consistent with the description of the LIA style outlined in Chapter 5 above. Each example in Håland (ibid.) begins with the MSA part of text in black, followed by the switch to CWA highlighted in red, which is changed here to underlining, with a consistent typographical marker in the form of ellipses separating the two codes:

Example 1:

لا تترك والدتك تشاهد قنوات الطبخ .. لأنها كده كده هتطبخ اللي بتعرف تعمله بس ..

*Lā tatrūk wālidatuka/i tushāhid qanawāt al-ṭabkh.. l’innahā kidah  
kidah hatutbukh illī bitī’raf ti’miluh bas*

Translation: Do not let your mother watch cooking channels...  
because either way she will only cook what she knows how to  
make

Example 2:

هناك ثلاثة أشياء لا حدود لهما .. الكون، وغباء الإنسان، والناس اللي بتتنشر الجملة دي ..

*Hunāka thalāthat ashyā’ lā ḥudūd la-humā .. al-kawn, wa-ghabā’ al-  
insān, wi-il-nās illī bitinshur il-gumlah dī..*

Translation: There are three infinite things... the universe, people’s  
stupidity, and the people who will share this sentence...

Example 3:

هي أيضاً ما يفعله الرجل ليلة كل يوم خميس عشان يداري خبيته، وينام بعد ما يتلكك على أي  
سبب مش منطقي وخالص!!

*Hiya ayḍan mā yaf'aluh al-ragul laylat kull yawm Khamīs 'ashān  
yidārī khe:btuh, wi-yinām ba'd mā yitlaklik 'alá ayy sabab mish  
mantiqī wi-khalās!*

Translation: It is also what the man does every Thursday night to  
hide his failure, and go to sleep after making a fuss over anything  
that doesn't make any sense!!

A further example of *fuṣṣḥāmmīyah* with an “alternating style” in Egyptian prose texts (Håland, 2017: 153-4) is reproduced below with the original bold highlighting for *fuṣṣḥā* words and underlining in place of the original red font for *'āmmīyah* words. Again, without the full context it is hard to make a fully informed judgement, but some initial impressions can be formed from the excerpt provided, as follows:

اما المراية فهي المنتج الأكثر إهدارا في عالم الماكياج، لأن مع كل علبة ماكياج يتبقى فيه  
مراية سواء كانت علبة بودرة أو أي شادو أو أحمر خدود، بالإضافة للمراية التي يتبقي  
متعلقة في شنطة الماكياج، رغم إن البنات نادرا ما يبيصوا في هذه المرايات، لأن غالبا يتبقى  
معاهم مراية أصلا في الشنطة، صحيح يتبقى قديمة وبقي لها ١٠٠ سنة ومكسرة وحالتها  
بالبالا، لكنهم أبدا لا يتخلين عنها وتظل في شنطة أيدهم لحد ما تتدغدغ تماما!

*Ammā al-mirāyah fa-hiya al-muntag al-akthar ihdāran fī 'ālam  
al-makyāj, li-anna ma' kull 'ulbat makyāj bitibqá fih mirāyah  
sawā' kānat 'ulbat būdrah aw āy shādū aw aḥmar khudūd, bi-il-  
iḍāfah lil-mirāyah illī bitīgī mit'allaqah fī shanṭit al-makyāj, raghm  
anna al-banāt nādiran mā bīybussū fī hādhihi al-mirāyah, li-anna  
ghāliban bitibqá ma'āhum mirāyah aṣlan fī al-shanṭah, saḥīḥ  
bitibqá qadīmah wa-baqiya la-hā 100 sanah wa-mukassarah wa-  
hālatuhā bi-al-balā, lākinahum abadan lā yatakhallīn 'anhā wa-  
tazall fī shanṭit idhum la-ḥadd mā titdaghdagh tamāman!*

Translation: As for the mirror, **it is the most wasted product in**  
**the world of make up**, because with every pack of make up

there is a mirror whether powder, eye shadow or blusher, in addition to the mirror that comes hanging in a make up bag, despite girls rarely looking in [using] **this mirror**, because usually they have a mirror in their bag in the first place. It's true that the mirror would be an old one, in the bag for 100 years, broken and in a sorry state, but never would **they give it up** and it remains in their handbags until it is completely crushed!

One firstly notices that not all 'āmmīyah words are highlighted, for example مرآة (*mirāyah*, 'mirror') and شنطة (*shantah*, 'bag') whose *fuṣḥá* equivalents would be مرآة (*mir'āh*, 'mirror') and حقيبة (*ḥaqībah*, 'bag') respectively. Secondly, we see the use of borrowed (foreign) words, such as ماكياج (*makyāj*, 'make up') from the French 'maquillage' and أي شادو (*āy shādū*, 'eye shadow') from the English 'eye shadow' which is a feature of ESA (Badawi, 1973) and IA as outlined above. Thirdly, the structure of the language and content can be seen to follow the same pattern identified above: the passage begins with a *fuṣḥá* part (excluding the use of the 'āmmīyah form مرآة, as it is used consistently within the passage and would probably cause more confusion if it were used alongside its *fuṣḥá* equivalent). This is marked by a comma at the end (since the whole passage is technically one sentence, we will use the commas as internal dividers), followed by a switch after the initial comma to 'āmmīyah, before a switch after the last comma to *fuṣḥá* and a switch back to 'āmmīyah in that same final part of the text. The reasons for the switches again mirror the content; the first part is presented as statement or fact: that the mirror is the most wasted of all the beauty products. It is followed by the writer's rationale for this statement, in 'āmmīyah, although it is not identified by Håland as such. I view the text between the first and last comma as 'āmmīyah, simply because it can all be read as such without any switches to *fuṣḥá*, although it contains some insertions of *fuṣḥá* words as is typical of ESA, such as بالإضافة (which is not marked as *fuṣḥá* by Håland) and هذه, which as seen above, appears to be a common feature of this style of writing, and matches Mejdell's (2011-2) finding of a preference for using *fuṣḥá* demonstratives in mixed speech. The final part, after the last comma, sees a return to *fuṣḥá* as another claim is made (that they would

never give it up), followed by more 'āmmīyah, to highlight the humour of the comment (until it is completely crushed!). Using the same bold font for fuṣḥá and underlining for 'āmmīyah, I would categorise the text as follows:

اما المراية فهي المنتج الأكثر إهدارا في عالم الماكياج، لأن مع كل علبه ماكياج يتبقى فيه  
مراية سواء كانت علبه بودرة أو أي شادو أو أحمر خدود، بالإضافة للمراية اللي بتبقي  
متعلقة في شنطة الماكياج، رغم إن البنات نادرا ما ببصوا في هذه المرايات، لأن غالبا بتبقي  
معاهم مراية أصلا في الشنطة، صحيح بتبقي قديمة وبقي لها ١٠٠ سنة ومكسرة وحالتها  
بالبل، لكنهم أبدا لا يتخلين عنها وتظل في شنطة إيدهم لحد ما نتدغدغ تماما!

***Ammā al-mirāyah fa-hiya al-muntag al-akthar ihdāran fī 'ālam  
al-makyāj, li-anna ma' kull 'ulbat makyāj bitibqá fih mirāyah  
sawā' kānat 'ulbat būdrah aw āy shādū aw aḥmar khudūd, bi-il-  
idāfah lil-mirāyah illī bitīgī mit'allaqah fī shantīt al-makyāj, raghm  
anna al-banāt nādiran mā bīybussū fī hādhihi al-mirāyah, li-anna  
ghāliban bitibqá ma'āhum mirāyah aṣlan fī al-shantah, saḥīh  
bitibqá qadīmah wa-baqiya la-hā 100 sanah wa-mukassarah wa-  
hālatuhā bi-al-balā, lākinahum abadan lā yatakhalin 'anhā wa-  
taẓall fī shantīt idhum la-hadd mā titdaghdagh tamāman!***

Translation: **As for the mirror, it is the most wasted product in the world of make up, because with every pack of make up there is a mirror whether powder, eye shadow or blusher, in addition to the mirror that comes hanging in a make up bag, despite girls rarely looking in [using] this mirror, because usually they have a mirror in their bag in the first place. It's true that the mirror would be an old one, in the bag for 100 years, broken and in a sorry state, but never would they give it up and it remains in their handbags until it is completely crushed!**

This is a small example but it is consistent with the overall findings of this study. Like the example in Rosenbaum (2000), this one is taken from a satirical publication in which the use of humour is prevalent and the target readership are less-educated than those of typical high-brow publications, and the subject is a light-hearted rather than a serious one.

