

A Sociolinguistic Study of the Correlation between Social Class and Selected Phonological Variables in Cairene Arabic(*)

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Abstract

In Colloquial Cairene Arabic, there is a phenomenon of lengthening the realization of vowels among speakers in Greater Cairo. It is a vernacular phenomenon that is mostly used by the working classes. This paper adopts the Labovian approach to investigate the correlation between two social classes, namely the upper middle class (UMC) and lower working class (LWC) and the production of the short, long and extra-long variants of the three long vowels /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ in Colloquial Cairene Arabic. Open-ended interviews were conducted with 48 informants. After transcribing the interviews, five jurists were asked to judge the vowel length realized by completing a forced choice judgment task (Shutze & Sprouse, 2014). A spectrographic analysis of the length of vowels through Praat software speech analysis was performed for selected sample tokens to confirm the findings objectively. Results of the Z-test confirm that LWC informants significantly use extra-long variants of the three long vowels more than the UMC to show solidarity with members of the speech community. UMC informants use the standard forms and rarely lengthen their vowels. One-way ANOVA analysis shows that occupation and the place of residence play a

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significant role in the use of the extra-long variants by the LWC speakers. In contrast, occupation, education and place of residence factors show homogeneity in affecting the use of the standard forms by the UMC.

Keywords

correlation, quantitative approach, phonological variation, social class

الملخص

إن ظاهرة مد حروف العلة بشكل مبالغ من الظواهر الشائعة في طريقة النطق بين متحدثي اللغة العامية القاهرية في القاهرة الكبرى. وهي ظاهرة يتصف بها حديث أغلب أفراد الطبقة الاجتماعية الدنيا في المجتمع على وجه الخصوص. وتهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استخدام منهج لايوف (Labovian approach) لبحث الكيفية التي من خلالها تنشأ علاقة متبادلة بين الطبقة الاجتماعية في القاهرة وبالأخص مستوى الطبقة الوسطى العليا، وطبقة العمال الدنيا، والمتغيرات الصوتية. وعلى مستوى المتغيرات الصوتية الوظيفية، سيتسلط الضوء على حروف العلة الطويلة: صوت /aa/ و /aa/ و /ee/ وبدائلهم الصوتية القصيرة [a; a; e] والطويلة [aa; aa; ee] والطويلة جدا [aa::; aa::; ee:]. وقد تم جمع البيانات واستخلاص المعطيات عن طريق المقابلات المفتوحة مع ثمان وأربعين متحدثاً باللغة العامية القاهرية من الطبقة الاجتماعية الوسطى العليا والطبقة العاملة الدنيا. وبعد نسخ المقابلات قام خمسة محكمين بالحكم على طريقة نطق حروف العلة عن طريق استكمال مهمة الاختيار القسري (Shutze & Sprouse, 2014). وباستخدام الاختبار الإحصائي Z-test أكدت النتائج أن المشاركين من الطبقة الاجتماعية الدنيا ينطقون حروف العلة الطويلة جداً أكثر بكثير من الطبقة الوسطى العليا لتعبر عن تضامنها مع أفراد المجتمع اللغوي الذي ينتمون إليه، بينما ينطق أفراد الطبقة الوسطى العليا حروف العلة بالطريقة الصحيحة النموذجية. أظهر ANOVA تحليل التباين أن منطقة السكن والوظيفة من العوامل الاجتماعية المؤثرة بشكل كبير في استخدام المشاركين من طبقة العمال الدنيا لحروف العلة الطويلة جداً بينما أظهر عامل التعليم بالإضافة إلى عامل مكان السكن والوظيفة تجانساً في استخدام المشاركين من الطبقة الوسطى العليا لحروف العلة بالطريقة الصحيحة النموذجية. وتم استخدام برنامج تحليل الكلام PRAAT بعرض صور طيفية لنماذج من كلمات نطقها المشاركون من مستوى الطبقة الوسطى العليا وطبقة العمال الدنيا لإظهار مدة طول حرف العلة وتدعيم النتائج الإحصائية بطريقة موضوعية.

الكلمات الدالة

علاقة متبادلة، طبقة اجتماعية، متغيرات صوتية، منهج كمي

1. Introduction

The study of language variation in different speech communities has been a main domain of interest in sociolinguistics. The use of language in different social contexts often reflects social and ethnicity factors and pressures, which can deeply affect the structure of language and its mechanism. William Labov (1963), (1966), (1969), (1972a), (1972b), (1973), (1977), (1986) and (2001) was the first to draw attention to the changing nature of language that is as dynamic as the society itself (Labov, 1966; Romaine, 2000; Meyherhoff, 2011; Bassiouney, 2009). The major contribution of his approach lies in his attempt to quantify this dynamic aspect of language change in society across different social classes so that one can understand the direction of the change and the reasons behind it and to identify the social groups who are mainly responsible for spreading linguistic change.

Since the 1970s, there has been a growing interest in the Arab World to study dialects or language varieties – the identity of which depends on geographical, political, ethnic, religious, and social factors in each country following Labov's and Milory's (social network) approaches (Haeri, 2000). Holes (1980, 1983b) examined phonological variation among the Sunni and Shiite in Bahrain. He used a socioeconomic index based on education, age, literacy, illiteracy, sect membership and sex to investigate the variation in using the variables /j/, /q/ by the Shiite and Sunni in Bahrainis (Holes, 1983b). Literate Sunni groups were inclined to keep their non-standard variants more than the Shiite literate groups. Literate Shiites and the rural illiterate coreligionists Shiites used a low level of non-standard variants while the urban illiterate ones revealed a high level of standard variants. Exposure to the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and opportunities for mixing with the city dwellers were the reason for these findings.

In Jordan, Abdel Jawad (1986) investigated the use of the voiceless uvular stop /q/ variable in informal settings in Nablus. Nabulsi speakers tended to abandon the production of the ^{pure} [q] to use the urban [ʔ]. The younger Nabulsi used the non-standard variants significantly more than the older speakers who retained the local, conservative variant [q]. There was a change in progress towards the urban, non-standard but locally prestigious realization of [ʔ]. Daher (1998) also investigated the [q] and [ʔ] variants in Damascus. Results showed that the official standard variant [q] was only used by the educated minority who were involved professionally in the written language. Men used it more than women who favored the colloquial variant associated with urbanization and modernization. Similarly, Habib (2005) found a change in progress towards the use of the prestigious urban variant [ʔ] after analyzing data of the lower middle class and upper middle class of Colloquial Arabic of Christian rural migrants among the lower middle (LMC) and upper middle class (UMC) in the city of Hims, in Syria.

In Baghdad, Abu Haidar (1991) carried out another study to investigate Arabic language variation between Baghdadi Christians and Baghdadi Muslims. Abu Haidar studied phonological as well as syntactic and semantic variables. MSA was shared in Baghdad as the high variety. For Muslims, it was used in formal and informal settings, whereas for the Christians it was considered a second dialect because it is the language of the powerful and richer community. There was a change in progress in the Christian Baghdadi dialect towards the Muslim Baghdadi's due to reasons of accommodation and immigration to different countries around the world. In Irbid, a town in Jordan, Al-Khateeb (1998) investigated the realization of /q, d, j, k, θ/ and the vowel /a/ among the Fellahis and Horanis social groups. Findings showed that place of origin and gender were the most effective extra-linguistic factors in conditioning the use of consonants and vowels. Fellahis were more innovative when compared to the Horanis group who

avored the conservative forms of the variables.

