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SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE IN AN EXPANDING URBAN  
CONTEXT : A CASE STUDY OF IRBID CITY, JORDAN

by

Mahmoud Abed Ahmad Al-Khatib

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Durham

1988



19 SEP 1988

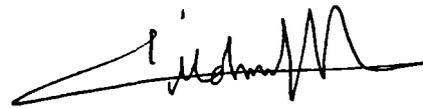
## Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother,  
my wife Ibtisam, and my children Sami,  
Rana and Olla.

## Declaration

This thesis is my original work and of my  
own execution and authorship

Mahmoud Abed Ahmad Al-Khatib

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mahmoud', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Abstract

Mahmoud Abed Ahmad Al-Khatib. Sociolinguistic change in an expanding urban context : a case study of Irbid City, Jordan.  
Ph.D. 1988. University of Durham.

This thesis represents the beginning of an attempt at a sociolinguistic study of phonological variables in Jordanian Arabic as it is spoken in Irbid City, Jordan. It is based on the speech of 38 informants from two rural groups (the Horaniis and the Fellahiin). The Horaniis are those people who have come to the city from the surrounding rural areas during the last five decades, and the Fellahiin are those who arrived from the rural areas of the West Bank of Jordan after the two Arab-Israeli wars in 1948 and 1967.

The following were among the many goals which provided motivation for the present study (1) to find what effect city life has left on the speech of these two rural groups; (2) to discover what phonological variables may convey social meaning; and (3) to investigate the range of linguistic variation as it is revealed in a number of phonological alternates used by socially divergent groups of speakers, in order to determine whether or not such variation is rule-governed.

Linguistic variation was investigated according to two major devices i.e., standardization and levelling. In the former device, the speakers tend to standardize their speech by utilizing more standard forms; in the latter they tend to accommodate their speech by using colloquial features other than their own. In order to obtain a better understanding of stylistic variation, a linguistic self-analysis was carried out by the researcher (the interviewer) to test the hypothesis that a speaker accommodates his speech style toward his interlocutors in order to gain their social approval (Giles and Smith 1979). The variables studied were (Q), (d3), (D), (th), (K) and (a)#. The data was collected from three age groups, three educational groups, two sex groups and two origin groups. The study employed the sociolinguistic quantitative paradigm initiated by Labov (1963, 1966, 1972a) and developed by others (e.g. Trudgill 1974; Milroy 1980).

A close examination of the data reveals that linguistic variation is for the most part systematic and rule-governed. Only one linguistic variable (d3) was found to be phonetically conditioned, and most of the others were found to be lexically conditioned. Furthermore, all linguistic variables were found to correlate closely with the social factors investigated, albeit to varying degrees. In all cases it was found that social motivation is an element that influences variation. The results also show that the sex of the speaker is the factor which most often influences the linguistic behaviour of the Jordanian speaker. Men and women were both found in most cases, however, to innovate in different directions.

Finally, criteria, relating to group identity or origin were also found to be important, the Fellahi group favouring innovation more often than the Horaniis, who, in a sense, appeared to be more faithful to their linguistic norms.

### Acknowledgement

This thesis would perhaps not have come to fruition without the interest, constant encouragement, patience, and invaluable criticism of my supervisor, Professor Charles Jones. I am profoundly indebted to him not only because he devoted so much of his time to me, but also because he has been the source of inspiration and motivation from the very beginning of this research to the very end: I cannot thank him enough.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the support of the following institutions : The Council Fund for Students Travelling Abroad, and The British and Foreign School Society who partly funded the fieldwork for this study.

I must express my special thanks to Dr. B.T. Porteous of the Department of Mathematical Science, and to Dr. W. Williams of the Computer Centre, University of Durham, for their help with the statistical analysis in this project.

I must also offer my sincere thanks to all of the informants who took part in this research, and who were most generous with their time during the collection of data for this study.

My deepest gratitude goes also to my mother, brothers and sisters for their constant love, encouragement and blessings. I wish to thank specifically my brothers Mohamad, Ahmad and Jamal for their financial and moral support during the early years of my undergraduate study. It is a pleasure to thank my brother-in-law, Mahmoud Abdul-Raziq, for his moral support.

I also owe my lovely wife, Ibtisam, and my children Sami, Rana and Olla, who have been by my side all along, a great deal of gratitude and appreciation for their patience and understanding during the agony of the long nights and endless hours that it took to complete this research.

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List of phonetic symbols and abbreviations

A number of phonetic symbols have been modified in this study for typewriting purposes. These are indicated below: ✓

(I) Vowels

: indicates vowel length. E.g. Arabic /ki:s/ "sack", English /si:/ "see"

(II) Consonants

/T/ indicates a voiceless dental-emphatic plosive. E.g. /Tabi:b/ "doctor"

/D/ indicates a voiced dental-emphatic plosive. E.g. /Did/ "against"

/S/ indicates a voiced dental-emphatic fricative. E.g. /So:t/ "voice"

/Z/ indicates a voiced dental-emphatic fricative. E.g. /Za:biT/ "officer"

/Dh/ indicates a voiced interdental-emphatic fricative. E.g. /Dha:lim/ "oppressor"

/L/ indicates a voiceless dental-emphatic lateral. E.g. /?aLLah/ "God"

/dh/ indicates a voiced interdental-fricative. E.g. /dhis/ "this", /dhe:l/ "tail"

/th/ indicates a voiceless interdental fricative. E.g. /thik/ "thick", /tho:b/ "dress"

/ʁ/ indicates a voiced uvular fricative. E.g. /ʁa:li/ "expensive"

/H/ indicates a voiceless pharyngeal fricative. E.g. /Hulu:l/ "solutions"

/9/ indicates a voiced pharyngeal fricative. E.g. /9a:li/ "high"

/ch/ indicates a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate. E.g. /chin/ "chin", /che:f/ "how"

/sh/ indicates a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative. E.g. /shi:/ "she" /sha:ri9/ "street"

/d3/ indicates a voiced palato-alveolar affricate. E.g. /d3ilt/ "jilt", /d3abal/ "mountain"

/3/ indicates a voiced palato-alveolar fricative. E.g. /pe:3/ "paige", /3a:3i/ "hen"

/y/ indicates a voiced palatal semivowel. E.g. /yi:ld/ "yield", /ya:bis/ "dry"

(III) Abbreviations and other symbols

H. educated	=	Highly educated
M. educated	=	Moderately educated
Y. age group	=	Younger age group
M. age group	=	Middle age group
O. age group	=	Older age group
CS	=	casual style
FS	=	formal style
RPS	=	reading passage style
WLS	=	word list style
QA	=	Colloquial Arabic
EA	=	Egyptian Arabic
->	=	Becomes/changes to
-	=	alternate with
/ /	=	parallel slashes enclose phonemes

## Chapter I

### Introduction

This chapter is intended to acquaint the reader with the basic background information for this sociolinguistic study of Jordanian Arabic as it is spoken by two rural groups in Irbid City, Jordan. The discussion will include the problem, an illustration of the locale, a description of the socio-cultural background of the community, details regarding the current sociolinguistic situation in the city, as well as some phonological preliminaries.

#### 1.1 The Problem

Even though much work has been done on Arabic in terms of 'diglossia', 'triglossia' or more discrete varieties, there has been a scarcity of literature dealing with Jordanian Arabic in general and the language spoken in this speech community in particular in terms of its relationship with the society in which it is used. Most of the previous studies of Arabic deal with the language according to the traditional descriptive approach through the point of view of the sole speaker, the author (see literature review - Chapter II).

A sociolinguistic study of Jordanian Arabic as it is used by its native speakers in its social context, according to the modern variation theory, and using the new and innovative quantitative methodology (initiated by Labov 1963, 1966 and developed by Labov 1972a; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977, Milroy 1980 among others) is essential for a better understanding of the language, the trends of change it shows, and the factors conditioning its use.

#### 1.2 The locale : Irbid City

Irbid City is the administrative capital of the northern region of Jordan located about 50 miles north of Amman. The city is situated on a plateau at an altitude of approximately 600 metres above sea level.

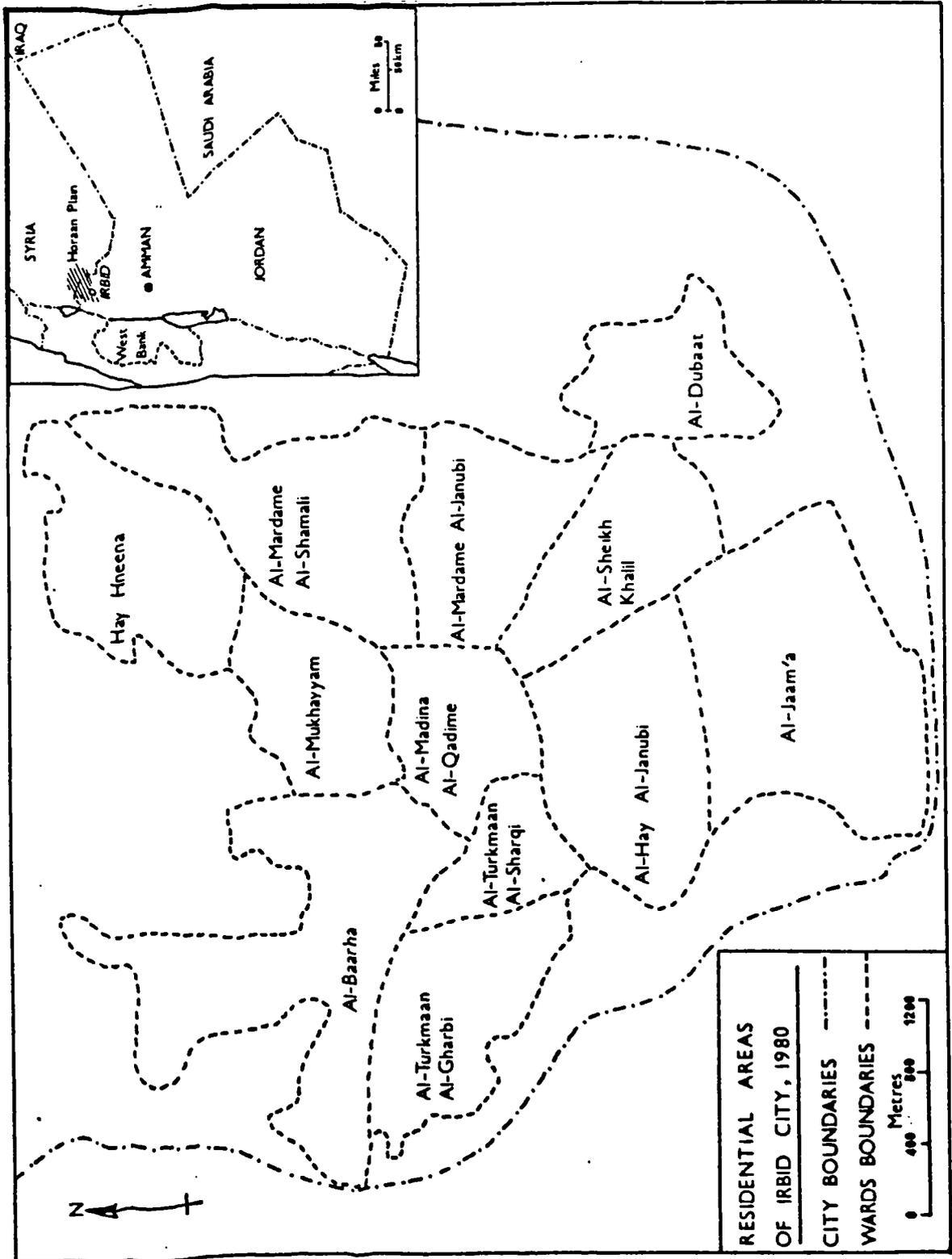


Geographically, it forms an integral part of Haraan Plain which encompasses the south-western part of Syria and the northern part of Jordan. The old city of Irbid is built at the foot of the flat-topped mound, "Tall", which is regarded as a prominent landmark in the city centre. The city derives its importance from being a junction on a road leading to Palestine to the west, Syria to the north and Iraq to the east.

Historically, the city has attracted the attention of historians because of its significance as one of the ten major cities in the area. Copeland (1965:127) argues that some historians identify the city as ARBILA, a member of Decapolis.<sup>1</sup> Historians believe that Irbid was probably inhabited since early times. Recent excavations in the city uncovered several coffins dating back to the Bronze Age (3000 B.C.) and the Iron Age (2500 B.C.) (Shawaqfa 1964:14).

Irbid was an important point on the caravan route from Cairo to Damascus. In 636 A.D. Muslim armies captured the city from the Romans at the Battle of Yarmouk near the river Yarmouk, about 8 miles to the north of the city. Later, during the Ottoman reign, the city seems to have been abandoned, partly because of the weakness of the Ottoman central government which allowed robbers and bandits to infiltrate the area and partly because of the emergence of large urban centres (of villayets) such as Damascus, Tripoli and Aleppo (cf. Mahafza 1973; Shawaqfa 1964). The American traveller Edward Robinson visited Irbid in 1852 and described it at the time in the following words: "we see some cottages made of unshaped square black stones, ruins and nothing worth mentioning except a ruin of one arch, two pillars still raised and several pillars laid down on the ground" (translated from Mahafza 1973:101).

Map 1.1



Source : (Tawalbeh 1982:165, Figure 35)

The city grew little during the period from 1921 to 1936 (with the advent of the British in the area) when Transjordan had been given some measure of local autonomy. The number of inhabitants grew from 250 people in 1917 to 3,732 in 1936 (Tawalbeh 1982:56). The actual modern history of Irbid as an urban centre dates from 1948, when the Arab-Israeli war resulted in the incursion of thousands of Palestinians from Palestine to the East Bank of Jordan.

Table 1.1 The population of Irbid City during the period from 1946-1986<sup>2</sup>

Year	Population
1946	7,000
1952	23,157
1961	44,685
1979	113,548
1986	143,000

Source: derived from Department of Statistics, 1946-1979, various tables.

Table 1.1 shows that from 1946 to 1986 the population of Irbid City was increasing steadily, reaching a peak after each Arab-Israeli War, i.e. 1948 and 1967 wars.

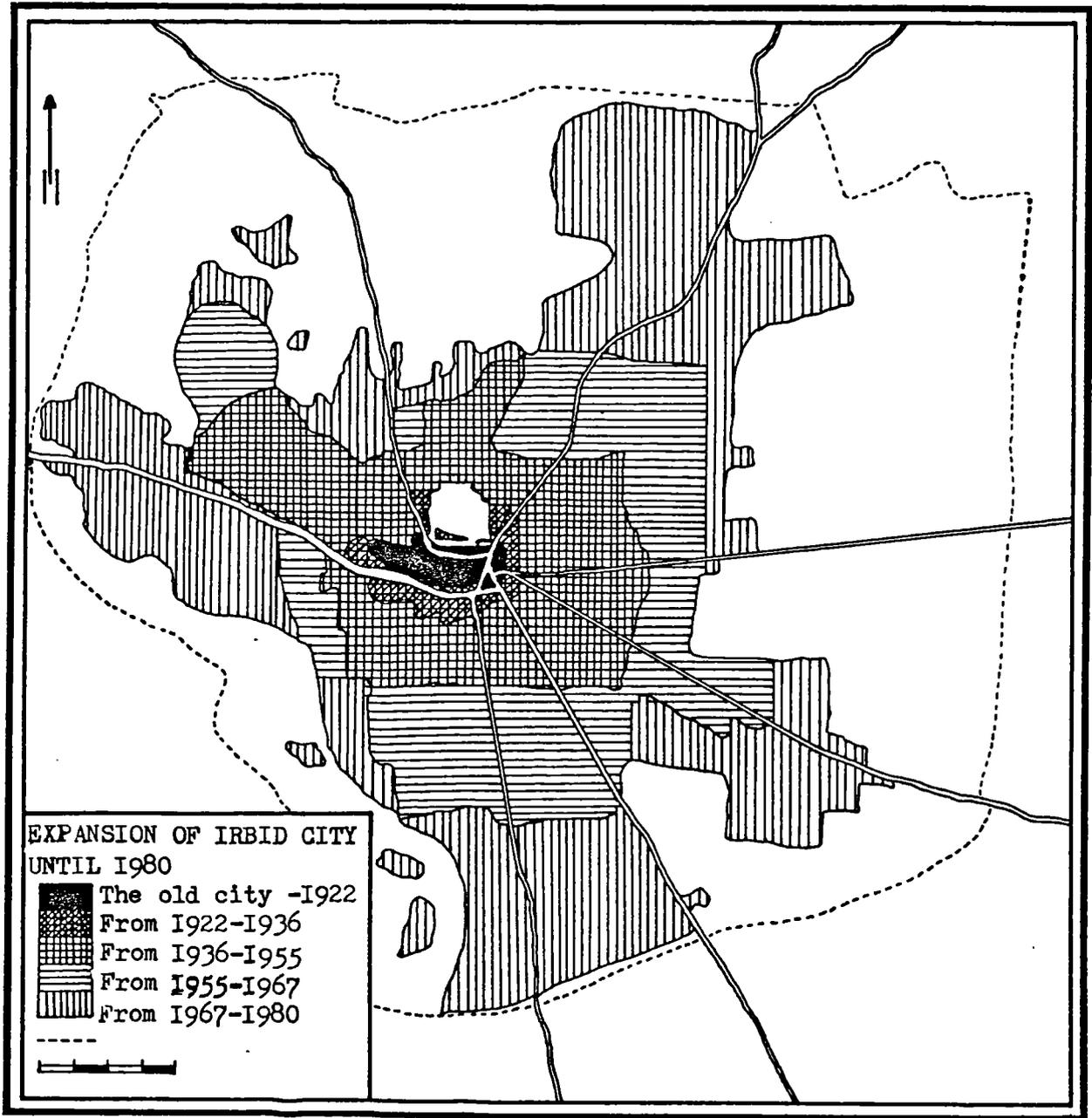
We can say, however, that there have been two major sources of immigration which have contributed to the growth and composition of the present population of the city, and two additional factors which have directly or indirectly influenced the development of the city. Firstly, the influx of more than 700,000 Palestinians to the cities on

the East Bank of Jordan, of which Amman, Zarqa and Irbid received the lion's share. Second, there has been an endless source of in-migration of the ruralites from the surrounding rural areas. The two other factors which affected the development of the city were the discovery of oil in the neighbouring Arab countries and the establishment of Yarmouk University in the city in 1976. Thus the city has mushroomed from a small village of a few thousand people in 1946 to a city of over 143,000 in 1986. The built-up area of Irbid at present is estimated at about 2916 acres (Tawalbeh 1982:274). All-in-all Irbid has changed substantially from what was described by Edward Robinson in 1852.

Map 1.2 charts the gradual development of the city over the past six decades. It shows clearly how rapidly the city has developed in such a very short period of time. Within four decades (i.e. 1946-1986) of its renewed existence, Irbid has established itself as the second largest city in Jordan. Modern Irbid can be divided according to its municipality, into 6 major areas : Areas A, B, C, D, the commercial area and the industrial area. Areas A and B, which form the south-east sector of the city, represent the prosperous residential areas of the newly emerging middle-class. The Irbid municipality's regulations stipulate that no one may construct a house on an area less than 1000 square metres. The type of buildings constructed in areas A and B take the shape of villas made of beautifully cut stone, with recreational facilities, gardens, and open sections between houses. For obvious reasons this has proved an attractive location for professionals, doctors, engineers, and the upper-class of the city.

Areas C and D represent the older part of the city. These areas are deprived of the aforementioned facilities. Houses in these areas (which include the Palestinian refugee camp) are very modest in shape and size. Each house is normally built of cement, or in some cases of

Map.1.2



Source : (Tawalbeh 1982:110, Figure 18)

mud reinforced with straw, with a very small courtyard surrounded by a wall of blocks. The houses usually have only one or two rooms. They have been constructed haphazardly wherever land could be acquired, and thus the layout of the streets has been determined by the arrangement of the houses on the land. Expansion of the city has been moving further in all directions, but it is more remarkable in the north and the north-west towards areas C and D, since these sections are more reasonably priced for the average person or those on a lower income level.

The construction of buildings with more than 2 stories has been prohibited in all areas, but because of the significant and rapid growth in the population, changes have taken place. With the exception of areas A and B the regulations of the municipality now allow people to construct buildings of up to 8 stories. Along with growing upward much of the physical development of the city involves redevelopment of the older sections. When one moves from the southern part of the city (Area A) to the northern part (Area D) he cannot help but notice a remarkable difference in both the structures and the social levels present. This housing system has, of course, had a great effect on both the social contacts and the socio-economic structure of the population. But the fact remains that it is still too early to speak of social classes or even any kind of delineated social rankings. It is quite evident that there is a change and a rapid social mobility taking place in the city, but such a change has not yet reached completion. For a better understanding of these changes, it will be necessary to describe the socio-cultural background of the population.