## 6.4 Conclusions

The findings of the three studies examined above are consistent with the findings of this study, and the writing styles proposed in the theoretical framework above can be applied across the examples seen in these studies. In the first study, the writing styles of prominent online youth political bloggers was found to be consistent with the writing styles of the 6th April Youth movement page, including MSA, IA and CWA, and the use of strategic code-switching. Their use of code-switching and CWA was not found to be a result of lack of command of MSA, as evidenced by their use of MSA as required. Rather, it is a stylistic device to achieve their linguistic aims. In the second study, a more detailed examination of instances of code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* showed that they are not random and follow closely the inter-sentential, mostly mono-directional patterns revealed in this study. The importance of context was highlighted as necessary to analyse the style of the text as a whole, given the majority of shared items between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. In the third study, the examples described as *fuṣḥā‘āmmīyah* were consistent with the description of the LIA style identified in this study. Not all examples from all three studies were analysed and compared at the same level of detail, and as further studies and examples emerge, it would be interesting to compare these again with the proposed theoretical framework, which will undoubtedly evolve as new forms of writing come to light.

## Chapter 7 Conclusions

### 7.1 Overview of the study

This aim of this study has been the proposal of a new theoretical framework for written Arabic to include *fuṣṣḥá*, *‘āmmīyah* and mixed forms, both in print and online. Badawi's (1973) identification of five Arabic language levels made a distinction between the written and spoken forms of Arabic, with mixing assumed to occur in speaking only. Badawi's third level, ESA, has been the subject of many studies since it presents the most linguistically mixed and therefore diverse and interesting language level. However, in light of the evidence of mixed Arabic writing presented in this study, the new proposed theoretical framework presents a number of Arabic writing 'styles' that take into account the fluid nature of mixing in many genres of writing, as well as its most common patterns, features and underlying motivations. Additionally, this study gives an outline of the distinctive features of Egyptian *‘āmmīyah* as compared to *fuṣṣḥá* and delineates the degrees of variation between them as a practical tool for comparison with numerous illustrative examples, all presented in Chapter 4. The proposed framework has been applied to the case study of the 6th April Youth Movement Facebook Page, as well as to examples from other studies of mixed writing in print literature and on other online platforms such as Twitter and the personal blogs of influential youth political activists. The findings of the study regarding language use and mixing styles, patterns and motivations have been found to be consistent across the various media and time periods, from the age of the *nahḍah* at the turn of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, to the mid-twentieth century in the literary canon of modern Arabic literature that arose and established itself at the time, through to the rise of social media and the online youth political activism that led to the popular protests of 2011, which have in turn played a role in the proliferation of online writing in Arabic our lives today.

## 7.2 Arabic as a unified language

Contrary to popular belief that *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* forms of Arabic exist in conflict with each other, each threatening to depose the other, this study has shown how both forms coexist in a harmonious and symbiotic relationship as equal parts of one, unified language. The mere fact of their existence shows a language that is rich in forms and layers of meanings, each used to maximum rhetorical effect by its users, in speaking and writing alike. This view of the language echoes the translanguaging view of bilingual speakers, who continuously navigate their single linguistic repertoire for the appropriate forms (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Earlier descriptions of the Arabic language as diglossic or even multiglossic, with High and Low levels for the educated and uneducated respectively (Ferguson, 1959); Badawi, 1973), are replaced with descriptions of styles, techniques and strategies that seamlessly mix and blend forms as appropriate to the message being conveyed. Descriptions of random mixing and code-switching have been found to be inaccurate, with example after example showing consistent patterns and motivations for both (Eid, 1988; Bassiouney, 2006). The question of literacy becomes moot in discussions of writing, but is replaced by questions around education level and mastery of the language as seemingly plausible reasons for using spoken forms in writing. Again this study has demonstrated that mastery of and ability to write in *fuṣṣḥá* does not conflict with mastery of and ability to write in *‘āmmīyah*. Rather the command of both leads to a sophisticated form of mixing, that is carried out in a deliberate and effective way that is appropriate to the audience and message being conveyed.

## 7.3 The role of political activism in *‘āmmīyah* writing

The similarities observed between the political climates in Egypt of the *nahḍah*, formation of the republic and unrest of 2011, coincide with the surges in *‘āmmīyah* writing: the early nationalist newspapers, the rise of modern Arabic drama and literature, and the age of online writing, and appear to have served as impetuses for the use of *‘āmmīyah* in writing.

Similarities have also been drawn between the political activism of the early nationalist writers and the present-day online activists, as well as between the modern literary writers employing innovative new forms of IA in their writing. In the case of the activists, parallels were drawn between their desire to reach as wide an audience as possible and their use of *‘āmmīyah* in writing, whereas the strategies and techniques used in IA were shown to be used across the literary works.

The fear that *‘āmmīyah* taking over as a lingua franca in cross-dialectal communication will lead to mutual unintelligibility between speakers has been shown to be inaccurate, since speakers have been observed to use a variety of strategies to communicate in cross-dialectal settings, resulting in a high intelligibility between different dialects (Abu-Melhim, 1992; Soliman, 2014). The same fear is applied when *‘āmmīyah* is observed in writing (Saīd, 1964). However, if the differences between the various forms of the language are viewed in a structured way, this could aid intelligibility between the dialects in writing, in much the same way as it does in speaking, with the writer adapting their writing style to suit their intended audience in much the same way speakers do whilst speaking. In fact, if CWA is to become more and more widespread, it is conceivable that inter-dialectal writing would become more mutually intelligible as we have seen with ESA. It would be an interesting point for further research to compare writing strategies between different dialects, but this has been outside the scope of this study.

#### **7.4 Social media and the Arab Spring as catalysts for language change**

Although this study has shown that writing in *‘āmmīyah* and mixing between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah* in writing is not new, the proliferation of online writing in Arabic has made it an everyday form of writing for many Arabic speakers. The democratisation of the online writing process, free of editorial constraints, means that people are free to write not only whatever content they choose, but they are also free to use whatever form of language they choose. Whereas previously publication was under stringent control and censorship, there is much greater freedom for writers

to publish their work online, leading to a surge in colloquial as well as mixed writing - a democratisation of the language that will undoubtedly continue to develop and evolve with time and as new generations of users develop their own styles for writing in Arabic.

## 7.5 The proposed theoretical framework

The proposed theoretical framework in Part I of this study has been presented as a view of the language as one, unified language, with a distinct set of differences, from phonological to lexical and grammatical (including morphological and syntactic). These differences have been outlined in detail, with illustrative examples for each documenting the exact forms in both *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*. The proposed framework presents a number of writing styles used by writers, including: Classical Arabic (CA), Middle Arabic (MA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Intermediate Arabic (IA), Lower Intermediate Arabic (LIA), Colloquial Written Arabic (CWA) and Chat-Speak (ChS). These styles may be employed by a writer exclusively in a text, or a mix of styles may be used. Additionally, writers employ various techniques and strategies such as code-switching, seamless blending and strategic bivalency, within each style. For example, a writer using MSA may employ code-switches to *‘āmmīyah* or a foreign borrowing; a writer using IA may employ code-switching between *fuṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, or use strategic bivalency to seamlessly blend the two; and a writer using CWA may borrow from MSA certain well-known forms or expressions. This use of the language sees the writers as using all the tools at their disposal in order to convey an authentic message to their audiences, delicately balancing tradition and modernity, expectation and innovation. Rather than viewing this constant adaptation and evolution of the language as a threat to its existence, it is seen as the very reason it has survived and flourished.

The proposed framework, when applied to case studies and examples, has shown consistently that the writing styles outlined in it are applied by writers across different genres and media. In cases of code-switching and mixing, the motivations for these remain largely the same across the various styles and genres, with humorous and emotive content lending

itself largely but not exclusively to CWA, and more factual and informative content lending itself largely but not exclusively to MSA. MA does not seem to appear in modern texts, and reveals a category of features that distinguishes it from modern mixed writing; features that are **neither** *fuṣṣḥá* **nor** *‘āmmīyah*. On the contrary, mixing in modern texts is found to contain elements from **both** *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, and many shared elements between them, but do not seem to contain elements that are neither *fuṣṣḥá* nor *‘āmmīyah*. IA developed as a largely literary style in modern Arabic literature in the mid-twentieth century at the hands of such prominent writers as Tawfiq al-Hakim, Yusuf Sibai and Yusuf Idris. An innovative approach at the time, it must be viewed in the context of the perceived ‘struggle’ between the dominance of *fuṣṣḥá* in the literary establishment and the everyday spoken form of *‘āmmīyah* that the writers sought to use in their writing to reflect the realism of their novels and plays. The result of this struggle was a form that is neither wholly *fuṣṣḥá* nor wholly *‘āmmīyah*, but instead uses elements of both as the writer sees fit. Ideology undoubtedly influenced the way in which IA was used by each writer, with each seeking to reconcile between the two forms in a way that satisfied all parties: the writer, the establishment and the reader. The various techniques used by each writer vary and were discussed in detail, but three salient techniques of IA emerged: **code-switching** between *fuṣṣḥá* and *‘āmmīyah*, with or without a ‘transition’ between the two, such as a typographical marker or punctuation of some kind, or a transitional sentence or phrase, that usually can be read as either *fuṣṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah*, or is written in one with a borrowing from the other; **borrowing** from *fuṣṣḥá*, *‘āmmīyah* or a foreign language such as English or French, which can be typographically marked with the use of quotation marks or brackets, or seamlessly blended into the text; and **strategic bivalency**, to use Mejdell’s (2014) term, which uses shared lexical items to create text that can be read equally as *fuṣṣḥá* or *‘āmmīyah*, a technique used by prominent writers such as Ibrahim Eissa (ibid.) and Yusuf Sibai (Abdel Malek, 1972). The development of IA in relation to MSA can be seen as similar to the development of MSA in relation to CA - both are a form of adjustment of the language, relying on some form of borrowing (whether