In Egypt, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, very few studies on social class and language variation were conducted. Royal (1985) studied how social factors (age, gender and social class) were responsible for emphasis or pharyngealization –“a secondary phenomenon that involves the backing of the tongue towards the pharynx” (Bassiouney, 2000, p. 160; Abudalbuh, 2011). She studied the speech of twenty nine native speakers of Cairene who represented the two ends of the social continuum in Cairo and residents of either Heliopolis or Gammaliya. Her results showed discrepancies in the use of pharyngealization due to the social factors. Speakers from the upper classes (UC) used less pharyngealization, but men exhibited more emphasis than women. Lower class (LC) speakers showed a reversed pattern. While the older people in LC produced a greater degree of emphasis, the younger ones from the less privileged areas showed a similar tendency to the upper classes.

Another prominent study conducted in Cairo is Haeri's (1997). She investigated the relationship between phonological variation (palatalization) and social class in the speech of men and women in Cairo. She constructed a socioeconomic class index that included age, gender, occupation, and education (public schools, private Arabic schools or private language schools). Groups who either represented traditional urban; or modern or industrial Cairenes: UC; Upper Middle class (UMC); Middle Middle class (MMC) and Lower Middle Class (LMC) were chosen for the study. Data was collected through interviews, radio and TV programs, and a word list reading. Haeri was able to notice in her analyses two types of palatalization: weak (friction) and strong (affricate) of dental stops (the “plain” and pharyngealized /t, tʃ, d & dʒ/) (Hachimi, 2000; Geenberg, 2012, p. 3).

It was found that strong palatalization was a stigmatized phenomenon that was mostly used by LWCs especially women. Strong

palatalization (SP) is assumed to be associated with forceful, tough and self-confident urbane women. Men avoided using it because it was a women's feature. Young women used weak palatalization (WP) the most while women in the lower class used SP. Haeri believed that this was a case of hypercorrection since lower class women attempted to imitate UMC in pronouncing /t/ and /d /with WP; but, they ended up with affrication rather than friction. It is concluded that palatalization is a change in progress with upper class women taking the lead. In (1996) Haeri studied the feature of pharyngealization in ten different speech communities in Cairo. Results showed that pharyngealization is a phonological variation that stratify social classes in Cairo. Men used it significantly more than women to sound manly and tough.

Twenty years after Haeri's studies (1994, 1997), Geenberg (2012) conducted an experiment to observe how Cairenes perceive (SP) which is a highly stigmatized language production of Cairene speakers. Thirty five native Cairene speakers listened to stimuli word lists and typed three responses describing the speakers using six adjectives. According to Haeri's findings, six of these adjectives (colloquial, rich, refined, educated, confident, earnest) were expected to "vary uniformly across the palatalized and non- palatalized forms" (Geenberg, 2012, p. 23). Findings of the study revealed that the palatalized forms of speakers were rated as more colloquial but less attractive, less rich, less educated, less refined, less confident than the non-palatalized forms. Although Haeri associated the SP phenomenon with urban Cairenes, these results showed that they were more attributed to Cairenes from the countryside. It was a feature associated with lower-classes and improper speech. Men who used SP got low scores on the mean ratings for positive social characteristics. At present Cairenes viewed the SP as "a more generalized vernacular feature, rather than specifically an urban vernacular feature" (Geenberg, 2012, p. 28).

In sum, the studies reviewed above revealed a positive correlation between the extra- linguistic factors such as occupation, education, religion, ethnicity, age and gender and language change. The present paper aims to extend research on Colloquial Cairene Arabic and social change.

1.2 Research Questions:

The present study aims to find out the relationship between social factors – and in particular social class, gender and age – and language variation in the use of long vowels in colloquial Cairene Arabic. The overarching research question is: what is the correlation between social class and language variation in colloquial Cairene Arabic? This main question unfolds into the following sub-questions: What is the correlation between social class and the following phonological variables in colloquial Cairene Arabic:

1.2.1 the variable /aa/ with its variants: short [a], long [aa] and extra-long [aa:]?

1.2.2 the variable /ee/ with its variants: short [e], long [ee] and extra-long [ee:]?

1.2.3 the variable /aa/ with its variants: short [a], long [aa] and extra-long [aa:]?

1.3 Description of Cairene Vowels

This being a study of phonological variables in colloquial Cairene Arabic, an acquaintance with vocalic system of Cairene is necessary. The following review relies on J. Watson (2002), *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. Watson explains the phoneme system of Cairene Arabic as a development of the system of Classical Arabic as originally described by the Arab grammarian Sibawayh in the eighth-century. Watson's description of Cairene Arabic vowel system can be illustrated below after implementing Al Ani's (1970) demonstration of long vowels by doubling the same symbol since they are twice the length of their short counterparts.

Short vowels are:

/i/ [ʔinti] *you (f.)* /u/ [suʔaal] *question*

/e/ [ʔenta] *you (m.)* /o/ [kol] *all*

/a/ [dahab] *gold* /a/ [aʕlaah] *God*

Long vowels are:

/ii/ [fiil] *elephant* /uu/ [fuul] *beans*

/ee/ [deen] *loan,* /oo/ [rooh] *soul,*

/aa/ [naam] *he slept* /aa/ [raah] *he went*

Long vowels or vowel length are always associated with word stress; it is an “efficient cue in the perceptual realization of word stress” (Hassan, 1981, p. 20). In many languages stressed syllables are heard as longer than unstressed syllables (Hassan, 1981).

In colloquial Arabic, long vowels receive stress more than short vowels and syllables with long vowels are always stressed while unstressed short vowels and unstressed or secondarily stressed long vowels undergo shortening. Trybetzkoy (1969) believes that stress could be realized by: 'lengthening or more precise or more emphatic articulation of the vowels or the consonants involved.' (p.188, as cited in Hassan, 1980). Similarly, in Cairene Arabic long vowels are always stressed and emphasized in speech (Watson, 2000). In this study, the long vowels /aa/, /aa/ and /ee/ and their variants the short [a], [a] and [e] and the long [aa], [aa] and [ee] and the extra-long [aa:], [aa:] and [ee:] are investigated to determine the correlation between social class and the realization of long vowels /aa/, /aa/ and /ee/.

To the best of the researcher’s knowledge no sociolinguistic study has investigated the correlation between social class and vowel lengthening in colloquial Cairene Arabic. Therefore, in this study, the long vowels /aa/,

/aa/ and /ee/ and their variants the short [a], [a] and [e], the long [aa], [aa] and [ee] and the extra-long [aa:], [aa:] and [ee:] are investigated to determine the correlation between the realization of these three variants and social class.

2. Research Methodology:

2.1 Variables

This research follows the experimental quantitative approach of correlating phonological changes to social class in colloquial Cairene Arabic. There are one *independent variables*: social class (UMC and LWC), and *three dependent phonological variables*: /aa /, /ee/, and /aa/. Three variants: the short [a, e, a], long [aa, ee, aa], and the extra-long [aa:,ee:, aa:] of the three phonological variables are investigated across the two social classes: UMC and LWC whose ages ranged from 20 to 65 years old. Observing realization of these variants in colloquial Cairene Arabic can determine social class stratification in the Cairene community.

2.2 Sample population

A sample of 48 informants (24 LWC & 24 UMC) is chosen based on the geographical and social boundaries. The geographical boundary of the given locale in the study is Greater Cairo which includes Cairo, Giza and Helwan. The social boundary is determined by using the Index of Status Characteristics (ISC) devised by Warner (1960) to assign informants to either LWC or UMC. It is one of the most objective measurements of the relative social ranks of individuals which includes education, occupation and residence (Shuy, Wolfram & Riley, 1968).

Tables 1, 2 and 3 display the categories for each social factor that delimits the independent variable “social class” in the study. For education, the first three categories and the last two represent the extreme ends of the social class continuum. For occupation and residence the first two and last two represent the far ends of the social class continuum in Greater Cairo.