### 1.3 A Socio-Cultural Background

#### 1.3.1 The City's Inhabitants

With such a large number of immigrants from different parts of Jordan and Palestine, the population of Irbid City is characterized by a great deal of heterogeneity. The city's population can be divided roughly on the basis of social and cultural backgrounds into two major groups: urbanites and ruralites. The ruralites can also be divided in terms of social and cultural background into two main sub-groups: those who came from the West Bank (i.e. the central part of Palestine) and those who came from the neighbouring rural areas on the East Bank (i.e. Haraan Plain). It is worth pointing out that each of these groups can be regarded, at present, as Jordanian citizens. For convenience, the Palestinian ruralites will be hereinafter referred to as Fellahiin (meaning ruralites) and those of Jordanian extraction as Horaniis (a name derived from Haraan Plain). Thus, the city is basically inhabited by three groups of people: urbanites, Fellahiin and Horaniis.

##### 1.3.1.1 The Urbanites

Except for Jerusalem, no major urban centre existed in Jordan until the late 1940s. Towns on the East Bank served as local markets and administrative rather than cultural centres. "Truncated by external political considerations rather than by internal social or cultural realities, the East Bank consequently lacks the kind of long-established metropolis that has for centuries dominated other parts of the Middle East" (Nyrop et al 1980:80). By the term 'urbanites' we mean those people who have come to Irbid from larger urban centres such as, for example, Damascus, Jerusalem, Haifa etc.

The first move of the urbanites to the city appears to have taken place during the 1920s, when a number of Damascenes came to settle in

Irbid as a result of the French occupation of their country. These Damascenes have been working in the city as merchants for generations. At present, they can still be distinguished from other groups of people as the older and some of the middle aged people still speak the Syrian urban dialect. The creation of Israel in 1948, also served to multiply the number of urbanites in Irbid, with thousands of Palestinian urbanites from Haifa, Jaffa and the northern region of Palestine flowing in.

#### 1.3.1.2 The Horaniis

The Horaniis are those who prior to the introduction of Palestinians to the East Bank lived in Irbid City and who came to the city at a later date from the surrounding rural areas (both the city and most of the surrounding villages are integral parts of the Horaan Plain). Several sociological and linguistic studies on the Horaniis (Cantineau 1946; Patai 1958; Harris 1958; Hitti 1953), describe them as a sedentary group of people working mainly in farming. They are characterized as still being tribal in both custom and tradition. Thus while the Horaniis are classified as ruralites, they are still described by most sociologists as a tribal group of people according to a variety of social and cultural criteria. The tribal tradition is clearly manifested even in the behaviour of the Horaniis who have inhabited the city for forty years or so.

Insofar as the Horaniis are concerned, most of those who prefer village to city life still work in farming or in breeding diary animals. In fact, the Horaan Plain is considered a fertile agricultural area. But farming in this area depends heavily on rainfall, the amount and timing of which is highly unpredictable from one year to the next. Among the wealth of crops which can be planted in the Horaan area are wheat, barley, lentils, sesame, olives and

grapes. However there has been a decline in the rate of production of crops as the availability of different levels of education and access to educational facilities in the city have increased. This has provided additional incentive for the villagers to leave their villages for the prosperous life of the city. Nevertheless, the fact remains that for most Irbidian Horaniis the village continues to be the centre for the clan and/or tribe to which the Horani people are still obligated and loyal. Many of the Horaniis - even those of the younger generation - can trace their lineage to the first tribe in Arabia. For example, Saleh Al-Sharii, a retired high-ranking officer in the Jordanian Army, tells in his book (Memories of A Soldier 1985:13) of being able to trace his origin back to a tribe from Al-Taif, Saudi Arabia.

#### 1.3.1.3 The Fellahiin

The Fellahiin are also ruralite in origin, having come to the city from the rural areas of central Palestine. They are similar to the Horaniis in that they too used to work in farming and dairy animal breeding. Even though the history of the Fellahiin also speaks of a custom of loyalty towards the clan, two major elements seem to have cut deeply into tribal traditions. These elements are the diaspora and education. In other words, as a result of the dispersal of these clanspeople into different parts of the Arab world, and as a result of the spreading of formal education among the Fellahi people, they have grown more independent and less constricted by the obligations to their clans.

Socially, these three groups of Jordanians, who form the major portion of the population in Irbid, can be described as an egalitarian nation in the sense that no one group holds political, economic or religious sway over the other; according to the division posited by

the present study the regional origin of the individual does not necessarily generate social/regional division. Before these people came to live side-by-side in the city, they were quite distinct in their styles of clothing, eating and celebrating as well as being linguistically different. Social interaction between the three groups of people has begun to generate social change at all levels of life and in all directions. Each group without exception has begun to relinquish some of its own customs and habits in favour of others from one of the other groups. For example, one notices that some of the Horaniis and Fellahiin, particularly the younger and middle-aged people, have already replaced their traditional costume with Western style dress (shirt, trouser and jacket). This style of dress was initiated originally by the urbanites. One also sees that many of the culinary and celebratory customs of the Fellahiin and Horaniis have been added to the urbanites' lifestyle. For example, Almansaf, an Horani food made with rice, meat and semi-solid curdled milk, and Almisakhan, a Fellahi food made from pitta bread, olive oil, sliced onions, sumac and chicken are now popular with all three groups.

Another aspect of social interaction between the three regional groups is intermarriage, which occurs quite often and seems to be on the increase. It is not uncommon for one to find an Horani woman married to a Fellahi or urban man or an Horani man married to a Fellahi or urban woman. For the most part we can safely say that the three origin groups have become socially integrated, possibly to an extent where one might speak of ruralism (insofar as the Fellahi and Horani people are concerned) as something of the past. It would appear that all of the current inhabitants of Irbid, regardless of their regional origin, constitute an emerging urban population.

### 1.3.2 The Family

Social life in the Arab world in general, and in Jordan in particular, has always centred around the family and the attitude of the individual toward the family. The Jordanian family was characterized by Patai (1956:136) as having six main traits: (1) extended, (2) patrilineal, (3) patrilocal, (4) patriarchal, (5) endogamous, and (6) polygamous. The traditional Jordanian family (which still exists in the villages) comprises more than just the nuclear family of the husband, the wife, and their children. The individual's basic family unit is an extended one, consisting of parents, children and patrilineal relatives to the third level, such as aunts, uncles and cousins. The traditional household includes a man and his wife or wives, unmarried children, and married sons and their wives and children. Additional members may include a man's unmarried, widowed, or divorced sisters, his parents, grandparents, childless and elderly aunts and uncles, parental cousins, and his brother's orphaned children (Rees et al 1969:75-76). However, this does not seem to be the case in the city. These familial relationships appear to have undergone a great deal of change. This change is the by-product of the economic pressures of city life along with the effect of the Western-lifestyle on the new generation, through education and other means of communication with the West. Although the city dwellers still identify themselves with their individual families, the role and influence of the family in personal matters is gradually decreasing. Traditional family loyalty remains an influential force in the Jordanian society, but social change has reduced the functions of the extended family. As a result the extended family household in the larger Arab urban centres has obviously given way to the nuclear family household which comprises only man, wife and children. But the

conventional expectations of Jordanian society are that adult brothers will remain in contact with each other, and be mutually loyal and helpful, throughout life. Each man is normally the head of his own nuclear family, but he also has obligations to his brothers and to his parents as long as they live. The conventional expectations of the brother-sister relationship are a little more complex. As long as she is unmarried, a girl or young woman is thought of as being under the direct care of her parents, brothers and sisters. When she is married, the sentiments involved in that care are not erased, but the woman also comes under the care of her husband, husband's parents and his brothers. However, if the marriage ends in separation, or if the woman is widowed and has no children to care for her, her brothers are still responsible for her (Gulick 1967:131).

### 1.3.3 The Status of Women in Jordanian Society

Sullivan (1986:29) maintains that "in order to study contemporary events, it is necessary to pause and consider what the early feminists were up against". Likewise, Susan Gal (1978:11) claims that "to understand these differences (linguistic differences between gender-groups) it is necessary to go back to the activities from which the languages derive their meanings and evaluations". Therefore, a general perspective of the social status of women in Irbid City will, no doubt, be very helpful in the interpretation of the present study results.

Until relatively recently, the traditional role of Fellahi and Horani women was restricted either to caring for their children at home or to working in the fields as part of the extended family. Even in the city women did not enjoy a great deal of freedom; they were not permitted to take part in economic, political or public activities. Neither were they allowed to express opinions on public issues.

Attendance at public events, ceremonies or social gatherings was also prohibited. Practically speaking, to work outside the home in any capacity was considered disgraceful behaviour. Men only were responsible for earning a living for their families. Segregation of sexes in public gatherings, wedding ceremonies, mosque prayers, funerals etc. was, and in a sense, still is the norm. Women could not be exposed to strangers. The social network of women confined her to her own household and to an exclusively feminine sphere. Even at home a heavy burden of restrictions was imposed upon the woman by the extended family rules which govern the household as a whole. I. Kaplan (1980) has observed that:

"Sexual segregation is one of the most important determinants of social status (in Jordanian society). Men are considered superior to women in a variety of ways and contexts... Although the systematic seclusion of women is not generally practiced, men and women constitute largely separate subsocieties each with its values, attitudes and perceptions of the other".

(1980:82)

As for marriage, the choosing of one's spouse was completely out of the woman's hand. Everything was arranged for by the families of both parties, i.e. the woman's family often determined the marriage partner as well as the conditions of the dowry. The marriage age usually ranged from 14-20 years for women. A woman who did not marry before the age of 20 would be considered a spinster. Chastity was and still is one of the most precious belongings a girl can have. The loss of chastity before marriage meant that the woman would be subject to severe punishment, since sexual behaviour was, and still is, to be limited to a marital relationship. Moreover in the past, the birth of girls held certain unpleasant connotations, a woman was considered lucky and happy when she gave birth to a boy. One reason that boys were preferred was that the rural "Hamula" family took great pride in the potential effect on society that a large number of males would

have. Another factor was that men can carry on the name of the father and the family. When a father and a mother have a boy, they would be called after that boy (i.e. father of .....). Society feels that men can support and defend. On the whole, it is the men who are economic assets, even though this is partly because of the social limitations placed on the women.

With regard to education, women were almost deprived of its benefits. Virtually all women were illiterate (see Table 1.2). Notice that Urban women, who were the earliest group to benefit from education, are included in this table. The educational attainment - if any - of the Fellahi and Horani women was usually limited to "fukh ilkhat level", i.e. little knowledge of writing and reading, attained mainly in the "Kuttab" i.e. the lowest elementary Koranic school.

Table 1.2 Distribution of population by sex, age and literacy in Irbid City, in percentages: (1976)

Age groups	Literate		Illiterate	
	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
10-29 years	92,5	80,8	7,5	19,2
30-44 years	83,3	33,1	16,7	66,9
45 and over	64,9	10,1	35,1	89,9

Source: adapted from Tawalbeh (1982:116, table 42): unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alexandria-Egypt.

In contrast, men enjoyed a great deal of freedom. Their social life extended further into the outside world. They could participate in public life, go to coffeehouses or clubs for entertainment, go anywhere, in fact, without any restrictions upon them. Their social network could extend to include men from other villages or other neighbourhoods in the city. Men were and still are the only ones who had the right to take the initiative and run the family life inside and outside the household. Men were exposed to education much earlier than women.

This was the situation for Fellahi and Horani women, until the late fifties. Only in the last 3 decades has the country begun to witness an actual revolution within the social life of women. Education and mass communication have helped more than anything else to accelerate the radical changes which have taken place in all aspects of the Jordanian women's life. This accords with the view of sociologists that education is the framework within which the attitudes and perceptions of people toward each other can be reshaped. Formal education for women was introduced in the late forties. The idea was rejected at first and to some extent change was resisted. And even those women who happened to attend school at that time were often grade-school dropouts. This fact is shown clearly in table 1.2 which demonstrates the sharp difference between the three age groups with regard to the proportion of educated people versus the uneducated of both sexes. Table 1.2 shows that 89.9% of elderly women and 35.1% of elderly males are illiterate. Moving from the older age group through to the younger age group, one notices that the gap between men and women in the younger age groups is almost negated. At present, the education of girls at least through secondary school seems to be widely

accepted, even by the most conservative families. It is now quite common for younger men and women to go, side by side, to universities.

Consequently, as they have become more educated, women have also become more aware than ever before of their obligations as wives and mothers on the one hand and their rights and privileges as human beings on the other. Their participation in social life has become more and more significant. The relationship between the sexes is growing more egalitarian in all aspects of life. The attitude of society as a whole towards women has become less rigid. Women have earned university degrees and have entered professions that were once an exclusively male preserve. Also, the country now has a fairly large number of women occupying significant national and local public offices. But the fact remains that even though women have extracted themselves from many restrictions, it is not an easy task for them to emancipate themselves from the deeply embedded concept long held by society that women are inherently inferior to men. It is still a clearly observable fact that men and women, with their different ambitions, aspirations and values form two sub-communities in one larger society.

#### 1.3.4 Religion and Religious Minorities

The overwhelming majority, 93%, of the Jordanian people are Muslims. Christians form the largest portion of the non-Muslim category. They constitute 7% of the total population of the country (Dirani 1977:24). The Jordanian Christians are basically distributed between such different churches as the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek Catholic Church, and the Roman Catholic Church with a few belonging to the Protestant Church. Even though the Jordanian constitution declares Islam to be the legal religion of the country, it imposes no restrictions on other religious minorities.

The latest census of Irbid City, which was carried out in 1979, reveals that the city is populated by religious groups as shown in table 1.3 below.

Table 1.3 Distribution of Irbid's population by religion (1979)

Religion	People
Muslims	110,335
Christians	3,445
Others	59

Source: derived from Department of Statistics, 1979 - table 24.

#### 1.3.5 Education and Mass Media

Education has a direct impact on attitudes and perceptions because it shapes the framework within which identity is conceptualized and alters the nature and the kind of social interaction at both the individual and group levels. Education exposes its recipients to new ideas and approaches and provides new choices and alternatives (Jureidini and McLaurin 1984). The introduction of education and mass media to the country during the last four decades, are two of the most significant factors stimulating change and the development of social life. From our discussion of the social status of women in Jordanian Society above, we can see the extent to which the Jordanian people in general, and women in particular, were deprived in the past from the benefit of education. Dirani (1977:32-33) summarizes the history of education in Jordan during the period from 1921 to 1950 as follows:

"Transjordan's (East Bank) educational schools were limited to twenty-five religious schools. Palestine's (West Bank) educational development was different. By 1914, some 500 elementary schools were established by a number of foreign groups,

including American, English, French, German, Italian and Russian organizations.

Upon the establishment of the Amirate of Transjordan, a small system of education started in the area. The entire school system included forty-four elementary schools with 2,316 students and 81 teachers and four Secondary schools. Education in Transjordan developed more rapidly in the 1930's. The Amman Secondary Industrial School was established in 1930 as a trade school accepting students who had finished elementary studies but were unable to enter the available secondary schools. In 1932, the provisions of the old Ottoman Elementary Education Act were modified, and in 1939 legislation was enacted to deal with the administrative aspects of education.... In the same year, the Ministry of Education was established and the idea of compulsory education appeared for the first time in the country's educational history".

Only in the late 1950s and the early 1960s did the country start to witness a rapid development and actual progress in the education sector. The picture has changed entirely from a past which was associated with ignorance and darkness to a present that is full of openness and enlightenment. Every Jordanian man and woman is willing to educate his or her children and wants them to be highly educated. This is no doubt because all Jordanian people are now aware that education is virtually the sole means by which people can climb the social hierarchy and secure a more prosperous life for themselves. Jureidini and McLaurin (1984:32) were quite aware of this fact when they wrote:

"In Jordan, as in other countries of the Middle East, the way of life associated with education and the concept underlying it (that man can improve his station in life) contribute to aspirations of social mobility and to the absorption of tangible measures of social mobility".

The statistical data issued from the Ministry of Education show that in 1975/1976, 36,493 male and female students were enrolled in the Ministry of Education schools in Irbid City; in 1978/1979 this number increased to 41,624 students of both sexes. In other words this data show an increase of 1,710 students per year (Tawalbeh 1982:114). In accordance with the data issued by the Directorate of Education in

Irbid City (which administers the schools existing only in the city itself) there were in 1981-1982 46,016 students in Irbid itself; by 1985-1986 this number had increased to 47,805.

Among the innumerable changes which education and mass media have brought about in the country are:

- 1 - A radical change in the attitude of society in general, and men in particular, toward women and as a result towards the role of women in society.
- 2 - A remarkable decrease in the rate of illiteracy among the different age groups, resulting in a remarkable increase in the number of people who value education for their children.
- 3 - The initiation and acceleration of a huge process of social change in all aspects of the social life of the Jordanian people in the city.
- 4 - Through mass media, Jordanian people have become more aware of what is happening around them at both domestic and international levels. Therefore, they are being affected through their constant contact with different cultures.

#### 1.4 The Sociolinguistic Background

So far we have learned that Irbid is populated by three groups who came to the city from three different regional areas. Now we will attempt to shed some light on the language situation in the city.

Like all other speech communities in the Arab world, the one under investigation here shows two major varieties of Arabic: a spoken language (dialects) and a literary one (the classical language). In other words it is characterized by "diglossia". Even though most previous works on the Arab world agree with the fact that the colloquial variety and the classical language are different in terms of structure and function, there is still a great deal of controversy over

the number of intermediate varieties which exist between the two polar codes (a detailed illustration of this issue will be presented in the literature review in Chapter II).

Jordanian Arabic (which encompasses a number of colloquial varieties) is the native spoken language of all people in Irbid City. As far as the colloquial varieties are concerned, there are three dialects spoken in Irbid: the Horani, the Fellahi and the urban dialects. Although these three varieties form integral parts of what is referred to as the Syro-Palestinian family of dialects, they differ from one another according to certain criteria. Different labels have been given by linguists in the Arab world to differentiate between the colloquial varieties, e.g. Nomadic-Sedentary, Urban-Rural, and Urban-Rural-Bedouin. Using the Nomadic-Sedentary criterion to differentiate between these three dialects we find that while the Fellahi and the Urban dialects can be classified as sedentary (*qeltu*-dialects group), the Horani dialect can be considered nomadic (*gelet*-dialects group), although its speakers are Sedentary (cf. Blanc 1964; Palva 1976; Cantineau 1946). But we are not in a position to say that the Horani dialect is more bedouinized, nor can we confidently state that the Fellahi dialect is more urbanized. While the Horani variety conforms to certain Bedouin dialects in pronunciation and in the distribution of some prominent phonological features like the (Q), (K) and dark (L), it is significantly different from them in many other phonological, syntactical, lexical and morphological features. Similarly, while the Fellahi dialect conforms to the urban dialect in a large number of lexical, syntactical, morphological and phonological features, the former differs from the latter as regards a considerable number of other phonological features such as the distribution of (Q), (K), (D), (dh), (Dh) and (d3). On the whole, the difference between

the three colloquial varieties is not so great as to preclude communication or hinder intelligibility between the three dialects' speakers, since the dialects partially share many other linguistic features such as vocabulary, morphology, syntax and some phonological features.

As for the function of the two major varieties (Classical Arabic and the colloquial variety), it is well-known that Classical Arabic (hereinafter CA) is the official language of the country. It is also the language of religion and religious education, being the language of the Koraan. It is worth mentioning that there is also a third variety (Modern Standard Arabic, henceforth SA), which shows minor different forms from CA in lexicon and structure, and which is used in mass media, official ceremonies and public speeches. It is the medium of instruction in Jordanian schools from the first grade onward. The colloquial varieties, on the other hand, are the native spoken language of the majority of Jordanians, and they are the only means of communication for most of them, particularly the non-educated.

Although it is clear that SA is the most prestigious variety in the city, it is extremely difficult to tell which colloquial variety enjoys more prestige than the others. This is because there seems to be a great deal of disagreement between the speech community members over the perception of "local prestige". Rees et al (1969:51) were aware of this fact when they wrote:

"It is difficult to establish whether one dialect in Jordan enjoys a great prestige than do the others".

The effect of social interaction along with the influence of wide spread education and mass media in the city have apparently brought about two processes of change. The first is a process of "standardization" in which the speakers, regardless of their regional origin, use more standard forms in their speech. The second is a

process of "levelling" or "Koineization" in which one particular colloquial variety's speaker tends to accommodate his speech towards another colloquial variety's speaker. In both cases one notices that there seems to be a number of social factors which motivate the Jordanian people in Irbid City to use one particular linguistic feature rather than another. Therefore, a closer examination of usage (as will be seen later) is the only means by which one can detect which social group prefers which linguistic feature.