from *'āmmīyah* or a foreign language). In IA borrowing is found to be more from *'āmmīyah* (lexicon, structures and idioms) and in MSA borrowing is seen to be more from foreign languages (particularly for technical/scientific terms). Both IA and MSA share the aim of simplifying the language and adjusting it to suit the needs of the time. MSA has continued to evolve (Parkinson, 2010), borrowing more and more terms from foreign languages, meaning it is not static and has survived precisely because of this continuous evolution. LIA has been identified as a low-brow version of IA, used by writers to achieve a humorous effect whether to soften a serious subject, or to suit the nature of more light-hearted content aimed at a less-educated readership. While Rosenbaum views the switching between and mixing of *fushá* and *'āmmīyah* as random and even interchangeable, a reexamination in this study of one of his examples shows the switching and mixing found in LIA to be structured, with clear motivations and rhetorical effect.

The application of the proposed framework in Part II to the case study of the 6th April Youth Movement Facebook page in Chapter 5 showed consistent use of MSA, IA and CWA, with distinct categories for the content of each. These categories were identified as: formal posts, announcements, knowledge and learning, invitations/opinion polls/surveys/questions, and photo and video captions - these categories being written in mostly MSA; cartoons/jokes, appeals, ideas/thoughts/feelings, photo and video commentaries (as opposed to captions), opinion polls/surveys, and slogans - written in CWA or at times IA. The language used for earlier posts containing opinion polls and surveys was found to be MSA, while later posts were found to contain a mix of MSA and CWA/IA. As would be expected, humorous and emotive content was found to be written mostly in CWA and to a lesser degree IA, while more formal or factual content was found to be written in MSA. It is interesting to note that within each style code-switching and borrowing was found, showing a high level of familiarity and comfort with the various styles of Arabic writing. These styles were also identified in a reexamination of examples in three studies of mixed writing in Chapter 6: online in blogs (Ramsay, 2012) and on Twitter (Kosoff, 2014); and in print (Håland, 2017). The examples

examined were found to use the same strategies and have the same motivations for language use, further supporting the overall findings of this study regarding language use online and the writing styles used by online youth activists, their code-switching patterns and motivations, which further supports the proposed theoretical framework of this study.

## **7.6 Limitations of the study and areas for further research**

This study was limited to examples of Egyptian *'āmmīyah* and the proposed theoretical framework is based on these. It could in future be applied to other Arabic dialects with useful comparisons made between the various dialects. At the time this study began, technological restrictions on online data gathering and analysis, particularly for Arabic language content, limited the number and frequency of posts that could be collected and monitored in this study. These have since improved and could potentially offer more scope for automated processes for data gathering, storing and analysis.

Several areas have been identified as further areas of study, including: the different types of continua with potential clustering around particular points as an expansion on the application of the continuum theory (Rickford, 1987) to Arabic by Hary (1996); the use of Arabic on the internet by exploring its use in various online domains, such as the language of email, the language of chatrooms, etc, as per Crystal (2006); the visual aspects of multilingual texts, such as posters, advertisements, etc, as per Sebba (2012); further examples of mixed literary writers, such as Farah Anton, his language use and works; al-Hakim's own application of the third language in his works, since no known systematic study of al-Hakim's third language has been undertaken (Badawi, 1973), as well as al-Hakim's vision for a unified language and to what extent it has been realised in the Arabic language situation today, since it can be argued that the gap between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* as two distinct varieties is indeed diminishing; the use of IA by non-literary writers, which has been identified to some degree in online writing in this study; a comparison between the differences found between *fuṣḥá* and Egyptian *'āmmīyah* and those between *fuṣḥá* and other *'āmmīyāt* as per the structure outlined in this

study, as well as an application of the proposed theoretical framework to texts in different dialects.

## 7.7 Impact

In a rapidly changing world, language study and the field of Arabic sociolinguistics in particular is fast evolving. Since Ferguson's (1959) landmark study, the field of Arabic sociolinguistics has been preoccupied by the concept of diglossia and the complex, multi-faceted nature of Arabic language use. With the arrival of Badawi's (1973) study, attention turned to the description and analysis of ESA and the way in which Arabic speakers mix *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* in their speech. Since the rise of the internet and the emergence of the field of internet linguistics, it has become clear that the internet as a medium for communication has become a serious object of study, alongside traditional written and spoken media, particularly since the political events of 2011 and the widespread role that social media played and continues to play in our daily lives. This study has pulled together established theoretical frameworks for the study of Arabic, while looking at new developments in Arabic writing both online and in print, and proposed a new theoretical framework for Arabic writing based on empirical evidence and presenting within it an exploration of the differences between *fuṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah*, as well as the degree to which they differ on various levels. This framework has the potential to change the field of Arabic sociolinguistics and the way that Arabic is viewed and analysed by users and researchers alike. The framework has been applied to numerous examples of online and print writing and found to be consistent with these. The findings of this study have been compared to the findings of other studies in the field and found not only to be consistent with the other findings, but also to provide a more holistic and deeper analytical approach to the study of Arabic writing, impacting future research in the field by providing a guide for conducting analysis and a framework against which to place it.

## 7.8 Implications

The implications of this study can be extended beyond the field of Arabic sociolinguistics, which it has the potential to change radically, to the field of teaching Arabic as a foreign language, which in recent years has moved towards embracing teaching the spoken form of the language, *'āmmīyah*, alongside the Standard written form, *fuṣṣḥá*. Learners interested in using Arabic social media will need the language skills to navigate these, understanding not only how to speak in *'āmmīyah* and read and write in *fuṣṣḥá*, but also the way in which the two are used, both separately and when mixed in social media and print literature.

In short, this study has provided a framework for analysing mixed Arabic writing both online and in print, as well as detailed the differences between *fuṣṣḥá* and *'āmmīyah* forms of Arabic, showing how and where the lines between these can be blurred and the shared forms between them used for maximum effect. The framework has the potential to change the field of Arabic sociolinguistics as well as major implications for the field of teaching Arabic as a foreign language. In the absence of an established field of Arabic internet linguistics, this study has taken a first step towards providing a framework that can be used, developed and adapted to various forms of online writing. The impact and implications of this study can continue to evolve and inform future generations of Arabic researchers, students and teachers alike.

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## List of Abbreviations

CA	Classical Arabic
CWA	Colloquial Written Arabic
DL	Dominant language
EL	Embedded language
ESA	Educated Spoken Arabic
FB	Facebook
IA	Intermediate Arabic
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
LIA	Lower Intermediate Arabic
MA	Middle Arabic
ML	Matrix language
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic

## Appendix

Although the data set was too big to include in its entirety, the posts used in the study alongside additional posts are given below.

### A.1 Formal/Official posts

#### Post A.1.1

يونيو 2008 | في إعادة إنتاج لمسلسل "الراية البيضاء" لكن تلك المرة على أرض الواقع.. قرر شباب 6 أبريل (وكانوا وقتها قلة) النزول إلى أهالي عزبة أبو رجيلة، خلف حديقة بدر، بمدينة السلام، للتضامن معهم، والجلوس يداً بيد أمام الجرافات والمعدات الآلية المجهزة لهدم البيوت والعشش وتسويتها بالأرض، وطرد الأهالي منها! ما زلت أذكر، بعد أن عرقلت هذه الخطوة (بفضل من الله) تنفيذ هدم البيوت وطرد الأهالي، عندما هم شباب 6 أبريل بالرحيل، ناشدهم الأهالي البقاء حتى لا تغدر الحكومة بهم بعد أن يرحل الشباب عن المنطقة!

