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Bilinguals' Beliefs about Arabic and English: Towards an Attitude Scale for the Study of Folk Perceptions

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Abstract. This study concerns folk linguistics. It attempts to discover non-linguists' beliefs/attitudes towards the differences (and/or similarities) between two languages: Arabic (native) and English (second). Second, it will argue for the usefulness of argument analysis as an attitude scale for the study of folk perceptions. Third, it will seek to determine if folk discourse structure is coherent and cohesive from the viewpoint of argument analysis. Fourth, this study will investigate if such folk attitudes vary as a result of different proficiency levels in the first and second languages.

An interview was carried out and a detailed transcript, provided in appendix A, was made. Two respondents were interviewed. They were Saudi adult male full-time students of English as a second language at the English Language Center of Michigan State University (MSU) in East Lansing, Michigan (USA). This interview was subjected to a discourse analytic technique which could be called 'argument analysis'.

The analysis reveals folk perceptions of linguistic and sociolinguistic differences (and similarities) between Arabic and English. Moreover, it shows that the subjects' different command of English influence folk beliefs. Finally, this study shows that folk discourse structure is organized and coherent and is revealingly investigated by argument analysis.

1. Introduction

Folk linguistics, the study of folk/non-linguists' beliefs about language, has been given little, if any, attention by linguists. It has always been thought that folk information about language is impoverished and not important. Among social and cognitive scientists, linguists have held non-linguists' views about language in low regard. For example, Niedzielski and Preston [1, p. 4] state that "folk linguistics has not fared well in the history of the science, and linguists have generally taken an us versus them position. From a scientific perspective, folk beliefs about language are, at best, innocent misunderstandings of language (...) or, at worst, the bases of prejudice, leading to the continuation, reformulation, rationalization, justification, and even development of a variety of social injustices."

Similarly, Bloomfield [2] held the opinion of non-linguists in especially low esteem. He classified comments on a language by non-linguists as 'secondary or tertiary responses' and drew judgmental conclusions (and inferences) concerning such belief, without thoroughly investigating what the folk really think about language.

Rather than imagining what their beliefs about language are, it is important to investigate what the folk actually believe. The opinions of non-linguists about language deserve careful consideration, for they may provide descriptive and applied insights into the respondents' cultural, socioeconomic, and educational differences. More importantly, such beliefs may provide insights into some aspects of language itself (see the 'Rationale for the study' below).

1.1 Plan of the study

This study aims to investigate non-linguist Arabic speakers' beliefs about the differences and/or similarities between English and Arabic. To this end, the subjects will be interviewed in a natural conversational setting. One interview will be held with two subjects. This interview will be tape-recorded and later transcribed.

This interview will be subjected to a discourse analysis, which focuses on its argument structure. I will use the argument analysis technique in order to help reveal facts about contents of the interview, as well as about discourse structure itself (see the 'Literature Review' for information about argument analysis).

Finally, the purpose of having two subjects in the interview is twofold: One is to get more varied information with regard to respondents' views and beliefs about the two languages in question. The other is to find out if the subjects' beliefs will differ due to the subjects' different levels of command of English (see 'Methodology' for information about the subjects).

1.2 Rationale for the study

For years, many linguists have believed that folk beliefs about language are not important, if not wrong. Linguists such as Bloomfield, cited above [2], have held non-linguists' beliefs in low esteem, to say the least.

However, folk beliefs about language require more careful consideration. As will be illustrated below, the justification for this is twofold. One concerns the field of folk linguistics in general; the other concerns this study in particular.

Firstly, although I will not outline the argument here, the study of folk beliefs may reflect in some way or another the unconscious linguistic principles that human beings are thought to be born with (i.e., Universal Grammar). Secondly, and more generally, however, the study of folk beliefs about language may reflect cultural, socioeconomic, educational and religious backgrounds that the folk have and therefore constitutes an important part of the ethnography of language. Findings from such studies may inform

such different fields as sociology, education, and anthropology. Finally, such studies can reveal folk attitudes toward the process of learning a second language. Information about such attitudes will help both general and applied linguists who need to know the insights and experiences of people who have actually learned - or are in the process of learning - a second language.

Niedzielski and Preston have neatly organized the justifications of the importance of folk beliefs about language in three categories:

1. The study of folk beliefs about language is simply one of the ethnographies which we might choose to do of a culture...
2. The role of language and its attendant beliefs ought to be set in the larger framework of the culture under investigation ...
3. Folk linguistic beliefs may help determine the shape of language itself... [1, Forward].

Moreover, Preston says, "folk information about language ... is essential to the sociolinguistic research enterprise" [3, p.1].

In particular, concerning this study, folk views and beliefs about differences and/or similarities between English and Arabic will focus on the following:

1. This study will isolate folk beliefs about linguistic and sociolinguistic differences and/or similarities between the two languages in question.
2. This study will show how the subjects' cultural and religious background may affect their beliefs.
3. Finally, it will indicate how the respondents' level of command of both languages may affect such beliefs.

In short, this study will provide information to interested researchers in linguistics and other social science fields by exploring the basic understandings and insights of non-linguists' viewpoints on the two languages in question. To give only one example, sociolinguists may find the results of this study intriguing for it provides them with important and interesting data about bilingualism and code switching.

It is crucial to note that this study also aims to contribute to the field of discourse analysis, for it has utilized a relatively new discourse analytic technique, namely, argument structure analysis. This study will reveal the importance of such analysis for the study of language attitudes.

1.3 Research questions

This study will attempt to find answers to the following questions:

1. How do folk linguists characterize the differences (and/or similarities) between Arabic and English?

2. Does the cultural and religious background of the subjects affect their beliefs about Arabic and English?
3. Does the different level of proficiency of both languages affect the subjects' beliefs?
4. Does this preliminary study develop any language- (and culture) - specific styles of argument?
5. Is the technique of argument analysis -utilized in this study- useful for the study of folk perceptions of language?

2. Literature review

2.1 Background

In any discussion of folk linguistics, one is bound to mention Hoenigswald's [4] "A proposal for the study of folk linguistics" presented at the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference in 1964. Hoenigswald concludes his proposal by stating that "we should be interested not only in (a) what goes on (in language), but also in (b) how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, they are put off, etc.) and in (c) what people say goes on (talk concerning language). It will not do to dismiss these secondary and tertiary modes of conduct merely as sources of error" [4, p.20].

Relevant to this study, he stresses the importance of finding proper questions in order to discover attitudes toward speech differences, and 'from bilingual subjects how they themselves look upon bilingualism' [4, p.19]. Preston [5, p.276] states that "studies of folk attitudes and ethnographic concerns about language and language learning are not as common, but they will surely emerge as the techniques for them develop; at least, they should look at the range of issues suggested by Hoenigswald."

Hoenigswald's suggestions have not gone completely unnoticed, for some interested researchers have contributed very important and interesting work to folk linguistics, anthropology, and sociolinguistics.

One might argue that the covert responses elicited in language attitude studies are one small part of this general enterprise. Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian [6] survey numerous studies which have looked at folk evaluations of varieties (local versus Received Pronunciation) of English. In general, they have found that the folk have two kinds of admired varieties. Respondents had a feeling of comfort towards the local variety; however, they thought of the standard as the educated or prestige variety. Other such studies showed that the folk thought that some dialects are more standard than others and that some dialects are more pleasant than others.

Preston [7] has done extensive research in the area of folk dialectology. First, he sought to discover folk beliefs about where different varieties of American English exist. Preston elicited his data by having his Hawaiian respondents express their beliefs by

drawing maps of the areas of United States where people speak differently. Results varied among respondents. One respondent decided that there are six dialect areas: East Coast, Midwestern Standard, Southern Drawl, Deep South, Appalachian, and North East. The study showed that Midwestern and inland northern speech areas were often positively rated as 'standard' and 'regular.' In another article, Preston reported that the folk willingly rate regions for degree of correctness. Respondents from southeastern Michigan evaluated the Great Lakes areas (specifically Michigan) as the area with the best (i.e., most correct) English and found the worst English in the south [3]. Such studies provide details about regionalism and language usually not teased out in either traditional dialectological or sociolinguistic studies.

Niedzielski and Preston state that "variation in folk dialect data suggests many of the characteristics of production data: ... apparent time change and age grading, social stratification, hypo- and hypercorrection, gender related trends, linguistic insecurity, and divergence and convergence of contact groups" [1, p.26].

Such studies demonstrate that non-linguists differentiate among varieties and have stereotyped attitudes towards them.

Folk attitudes towards language have been extensively researched in bilingual settings. In a study aimed at 'evaluational reactions to spoken language,' Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum [8] sought to find attitudes towards English and French in Anglophone and Francophone Canada. Using the technique of the *matched quise* presentation of voices, the study showed that both native speakers of English and native speakers of French gave higher ratings to the English voices, both for factor of education and prestige and for that of friendliness and solidarity.

Dweik [9] conducted a study, the subjects of which were fifty Lebanese-Americans who were second and third generations of Arab-Americans. He used a questionnaire aimed at eliciting information about the respondents' language background, language proficiency, language use, and language attitude. The results pertinent to this study were those of language attitude; the subjects were asked to provide their attitudes toward Arabic and English. The results demonstrated that the informants had strong positive attitudes towards English. The author states that "to [the subjects], English was more beautiful and useful than Arabic. They preferred it to be used for instruction at school. Its vitality stemmed from its importance for living, working, and communicating with US citizens. Their attitude toward Arabic was negative. Arabic was perceived as less beautiful and useful than English. Arabic was important neither to learn nor to speak at home. It was dead both at home and community. Their attitude might have resulted from a lack of motivation on the part of both children and parents and possibly from accepting and assimilating the US way of life. Their Americanization was self-evident in their showing no negative emotion toward Arabs who no longer used Arabic in the United States. To them, the case of speaking Arabic or not was an individual affair" [9, p.116].

