

MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN LEBANON: 'ARABINGLIZI' AND OTHER CHALLENGES OF MULTILINGUALISM

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Abstract – *It is the aim of this paper to describe and discuss important aspects of multilingualism in Lebanon and its impact on education. In the first part a review of existing research establishes a profile of urban multilingualism, which is then supported by additional data, including elements of public discourse and qualitative case studies. Communication in Lebanon is characterised by a dominant spoken language, Lebanese Arabic, and great diversity in the private and public uses of written Standard Arabic, English and French. The multilingual diversity is also reflected in the education system, where Standard Arabic, French, English, and German serve as languages of instruction. Quantitative data indicate a shift from the preference of French towards English as a language of instruction. With the help of a revised concept of diglossia, these findings are put into perspective. There are a number of educational implications, of which the two most prominent are explored in the second part of the paper. First, an analysis of 'voices from the language classroom', documented in 18 essays collected in summer 1999, shows how Lebanese multilingualism affects student attitudes towards reading and writing and their perception of their native language(s) and culture. This leads to a return to the topic of diglossia and its consequences. I discuss the issue of what I have come to call 'perceived semilingualism' and argue that this may be a consequence of diglossia. Finally, I examine the impact of the Lebanese version of biliteracy and diglossia on writing in education. The paper concludes with a thesis on the main challenge multilingualism entails for education in Lebanon.*

Multilingualism in Lebanon

What is the language of Lebanon? Most Lebanese would have a straightforward answer: Arabic. But then the distinction between spoken and written Arabic would be added quickly, and if the conversation went into further detail, English and French as languages of education and business would certainly be included. Having arrived at that point we might consider at least mentioning Armenian, a thriving minority language; a number of magazines are published in Armenian, and it is a language of instruction in numerous school.

This supposedly simple question, therefore, turns out to be not as simple as it seemed, and a brief look at the diversity of schools in Lebanon leaves no doubt that multilingualism has played and still plays a vital role in the educational sector. This is not a recent phenomenon; in fact Lebanon's language situation is rooted in its educational history. Jesuit and Protestant missionaries founded a number of schools and two institutions of higher education, which still play a dominant role in Lebanon today: the Syrian Protestant College (1866), later the American University of Beirut, and Saint Joseph University (1875). English and French were therefore important languages of instruction from the beginning, and the period of the French mandate strengthened the position of French even further. The situation today is summed up as follows:

'...despite lip service paid to the cause of Arabic, the trend to strengthen foreign languages, especially English, has continued and is underscored by decree #5589, which was passed in 1994. It stipulates that any of the foreign languages (English, French, German) may be used as an instructional language in all of Lebanon's schools whether foreign, private or public at the pre-school and elementary levels' (Ghaith and Shaaban 1996:104).

This liberal approach also applies to some extent to secondary and higher education. The only subjects which have to be taught in Modern Standard Arabic are history, geography and Arabic language and literature, whereas the natural sciences are usually taught in French or English. It is worth keeping in mind that the public perception favours fee-based private education. Generally speaking, public schools tend to use more Arabic whereas private schools operate either according to a 'French' or an 'Anglo-American' system. The Lebanese *Baccalauréat* examination is applied in both types of schools and can be taken in Arabic and English or French. The reality of many classrooms in both, the private and the public sector, is that of a teacher delivering a lecture in front of the class while pupils take notes and reproduce content as accurately as possible (see Jarrar, Mikati and Massialas 1988:784–5).

All this suggests first, that at least urban multilingualism is strongly linked to private education and therefore a matter of the more affluent segments of the population. Second, foreign languages, especially French, played an important role in the making of the Lebanese educational system and have become an integral part of it. This is especially true at university level: here foreign languages dominate with the exception of the national Lebanese University where Arabic is the main language of instruction.

An outline of Lebanese multilingualism would not be complete without a brief discussion of the Lebanese version of diglossia. In his seminal paper on 'Diglossia', C.A. Ferguson developed a model for the different language standards he observed in Arabic, Swiss German, Haitian Creole and Modern Greek (Ferguson, 1959). He defined an H ('high')-variety and a L ('low')-variety, and described differences according to function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.¹ The term itself has since been expanded and now includes 'any functional distribution of linguistic varieties' (Versteegh 1997: 190) including languages, dialects or registers. Secondly, it has been recognised that the terms H-variety and L-variety only describe the extremes of a continuum. This is important in the case of Arabic in general (cf. Maamouri, 1997) and specifically for the language situation in Lebanon.