"ماتمشوش، هايغدروا بينا بعد ما تمشوا" تكرر هذه النداءات ونحن نغادر! كان مدعاة للإستغراب والدهشة عندنا، كيف ان "بضع" من الشباب، وهم قلة، نظر إليهم الأهالي على أنهم سند وقوة لهم ضد الظلم والتنكيل! رغم أن أهالي المنطقة أكثر بكثير جداً عددياً من هؤلاء الشباب! إنه "الإتحاد والتحدي" هكذا قولنا لهم، لا تخشوا الظلم ولا تنفروا، ونحن هنا دوماً معكم.. وبفضل الله بقى أهالي أبو رجيلة في منطقتهم البائسة، الفقيرة، التي تعج بكل أنواع الأمراض والحشرات ونقص الموارد والخدمات.

[Posted August 2008]

#### Post A.1.2

##### تعليمات هامة - برجاء الإتياع

- 1- نحن هنا عائلة واحدة ويمكن مناقشة أى شئ مع إحترام كل الأعضاء الآخرين
- 2- نرحب بالمصريين فى شتى بقاع الأرض بلا أى تفریق
- 3- برجاء عدم الخوض فى أى مناظرات دينية أو عرقية أو مذهبية
- 4- غير مسموح بأى نقاش طائفى او مقارنة بين الاديان
- 5- كل عضو مسئول مسئولية كاملة عن أى صورة أو فيديو أو إعلان أو أى محتوى آخر يتم إضافته من طرفه
- 6- غير مسموح بأى دعايه حزبيه من أى نوع
- 7- غير مسموح بأى مجادله بين الايدلوجيات لإثبات صحتها من عدمه
- 8- غير مسموح بسبب أى تيار او فصيل سياسى ايا كان
- 9- عند التجهيز لحملة ما أو موضوع ما أو نقاش ما... غير مسموع بفتح أى تويكات تشييت هذا الهدف
- 10- غير مسموح بالخروج عن أداب الحوار او الخوص فى مسائل شخصيه
- 11- أى حد هixالف التعليمات هيثم اللغاء عضويته من الجروب

[\*At bottom of text is a logo with the words:]

الشباب اللى بجد ... شباب حر ... مش عبد

[Dated 2 September 2010]

## A.2 Announcements

### Post A.2.1

إلى كل من اختلف مع شباب 6 أبريل إذا لم تستطع المشاركة فلا تصادر على الآخرين حق المشاركة ولا تثبت اليأس في نفوس من لم ييأس ومازال لديه الأمل

[Dated 2 April 2009]

### Post A.2.2

[شباب 6 ابريل تغلق صفحة الخلافات نهائيا بعد خروج مثيرى المشاكل من الحركة](#)

[post links to text below:]

شباب 6 ابريل تغلق صفحة الخلافات نهائيا بعد خروج مثيرى المشاكل من الحركة

July 17, 2009 at 5:20pm

شباب 6 ابريل تغلق صفحة الخلافات نهائيا بعض خروج مثيرى المشاكل من الحركة

اغلقت شباب 6 ابريل باب الخلافات نهائيا بعد اجتماع يوم الجمعة 17 يوليو 2009 حيث كانت اخر محاولات لجنة الطوارئ لحل الازمه طبقا لما كان متفق عليه مع المنسق العام للحركة أحمد ماهر.. و لكن فوجيء الاعضاء بتكرار حضور اعضاء مجهولون للتصويت و منعت مجموعة حزب العمل و مثيرى المشاكل العديد من الاعضاء الحقيقيين من حضور الاجتماع من ضمنهم مؤسس و منسق الحركة م- أحمد ماهر بهدف منع اعضاء الحركة الحقيقيين من التصويت.. فما كان من اعضاء الحركة الا ان غادروا المكان وقرروا عقدوا اجتماعهم فى مكان اخر و اعلن اكثر من 80 عضو مسجلون فى الجمعيه العموميه تجاهلهم لمجموعة الحزبيين و مثيرى المشاكل نهائيا و استئناف ترتيب اوراق الحركة و البدء فى العمل و انهم لا يمثلون الحركة بأى حال من الاحوال و ليس لهم اى حق فى الحديث باسمها أو العضويه فى أيا من تشكيلاتها . و انهم ارتكبوا فى حق الحركة اكبر جريمه بإستخدامهم اسلوب التشهير و تشويه سمعة الحركة فى وسائل الاعلام من اجل تحقيق مصالح شخصيه و حزبيه للسيطره على الحركة .. و انهم ليسوا من اعضاء الحركة و خصوصا ان عددهم لا يتعدى 13 شخص معظمهم من حزب العمل و بعض المنتفعين و المقربين و نخص بالذكر ضياء الصاوى و محمد عبدالعزيز و وليد خيرى و نورالدين حمدى و شمس الفخارى و باقى اعضاء حزب العمل

وكذلك اتفق غالبية اعضاء حركة شباب 6 ابريل بأن مجموعة لن تمرروا لهم كل الحريه فى استقلالهم و تكوين حركتهم بأى مسمى طبقا لاهدافهم و اساليبهم المختلفه عن غالبية اعضاء شباب 6 ابريل و لهم كل الحق فى الانضمام لحزب العمل او اى حزب او حركه أخرى وكذلك تم الاتفاق على جدول زمنى للانشطه القادمه خلال العام القادم و تم الاتفاق على مجموعات العمل الجديده و المسؤوليات لاستئناف الانشطه التى عطلتها مجموعة لن تمرروا بإصرارهم على استمرار اثاره المشاكل الداخليه.

كما شكر اعضاء حركة شباب 6 ابريل لجنة الطوارئ على إتمام دورها الذى انعقدت من اجله و الذى انتهى بحصر الاعضاء و الدعوه للجمعيه العموميه .

و فى نهاية اليوم وافق اكثر من 80 عضو من اعضاء الجمعيه العموميه على البيان التأسيسى التالى

شباب 6 ابريل  
البيان التأسيسى الأول

من نحن؟

مجموعه من الشباب المصرى من مختلف الاعمار و الاتجاهات تجمعنا على مدار عام كامل منذ أن تجدد

الامل يوم 6 ابريل 2008 فى إمكانية حدوث عمل جماعى فى مصر يساهم فيه الشباب مع كافة فئات و طبقات المجتمع فى كافة انحاء الوطن من أجل الخروج به من ازمته و الوصول به لمستقبل ديمقراطى يتجاوز حالة انسداد الآفاق السياسيه و الاقتصاديه والاجتماعيه التى يقف عندها الوطن الآن لم يأت اغلبنا من خلفيه سياسيه ما و لم يمارس اغلبنا العمل السياسى أو العمل العام قبل 6 ابريل 2008 و لكننا استطعنا ضبط بوصلتنا و تحديد اتجاهنا من خلال الممارسه اثناء ذلك العام.

ماذا نريد؟؟

نريد أن نصل إلى ما اتفق عليه كافة المفكرين المصريين و أقرته كافة القوى السياسيه الوطنيه من ضرورة مرور مصر بفترة انتقاليه يكون فيها الحكم لاحد الشخصيات العامه التى يتم التوافق عليها من اجل صالح هذا الوطن و كرامته و يتم إرساء مبادئ الحكم الديمقراطى الرشيد و من أهم ملامح تلك الفتره هم اطلاق الحريات العامه و قواعد الممارسه السياسيه الديمقراطيه السليمه و ان تتكون الكيانات السياسيه و الاجتماعيه و غيرها بمجرد الإخطار

كيف يحدث ذلك؟؟

عن طريق السير فى مسارين متوازيين لا يمكن الاستغناء عن احدهما اولهما هو البحث الجيد عن البديل الذى تعمد الحكم السلطوى تغييره على مدار سنوات طويله ليمثل رأس الحربه فى معركة التحول الديمقراطى فى مصر و ثانيهما هو إعادة الثقة إلى الجماهير المصريه فى كل مكان فى امكانيه إختيار مصيرها و حثها فى المشاركه فى تحديد ذلك المصير بكل الوسائل و تنتهج الحركه عموما طريق المقاومه السلميه و استراتيجيات حرب اللاعنف و لا نرى مانع من المرونه و التنوع على مستوى التكتيكات بين ما هو جذرى و ما هو اصلاحى لتحقيق الهدف النهائى و هو التغيير السلمى

علاقتنا بالقوى السياسيه المصريه

رغم ان قوامنا الرئيسى من الشباب المستقل عن اى حزب او تيار إلا ان علاقتنا بالأحزاب و القوى السياسيه هى علاقه احترام و تعاون متبادل فى اطار الحملات المختلفه والعمل الجبهوى بيننا و بين شباب الأحزاب و التيارات السياسيه على الحد الأدنى المشترك مع التشديد على استقلالية افكارنا و عدم تلونها بباى لون حزبي او ايدولوجى و نشدد على أننا لسنا تابعين لأى حزب أو تيار سياسى أو حركه سياسيه سواء كنا متفقين معهم فى الافكار أو الأساليب أو مختلفين