Dweik presented the following table which displays the reasons subjects provided for the 'lower relative importance in the use and status of Arabic':

Table 1. Reasons given for lower relative importance of Arabic

Questions	Answers	Percentages	
Why isn't Arabic important?			
	We don't need it.	50	
	It isn't useful.	20	
	We don't speak it.	24	
	We aren't Arabs.	6	
Why is English important?			
	To communicate with people.	52	
	To live in America.	36	
	To get a job.	12	
Why is Arabic dying in your home?			
	We speak English all the time.	64	
	Children don't want to learn it.	20	
	My parents died.	16	
Why is Arabic dying among Lebanese?			
	The new generation won't use it.	40	
	We don't speak it.	20	
	We don't teach it to our children.	32	
	We prefer to use English.	8	
How do you feel about Arabs who no longer use Arabic?			
	It makes no difference.	32	
	It is their business.	52	
	I don't know.	16	[9, p.115]

Dweik's results seem to be somewhat predictable due to two facts: one of religion, and the other of assimilation. Firstly, the subjects were Christians; hence, Arabic had no religious value to them. In contrast, Muslims value Arabic because, among other reasons, it is the language of the Holy Quran. Secondly, Dweik's subjects appear to be strongly assimilated to US culture.

2.2 Method of investigation

My decision to utilize the discourse analytic technique of argument analysis stems from the fact that Discourse Analysis (DA) is concerned with the study of the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts [10]. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language in use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers. Brown and Yule [11, p. 1] explain that since discourse analysis aims at analyzing language in use, "it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs."

Stubbs [10, p.7] argues that the study of natural conversation is forcing linguistics to consider its descriptive categories (e.g., parts of speech, and the view that the sentence

or clause is the basic linguistic unit). Stubbs provides an example where syntax and semantics have little to say about items such as *well, right, OK, anyway, you know, I see, hello, bye-bye* (especially when utterance-initial or complete utterance). He states that" syntax has little to say about them [the above-mentioned items], since they make no syntactic predictions. Most, if not all, have uses in which they are potentially complete utterances. Nor does semantics have much to say about such items, since when they are not used in their literal meanings, they have no property of thesis: that is, they have no propositional content" [10, p. 68].

Goodwin and Goodwin [12] refute some linguists' claims that folk talk is so disorderly that it does not provide appropriate data for the study of social or linguistic phenomena (see for example Chomsky, [13]). They go on to say that such researchers claim that "to be scientific, a researcher must instead work with hypothetical, idealized versions of the phenomena being studied (as is frequently done, for example in contemporary linguistics), or carefully control behavior through experimental manipulation (e.g., much research in social psychology). Here, [their paper] we find anything but disorder. The participants themselves, within the space of a very few turns, produce a range of systematic permutations on a basic structure with a precision that would tax the ingenuity of even the most inventive experimental design to replicate" [12, p. 114].

Stubbs [10], Goodwin and Goodwin [12] and others identify not only the importance of discourse analysis but also the orderly, structured nature of natural conversation. Interlocutors produce utterances that reflect cohesion, conversational logic, folk knowledge, and socially appropriate understandings of the matter at hand.

In fact, there are telling analogies between the discourse and grammatical levels. In a connected discourse, we can speak of ill- or well-formed discourse exactly as we may speak of ill- or well-formed syntactic structures. There may be utterances that are well-formed at the sentential level but ill-formed at the discourse level:

A: Why didn't you go to London?
B: I have a black pen.

Unless the United Kingdom forbids carrying black pens, B's response, although semantically and grammatically correct, can in no way be understood as a locally sensible answer to A's question. B produces an ill-formed response, so to speak. Only in a connected discourse can we tell if contextualized utterances are well-formed or not. This is an analogy with those sentences which are grammatical but semantically anomalous (e.g., Chomsky's famous 'Colorless green ideas sleep furiously').

For this study, however, it is not only the structure of discourse which is important but also the content. The folk can talk about religion, politics, medicine, language, and

many other subjects, providing the discourse analyst with valuable insights into the ways they represent their belief about such matters. This paper tries to combine an interest in the contents of discourse as well as the structure of discourse.

However, most discourse analytic approaches to conversation are simply discourse-oriented. They use conversational examples to discover discourse structure, not facts about content. Unlike those approaches, the approach I intend to use for this study is content-oriented discourse analysis, and the next section explores a discourse analytic technique apparently well-suited to such investigation.

2.2.1 Argument

The conversation collected for analysis, in this study, will be approached as arguments. The conversational genre of argument has already been given careful consideration in the work of Schiffrin[14], in a collection of articles by Grimshaw [15], and, more recently, in Preston [3] and Niedzielski and Preston [1].

Schiffrin states that the analysis of argument is not as well developed as other genres (e.g., narratives). She characterizes argument as 'a mode of discourse which is neither purely monologic nor dialogic'; and defines it as a 'discourse through which speakers support disputable positions.' Furthermore, Schiffrin has discussed three parts of argument that are central to her definition, namely *position, dispute*, and *support* [14, pp.14-19]. These three units will be employed in my analysis; so, I begin by summarizing Schiffrin's definitions.

Position is an idea that has been committed to by a speaker. A commitment might be simply exhibited by means of assertion or complexly shown by more subtle means of showing confidence. Taking a position usually involves monopolizing and louder delivery. Positions often reveal values and beliefs. Schiffrin says that "positions are often verbally presented in what Labov [16] has called soapbox style: the speaker uses increased volume, maintains the floor for an extended period, and seems to be addressing an audience larger than those in his immediate co-presence" [14, p.18].

Dispute is an idea that opposes a previous position. Opposition may be addressed to any one (or more) part(s) of a position. Oppositions are often rooted in the presupposed background information and knowledge which surround the topic itself. Schiffrin explains that "sometimes oppositions are obscured because they are presented indirectly ... or mitigated through accommodative devices" [17; 14, p. 18].

Support is a kind of defense, justification, or explanation of a previous position or dispute. The support may be presented by the same speaker or different speakers. Other than logical and formal analyses, modes of supports may include devices such as analogy, anecdotalism, appeal to authority, and so on. Moreover, cultural differences may influence modes of supports.

Schiffrin states that arguments have to be interactionally situated (i.e., fit into a

conversation in terms of turn, topicality, and so on) [14, p.167]. She says that argument is not necessarily conflict talk, in which interlocutors actively disagree with each other. She suggests that there are arguments without disputes (i.e., it is enough that the status of positions is disputable) [18, 259]. (In this paper, the data have little argumentation in the sense that speakers heavily disagree with each other).

Schiffrin [14] explains that coordinating conjunctions such as '*and*' and '*but*,' and subordinating markers such as '*because*' are used to introduce support. I must mention, however, that coordinating conjunctions introduce only supports of disputed positions, unlike subordinating markers, which introduce any support of a position whether it is disputed or not. Schiffrin provides an example of the subordinating marker '*because*': "Zelda: Well we were going up t'see uh... my-our son tonight, but we're not *cause* the younger one's gonna come for dinner ..."[14, p. 204].

In their analysis of claim-backing, Antaki and Leudar [19, p. 289] used Schiffrin's definition of argument. They found that 'it was much more common for a claim [position] to be made and backed [supported] without its being actually queried [disputed] by an interlocutor.' Antaki and Leuder borrowed the term 'claim-backing' from Toulmin who provided an analysis of ordinary argument. Toulmin [20] stated that a claim was an idea that could be disputed, and claim-backing was a supporting move that dealt with a dispute.

Niedzielski and Preston discuss the three functional labels (position, support, and dispute) and suggest that a dispute qualifies as a position the moment it has been presented. Also, they say that a support qualifies as a position if it is disputed or supported. (These suggestions will, along with Schiffrin's definitions of the three units already discussed, also be employed in this study.) Niedzielski and Preston went on to say that: "Taking a position has an illocutionary ring [saying something by denying, promising, betting, etc.], and one might profitably spend time seeking out the sorts of grammatical constructions which straightforwardly and indirectly encode it. On the other hand, taking a position (and disputing and supporting) suggests locally determined conversational moves" [1, p. 54].

Here the authors emphasize that Schiffrin's three functional labels are a mix of both locally managed conversational devices and speech acts.

Van Eemeren and Grootendorst [21, p. 18] define argument as "a speech act consisting of a constellation of statements designed to justify or refute an expressed opinion and calculated in a regimented discussion to convince a rational judge of a particular standpoint."

This definition offers three categories-opinion, refute, and justify-that are similar to Sciffrin's position, dispute, and support.

Preston discusses two argument types: rhetorical - arguments with no dispute - and oppositional - arguments with dispute. He claims that positions which are not disputed but only supported will not produce oppositional argument (i.e., they will only produce rhetorical argument)[3]. Preston's definition of argument is distinct from Schiffrin's. He defines arguments as obligatorily having at their core the denial of an assertion, of a normally "expected outcome to a non-assertive speech act (e.g., compliance with a request), or a belief behind assertive or non-assertive acts (loosely a presupposition), including belief about the connectedness or relevance of support. Such exchanges (which need not be literally adjacent) I call minimal argument structures" [3, p. 20].