The above mentioned lack of commitment to the cause of Arabisation has led to a very specific version of diglossia in Lebanon.² It is characterised by a much higher public use of the spoken variety than in other Arabic speaking countries, possibly with the exception of Egypt. There are attempts at a written version of 'Lebanese' (*lubnaniyye*) in advertising as well as in poetry and fiction.³ The common practice to use *ad-hoc* transliterations of Lebanese Arabic in internet chat rooms is a more recent development. Lebanese Arabic can be heard on TV and on the radio, where the continuum between colloquial Lebanese Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) can probably be observed best. Despite this communicative importance of Lebanese Arabic there is no serious discussion about a possible adoption of a written version as a national language, on the contrary, most Lebanese would deny that Lebanese Arabic could ever become a proper written language. The most common reason given is that it is a language 'without rules and grammar' with so many variations that they could not possibly be brought into a system. It is therefore no surprise that MSA remains the version of Arabic taught at school.

It is the main language used in the government institutions, but this 'H-variety' is by no means used for 'most written and formal spoken purposes' in Lebanon. As indicated above, English and French supplement or even replace MSA in many areas and are held in similar esteem. Thus Lebanon confirms J.A. Fishman's early observation that many developing nations show 'a pattern involving both a Western Language of Wider Communication and one or more favoured standardised vernacular(s) as H's and the same (or even more) local vernaculars as L's' (Fishman 1980: 4-5).

In the next section of this paper I will illustrate and develop this outline of Lebanese multilingualism with additional data.⁴

Public discourse: signs of multilingualism

Public signs and newspaper clippings provide evidence for the more visible aspects of multilingualism. For reasons of brevity I will draw attention to only one sign that shows an interesting and typical mix of languages. A bright yellow placard announces 'Yeprad Amseyan & Sons. Repair—Frigidairs & Woching Machines' in English (below) and Arabic (above). The sign addresses customers with essentially the same message in two different languages and two different scripts. There is even a French word, which is either simply a brand name in a somewhat unusual plural form or be an example of code switching—an eminent feature of urban Lebanese communication. The spelling of 'woching machines' reflects, I suggest, the dominance of spoken discourse in every day language use on the streets of Beirut. Orthography seems to rank second; the visual representation of a familiar combination of sounds is enough. The streets of Beirut provide ample opportunity for similar observations of visualisations of multilingualism.

The status of the different languages in Lebanon often becomes the subject of public discourse with strong support for Arabic-French bilingualism voiced by those, who subscribe, as Versteegh (1997: 201) puts it, to a 'special form of Lebanese nationalism, which emphasised the bicultural and bilingual character of the Lebanese nation'. This nationalism is linked to the perception of Lebanon as a 'European country in the Arab world' with a strong historical link to France. Two examples taken from the press illustrate the controversy: When the French President Jacques Chirac, a regular visitor of Lebanon, was asked a question in English at a press-conference, he is reported to have refused to answer, declaring categorically: 'We are in a Francophone country, I will only listen to questions asked in French.' This statement was published without further comment in the *DailyStar*, Lebanon's popular English-language newspaper (*The DailyStar*, June 1, 1998: 4). In the editorial leader a week later the author argues the case of Arabic and complains: 'Our language is peppered with extraordinary idioms culled from French, while there are even Lebanese who blatantly deny any deep knowledge of Arabic, treating it as some quaint creole' (*The DailyStar*, June 8, 1998: 8). Others are concerned that bilingualism might be harmful in education and produce speakers with limited competence in both languages. Related to this issue are critical observations of language-mixing: The term 'Arabinglizi' originates from an article published in the *Daily Star*. The author, Munira Khayyat, complains that

'...the present extent that English (and French) are being used at the expense of the mother tongue is unprecedented' and 'nobody in Lebanon seems worried about the invasion of Arab-English.'
(*The DailyStar*, June 15, 1999: 5)