علاقتنا بالخارج

نعتقد انه من الخطا ان نذكر كلمة الخارج كلفظ مبهم بدون تفصيل فالخارج ينقسم إلى حكومات و شعوب و منظمات مجتمع مدنى و نحن نرفض اى تعامل مع الحكومات الأجنبيه و لكن نرى أنه فى عصر المعلومات و الانترنت أنه يجب الإنفتاح على كل التجارب و الخبرات و التعلم مما يفيدنا فنحن لا نعيش فى هذا العالم بمفردنا ..ما يحدث فى مصر يؤثر على العالم وما يحدث فى العالم يؤثر على مصر

وينبغى التخلص من الأفكار التى صدرها النظام القمعى لنا من إنغلاق و عدم إنفتاح على تجارب الآخرين. و نرفض التأثر بتلك الافكار المنغلقة و المفاهيم الباليه مثل بعض الفصائل السياسيه و نعتبر أن دعاوى للإنغلاق تحد من ثراء الحركه الفكرى و ثراء الخبرة و التجارب و نرحب بتبادل الخبرات بيننا و بين الحركات المشابهه السابقه منها و الحليه و نرحب بالتعاون مع منظمات المجتمع المدنى فى إطار التضامن الحقوى و الاعلمى و التدريب و التعلم مع التشديد على الاحتفاظ باستقلاليتنا و عدم فرض اى اجندات او افكار علينا من اى طرف أيا كان

تمويلنا

نعتد على تبرعات الاعضاء كمصدر اساسى للتمويل..  
و نرفض التمويل المالى الخارجى  
شباب مصر  
شباب حر

ماتسبش حقاك شارك وكفاية سلبية اللى بيحصل فى بلدنا مش شوية

[Dated 17 July 2009]

### Post A.2.3

شباب 6 أبريل يداً بيد مع شباب حملة البرادعي وشباب الحرية والعدالة

[Dated 26 November 2010]

### Post A.2.4

خالص التعازي مننا لأسرة والد الشهيد ياسر شعيب بدمياط

[Dated June 27 2012]

### Post A.2.5

لم ننسى 12 الف معتقل فى سجون العسكر....افرجوا عن معتقلي الثورة

[Dated June 28 2012]

## A.3 Knowledge, learning and religion

### Post A.3.1

اقرأ.. تحرّر

[Dated 23 June 2012]

### Post A.3.2

يا اهلي وعشيرتي .. اذا كنتم تريدون النهضة فعلا، فعليكم بالقراءة والتعمق في بحور العلم وكنوز المعرفة ..  
فالعلم والعمل الجاد هما اساس النهضة

[Dated 26 June 2012]

### Post A.3.3

أتمني أن يصل الدين إلي أهل السياسة.. ولا يصل أهل الدين إلي السياسة | فضيلة الشيخ محمد متولي  
الشعراوي

[Dated 22 March 2011]

### Post A.3.4

كن إنساناً | قال تعالى، ورحمتي وسعت كل شيء

[Dated 14 December 2011]

## A.4 Photo and video captions (pre-December 2010)

### Post A.4.1

مؤتمر شباب 6 إبريل تغطية للمؤتمر الأول 28/06/2008 - العاشرة مساءً

[Undated]

### Post A.4.2

شباب 6 إبريل مع فلاحى سراندو مساندة شباب 6 إبريل لفلاحى سراندو

[Dated 31 August 2008]

### Post A.4.3

شباب 6 إبريل - ماذا حدث فى الإسكندرية أزمة إعتقالات يوم 23 يوليو وتعامل شباب 6 إبريل مع الموقف

[Dated 2 September 2008]

### Post A.4.4

مظاهرة فى جامعة القاهرة للمطالبة بإخراج الأمن من الحرم الجامعى, المشاركون (حركة شباب 6 إبريل - حركة حقى - رابطة شباب حزب العمل - رابطة طلاب حزب العمل - طلاب الإخوان المسلمين), التاريخ 21

["Students Day" photo caption dated 24 February 2009]

### Post A.4.5

أكبر مظاهرة للقوى الوطنية ضد تزوير الانتخابات أمام القضاء العالى

[Dated December 12, 2010]

### Post A.4.6

فيديو نادر لإسقاط لافتة ضخمة للرئيس مبارك من مدونة الوعى المصرى من ذكريات إضراب المحلة الكبرى فى 6 أبريل 2008.. شعب المحلة كان كالجموع الهادرة, والشرطة تقف بل حراك خوفاً من بطش الجماهير!

[Dated 19 January 2011]

### Post A.4.7

بالأمس خرج المصريون فى نيويورك للتظاهر ورفع إعلام مصر ولافتات يوم الإنتفاضة المصرية, لتدعيم إخوانهم فى الداخل الذين سينزلون فى كل أنحاء الوطن للمطالبة بحقوقنا المشروعة فى 25 يناير.. شكراً للمصريين فى نيويورك وشكراً لزميلنا العزيز أليكس فرج على ارساله هذا الالبوم لنا

[Dated 24 January 2011]

### Post A.4.8

جداريات, رسومات, وشعارات على الحوائط والنوافذ والسيارات تؤرخ للثورة الليبية العظيمة, تحمل في طياتها الأمل في الحرية, والصبر في مواجهة الفاسدين, والأكثر من ذلك روح الشباب والتحدى لديكتاتور مختل الإدراك ظل يُحدث شعبه لـ 40 عاماً عن الثورة.. حتى ثار الشعب عليه

[Dated 17 March 2011]

#### Post A.4.9

لا فرق عندي بين من زوّر أصوات الناخبين بشكل مباشر كما كان يفعل عز ورفاقه, وبين من زوّر إرادة الأمة, وأستغل رقة حال, وقلة وعى أبناءها.. وحول الإستفتاء بالتضليل والبُهتان من نعم ولا للتعديلات الدستورية ليجعله نعم ولا للإسلام ليستنفر البسطاء ويتلاعب بمشاعرهم, ومثله من إستغل حُب المسيحيين للمسيح وفعل نفس الشيء ليجعل الإستفتاء لا من أجل المسيح ونعم ضده!! أنتم تقسمون شعبنا وتقتلون الحلم

[Dated 20 March 2011]

#### Post A.4.10

ظباط وجنود جيش مصر العظيم, وتعليمات قائد الكتيبة المصري الرائع للجنود قبيل الإشراف على صناديق الإستفتاء.. كلماته يحق لها أن تُكتب بحروف النور على صفحات الذهب.. رائع جداً

[Dated 24 March 2011]

#### Post A.4.11

صباح الخير

هنتكلم النهاردة عن لقاء اللواء العصار و اللواء حجازي ( نيابة عن المجلس العسكري ) مع الاعلاميين ابراهيم عيسى و منى الشاذلي فى اللقاء اللي اغلبكم شافوه

ايه انطباعكم عن اللقاء ؟ و ايه الاسئلة اللي لقيتولها اجابة ؟ و ايه الاسئلة اللي مالقيتوش ليها اجابة ؟

[Dated 20 October 2011]

#### Post A.4.12

دكتورة غادة شاهد عيان على جرائم قوات الأمن في حق الإنسان المصري بميدان التحرير ومحمد محمود.. وحديث ذو صلة بموقعة الجمل التي حضرتها أيضاً

[Dated 1 December 2011]

## A.5 Invitations, opinion polls, surveys and questions to the collective members of the group

#### Post A.5.1

تدعوكم حركة شباب 6 ابريل لوقف احتجاجية غدا السبت الساعة 12 ظهرا امام مجلس الشعب للاحتجاج على قانون خصخصة التأمين الصحي تضامنا مع حملة ضد خصخصة التأمين الصحي المجموعة الاعلامية حركة شباب 6 ابريل

[phone number removed]

[undated]

## Post A.5.2

تدعوكم حركة شباب 6 ابريل غدا 2 نوفمبر لحضور الجلسة الختامية لمؤتمرها القلة المندسة في حزب الجبهة الديمقراطي بالمهندسين .... لمزيد من المعلومات [www.6april.org](http://www.6april.org)

[undated]

## Post A.5.3

مؤتمر القلة المندسة - فعاليات اليوم الثاني - كلمات الشخصيات العامة و السياسية للمؤتمر:  
- الإعلامية/ بثينة كامل - أكمال أبو عيطة - النائب حمدين صباحي - أ/علاء الأسواني [...]