Jacobs and Jackson [22, p.4] define argument in terms of an adjacency pair core: "One party issues a proposal [[position]] FPP [first pair part] ... which is then rejected, objected to, or countered by the other party [[dispute]] ... and then resupported [[support]] by the first party and so on. The turn and sequence expansions elicit or supply objections or support for some aspect of either the disagreeable FPP or the dispreferred SPP [second pair part], or for some aspect of already supplied objections and support."

Adjacency pairs are ordered sequences (i.e., ordered as a first part and a second part) of two utterances (e.g., greeting-greeting; question-answer) that are adjacent and produced by different speakers. This kind of argument analysis (i.e., having an adjacency pair core) is very limited for two reasons; firstly, it leaves out remote (i.e., not adjacent) disputes or supports; secondly, it does not include supports initiated by the same speaker who provides a position. Note, however, that Jacobs and Jackson's terms can be equated with Schiffrin's three functional labels (I have indicated this by putting double brackets within the cited text above.)

Finally, I conclude by saying that argument theory is not yet well-developed. Its use here is exploratory, but its obvious relation to the content of discourse makes it a likely choice for a folk linguistic investigation.

3. Methodology

3.1 Subjects

The network (i.e., a group of interrelated individuals) for this study consisted of two male native speakers of Saudi Arabic who are graduate students at MSU, East Lansing, Michigan. They come from Al-Qaseem, Saudi Arabia, about 200 miles away from Riyadh, the capital. They are students of English as a Second Language (ESL) at the English Language Center and are planning to do graduate work in statistics. They have spent a little over one year in the USA, and have different proficiency levels in English. One of them (introduced as M, 29 years old) is in the advanced level, and the other (introduced as H, 30 years old) is in the lower intermediate level.

I must mention that I was a member of this network before this study took place, but my relationship with these two members of the network is not close.

3.2 Procedure

I carried out the data collection for this study by interviewing the two subjects, resulting in a conversation on the following topic: the differences and similarities between Arabic and English. This conversation was audio-taped and lasted about one hour and a half, half of which was transcribed. The transcribed part would represent the entire conversation so it was redundant to transcribe all of the conversation. I used the transcription protocols recommended by Niedzielski and Preston [1]. (See Appendix B for detailed information about the transcription conventions employed for the text in Appendix A.) Moreover, since the conversation was in Arabic, I have provided a transliterated transcription along with an English translation.

Intending to have as natural conversation as possible, I invited the subjects to my apartment; I wanted to overcome the formality of face-to-face interview style by being in a natural setting [23, p. 30]. I told the subjects that they would be audio-taped (and they agreed). Despite the fact that I did not tell my respondents about the main purpose of interviewing them, I guessed that they would make a logical inference between my field of study and their being interviewed and audio-taped.

For analyzing the data, I will utilize the argument structure analysis proposed by Schiffrin [14; 18], and Preston [3] with regard to rhetorical and oppositional argument, and specific application of the three functional labels of argument structure-position, dispute, and support. I will combine the proposals of Schiffrin and Preston by making a distinction between rhetorical and oppositional arguments. For example, if a position is only supported and not disputed, I will state that this move (i.e., a position) is in a rhetorical argument, and if it is disputed, I will state that this move is in an oppositional argument and so on. To put it differently, positions will be described as parts of rhetorical arguments if they are not disputed; if they are disputed, they will be identified as parts of oppositional arguments. Furthermore, I will refer to resolution (i.e., when someone concedes a previous dispute) as 'concession.' (See section 2.2.1 above for information about argument analysis.)

Within my analysis, presuppositions (i.e., implications or entailments embedded in a particular utterance) will be represented as units when they play a role. Brown and Yule say that "the notion of assumed 'common ground' is ... involved in ... a characterization of presupposition and can be found in this definition by Stalnaker (1978:321): presuppositions are what is taken by the speaker to be the common ground of the participants in the conversation" [11, p. 29].

Finally, I want to describe the system I follow in the next section for designating the three labels (position, support, and dispute) I mentioned above. I will successively number positions which are supported or disputed as they appear (e.g., pos1, pos2, pos3, etc.) throughout the text. When there is a support for a certain position, that support will

have the same number of what it supports (e.g., sup1 for pos1, etc.). If there are more supports for the same position, these supports will be alphabetically ordered (e.g., sup1a, sup1b, etc.). Moreover, a support which is disputed or supported will qualify as a position (rhetorically); hence, it will be presented by indicating both its number as a support along with its number as a position (e.g., sup1/pos2).

Disputes, on the other hand, will qualify as positions the moment they are presented. Thus they will be presented and numbered as follows: If a move disputes position 1, that dispute will be represented as pos/dis-1 and so on. Also, a support of a dispute will be indicated, for example, as sup-1 if it supports pos/dis-1 and so on. Also a support of a certain dispute, say sup-1, will qualify as a position if it is supported (rhetorical) or disputed (oppositional); consequently, it will be designated, for example, as sup-1/pos2, etc.

4. Analysis and results

The full text of the conversation is provided in Appendix A along with fieldworker (speaker A) and respondent (speakers M & H) information. The opening segment of the conversation is as follows: (For convenience, I provide only translated texts here; transcribed Arabic version can be found in Appendix A. Naturally, since Arabic and English have quite different structures, the idiomatic translations given here cannot reflect the precise position of pauses, interruptions, and the like. Such matters are preserved in the full text given in the appendix.)

1	A Tell me about your opinion of English.	
2	M Well, English is very interesting	Pos1
3	A Uhuh.	
4	M One will find English interesting when he makes progress in it.	Sup1a
	English is smoother regarding ease in communicating ideas.	Sup1b/Pos2;Pos3
5	A Uhuh.	
6	M One can get his meaning across very easily in about one page, unlike Arabic in which one needs two to three pages.	Sup2/Pos4; Pos3
7	A Uhuh.	
8	M English has very nice expressions.	Sup4/Pos5
	An example of this is 'keyless' which is an easy and straightforward expression when compared to Arabic.	Sup5/Pos6; Pos3
[Turns 9 through 21 are omitted since they contain only a clarification of 'keyless.' Turns 22 through 28 are omitted since they contain only M's repetition of Pos 2, 4, 5,		

and 6 (and repetition of the presupposition which is Pos3). A translation of this omitted material is given in Appendix C.]

29 A OK. What's your opinion?	Pos7
30 H I strongly object to all of what you have said. English has no better expressions than Arabic.	Pos/Dis-2,4,6
31 H M's opinion is not valid because he is not good at Arabic=.	Sup-2,4,6/Pos/Dis-3 Sup-3/Pos8
32 A Uh-huh.	
33 H =because of my schooling.	Sup8a
34 M I am not good at Arabic, I admit.	Sup8b (concession)

The topic is triggered by 1 A's explicit question about the respondents' opinions regarding English. In 2 M positions himself as speaker by use of the discourse marker, *walleh* (well).

Continuing in 2, M states that English is very interesting; this is Pos1, so classified at least because in the first part of 4, M supports this point by explaining that English is interesting as long as one makes progress in it (Sup1a). In the latter part of 4, M further supports his claim that English is interesting by noting its 'smoothness' (Sup1b). At the same time (in 4 M), the speaker implies that Arabic is not as 'smooth' as English, and this is overtly stated in 8 M. This implication is important, for it justifies the identification of a presupposition of Pos2 (and several other positions to follow). Since this presupposition is later disputed, I identify it as Pos3 but defer discussion of it until I reach the comment which disputes it.

Note that such expressions as those in 3 A are part of the interactional structure of the conversation, and are not treated in the argument analysis. A's 'uhuh' simply indicates attention ('feedback'), not necessarily agreement.

In order to support his first position, M makes two moves: the first (Sup1a) suggests that the 'interestingness' of English is something which is revealed to those who make progress in it, a support which is neither supported nor disputed and hence not classified as a position. The second (Sup1b) asserts that English is smoother (than Arabic, presumably) with regard to ease in communicating information. Sup1b qualifies as a position (Pos2) rhetorically because M supports it in 6, but Sup1b would also have qualified as a position in oppositional structure, for, as we shall see, everything M says about Arabic will be disputed.

In 6 M, the speaker provides a support move (Sup2) for Sup1b/Pos2 by saying that, unlike Arabic, in English one can get meaning across more economically (presumably at

about the rate of 1 to 2 or 3 pages). Note that a support's qualification as a position when subsequently supported or disputed does not deprive it of its earlier status as support of an earlier position. This is indicated with 'dual' labels (e.g., Sup1b/Pos2). Note too, that, for transcriptional clarity, supports are subscripted to the number of the position which they support

Sup2 also qualifies as a rhetorical position (Pos4) when it is supported by the first part of 8 M. Here M says that English has 'very nice expressions.' This move (Sup4) supports Sup2/Pos4 above. Sup4 also qualifies as Pos5 when 8 M later provides an example of those 'nice expressions' as support (Sup5) for it - the example 'keyless,' which, he asserts, is an easy and straightforward expression if we compare it with its Arabic equivalent. Finally, note that, although there is no support for it, even Sup5 has become Pos6, for everything M has had to say about Arabic will be disputed.

Up to this point, however, this conversation has been an example of what one might call 'extended rhetorical position-taking'; for it is clear that all these positions have a rhetorical character from M's point of view. But since I am studying the structure of the entire argument, I do not believe anything would be gained by calling these positions 'rhetorical' temporarily (i.e., until they are actually disputed).