This is more than just stating the fact that different languages are in use in Lebanon: it illustrates a public debate on controversial aspects of multilingualism. English, in particular, is seen as a threat to the Arabic language, replacing it in important areas, such as education and business, and corrupting it: 'Arabinglizi'—the use of English roots with Arabic morphological features—is 'invading' Lebanon. The language used in the article clearly indicates hostile competition as the frame of reference. English is perceived as an instrument of cultural imperialism. This is the critical end of the spectrum, and it has to be added that there are others who embrace multilingualism as one of the assets of Lebanon, the gateway between East and West.⁵

These are, as indicated above, cursory observations, but they point to some of the issues, which are relevant to education. A series of qualitative case studies, conducted in summer and autumn 1998, sheds more light on the diversity of individual language use.

Case studies

The main purpose of these case studies was to discover the language and literacy practices of six multilingual Lebanese individuals. As a consequence, the following cannot be an attempt to make general statements. Rather, I want to demonstrate how individual language use reflects the multilingual set-up of Lebanon and hence explore some aspects of this linguistic kaleidoscope further. The interviews were based on a questionnaire, which mainly consisted of questions about private and professional literacy practices, and an 'opinion-section' aimed at initiating a more open discussion. All interviews were recorded and transcribed immediately after they had taken place. In the course of the analysis of these transcripts two patterns emerged that are relevant for the topic discussed here.

The first pattern refers to the already mentioned phenomenon of *diglossia*. All participants considered the distinction between written and spoken Arabic to be very important. Spoken Arabic (the 'Lebanese') is for my interview partners the language of everyday conversation, the language of the home whereas written Arabic (the 'Classical' or the 'Standard Arabic') is reserved for very special occasions and purposes. My interviewees named predominantly poetry and religion, and then added newspapers and the fact that it remains the official language of the government and is therefore required in dealing with authorities. There is no written version of the spoken language apart from *ad hoc* invented transliterations for private use (writing letters to family members, internet chat rooms). Arabic is of course not the only case in point: situations of diglossia are quite common in many countries of the so-called developing world.

This is important because it means that what the vast majority of the Lebanese would call their native or first language—Arabic—comes in two very different forms. There is a strong element of discontinuity between spoken and written language. Furthermore, my interview partners describe written Arabic as a very difficult, distant language, a language you have to learn like a foreign language. The result is a situation where people are very proficient and fluent in spoken Arabic but would not say the same about their written Arabic. They experience written language as something removed from every day life. It is not necessarily their first choice, their natural way of expression, and they often even prefer to write in English or French, as illustrated in the following quote:

‘... the Arabic grammar and literature is extremely wide, I mean, the whole sentence will change if you want to change a single person or a group, the whole sentence will change, where in English, there is very little change. It’s easier. You’ve got me? That’s why I prefer the English to the Arabic, in order not to make mistakes.’

This has educational repercussions. It is to be expected that this situation will affect the reading and writing habits of pupils and students, their attitudes towards written language, and their confidence when it comes to reading and writing?⁶ I will explore these issues in some detail in the second part of this paper. Before doing so I briefly discuss a second outcome of my interviews.

A second pattern becomes visible when we look at reading and writing in professional and private contexts. It seems that foreign languages dominate professional literacy; in the case of the interviewees, who work in education, national and international companies and organisations, the official working language is English. In their private lives, on the other hand, language use appears much more varied. One participant for example works as an interpreter and translator for an international organisation. She translates written Arabic into English, interprets oral communication from Arabic into English and generally speaks English or Lebanese Arabic in the office. In private she speaks Lebanese Arabic and French, prefers to write and read in French and has virtually no use for written Arabic.

Proficiency in a second language in reading or writing is a very common demand in employment. Many Lebanese seem to be able to choose between English and Arabic or French and Arabic, or even between the three of them and often prefer English or French to Arabic! Again there are interesting educational questions here, such as: Is it really possible to be proficient in three (written) languages? Is there not a danger that students/language users might end up with

three 'half-languages'? Considering educational policies one might ask, whether this is a desirable situation or not. Is this not 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1991) perpetrated by dominant world languages?

Again, I will give some answers in the second part of this paper. A final addition to my 'portrait' of multilingualism in Lebanon deals with the future. Will one language emerge as the single, dominant language of instruction? For the following I refer to a quantitative study, published by a group of researchers of the French-medium Université St Joseph in Beirut (Abou, Kasparian and Haddad, 1996). I will briefly highlight and comment on results that contain predictions for the future role of English, French and Arabic as languages of instruction in schools and higher education.