In this study we have confined our investigation of these two mechanisms of linguistic change (see also aim and scope of study below) to the speech of only two of the three origin groups: the Fellahiin and the Horaniis. The rationale behind choosing these two groups as the focus of study is as follows:

- 1 - Socially, the Fellahiin and the Horaniis seem to be more homogeneous, since they share rural origin.
- 2 - Linguistically, although these two groups speak two different dialects, they appear to be homogeneous in their use of most of the phonological features which distinguish the urbanite from the non-urbanite speakers. For example, while both the Horani and the Fellahi people preserve /Dh/, /dh/, /th/, /d3/ and /ch/ in their speech, the urbanites preserve /D/, /d/, /t/ and /s/, /3/ and /K/ respectively in their speech.
- 3 - Even though there is no official statistical data (for a number of political reasons) providing the exact number of people in each origin group in Irbid, from the author's personal experience of the locale, it is believed that these two groups form the overwhelming majority of the city's population. This is most likely because of the city's close proximity to the largest assembly of villages in the country, and also because of the lower

standard of living in the city (as compared with Amman) which makes it a more feasible target for migration from both the rural areas in the West Bank and the surrounding rural areas in the East Bank.

### 1.5 Phonological Preliminaries

This section is intended to familiarize the reader with some phonological facts about Jordanian Arabic (hereinafter JA). It presents a brief illustration of the consonants, vowels and diphthongs. It is important to point out that the three colloquial varieties, the urban, the Horani and the Fellahi, will be referred to in this section as (JA).

#### 1.5.1 Consonants

CA in general has 28 consonantal segments and JA has 35 (see chart 1.1 below. Two ([v] and [p]) out of the seven extra consonants which are peculiar to JA occur only in loans from European languages such as : /vidio/ (video), /sovyet/ (Soviet), /pitsa/ (pitsa). The two segments [v] and [p] do not occur as independent phonemes, but they do occur phonetically as allophones of /f/ and /b/ when these two latter segments occur before voiced and voiceless obstruents respectively as in these examples:

/biss/ (cat)	->	/psa:s/ (cats)
/faza9/ (he rescued)	->	/nivza9/ (we rescue)

The other five consonantal segments, /g/, /ch/, /Z/, /L/ and /3/ are distributed in the three colloquial varieties as follows:

/g/ is the Horani colloquial reflex of the SA phoneme /q/

/ch/ is the Horani-Fellahi colloquial reflex of the SA phoneme /k/

/3/ is the urban colloquial reflex of the SA phoneme /d3/

/L/ is the Horani emphatic reflex of SA /l/ which occurs in roots where it is preceded by /x/, /G/ or /q/ (see Blanc 1964:19-20;

Chart 1.1

JA consonants classified according to place and manner of articulation

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental emphatic	Dental non-emphatic	Interdental emphatic	Interdental non-emphatic	Palatal	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops												
voiceless	(p)*		T	t					K	q		ʔ
voiced	b		D	d					(g)			
Fricatives												
voiceless		f	S	s	Dh	th		sh		x	H	h
voiced		(v)*	(Z)	z		dh		(3)		ʁ	9	
Affricates												
voiceless								(ch)				
voiced								dʒ				
Nasals	M			n								
Laterals			(L)	l								
Trills				r								
Glides	w						y					

Key to chart

( ) Parenthesis denotes consonants occur only in JA

\* denotes consonants of low frequency, occurring only in lexical items borrowed from European languages (English, French, Italian etc.)

Cantineau 1946:107-109). An emphatic /L/ appears also phonemically in the other two dialects in the word /ʔaLLah/ (God), and in other religious terms.

### 1.5.2 Distribution of consonantal segments among JA varieties

Even though all SA consonantal segments are found in JA as a whole, some of these segments, however, do not normally occur in some colloquial varieties of JA. Among the phonological features which differentiate the three colloquial varieties from one another are the following segments: (Q), (Dh), (D), (th), (d3), (dh) and (k). A detailed description of these segments will be presented later in the relevant places, since most of them have been selected in this study as phonological variables.

As for the "emphatic" (the velarized or pharyngealized) consonants, CA has only four emphatic sounds, D, Dh, T, S, and in a very few items (e.g. /ʔaLLah/ "God") the lateral phoneme (L). JA, on the other hand, has the same emphatic realizations plus the urban realization [Z] of /Dh/. It is worth mentioning that non-emphatic consonants can also be realized as emphatic in the vicinity of one of the primary or secondary emphatics (see Abdo 1969; Harrell 1957; Mitchell 1960). Examples of this are

/saTil/	->	/SaTil/	"bucket"
/Darab/	->	/DaRab/	"he hit"
/Sadir/	->	/SaDir/	"chest"

In JA, as in all other Arabic dialects, all consonants with the exception of /W/ and /y/ occur in any position in a word without restrictions, for example in word initial, -medial and -final and before or after a vowel; glides do not occur in the environment ca - c# (cf. Abumdas 1985:40)

e.g.,	CA	/xayT/	->	JA	/xe:T/	"thread"
	CA	/mawz/	->	JA	/mo:z/	"bananas"

### 1.5.3 Vowels

There are three short vowels in CA, /i/, /u/ and /a/, and three long vowels: /i:/, /u:/ and /a:/, in addition to the diphthongs, /ay/ and /aw/. JA shares the same three short vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/. In addition to the three CA long vowels JA has two long vowels, giving in total five long vowels: /i:/, /u:/, /a:/, /e:/ and /o:/. The two long vowels (/e:/ and /o:/) are the colloquial representative of the two Arabic diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/. The vowel system of JA is then made up of three short vowels and five long vowels. The two long mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ can be considered as two separate phonemes having independent phonemic status. But it has been reported in many studies of different Arabic dialects (e.g., Abdo 1969; Abumdas 1985; Harrell 1957) that /e:/ and /o:/ do not have short equivalents, even though there are two short vowels /e/ and /o/ acting as allophones of /a/ and /u/.

Footnotes

1. Decapolis is a federation of some ten cities holding the monopoly of ancient trade. These are: Seythopolis (Beisan), Pella (Tabaqat el-Fahl), Arbila (Irbid), Dion (Husn), Gadara (Umm Qeis), Hippos (Fiq), Raphana (al-Rafah), Gerasa (Jerash), Philadelphia (Amman), Kamatha (Qanawat) and Damascus (cf. Osborne 1981:8, 104).
2. The population of Irbid City in 1986, is calculated on the basis of an annual increase of 3% (Department of Statistics - Jordan).

## Chapter II

### Theoretical background and literature review

#### 2.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical paradigm upon which this research is based and to provide a brief outline of the different stages of its development. Another aim is to present a review of the previous literature and the development of socio-linguistic research in the Arab world.

#### 2.1 Theoretical background

The theoretical paradigm of this study is based on the sociolinguistic theory as developed by Labov (1963, 1966, 1972a, 1972b) and his associates, e.g. Sankoff (1974), Trudgill (1974), among others.

This paradigm presupposes that:

"variability is an integral part of linguistic competence, and observed variation in linguistic performance should be construed as statistical reflections of an underlying competence which is probabilistic."

(Cedergren and D. Sankoff 1973, quoted in Cedergren 1973:2)

This theoretical orientation contrasts sharply with the views of traditional linguists such as Noam Chomsky who maintains that:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance."

(Chomsky, 1965:3)

The Chomskian view has it that speech communities are homogeneous to the extent that a whole speech community can be studied through the speech of only one speaker who can be regarded as a perfect representative of it. All heterogeneous linguistic behaviour (variation) is seen by Chomsky as part of the realm of 'performance' without which linguistic theory could stand firmly; therefore it should be left out of any linguistic study.

In fact these concepts are an elaboration of those ideas which prevailed in the realm of linguistics in the early twenties. Ferdinand de Saussure (1916) proposes that language and society are best kept separate. This he asserts is because language can be studied without any reference to society: 'to say that we cannot understand the linguistic organism without studying external phenomena is wrong' (Saussure, 1916/1956:22). Hence segregation of what Saussure considers the most important element, 'langue' (language), and the least important, 'parole' (speech) is mandatory in order for a study of language to be successfully implemented (for a fuller illustration of these views see Lehmann (1973, 1981); Romaine (1982b); Hudson 1986).

The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, has strongly refuted these views and supports the importance of variation and its necessary involvement in any study of language. Sociolinguists believe that variation should be brought closer to the centre of concern rather than remain on the periphery. They claim that linguistic theory must be extended to incorporate variation, both within the speech community and within the competence (not just the performance) of the individual speaker (Francis 1984:205). Homogeneity has been seen by sociolinguists as the by-product of the dichotomy posited by Chomsky between 'competence' and 'performance' and by Saussure between 'langue' and 'parole'. Some variationists have also proposed that the best way to observe variation in its systematic pattern is to study it within the speech of the group as a whole, which can be defined on the basis of certain social criteria such as social class, age, sex etc. (Labov, 1972a; Labov et al, 1968). The latter view is supported mainly by followers of the Labovian approach. Some variationists such as Bickerton (1971), Bailey (1973) and De Camp (1973) argue for the usefulness of studying linguistic variation in individuals rather than in groups.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, variationists have maintained that that which has so far been considered "free variation" is no longer "free". Rather, linguistic variability is a systematic and rule-governed phenomenon that can be accounted for in terms of its relationship with a number of linguistic and/or extra-linguistic factors. This fact is clearly stated by Fisher (1958):

"Free variation" is of course a label, not an explanation. It does not tell us where the variants come from nor why the speakers use them in differing proportions, but rather a way of excluding such questions from the scope of immediate inquiry."

(Fisher 1958:483)

It is the work of William Labov (1963) (the social motivation of a sound change) which constitutes a turning point in the modern history of linguistics. Despite the fact that there was a faint recognition of language as a social phenomenon and that a link between language and social parameters existed, there was still no clear-cut evidence of any relationship between the methods and concepts of the social sciences and those of linguistics. In his study on Martha's Vineyard (1963) Labov employed new concepts of language and new methodological procedures. He was able to demonstrate convincingly that variation is a systematic and functional phenomenon and that sound change is socially motivated, i.e. prestige is an important element in the gradual favouring of one allophone over another.

Through a wealth of research (Labov 1966, 1969, 1972a, 1972b, 1970, 1981) Labov was able to revolutionize the realm of methodology and introduce new ideas about the relation of language to society. There is no doubt that Labov's (1966) work in New York City marked the real beginning of the appearance of a great number of sociolinguistic studies in different parts of the world; in the United States : Wolfram (1969), Shuy et al (1968), Fasold (1972); in Britain : Trudgill (1974), Macaulay (1977), Reid (1978), Douglas-Cowie (1978); in Iran :

Modaressi-Teharni (1978), Jahangiri (1980) Jahangiri and Hudson (1982); in the Arab World: Schmidt (1974), Shorab (1982), Al Jehani (1985). These and many other studies were carried out according to the Labovian quantitative approach, with modifications that serve the purpose of these works and the speech communities under investigation.

In an attempt to incorporate language variation into generative grammar Labov (1969, 1972a, 1972b) introduced his 'variable rule' model,<sup>2</sup> built upon the standard model of generative grammar. The generative model argue for the existence of two types of rules which can be used to provide a comprehensive grammar of a language: obligatory rules and optional rules. The former are the rules which account for the categorical realization of a particular feature in a certain phonetic environment; the latter are those rules which may or may not apply in a certain environment.

These are hypothetically schematized as follows:

(1) Obligatory rule:  $x \rightarrow Y/C - \#$

(2) Optional rule :  $x \rightarrow (Y)/C - \#$

Labov (1969) suggests that neither the obligatory nor the optional rule can account for structural variation in a language. Therefore he proposed the 'variable rule', the frequency of application of which to an eligible string varies with the presence of certain linguistic and extralinguistic factors. In other words, the output frequency (the number of cases in which the rule applies out of the total of cases in which it might apply) is shown as a function of both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. In order to compute the probability of the application of the 'variable rule' several methods have been devised, such as the additive model (Labov 1969, 1972a), the multiplicative model (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974) and the logistic model (Rousseau and Sankoff 1978).

Another important aspect of the variable paradigm is the introduction of new ideas with respect to linguistic change. It was previously believed that the change itself could not be observed and that it was only the propagation of the change that could be seen. Bloomfield (1933:347), for instance, suggests that the reason why linguistic change cannot be observed is because it is too slow. Variationists, by contrast, demonstrate different views: Bailey (1973) maintains that variation and change are two integral parts and that the former implies the latter. Prior to Bailey, Labov et al (1972) argue (in response to King 1969, and Postal 1968) that:

"no useful distinction can be made between a change and its propagation ... as long as we continue to consider language an instrument of communication. The language does not change if one man invents an odd form or develops an idiosyncrasy, even if people understand and evaluate his behaviour; it does change when others adopt his idiosyncrasy and use it as a new social convention for communicating their intent."

(Labov et al 1972:7)

According to sociolinguists, change can be easily detected through an empirical quantitative study of speech. Labov (1966, 1972a, 1972b, 1980) believes that the best way to discover an on-going change is to make a quantitative comparison between the speech of two or three generations with a verification from real time data. This is because, according to Labov, linguistic differences between two or more generations might be a result of mere age-grading repeating itself in each generation. Therefore evidence from real time is needed. In his study of Martha's Vineyard (1963), and New York City (1966), Labov used the linguistic Atlas and other records as evidence of the earlier linguistic situation; these enabled him to establish where change was going on in real time in those communities. The direction of linguistic change can thus be detected and, to a limited extent, predicted (Feagin 1979:19).

By following the same procedures, linguistic change was also successfully investigated in a number of other sociolinguistic works such as Labov et al (1972), Trudgill (1974), Callary (1975), Habic (1980), Al-Amadidhi (1985), Modaresi (1978). In most cases it has been shown that social prestige is the most significant element affecting the direction of change: people tend to adopt the linguistic forms characteristic of the upper classes in the society.

Sociolinguists have also paid a great deal of attention to the study of speech styles. Labov (1972a) argues that stylistic variation is directly related to the situation in which the speaker finds himself. Labov also proposes a continuum of stylistic variation ranging in formality from the least formal (i.e. the casual style) to the most formal (i.e. the word list or the minimal pair styles). The degree of formality of the style along this continuum is contingent, according to Labov, upon the amount of attention paid to speech. The Labovian approach of studying stylistic variation was later adopted by many other linguists, such as, for example, Trudgill's (1974) study of Norwich, and Petyt's (1985) study of West Yorkshire; Al-Jehani's (1985) study of Makka and Royal's (1985) study of Cairo. This approach has been questioned by a number of linguists (Romaine 1975; Romaine and Traugott 1981; Milroy 1980; Macaulay 1977; Al-Amadidhi 1985) on the grounds that speaking and reading are two different behaviours that cannot be arranged along a linear stylistic continuum (for a fuller view of this issue see sociolinguistic variation and style shifting - Chapter VIII). Nevertheless in this present study we will examine stylistic variation in JA according to the Labovian formula in an effort to test the instrumentality and applicability of this approach to speech communities other than those in which it has been used before.

Finally, among the many contributions of the quantitative paradigm to the study of linguistic variation is the use of linguistic analysis by such linguists as Coupland (1980, 1984), Trudgill (1982, 1984, 1986) as a tool in examining the processes involved in linguistic accommodation (Giles et al 1973; Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Smith 1979), and the extent to which accommodation takes place. Linguistic self-analysis by interviewers has been carried out before by a number of linguists. Jahr (1979), for example, analysed his use of a number of syntactic variables while he was talking to his interviewers. He concluded that his syntax was to a certain extent influenced by the sex of his informants and also by their syntax (reported in Trudgill 1986:7). (For a thorough discussion of linguistic accommodation and other related issues see Chapter 9).

## 2.2 Review of the Literature

### 2.2.1 Traditional Studies of Arabic

It is Ferguson's article (1959), "Diglossia", which represents the starting point for a series of linguistic studies of classical Arabic in relation to the colloquial spoken varieties. In his study of diglossia in the Arab world, Ferguson observed the existence of two forms of the same language, the High Variety (i.e. the classical language) and the Low Variety (i.e. the colloquial dialect(s)). These two forms of Arabic were found to differ in terms of structure and function. Ferguson sees diglossia as:

"a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard). There is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or of 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 of ordinary conversation."

(1959:in Hymes 1964:435)

The two forms of Arabic are distinct in structure because each has its own phonology, syntax and morphology. The vocabularies of the H. Variety and the L. Variety are, in a sense, shared. They are also distinct in function since there are situations in which only the classical Arabic is appropriate and others in which the colloquial varieties can be used, with the two sets overlapping only very slightly. Even though Ferguson speaks in his article of 'additional varieties' existing between the two polar codes, he gives no clear idea of the nature or function of these intermediate varieties. Furthermore he maintains that the utilization of a mixed form i.e. something from this code and something from that, seems to be random and not rule-governed.

Ferguson's model has inspired many scholars to write on this phenomenon, and a large number of studies (e.g. Kaye 1972, 1976; Fellman 1973; Al Toma 1974; Fishman 1971; Hymes 1964; Harrell 1960, Blanc 1960) deal with 'diglossia' from different angles. The most controversial issue in this respect is the nature and number of the intermediate varieties.

Al Toma (1969) in his study of Iraqi Arabic stresses Ferguson's views when he shows that there exists a dichotomy between the two forms of Arabic. He also speaks of a third intermediate form of Arabic labelled as /ʔal luʔa al wasTa/ (the middle language) which appears to take place between the classical and colloquial varieties. He views this third variety as a mixture of the two polar forms, although the major portion of features included in this variety are "predominately colloquial, but they reveal a noticeable degree of classicism especially in the use of lexical items".

Fellman (1973) also argues for a third intermediate variety when he says that:

"every effort is being made in speech and in writing to bridge the gap between CA and the Colloquial dialects, and to evolve a new middle Arabic serving as a harmonizing bridge between the two."  
(Fellman 1973:32)

In a study of stylistic shifting in the speech of four educated Arab speakers, Blanc (1960) distinguished between five levels of style coinciding with five varieties of Arabic. These being:

- 1 - plain colloquial
- 2 - koineized colloquial
- 3 - semi-literary or elevated colloquial
- 4 - modified classical
- 5 - standard classical

Each of these five levels was seen to possess certain linguistic characteristics. Even though Blanc was clearly aware of the fact that stylistic variation in Arabic co-varies with certain situational constraints (such as the formality of the situation, topic, origin, interlocutor, setting etc.), he did not link his proposed styles to such extra-linguistic factors but distinguished them according to some linguistic criteria. To put it another way, instead of using a stylistic dimension such as that used by Labov (1966, 1972a) to show a variation between the different styles, he correlated certain constellation of lexical and phonological features with each of them. This shows that the more the SA variant [q] is realized in the speech of the individual the more formal the style of speech.

Similarly Badawi (1973), an Egyptian linguist, also argues for the existence of five varieties of Arabic corresponding with five types of speech style. Unlike those suggested by Blanc, the stylistic continuum claimed by Badawi is more refined, in that they were defined sociolinguistically; that is, they were differentiated from each other

on the basis of both linguistic and extralinguistic elements. These elements include such things as how they can be used with their linguistic features by different social groups of people in different linguistic situations. The five levels of style distinguished by Badawi (1973:89) are indicated as follows:

- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 - fuSHa ?al turrath          | Classical Arabic              |
| 2 - fuSHa ?al 9asr             | Modern literary Arabic        |
| 3 - 9a:miyyat ?al muthaqaffi:n | Colloquial of the educated    |
| 4 - 9a:miyyat ?al mutanawiri:n | Colloquial of the enlightened |
| 5 - 9a:miyyat ?al ?ummiyyi:n   | Colloquial of the illiterate  |

Each of these five levels was defined by Badawi on the basis of a number of linguistic elements which form the contents of the variety (i.e. level), extra-linguistic elements which refer to the people who use the variety and the situation in which this variety can be used. For example, level one is defined as the language of the Koraan, Classical literature and poetry. According to Badawi, this level seems to be absent from the everyday life of Egypt since practically the only context in which one can hear this variety of Arabic is in the religious discourses by religious "Sheikhs" in Al-Azhar or in Friday prayers. Level three is defined as the language of educated people when discussing serious topics such as education, history etc. in less formal situations. According to Badawi's classification, this level is the one which is used for political speeches, University lectures etc.

It is evident that Blanc and Badawi's types of style are similar in the sense that both introduce a stylistic range extending on a hierarchy from pure colloquial to pure classical.

A more serious attempt to bridge the wide gap between the classical language and the colloquial variety was made by Hussein (1980) in his study (a Ph.D. dissertation) of the Jordanian speech

community. This was a study of varieties in terms of variation without investigating the social correlates of variation.

Hussein assumes the existence of three major varieties of Arabic used in the Arab world: CA, MSA and KA (Colloquial Arabic). He contends that these varieties are distinct from one another structurally and functionally.

"it would be more correct, however, to say that the language situation (in the Arab World) is characterized by "triglossia", the latter being more comprehensive, since it handles an additional variety : Modern Standard Arabic ... which is designated differently from place to place."