In 22-28, M restates his earlier positions. This restatement is not without significance, for the speaker wants to remind the listener of these positions, perhaps since a digression on 'keyless' has interrupted the main topic flow. Also of interest is the fact that at the beginning of his 26-28 sequence, M for the first time hedges ('maybe,' Arabic 'mumkin').

26 M Maybe, I mean it makes it possible to
communicate information easily=
27 A Mmmm.
28 M =as regards the number of words.

None of the first statements of any of the positions was hedged in this way. M may realize that he is praising English while attacking Arabic, and this hedge and the density of his support may indicate that he is on the defensive; this is because he and the people around him are native speakers of Arabic.

The request for H's opinion (at 29 A) is classified as Pos7, but I will justify this below. This argument is no longer rhetorical when, in 30, H says that he objects to all of M's positions; this dispute qualifies immediately as positions (Pos/Dis-2, Pos/Dis-4, and Pos/Dis-6). As the remainder of 30 suggests, H presumably does not object to Pos1, Sup1a, and Sup4/Pos5, for these are claims about English exclusively. This second part of 30 H is, in fact, simply clarification of the scope of the dispute, not a separate dispute itself.

H's disagreement is strong and direct (and not accompanied by any 'hedging'). Perhaps H feels offended that his native language is attacked; even worse, it is being attacked by one of its speakers (M) who he (H) believes is inefficient in Arabic. This is

made specifically clear when H supports his disputes by saying, in 31 H, that M cannot make good judgments about Arabic (Sup-2,4,6). This support qualifies as a position when H supports it by saying that M is not good at Arabic. That support becomes a position itself (Pos8) when at 33, H supports his claim about M's Arabic by referring to his own (i.e., H's) education. Finally, 34 M concedes by saying that he is not good at Arabic; this move is a clear resolution which, in previous studies of oppositional arguments, has not often been detected [3]. (A word of explanation is in order here. On the one hand, although both M and H are native speakers of Arabic, H used to get good grades in Arabic grammar and M used to get poor grades in Arabic grammar. On the other hand, although both H and M are ESL students, M is in the highest level of the English program while H is in the lower intermediate level; that is why H later notes that M is better than him in English.)

Note, however, that the first part of 31 H is also classified as a dispute (Pos/Dis-3), and Pos3 is (first) located in the second part of 4 M above. Recall that I indicated then that a part of 4 M was being classified as a position since it contained a presupposition which would be later disputed. It seems to me that this is just what H has done. M has responded to A's request for information about English. At first, he was on safe ground in claiming that English was interesting, at least to those who had made some progress in it. When, however, he introduced the comparative *smoother* in 4 M he implied a soon-to-be explicit contrast with Arabic. The presupposition, basic to any claim-making in conversation, is that the speaker is qualified or has a right to make the claims he or she makes. 31 H directly disputes that presupposition, and, as support for the dispute shows, specifically disputes M's ability to make any claims about Arabic.

Although this conversational topic continues, this is the end of the first argument structure, and I summarize what has gone on so far in Figure 1 given in Appendix D. The argument structure so far reveals two patterns of support: 1) unrelated or parallel support, as in Sup1a - b and Sup8a - b, and 2) embedded or complex support, in which a support is further supported and becomes a position, as in Sup1b, Sup2, Sup4, Sup-2,4,6, and Sup-3.

Figure 1 also makes clear the potentially complex nature of presuppositional dispute, the need to specify its scope carefully, and the potential for it to occur at some distance from the original material in which the disputed presupposition was contained. On the other hand, the content of M's presupposition which is disputed by H is explicitly stated by H—M's Arabic skills do not give him the right to make statements about the language. In the only other study I have been able to locate in which the oppositional argument is opened by a dispute of a presupposition, the identity of the disputed points is buried in subsequent support [1; 3].

This diagram is more complex than that presented in Preston [3], since I have tried to maintain the real-time order of the conversational turns (in a top-to-bottom and left-to-right order) and at the same time show the connections of argument structure with connecting lines. Since the justification of 29 A as Pos7 depends on material which has

not yet been discussed, it is not included in Figure 1.

H's remarks about language proficiency appear to cause a topic shift, the details of which are treated below, and the conversation continues as follows:

35 H	So, I mean, especially, I feel that English-	
36 A	Mmm.	
37 H	I am good at Arabic but not English	Sup-7/Pos9
38 A	Yes.	
39 H	Because of my limited English vocabulary, I find it difficult to express myself.	Sup10a Sup9/Pos10
40 A	Mmm.	
41 H	I mean, at this stage, because, I mean what do I know about English to judge it? But even=	Dis/Pos-7
42 A	Yes.	
43 H	At this stage, I feel I can't express what I mean. Always, always, I have something to say.	
44 A	Yes.	
45 H	I cannot express myself very well in English. When I sometimes write something to someone, I might be misunderstood. I can't express myself very well because I don't practice=	Sup10b
46 A	Yes.	
47 H	=the language very often I don't know.	Sup10c
48 A	So why do you learn the language?	
49 H	I learn English not because I like it. I learn it because I=	Pos11;Sup11a
50 A	yes.	
51 H	= have to do my graduate studies here.	Sup11b/Pos12
52 A	You have to learn it.	Sup12
53 H	I start to like English. Because I start to feel that I can speak it.	Pos13 Sup13a
54 A	Mmm.	
55 H	I like to learn it as a language which will be benefited from.	Sup13b
56 A	What is your opinion, M?	
57 M	I start to like to learn English before	

	thinking of completing my higher studies	Pos14
	I went to London to learn it for two months a long time ago.	Sup14a
58 A	A long time ago.	
59 M	I like to learn it because I want to learn foreign culture, and other things.	Sup14b
	I like to learn it because of a psychological reason (i.e., feeling that you know more than one language).	Sup14c

Perhaps M realizes only after H's dispute that his positions might be taken as lingua-cultural disloyalty. Whatever his motivation, M's concession at the end of the first segment seems to have a very strong effect on H. Although it cannot be effectively represented in the transcription, the tape reveals that H calms down considerably. When he says, in 37 H, that he is good at Arabic but not English (Pos9), perhaps he implies, in order to be fair, that neither he nor M can comment on the differences between Arabic and English because one is good only at English and the other is good only at Arabic.

An alternative (although not necessarily contradictory) interpretation would suggest that H now actually returns to answering the question put to him by A in 29. In 1, A asked both M and H about their opinions of English. M responded first, but included in his response criticism of Arabic. When it was H's turn to respond to A's question (after 29), H simply at first ignores A since he wants to dispute M's criticism of Arabic (see Figure 1 Appendix D). Now, at 35, H is ready to return to A's request for his (i.e., H's) opinion of English. But H, instead of giving an opinion about English, indicates that his English is not good. This is the principal support for 41, where H disputes A's presupposition that H is qualified to respond to the question. It is this dispute which reaches back to 29 A and qualifies it as Pos7.

This suggests that the topic shift is not so dramatic as one might assume. H begins to support his dispute of the presupposition of 29 A (Pos7) before he overtly disputes it. One might assume that he is going to talk about his English proficiency; but, in fact, his lack of English proficiency is support for his dispute of A's presupposition. So this first part of the second segment of this conversation, just like that which has gone before, has to do with the evaluation of English and Arabic by H and M.

After this complex presuppositional dispute is established, it is interesting to note that H's rhetorical argument here is structurally like that of M's: it contains, near the outset, what I have called 'parallel' support moves. In 4, M's parallel supports are arranged as follows: first, qualification (English is interesting if one has made progress in it); second, evidence (English is interesting because it is 'smooth' in communicating ideas). H's early parallel support moves are ordered differently: first, cause (I can't express myself well because I lack vocabulary); second, evidence (I know I can't express myself

well because I am often misunderstood), and third, cause again (I can't express myself well because I don't practice). This should make it even clearer that what I am combining in this investigation under the heading 'support' contains a number of interestingly different subcategories.

H's discourse continues in a rhetorical mode (49 H) after A asks why he is learning English. H states that he is learning English (Pos11) not because he likes it (Sup11a) but for other reasons. H may imply, however, that he thinks that A's question is a kind of criticism of him; the criticism can be paraphrased as follows: 'Since you do not like English, why are you learning it?' On the other hand, H has already criticized himself by indicating (at the end of 45 H) that he does not practice English much. I have not, however, characterized this potentially interesting interpretation as part of the argument structure.

In the continuing completely rhetorical argument, we notice some differences between the two respondents regarding second language learning experiences. H learns English only as a means to fulfill his need, which is in this case his graduate studies. It is not until after he starts to make some progress in it that he starts to like English, and even then it is rooted in utilitarian concerns (e.g., 55 H). Unlike H, M learns English because he likes it and wants to be acquainted with its culture even before thinking of doing graduate work.

We can say that both respondents have clear motivations to learn English but have different ones. This difference in motivation can be better understood by the distinction Gardner and Lambert [24] make between *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation. According to Gardner and Lambert, integrative motivation is the desire to know a new language for personal interests such as knowing a new culture, and understanding target language people; instrumental motivation, however, is the desire to know a new language for utilitarian reasons such as obtaining a job [24]. With this distinction at hand, we can say that speaker M has an integrative motivation while speaker H has an instrumental motivation. Gardner and Lambert say that both types of motivation can influence the rate and quality of second language acquisition; they say that integrative motivation is more effective than instrumental motivation with regard to target language achievement [25]. This is interestingly paralleled in the case of H and M. In spite of the fact that they enrolled in the English language center at same time, M has made better progress than H. Having said that, however, I cannot rule out other factors that may affect achievement in language learning. One such factor is the use of learning strategies (e.g., affective strategies) which aid the acquisition, storage, retrieval, and use of information.