Table

1

Categories for educational levels

Class	Level
1	Graduate from University in Foreign Countries International Private University in Cairo (AUC/ BUE/ GUC)
2	Post graduate studies + knowledge of foreign language
3	Private international high school
4	State high school/ language high school
5	Agricultural or industrial diploma
6	Some basic education
7	No education

Table 2

Categories for occupation

Class	Level
1	Professionals/ Executives of large businesses (professors, medical doctors, dentists, chairmen of large corporations)
2	Executives of medium sized businesses; Undergraduate students in Private or Public Universities.
3	Owners of small businesses (hairdresser's, owners of coffee shops, bakers, stationary shop)
4	Technicians and skilled workers (carpenter, plumber)& school students
5	Semi-skilled workers (assistants to skilled workers "white collars)
6	Unskilled workers (e.g., trash collectors; doormen; maids) & Unemployed

Table 3***Categories for residential area***

Class	Level
1	Posh Neighborhoods (Compounds in New Cairo and October City)
2	Respectable Neighborhood (Nasr City, El Mohandesiin, Heliopolis, Zamalek)
3	Neighborhoods that lost their big names (Abbassia, downtown)
4	Public places (El Sahel, El Khosos, Madinet El Salam, Ein Shams)
5	Slums (El Dewai'a, Beaulac, Masaaken el Zelzal, ManshiaatNaser, Abo attatta)

Each informant has three rating numbers: (i) a rating from one to eight for education; (ii) a rating from one to six for occupation; (iii) a rating from one to five for residence. (iv) a rating from one to eight for parents' education. These ratings used by the researcher are "based on a detailed observation of the various strata that exist in ...[our] community". (Wolfram & Fasold, 1974, p. 94). Numbers of these ratings are multiplied by factors of 9 for education; 6 for occupation; and 5 for residence. The numbers '9, 6 & 5' are the different values of the specific community social factors given to "various scales used in assessing overall status ranking".

The sum of these numbers identifies the informants' position on the scale, and thus his/her social class. For example, an assistant lecturer (holding a master's degree) who lives in Nasr city and works in a private university receives 1 for education, 1 for occupation and 2 for residence.

Each number is multiplied by 9, 6 and 5, giving a combined score of 25. However, an illiterate who lives in El Dewa'aa has 5 for residence and a rating of 8 for education and 6 for occupation (a maid for example), the score is 133. Therefore, it is clear that the higher the social status, the lower the score and vice versa. After doing the required calculations, it is found that the UMC scores range from 20 to 49 while those for the LWC range from 104 to 133. Once overall scores are calculated, one is able to place the informants into different social levels.

2.3 Data elicitation and collection

Data for the elicitation of the pronunciation of the variants [ɑ:], [ɑɑ] [ɑ] of the variable /ɑ/; [ee:] & [ee] and [e] for the variable /ee/; [aa:], [aa] and [a] for the variable /aa/ have been collected through sociolinguistic open-ended interviews. Methods of data elicitation in the study have attempted to elicit casual speech while drawing away the informant's attention from his/her speech and from the presence of a digital recorder (Labov, 1972, Daher, 1998, Stubbs, 1983). The researcher used natural and free conversation setting techniques to obtain casual speech data. These techniques, as suggested by Labov (1972), help overcome and neutralize the obstacles inherent in any interview situation. The goal of open-ended interviews is to make the participants focus on the topic of the conversation so that they pay little attention to the way they are speaking. Labov's the "danger of death" question was used in the study to obtain natural speech from the informants. It is one of the solutions mentioned by Labov to obtain natural speech because such questions involve participants in the narration until 'signs of emotional tension appear'. These "signs of emotional tension" observed in the participants' speeches were seen as proof by Labov that the 'vernacular' had been accessed, since the speakers were clearly not focusing on their language production (Labov, 1972, p.92).

Another reason for using the individual interviews approach is to capture the participants' attention and let them talk about themselves (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974). This effective technique has also aided the researcher to address the participants' interest which has been needed for the provision of more adequate amounts of speech data. That is why; informants have been allowed to talk freely about any other topics if they preferred to do so. Informants talked about how they spent their leisure time with their family and friends, the expensive prices of the goods in the Egyptian market, the financial and family issues they might be going through. Informants were vaguely informed about the topic of the research. They were told that the aim of the research was to learn about the different Egyptian dialects and to know how Egyptians speak nowadays as opposed to the past. The researcher took their consent to record the interviews using a digital recorder.

After collecting data and recording them on the digital recorder, all interviews were transcribed into written form (see Appendix). The researcher then listened to each interview twice and underlined all the words that had any instance of the three long vowels. The researcher listened one more time to underlined instances of extra-lengthened vowel realizations and kept a record of them. A judgment test was then designed to evaluate the vowel length of the variants of the long vowels /aa/, /ee/, and /aa/ to ensure objective measurements and collect the data for statistical analysis.

2.4 The Judgment Task

The 'Forced Choice Task' (FC) - a type of informal judgment task data gathering - was used to evaluate the length (extra-long, long or short) of the three variants of each long vowel (Shutze & Sprouse, 2014):[aa:]; [aa]; [a] of the long variable /aa/; [ee:], [ee], [e] of the long phonological variables /ee/; [aa:], [aa] and [a] of the long variable /aa/ in spontaneous speech and to select the target tokens for statistical analysis. Five jurists

have been assigned to do the judgment task. They listened to the interviews and judged the vowel length in a computer lab of a private university. The jurists were females from the UMC who are native speakers of Cairene; they are teaching assistants who work in a private university. They studied both English and Arabic linguistics. The jurists read the transcriptions as they listened to the 48 interviews, and then ‘chose’ or ‘judged’ whether the long vowel /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ realized by the speaker in the underlined word highlighted, was (extra-long, long, or short). The three choices ‘extra- long, long or short’ were put between brackets next to each underlined word with the target long vowel.

2.5 Analysis

As soon as the five jurists finished the judgment tasks in all the interviews, data collected were compiled with all the responses of the jurists on the target tokens in each interview. When three or more jurists agreed on their evaluation of the vowel length, the word was then judged as pronounced with either long, short or extra-long. The total number of the target tokens was 2250.

The number of frequencies of each agreed upon variants: long, short or extra- long /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ among the five jurists were calculated. Raw numbers were then entered into the Z-test to find out the significant differences in the frequency of using the variants of the three long vowels /aa/ /ee/ and /aa/ between the informants of the UMC and LWC social class. The one-way ANOVA analysis was used to find the significance of the role played by the extra linguistic variables: occupation, education and place of residence. Praat speech software analysis was also used to measure and compare the vowel length of selected tokens of variants of the long vowels realized by informants from both social classes (UMC & LWC). Praat is a computer-based application developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenik

of the University of Amsterdam for speech analysis and is mainly used in acoustic phonetics. It analyzes and synthesizes speech sounds with spectrographic figures and can provide information about pitch, intensity, vowel duration, and vowel quality. Spectrographic analysis of sample tokens was performed to confirm the findings of the above statistical analysis objectively,

3. Results:

In this section, the findings of using the statistical Z-test and the one-way measures of ANOVA are presented. Raw frequencies of the target long vowels were entered into the Z-test to find out the significant differences in producing the short, long and extra-long variants of the three long vowels /aa/ /ee/ and /aa/ between the two social classes UMC and LWC. Table 4 shows the distribution of the long vowel /aa/ according to social class.