(Hussein 1980:1)

In fact, Hussein's study was built around data collected from 10 Jordanian students enrolled at the University of New York at Buffalo. Three methods were used for the purpose of this study:

1. Interviewing, by means of a questionnaire
2. recognition test
3. attitude test

From the results of data analysis, Hussein concluded that the linguistic situation in the Arab world can be described in terms of "triglossia" which accommodates three language varieties (CA, MSA, KA) i.e. classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Colloquial Arabic. He argues that the third variety (MSA) can be distinguished from the other two varieties both structurally and functionally, and that it has a wider range of domains than CA and KA combined (Ibid:179-180).

I share Hussein's opinion that these three varieties of Arabic exist. However, despite the fact that he has obviously done considerable work to substantiate the independence of each variety from the other, I do not think that it is as simple as Hussein indicates to make clear-cut demarcations between these varieties. I also feel that it is not plausible to ignore the links and overlapping which exist between CA and MSA, on the levels of lexicon and phonology.

In a similar attempt Schultz (1981) aims at examining the five levels of Arabic previously suggested by Badawi (1973). His major objective was to examine the third level 9a:miyyat al-muthaqaffi:n (colloquial of the educated people). Schultz states that it would have been more appropriate for Badawi to have made his division between the third and fourth levels (i.e. between the colloquial of educated people and the modern Literary Arabic) rather than between the second and the third (i.e. the colloquial of enlightened people and the colloquial of educated people). In fact, this doctoral dissertation was also a study of varieties in terms of variation, but without any investigation of the social correlates of variation.

Schultz's data were recorded from the radio /al-barnamad3 ?ath thani/ (the cultural broadcasting service of Radio Cairo). In total, he was able to record 19 hours of broadcasting with a corpus of data given by 49 male speakers discussing a wide range of topics relating to religion, politics, education, as well as economic issues. Most of the linguistic aspects of the recorded speech (grammar, syntax, lexicon, phonology and morphology) were analyzed by Schultz himself.

The results of his study are very interesting and revealing with respect to linguistic variation in Arabic. In general, Schultz realized that there seems to be a hierarchy in the use of the classical elements. In other words, some classical elements were used by the speakers more often than others. For example, the SA phoneme /q/ was used 80-89%, the SA phoneme /d3/ was used 40-49%, whereas the SA /Dh/ was used only 10-19% of the time. He also concludes that level three (colloquial of educated people) is neither classical nor colloquial, but rather a mixture of the two. Moreover he states that he thinks that "realistically, one must assume an intermediate position, namely that MSA and CEA (Colloquial Egyptian Arabic) have different but closely related grammars as well as lexicons" (Schultz 1981:176).

One of the most fundamental consequences of Hussein and Schultz's work is that it generates a new perception of Arabic, describing the language spoken in the Arab world in terms of a continuum of well-defined (three or more) varieties. But with all the merits and contributions of these studies, it remains a fact that they did not inform us exactly what type of conditioning factors (i.e. linguistic or extra-linguistic) might govern the use of one variety rather than the other. All in all, they state that the classical language is used in religious sermons, letter writing, public speeches etc. the modern standard Arabic is the language of mass media and educated people, and the colloquial varieties are the native spoken language of the majority of Arab people, and are usually used in family conversation, with intimate friends etc. In other words, these studies are mainly concerned with varieties in terms of variation without showing what social factors conditioning the use of these varieties.

#### 2.2.2 Quantitative Studies of Arabic in its social context

In the past, most studies of Arabic linguistics, whether carried out by Arabs or Arabists, have focused exclusively on studying the language in terms of varieties rather than linguistic variation. This has become an accepted tradition until recently, when a very few works have emerged which deal with the language in its social context and in the light of its relationship with both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors.

##### 2.2.2.1 Schmidt's (1974) Study of Egyptian Arabic

The first attempt to study linguistic variation in Arabic from a quantitative point of view was the research carried out by Schmidt (1974) on Egyptian Arabic. In his study Schmidt attempts to undertake the same type of analysis that was undertaken by Labov (1966) in his study of New York City. The sample of this study consisted mainly of a

group of 16 students, equally distributed by sex, from the American University in Cairo, together with a group of 12 male subjects from the humble working class neighbourhood of Cairo "Al sayyida Zeinab". Of course, the American University students are more highly placed on the social hierarchy than are their counterparts from "Al Sayyida Zeinab", be it by virtue of their level of education or their prosperous backgrounds.

In addition to social variation, Schmidt's study was also concerned with stylistic variation. Employing the same interviewing technique used by Labov (1966), Schmidt was able to elicit four speech styles, (1) informal, (2) formal, (3) reading passage, and (4) word list. Five phonological variables were selected for the purpose of investigation. It was expected that each would reveal some social and stylistic differences between the informants. Among these variables are the (Q) and (d3) variables.

The results of this study are very interesting for they show that the pattern of variation realized in the speech of the subjects was structured and rule-governed. It seemed to covary statistically with most of the sociological variables selected for investigation. It was also shown that linguistic variables can be differentiated from one another with respect to their social evaluation and the degree to which they are correlated with other sociological variables. Women were found to utilize fewer standard features in their speech than men do. Lastly, Schmidt found that there was a wide gap between the two conversational styles on the one hand, and the two reading styles on the other. For example, he observed that the number of the SA variant [q] increased by an average of 61 percent when the speaker reads from printed material. But in the two conversational styles, the SA [q] variant was realized only 11 percent of the potential time.

On the whole this study can be seen as a turning point in that it is the first of its kind in the Arab world to follow the empirical quantitative approach as a means of investigation. In studying Arabic in relation to society, Schmidt was able to demonstrate that variation in Arabic is structured, systematic and functional.

#### 2.2.2.2 Abdul-Jawad's (1981) Study of Amman Speech Community

Abdul-Jawad's study was focused on Arabic as it is spoken in Amman City (Jordan). Basically Abdul-Jawad was concerned with lexical and phonological variation in spoken Arabic. Only two phonological variables, (Q) and (K) were examined in his study, in which Abdul-Jawad used the same interview technique and the same methods of analysis used by Labov (1966) in New York City. Although he made use of the Labovian interview technique in eliciting styles, he elicited three speech styles from his subjects and a fourth style from public speeches, religious speeches, classroom lectures, etc; the source of the fourth style are speakers who did not know that they were being recorded. He labelled this fourth style as the "public style". It should be mentioned here that this "public style", according to Abdul-Jawad, consists of unscripted speeches taken from a press conference given by the King, an address to Parliament by the Prime Minister... etc. These four styles are as follows:

1. public style (the most formal)
2. formal style
3. informal style
4. casual style (the least formal)

Abdul-Jawad claims that all forms of reading styles were dismissed from consideration because he (beforehand) assumed that:

"there is a perfect match, or at least close to perfect, between spelling and pronunciation. Once a consonant or a vowel is

written in Arabic, speakers will have no choice but to pronounce it correctly with no option to differentiate it from other consonants in the system."

(Abdul-Jawad 1981:101)

Although this claim may be true of certain phonological features, such as, for example, the (Q) or (K) which undergo a great deal of social pressure, the present study's evidence, as will be shown later, along with evidence from Shorab's (1982) study, indicates that even the reading material in Arabic is not immune to stylistic variation. Colloquial variants can also be realized in reading from a text.

Even though Abdul-Jawad's study has revealed excellent and interesting results with regard to lexical and phonological variation, it seems to suffer from some drawbacks with respect to the number of phonological variables investigated (only two variables) and the number of contextual styles isolated. Undoubtedly, every speaker has a variety of styles in his speech, but the fact remains that it is hardly enough for a researcher to elicit three kinds of speech style extending on a linear continuum from casual through to formal in an interview setting ranging in length from 15 to 60 minutes.

#### 2.2.2.3 Shorab's Study of the Palestinian speech community in Buffalo (1982)

The works of Shorab and Abdul-Jawad are the studies most relevant to our research, since one of the two origin groups investigated in our study, i.e. the Fellahiin, was investigated in both of these two works. Shorab's study was carried out as research for a Ph.D. degree. He studied the speech of 26 Palestinian informants, distributed evenly between the Palestinian community in Buffalo, New York and Palestinian students enrolled at the University of New York at Buffalo.

Seven phonological variables were used for the purpose of his study. These consisted of five consonants ((Q), (d3), (D), (K) and

(th)) and two diphthongs (ay) and (aw). The data was collected with the help of a structured questionnaire designed to elicit four types of speech styles:

1. Casual style
2. Formal style
3. Reading passage style
4. Word list style

Also, this study is basically concerned with three origin groups : urbanites, bedouin and fellahiin, who represent the native population of Palestine.

Shorab's study reveals interesting results as regards sex and education. Palestinian women and men, in general, were found to differ in their linguistic behaviour, with the female group leaning towards the colloquial urban variants more than men. Men, on the other hand, were found to be heavy users of both the Standard and the Bedouin variants. Education was found to be of great importance in the process, since the educated speakers tended to use more standard features than the uneducated did. Furthermore, the three origin groups were found to differ from each other in their linguistic behaviour. The Bedouin group appeared to be more faithful to their colloquial variants than the other two origin groups. Shorab concluded that the Fellahiin speakers are insecure linguistically, for they are fully aware of the stigmatized status of their colloquial variety and as such tend to use more standard forms in their speech along with colloquial variants other than their own.

Even though Shorab's study has on the whole yielded interesting results, it does have shortcomings, especially in the way he selected his informants. It seems to me that because of the small size of the Palestinian community in Buffalo, Shorab selected his informants on the

basis of availability, disregarding the criteria that should have been used. Moreover, Shorab did not specify the exact number of informants drawn from each origin groups. He also tended to draw some conclusions without indicating the statistical results concerning the use of the linguistic variables by the different social groups. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the (d3) variable.

#### 2.2.2.4 Al-Jehani's Study of Makkan Arabic (1985)

Al-Jehani's work was carried out on the Makka speech community as research for his Ph.D degree. His data was collected in Makka, Saudi Arabia from a sample of 38 informants, all of whom were native to the City. The 38 informants were distributed into different social groups according to three sociological factors: age, education and ethnicity. According to Al-Jehani, a number of difficulties prevented him from obtaining an equal number of informants from the two ethnic groups. Therefore his sample consists of 27 sedentary informants and only 11 nomadic informants. Also, as a result of the cultural norms which restrict women, the sex factor was not included in his study. Thus, his research was concerned only with one gender group (the males).

Four types of speech style were elicited by Al-Jehani through the use of a structured questionnaire: (1) casual style, (2) careful style, (3) reading style and (4) word list style. The linguistic variables chosen for the purpose of the study are the phonological variables (th), (dh) and (Dh). Each variable has three reflexes : the stops [t], [d] and [D] and the sibilants [s], [z] and [Z] in addition to the fricatives, [th], [dh] and [Dh].

The study shows that there are close correlations between the linguistic variables and all of the sociological parameters investigated. It also demonstrates that all three linguistic variables are lexically conditioned. As in all other studies of Arabic,

education was found to be the most important element influencing the choice of linguistic variables. More importantly Al-Jehani found that although the Makkans of the two ethnic groups are integrated, they are nevertheless identifiable through their usage of the variables.

This study, however, suffers from a number of limitations. Firstly, it failed to indicate clearly the motivating forces behind the pattern of stylistic variation. And secondly, the number of informants in the two ethnic groups which are the subject of his study are much too unequal in number (11 nomads and 27 sedentaries).

#### 2.2.2.5 Al Amadidhi's Study of Qatari Arabic (1985)

The major objective of Al Amadidhi's doctoral thesis is the investigation of the lexical and sociolinguistic variation in Qatari Arabic. His study represents a major effort in handling and discussing lexical and phonological variation in the Qatari speech community in terms of sociological factors. The study is mainly concerned with four ethnic groups who form the native population of Qatar : Qaba:yyil, Badaw, Howala and Ajam. The first group, the Qaba:yyil (the tribes) represent the original inhabitants of the country. The Badaw, the second group, represent the nomadic Qatari people. The Howala are those people who came back to Qatar after living on the Western Coast of the Arab Gulf (i.e. Iran) and who are believed to be of Arab extraction. The fourth group, the most stigmatized group according to Al Amadidhi, are those people who came to Qatar from the southern parts of Iran after the discovery of oil in Qatar. These people are Persian in origin.

Al Amadidhi's study is based on the speech of 45 Qatari informants selected from the four origin groups. Each origin group was divided into two age groups: older and younger. The younger group of informants was also divided into three groups according to educational

background. this means that the entire older age group consists of uneducated speakers. The sex factor was not considered in this study for the same reasons given by Al-Jehani. The author claims that the sample is not random and can be considered adequate enough to make certain judgements. The linguistic variables selected for the purpose of investigation were the two consonantal phonemes : (Q) and (d3). The first has four reflexes in the speech of the Qatari people: [q], [ʁ], [g] and [d3]. And the (d3) variable has three reflexes: [d3], [j], and [y].

In actual fact his study reveals very interesting results on the level of lexical and phonological variation. It was shown that the kinds of words used by the Qatari speaker (whether colloquial or standard) was dependent on the educational attainment of the speaker; the highly educated, for instance, tended to use more standard lexical items than the moderately educated, who in turn tended to use more standard items than the uneducated. Additionally, ethnic membership was also shown to be very significant, as the different social groups appeared to be distinct in their use of the different linguistic variables. The Howala, who are believed to come from Arab backgrounds, were found to be very willing to identify themselves with the Qaba:yyil group (the most influential group socially and politically). This identification, according to Al Amadidhi, is not limited only to language, but extends to encompass some other aspects of social life as well.

In fact Al Amadidhi's study provides significant findings both on the level of lexical variation and phonological variation. Yet the method used by the author in studying stylistic variation seems inadequate. In order to test his hypothesis that "the nature of the material being read influences the realization of the sociolinguistic

variables", the author presented to the educated informants (who took part in reading) two pieces of material which were similar in structure but which were at the same time perceived to be different by the native speakers. In other words, Al Amadidhi replaced the reading passage with a poem written in the standard variety, and the word list with a poem written in the colloquial variety. Therefore the results, particularly with regard to the (Q) variable, showed a broken stylistic range, indicating a higher percentage use of the SA variant [q] (97%) in the 'reading standard style' and a lower percentage use of the same SA variant [q] (34%) in the 'reading colloquial style'. What must be said here is that the hypothesis presented by Al Amadidhi need not be tested since it is a recognized fact that, in Arabic, when an informant is exposed to colloquial material he will read it with its colloquial forms and when he is exposed to a standard material he will read it with its standard forms.

As far as I know, only seven studies have been done so far on Arabic in terms of the Labovian quantitative approach. In addition to the five studies which were reviewed above, there are two other studies: one was carried out on Egyptian Arabic by Royal (1985) and the other on Syrian Arabic by Jassem (1987). With the exception of these works, most of the research that has been done in the Arab world (22 countries) is limited to a study of the language in terms of varieties according to the traditional descriptive approach through the point of view of the researcher.

Footnotes

1. Concerning this issue, see Bailey (1973), De Camp (1973) and Bickerton (1971 and 1973).
2. For more details on the variable rule model see Labov (1966/1969), Cedergren (1973), Cedergren and Sankoff (1974), Romaine (1982b).

### Chapter III

#### The present study

##### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter falls into two main sections: the first introduces the aim and scope of the study and the second presents the various methodological procedures used in the research.

##### 3.1 Aim and scope

The majority of previous studies of Arabic, as we have just seen are concerned mainly with studying the similarities or dissimilarities between two, three or more varieties of Arabic through description, comparison or contrast and in terms of function and structure. In other words, most previous studies of Arabic have focused on language varieties rather than linguistic variation. The present study, by contrast, is concerned with a linguistic situation that can be best described as a standard language - colloquial variety continuum, with a series of lects, which are a combination of features from the standard and the colloquial, taking place in-between the two polar codes. To put it differently, this is a study of linguistic variation, but not of language varieties.

The major purpose of this study is to provide a full and thorough illustration of the pattern of variation existing within the speech of two rural groups (the Horaniis and the Fellehiin) in Irbid City in terms of both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. In other words, this is a correlative sociolinguistic study of phonological variation in JA as it is spoken by two rural groups in Irbid City. Although there have been a number of linguistic studies carried out previously on JA in general, to the best of my knowledge there has not been a single study similar to this one carried out on the Irbid speech community. As far as I know, the only major modern work (following the

Labovian quantitative analysis approach) to be carried out on JA is that of Abdul-Hawad (1981) who dealt with JA as it is spoken in Amman City. His work is concerned basically with the language spoken by the three regional groups (the bedouins, the urbanites and the Fellahiin) who form the major population of the city. Again, with the exception of his work, no similar quantitative sociolinguistic work has been done on the Jordanian speech community, in general, or on the present speech community, in particular.

Since this is a study of language in relation to its speakers and the context in which it is used, linguistic variation will be investigated in the light of the modern variation theory, by using the quantitative analysis approach originated by Labov (1963, '66, '72a) and utilized by many other sociolinguists Trudgill (1974), Macaulay (1976), Macaulay and Trevelyan (1973), Milroy (1980), Milroy and Milroy (1977) to name but a few. The present study assumes that linguistic variation in Arabic is not random, as it was previously thought, but structured and rule-governed.

One of the goals of this study is to investigate linguistic variation in JA as it is spoken by people of the Fellahi and Horani speech community, in terms of two mechanisms : "standardization" and "levelling". The former is the process in which the Jordanian speakers tend to standardize their speech through their utilization of more standard features; the latter is the process in which they tend to accommodate their speech by utilizing colloquial linguistic features other than their own. We hypothesize that these two mechanisms are systematic and rule-governed, and that there are a number of linguistic and/or social factors which govern the use of a certain linguistic variable rather than another. An attempt will be made in this study to discover the type of linguistic and/or extra-linguistic factors which

condition linguistic variation, and to the extent to which this variation takes place in the repertoire of the Fellahi and Horani speech community members.

This study also aims to reveal as much as possible the different aspects of linguistic diversity. To achieve this goal, a thorough and detailed empirical investigation of six phonological variables (which are expected to co-vary with a number of linguistic and extralinguistic parameters) will be undertaken. The study will try to find correlation, if any, between the phonetic realizations of these variables and a number of sociological factors such as education, age, sex, origin, and style.

Stylistic variation will also be examined according to the Labovian sociolinguistic paradigm, which assumes the existence of a continuum of speech styles consisting of the least formal (the casual style) on one end and the most formal style (the word list style) on the other. The move along this continuum, according to Labov (1966), is largely dependent on the amount of attention paid to speech. The more the speaker pays attention to his speech the more formal the speech style he utilizes. Thus our aim in this study is also to elicit and investigate four types of speech styles : casual style, formal style, reading passage style and word-list style.

Moreover, for a better understanding of stylistic variation in Arabic, this study will be the first of its kind in the Arab world, to my knowledge, to incorporate the accommodation theory initiated by Giles and Powesland (1975), Giles and Smith (1979) and developed by Giles et al (1976); Coupland (1980, '84) and Trudgill (1982, 1984, 1986), as a means for describing and explaining different types of style-shifting. Two types of linguistic accommodation will be considered in this study : short-term accommodation and long-term

accommodation. Under short-term accommodation, the interviewer (myself) will analyse the use of two phonological variables in his speech while interviewing the informants (as groups and individuals). This is in order to test the hypothesis raised by Giles and his associates which presupposes that a speaker accommodates his speech style towards his interlocutor in order to gain social approval (Giles and Smith 1979). Under long-term accommodation we will try to shed some light on different aspects of the linguistic diffusion taking place in the city and which is believed to be the by-product of frequent accommodation among the speakers of the three colloquial varieties.

### 3.2 Justification of the research

The present study can be justified on the following grounds. It is the first attempt to deal quantitatively with linguistic variation in the speech of the Fellahi and Horani people in Irbid City. To my knowledge the Horani group has not been subjected to this type of study before, and although the Fellahi people were studied both in Amman City (1981) and in Buffalo - New York (1982), they have not been studied sufficiently. Secondly, this study takes place at an important point in the history of JA, since the language, as a result of the great deal of heterogeneity which characterizes the Jordanian speech community, seems to be involved in a clear case of linguistic change in progress on both the level of "standarization" and "koineization". Thirdly, this work is unique in that it is the first study of Arabic to utilize the accommodation theory along with the quantitative linguistic analysis to examine and account for different types of style-shifting in the speech of the interviewer and the interviewees. Finally, this study will investigate four new phonological features which have not been studied before in any sociolinguistic work on JA.

### 3.3 Methodology

Methodology, as Hudson (1980:44) puts it, is "both important and problematic at all stages in a sociolinguistic...study." Fishman (1971:5) was quite aware of the importance of methodology when he wrote:

"To attempt to describe and analyze language data, in this day and age, without a knowledge of linguistic concepts and methods is to be as primitive as to try to describe and analyze human behaviour more generally (or the functions of language varieties and the characteristics of their speaker) without knowledge of psychological and sociological concepts and methods."

So a sociolinguist must be fully aware of the importance of methodology and the methodological procedures that should be taken throughout the different stages of the research.