I will not provide a figure for the rhetorical part of this second segment since it reveals only positions and their subsequent support. The initial dispute of this part however, shown in Figure 2 in Appendix E, is more complex. Perhaps if we re-state the positions, disputes, and supports in a more 'orderly' fashion the relationships shown in Figure 2 will be clearer:

1) A presupposes that H can evaluate English (Pos7)
2) H disputes this presupposition (Pos-7)
3) H supports his dispute by noting his weakness in English (Sup-7); this support becomes a position (Pos9) since it is supported by=
4)= H's claim that he cannot express himself well (Sup9); this support becomes a position (Pos10) since it is supported by the following:
5) a) H's vocabulary is limited (Sup10a)
b) H may be misunderstood (in writing) (Sup10b)
c) H doesn't practice (Sup10c)

Although H's order of presentation is complex (as Figure 2 shows), it would be a mistake to claim that this folk-linguistic reasoning is 'illogical' or 'naive,' for the patterns in Figure 2 show that the relationships among positions, disputes, and supports are established.

The third part of this conversation is triggered by 64 A's question about the factors that make English more important than Arabic. This segment of the conversation is as follows:

64 A	What are the factors that make English more important than Arabic?	Pos15
65 H	Of course English is important nowadays; because its native speakers' progress in technology and science force it on the world. I mean this=	Sup15a (agreement) Sup15b/Pos16
66 M	On the world, right.	Sup16 (agreement)
67 H	=event, I mean, for example, in the past centuries, for example, those who spoke Arabic were proud of it. But now a lot of people=	
68 A	Yes.	
69 H	=regrettably are proud of speaking English. It's true. I mean, they are proud, lots of people are proud=	Sup15c/Pos17
70 A	Yes.	
71 H	=of speaking English, although (laughs) but it's a case of a dominating culture becoming a dominating language. I mean people have to be proud of speaking English. I mean, but my opinion is	

	different. I'm just telling you what other people think.	Dis/Pos-17a
72 M	I am proud of speaking English not because of English itself but because I learnt a new language.	Dis/Pos-17b Sup-17b/Pos18
73 H	As a language.	
74 M	Learning a new language gives you access to other people's culture and civilization.	Sup20/Pos19
75 H	O.K. It is true.	Sup19
76 M	By learning a new language you can learn something new.	Sup18/Pos20
77 H	It is true that by learning a new language you can learn something new about people and civilization. Some people brag about speaking English. Some people try to insert English vocabulary in their speech by way of showing off.	Sup17/Pos21
78 A	I know that.	Sup21a
79 M	But-	
80 H	Some people, I mean, are this way. I- some people, one studied here six or seven years. His studies required him to use such words. This is one thing, but the other thing=	
81 M	-speak-	
82 A	Yes.	
83 H	= is that some people pretend, pretend.	Sup21b/Pos22
84 A	Good point.	Sup22
85 M	(laughs) Pretend.	
86 H	People brag about knowing English because of the status of America.	
87 A	OK.	
88 H	America gets its high status by their progress in technology, science, etc.	

In A's question lies a presupposition - namely, English is more important than Arabic (Pos14), but, although it is not exactly repeated in 65 H, it is not disputed, so it seems appropriate to take this presupposition as Pos15 on the basis of H's agreement (Sup15a), essentially a repetition or acknowledgment. Again, I have not provided a separate label for this subcategory of support, surely the simplest type. Then H supports

Pos15 further - by saying that English is important because its many native speakers who make progress in technology, science, and so on have caused it to spread all over the world (Sup15b/Pos16). Sup15b qualifies as a position (Pos16) when 66 M supports it, again simply by confirming it. I suppose since it simply repeats this information, it might also qualify as an instance of Pos15, although it is neither supported or disputed itself. I have not, however, counted such 'agreement support' (essentially support which provides no new content) as positions. Like the previous short segment, this section of the conversation does not include disputes and should be described as a rhetorical argument.

The discussion of English's importance leads H to support it indirectly (Sup16b) by regretting that Arabs are not proud of their own language (although they once might have been) and are now 'proud' of speaking English. This support immediately qualifies as a position (Pos17) since it is disputed by H himself who says, in 71, that this is not his opinion. The other parts of 71 H simply restate elements of 65 H and do not qualify as elements in the argument structure.

72 M also disputes H's assertion that it is regrettable that Arabs are proud of speaking English, but he disputes the implication that he (perhaps others) are proud of it simply because it is English; or, perhaps more subtly, simply because English represents the progress in science and technology referred to by H. Recall that M, not H, is the one who is learning English for integrative rather than instrumental reasons, and that contrast emerges again here, even more strongly and explicitly.

If we discount H's self-dispute, this segment contains only one oppositional argument move, although it is not as abrupt (or 'bald') as the one taken by H (at 30 H). Perhaps within the above segment there is a kind of revenge by M. Speaker M has accepted, in an earlier segment, H's remark that he (M) is not good at Arabic, but he could not tolerate H's idea that it is regrettable that some Arabs are proud of speaking English (Pos17). In 72, M disputes H's position by saying that he is proud of speaking English for reasons which should not make it 'regrettable.' It is important to note that M has disputed, in fact, only H's assertion that being proud of speaking English is 'regrettable'; he has not disputed the presupposed element of 69 H, namely, that some Arabs are proud of speaking English. Since M has disputed part of what H has said by making another claim, the resulting position of M's dispute will not be simply Pos-17, for its content is not just the denial of Pos17. In this segment, the patterns of support are complex and not strictly ordered (as in Figure 2). To aid the discussion, the diagram of this section of the argument (i.e., Figure 3) is shown in Appendix F.

The more general support for the content of 72 M (which makes it Pos18) does not occur until 76 M, when M notes that learning a new language offers the opportunity for learning new things. That support, however, has already been supported by 74 M which notes specifically what sorts of new things might be learned when one learns a new language. And that support has already been minimally supported by H's agreement (75 H).

In fact, in this segment, it is H's turn to offer some concessions. He gives two concessions, one in 75 H (Sup19) and the other in 77 H, which is not a part of the argument structure, for it simply repeats other supports already given. Although H makes these concessions, we will see in the coming final part of the conversation that H indirectly attacks M.

At 77, H supports his belief in Pos17 by saying that some people speak English to show off through inserting English vocabulary (Pos21). Data from the conversation make it clear that he is, however indirectly, attacking M because M has inserted English vocabulary in this very conversation. Those inserted words are *expression* (20 M), *group* (57 M), and *course* (61 M). (See appendix A for the exact location of these inserted words.) H's qualification (at 80), which removes this blame from those who require English in their graduate specialties, would not seem to apply to the sorts of items M has used.

In the final part of this conversation, H tries hard to regain the upper hand by restating his position, supporting it, and indirectly attacking M. But in 79, M appears to be ready to dispute H's position when he uses a strong discourse marker, *'but,'* which often introduces disputes (or supports of disputed positions). However, M does not finish what he wants to say because H does not give him a chance to do so. Although we suspect that M, in 79 is preparing to dispute Pos21, since it is not completed and we cannot be sure of its content, I have not included it in the outline of the argument structure in Figure 3.

In his closing statements, H gives a succinct summary of the two parts of this final segment of the conversation. At 88, he notes that the status of English derives from America's prestige in science and the like (echoing the opening of the conversation), but at 86 he makes it clear that he believes this prestige of English is the source of some persons' bragging.

Table 2 shows the number of argument moves (positions, disputes, and supports) for each speaker in this conversation. The speaker who shows the greatest use of argument moves is H, with 36 moves. Speaker H's use of argument turns perhaps contributes to his personal style. Speaker M is next with 24 argument moves. The speaker with the least argument moves is A. This is not surprising since this speaker is the fieldworker who does not really want to contribute to the conversation except to keep it moving along.

Table 2. Number of argument contributions

Name	Positions	Disputes	Supports	Total
A	02	00	03	05
M	10	01	13	24
H	10	06	20	36
Total	22	07	36	65

The above table shows that the conversation was in a rhetorical mode more than it was in an oppositional mode. There were only 7 disputes, so at least 15 of the 22 positions must have arisen rhetorically. Recall that disputes differ from positions and supports in that they qualify as positions the moment they are presented; hence there is no need for them to be supported or disputed in order to become positions. It would have, therefore, been redundant (and perhaps misleading) to have counted disputes in the above table once again as positions.

5. Discussion

In general, M appears to distinguish between English and Arabic on internal grounds. For example, he provides a lexical example – 'keyless' - to show that English has economical expressions compared to Arabic and that such economy allows one to reach his point more directly in English than in Arabic.

Unlike M, H focuses on external differences between the two languages in question. For example, he says that English is more important than Arabic because of its native speakers' strong status. English is important because of American progress in technology and science. Moreover, he says that some people use foreign vocabulary as a way of showing off.

Both respondents, however, comment on second language acquisition. This is not surprising since they both are ESL students. For example, M says that the more he progresses in English the more it becomes interesting. I also infer that different motivations may affect achievement in language learning. I make this inference because both H and M have enrolled at the same time in the ELC but they are in different levels. (M is in a higher level: M likes English and wants to learn it as a language; however. H is in a lower intermediate level: H wants only to learn English in order to do graduate work.)