[undated]

## Post A.5.4

قريباً مؤتمر القلة المندسة.. تحت رعاية شباب 6 ابريل .. هنا القاهرة و ليس الجابون

[undated]

## Post A.5.5

غداً أمام نقابة الصحفيين فى تمام السادسة و النصف..بدعوى من سيادة السفير إبراهيم يسرى و حركة شباب 6 ابريل و بمشاركة القوى الوطنية.. وقفة احتجاج

[undated]

## Post A.5.6

هل توافق على تنظيم عمل احتجاجي يوم 26 نوفمبر القادم, إنتصاراً للضحايا التعذيب في مصر؟ توافق أن تكون صوت, من لا صوت له؟

[Dated 21 November 2010]

## Post A.5.7

شباب.. ياريت كل اللي يشوف الستاتوس ده يدّينا رأييه لأنه مهم للغاية  
هل تعلن رفضك لنتائج إنتخابات مجلس الشعب؟ وأن مجلس الشعب الجديد غير شرعي ولا يُؤمّننا؟ نعم أم لا..  
رجاء التصويت بكثافة الآن

[Dated 28 November 2010]

## Post A.5.8

طيب ممكن نركّز دقايق.. آراءنا هنا هاتبقى جزء من الرأى الأخير بخصوص بُكرة.. في إتجاهين: الأول النزول بُكرة للإعلان عن دعمنا لإختيار رئيس الحكومة الجديد, وتأكيد على مطالبنا بمحاسبة الفاسدين وحل جهاز أمن الدولة وأننا مستمرين في متابعة الموقف.. والرأى الثاني إننا نلغي ومايقاش في نزول بكرة.. اللي موافق على النزول يعمل "لايك" بس واللي مش موافق يعمل "تعليق" عشان بسهولة نعرف إحنا عايزين إيه

[Dated 3 March 2011]

## Post A.5.9

بفرض أنه تم تنظيم إحتجاجات شعبية واسعة في 6 أبريل 2011 لتصحيح مسار الثورة وتحقيق أهدافها وإيصال رسالة قوية لحماية بقايا النظام السابق, فهل تشارك في أحداث هذا اليوم؟ الرجاء المشاركة فقط بـ (نعم) أو (لا) للإطلاع

[Dated 26 March 2011]

#### Post A.5.10

بفرض أنه تم تنظيم إحتجاجات شعبية واسعة في 6 أبريل 2011 لتصحيح مسار الثورة وتحقيق أهدافها وإيصال رسالة قوية لحماية بقايا النظام السابق, فهل تشارك في أحداث هذا اليوم؟ الرجاء المشاركة فقط بـ (نعم) أو (لا) للإطلاع — with Omima Emad.

[Dated 26 March 2011]

#### Post A.5.11

مين هيضم علينا فى الميدان؟  
كل اللي شايف إن المشوار لسه طويل.. و البناء لسه بببدأ  
و لازم -من الآخر- نبدأ على نضافة  
لسه الثلاثى المرح بره و بيلفوا تراك النواد  
سرور/شريف/عزمى  
لسه الحزب الوطنى ماتحلش  
لسه فى معتقلين سياسيين  
الشعب ثار على الخوف, فلا خوف بعد اليوم  
لا قداسة لحاكم أياً كان إذا فكر (مجرد تفكير) فى الإنقاذ على حقوق و مطالب الشعب  
فاكر الثورة خلصت؟! الثورة لسه بتبدأ.. ثورة البناء  
مين هيضم علينا فى الميدان؟

[Post dated 26 March 2011; Event dated/titled: 1/4/2011 الجمعة , مليونية انقاذ الثورة]

#### Post A.5.12

في ضوء حركة المحافظين الأخيرة، ما هو تقييمك لأداء رئيس الوزراء دكتور عصام شرف منذ توليه المسؤولية وحتى اللحظة؟

للأسف وحش

1,254 votes

عظيمة يا مصر يا ارض اللواء

467 votes

متوسط

411 votes

يريد الخير لكنه مغلوب على أمره

119 votes

لا يستحق لقب رئيس حكومة ثورة

83 votes

جيد

72 votes

مش حكومه ثوره

55 votes

زفت وطن على دماغه و دماغ اللى خلفته

50 votes

سيئ جدا

37 votes

سلم و تعبان

18 votes

[Dated 4 August 2011]

### Post A.5.13

ايه اكثر هتاف بعد الثورة بتردده في مليونية او مسيرة او مظاهرة؟

(+2k) يسقط يسقط حكم العسكر

Masra7ia Masra7ia wel 3esabah hai hia (234 people)

يا اهالينا انضمو لينا

(+84) الشعب والجيش ايد واحدة

(+65) يا نجيب حقهم يا نموت زيهم

[...]

[Dated 21 October 2011]

### Post A.5.14

ما رأيك فى الإعلان الدستوري الذي أصدره المجلس العسكري اليوم 17 يونيو 2012؟

[Dated 17 June 2012]

### Post A.5.15

هل تتمنى أن يصبح "البوب" أول رئيس حكومة لمصر ما بعد 25 يناير؟ وماذا لو حدث هذا، كيف سيكون شعورك حيال الأمر؟

[Dated 23 June 2012]

#### Post A.5.16

في رأيك ماهي الاولوية التي يجب ان تحتل الرقم 1 علي اجندة الرئيس؟

[Dated 26 June 2012]

#### Post A.5.17

تقييمي لأداء الرئيس محمد مرسي حتى الآن هو

[Dated 27 July 2012]

#### Post A.5.18

الاصرار على اقامة مباراة السوبر رغم اعتراضات الكثيرين وعلى رأسهم مجموعات الاكتراس .. سببه

[Dated 9 September 2012]

### A.6 Reports and quotes

#### Post A.6.1

نحن لن ننهزم أبداً.. إما ننتصر, أو نموت  
عمر المختار

[Dated December 2010]

#### Post A.6.2

الآن سيارة كاديلاك سكليد فور باى فور سوداء نمرة: ل ج أ 135 فوق كوبري أكتوبر أعلى ميدان عبدالمنعم رياض تقوم بتوزيع مبالغ مالية على البطجية المتأهبين لإقتحام ميدان التحرير فجر اليوم.. رجاء النشر في كل مكان

[Dated 3 February 2011]

#### Post A.6.3

سمير رضوان "وزيـــــر الشعـــــب" يقول : مصر لم تعجز حتى تقبل استثماراً إسرائيلياً على أرضها مهما كان العائد الاقصادى | تحيا الثورة

[Dated 16 April 2011]

#### Post A.6.4

جلال عامر | مشكلة المصريين الكبرى، أنهم يعيشون فى مكان واحد.. لكنهم، لا يعيشون فى زمان واحد

[Dated 1 December 2011]

### A.7 Appeals

#### Post A.7.1

كل واحد نازل يتظاهر عشان مصر 25 يناير هو مواطن مسالم نازل يطالب بحقه وحق أهل بلده مش أكثر، أى إعتداء علينا مرفوض، وحمياتنا لأنفسنا ولزملاءنا من المشاركين جميعاً حق لنا.. يمكن أول مرة تحصل في مصر مش عارف، لكن هابقي في دروع لحماية المتظاهرين حال قامت الشرطة بالإعتداء بالضرب علينا.. الإعتداء منهم لن نرده بإعتداء يا ريت ماننساش

[Dated 23 January 2011]

### Post A.7.2

باق من الزمن ما يقرب من الثلاث ساعات علي [sic] غلق باب الاقتراع في اول انتخابات رئاسية في مصر بعد الثورة .. بصرف النظر عن اي خلط للاوراق او عك شاب الفترة الانتقالية فيما يخص اجراءات التحول الديمقراطي .. لكن كلنا لازم نكون ايجابيين في اختيار اول رئيس لمصر بعد الثورة .. ممكن يكون لسة مصوتش عشان مش لاقى مرشحك المثالي في اسماء المرشحين ويمكن لسة مصوتش عشان خايف ان قرارك مش هااحترم زي ما العسكر ما احترمش قرارات الشعب في الاستفتاء. من فضلك فكر الان واحسبها صح .. الملايين اللي نزلت من امبارح نزلت عشان تختار لنا كلنا .. ليه ماتشاركش في اختيار الرئيس؟! اهداف الثورة في حاجة الي [sic] صوتك .. لو كنت صوت اتصل بكل اللي تعرفه لسة مصوتش وخليه ينزل يدعم اهداف الثورة .. اما لو كنت انت نفسك لسة ماخترتش، ببقى حكم عقلك وضميرك وانزل من بيتك.

[Dated May 2012]

## A.8 Slogans

### Post A.8.1

مصر الأم دي هم مصر.. اسمعها بتدعي للشباب ازاي والشباب ازاي وهم مايعرفوهاش بيوسوا على راسها وايديها

مصر محتاجكم يا ولادي.. مصر محتاجكم يا حبايبي.. الله معاكم يا ولادي

[Dated 26 January 2011]

### Post A.8.2

بُص.. شوف.. الثورة بتعمل إيه؟

[Dated 28 April 2011]

عاشت الثورة المصرية.. عاشت الوحدة الفلسطينية.. عاشت الأمة العربية

[Dated 28 April 2011]

### Post A.8.3

بالطبع لن نستسلم.. فنحن لسنا مجرد معارضون، و لكننا مقاومون.. و شتان بين المعارضه و المقاومه

[Dated April 2012]

### Post A.8.4

شتان بين المقاومه و المعارضه .. شباب 6 ابريل قادمون و صامدون

[Dated April 2012]

### Post A.8.5

شباب 6 إبريل.. باقون.. قادمون.. ولو كره الكارهون

[Dated April 2012]

### Post A.8.6

Civil Disobedience is Patriotic.