Future languages of education

The study carries the title '*Anatomie de la Francophonie Libanaise*' and contains a chapter called '*Les Langues de l'Avenir*'. As the authors wanted to study the situation of French in Lebanon, the participants chosen for the second and more detailed survey, which is of interest here, were predominantly francophone. Some results are therefore all the more surprising: 89,4% said that it was necessary to be able to communicate in a language in addition to Arabic in Lebanon (Table 3.34, p.98). Table 3.36, p.99 ('What is the most useful language for the future in addition to Arabic?') shows that 61,5% voted for English, and the same applies to education, especially higher education with 66,4% preferring an English-medium university to 26,4% preferring a French-medium university (table 3.38, p.101). The authors of the study understandably regret this confirmation of a global trend toward English as the leading world language, but it is rather surprising that they describe the following clear cut functional distribution as a final outcome of their study: '*...l'enquête montre que le français et l'anglais ne sont pas en concurrence au Liban...*' (Abou et al. 1996: 108). The educational system is the prime example of an area where English has been and still is successfully competing with French and Arabic. Many recently founded private schools and the majority of institutions of higher education use English as a medium of instruction. This is conveniently overlooked when only French and Arabic are mentioned as languages of education:

'L'arabe littéral, langue officielle et langue de culture; le français langue de communication, de formation et de culture; l'anglais langue de communication internationale et d'information. L'avenir est peut-être à ce type de trilinguisme.' (Abou et al. 1996: 6)

It would appear that the future distribution of functions for Lebanon's languages is much less clear cut than that, and English will in all likelihood play a more important role as a language of instruction at Lebanese schools and universities. Considering this and the fact that foreign languages dominate in private and to a lesser extent in public education, it is rather surprising that the role of languages in education has not really become a field of academic investigation in Lebanon.⁷ I will now turn to the second part, in which I make an attempt to find answers to some of the questions raised above.

'Arabinglizi' and other consequences of multilingualism

The various issues raised in the preceding section can be divided into two main areas: first, there is the question of 'linguistic imperialism' in language education: How do students perceive their 'linguistic and cultural identity,' if they do not have a single native language they identify with and use as the main spoken and written means of communication? What are possible considerations for educational policies? Second, how does the Lebanese version of multilingualism affect the confidence and abilities of students when it comes to reading and writing? What about their reading and writing habits and their attitudes towards written language in general? What about the danger of students ending up with 'half-languages'?

Voices from the language classroom

I will attempt an answer to the first question with the help of data I collected in the classroom. Apart from noting down opinions in discussions with about 200 students in the past one and a half years at the Lebanese American University (LAU), I have studied 18 essays dealing with the issue of the positive and negative effects of studying in English in detail. I will draw on the outcome of this qualitative study.

English is seen as the dominant world language in communication and technology, and students relate their decision to study at an English-medium university directly to this perception. The single common feature that stands out is the concern about Arabic, the language students call their 'native', 'real', 'original' or 'natural' language. Students worry about losing their competence in that language and voice a concern that 'maybe one will lose his native language, lose our eastern traditions and be impressed or inspired by western traditions' or that 'not speaking the mother language ... might lead to some impersonality' (for more quotes, refer to the Appendix).

Students thus name pragmatic, often career-related reasons for their choice of institution. The assumption or even conviction seems to be that Arabic would not provide the same opportunities in education and the job market. At the same time the danger of language loss—justified or not—is articulated and goes hand in hand with a general uneasiness about Western cultural values that are incorporated in curricula and instruction at English-medium institutions. Students seem torn between the attraction of studying a world language and apprehension about possible consequences.

These Lebanese ‘voices from the language classroom’ are not an exception. Recent years have seen a lively debate among educators and linguists on English as a language of instruction world-wide. The issue of English competing with native languages and ensuing problems like language loss and cultural conflict are at the heart of this debate (see Phillipson, 1997). The quotes cited above show that Lebanese students struggle with these questions, and it is therefore an obligation for educators in Lebanon to respond to this challenge. There seems to be common agreement that a pragmatic approach to English as a second language with specific functions should be adopted.⁸ In day-to-day teaching, it will be essential to abandon the common strategy of just reassuring students. It is a first step to recognise that teachers are constantly dealing with questions of ‘identity in language and culture’ in the classroom. Students in Lebanon do experience studying in English as a challenge to their identity and native language—and it is the responsibility of educators to respond to this fact in their teaching practices. How is this to be done?