The first and perhaps most important procedure that should be undertaken in studying language is sampling. In order for the objectives of a sociolinguistic study to be satisfactorily achieved, a reliable sample of informants and a reliable sample of speech from the speech community under investigation must be obtained. In other words, two procedures of sampling must be followed in order for linguistic analysis to take place : (1) Individuals/groups are selected from the total population and then (2) tokens of their linguistic behaviour are collected (Romaine 1980:166).

#### 3.3.1 Selection of informants

In its capacity as a subject dealing with language in relation to social behaviour, sociolinguistics makes use of the methodological procedures adopted earlier by sociologists. Among the most important methods used by sociologists to obtain a reliable cross-section of a particular community is the selection of subjects by means of random or quasi-random sampling. Sociolinguists now use the same methodology in selecting informants, apart from a few modifications made in order to

better serve the purpose and nature of linguistic research. A great number of sociolinguistic studies carried out on western speech communities (e.g. Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974) were based mainly on data collected from a sample of speakers drawn randomly or quasi-randomly from their speech communities. A random or quasi-random selection can be made through sophisticated and strict statistical procedures by means of a pre-arranged list of names (e.g. the electoral register) from which each person in the city or the concerned community has an equal chance to be chosen.

Owing to a number of reasons indicated below, in this present study (as in all other studies of Arabic) a random selection of informants was neither possible nor available. Since the major objective of this study is to investigate linguistic variation in the speech of the two regional groups (Horaniis and Fellahiin) any sampling used must provide nearly equal numbers from each group. Although the latest official population census, carried out in 1979-1980, does differentiate the Jordanian people by age, education, religion and local regional origin (urban or non-urban), it does not provide any information related the basic division between the Jordanian people according to the criterion used in this study (i.e. Fellahi, Horani, urban). This is not available because, if we take Jordanian citizenship as a criterion, all people who live in Jordan at present, be they of Jordanian or Palestinian origin, are considered Jordanian. Therefore this census is of little use to us. Even if such data were available and we were able to draw a list of names from the census, we would never be able to conduct interviews with the selected informants. This is because the Jordanian people in Irbid City are very suspicious of outsiders with whom they are not acquainted or who have not, at least, be introduced to them through a third party. This is the

problem that all researchers who have carried out similar studies on various communities in the Arab world have experienced. In Irbid City it is almost impossible for a researcher to knock on the door of a person without introduction and ask him for a tape-recorded speech. Finally it is also an objective of this study to investigate the influence of sex on linguistic variation. Because of the restrictions imposed on women by the cultural norms of the society, women in the Arab world are generally not willing to be interviewed or tape-recorded by a male interviewer (i.e. an outsider). Therefore, because of these unavoidable difficulties, the only possible way for us to draw our sample was to follow the 'social network' framework (Milroy and Milroy 1978) and approach the informant in the capacity of 'a friend of a friend' or in some cases a 'friend of a friend of a friend'.

In this regard Milroy (1980:53) maintains that:

"if a stranger is identified as a friend of a friend, he may easily be drawn into the network's mesh of exchange and obligation relationships. His chances of observing and participating in prolonged interaction will then be considerably increased."

### 3.3.1.1 Criteria for selecting the informants

The following criteria were put forth before proceeding to select our informants:

- 1) The informant should be a native of Irbid City. A native of Irbid is defined as a person who has been living in the city for a period of 15 years or more.
- 2) He or she must be of Horani or Fellahi origin.
- 3) There must be a reasonable amount of willingness on the part of the selected person to be interviewed and tape-recorded.
- 4) He or she must fulfil the required conditions with respect to such social parameters as age, education, origin and sex. Even though the contribution of the 'residential area' and 'occupation'

factors are beyond the scope of this study, in order to obtain a reliable and representative cross-section of the speech community we intended to diversify our sample by occupation and residential area. That is, it was our intention to select the informants from different residential areas and occupational backgrounds.

Since one of the objectives of this study is to investigate the covariation of linguistic variables with education, age, regional origin and sex, we intended to select the informants from three age and three educational groups. That is we intended to select our informants according to a pre-determined nine cells model based on three age and three educational groups (see the pre-determined nine cells model below). In order to account for the other social categories (regional origin and sex) we planned to have at least two Fellahi male and female speakers and two Horani male and female speakers in each cell of the pre-determined model. We were able to draw an equal number of informants from the two origin groups, however, we were unable to do this in the case of the gender-groups, i.e. we could not obtain an equal number of informants from the two sex groups. Four major reasons lay behind the uneven distribution of sexes.

	H.educated	M.educated	Non-educated
Y. age group (14-29 yrs old)			
M. age group (30-40 yrs old)			
O. age group (45 years and over)			

- The predetermined nine cells model.

The cultural norms of the society do not allow women to sit and talk to a male outsider. Secondly, the proportion of women who have obtained a secondary or university level education among the older age group (45 years and over) is very small. Thirdly, there is a very low rate of illiteracy among the younger age group (i.e. 14-29 year old) of both sexes. If one realizes that the percentage of illiteracy in Irbid City among the older age group of women (of the three origin groups) is 89.8%, and the percentage of educated younger men and women in the city is 80.8% among women and 92.5% among men, it is no wonder that it was a futile effort to look for a university or a secondary school graduate among the older age group of women, or for an uneducated person among the younger age group of males and females. No one was able to direct us to women in these two age groups who could fulfil the required conditions. All in all, we were able to come into contact with one Horani illiterate female speaker in the younger age group, and only one moderately educated Fellahi female speaker in the older age group. Fourthly, the constraints of time and financial resources were a cause of the disproportionate distribution of the two gender-groups. Within the limited period of time available for the field research it was very difficult for us to come into contact with informants who met even some of the required conditions. In all, we were able to select 38 informants distributed according to age, education, origin and sex. Table 1 in appendix C shows the distribution of these informants according to the above four categories.

#### 3.3.1.2 The Sample

Thus the present research is based on the speech of 38 informants all of whom are native to Irbid City. Although the sample is fewer in number than that used by Labov in his study of New York (1966), several sociolinguistic studies of different speech communities (e.g. Trudgill

1974, Cedergren 1973, Jassem 1987, Royal 1985) have demonstrated that even smaller samples than the one used in Labov's study are sufficient to reveal the structure of both social and stylistic variation in a language. Romaine (1980:171) reports that Labov (1966) concluded that "one or two speakers who represent a particular category of age, sex, social class etc. are sufficient to reveal the structure after all." She also reported that in Macaulay's study of Glasgow some conclusions were based (e.g., working class women) on the data for only two women. Labov (1970:285) argues that:

"the regularity of (pattern of variation) emerges from samples with as few as five individuals in one sub-group and no more than five or ten utterances in a given style for each individual."  
(quoted in Al-Amadidhi 1985:47)

Examining the distribution of our informants according to the different social parameters (as seen below) we find that in each sub-group there are more than Five informants.

### 3.3.1.3 The social parameters and distribution of the sample according to

#### 3.3.1.3.1 Education

Previous work on similar speech communities, e.g., Egypt (Schmidt 1974; Royal 1985), Qatar (Al-Amadidhi 1985), Syria (Jassem 1987), Makka (Al-Jehani 1985), Amman City (Abdul-Jawad 1981), Palestine (Shorab 1982) Iran (Jahangiri 1980; Modaresi 1978) have shown education to be a constraint on linguistic variation. All of these studies indicate that the more educated the person was the more he utilized standard features in his speech. In this present study three educational levels will be investigated. The 38 Irbidian informants are distributed by education as follows:

<u>Educational levels</u>	<u>No. of informants</u>
1. H. educated (university or college education)	13
2. M. educated (preparatory or secondary school education)	16
3. Non-educated (some or no-schooling)	<u>9</u>
Total	<u>38</u>

### 3.3.1.3.2 Age

The age factor has also proven to be of great importance in several previous studies in revealing linguistic diversity. Many linguists (e.g. Labov 1963, 1966, Truoghill 1974) have shown that sound change in progress is remarkable by making a comparison between change in "apparent time" (i.e. linguistic difference among successive age groups investigated in a single study), and change in "real time" (i.e. an earlier investigation which has been carried out on the same language in the same locale). In this study we shall consider three levels of age:

1. Y. age group (14-29 years old)
2. M. age group (30-44 years old)
3. O. age group (45 years old and over)

The 38 informants are distributed by age groups as follows:

<u>Age groups</u>	<u>No. of informants</u>
Y. age group	13
M. age group	14
O. age group	<u>11</u>
Total	<u>38</u>

The rationale behind this division of informants by age is to discover exactly to what extent city life has influenced the linguistic behaviour of the ruralites (the Fellahiin and the Horaniis) as differentiated by these three levels of age. We stated earlier that Irbid is a modern urban centre not more than forty years old. This means that all those people who are under 30 years old either were born in or come to the city at a very young age. The middle-aged people (30-44 years old) also have similar chances of having been born in the city or having come to it when young. As the middle aged people represent a transitional point on the age scale, they are exposed to both the younger people, who are more urbanite and more educated, as well as the older, who are more ruralite and less educated. Therefore, the middle-aged informants are expected to show different patterns of linguistic variation from their younger and older counterparts. The overwhelming majority of the older age group (45+), on the other hand, were probably born in the village and spent their childhood there. Thus we expect to see every age group characterized by a different type of linguistic behaviour.

When we examined the distribution of our informants by place of birth, we find that 78% of the younger age group, 54% of the middle-aged group and only 18% of the older age group were born in the city.

#### 3.3.1.3.3 Sex

The differences which exist between the speech of men and women have long been attested to in sociolinguistic studies. Sociolinguists have observed linguistic distinctions between sexes at several levels of grammar. For example, the differences may be based on the use of grammatical and syntactical features (Cheshire (1982a), Lakoff (1973), Holmquist (1983)); on the use of lexical items (Swacker 1975,

Abdul-Jawad 1981); on the use of phonological features (Neu 1980, Sankoff and Cedergren 1971). Abdul-Jawad (1981) found that the Jordanian men and women in Amman City differ in their use of the two phonological features which he examined. The men in his study were found to be more standardized in their speech than women.

In this study the sample of 38 informants consists of 23 men and 15 women. The two sex groups are distributed in terms of education and age as follows:

	<u>Educational groups</u>			<u>Age groups</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
H.educated	9	5	Y. age group	6	7
M.educated	10	6	M. age group	9	5
Non-educated	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	O. age group	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>		<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>

#### 3.3.1.3.4 Regional origin

It is a well-established fact that the characteristics of an individual are gained from his or her association with a particular social group. Speech is one of the many characteristics which distinguishes a speaker from another on the basis of his ethnic or regional background. A considerable number of studies (Labov 1972b; Hidalgo 1986; Gumperz 1964, 1971; Shorab 1982) argue that there is a close correlation between the ethnic, regional origin of the speaker and his linguistic behaviour.

Although the two groups under investigation in this study are rural in origin, they are apparently distinct in their linguistic behaviour, partly because they came to the city from different regional areas, and partly because they speak two different dialects.

The sample of 38 informants is composed of 19 Horani and 19 Fellahi people, distributed by sex as follows:

<u>Horaniis</u>		<u>Fellahiin</u>	
19		19	
<u>No. of Men</u>	<u>No. of Women</u>	<u>No. of Men</u>	<u>No. of Women</u>
12	7	11	8

### 3.3.1.3.5 Residential Area and Occupation

It is not the goal of this study to investigate the effect of the residential area and occupation of the speaker on his linguistic behaviour. Yet I have tried from the very beginning to diversify our sample in the best possible way according to the residential area and the occupational background of the speaker.

Irbid City, as stated earlier, is divided by the city municipality into 6 major areas, i.e. 4 residential and 2 commercial and industrial areas. The 38 informants are distributed by residential area as follows:

<u>Residential area</u>	<u>No. of informants</u>
Area A	5
Area B	10
Area C	9
<u>Area D</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>38</u>

This indicates that the informants were chosen from the different residential areas in the city. This is, as stated previously, in order to secure large variety in the sample of all the Horani and Fellahi people in the city in the best possible way.

We have also attempted from the outset to select our informants from several occupational backgrounds. This was done in order to make sure that we have a sample composed of people who have numerous social ties and varied social networks. Informants with different occupations are exposed to different types of people in different work settings. These work and social relationships influence the social characteristics of both the individual and his linguistic behaviour. Therefore, while examining the occupational backgrounds of our informants, one can find among them executives, professionals, managers, school teachers, students, housewives, civil servants, skilled workers, unskilled workers etc. The 38 informants are distributed in terms of occupation as follows:

<u>Occupational category</u>	<u>No. of informants</u>
Executives, professional, managers	6
Small business, white collar, civil servants	14
Skilled workers	10
Semi-skilled workers and agricultural workers	5
<u>Unskilled workers</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	<u>38</u>

It is necessary to mention here that an examination of the contribution of socio-economic class to linguistic variation is beyond the scope of this study. This is because it is still too early in the case of such a young urban centre to speak or even think of social classes. The population in Irbid City are still undergoing a great deal of social mobility. In other words, it is a society still in the making.

On the whole, the sample for this study can be described as a judgement sample rather than a random one, chosen to provide an equal representation of the two original groups distributed by age, sex and education.

#### 3.3.1.4 Criticism of the Sample

Admittedly, one of the shortcomings of this study is the disproportionate distribution of the two gender-groups. In fact this defect is an unavoidable one, since it is a consequence of the reasons stated above (see criteria for selecting the informants). The first and most important reason is that contact with women is limited because of the constraints of cultural and religious norms. Secondly, the lower level of education among the older age group of women, as well as the lack of illiterates among the younger age group of men and women, limits the availability of certain types of informants for the sample.

#### 3.3.2 Data Collection

One of the major goals of this study is an investigation of the diversity of speech according to the social context. For Labov (1972a) speech styles are shown as a linear continuum which reflects the amount of attention paid to speech. In the Arab world, where there are two varieties of the same language in use, with something from this code and something from that in-between, the type of speech monitored in a less formal situation is, of course, different from that monitored in a more formal situation. We intended to elicit four types of speech style from our informants, ranging in formality from the least formal (i.e. the casual style) to the most formal (i.e. the word list style).

Labov (1972:189) believes that the "vernacular" is the best place to look for a genuine study of linguistic variation, for it is in this type of speech style that we can find more systematic speech where the fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic

behaviour can be seen most clearly. He also claims that observation of the vernacular gives us the most systematic data for our analysis of linguistic structure (reported in Cheshire 1982a:7). Cheshire also advocates this view when she writes:

"It seems true, though, that when speakers are relaxed they will use their most natural speech style, and that it is in this style that variation will be at its most consistent level."  
(Cheshire 1982a:7)

The main obstacle encountered by any researcher who aims to obtain the most casual type of speech is the 'observer paradox'; i.e. the effect of the interviewer on the interviewee and on the type of speech monitored in an interview setting. Numerous approaches have been hitherto used by sociolinguists to avoid the 'observer paradox' and thus gain an easy access to the 'vernacular'. For example, the Milroys (1978) were able to elicit a more spontaneous type of speech from their informants through Lesley Milroy's capacity as 'a friend of a friend'. In this way Milroy was able to break through the impediments which hinder the emergence of the vernacular, and thus elicit the more casual type of speech.

In more recent works, a number of linguists (e.g., Labov 1972b, Labov et al 1968, Gumperz 1964) have overcome the 'observer paradox' by recording groups of speakers rather than individuals. In their study on the speech of the black adolescent peer groups in Harlem, Labov et al (1968) were able to obtain the more casual type of speech by using the group-recording method, in which the informants were recorded while talking to each other in a more natural setting. In recording group sessions some linguists believe that the vernacular has more opportunities to emerge than, for example, in a face-to-face interview. This is no doubt because the informants' awareness of the interview atmosphere is outweighed by the security afforded by group interaction.

This was clear from Labov's words (1974), quoted by Wolfson (1976:199), when he wrote:

"In more recent work we have relied more upon group sessions, in which the interaction of members overrides the effect of observation, and gives us a more direct view of the vernacular with less influence of the observer..."

So far the method which has been primarily used by sociolinguists for the purpose of obtaining data is the face-to-face interview method. Labov's study of New York City (1966) is the best example the successful use of this method. In order for Labov to overcome the 'observer paradox' and obtain a casual speech style, he manipulated some of the extra-linguistic factors conditioning the speech style. For example, the vernacular was obtained by Labov through recording conversation outside the formal context of the interview, by recording such things as the speech addressed to a third person or speech monitored before or after the interview took place. He also asked certain questions such as "Have you ever been in a situation where you thought you were going to be killed?", which were expected to stimulate the speaker emotionally and make him diverge in speech toward the casual style.

The face-to-face interview method has, however, received a great deal of criticism on the grounds that it is characterized by being relatively formal or semi-public. Numerous linguists (e.g. Gumperz 1971, Romaine 1982a, Milroy 1980, Macaulay 1977, Wolfson 1976) maintain that this method is inappropriate because the type of speech which most often emerges in an interview (a well-defined speech event) is rather formal. Wolfson (1976), for instance, criticized this method, which is principally dependent on a question/answer format, because it tends to impose too many constraints on the informants. Wolfson says:

"...an attempt on the part of the interviewer to break out of the question/response format in order to elicit spontaneous conversation will usually arouse surprise and may even lead to

suspicion and resentment. This leaves us with a dilemma: the fact that the interview is a speech event in our society makes it legitimate to ask questions of personal nature of total strangers, but at the same time severely limits the kind of interaction which may take place within it, and therefore the kind of data which one can expect to collect."

(Wolfson 1976:190)

Nevertheless, this method has been justified by some other linguists (Chambers and Trudgill 1980, Labov 1972) on the grounds that it is the most feasible way of obtaining sufficient data in a short period of time. Labov says:

"No matter what other methods may be used to obtain samples of speech...., the only way to obtain sufficient good data on the speech of anyone person is through an individual tape-recorded interview: that is, through the most obvious kind of systematic observation."

(Labov 1972a:181 quoted in Romain 1984:18)

I believe that this assertion is a valid one since in the case of those works which are constrained by the limits of time and financial resources, recording speakers in a face-to-face interview remains the most appropriate and time-saving method. In this present study, for the same reason, the face-to-face interview method was used. To overcome the 'observer paradox' the interviewer used a number of devices similar to those used by Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974): principally, by asking certain types of questions, by recording speech outside the context of the formal interview etc. (see the questionnaire and the delimitation of contextual styles below), were quite useful as methods whereby casual style speech could be elicited.

### 3.3.2.1 The questionnaire

The linguistic questionnaire used in this study was fashioned after those used in previous sociolinguistic studies e.g. Labov (1966), Trudgill (1974), Shuy et al (1968), Schmidt (1974) and Shorab (1982). Some modifications were made in order to serve better the purposes of the research in this particular locale. The questionnaire was

structured in such a way as to elicit four types of speech styles : casual style, formal style, reading style and word list style (cf. appendix A).

Four major sections form the body of the questionnaire. The first section consists of 19 questions which are intended to elicit some demographic data, i.e. information about age, occupational and educational backgrounds, location of work, location of school or university, place of birth, etc. The second section includes a few questions which are intended to examine the informant's awareness of the situation and also examine his use of certain phonological features. The third section, however, contains more serious questions relating to a variety of controversial issues such as the role of women in Jordanian society, the opinion of the informant regarding the educational policy, and his opinion of marriage, etc. Then comes section four which is considered the most relaxing section in the interview. This section is composed of 22 questions all of which are intended to elicit the casual style. The questions included in this section were obviously relaxing for the majority of the informants, since they covered such conversational topics as humour, hobbies, recreational activities, customs and so on. Also, in this section, each informant was asked to quote two proverbs and explain the context in which they are used. This technique proved to be very useful in eliciting a great deal of casual speech. This latter section included such questions as, "What was the latest joke you have heard?" "Would you tell me how you usually spend your evenings during the month of Ramadan?" and "How and where did you spend your last vacation?".

Additionally, the interview included a very short test in which each informant was exposed to a list of 19 words belonging to the three colloquial varieties spoken in the city. The words were read to the

subjects by the interviewer in the same way that they would have been pronounced by their native speakers. The test was originally intended to test the informant's ability to identify the different colloquial varieties, and to discover his attitude toward these varieties. Surprisingly enough, by doing this we were able to direct the attention of the informant away from his speech and elicit a considerable amount of casual speech, since the informant's attention was mainly focused on giving the correct answer for the word in question, forgetting that he was being recorded. In other words, this test was considered by most informants as a recreational puzzle which relieved them from the constraints of the interview.

The reading style was elicited by having each informant able to take part in reading read a passage consisting of 15 lines (see appendix A1). The reading passage was adopted from MaDhar Ismail's book (1969) tad3di:d al 9arabiyya (Revitalization of the Arabic language). This passage discusses the current status of Arabic /Ha:Dir ?alluʕa al 9arabiyya/. However, the passage was modified by the researcher so as to include as many phonological variables as possible.