This argument has revealed at least the following folk linguistic beliefs:

A. Linguistic facts about the differences between Arabic and English:

1) English has efficient lexical items ('nice' expressions).
2) This leads to its greater economy of expression (in contrast to Arabic).

B. Sociolinguistic facts about the differences between Arabic and English:

1) English is more important than Arabic, due to its wider distribution.
2) The wide distribution of English is dependent on its native speakers' contribution to scientific fields.
3) Except for technical reasons, the use of English lexical items in Arabic is 'showing off.'
4) People lose respect for their native language under the influence of dominant

world languages.

C. Second language acquisition facts:

1) Language may lead to interesting discoveries about a culture and civilization.
2) Integrative versus instrumental motivation can influence the rate and quality of second language learning.
3) Practice of and study in a target language (even one's native language!) are needed in order for one to develop communication skills. (This may seem obvious, but it would be easy to imagine a competing folk belief in which only exposure would be necessary.)

Finally, I should mention that although both speakers (M and H) share the same cultural background (i.e., Islamic and Arabic), the beliefs listed above about Arabic and English are not shared equally by them. M appears to be 'English-oriented' and H 'Arabic-oriented.' It is tempting to suggest that they have these different beliefs as a result of their different abilities in English; and that these different abilities are, at least in part, due to the relative strengths of their own native language and culture attachment; or, to put it more positively, the degree to which they are willing to accommodate to a new lingua-cultural environment.

Doubtless, other minor details can be derived from this conversation, but I believe these are the major ones. This simple listing of topics, however, does not display the complexity of the structure in which they occurred.

This folk discourse structure reveals organization and cohesion. This organization provides support for those who think that popular discourse is not scattered and ill-formed. My analysis, supported by the three figures, reveals several patterns of folk discourse structure which demonstrate well-formed (argument) discourse sequences. Those examples show systematic and structural organization in discourse. This analysis lends support to Stubbs [10] that discourse has a structure of its own; however, it does not necessarily mean that this structure is uniquely 'linguistic.' 'The structure may be the surface manifestation of much more general organization, including the causal relation between events in the world and our inferences about such events' [10, p. 103]. Briefly, then, when saying that discourse has a structure, it is wise to study the relationship between functional moves above the sentence or clause.

6. Conclusions

Argument analysis, as an attitude scale, is a useful tool for the study of a non-linguist conversation about bilinguals' perceptions of language. It is revealing for several reasons. Firstly, argument analysis helps to provide a fuller picture of the conversation, allowing one to show how argument moves are embedded within the larger informational structure of the entire conversation. Secondly, argument analysis helps to give a direct information-flow analysis of the conversation. Thirdly, argument analysis can better deal with sensitive topics - such as the one at hand - because it requires exact presentation of what is supported or disputed even in presupposed elements.

This study succeeded in revealing a number of Saudi folk linguistic beliefs about some differences (and similarities) between English and Arabic. It revealed folk beliefs about lexical, and semantic differences (and similarities) between the two languages in question. Moreover, it revealed facts about sociolinguistics and second language learning.

This study also showed that the respondents' different level of command of English might affect folk beliefs. Finally, as suggested in the comments on the conversation, this study demonstrated that the folk have well-formed (argument) discourse sequences - structures which reveal organization and cohesion.

In comparison, this study complements other folk linguistic studies (e.g., [1]) in that it utilizes an argument analysis in order to focus not only on the structure of conversation but also on the contents of the conversation. Preston says that argument analysis 'shed[s] light not only on the structure of the conversation but also on the instantiation and background structure of the participants' folk beliefs about language' [3, p. 55].

In conclusion, the study of folk beliefs about language is very important for it may reflect cultural, socioeconomic, educational and religious backgrounds that the folk have. This kind of reflection may help scientists from such different fields as linguistics, sociology, education, and anthropology. Preston says that 'knowing folk concepts will surely enhance both research and applied efforts' [3, p. 30]. Of course, further research is needed on the same topic (folk beliefs about the differences and/or similarities between English and Arabic) but with different subjects. It might be informative if the subjects of a future study were Arabic-speaking English native speakers. Such a study (and others) would allow, in addition to the comparison of folk belief, a growing basis on which to compare and contrast the structure and deployment of argument structures in discourse.

Appendices

Appendix A

Fieldworker and respondent information for the conversation is as follows:
A: Saudi Arabian male, (fieldworker).
M: Saudi Arabian male, age 29, student of English as a second language.
H: Saudi Arabian male, age 30, student of English as a second language.

1A: tayeb, law sa'alna mathalen gilna alheen wish wish ra'ayek fi a - illugeh ilengliziyyeh.
O.K if we ask for example we say now what what's your opinion the language English

2M: walleh ra'ai: innaha mumtia'ah jiden ((quietly)) illugeh illengliziyyeh, mumtia'ah ida xususan kilma tekedamt
well my opinion it's interesting very language English interesting if especially when I make progress
in it
fiha=

[ ]

3A: uheh.

4M:=bennisbeh li kilma iktishaft innha mumtia'ah akther. waba'adain a:: bilidafeh ila dalik innaha lugeh saliseh
regarding me the more I realize it's interesting more and additionally it's a language smooth
min haith a:: suhulat tawsil ilma'alomat a'atakid innuh law ashreh mathalen mawdua mua'ayyen fiillugeh
regarding the easiness communicating information I think that if I explain for example topic specific in languag:
ilarabiyyeh yemkin yebgali a:: a:: safhetain awa thalath safhat, ba- =
Arabic perhaps I need two or three pages

[ ]
5A: uheh
6M:=benafs ilmawdo: mathalen ashreh fi illugeh ilengliziyyeh ye- yetheyyali law law akdar ashrehu, ba:: kam
same topic for example I explain in language English it seems to me if I'm able to explain quantity
akther min ila ilkalimat ila axirihi yemken awsel fikreh mua'ayyneh a: liwahid, ba:: tarikeh sahleh tarikeh
more from the words etc. it's possible to communicate idea specific to someone by way easy way
wazheh akther min illugeh ilarabiyyeh yetheyyali fi illugeh ilengliziyyeh,
clear more than the language Arabic it seems to me the language English
[ ]
7A: uheh.
8M:=waindehum istexdamat hilweh jidan a zai mathalen a: "keyless" mathalen a law baterjimha billugeh
they have expression good very like for example "keyless" for example if I want to translate in language
ilarabiyyeh wish- wish- wish iterjimha, wish iterjimha law iterjimha.
Arabic how how How do you translate it how do you translate if you want to
[ ] [ ]
9A: mm, "careless?"
10M: "keyless", "keyless".
11A: "keyless", ya'ani mai:ndahum ( ) kasdik "muftah" a =
Keyless. I mean they don't have you mean "key"
[ ]
12M: i:h.
yes
13A:[[mubmuftah yemkin ilma'anawi yemkin a,
not key perhaps implicit perhaps
14M:[[( )]], [[i:h ya'ani ihna
yes I mean we
"keyless" mathalen ind issiyyareh mathalen, wafih arkam=
for example at the car for example has numbers
[ ]
15A: uheh.
16M:=markam, hadi a law ( ) bidun arkam ya'ani baterjimha=
etc. this if without numbers I mean translate it
[ ] [[ ]]
17A: na'am. Na'am.
yes yes
18M:=bidun arkam a bidun muftah, bidun muftah madrishlawn, =
without numbers without key without key I don't know
[ ]
19A: bidun muftah.
without key
20M:=bainama shif ya'ani expression basi:d jiden keyless, i:h=
while see I mean expression easy very keyless yes
[[
21A: ts-
testexdem hada.
use this
22M:=i:h ( ) ya'ani la:hezt fi ashya zai kida hilweh jiden, =
yes I mean noticed there's something like this good very
[ ]
23A: ah.
24M:=ya'ani mumkin int te- ta'ati ilma'ana biwedih wa bsaraheh bikfa:ah akder, ya'ani kafa:atha min haith
I mean possible you reach the meaning clearly and actually efficiency more I mean its efficiency regarding
ilkafa:ah =
efficiency
[ ]
25A: mm.

26M:=mumkin ya'ani tesi:r a: akder ((someone coughs)) innha tewasil ilma'alumat biweduh wa: beshekil mubassat
possible I mean becomes able that communicate information clearly and way easy
wa akal =
and less
[ ]
27A: mm.
28M:=min haith il kam bilkalimat.
regarding the quantity in words
[
29A: a:h - was wish ish ra'ayek ( ).
O.K.what's your opinion
30H:walleh ana ala tu:l alxat a'aredeh, =
well I fully object to what you're saying
((everybody laughs))
31H:=ma:adri yemkin Mazen ba:: hukem dirastuh madaras lugeh arabiyyeh ya'ani ala asas inneh yahkum ilhukum
I don't know maybe Mazen because he doesn't study language Arabic I mean on the basis that he can decide
hada, yemken=
like this maybe
[ ]
32A: uheh.