3.1. Distribution of variants of the long vowels according to social class

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Table 4

Distribution of variants of the long vowel /aa/ according to social class

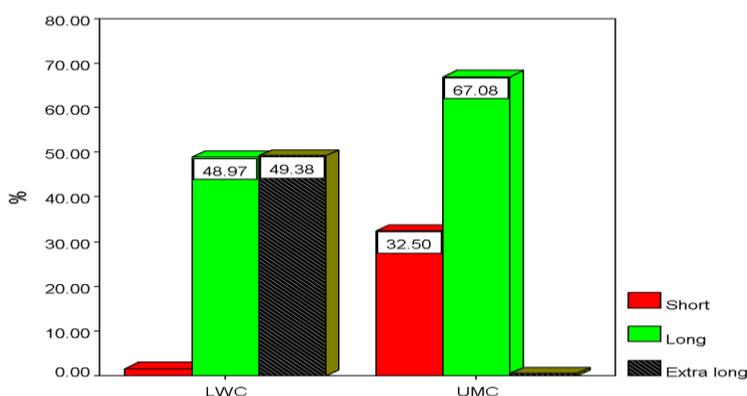
Variable	LWC		UMC		Z-value	p-value	Result
	N	%	N	%			
/aa/	243		240				
1-Short	4	1.64	78	32.5	9.85	0.01**	H.Sig.
2-Long	119	48.97	161	67.08	4.10	0.01**	H.Sig.
3-Extra long	120	49.38	1	0.41	15.14	0.01**	H.Sig.

**Significant at the (0.01) level

*Significant at the (0.05) level

There were significant statistical differences for the short variant [a] of the long /aa/ vowel between UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value (9.85) and *p-value* level less than (0.01) (See Table 4 and Graph 1). The total percentage of raw frequencies reached (32.50%) for the UMC, while the LWC reached (1.64%). This showed that UMC educated group was inclined to shorten the long vowel /aa/ in their speech. There were significant statistical differences between UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value (4.10), and the *p-value* less than (0.01) for the long variant [aa] of the long /aa/ vowel. The UMC group percentage was (67.08%), while the LWC reached (48.97%). The percentage of the long vowel /aa/ is higher for UMC than those in the LWC. Concerning the extra-long variant [aa:] of the long /aa/ vowel, there were also statistical differences between UMC and LWC at Z-value (15.4) and *p-value* level less than (0.01). The total percentage of raw frequencies for the UMC group reached (0.41%), while the LWC reached (49.38%). The above findings are demonstrated in Figure1.

Figure 1. Distribution of the long vowel /aa/ according to social class



4.2 Distribution of the variants of the long vowel /ee/ according to social class

Table 5

Distribution of variants of the long vowel /ee/ according to social class

Variable	LWC		UMC		Z value	p-value	Result
	N	%	N	%			
/ee/	210		86				
1-Short	8	3.8	25	29.06	4.98	0.01**	H.Sig.
2-Long	89	42.38	61	70.93	4.78	0.01**	H.Sig.
3-Extra long	113	53.8	0	0	15.64	0.01**	H.Sig.

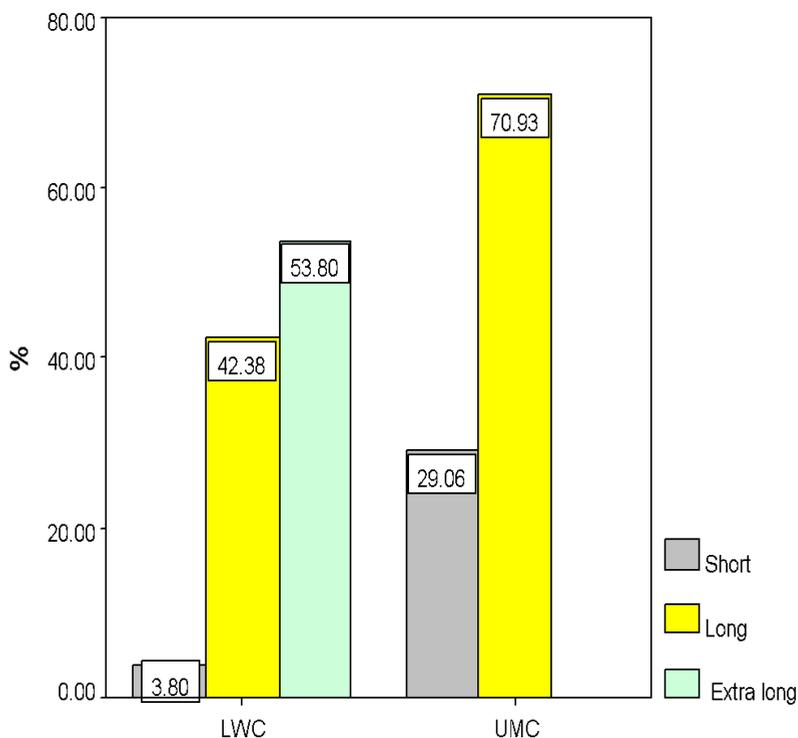
**Significant at the (0.01) level

*Significant at the (0.05) level

The correlation between the social class and the long vowel /ee/ is shown in Table 5. For the short variant [e] of the long /ee/ vowel, there were high significant statistical differences between UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value (4.98), in which the *p-value* level was less than (0.01). The UMC group whose total percentage of raw frequencies reached (29.06), while the LWC reached (3.80). Similarly, the long variant [ee] displayed high significant statistical differences between UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value equals (4.78), in which the *p-value* level was less than (0.01). This also came for the benefit of the UMC group whose total percentage of raw frequencies reached (70.93), while the LWC reached (42.38). This indicated that the highly educated UMC group used the standard form of the long vowel /ee/ in their speech more and they even had a tendency to use its short variant more than the LWC group.

The extra-long variant [ee:] of the long /ee/ vowel also showed a high significant statistical difference between the two groups at Z-value (15.64), and *p-value* level less than (0.01). The total percentage of raw frequencies for the UMC group was 0%, while the LWC reached (53.80). This indicates that the LWC had a tendency towards lengthening their vowels in an extra-ordinary way in their speech when compared to the UMC informants. Figure 2 displays these results clearly.

Figure 2. Distribution of the long vowel /ee/ according to social class.



3.3 Distribution of the variants of the long vowel /aa/ according to social class

Table 6

Distribution of variants of the long vowel /aa/ according to social class

Variable /aa/	LWC		UMC		Z- value	p-value	Result
	N	%	N	%			
	765		702				
1-Short	20	2.61	273	38.88	18.81	0.01**	H.Sig.
2-Long	496	64.83	420	59.82	1.98	0.04*	Sig.
3-Extra long	249	32.54	9	1.28	17.9	0.01**	H.Sig.

**Significant at the (0.01) level

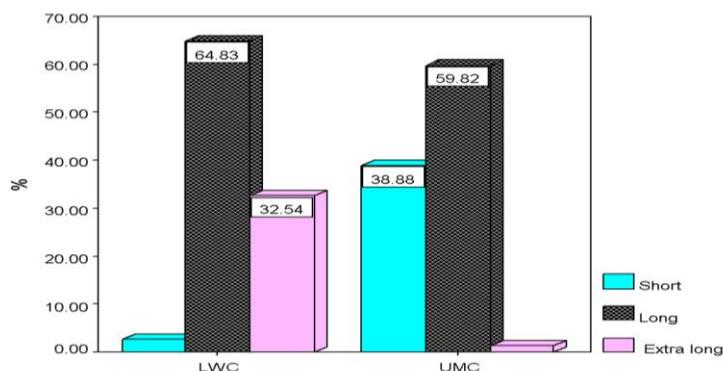
*Significant at the (0.05) level

Highly significant statistical differences were found for the short variant [a] of the long /aa/ between UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value equals (18.81) and *p-value* level less than (0.01). The UMC group total percentage of raw frequencies reached (38.88), while the LWC reached (2.61). There were significant statistical differences between UMC and LWC for the long variant [aa] of the long /aa/ vowel at the statistical Z-value (1.98) and *p-value* level less than (0.05). The total percentage of raw frequencies of the UMC group reached (59.82) which was less than the LWC group (64.83).