[Dated April 2012]

## A.9 Cartoons, humour and satire

### Post A.9.1



[Dated 20 August 2008]

### Post A.9.2

شباب.. في فكرة ماكتملتش, عايزين نفكر فيها, كلنا سوا, ولو وصلنا لشكل أو صيغة كويسة لها, 6 أبريل ممكن تنفذها, ويمكن كمان يبقى في تغطية إعلامية لها! عايزين نعمل إستفتاء عن أسوأ الشخصيات في الشارع المصري, والجوائز تبقى تعبيرية.. يعني مثلاً جائزة التزوير التعبيرية وحصل عليها أحمد عز وهكذا, إيه رأيكم في الفكرة ولو عملنا المسابقة تسميها إيه؟

[Dated 12 December 2010]

### Post A.9.3

يا ريت الرئيس كان ضربنا إحنا الضربة الجوية, وحكم إسرائيل 30 سنة الغاز لإسرائيل, طيارات إطفاء حرايق لإسرائيل, سور عازل لإسرائيل تحية للرئيس وولده, مُفجراً ثورة التدعيم والتطوير والحماية لإسرائيل الإرهابية المومياء

[Dated 13 December 2010]

### Post A.9.4

شباب إنا إعودنا هنا كل خطوة جديدة ناخدها سوا.. من غالبية تعليقاتكم بخصوص الإستفتاء على اسوأ شخصيات الأمة, كله تقريباً وافق إنا نعملها.. دلوقتي عايزين إسم بس للمسابقة, أفضل عنوان أو إسم, هانختره سوا.. هو اللي هانعمل المسابقة بيه

[Dated 14 December 2010]

### Post A.9.5

- 1 - مسابقة 6 أبريل التعبيرية - فساد أوورد
  - 2 - مسابقة 6 أبريل التعبيرية - تزوير أوورد
  - 3 - مسابقة 6 أبريل التعبيرية - من الأراضي المصرية المحتلة
- شباب رجاء وضع رقم الإسم اللي إنتوا شايفينه مناسب للمسابقة ف التعليقات.. الرقم فقط

[Dated 19 December 2010]

### Post A.9.6

 **حركة شباب 6 ابريل - 6th of April Youth Movement**  
Friday

شباب 6 ابريل يرسل مرسى الى الفضاء فى ثلاثة ايام(وبتصويت نزيه من غير زيت وسكر).....ميروك المركز الأول يا ريس



Like · Comment · Share 757

1,077 people like this.

[Dated 22 February 2013]

## Post A.9.7



حركة شباب 6 ابريل - 6th of April Youth Movement

14 hours ago



[Dated 9 April 2014]

## A.10 Ideas, thoughts and feelings

### Post A.10.1

سيدي الرئيس .. في عيد ميلادك الكام وتمانين .. كل سنة وأنت طيب .. واحنا مش طيبين .. كل سنة وأنت  
حاكم .. واحنا محكومين .. واحنا مظلومين .. واحنا متهانين .. ويا ترى يا حبيب الملايين .. فاكرونا ولا احنا  
خلاص منسيين .. فاكرونا المعتقلين .. فاكرونا الجعانيين .. فاكرونا المشردين .. فاكرونا اللي .. ماتو محروقين .. فاكرونا  
الغرقانيين الله يكون في عونك - هاتفتكر مين ولا مين

اسأليني يا حبيبي ع اللي داير في البلاد, اللي فيها صادروا حلمي وباعوا صوتي في المزاد

[Dated 4 May 2010]

### Post A.10.2

دي الأفكار اللي زرعها الحزب الوطني الفاسد في الناس البسطاء والغلابة.. إبعد عن السياسة, وإمشي جنب الحيط, وعايزين ناكل عيش.. وآلاف الجمل الموروثة اللي عموا بيها الناس وضللوهم وخوفوهم.. كل واحد من حقه يعيش بحرية وكرامه في بلده

[Dated December 2010]

### Post A.10.3

في السنة اللي روحنا نشغل مطافي لإسرائيل, الأرجنتين وقبلها البرازيل إعترفت بالدولة الفلسطينية على حدود 67

[Dated December 6, 2010]

### Post A.10.4

حلم  
الناس تخرج الشوارع بالملايين تأييداً للرئيس الجديد, إعادة هيكلة ومراقبة عمل الشرطة المصرية, عودة ألاف العلماء من أبناء مصر ب الخارج, تطبيق نظام جديد للتعليم وإلغاء نظام التنسيق, الجامعات المصرية تستقبل ألاف الخريجين السابقين وتقدم لهم خدمة إعادة تأهيل بمقابل رمزي, مجلس الشعب يعلن عزمه إسقاط الحكومة حال فشلها في تحقيق إلتزاماتها

[Dated 13 December 2010]

### Post A.10.5

سنبقى ما بقى الإحتلال.. لا معارضة, لا إحتجاج, بل مقاومة.. الشباب هم حركة المقاومة المصرية

[Dated December 9, 2010]

### Post A.10.6

من القاهرة إلي تونس, شباب واحد علي قلب واحد يبلمم بالخبز وبالحرية, يبلمم ببلده تكون ليه هوه, من القاهرة إلي تونس ألف تحية, فيروس الحرية والتغيير بدأ ينتشر

[Dated 28 December 2010]

### Post A.10.7

لسه فيكي الخير يا مصر  
النظام الفاسد الفاشل أهمل بطل قومي دافع عن الوطن ده بحياته  
لكن الناس والشباب مش هايسيبوه.. ولازم هانكرمه بكل شكل ممكن

[Dated 29 December 2010]

### Post A.10.8

طيب ممكن نركّز دقائق.. آراءنا هنا هاتبقى جزء من الرأي الأخير بخصوص بكرة.. في إتجاهين: الأول النزول بكرة للإعلان عن دعمنا لإختيار رئيس الحكومة الجديد, وتأكيد على مطالبنا بمحاسبة الفاسدين وحل جهاز أمن الدولة وأننا مستميرين في متابعة الموقف.. والرأي الثاني إننا نلغي ومايقاش في نزول بكرة.. اللي موافق على النزول يعمل "لايك" بس واللي مش موافق يعمل "تعليق" عشان بسهولة نعرف إحنا عايزين إيه

[March 3 2011]

### Post A.10.9

د. عصام شرف يخط إسمه بحروف من نور فى تاريخ مصر الحديث  
أول رئيس وزراء نوعى عليه على الأقل بيشتغل علشان الشعب و البلد.. مش النظام و الكرسى اللى قاعد  
عليه

الله عليكى و على ولادك يا مصر

[Dated 16 April 2011]

### Post A.10.10

الله أكبر.. أقسم بالله إبتسمت بأكثر مما تتخيلوا.. مصر محتاجة لولادها.. ماتقوليش بقى مسلم ومسيحي, سلفي  
ولا إخواني, ولا شباب سبيس مصريين إحنا

[Dated 25 April 2011]

### Post A.10.11

الثورة مش معناها اننا نغير رؤوس نظام فاسد ويس... الثورة اكبر من كذا واعمق من كذا.. الثورة تعنى تغيير  
حقيقى للاحسن يحس بيه المواطن العادى فى حياته اليومية.. لسه بقايا الفساد متغلغلة ومادة جذورها فى  
مجتمعنا.. ولسه المشوار طويل عشان نغيره للاحسن... الثورة علمتنا اننا منسكتش على الظلم واننا ناخذ حقنا  
مهما كان التمن... اذا كان هما عندهم دولة فساد عميقة فاحنا هنخلى ثورتنا اكثر عمقا عشان توصل لكل فاسد  
وتغيره..... ثورتنا مستمرة

[Dated 29 June 2012]

## A.11 Photo and video commentaries

### Post A.11.1

الافطار بتاعنا مش بيكون خنيق.. ولا احنا شباب خنيق احنا شباب عادى.. بنهزر وبنلعب.. فينا سوكا ولوكا  
وموتا وشكلمه.. بس الفرق اننا مهمومين بالبلد دى.. وموجودين بأوجاعها.. ونفسنا نغيرها للأفضل.. احنا  
شباب مصر.. شباب حر.. بيحب مصر

[Dated August 2010]