The word list style was elicited in this study by asking each of the educated informants to read a list of 50 words containing the variables that would be investigated (see appendix A2). It was the intention of the researcher to use this list of words to elicit a style higher in formality than that of the reading passage style. Each informant involved was asked to read the reading passage and the word list in a natural way and at a moderate speed.

It is worth pointing out that for the most part the "form" of the questionnaire was used only as a guide. In other words, in order to direct the attention of the informant away from the interview setting the questions were sometimes asked in a different way than that shown

on the questionnaire. This helped to put the informant at ease and make him feel as though he was not being interviewed and tape-recorded.

### 3.3.2.2 Recordings and how they were made

Tape recordings of the interviews were made on a portable JVC Rc-S55W tape recorder, provided with re-chargeable batteries along with a small sensitive microphone. Both the recorder and the microphone proved to be highly effective in producing recordings of a very high quality. In general we had no problem at all with the recorder.

The tape-recording of speech is considered a sensitive issue in Jordanian society. Therefore no attempt was made by the interviewer to hide the recorder or to mask the objectives of the research. The microphone and tape-recorder were introduced openly to the informants. Some people are suspicious by nature and therefore tend to look at the interview and the tape-recorder with misgiving. In order to overcome this problem, a letter was obtained from the University of Durham - English Department indicating the nature and the objectives of the research. This letter was translated into Arabic and presented along with its translation to all of those informants who could read. In this way we were able to alleviate the informants' suspicion and secure their cooperation.

### 3.3.2.3 The Interviewer

All but three of the interviews were conducted by the researcher (myself). As in other studies of Arabic carried out by male researchers (e.g. Abdul-Jawad 1981) and dealing with the influence of sex on variation, I encountered some difficulties with respect to finding and interviewing female speakers. Three women (one older and two middle-aged speakers), who were needed to complete the cells in question, agreed to be tape-recorded provided that the interviewer was a female. In order to secure the cooperation of these three informants

and to fill the empty cells in question I decided to hire two female interviewers. I taught them thoroughly how to conduct a linguistic interview and how to use the standard questionnaire in a proper way. It should be mentioned here that these two female interviewers, henceforth referred to as Interviewer A and Interviewer B, are highly educated (i.e. they have university degrees) and majored in subjects connected to linguistics. Two of the three women were interviewed by Interviewer A and the third one was interviewed by Interviewer B. When I listened to the tape-recordings made by the female interviewers, I noticed that the recordings were of a good quality and also that the interviewers were able to elicit the four types of speech style in accordance with the instructions given them by me. Additionally, it was found that the female interviewers were able to elicit the most casual type of speech, since the interviewed women appeared to be more relaxed and enthusiastic in discussing the issues than those women interviewed by the male interviewer. I also observed that more animated conversation took place with these interviewers. This suggests that it might have been more helpful to have utilized female interviewers at an earlier stage, but these were the last three interviews conducted. All the other female informants (12 women) were as stated previously interviewed by me.

Another important issue worth mentioning here is that the researcher and the two female interviewers are natives of Irbid City. They were born in and grew up in this city. This means that they can speak, understand, and participate in the discussions which took place in the interviews easily, since they are native Jordanian Arabic speakers. Bickerton (1971) was aware of the positive effect that the

use of a native interviewer has, on the process of accumulating data when he maintained:

"There are, of course, a number of advantages in using an assistant who forms part of the speech-community under study. In the first place, the uncontrollable variable of speaker-reaction to a stranger is thereby eliminated; this is, to my mind, crucial in all 'prestigious v. stigmatized situations.' Secondly, the awkwardness inseparable from interview situations and any inhibiting influence from the recording apparatus itself are minimised by the presence of a known interviewer. Such an interviewer will be familiar with the normal casual style of the speakers, and will therefore be able to say if and when they deviate from this."

(1971:465)

#### 3.3.2.4 The Interview

Having found a person who satisfied the required criteria for acting as an informant (see criteria for selecting informants above), the next step was to arrange a meeting between that person and myself. This was necessary in order to see whether or not he or she was willing to be interviewed. If he was willing, an explanation of the purposes and aims of the research would be given and an appointment was made for the interview. In most cases, the person in question would be quite willing to have the interview conducted straightaway. However, I did find some people who were more reluctant and needed more information about the objectives of the study. No attempt was made on my part to conduct an interview without making sure of the willingness of the informant to give an interview. This is because in order for an interview to be successful and to stimulate as much recorded conversation as possible, the goodwill of the informant is very necessary (Trudgill 1974:26). After making sure that the proposed informant was willing to participate, informing him of the objectives of the study, and giving him an idea about the method that would be used in collecting the speech, I would proceed in conducting the interview.

The data of this study was collected in fieldwork carried out by me in Irbid City from the beginning of February to the end of April, 1986. The interviews took place in a variety of places : informants' homes, offices, schools, shops or workshops, and most often in the presence of the informants' family member(s) or friend(s). The rationale behind this was to elicit as much animated conversation as possible. Throughout the course of these interviews we attempted to elicit some information about language attitudes and the domains of language use. The majority of the interviews ranged in length from 30 minutes to one hour; however three of the interviews lasted for 20 minutes. The length of the interview depended on the loquaciousness of the informant. On the whole we were able to elicit more speech from the male informants than from the females. This was due to the fact, as mentioned above, that the interviewer was a male speaker and the speech community under investigation is a sex-distinct one. Also, the older male and female informants were more generous than the younger ones as regards time and speech. Namely, we were able to obtain more conversational speech from the older informants than from the younger. For instance, the older subjects were more willing to recall past experiences and stories about village life using a number of adages in their speech throughout the course of the interview. Younger women did not allow an interview with the interviewer (a male researcher) without having company present, except for one bank secretary who was interviewed in her office. Most of the interviews with women were done in the presence of the informant's friends or family. And the friends or family were actually encouraged to remain present in order to secure the informant's cooperation and stimulate her appetite for talking.

### 3.3.3 Delimitation of contextual styles

The question of how the casual speech style can be identified in a linguistic interview has never been an easy one. Labov (1966) uses a number of criteria to identify speech styles within the context of the interview. He uses questions and various channel cues such as, a change in the tempo of speech; a change in the pitch range; a change in the volume; and a change in the rate of breathing, to determine whether the elicited speech style is casual. In modelling herself on the Labovian schema, Cedergren (1973:16-17) also uses five parameters to define the casual style of speech. These are:

1. Time setting of the topic
2. Spontaneity of conversation
3. The degree of personal involvement or participation by the speaker
4. The degree of emotional involvement
5. Group involvement.

Each topic was given a value of plus (+), minus (-) or neutral (0) for each of the parameters. For example, the first parameter (time setting of the topic) was classified according to the topics included and the values assigned to these topics as follows. A topic was classified as (+), conducive to casual relaxed speech, if it referred to actions set in the past, neutral if it converted with the present, and minus if it referred to the future. The topics of the interview were then coded for these five criteria. The result was two major categories of conversation topics : those hypothesized as conducive to casual monitored speech and those topics classified as non-casual.

Trudgill (1974:51) also uses the same criteria as Labov to identify the casual type of speech. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Speech outside the context of the formal interview

2. Speech addressed to a third person
3. Speech not in direct response to a question
4. Speech in response to the question, "Have you ever been in a situation recently or some time ago, when you had a good laugh or something funny or humorous happened to you, or you saw it happen to someone else?"

This suggests that Trudgill relied only on the nature of the questions asked to elicit speech.

In this study, as in that of Trudgill, the nature of questions asked to elicit speech was depended on, along with the topic at hand, to determine casual style. To put it differently, the kinds of questions put to the informants, along with the topics discussed, were used for the most part to identify the casual style of speech. Channel cues were also used in some cases. For example, the presence of particular channel cues in certain contexts (such as joking, laughter etc.) were considered to be indicators of the emergence of casual speech.

On the whole, speech elicited in response to questions in section I and II were regarded as formal style, whereas speech elicited in response to questions in section IV and, in a sense, section II were considered to be an example of casual speech.

#### 3.3.4 Transcription system

In this study, as in those of Schultz (1981) and Al-Amadidhi (1985), the system used for transcribing the recorded material is a combination of both phonetic and phonemic transcription. Since it is very time-consuming and tedious to transcribe the whole corpus of data phonetically, I have phonetically transcribed the linguistic variables under investigation but phonemically transcribed the other segments in the words containing the variables. For example, the variable (Q) in

the word /qarnabi:T/ "cauliflower" was transcribed phonetically as [q], [g], [ʔ] and [k] were relevant, whereas the other segments /a/, /r/, /n/, /a/, /b/, /i:/, and /T/ were transcribed phonemically.

### 3.4 Linguistic variables

In a quantitative correlation with a set of sociological parameters, linguistic variables can be considered as the tool by which we can detect and discover the type and direction of linguistic variation in a particular speech community. For Labov (1966:15) linguistic variable is viewed as a class of variants that are ordered along a continuous dimension, and whose position on that dimension is determined by independent or extra-linguistic factors. The term 'linguistic variable' includes different kinds of variation in a language; it can be phonological, syntactic or even semantic. A phonological variable was defined by Trudgill (1974:64)

"as a phonological unit which is involved in co-variation with sociological parameters or with other linguistic variables."

One of the principal aims of this study is to investigate phonological variation in the speech of JA speakers in Irbid City. When selecting the phonological variables we kept in mind the following criteria given by Labov (1966:49):

"the most useful items (for an extensive study) are those that are high in frequency, have a certain immunity from conscious suppression, are integral units of larger structures, and may be easily quantified on a linear scale. By all these criteria, phonological variables appear to be the most useful."

(quoted in Macaulay and Trevelyan 1973:33)

We attempted, as far as possible, to make certain that the choice met these criteria. It was also the intention that some of the phonological variables previously studied in other sociolinguistic works of Arabic be chosen, in order to calibrate the present study's results against those of other studies.

The six phonological variables that were chosen for the purpose of study are:

- 1) the voiceless uvular stop (Q)
- 2) the voiced palato-alveolar affricate (dʒ)
- 3) the voiced emphatic dental stop (D)
- 4) the voiceless interdental fricative (θ)
- 5) the voiceless velar stop (K)
- 6) the word-final open central short vowel /a/

The method of quantification of the variables used in this study, will be presented and discussed in the relevant places (i.e. in each variable separately).

## Chapter IV

### Sociolinguistic variability of (Q)

#### 4.0 Introduction

This variable is the most salient phonological feature by which speakers of any of the colloquial Arabic varieties can be identified. The SA voiceless uvular stop (Q) demonstrates a great deal of diversity over time and space. The variable with its various reflexes : [q], [g], [k], [ʔ] and [dʒ] was used by Arab linguists (e.g. Abdo 1969; Al Tajir 1982; Abdul-Jawad 1981; Hussein 1980; Shorab 1982; Al Amadidhi 1985) and some other orientalisists (e.g., Cantineau 1936, 1946; Blanc 1953, 1960, 1964; Harrell 1957; Rosenhouse 1982a, 1984; Palva 1976) as a parameter for drawing lines between the different dialects of Arabic. The demarcation was mainly based on the sedentary-nomadic dichotomy.

#### 4.1 History of the variable

Although there are a considerable number of studies which have dealt with the (Q) variable from an historical point of view, this task has not been an easy one for most linguists. Abdul-Jawad (1981), for example, was aware of this fact when he wrote:

"Tracing the historical development of (Q) and its reflexes in the dialects of Arabic is a thorny task. This is due to the lack of historical records and systematic phonetic descriptions of Arabic and its colloquial dialects across the last six or seven centuries ... It is also difficult to determine the exact time of the various phonetic/phonological changes which might have occurred, for several reasons : one reason is the gradualness of these changes. Another is the uncertainty still surrounding many historical issues regarding the origins of the colloquial dialects and the proto forms these dialects developed from."

Nevertheless, an attempt shall be made to present some facts concerning the diachronic evolution and the elements which contributed to the diversification of this variable into its numerous variants. Shortly, after the advent of Islam in Arabia in the 7th century A.D., the Muslims began to exert pressure on the neighbouring countries to conform. One by one these countries fell until the whole area

stretching from Iraq and the Arabian peninsula westward to Morocco had yielded to Islam. Subsequently, a large number of Bedouin tribes migrated from the Arabian peninsula and settled in different parts of the new Islamic State. In the course of time most of these settlements were completed successfully and the newcomers rapidly became integrated, exerting their influence on every aspect of the local peoples' life. As a result of the extensive contact between the nomads and the sedentary populace, new hybrid forms of Arabic came into being and developed into dialects in their own right. For instance, Rosenhouse (1984:4) has broadly distinguished three groups of dialects in the northern part of Palestine : first, the sedentary group which conforms in most of its linguistic features to the speech of the settled population; second, the nomadic or Bedouin dialects whose speakers consider themselves to be of Bedouin origin, and whose speech seems to have moved in common with the dialects of the other non-sedentary people of the area; and finally those dialects which are neither nomadic nor sedentary but rather a mixture of the dialects of the semi nomadic or semi-settled population.

For Blanc (1964), who studied the dialects spoken within the Mesopotamian dialect area, the communal dialect differentiation is mainly based on the "qeltu-gelet" dichotomy. Blanc has differentiated between two groups of dialects : the dialects characteristic of Bedouin or Bedouinized people, which constitute what is normally referred to as nomadic Arabic, and those dialects of the urban and rural regions which constitute sedentary Arabic. The term used for these two groups of dialects (the qeltu-gelet) was derived from the first person singular of the perfect tense of the verb "to say". The qeltu-dialects are those dialects spoken in the Aleppo region; the gelet-dialects are those which are closely related to the Bedouin dialects of the shamiya

region on the one hand, and the dialects of Kuwayt, Khuzistan and the Persian Gulf area on the other (cf. Blanc 1964:6). Taking the (Q) variable as a criterion, Blanc (Ibid:29) has reported that "from the eleventh century onward Arab sources seem to agree as to the existence of a sedentary vs. nomad differentiation as to pronunciation of OA (i.e. old Arabic) /q/."

Undoubtedly, the (Q) phoneme has undergone various changes and developments in the colloquial varieties of Arabic. Most of the relatively recent studies which have considered the (Q) variable from an historical point of view (Contineau 1946; Garbell 1958; Johnstone 1963; Blanc 1964) agree that the CA /q/, as it was described by the ancient Arab grammarian Sibawayhi, was first "majhour" (i.e. voiced). Later, possibly in the eighth or ninth century, 'the voiced (G) seems to have been devoiced to /q/' (Blanc 1964:29). From that time onwards the (Q) appears to have undergone several changes. These changes seem to have taken two major courses : the first involves the sedentary "qeltu" group of dialects and the second is related to those dialects labelled the nomadic "gelet" dialects.

#### 4.1.1 The Sedentary dialects

In the sedentary dialects the first changes which were attested to were the change of /q/ to [ʔ] in the urban dialects (i.e. the Syro-Palestinian and the Syro-Lebanese urban dialects) and the change of /q/ to [k] in the rural dialects (i.e. the dialects spoken in central Palestine).

In the urban dialects, the change of /q/ to [ʔ] seems to have taken place during or after a change in the etymological glottal stop /ʔ/. Garbell (1958) suggests that in the urban dialects the glottal stop [ʔ] appears to have emerged as a variant of /q/ after the CA /ʔ/ had split into zero (i.e. dropping), or glide y/w or retained /ʔ/ in

a few positions. It is worth pointing out that this change is linguistically unconditioned as far as we know or as far as the literature is concerned (Abdul-Jawad 1981:166). The change of /q/->[ʔ] can be schematized as follows:

CA/q/->[ʔ] during or after CA/?/ had split into [∅], [y/w] or remained /?/ e.g.,

/qaraʔa/	->	/ʔara/	"he read"
/qaba:ʔil/	->	/ʔaba:yyil/	"tribes"
/ʔafqaratu/	->	/ʔafʔaratu/	"she drove him to poverty"

This change seems to have resulted in a merger with the retained CA /?/, and to have continued until it came to completion in the 20th century (cf. Abdul-Jawad 1981). Thus, the CA /q/ was almost replaced in the urban dialects by [ʔ] in every position except for a few lexical items which appear to have resisted the change e.g., /qurʔa:n/ "Koraan" and /ʔalqa:hira/ "Cairo".

In the rural dialects the CA /q/ appears to have been changed to [k] almost unconditionally (see Johnstone 1963), and to have merged with the etymological voiceless velar stop /k/ in almost every possible place save for the few lexical items referred to above. It is thought that this change was, in the rural dialects, concomitant with another process of on-going change involving the etymological /k/, which was first fronted slightly into [k] and then affricated to [ch] everywhere. It is worth mentioning here that by concomitant we mean that there were two processes of change taking place at the same time; the first involved the CA /q/ and the second involved the CA /k/. In other words we mean that /q/->[k] results in /k/->[ch]. Most sources (Cantineau 1946, Blanc 1964, Abdul-Jawad 1981) report that the change of /k/ into

[ch] seems also to have been phonetically unconditioned. These two processes of change : /q/->[k] and /k/->[ch] are specified below:

1) CA /q/ -> [k]

e.g., /qɫa:de/ -> /kɫa:de/ "necklace"  
 /qamiH/ -> /kamiH/ "wheat"  
 /ʔibri:q/ -> /ʔibri:k/ "jug"

2) CA /k/ -> [ch]

e.g., /ka:s/ -> /cha:s/ "goblet"  
 /ku:9/ -> /chu:9/ "elbow"  
 /fikir/ -> /fichir/ "thinking"

Note that in the word /fiqir/, meaning "he became poor", the CA /q/ was changed by ruralites into [k]. Thus the word would be pronounced /fikir/. To avoid confusion of meaning with the original word /fikir/, meaning "thinking", ruralites changed the CA /k/ in /fikir/ into [ch]. Subsequently the two lexical items came to be pronounced /fichir/ for "thinking" and /fikir/ for "became poor". This indicates that there was a clear-cut case of lexical diffusion taking place in the rural dialects.

#### 4.1.2 The nomadic dialects

In the nomadic dialects, the change took a completely different path with several different stages. It is thought that in the first stage the CA voiced stop /q/ was changed in some Bedouin dialects into a voiced velar stop [g]. In some dialects further changes took place, converting the front allophones of /g/ into either [ʒ] in some dialects, or [dʒ] in some others (Abdul-Jawad 1981; Palva 1976). Blanc (1964) suggests that the change of [g] into [ʒ] and [dʒ] seems to be phonetically conditioned, that is, it took place most often in front vowels environments. This allegation is supported by another

observation cited by Holes (1983:13) who reported that in some Bahairni dialects (belonging to the gelet-dialects group) the changes of [g] take place in the contiguity of front vowels.

In a similar way to that of the rural dialects, the change of /q/ into its various realizations was concomitant in the Bedouin dialects with another change in the CA /k/, which was fronted and affricated into [ch]. But unlike the change of /k/->[ch] which occurred in the rural dialects, the k-affrication in the Bedouin dialects was phonetically conditioned. In other words, it took place most often in the vicinity of front vowels and more sporadically in back vowel environments (Hole 1983; Johnstone 1963; Rosenhouse 1982a; Palva 1976).

The various changes which have occurred in the CA /q/ in the nomadic dialects are shown as follows:

- 1) voiced /q/ -> [g]
- 2) voiced /q/ -> [g] -> [ʒ]
- 3) voiced /q/ -> [g] -> [dʒ]

e.g., /qaɪb/ -> /gaɪb/	"heart"
/quadɑ:m/ -> /gedda:m/ -> /dʒedda:m/	"before or in front"
/Tari:q/ -> /Tari:g/ -> /Tari:ʒ/	"way"

To sum up, the CA /q/ has undergone several diachronic changes. In the urban dialects the /q/ was changed into a glottal stop [ʔ] during or after another process of sound change on the etymological /ʔ/. In the rural dialects the change of /q/ into [k] went hand in hand with another change in the CA /k/. which was affricated to [ch]. In the nomadic dialects, however, the original voiced (Q) was realized voiced [g] and remained voiced, and in some others it changed from /g/ into [ʒ] and [dʒ]. The change of /g/ to [ʒ] and to [dʒ] seems to have taken place in concomitance with an affrication of /k/ to [ch] which took place mostly in the contiguity of front vowels. One more point

worth mentioning here is that the exact timing of all these changes is unknown (Contineau 1946; Garbell 1958).