Realization of the extra-long variant [aa:] of the long /aa/ vowel also gave highly significant statistical differences between the UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value (17.90) and *p-value* level less than (0.01). The raw

frequencies for the UMC were (1.28) while the LWC raw frequencies were (32.54). Again these findings illustrate the frequent use of extra-long vowels by the LWC group. These results are displayed in Figure 3 that follows.

Figure 3. Distribution of the long vowel /aa/ according to social class



3.4 Distribution of the total occurrences of the variants of the three long vowels according to social class

Table 7

Distribution of the total frequencies of the variants of /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ according to social class

Variable /aa/, /ee/ /aa/	LWC		UMC		Z- value	p-value	Result
	N	%	N	%			
	1218		1028				
1-Short	32	2.62	376	36.57	20.62	0.01**	H.Sig.
2-Long	704	57.79	642	62.45	2.25	0.02*	Sig.
3-Extra long	482	39.57	10	0.97	26.91	0.01**	H.Sig.

**Significant at the (0.01) level

*Significant at the (0.05) level

For the short variant [ɒ, e, a] of the long /ɑɑ/, /ee/, /aa/ vowels, there were highly significant statistical differences between UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value (20.62), and *p-value level* less than (0.01). The UMC percentage was (36.57) while the LWC was (2.62). This showed that UMC educated group had a tendency to shorten the long vowel /ee/ in their speech when they did not use the standard long form.

Only significant statistical differences between UMC and LWC at the statistical Z-value equals (2.25), and *p-value level* (0.02) less than (0.05) for the long variants [ɑɑ, ee, aa] of the long /ɑɑ/, /ee/, /aa/ vowels. The UMC group total percentage of raw frequencies reached 62.45, while the LWC reached (57.79).

The extra-long variants [ɑɑ:, ee:, aa:] of the long /ɑɑ/, /ee/, /aa/ vowels showed highly significant statistical differences between UMC and LWC at Z-value equals (26.91) and *p-value level* less than (0.01). The UMC group total percentage of raw frequencies reached (0.97), while the LWC reached (39.57). The UMC group rarely used extra-long variants of the long vowels.

The above results illustrate that the influence of the quality of education and the type of occupation on the speech of UMC. The UMC informants used the standard form of the long vowels or even shortened the vowels; they rarely lengthened the long vowels during the interviews. Their percentage of usage is 0.97% which was very small when compared to the overall percentage of the LWC group. Figure 4 displays the significant statistical differences between the UMC and LWC speakers in their realization of the short, long and extra-long variants of the three vowels /aa/, /ee/ and /ɑɑ/.

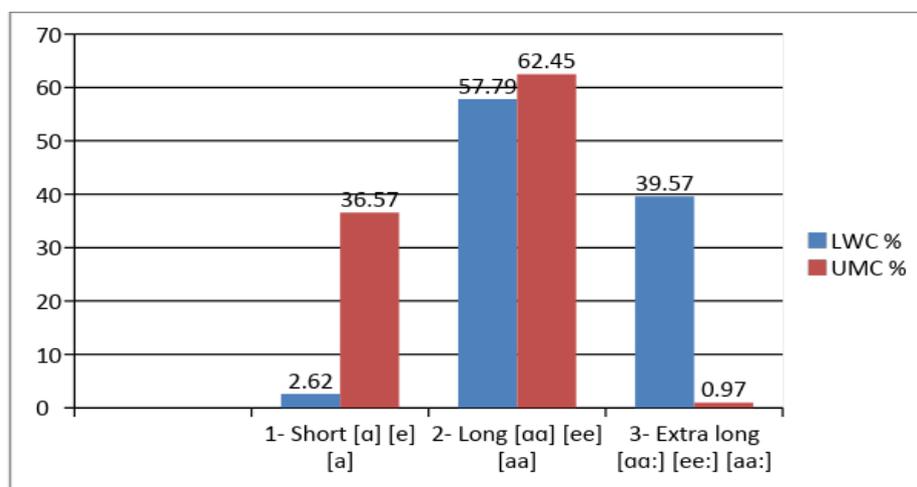


Figure 4. Distribution of total no. of variants of the long vowels by the UMC and LWC according to social class.

3.5 Results of analysis of variance ANOVA for the effects of extra-linguistic variables

Analysis of variance ANOVA was used to find out the significant role played by education, occupation and place of residence with respect to the realization of the extra-long vowels [aa:], [ee:] and [aa:] among the UMC and LWC. Table 8 shows that by using ANOVA, there were statistical significant differences among the social factors: education, occupation and residential area with respect to the LWC informants' production of the extra-long vowels [aa:], [ee:] and [aa:]. The value of *F-test* was (4.992) at *p-value* (0.03). This showed that occupation was the most significant social factor conditioning the production of the extra lengthened vowels with a mean of (32.25) followed by the area of residence, and education with mean of (23.54), (19.79) respectively. This indicates that the social interaction at the workplace, the surrounding social environment and close social networks greatly affect the way the LWC participants speak.

Table 8

Results of One-way ANOVA for the social factors (education occupation residence) in the LWC

Variables /aa /, /ee/ & /aa/	Sample	Mean	St. deviation	F-test	P- value	Sig.
Total no. of extra- long variants	Education	19.79	3.34	4.992	.03*	Sig.
	Job	32.25	4.26			
	Residence	23.54	2.32			

* Significant level at 0.05

On the other hand, results of ANOVA showed no statistical significant differences among education, occupation, and place of residence with respect to the use of extra-lengthened vowels among informants of the UMC. The value of the *F-test* was (1.604) at *p-value* (0.85) which is more than (0.05). This indicates that all of these social factors have played the same homogeneous role in conditioning the way UMC informants' speak. This is shown in Table 9.

Table 9

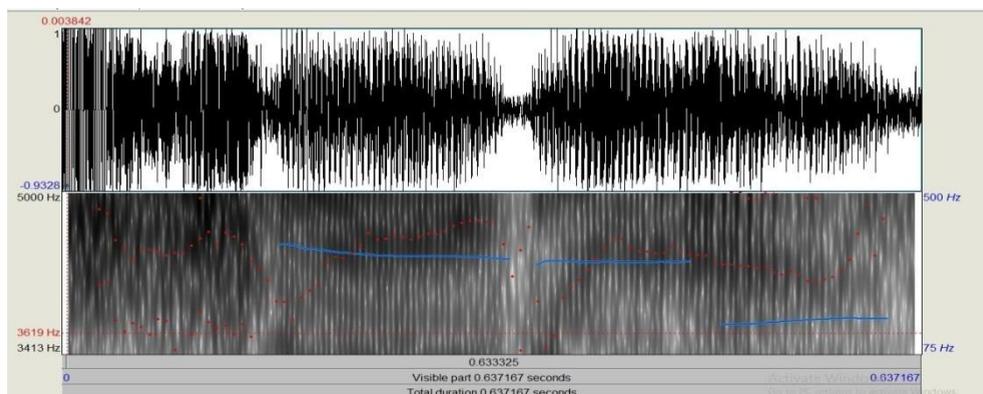
Results of One-way ANOVA for the social factors (education, occupation, and place of residence) in the UMC

Variables /aa/, /ee/ & /aa/	Sample	Mean	St. deviation	F-test	p-value	Sig.
Total no. of extra- long variants	Education	0.42	0.06	1.604	0.85	N.Sig.
	Job	0.45	0.02			
	Residence	0.86	0.01			