33H:=bihekum dirasat ilma'ahad ya'ani,
because of my schooling
[[
34M: ala fikreh kint dai:f fi illugeh ilarabiyyeh jidan
by the way I wasn't good in the language Arabic very
35H:a:h fa ya'ani bila:kes ana ahes ina ilengelizi yemken fi=
yes so I mean especially I feel that English perhaps in
[ ]
36A: mm.
37H:=a'amil a:xer ana billugeh ilarabiyyeh bakul lik ya'ani ilhamdilellah kawi fiyha, hadi nahyeh
factor other I in language Arabic I say to you I mean thank God I good at it in one hand,
innahyeh ithanyeh innuh ana dai:f fil inglaizi, fahukmi mabni ala kuwati
on the other hand that I'm not good at English so my decision is based on my ability
fi ilarabi wa da'afi hina ahis ana ma astati:a astexdim litta'abir an ma – u'abir anh, bisaraheh ma yemken=
in Arabic and inability here I feel I can't use to express what I want to express about, frankly not possible
[[ ]]
38A: i:weh.
yes
39H:=el ilya'ani liani ma i:ndi kalimat ahyanan, laken ya fa tehes ahes ini: ma akdar a: a: a'abir an ma
the English I mean because I don't have vocabulary sometimes but you feel I feel I'm not able to express what
uriduh ya'ani. fa bas ma a'atekid innuh hukum sa:ib =
I want I mean so I think that decision difficult
[ ]
40A: mm.
41H:=ya'ani y bilmarhaleh hadi liannuh – ya'ani wish indi min ilenglayzi ala shan ahkum alayeh ilhukim hada,
I mean at this stage because I mean what do I have from = English in order to make this decision
laken hitta
but even
[ ]
42A: i:h.
yes
43H:=ilmarhaleh hadi ahis eneh ma ta'abir an ma urid ya'ani da:iman, da:iman ahes inni aji a'a-, i:ndi hajeh
stage this I feel that not expressing what I want I mean always always I feel that I have something
bagulha =

to say

[ ] [[ ]]

44A: i:h, ( ).
yes

45H:=laken te- ma astiti:a a'abir anha, ya'ani imma tankuseni ilkalimat, aw ya'ani a: d issigeh ahyanan mathalen
but not I can express it I mean either I lack vocabulary or I mean the style sometimes for example I
ana aktib iljumleh, yefhamha il ili ana aktibeh luh gair ili ana abgaha ya'ani yefham, fa: yemken a'adem
write a sentence he understands that I write for not that I want I mean he understands so maybe not
ittamarus ala =
practicing with

[ ]

46A: i:weh.
yes

47H:=illugeh ya'ani a'amil barduh. fa maadri.
language I mean factor also so I don't know

[ ] [

48A: i:h. tayeb laish int intu tita'alamon illugeh.
yes O.K. why you you learn the language

49H: a: ( ) binnisbeh lita'alem ilenglaynzi muhub lihub ilenglayzi bisaraheh. ana ata'alem ya'ani lia'ani =
with regard to learning English is not out of love English frankly I learn I mean because I

[ ]

50A: i:h.
yes

51H:=muztar ata'alemha, lidarasati ya'ani laken saraheh =
have to learn it for my studies I mean but frankly

[ ]

52A: muzter lita'alemha.
have to learn it

53H:=ya'ani ma'a ilwaket ahs ini ya'ani a:: kint a:: ya'ani - mumilleh diraset ilenglayzi binnisbeh li laken ala'an
I mean with time I feel that I mean was I mean boring to learn English for me but nowadays
ahs ini fea'alen atshwek liani ata'allemha, laish liani bidait amsik hajeh minha yemken, fa ahs ini bidait =
I feel really like to learn it why because I start to learn something from it maybe so I feel I start

[ ]

54A: mm.

55H:=atshawek ata'alemha ka lugeh uxra ya'ani mahma kan tefidek biged inneder laken ilhedef ilasasi innuh
to like to learn it as a language other I mean it's useful not mentioning but the goal main is that
iddraseh.
learning

[

56A: mm, wish ra'ayek ya Mazen.
what your opinion Mazen

57M:ana walleh a kan kabel ma ahawil adris ilmajistair - a: kent ahawil ata'allem illugeh ilengliziyyeh wezd sabek
I well it was before I try to work towards M.A I was trying to learn language English also
wa reht la:: linden hinak hawalt darast hedu:d shahrain, fa sahi:h innuh makanat fatreh a: kan fiha lea'ab wa I
have been to to London there I tried I studied for about two months so it's true that it wasn't enough there we
ma lea'ab leanneh kinna rehna group, laken irregbeh indi lita'alem illugeh ilengliziyyeh min ilasas,
didn't study well because we went as a group but I have the motivation to learn the language English from long
la ilhadef bistithna'a =
time the goal excepts

[ ]

58A: min ilasas.
from long time

59M:=idiraseh hi widi sarahatan ( ) indi min zaman indi irregbeh fi iti:la'a ala ithakafeh ilamri:kiyyeh wa ala
my studies and this frankly I have from long time motivation to learn the culture American and
mawadi:a'a mua'ayyneh wedi akraha tea'arif fih a ba'ad ilmajalat mutakadimin hum fiha wa ila axirihi,

some issues specific I want to read you know there's some spheres they ahead of us they're and etc.
wedi ana atalia'a ala =
I want I to know
[ ]
60A: ayweh.
yes
61M:=min ilasas ma kan indi ilkudreh asas ini akraha fi illugeh ilengliziyyeh, wahadafi alan mub fakat ilcours form the basic I didn't have the ability I can read language English and my goal now isn't only my course ilakadimi la =
academic no
[ ]
62A: i:h.
yes
63M:=hadafi barduh innafsi ya'ani hadafi ashya: agrad nefsuyyeh fi illugeh ilengliziyyeh ( ), bilidafeh my goal also psychological I mean my goal things psychological in language English additionally ila dalik saraheh, h yithyya'ali innaha ka lugeh ka lugeh a:: je hilweh.
to this frankly it seems to me that it as a language as a language fantastic
[
64A: heh, tayyeb a:: hal mathalen fi
O.K. is it for example in
A'awamil uxra, xallet illugeh ya'ani ( ) hal fi awamil mawjudeh fi hel fi hel biyeh hadi xallet illugeh factors other that makes the language I mean is there factors exit in this in this environment makes the language muhimeh lugeh ilengliziyyeh, ya'ani ahem min illugeh ilarabiyyeh.
important language English I mean more important than Arabic
65H:bittakid ya'ani takadmhum ittiknologi mathalen wil ilmi, farad illugeh ala ila:lem ya'ani wa hada =
of course I mean their progress in technology for example and scientific force the language on the world I mean
[[ ]]
66M: ala ila:lem sahi:h.
on the world true
67H:=hadath ya'ani mathalen fi ilkurun ilmadiyeh mathalen aw kida kanet illugeh illarabiyyeh ya'ani yeftexir min happen I mean for example in centuries past for example or this it was the language Arabic I mean proud who yetkelmha illugeh illarabiyyeh, alan ilhakikeh ilkathir min innas ma =
speaks it the language Arabic now actually a lot of people with
[ ]
68A: na'am.
yes
69H:=ilasaf yeftexir innuh yetekalem ilenglyziyyeh. sahih ya'ani yeftexron kathir min innas anna: wajet nas regret one is proud that he speaks English it is true I mean they are proud lots of people that I found people yeftexir inneh =
proud that
[[ ]]
70A: na'am.
yes
71H:=yetkellem ilenglyziyyeh ma'a in fiha ((laughs)) laken a: hi a'amalit takadem hadareh aw saitarat hadareh ida he speaks English although it's but it's the case is progress of culture or dominating culture if saitarat hadareh lugeh hel hadareh di lazem tesaiter ya'ani lazem yesir innas yeftaxron bitakelem fiha dominate language of that culture must dominate I mean must become people proud of speaking English I ya'ani, Ma'a inneh wijhet nadari ilxaseh texy laken agul a: nadhrat innas.
mean although I my opiniown is different but I say to you people opinion
[[
72M: a ana a ana fi ra'ai alan law atkalem illugeh ilengliziyyeh bikafa:ah aftexer ini- in- ini
I I in my opinion now if I speak the language English fluently I'll be proud that I takalemt illugeh ilengliziyyeh, laken mu a aftexer liani ta'allemt illugeh ilengliziyyeh liani ta'allmet lugeh I speak the language English but I'm not proud because I learnt the language English because I learnt language bisefeh a'ammeh lugeh ajnabiyyeh i:h ya'ani a: ahs ini a: ta'allemt

in = general language foreign yes I mean I feel I learnt
[ ]]
73H: ah kalugeh.
yeah as a language
74M:=shai thani bistita:ati ini min xilal hal hal lugeh hadi nafideh sarahatan ala ala thagafat a: ishsha'aub innatikeh
thing other I can through this this language this window frankly to civilization of people that speak
fiha, fa kawni ata'allem lugeh wa aftexer fi:ha liani mu ana atakallem lugeh engliziyyeh law ini ta'allemt
it so learning a language and being proud of it because not I speaking language English if I learnt
faransi aftexir ini ta'allemt faransiyyeh, law asbaniyyeh aftixer =
French I proud that I learnt French If Spanish I proud
[ ]
75H: a:.
O.K.
76M:=ini ta'allemt asbaniyyeh ya'ani shai shai jedid ta'allemteh,
I learnt Spanish I mean something something new I learnt
[[
77H: bittaakid lakin ana aksid biyeftexer innuh, tajeduh
of course but I mean one is proud that he you find him
lamma yetkellem
when he speaks
ma'a nas arab mathalen aw hitta ma'arifathum bil inglayziyyeh yebda yji:b kalimat engliziyyeh aw kida
with people Arabs for example or even their English ( ) starts bringing words English or like this
ya'ani ybeyyen nni ata'allem inni a'arif illugeh ilengliziyyeh kathir =
I mean show off that I'm learning I know the language English a lot of
[[ ]]
78A: inni a'arif.
that I know
[[ ]]
79M: i:h sahih laken,
yes true but
80H:=min innas ya'ani tajiduh bi islub hada, biged innader an kabalt nas ya'ani daras hina mathalen
of people I mean you find him with this style not mentioning I met people I mean he studied here for example
sit aw sabia'a sanawat fa faradat alayeh dirasteh inneh gasb ya'ani a: yentik kalimat w hadi shai, laken ishshi
six or seven years so made him his studies here that he must I mean speak words this thing but the other
ithani ili =
thing that
[[ ]]
81M: yentik.
he-speaks
[ ]
82A: na'am.
yes
83H:=tilgawh yitj ya'ani yefta'al bishai i:h yefta'al, yefta'al,=
you find him I mean pretend something yes pretend pretend
[[ ]]
84A: ahsant.
good point
[[ ]] [ ]
85M: yefta'al. ((laughs))
pretend
86H:=natijeh lianuh mithl ma gilt lek innuh amrica mathalen musaytireh alan, musaytireh a'a a'a ya'ani ( ) leh
as a result because as I said to you because America example dominating now dominating I mean it has
sayttareh=
domination
[ ]
87A: a:.