#### 4.2 Synchrony of the variable

What is important to this study is the synchronic distribution of the variable in the speech of the city's inhabitants. As stated earlier Irbid City is populated by three regional groups : the Urbanites, the Fellahiin and the Horaniis. Three dialects then constitute the colloquial language of the city. Synchronically, the variable (Q) is shared by all three dialects in that each regional group has one colloquial variant. These are indicated as follows:

<u>Dialect</u>	<u>Colloquial variant</u>
Urban	?
Rural	k
Horani	g

Whatever dialects of Arabic may have been brought to Irbid with the early movements of immigration, one thing is sure : there are today new and more complex process of linguistic change and variation taking place in the city. This alternation can best be described as bidirectional rather than unidirectional. That is, two processes of change and development on the linguistic level are now taking place in Irbid : one in which all people irrespective of their regional origin are moving in one direction towards the prestige standard Arabic i.e. a process of standardization, and the other in which certain groups of people tend to adopt linguistic features from one particular dialect in preference to others i.e. a process of "accommodation". As we pointed out earlier, the factor most responsible for creating this process of standardization is education, whereas the extensive social contacts between Jordanians of the different origin groups is the element most responsible for creating the process of "levelling" or "accommodation".

#### 4.2.1 Distribution of the (Q) variants in the speech of the community members

The Irbid speech community is thus characterized by a great deal of heterogeneity, resulting in substantial variation. Not only do different Irbidians use different colloquial variants of the (Q) variable, but they also, to some extent, utilize along with the SA variant [q] the variants of some other dialects in their speech. We have seen above that in the past each subcommunity has one characteristic variant : [g] for the Horaniis, [k] for the Fellahiin and [ʔ] for the Urbanites. Each lexical item with [q] was, however, pronounced almost categorically with [g] in the Horani dialect, [k] in the Fellahi dialect and [ʔ] in the Urban dialect.

In the light of the synchronic distribution of the (Q) variants in the speech of the members of the three sub-communities, it can be stated that a linguistic change is now underway. This change will probably give birth to a new spoken variety moving away from the dialects characteristic to each regional group, and closer to a version saturated with learned forms. So, the synchronic distribution of the variants which we noticed within each regional group shows that the SA variant [q] has become part of the linguistic behaviour of each of the three subcommunities' members. In other words, it can be seen that the [q] variant is now creeping into the speech of the Jordanian people in Irbid City, replacing the colloquial variants, [g], [ʔ] and [k]. We also observed that speakers of a particular regional background have begun to use variants of the (Q) variable belonging to the other local varieties. The distribution of the (Q) variants within each of the two subcommunities can be shown as follows:

#### 4.2.2 Distribution of the (Q) variable in the speech of Horaniis

The variable (Q) in the speech data provided by nineteen Horani

speakers shows a great deal of diversity. Three reflexes of (Q) have been recognized in the speech of Horaniis; these are : [q], [g] and [ʔ]. Again, the [q] is the CA variant which is mainly acquired through formal education and/or mass media. The voiced velar stop [g] is the colloquial variant peculiar to the Horani people i.e. it is natively acquired by Horaniis. Except for a very few lexical items, e.g. /qura:n/ "Koraan" and /dimashq/ "Damascus", every lexical item with /q/ can be pronounced with both the SA variant [q] and the Horani variant [g] e.g.,

/qa:l/	-	/ga:l/	"he said"
/baqar/	-	/bagara/	"cow"
/fari:q/	-	/fari:g/	"team"

The [ʔ] variant is the urban colloquial variant of (Q) which is a relatively recent borrowing from the urban variety. In a similar way every lexical item with /q/ can be heard with [q], [g] and [ʔ], however.

#### 4.2.3 Distribution of the (Q) variable in the speech of Fellahiin

In this group of speakers the variable also has a variety of realizations : [q], [k], [g] and [ʔ]. The colloquial variant peculiar to this group is the velar voiceless stop [k]. The [q] is the standard Arabic reflex, and the [ʔ] and [g] are two colloquial variants borrowed by the Fellahiin speakers from the Urban and the Horani dialects respectively. Every lexical item with /q/, except for a very few items, can be pronounced by Fellahi speakers variably as with any of the four variants, e.g.,

/qa:m/	-	/ka:m/,	/ga:m/,	/ʔa:m/	"he stood up"
/Tari:q/	-	/Tari:k/,	/Tari:g/	/Tari:ʔ/	"road"

It is worthwhile to mention here that the two segments /k/ and /q/ both have phonemic status in the Fellahi dialect, as in SA.

It can therefore be stated that the (Q) variable has three variants in the speech of Horaniis and four in the speech of Fellahiin. The reason why the Horani speakers have only three variants and the Fellahi speakers four is that the Fellahi colloquial variant [k] is very stigmatized in the city. Therefore the Horani people try to avoid borrowing it and the Fellahi speakers themselves try to avoid using it as much as they can. Although the colloquial variants [g] and [ʔ] characteristic to the other local varieties i.e. the Horani and the urban varieties, can be heard in the speech of the Fellahiin it is misleading to understand that the distribution of the variants within the Fellahi group means that the Fellahi speakers all use [q], [g], [k] and [ʔ] variants. The same can also be said of the Horaniis. This is because the distribution of the variants in the speech of any of the three origin groups in the city is subject to a number of very effective social factors. That is to say, there are a number of social factors (which will be discussed later in detail) such as the sex and educational background of the individual which strictly condition the use of the different variants of (Q).

#### 4.3 Quantifying the variable

Matters grow more complex when it comes to the quantification of the variable. Labov (1969:728) maintains that the final decision as to what to count (and Romaine 1980:186 added, how to count) is actually the solution to the problem at hand (reported in Romaine 1980). The Labovian method of quantification is based mainly on Labov's definition of the linguistic variable, which assumes the existence of a class of variants ordered along a continuum, and whose position on that continuum is determined by independent or extralinguistic variables. In order to calculate the index score for a linguistic variable, Labov suggests that the phonetic realizations of that variable should be

ordered and a numerical value assigned to each variant according to its position on the scale. The score is then averaged for all the variants of that variable. The average will be multiplied by 100 to give an index score. This can be illustrated in the following example, taken from Chambers and Trudgill (1980). In Norwich study, Trudgill has isolated three variants for the variable (t) (which is equivalent to syllable-final /t/), these being:

(t) -- 1 = [t]  
 (t) -- 2 = [t?]  
 (t) -- 3 = [?]

Given that a speaker has, say, 35 instances of (t), consisting of 20 instances of (t) - 1, 5 instances of (t) - 2, and 10 instances of (t) - 3, his score will be computed as follows:

20 x (t)1 = 20  
 5 x (t)2 = 10  
10 x (t)3 = 30  
 35                      60

The total score for this speaker will be 60. The average is  $60 \div 35 = 1.7$ . The (t) index for this speaker is then  $1.7 \times 100 = 170$ . But this approach has been criticized by several linguists (e.g. J. Milroy 1982; Romaine 1978; Hudson 1980) on the grounds that it has several shortcomings. For example, in her study on postvocalic (r) in Scottish English, Suzanne Romaine (1978:147) decided to score the values of the three variants recognized for this variable : (r-1) [r], [ɹ], (r-2) [ɹ] and (r-3)∅ as three discrete variables rather than as one continuous variable in accordance with the classical Labovian method. To obtain an index score for each variant, she counted the number of occurrences of each variant (i.e. [r], [ɹ] and ∅) over the total number of occurrences of the variable multiplied by 100. This was done by

Romaine in order to avoid the possibility of ascribing social meaning to the variants by assigning them numerical values on a scale from 100-300, since, according to Romaine, it cannot be predicted in advance what social values may be attached to the different variants.

James Milroy (1982:35-6) has also criticized the Labovian method of quantifying the linguistic variables as follows:

"the methodology on which we have been mainly dependent is, in some aspects, too limited or insufficiently flexible and that one of the results of this way may be an incomplete, or possibly false, account of what is actually happening in the speech community."

Milroy was in fact able to demonstrate convincingly that the Labovian system of quantifying variables of more than two variants was inaccurate on mathematical grounds. This is because:

"in a three-way variable assigned scores of 1, 2, 3, it may happen that speaker A favours variant 2 100 percent of the time, whereas speaker B may favour variant 1 50 percent of the time and variant 3 50 percent of the time. In such a case both speakers will have the same index score, although their speech habits are quite different.

(1982:36)

In this present study we have also decided not to use the Labovian index score system, partly because of the drawbacks argued for by Milroy (1982) and partly due to the fact that (as Romaine 1978) puts it, to order the (Q) variants hierarchically as in a gradient index, each variant would be assigned a social meaning according to its order on the scale. Above all, the four variants of (Q) cannot be arranged along a single social parameter in which the move or choice among the different variants takes a hierarchical character. This is because the speech community members (e.g. men, women, Fellahiin, Horaniis etc.) seem to be in broad and sharp disagreement as to the perception of "local prestige" (i.e. which colloquial variant is more appropriate to be adopted by which group) (For a fuller explanation of this point see Chapter 5).

We stated earlier that there are today two processes of linguistic change taking place in Irbid City: the first is a process of standardization in which most Jordanian speakers, however, irrespective of their local origin or sex, are moving in one direction toward the standard variety; and the other is a process of "levelling" or "accommodation" in which the speakers of the different origin groups tend to use colloquial variants other than their own. This chapter aims to study inclusively the process of standardization as it reveals itself in the use of the SA variant [q]. We will attempt to detect which social group in the Irbid speech community tends to use the SA variant [q] more often than the others do. In order to gauge the process of standardization in the speech of the different social groups, we will use as a model the work of Abdul-Jawad (1981) and will adopt the system of the ordinary two-variant variable analysis. In Abdul-Jawad's study in which he referred to the use of the SA variant [q] as the application of Q-standardization rule, and to the use of the colloquial variants as the non-application of Q-standardization rule, binary values were assigned to the rule elements: non-application ( $\emptyset$ ) to all local varieties collectively, and the application value (1) was assigned to the standard variant [q]. Schematically the order is as follows:

- 1) Q \_\_\_\_ [q] = 1 application
- 2) Q \_\_\_\_ [g], [k], [?] =  $\emptyset$  non-application

The variable thus has two variants : the SA variant [q] and the colloquial variants [g, k, ?], percentage scores for individuals and groups will be computed on a basis of two-variant variables. We will count the number of [q]s the groups of speakers realized, against the

number of colloquial variant(s) used by them collectively, and work out a percentage score for the instances of the SA variant [q] in the speech of each social group. By way of comparison, the percentages scored by the different social groups will be presented in the form of tables and histograms. In order to make sure whether or not the division - if there is one - between the different groups represents a significant distinction, a statistical test known as the chi-square test<sup>1</sup> will be applied to the data (cf. Butler 1985:112).

#### 4.4 Linguistic constraints

In order to make sure whether or not a certain phonological variable is linguistically conditioned, one has to examine its different phonetic realizations in different linguistic environments. Linguistic conditioning factors are, generally speaking, of two kinds : internal and external. There are two kinds of internal factors, phonological and grammatical. The phonological factor is shown among other things as the nature of the preceding and/or following segments which might affect and promote the application of a certain rule, the position of the variable in syllables or words, or its position in relation to stress. The grammatical factor is expressed as the grammatical function of the variable within the string, the grammatical status of the word containing the variable and its relation to other units in the utterance. External linguistic constraints include the lexical conditioning factors, in which some lexical items or a group of lexical items favour the application of a certain rule more often than other(s).

Previous studies of the (Q) variable (Schmidt 1974; Abdul-Jawad 1981; Shorab 1982; Al-Amadidhi 1985; Jassem 1987) have shown that the linguistic conditioning factor that influence the realization of this variable into its different variants (i.e. the colloquial variants [?],

[k], [g] and [dʒ] and the standard variant [q]) is external rather than internal. To put it in Schmidt's words:

"Q-Colloquialization (the rule which converts /q/ into [ʔ]) is subject to two kinds of constraints which are external to the rule, however. The first of these is lexical inhibition of the rule. Some lexical items always or nearly always undergo Q-colloquialization, while some other lexical items never or nearly never do... The other kind of constraints on Q-colloquialization is socio-linguistic."

(Schmidt 1974:128-129)

Like Schmidt (1974) and the others, Jassem (1987:117-118) has found that the alternation between the SA variant [q] and its three vernacular variants, namely, the local variant [ʔ], and the two immigrant variants [g and j], is phonetically unconditioned. He remarks that:

"Almost any word in the data can appear with two or more variants even by the same speaker in the same speech style."

(Ibid:117)

He also observed that the variation between the above variants is lexically conditioned. The same results were also arrived at by Abdul-Jawad (1981:179-182) who found that all four variants [q, ʔ, k and g] are phonetically in free variation, namely, every standard lexical item with /q/ can be realized in the speech of Jordanian speakers with any of the four variants. Moreover, he observed that the alternation between the SA [q] and the colloquial variants [g, ʔ, and k] is lexically conditioned.

In the present study we have also found that in the speech of both the Fellahi and the Horani people, the alternation between the SA variant [q] and its three colloquial variants [g, ʔ and k] is phonetically unconditioned. Except for a very few lexical items like /qurʔa:n/ "Koraan" and /dimashq/ "Damascus", every standard word with /q/ can be pronounced by the Horani people with [g] and [ʔ], and every word with [g] and [ʔ] can be pronounced with [q]. Similarly, any word with the SA variant /q/ can be heard in the speech of the Fellahiin as

[k], [ʔ] and [g], and any word with [k], [ʔ] and [g] can be pronounced by them with [q]. For example, the following lexical items:

/qalb/ - /ʔalb/ - /galb/ - /kalb/ "heart"  
 /qa:si/ - /ʔa:si/ - /ga:si/ - /ka:si/ "hard"  
 /barq/ - /barʔ/ - /barg/ - /bark/ "lightning"

can all be pronounced by any Jordanian speaker variably without any phonetic conditioning.

Table 4.1 Distribution of (Q) by the following environment

Phonetic context	[q]%	[g, ʔ, K]%	No. of tokens
-c	40	60	461
-v(v)	37	63	2159
-#	35	65	207
Total			2827

In table 4.1, it appears that the position of the variable in pre-consontal, pre-vocalic and word final environment does not constitute a significant constraint on linguistic variation between the SA variant [q] and its three colloquial variants [g, ʔ and k]. Based on the evidence presented, thus, we are able to demonstrate that the (Q) variable is phonetically unconditioned in our data. This result basically supports and is supported by the results of all previous studies with respect to phonetic conditioning on the (Q) variable.

#### 4.4.1 Lexical constraints

As stated earlier, Ferguson (1959) has suggested that there are two moderately distinct varieties of Arabic : one is called the H.Language (i.e. classical Arabic) and the other the L. language (i.e.

referring to the variety of colloquial forms spoken in the Arab speaking countries). The functional distribution for H and L shows that there are situations in which only L. can be used and others in which only H. is appropriate, with very little overlap between them (cf. Ferguson 1959, Fasold 1984).

In 1958, when Ferguson wrote his article, it was undoubtedly true that the overlap between the two codes was very small, but at present, with the increase in education and the spread of mass media everywhere in the Arab world, the gap has been bridged day by day. Consequently, a large share of lexical items related to religious, political, scientific, technical and administrative issues are infiltrating the L. variety. Therefore, the lexicon of Arabic exhibits a large amount of change and variation. In a sense it is very difficult to limit it in terms of H. and L. varieties, because the colloquial varieties have, practically, been "enriched" with a multitude of classical lexical items. Abdul-Jawad (1981:118) remarks that:

"There seems to be a lexical continuum which offers the speakers of Arabic a wide choice ranging between the two polar codes, i.e. the standard and the plain colloquial, through the intermediate varieties."

In order to be able to investigate the lexical conditioning factor, the lexicon should be divided into different lexical classes in order that the class of lexical items which favours the application of the rule more often than the others do may be detected. Admitting the difficulty and implausibility of splitting the lexicon into discrete lexical categories, we will attempt nevertheless to do this in the present study data according to the criteria that will be discussed below.

Among the many criteria that can be used to differentiate a standard item from its colloquial counterpart is the morphophonemic and morphological pattern of the word. In Standard Arabic, for instance,

the passivization of both perfect and imperfect can be formed in triconsonantal words by changing the vowels as follows:

CaCaCa (active-perfective)      CuCiCa (passive-perfective)  
 /qatala/ "he killed somebody"      /qutila/ "he was killed"

Passivization in Jordanian Colloquial Arabic is subject to different morphophonemic rules; it can be derived from the active-perfect form by adding (?in) prefix rather than changing the vowels as was the case with passivization in SA:

CaCaC (active-perfect)      ?inCaCaC (passive-perfect)  
 /qatal/      /?inqatal/

When we examined our data, we observed that the SA[q] was realized categorically in words taking the SA passive form; thus, /quti9a/ "it was cut", /nuqila/ "he was shifted" and /qubila/ "he was accepted". However in the words which take the colloquial pattern of passivization like /?inqaTa9/, /?inTaqa1/ and /?inqaba1/ the SA [q] was realized variably.

Thus it can be stated that all words which undergo the standard morphophonemic and morphological rules can be considered pure standard, whereas those words which are subject to colloquial morphophonemic and morphological rules are to be considered colloquial. David Schultz (1981) reached a similar conclusion when he observed:

"that a large share of the words containing a qaaf [q] could not undergo Q-colloquialization anyhow and such words must be taken as classical. This makes them lexical borrowings and not phonological borrowings. The same argument applies to verbs. Since classical verb morphology apparently may not be used on colloquial stems, all verbs analyzed as being classical had morphological borrowings."

(Schultz 1981:181)

Although we have reached some tentative results relative to the linguistic constraints on this variable, a more detailed and systematic investigation of this issue would be needed to verify exactly which

lexical items favour the use of the SA [q] obligatorily, and when it may be variable.

#### 4.4.2 Classifying the lexicon

Most of the previous studies, which were mainly interested in investigating lexical variation in Arabic (Al-Amadidhi 1985; Abdul-Jawad 1981; Schmidt 1974), have categorized the lexicon on (Q) into four lexical classes.<sup>2</sup>

In Abdul-Jawad's study, for example, these lexical categories were named as follows:

1. pure standard
2. cognate-identical
3. cognate non-identical
4. pure colloquial

In order to examine the lexical constraint on variation in our data, we randomly selected 12 out of our 38 informants. In order to avoid any bias on the part of the lexicon selected for examination, we divided our 38 informants into three educational groups: university graduates; high or preparatory school graduates; and those with little or no schooling. 4 informants were selected out of each educational group. Thus, we have a total of 12 informants distributed evenly on the three educational groups. Since an investigation of lexical variation is beyond the scope of this study, we decided to classify the lexicon on /q/, into three lexical categories.

Benefiting from the previous methodology on the classification of the lexicon in Arabic, the lexicon in the speech of these 12 informants (hereinafter referred to as "selected sample data" will be classified into three major categories according to the following criteria:

A. Category I : Pure standard lexical items include:

1. All those items that are pure standard and do not have colloquial equivalents. These can be termed as technical, scientific, political, religious, journalistic and administrative items which infiltrate the colloquial variety through education and mass media; e.g.

/qara:r/	"decision"
/ʔiqtiSa:d/	"economics"
/qa:fiyye/	"rhyme"

2. Lexical items which are pure standard and do have equivalent items (paired items), standing for the same meaning, e.g.,

SA	QA	
/kuratqadam/	/faTbo:l/	"football"
/quble/	/bo:si/	"kiss"
/faqaT/	/bass/	"only"

3. Lexical items which are subject to standard morphophonemic and morphological rules : all items that can be inflected for either case or mood, such as:

- A. passivization of verbs : imperfect and perfect

	SA	QA	
(imperfect)	/juHraq/	/biniHriq/	"it is being burnt"
(perfect)	/Huriq/	/ʔinHaraq/	"it was burnt"

- B. participles, both active and passive; e.g.,

SA	QA	
/muqa:mir/	/mqa:mir/ or /qumard3i/	"gambler"
/muwa:Dhib/	/mwa:Dhib/	"diligent"

B. Category II: Shared standard-colloquial items

Under this category come all words which meet the following criteria:

1. Lexical items which are identical to items used in SA from a semantic, phonemic and phonetic viewpoint. But since they are old lexical borrowings from the classical variety, they can be used more easily and more frequently, at least by the moderately educated speakers. Examples are:

/waqt/	"time"
/taqri:ban/	"nearly"
/quyu:d/	"restrictions"

2. lexical items which underwent only slight modifications (two or three changes) on their phonemic shape. These are still used in both the colloquial and the standard varieties in the same sense, e.g.,

SA	QA	
/qamH/	/qamiH/	"wheat"
/qawm/	/qo:m/	"kinsfolk"
/qala:ʔil/	/qla:l/	"little"

3. Proper nouns: all proper nouns can be classified as shared-items, since they can be pronounced with either the SA [q] or the colloquial variants without any change on the phonemic structure or the sense of the word, e.g.