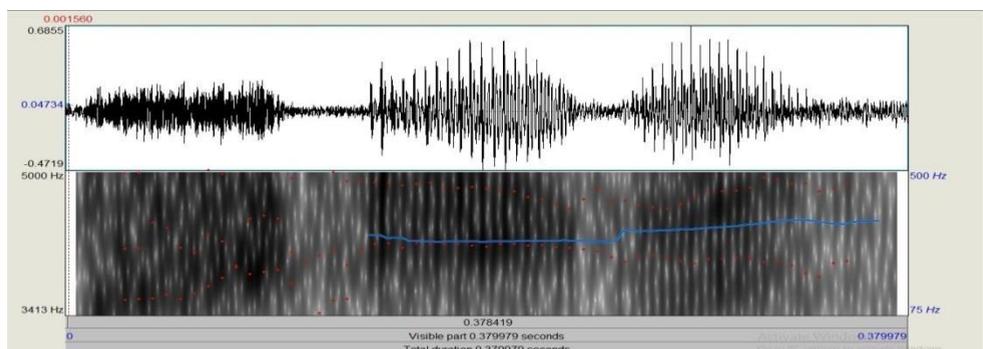
* Significant level at 0.05

3.6 Praat Spectrographic analysis

Samples of spectrogram images are illustrated below to show the vowel duration of the word “street” [ʃaa:rʕ] and “thing” [haa:gə] that were taken from the interviews of LWC and UMC. Spectrogram 1 and 2 shows the word “street” [ʃaa:rʕ] and [haa:gə] where the extra-long [aa:] appears in open heavy syllable [-kaa] CVV pronounced by informants from both social classes. The vowel duration of [aa:] was measured at 0.633 seconds for the LWC informant, while it was measured at 0.37 seconds for the UMC informant. This indicates that the vowel duration was almost the double for the extra-long vowel [aa:] when realized by the LWC informant.

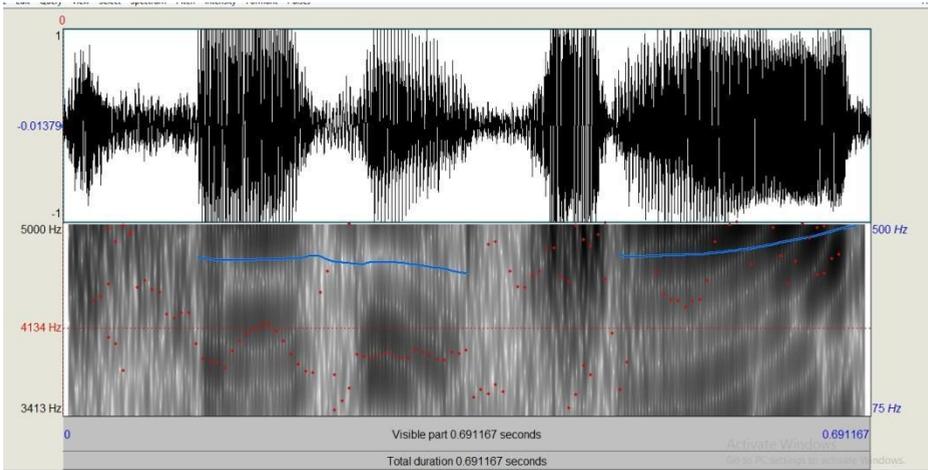


Spectrogram 1. Vowel duration for [ʃaa:rʕ] *street* by LWC speaker

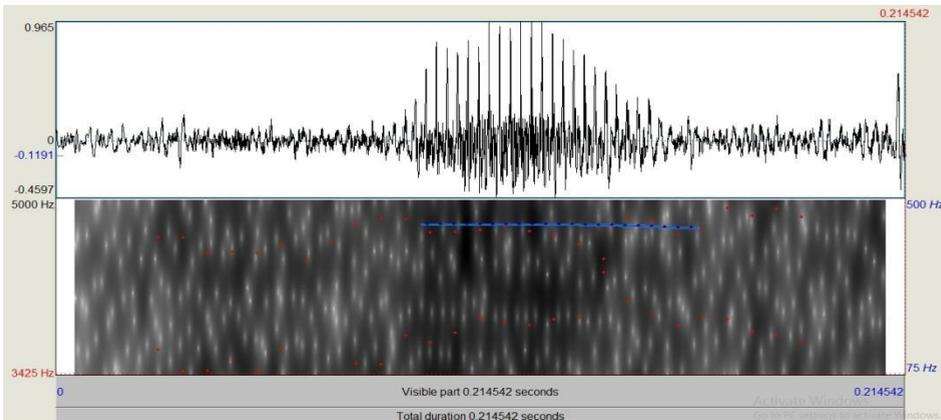


Spectrogram 2. Vowel duration for [ʃaarʃ] *street* by UMC speaker

In Spectrogram 3 and 4, vowel duration of the word *thing* [haa:gə] where the long vowel /aa/ appears in open heavy syllable [kaa] CVV was measured at 0.69 seconds for the LWC informant and 0.214 seconds for the UMC informant.



Spectrogram 3. Vowel duration of the word [haa:gə] *thing* by LWC speaker



Spectrogram 4. Vowel duration of the word [haa:gə] *thing* by UMC speaker

Therefore, it is evident that LWC speakers tend to lengthen their long vowels more than necessary and this was accompanied by the high intensity or (loudness) heard by the jurists. UMC tend to reduce their vowel duration or even reduce it to a schwa. The meaning of this language phenomenon among the LWC speakers in Greater Cairo is discussed in the following section.

4. Discussion

The results of this study showed that there is a correlation between social class and the realization of long vowels /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ in colloquial Cairene Arabic. Significant statistical differences were found in using the variants of the three vowels /aa/, /ee/, and /aa/ between the two social classes. The 'total' percentage of using the short variants [a, e, a] among LWC and UMC gave highly significant results (2.62% & 36.57% respectively); the extra-long variants [aa:, ee:,aa:] gave highly significant statistical differences (39.57 % & 0.97 % respectively); and the long variants gave significant results with the percentage (57.79 % & 62.45 %) respectively among both classes..

It was expected that the LWC would use the extra lengthened vowels highly significantly more than the UMC informants. These findings are confirmed by studies about social class and language variation. The LWC informants belong to the same social class and speech community which shares a set of norms that characterizes their language usage. In Cairo, lengthening of vowels is a linguistic feature associated with the working classes. It is a stable variant that shows no sign of going away, recognized by Cairenes from all social classes (Meyerhoff, 2011). Cairenes are aware of these variants' social meaning; they are usually associated with members from working classes. Positive or negative evaluations are associated with such stable variants, depending on the situational context and the

interlocutors in the social interaction (Bourdieu, 1977). For instance, for the UMC and MC, lengthening of vowels is a vernacular linguistic feature; in TV shows, episodes, movies and even advertisements, performers who would use this linguistic feature are either from the LWC or WC or come from the rural regions. It is; therefore, a feature that is perceived negatively by the UMC and MC, but it may be associated with positive evaluations for other working classes (Bourdieu, 1990).

In the same vein, the English (ing) variable is one of the ‘best described’ and ‘best known’ stable variables that do not undergo linguistic change. It is one of the very few community linguistic stability that has been confirmed (Wagner, 2012, p. 378). The fluctuation in using the [ɪn] and [ɪŋ] among native speakers of English was employed by writers in the 18th and 19th centuries to highlight the social status of their characters (Mugglestone, 2003). The nasal [ɪŋ] is perceived positively than the alveolar variant, and the constant shift pattern to the velar [ɪŋ] in careful, formal or ‘outgroup’ speech provides solid evidence about this evaluation. Research showed that working class speakers use more the non-standard and less prestigious [ɪn] variant (Fischer, 1958; Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974, Kerswill, 1987; Holmes et al. 1991; Campell-Kipler, 2005). Thus, the alternation between [ɪn] and [ɪŋ] has been a salient marker of social class for decades and maybe for several centuries.