O.K.

88H:=tiknologiyyen wa ilmiyyen wa ya'ani wa: hitta iktisad ya'ani nawa'an ma iktisadiyyen wa siyasiyyen
technologically and science I mean and even economy I mean to certain extent economically and politically
min jami:a'a ilmajalat wa bitali lugetha lazem tusaiter ya'ani.
from each side and as a result its language must dominate I mean

Appendix B

The following is a list of transcription conventions based on Niedzielski and Preston [1]. These conventions were used in transcribing the text in appendix A.

1.[[Simultaneous utterances:

John: [[I went to Paris
Mary: [[I went to London

2.[Overlapping utterances:

John: I went to school the day before yesterday
[
Mary: when?

3.] End of overlapping or simultaneous (]]) utterance

John: I met my mom and - uh - dad and uncle Sue
[ ]
Mary: Why didn't you tell me before

4.= Linked or continuing utterances (no overlap)

John: I saw the young lady=
[
Mary: I saw-
John:=but she didn't see me

5.- Intervals (- short time; - longer time)

Sue: He told me - to see him
Mary:He told me - to him too

6. Delivery

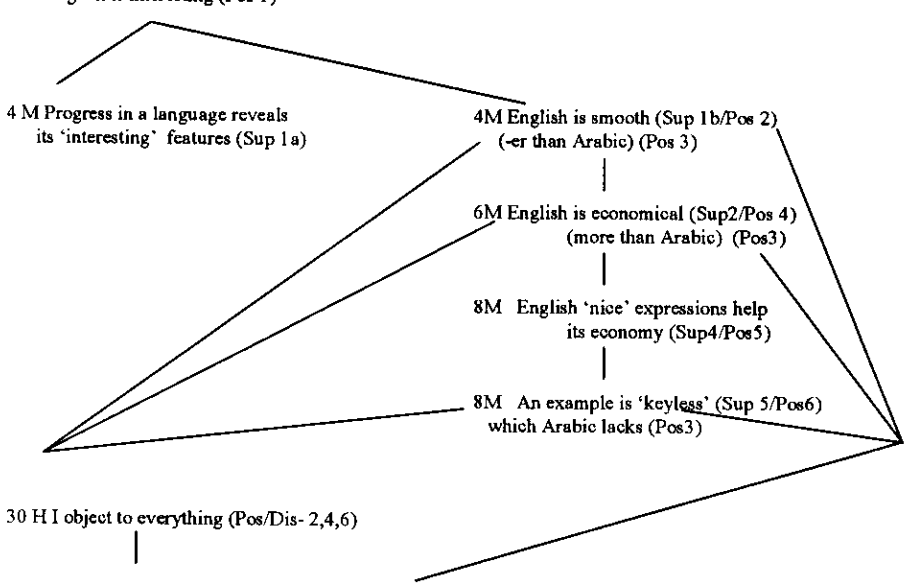
a. :: Length
(or : for shorter delivery)
John: What ha::ve you done
b. . Falling intonation
Mary: He told me that.
c. , Continuing intonation
John: I will go,
d. ? Rising intonation
Mary: He said?
e. Emphasis (bold or caps)
John: She TOLD me so
f. (hhh) breath out and (.hhh) in
Mary: (.hhh) Oh, thank you
John: (hhh) that's good
g. (( )) Noises, kinds of talk
Mary: She told ((cough)) me to go
John: ((whispered)) why
h. ( ) Transcriber doubt
Mary: Why ( ) leave

Appendix C (omitted material from the conversation):

9 A 'Careless?'
10 M 'Keyless?'
11 A 'Keyless' It means "without keys.'
12 M Yes.
13 A Not 'key,' perhaps metaphorically perhaps.
14 M Yes, I mean, we - for example a car for example has numbers.
15 A Uhuh.
16 M It means without numbers.
17 A Yes. Yes.
18 M Without numbers - without key - without key - I don't know.
19 A Without key.
20 M It is a very simple expression.
21 A You use this.
22 M Such expressions are nice.
23 A. Ah.
24 M In English one can reach his point directly with very few words, unlike Arabic.
25 A Mmmm.
26 M Maybe, I mean it makes it possible to communicate information easily=
27 A Mmmm.
28 M =as regards the number of words.

Appendix D

Figure 1



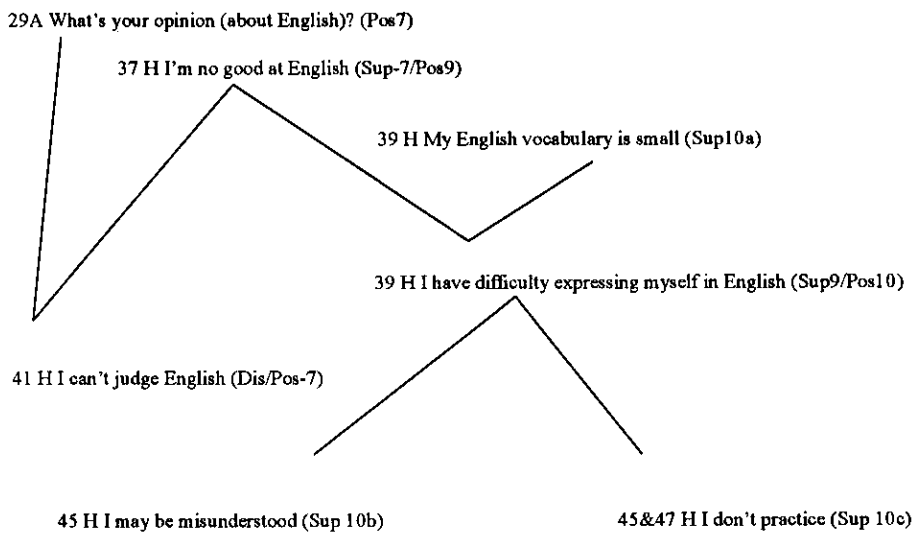
31 H M's opinion is not valid (sup-2,4,6, Pos/Dis-3)

31 H M is not proficient in Arabic (Sup-3/Pos 8)

33 H I am well-schooled (Sup 8a) 34 H I am good at Arabic (Sup 8b- concession)

Appendix E

Figure 2



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مفاهيم ثنائي اللغة عن العربية والإنجليزية: نحو استخدام مقياس الاتجاه لدراسة تلك المفاهيم

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ملخص البحث. تعنى هذه الدراسة بعلم اللغة الاجتماعي الشعبي. وهي تهدف لاكتشاف المفاهيم السائدة لدى عامة الناس غير المختصين بالعلوم اللغوية عن الاختلافات (أو التشابه) بين العربية (اللغة الأولى) والإنجليزية (اللغة الثانية). ثانيا، تحاول الدراسة أن تبرهن على فائدة التحليل اللغوي الجدلي للمحادثة كمقياس الاتجاه لدراسة المفاهيم اللغوية الشعبية. ثالثا، تبحث هذه الدراسة فيما إذا كانت المحادثة متماسكة في المعنى والتركيب اللغوي من منظور مقياس الاتجاه. رابعا، يحاول هذا البحث في الكشف عن بعض أسباب تنوع الآراء اللغوية الشعبية.

قام الباحث بعمل محادثة مع اثنين من الطلبة السعوديين المبتعثين لأمريكا لتلقي دراساتهم العليا هناك. وقد تم تحليل تلك المحادثة تحليلا لغويا جدليا بعد تسجيلها وكتابتها. وقد توصلت الدراسة إلى بعض المفاهيم الشعبية عن الاختلافات اللغوية واللغوية الاجتماعية بين العربية والإنجليزية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك أوضحت الدراسة أن اختلاف المستوى اللغوي في اللغتين يؤثر في الاتجاهات اللغوية الشعبية سلبا وإيجابا. كذلك بينت الدراسة أن البنية اللغوية للمحادثة منتظمة ومترابطة من منظور مقياس الاتجاه. وأخيرا توصل الباحث إلى أن التحليل اللغوي الجدلي للمحادثة له فائدة جمة كمقياس الاتجاه لدراسة المفاهيم اللغوية الشعبية.