### Post A.11.2

كذاب قوى.... داننا بتحج يا منيل. إتلم و لم لسانك بقى

[Dated 7 November 2010]

### Post A.11.3

دي الأفكار اللى زرعهما الحزب الوطنى الفاسد فى الناس البسطاء والغلابة.. إبعد عن السياسة, وإمشي جنب  
الحيط, وعايزين ناكل عيش.. وآلاف الجمل الموروثة اللى عموا بيها الناس وضللوهم وخوفوهم.. كل واحد  
من حقه يعيش بحرية وكرامه فى بلده

[Dated 3 December 2010]

### Post A.11.4

أغنية مؤلمة ومعبرة لأبعد مدى عن التفكير في الهجرة.. تفتكروا لو كلنا هاجرنا بجد.. مين هايقف لمصر الحزينة, ويمسح دموعها, مين يمد لها إيدته والديابة ب تنهش كل يوم ف لحمها.. نسيبها لمين؟ حد يعرف؟

[Dated November 2010]

### Post A.11.5

أغنية مؤلمة ومعبرة لأبعد مدى عن التفكير في الهجرة.. تفتكروا لو كلنا هاجرنا بجد.. مين هايقف لمصر الحزينة, ويمسح دموعها, مين يمد لها إيدته والديابة ب تنهش كل يوم ف لحمها.. نسيبها لمين؟ حد يعرف؟

[Dated 27 November 2010]

### Post A.11.6

بالأمس في حلقة "آخر كلام" عندما سأل يسري فودة الروائي الرائع علاء الأسواني هل أنت متفائل رغم كل ما تمر به مصر؟ ف رد علاء الأسواني بإجابة رائعة حيث ذكر أن جزء من تفائله بسببكم أنتم وقال: تندش إنك تشوف شباب يطالب بالتغيير, ويطالب بحقوقه, وماتعرفش دول طلغوا كده إزاي, رغم التعليم والإعلام المضلل! دي تحية من أديب كبير لكم يا شباب

[Dated 4 December 2010]

### Post A.11.7

عندما يملأ الحق قلبك, تندلع النار إن تنتفس, ولسان الخيانة يخرس  
دكتور محمد البرادعي في حديث رائع ولهجته ضد النظام تعلقو بحكمة لا لبس فيها  
إسمعوه.. بيتكلم عن المقاومة وعن الإنسانية والحياة الكريمة, حاجات قربنا ننساها

[Dated 8 December 2010]

### Post A.11.8

وهنا إحتج الرئيس على تزوير الإنتخابات قائلاً.. فضلتموا تقولولي فكر جديد فكر جديد, مع إن الفكر القديم كان شغال زى الحلاوة يا شوية أغيبا

[Dated 9 December 2010]

### Post A.11.9

في تحليل عبقرى قال عبد الله كمال (رئيس تحرير روزاليوسف الحكومية) أن علم شباب 6 أبريل, اللون الأسود فيه يدل على عودة الجماعات الإسلامية التكفيرية, والقبضة في هذا العلم رمز فاشي!! يعني إحنا تكفيريين فاشيين يا شباب.. ألف مبروك (((

[Dated 15 December 2010]

### Post A.11.10

بالأمس في حلقة "آخر كلام" عندما سأل يسري فودة الروائي الرائع علاء الأسواني هل أنت متفائل رغم كل ما تمر به مصر؟ ف رد علاء الأسواني بإجابة رائعة حيث ذكر أن جزء من تفائله بسببكم أنتم وقال: تندش إنك تشوف شباب يطالب بالتغيير, ويطالب بحقوقه, وماتعرفش دول طلغوا كده إزاي, رغم التعليم والإعلام المضلل! دي تحية من أديب كبير لكم يا شباب

[Dated December 2010]

### Post A.11.11

#### مجزرة في مدينة البيضاء الليبية

الفيديو ده تم حذفه من يوتيوب لإحتوائه على مشاهد قاسية.. تلك المشاهد هي صنيعه المجرم الإرهابي معمر القذافي اللي استعان بالمرتزقة الإفارقة لقتل شعبه.. رجاءً للي بيتعب من المشاهد الدموية, لا تشاهد الفيديو قبل مرور 12 ثانية على بدايته

[Dated 20 February 2011]

### Post A.11.12

#### حسني مبارك يدعم إسرائيل

حوالي 600 مليار جنية مصري وقرهم النظام المصري لإسرائيل!! يا ترى المبلغ ده كان يتعمل بيه كام ألف شقة, و كام ألف مستشفى كويسة, و كام ألف مدرسة, أو كام ألف مصنع يشغل الشباب! كانوا بياخدوا من فلوسنا ويدعموا الإسرائيلي؟

[Dated 28 February 2011]

### Post A.11.13

أنا مواطن مصري هانزل يوم السبت إن شاء الله وأقول لأ.. شير الفيديو لكل مصر.. عمرو مصطفى, معز مسعود, أحمد العسيلي, محمد دياب, عمرو موسى, عمرو خالد, محمد البرادعي, عمرو حمزاوي, شريف عرفة, نجيب سويراس, رشا الجمال, أحمد حلمي, بسمه, منى ذكي

[Dated 16 March 2011]

### Post A.11.14

#### مصر تحتاج إلى هذه الروح

شباب أنا عارف إنكم بعنوا كثير فيديو غزوة الصندوق والفيديو الثاني اللي هاجم المصريين اللي قالوا لأ.. ومقدر جداً حجم الصدمة والمرارة اللي حس بيها كل واحد فينا شاف الكلام ده صادر عن شيوخ.. لكن نشر الأفكار دي تاني, كان هايروء حالة الإحتقان والتصدع اللي دخلناها كلنا | هنا عايز أقول شكراً للشيخ محمد حسان على موقفه ده (قبل الإستفتاء) وإن الروح الطيبة دي هي اللي مفروض تسود.. إحنا نشكر كل جهود لتوحيد صفوف المصريين ونشر التسامح بينهم, وبالمثل هانقف لكل محاولة لتفريقنا أو تخويفنا أو الكذب علينا وتضليلنا | ويبقى في الاخير أن: نتعاون فيما اتفقنا عليه, ويعذر بعضنا بعضاً فيما اختلفنا فيه

[Dated 22 March 2011]

### Post A.11.15

ظباط وجنود جيش مصر العظيم, وتعليمات قائد الكتيبة المصري الرائع للجنود قبيل الإشراف على صناديق الإستفتاء.. كلماته يحق لها أن تُكتب بحروف النور على صفحات الذهب.. رائع جداً

[Dated 24 March 2011]

### Post A.11.16



**[Relating to January 25 protest:]**

**Post A.12.6**

حقيقي يا شباب تحية جامدة جداً مننا, لكل عضو بالصفحة بعث لنا وطلب الإنضمام.. شىء مُفرح إن العدد الكبير ده مننا يكون عنده رغبة حقيقية إنه يعمل شىء ملموس لمصر.. كلنا هنا سواء أعضاء في 6 أبريل, أو بس أعضاء في الصفحة هانحاول نمد إيدينا لبعض ونعمل حاجة لبلدنا.. أنا متفائل جداً والأمل في ربنا كبير, حد فيكم متفائل معايا؟

[Dated 11 December 2010]

**Post A.12.7**

شباب مصر لما ب يكون إيد واحدة ب يعمل كثير إضراب 6 أبريل 2008 الحكومة هددت اللي هايشارك فيه, الإخوان رفضوا المشاركة فيه, الأحزاب إتريقت ع اللي هايشارك فيه لكن شباب مصر كان أقوى من الكل بإيمانه ب ربنا وب حبه لمصر إحنا نقدر يا شباب

[Dated 11 December 2010]

**Post A.12.8**

حد يعرف يشمخ الشمخة دي يا ولاد.. الرئيس في لحظة شموخ وإنشماخ

[Dated 12 December 2010]

**Post A.12.9**

كل واحد نازل يتظاهر عشان مصر 25 يناير هو مواطن مسالم نازل يطالب بحقه وحق أهل بلده مش أكثر, أى إعتداء علينا مرفوض, وحمياتنا لأنفسنا ولزملاءنا من المشاركين جميعاً حق لينا.. يمكن أول مرة تحصل في مصر مش عارف, لكن هايبقى في دروع لحماية المتظاهرين حال قامت الشرطة بالإعتداء بالضرب علينا.. الإعتداء منهم لن نرده بإعتداء يا ريت ماننساش

[Dated 23 January 2011]

**Post A.12.10**

مصر الأم دي هم مصر.. اسمعها بتدعي للشباب ازاي والشباب ازاي وهم مايعرفو هاش بيوسوا على راسها وايديها

مصر محتاجكم يا ولادي.. مصر محتاجكم يا حبايبي.. الله معاكم يا ولادي

[Dated 26 January 2011]