Likewise, the lengthening of vowels in colloquial Cairene Arabic can be considered another example of a common, salient linguistic stable marker that determines social status in Cairo. The frequency of using extra-lengthened variants of the long /aa/, /ee/, /aa/ stratifies social groups in the Cairene society. Labov (1972b) has distinguished between social markers and indicators. Indicators are variables that do not relate to any social import. Only linguists are aware of indicators. On the other hand, markers carry ‘social significance’; they are carriers of social information. People in

the Cairene speech community are aware of these markers and how they are closely correlated with social stratifications (Labov, 1972b; Wardhaugh, 1995). Previous studies also confirmed this. In New York City, the use of r-less pronunciation is associated with the lower working classes. New Yorkers are conscious of this fact and may vary their use according to the social context or circumstance (1972b). In West Yorkshire and Norwich informants who belong to the highest social groups dropped the [h] the least (Trudgill, 1974). Poplack and Walker (1986) provided evidence that in Montreal French, the deletion of /l/ in the personal pronouns (il & elle) and other feminine object pronouns is associated with speakers from lower socioeconomic class.

Furthermore, the highly significant differences in using the variants of the long vowels between the UMC and LWC present patterns of ‘broad stratification’ that shows quite a rigid class structure in the Cairene speech community. This again confirms previous research which has shown that the stable (ing) variant in British varieties of English (Norwich) is more broadly stratified than the (ing) in North American varieties (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Meyerhoff, 2011). Each social group in Norwich showed a markedly different pattern of realizing the variants [ɪn] or [ɪŋ] of the variable regardless of the speech style (casual interview, reading word lists or passages). However, patterns of using the above variants were ‘fine’ especially between the UWC and LMC in North American societies. A possible explanation would be that the potential opportunity for individual’s mobility across social classes in the United States is greater than in Britain. In Egypt, individual’s mobility from the LWC to other social classes would be rather difficult because most of these people struggle to earn their living. That is probably why the production of the extra-long variants showed markedly different patterns across the LWC and UMC informants, which definitely suggests a broad social stratification.

In Cairo, the UMC informants are highly educated members and have highly respected positions; they are fully conscious of the stigmatized aspect of lengthening the vowels. On the other hand, LWC are inclined to lengthen their vowels because they belong to a different speech community that has its own rules, attitudes, and linguistic behavior. (Bassiouney, 2009). The potential chances for the individual's mobility across social classes in the Cairene community are quite little. Unemployment is still a critical problem in Egypt; it is not easy to find a job opportunity that suits one's qualifications. A large number of university graduates are either unemployed or are working as waiters or shop assistants to earn their living.

It has been observed that even wealthy traders, such as butchers, owners of big businesses (e.g., fish, grocery and vegetable markets) who originally belong to LWC stick to the linguistic norms of their speech community (Milroy, 1987). Even if some of them have moved from their old, poor neighborhood, to larger houses in respectable neighborhoods or new compounds, they can hardly change their vowels; this maybe because language is an integral part of one's self identity or due to developmental factors or the critical period hypothesis which is explained by some researchers as 'an artifact of developmental changes in the brain, changes in the receptiveness or attitudes of language learners, or a mixture of physiological and social factors' (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 308). There are also examples of those wealthy traders who originally belong to the LWC but are reluctant to leave their neighborhoods because of that strong feeling of owning and belonging to their residential area. Fried (1963) as cited in Milroy (1987) argued that community dwellers are fearful of moving outside their area. The Boston West Enders, for instance, were reported by Fried to experience feelings of anxiety and strangeness whenever they went to shops or hospitals in the city. In Belfast, the same findings were observed by (Boal, 1978; Wiener, 1976; L. Milroy, 1976 as cited in Milroy 1987, p. 16).

Working class neighborhoods are vivid and show an extension of close social interaction patterns in the local area, and “conception of neighborhood as an extension of the home”. This is also clear in the working class neighborhoods in Greater Cairo, in spite of the few chances of social mobility. Therefore, it is evident that realization of the extra-long variants [aa:], [ee:] and [ɑɑ:] has obviously shown ‘broad stratification’ across social classes in the Cairene community.

The one-way measurement of ANOVA revealed the role played by the extra linguistic factors in conditioning the use of the long vowels by the two social classes. Occupation was the most significant social factor conditioning the production of the extra-lengthened vowels [aa:], [ee:], and [ɑɑ:]. The mean rank for occupation, residence and education are 32.25, 23.54 and 19.79, respectively. Residence and education followed occupation as previously shown. This reveals the effect of the social interaction at the workplace on the speech of the LWC informants. There are possible explanations. Most of LWC members interact with each other, but rarely do with UMC informants. The LWC informants in the study were either maids, unemployed housewives, cleaning workers or microbus drivers. Other possible jobs of LWC informants were construction workers, trash collectors, security men and janitors. Cairo bus, microbus or taxi drivers, for instance, spend most of their time driving or waiting in the garage for passengers to get in, chatting with other drivers. It is possible that at work their interaction rarely occurs with people from the upper classes; however, most of their time is spent with their co-workers as they either work together or enjoy chatting in their lunch break. In fact, a large number of LWC speakers hold occupations that do not often require instant interaction with speakers from higher social classes, whereas most of UMC members, who may be working as lawyers, physicians, university professors, teachers, artists, and bankers, most probably interact most of their time with other

UMC or MC people from different backgrounds. Therefore, the role played by occupation could provide a possible explanation behind the frequent production of the extra-lengthened vowels by the LWC informants.

Second, ANOVA analysis revealed that the place of residence also showed more significant results than education. There are certain social characteristics that are common among residents of slums or poor neighborhoods. Some of the LWC in the study are members of the same neighborhoods. They share the same social characteristics and spend quality time together. They know each other very well; visit each other often. The neighborhood is an extension of their own homes (Milroy, 1987). It is possible that they show solidarity by using the non-standard linguistic variants that follow the norms of their speech community.

On the contrary, UMC members may not have time to share with their neighbors. They may even do not know all of their neighbors. Most of their time is either spent at work, at home reading or browsing the internet or in doing other social activities with their families or friends. That is why the ANOVA analysis for the UMC showed no significant statistical differences for the role played by occupation, education and residence (mean ranks: 0.45, 0.42, 0.86 correspondingly). There was homogeneity between the three social factors in conditioning the use of the three variants of the long vowels. UMC informants are highly educated, have prestigious, very-well respected jobs in the society and live in respectable neighborhoods or classy compounds in New Cairo or October city. They have a wide range of various activities to enjoy their time often with their connections but mainly independently, while LWC informants are mostly uneducated or basically educated, live very close to each other, share all quality time together and cannot afford to spend money to read books, travel, or go to clubs. Thus, it has been shown how the surrounding social environment, close social networks and everyday practices affect the way

members in both social classes speak. (Labov, 2001; Milory, 1987; Meyheroff, 2011; Habib, 2005).

Social classes are ‘constructs’ imposed on the continuum of the individuals’ linguistic behavior. If the speaker’s average linguistic behavior in these social classes correlates with language variation, it will definitely show social stratification. Even though members of the same social class may show differences in using the same variables, there will always be homogeneity of behavior because each class has a distinctive range for each variable. (Wardhaugh, 1995, p. 177).

5. Conclusion

To conclude, this study is an attempt to fill in the gap in studies about social stratification and language variation in the Arab world, particularly in Cairo. Social class correlates with the realization of the extra-long variants of the long vowels /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ in colloquial Cairene Arabic among the UMC and LWC who represent the far ends of the social continuum. Occupation and the place of residence are major extra-linguistic factors that highly affect the extra-lengthening of long vowels by speakers in the speech community. Future studies may address other phonological variables and include the middle social classes in the society. This study can open the way for acoustic research to investigate the phonological environments in which vowel lengthening occurs and other phonological features that accompany this phenomenon.