It seems obvious that textbooks play a prominent role in this context. The use of foreign textbooks, most of which come from the US, is the norm in Lebanon, although a series of new textbooks is being produced alongside the implementation of a new national curriculum for schools at the time of writing (summer 2000).⁹ At the end of the day the way teachers use textbooks will decide how norms and which norms are conveyed. It is certainly a challenging task to help students develop confidence in their identity and their ability of critical judgement. As mentioned before, it is one of the national stereotypes to describe Lebanon as a gateway between East and West. In this socio-cultural context, educators experience that there is often only a thin line between attitudes of blind acceptance and total rejection.

I will now turn to a more language-related problem: How does the Lebanese version of multilingualism affect competence and confidence of students when it comes to reading and writing?

‘Perceived semilingualism’ or literacy in the context of diglossia

The following quote illustrates a concern shared by many teachers in Lebanon about the effect of multilingualism on language proficiency:

'I am having a problem with language in my class, teaching physics in English... When students learn two languages in Lebanon, it is very hard to find somebody in Lebanon who studied Arabic and English to be very good in English, to be able to understand a question properly when it's asked in English. I think it's because he has split his capabilities into two languages, so you haven't an effective one...'

The teacher who took part on the case-study project mentioned above refers to difficulties he faces in the classroom. He teaches physics and often finds it difficult to communicate abstract concepts, especially, as he goes on to explain, in the domain of written language. As a consequence he doubts the value of bilingualism and bilingual education because in his perception some of his students end up with two half-languages! He is not alone in holding such an opinion: I have in fact encountered similar views many times during the two years I spent in Lebanon.

Referring to the outline of Lebanese multilingualism presented in the first part of this paper, it seems rather unlikely that 'half-languages' exist in the spoken domain. Lebanese Arabic dominates day-to-day discourse, and the Lebanese are certainly as able to communicate effectively with each other as everyone else. However, the use of written language is a very different matter.

It is one of the key results of my investigations that multilingualism is much more apparent in the written domain. There is no 'natural' preference for Arabic, many choose to write in French or English or, if at all possible, to avoid writing as a means of communication. In this area then the concern about 'half-languages' might be justified after all. Complaints about the lack of reading and poor writing skills are frequently voiced in the context of education. However, the concept of diglossia as outlined in chapter one might help to point out possible reasons.

It is one consequence of diglossia that written language is experienced as a tool reserved for very specific purposes. Written Arabic, which for the majority is the first literacy-experience, is not just one end of a continuum between spoken and written discourse. Teachers often present proficiency in Standard Arabic as an almost unattainable goal, and students see the learning process as difficult and removed from their daily lives.¹⁰ Students may therefore be well able to communicate in their native language, spoken Lebanese Arabic. But when they encounter an educational system built on a foreign language, they have to deal with a Western culture of education, produced by a Western approach to literacy where the gap between spoken and written is much less visible. In many cases they lack confidence when it comes to writing, they are not comfortable with an approach to education that is based on written language practices, on the processing of written information, on independent, self-motivated reading and

writing. They do not necessarily share the view that literacy is a core element of the learning process although they may know that they are expected to.

This may indeed explain or at least help explain why a great number of students struggle with academic literacy, and by Anglo-American standards really have only 'half-languages' when it comes to writing.

Thesis: educational challenges

Rather than summarising what has been said so far, I venture a thesis on educational challenges the future might hold. The functional multilingualism in Lebanon, including biliteracy and diglossia, will remain stable, unless a written standard for Lebanese Arabic as a national language is established and implemented. It will therefore be the main challenge for educators in this country to promote a Lebanese version of multilingualism that respects and values Middle Eastern language practices and cultures of communication, but at the same time adopts a confident, open and critical approach in dealing with Western world languages. Different views of literacy are only one aspect, and it will be a crucial task to recognise further sensitive areas and to find ways to deal with resulting educational consequences. This, I believe, starts in the language classroom. If it fails there, it is likely to fail everywhere.

Notes

1. For this model he used the originally French term 'diglossia' which he defined as a 'relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards) there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large body of literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation' (Ferguson, 1959, p.336).
2. As there is virtually no recent research published in this area, the following draws mainly on the outlines given in Versteegh (1997) combined with my own observations, articles published in newspapers, and discussions with linguists and teachers in Lebanon.
3. The poet Youssef al-Mssan, who has published two volumes in Lebanese Arabic, is only one example among many.
4. I present data collected by myself in 1998 and 1999. There is a necessary amount of subjectivity here, as no comprehensive studies are available. I will therefore put special emphasis on identifying and evaluating the sources of the information presented.
5. The examples presented here are part of a collection I accumulated in Lebanon between 1998 and 1999. They document an intensive debate going on among educators in schools and at universities.
6. It is one explanation for the much discussed 'crisis of reading' in Arabic in Lebanon. How serious the problem is was illustrated at the annual Arabic bookfair in November 1999, where one of the publishing companies displayed a 'grave' with the inscription: 'The Reader of Arabic'.

7. Currently a number of research-projects related to PhD studies by faculty members are being conducted and are likely to lead to publications in the near future. So far very little is available (see Ghaith and Shaaban, 1996, 1997; Yazigy, 1994; as well as the contribution by Nabelah Haraty and Ahmad Queini in this volume).
8. I am reporting the outcome of numerous discussions in teacher training contexts and at the conference on 'Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Lebanon' (December 3, 1999).
9. It is a very telling observation though that one of the recently published textbooks (Oweini and Jebjebian, 1999) for Grade 11 contains chapters on Halloween and wedding ceremonies in the US! Lebanese aspects are reduced to questions like: 'How are weddings celebrated in your country?' According to the authors this is due to the fact that the publisher hopes to sell the series internationally. Still, one wonders, why the Arab world is hardly mentioned.
10. Again, I draw on interviews and numerous discussions with students at the Lebanese American University, which confirm that these attitudes are not a thing of the past. Cf. also Maamouri (1997) for a brief introduction to the intricacies of Arabic literacy. For Lebanon see Jarrar, Mikati and Massialas (1988).

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APPENDIX

Voices from the Language Classroom

Quotes from student essays on 'Studying at an English University', summer-module 1-1999, 'English 1', Lebanese American University, Beirut, Lebanon (without corrections).

1. '...can lead a person to be far away from his real language and personality' (Ali Sharaif)
2. 'when one forgets his native language he be irrespected in his country' and '... he will lose the Eastern tradition and be attracted to the Western tradition' (Ali al Hajj).
3. '...not speaking the mother language... might lead to some impersonality' (Maya Tayara).
4. '...the national language is affected.' and 'using English in our country may lead the people to hate their nationality and love the American one' and 'Therefore we have to place English as a second language and the National Language is the first' (Sleiman Chomos).
5. '...it can affect the mentality of students, which it try to exceed or to break up the Arabic rules' (Hiba Hassan).
6. '...the increase of English cause the use of Arabic language to decrease which doesn't go along with the government and country rules and traditions' (Nabhan Jalloul).
7. '...an English university will mostly introduce us to the English and western culture and this will probably oblige us to forget some of our Arabic culture' (Rabih Temsah).
8. 'the disadvantage is that our Arabic language decrease.' (Rihab Abou Ali).
9. 'since the 2nd language in Lebanon is French we will forget later on the correct use of it' (Samar Soghbi).
10. 'The disadvantage of talking a unique (=single?) language is to be restricted to one culture without seeing the differences in the cultures.' 'speaking a language as the English will change your way of eating' (Walid Taraby).
11. 'we may get accustomed to the English language and by time forget some parts of our native language' (Sami Razzani).
12. 'maybe one will lose his native language, lose our eastern traditions and be impressed or inspired by western traditions' (Bassel Staitieh).
13. 'English people do not study Arabic, so Arabic people must study English (that is not my opinion)' and 'English will take the place of the Arabic' (Mohamed Noor Aldeen).
14. 'you are serving the English and in the same time your country will lose young men but she can benefit from them if she know how to' (Bilal Bou Diab).