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Appendix

Sample judgment task for an interview with a LWC informant

من فضلك اقرأ الحوار قبل الاستماع الي التسجيل. تستطيع اعدته اكثر من مرة. بعد الاستماع الي التسجيل برجاء الحكم علي طريقة نطق الحروف المتحركة . تستطيع الاستماع الي الكلمات كما تشاء.

يوجد تحت الكلمات المختارة خط في الحوار. من فضلك احكم علي نطق الحرف المتحرك بالكلمة باختيار وصف من الاتي مما بين القوسين: - طويل بزيادة /علي غير المألوف - طويل - قصير

Recording # 3

الاسم: ن. ع

البنتين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير)

الباحث: استتي استتي عشان اه اعرف اه الموضوع؟

ابوه اه مشكلتك! مشكلتك!

المشكلة عيالي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الاتنين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بعيد عنك في السجون عشان

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) تبقى عارفه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

كانو (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ف قضيه خناقه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) لنتين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) واحد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) منهم عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) المراقبة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير)

عملنلوا حشيش ... عملنلوا بودره عملنلوا برشام (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عملنلوا طبنجه سطين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بيبع هيروين بيبع بودره جنب الجامع (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) شوفي الافتري اللي احنا فيه.

المحاميه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عايزه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) منى خمناشير (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الف جنيه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اجبهمها منين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وانا بريهم خمسة يتم.

الباحث : طب انتى بتشتغلى اه !؟

انا بشتغل لمؤاخذه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خدامه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ف البيوت
وطفحانه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الى كلته ف البيوت عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل -
قصير) تبقى عارفه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

كل حاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) غاليه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مش عارفه (طويل
بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اجيب لبنى زيارته (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير)

الباحث : طب ومعندكيش بطاقه تموين !؟

معنديش بطاقه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) تموين ولاهي ماعندى بطاقه (طويل بزيادة - طويل -
قصير).

الباحث : طب مقدمتيش عليها ليه ؟

قدمت عليها بقالي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) سنتين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) دى تانى
(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) سنه وماجتايش لحد دلوقتى وشكرا على كده ولاهي (طويل بزيادة -
طويل - قصير) دى ما بقولك كده وحالتنا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الماديه (طويل بزيادة
- طويل - قصير) ماتسمحش ولا حاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ... الحمدلله

الباحث : ولادك هيخرجوا امتى !؟

فيهم عيل هيروحوه بكره ...

راحلو النهارده (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الساعه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) انتين (طويل
بزيادة - طويل - قصير) لبيل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل -
قصير) خاطر (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اشوفه نفسي فيه وبحبه وروحه فيه ... وعيل منهم
بيراقب (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) منهم يمشى من سته يجى سته وحالتنا (طويل بزيادة -
طويل - قصير) تصعب على الكافر (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) و مضايقه (طويل بزيادة -
طويل - قصير) علي الاخر .

الباحث : ف جمعيات بتساعدك !؟

تلت اربع جمعيات (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الحاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ناديه (طويل
بزيادة - طويل - قصير) رينا يجعلوا ف ميزان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) حسنيتها
بتدينا كل حاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وكويسين وغلايه (طويل بزيادة - طويل -
قصير) بيحبونى الحمدلله

الباحث : أن شاء الله الجمعيات ده يدعمها اهل الخير ؟

احنا عابزين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الحاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ترخص ...
البصل بسبعه

جنيه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مش عارفين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) نجبيه ... مش
عارفين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) نصرف خالص (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الرعاميه
جنيه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) هيعملو

ايه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) انا والبننتين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) . عندى عيله ف تالته
(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) تجاره (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) والبننت التانيه (طويل
بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فسنه خامسه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) .

Sample judgment task for an interview with an UMC informant

من فضلك اقرأ الحوار قبل الاستماع الي التسجيل. تستطيع اعادته اكثر من مرة. بعد الاستماع الي التسجيل برجاء الحكم علي طريقة نطق الحروف المتحركة . تستطيع الاستماع الي الكلمات كما تشاء.

يوجد تحت الكلمات المختارة خط في الحوار. من فضلك احكم علي نطق الحرف المتحرك بالكلمة باختيار من وصف من الاتي مما بين القوسين: - طويل بزيادة /علي غير المألوف - طويل - قصير

Recording # 5

(٣) الاسم: ل.ع

الباحث: سنك قد اه يا لبني؟

لبني: انا عندي اربعة و ثلاثين (طويل - طويل - طويل - قصير) سنة.

الباحث: اخر مرحلة تعليم وصلتها ايه؟

لبني : دلوقتي انا لسة مسجلة دكتوراه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) في Linguistics and translation

الباحث: طب بابا و ماما اخر مراحل تعليم وصلوها اه؟

الوالد : بابايا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الله يرحمه كان عميد كلية آداب (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) جامعة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) طنطا

الوالدة : و ماما (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) معاها PHD (طويل - طويل - قصير) بس هي بتشتغل مدير إدارة

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) جامعة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الآثار (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

منطقة السكن : مدينة نصر

-الباحث : وقت الفراغ بتقضيه في أيه؟

بعد الشغل مشاوير (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أروح البيت (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أخلص حاجات (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ساعات (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بيبقى ورايا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) شغل تاني (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عايز (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أخلصه في البيت (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير). لو قرئت حاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير)

قصير) وده نادراً (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ما بقرا حاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) "for pleasure" بس نادراً (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بيبقى حاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خاطر (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) المذاكرة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بتاعتى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

-الباحث: طيب ما بتروحيش أي أمسية ثقافية أو حاجة؟

كت زمان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بروح عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) في وقت. دلوقتي أحب أفعد على السرير وأفرد ضهري وممكن "check" "facebook" اتفرج على حاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) في التليفزيون أو أخرج مع أصحابي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير). برده أصحابي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بقم برده بقوا مشغولين نبي ما بقناش (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) نعرف نتقابل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) برده ذي زمان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) للأسف.

- الباحث : طب ممكن تحكيلنا عن موقف ما يتسبب؟

-أي حاجة يا لبنى!

هي الحاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اللي لسه سابتة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) في دماغى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) امبارح (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اما ال bus باص (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عمل حادثه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) واحنا مروحين وأحنا داخلين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) يمين على الدائري (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) واحدة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) قررت و احنا في الطريق بتاعنا تلف و تعكس اتجاهها (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) و تلف و ترجع على الدائري (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مكش في "option" غير أن احنا خبطناها (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

بس اللي مش عارفة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أنساه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) كان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الولد اللي على المتوسكل اللي وقع اتعور ده لأن هو فاكرنى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بأخويا لما كان مسافرين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) إسكندرية في شغل و هو في شغل و مقطورة راحت (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) دخله في الباص (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بتاع (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الشغل فالنتين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فاكروني (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ببعض امبارح (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

هي مش غلطة السواق (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) هي غلطة البنت هي بتلف بتلف بالعربية هي مش بتحاول (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ترجع حتى ورا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بظهرها هي بتلف بالعربية بتواجهنا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) و في نفس الوقت اترددت في النص ووقفت خالص (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بعد ما كت المفروض بتتحرك هو انقداها (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) هو لو مكنش هو (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) سريع البديهة كان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) سحق العربية وطلع فوق العربية اصلا. هو انقداها (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وربنا أنقذها بأن هو راح (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) يمينا علي قد ما تقدر لان كان فيه عربيات (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) برده جنبه اتاكلت برده في الموضوع.

الباحث: بس في واحد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وقع علي الارض.

لبنى: بس الواد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ده هو ربنا يستر لأن اكيد هتتعلمه جراحات (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) في رجليه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).