SA	QA
/qa:sim/	/ga:sim/, /ka:sim/, /ʔa:sim/
/9abdilqa:dir/	/9abdilga:dir/, /9abdilka:dir/, /9abdilʔa:dir/

### C. Category III: pure colloquial items

Under this category we have:

1. All items which are subject to the colloquial morphophonemic and morphological rules:
  - A. passivization of verbs: perfect and imperfect
  - B. participle, both active and passive

2. The standard large forms which have undergone numerous phonological changes, and which have contracted and are used in the colloquial variety as one word:

SA	QA	
/ma: 9alayyhi shay?/	/ma9alash/	"don't worry"
/ha:dha ?alwaqt/	/halla?/	"now"
/bi ?ay shay?/	/be:sh/	"how much"

Interestingly, these colloquial items also have shorter standard equivalents in addition to those full units from which they were derived, e.g.,

SA	QA	
/ma9alash/	/latahtam/	"don't worry"
/halla?/	/?al?a:n/	"now"
/be:S/	/bikam/	"how much"

3. Colloquial words which acquire meanings different from those usually attached to them in the classical variety, e.g.

in QA	in SA
/9araq/ = "wine"	"sweat"
/qaSi:di/ = "folksong"	"poem"

4. Loan words borrowed from languages other than SA, e.g.,

/qabaDay/	"courageous"	from Turkish	"kabadayau"
/qsha:T/	"belt"	"	"kouchak"

5. Loan-blends : where only parts of the form are borrowed, but where the meaning is native; or where part of the word is borrowed from one language and another part from another language, e.g.

SA	Turkish	QA
/qahwa/ "coffee" +	/d3i/ "doer"	/qahwad3i/"coffee maker"
English	Turkish	QA
/go:l/ "goal" +	/d3i/ "doer"	/go:lad3i/ "goalkeeper"



Thus the lexicon on /q/ in the "selected sample data" was classified into 3 lexical categories:

1. Pure standard items
2. Shared standard-colloquial items
3. Pure colloquial items

#### 4.4.3 Results

When we examined the distribution of the variable (Q) in the three classes of lexical items (see table 4.2 below) we observed the following:

1. The SA variant [q] is obligatorily realized in words classified as pure standard, whereas in pure colloquial items the colloquial variants [g, k and?] prevailed.
2. Although the SA variant [q] was variably realized in words classified as shared standard-colloquial items, we noticed that some lexical items in this category exhibit a stronger tendency to be realized with SA [q] than others. This lends support to the assumption that this class can be divided into other sub-classes according to their capability to be pronounced with SA [q], albeit to varying degrees. For instance, we note that lexical items which are identical in their phonemic shape to standard items (i.e. /qabl/ "before"; /waqt/ "time") favour the SA [q] more often than those items which underwent one or more phonological changes (i.e. /fo:q/ "above", /qifil/ "lock" ) and those, in turn, favour the SA [q] more often than the items which underwent some semantic evolution.

To conclude, our findings suggest that the linguistic constraints on variation between the standard variant on the one hand and the colloquial variants on the other are external rather than internal. That is, the lexical status of the word containing the variable seems

Category	No. of [k, g and ?]	No. of [q]	Total	q%
Pure standard items	-	161	161	100
Shared items	272	219	491	45
Pure colloquial items	187	-	187	0
No =			839	

Table 4.2 : distribution of (Q) by three classes of lexical items.

to be a strong conditioning factor on the realization of the (Q) variable into the standard and colloquial variants. It is also evident that the lexicon in Arabic tends to constitute a hierarchy in regard to the pronunciation of the lexical items with their standard forms. Moreover, there seems to be a close correlation between the use of the standard forms and the formality of the situation, as it has been noted in the "selected sample data" that most speakers tended to use more standard features in formal than in casual situations.

Finally, this result confirms beyond any doubt the findings of studies in which Schmidt (1974), Schultz (1981), Abdul-Jawad (1981) and Al-Amadidhi (1985) have observed that the linguistic constraint on variation between the SA [q] variant and the colloquial variants is external rather than internal as reflected in the lexical status of the word containing the variable.

#### 4.5 Lexical diffusion

In studies of language change the notion of lexical conditioning is closely linked to that of lexical diffusion (Owens and Bani-Yasin 1987:707), since the group of lexical items which favours the application of a particular rule has experienced the change before the group which favours it variably or before that group which does not favour it at all. Having found that the (Q) variable is lexically conditioned, we will concern ourselves in what follows with the answers to two major questions : (1) Does this present phenomenon represent a case of lexical diffusion? and (2) if so, what are the elements that contribute to the infiltration and spread of this diffusion?

Before answering these two questions we will try to shed some light on the lexical diffusion theory and the axioms on which it is based. Among the numerous views which have provided a strong impetus for the emergence of much research on lexical diffusion is the neo-grammarians view (the Regularity hypothesis) of sound change. This posits a picture of change in which the phonetic modification occurs in such small increments that it is not discernable to language users, and all the words destined for the change uniformly obey the same time schedule in the gradual process of phonetic modification (Wang and Cheng 1977:148). In other words, the neo-grammarians view states that a change is phonetically gradual but lexically abrupt. Martinet (1955) and Sommerfelt (1962) also argued for the gradualness of change, but they, by contrast, claimed that linguistic change does not take place suddenly in all the lexical items of a language, but that the lexicon is affected by the change part-by-part (Cheng and Wang 1975:257).

In 1969, William Wang was the first to express these same ideas in the framework of a theory when he assumed that sound change spreads through the lexicon in a phonetically abrupt but lexically gradual

manner. Thereafter, a series of research projects was carried out by Wang and his associates (Cheng 1972; Cheng and Wang 1975; Wang and Cheng 1970; Wang and Cheng 1977) on the Chinese dialects in order to crystallize these ideas in the framework of a theory. Also, the lexical diffusion theory heralded the appearance of a great number of linguistic studies on different languages : Hsieh (1972), Krishnamuti (1978), Johnson (1983), J. Milroy (1978), and Heath (1981) to cite but a few. Research on linguistic change according to this theory has expanded to encompass work on a variety of subjects. For instance, in his research on the speech of a group of children, Hsieh (1972) discovered that in the first stages of language acquisition, children tend to substitute correct adult pronunciations for their original infantile sounds in a lexically gradual manner (reported in Hsieh 1980:47).

The lexical diffusion theory is principally established on a number of assumptions. Firstly, it assumes that phonemes are not the actual carriers of change as was believed earlier by the neo-grammarians, but that a change is carried by words/morphemes. Secondly, linguistic change is gradual in nature. In other words, a sound change, as it enters a particular language, does not affect the whole lexicon in an abrupt way, but spreads and diffuses itself through the lexicon part-by-part and gradually. The theory also presupposes that the original sound, which is affected by the change, need not disappear suddenly, but may remain in the language for a considerable length of time.

Another assumption of the lexical diffusion theory is that frequency plays a crucial role in the process of sound change, that is to say, the frequency with which a word is used until the innovation becomes accepted. Even though the proponents of the lexical diffusion

theory are in broad agreement over the gradualness of diffusion, this does not seem to be the case with respect to the frequency with which a lexical item must occur until it undergoes the change. A number of linguists (Krishnamuti 1978; Johnson 1983; Philips 1980, 1983) have argued that the most frequent words are most apt to accept change than the least frequent ones are. Some others (Philips 1984; Jassem 1987, Dressler and Wodak 1982; Al-Amadidhi 1985) observed that the least frequent words are affected by the change more often than those words which occur most frequently. Moreover, Aitchison (1981:93-94) maintained that frequency or cultural importance (i.e. association of a particular set of lexical items with certain cultural norms) are not the only factors to be taken into consideration. Words can only be in the forefront of a change if they are linguistically susceptible to that particular change. This was illustrated at its simplest by Aitchison in the loss of schwas in words such as fam(i)ly, ev(e)ry and its preservation in words like burglary and forgery. Thus, the words in the vanguard of this particular change, according to Aitchison, are not only frequent ones, but are also those in which the resulting new sequence of consonants is easy to pronounce.

The lexical diffusion theory may be schematized as follows:

	t1	t2	t3	t4	t5
C1	A	B	B	B	B
C2	A	A	B	B	B
C3	A	A	A	A	B
C4	A	A	A	A	B

Source : Wang 1969:18

t1 - t5 = time span

C1 - C4 = contexts (the different sets of lexical items)

A = old segment

B = new segment

In time span 1 segment A occurs in four different sets of lexical items. In time span 2, A has become B in C1, namely, context 1 begins to adopt the new segment. In time span 3, A has also become B in C1 and C2. The table indicates that by t5 all the A's are replaced by B's. That is, the new form is adopted by all lexical items. Thus, t1 represents the unchanged stage; t5 represents the changed stage (i.e. the stage of completion of the change); and t2 - t4 represent the variable stages in which the new form is used variably with the original form.

Chen and Wang (1975) offer evidence from the English language to support their theory. The evidence showed the development of dissyllabic diatones from early modern English to the present day. Diatones are those noun-verb pairs consisting of two syllables, in which the stress alternates between the first and the second syllables depending on whether the lexical item functions as a noun or as a verb such as, for example, accent, abstract (Ibid:261). Chen and Wang reported that by examining a number of dictionaries over a certain period of time from 1570 to 1973, Sherman (1973) was able to trace the shift of stress from the first syllable to the second syllable in 150 lexical items, the word "affix" being a good example. The investigation showed that the word "affix" has been used as a verb since 1533, and as both verb and noun since 1612.

This table shows that in 1570 there were only 3 diatones. This number increased to 24 by 1660, to 35 by 1700 until it reached and stood at 150 in 1934. This steady growth of the stress-alternation rule along both the time span and the lexicon represents a clear-cut case of gradual diffusion.

Year	No. of diatones
1570	3
1582	8
1660	24
1700	36
1800	70
1934	150

- Increase in the number of diatonic N - V homographs as a function of time (Adapted from Chen and Wang 1975:262).

Having obtained an idea about the lexical diffusion theory and the assumptions on which it is based, we will now try to address the two questions which were raised at the beginning of this review.

#### 4.5.1 Lexical diffusion and the (Q) variable

In order to examine the process of lexical diffusion concerning the (Q) variable, we shall return to the three categories of lexical items which we obtained in the "Selected sample data". It can be stated that each of the three categories of lexical items stands for an independent stage of lexical diffusion, since those items which are classified as pure standard favour the application of the rule more often than either those items being classified as colloquial-standard or those classified as pure colloquial.

A quick look at table 4.3 shows that the bulk of lexical items containing (Q) is variable (59%). These words are still in their variable stage, since they can be pronounced with both the SA variant [q] and the colloquial variants [ʔ, k and g], such as in the word

Category (Stage)	No. of Tokens	%
I Pure standard (changed)	161	19
II Standard-colloquial (variable)	491	59
III Pure colloquial (unchanged)	187	22
Total	839	100

Table 4.3 : Percentages of (Q) in three stages of lexical diffusion  
(in the Selected sample data).

/qa:l/, /?a:l/, /ka:l/ and /ga:l/ "he said". It can also be noticed that 22% of the words are still lagging behind in stage III and are unaffected by the change, as for example /qsha:T/ "belt", /go:l/ "goal". And only 19% of the words (in stage I) have undergone change, for these pure standard items can never be pronounced with the colloquial variants, e.g., /muqa:mir/ "gambler", /qutila/ "he was killed".

Considering these results in terms of the lexical diffusion theory, one would claim that after the SA items have been introduced into the language along with their standard segments (as lexical borrowing), the change would first spread to items classified as standard-colloquial and then to items classified as pure colloquial. On the whole, these results seem, however, to be in line with those of Jassem (1987:125-126) in his study of immigrant speech in Damascus, in which he found that the vast majority of the words in his data (76%)

are still variable, while only (16%) of the words are unchanged and only 8% have undergone change (i.e. they have completed their course of change).

Undoubtedly, it is the process of classicism which is taking place nowadays in the Arab world, through education and mass media, the responsible factor for this lexical diffusion. This is because Arab speakers have been exposed daily to the standard variety along with its lexical and phonological features. Therefore, it is not too surprising to see the use of these standard features experiencing steady growth and diffusing themselves in the spoken language of the Jordanian people.

#### 4.6 The Co-variation of the (Q) variable with the sociological parameters

##### 4.6.1 Education

All previous sociolinguistic studies of Arabic which have dealt with education as an independent variable (e.g., Al-Amadidhi (1985); Al-Jehani (1985), among others) have demonstrated unquestionably that the educational level of an individual has a major impact on his linguistic behaviour. Educated speakers in the Arab world are, generally speaking, much more aware of the social significance of the language than uneducated speakers are. Consequently, their attitude toward the standard norms of the language as is manifested in their utilization of more standard lexical items and more standard phonological features, would be much more responsive than that of uneducated people.

In Irbid City, as in other parts of the Arab speaking world, the lexicon inventory of an educated speaker is built up mainly through formal education, along with exposure to the mass media. The more the educated speakers expose themselves to the standard language through

daily contact with printed material, television, radio etc. the more their linguistic input will be enriched with standard lexical items. Accordingly, the educated speakers tend to utilize standard features much more often than uneducated do. On the other hand, the uneducated people, as a result of their limited contact with the standard variety, neither have access to the standard prestigious norms of the language nor the ability to use them likewise.

From Figure 4.1 and tables 4.4 and 4.5 we observe that the variation correlates very closely with education. The higher the educational level of the individual, the more likely he will be to use the SA variant [q]. The percentage scores shown in Figure 4.1 indicate that all three educational groups are stratified by their usage of the SA variant [q]. While the highly educated group favours the standard variant 60 percent of the time, the other two groups favour it only 24 percent and 9 percent of the time respectively. This suggests that the linguistic behaviour of the different educational groups mirrors exactly that which people have internalized of the standard language.

Looking at table 4.4 we also note that there is a sharp distinction between the three educational groups in their use of the (Q) variable in the two conversational styles. But in the two reading styles no difference can be noted. One notices that the H.educated speakers have scored higher percentages in their use of the SA variant [q] in both the casual and the formal styles, than the M.educated have, who in turn have scored higher percentages in their use of the same variant and in the same two styles than the uneducated have. The only possible explanation for this is that the more educated speakers have greater knowledge of the standard variety than the less educated have, and thus possess the ability to utilize a large share of standard lexical items in their speech, which in turn results in the

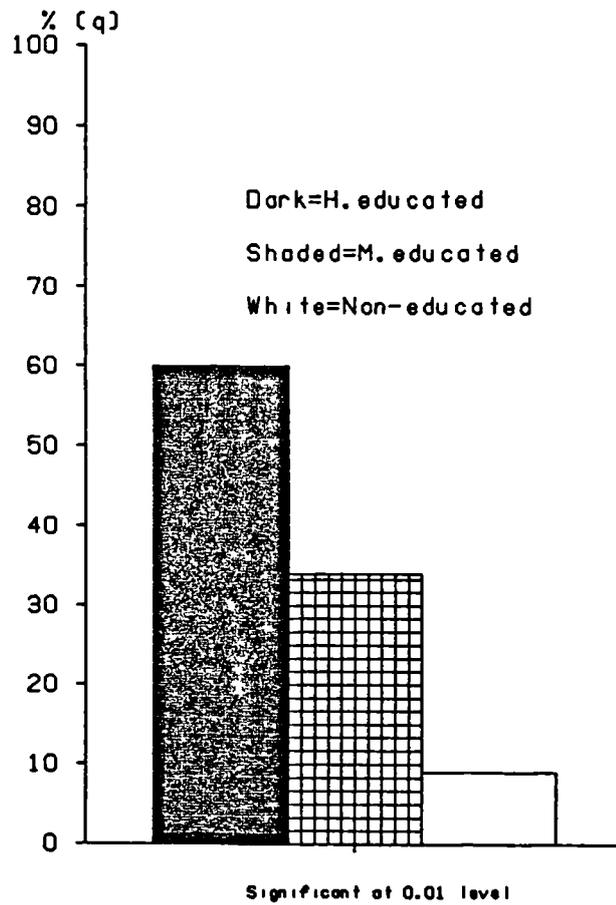


Figure 4.1 : Distribution of (Q)  
by education

Table 4.4 Distribution of (Q) by education and style

Educational groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	[q]%
H. educated	50	301/597	73	315/432	100	100
M. educated	25	177/712	50	202/406	100	100
Non-educated	6	27/486	17	33/194	-	-

pronunciation of these items with their SA form [q]. Furthermore, educated speakers are quite aware of the social context and prestige of the standard variety. Therefore in formal styles they tend to increase their use of the standard variants and decrease it slightly in less formal situations. David Schultz (1981) came to a similar conclusion with regard to Egyptian Arabic when he wrote:

"I believe it is fair to generalize from my data that all educated speakers in formal situations make an effort to use at least some classical features in their speech. The fact that the percentages of classical elements tends to decrease as the discourse progresses supports the theory that classical elements are used deliberately in some sense."

(1981:184)

It can also be seen that in reading styles, all informants, regardless of their educational attainment (with the exception of illiterates) scored the SA variant 100 percent of the time. This can be attributed to the fact that when the educated informants were asked to read from the reading passage and the word list which included lexical items classified as pure standard, they were put within the realm of the revered classical Arabic and thus were fully aware that all words included in the reading passage were of the standard status; thus realization of the colloquial variants was completely inhibited.

As can be seen from the percentage scores in table 4.4. the gap between the two conversational styles on the one hand the the two reading styles on the other is, insofar as the moderately educated group is concerned, much wider than that of the highly educated group. This is due to the fact that the lexicon inventory of the highly educated is much more enriched with standard lexical items than that of the moderately educated speakers. Therefore, the moderately educated speakers can in no way match their highly educated counterparts in their use of the SA features.

Table 4.5 suggests that among the highly educated speakers the use of the SA[q] variant rises along with the increase of the age pattern of the speakers : elderly educated people favour the use of the

Table 4.5 Distribution of (Q) by Education across three age groups

	Y. age group		M. age group		O. age group	
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total
H. educated	49	224/455	69	228/328	69	164/238
M. educated	51	170/331	28	117/420	24	92/375
Non-educated	7	5/70	13	34/263	6	21/347

Significant at 0.01 level

standard variant more often than their younger counterparts. This result confirms Abdul-Jawad's (1981:256) finding, in which he noted that "old educated speakers (in Amman City) use [q] pronunciation more often than the other groups do". But we observe that the case is reversed with the moderately educated speakers. It can be seen that the younger age group uses the SA variant [q] more often than the

middle-aged and the older age speakers do. The only possible explanation one can give for this is that the younger age speakers, aged from 19 to 29 are either still in school or have left it recently. That is to say, they are still in daily contact with the standard variety, reading and learning it in schools, or have been away from it for only a few years. Whereas the middle-aged and the older age speakers, ranging from 30 to 60 years had left school long ago, with the result that their exposure to the standard variety would be much less than the younger educated speakers. Consequently, they would show less use of the SA variant [q] than younger educated speakers would. But we shall not be content with this explanation until the sharp distinction between the middle-aged and older age groups in educational group II, (H. educated) and the speakers of the same age pattern in Educational group I (M. educated) is accounted for.

To explain this, one must take into consideration the effect of occupation which seems to interact with education in influencing the linguistic behaviour of the speaker. Generally speaking, most of the highly ranked jobs like those of lawyers, managers, medical doctors etc. are filled by university graduates. In Universities, schools, courts etc. the official variety used is the H. language (i.e. the standard language) (see Ferguson 1956, Fasold 1984). Thus, we believe that the type of job a person might have plays a significant role in making its owner adopt the appropriate variety. By virtue of their occupational status, the only possible choice for a university lecturer or a lawyer is the standard variety. Consequently, the older and the middle-aged speakers who are highly educated and thus occupy highly ranked jobs would show higher percentages of the SA[q] than the younger university graduates on the one hand and the middle-aged and older moderately educated people on the other would.

In the light of these results, one may claim that education is the most significant social factor which results in a great deal of variation between the speech community members. In other words, there is a considerable amount of influence exerted by education on the linguistic behaviour of people. Therefore, we noticed that those people who acquired a higher level of education appeared to be more standardized in their speech than those who had had less education were.

#### 4.6.2 Origin

Generally speaking, linguistic variation can be correlated with a wide range of characteristics shared by speakers. Among these is the regional origin or ethnic group of the speaker to which he is committed by certain types of loyalties and obligations. This fact has been clearly supported in a number of sociolinguistic works (Trudgill 1974; Cedergren 1973; Aljehani 1985; Shorab 1982), which have shown that the frequency with which a speaker uses a particular linguistic variant seems to co-vary with his regional origin, viz: ruralite, urbanite etc. or ethnic identity, viz: black, white etc. H. Cedergren (1973) has maintained that:

"the urban-rural distinction is useful for interpreting the direction of linguistic diffusion as a particular trait spreads along a geographical plane away from or toward the city"  
(Cedergren 1973:26)

Origin, thus, can be seen as one of the most significant factors affecting an individual's speech and his attitude toward the community of which he forms an integral part. In his study of the Makkan speech community, Al-Jehani (1985) noted that "even though nomads are assimilating to the speech patterns of sedentaries, they are not willing to lose their identity totally, not even the young". Similarly, Trudgill (1974), observed that speakers born outside Norwich showed a different pattern of linguistic behaviour from those native to

the city. Namely, they showed less aitch dropping than speakers born in the city.

Once again, Irbid City is characterized by a great deal of heterogeneity. Three local groups, speaking three colloquial varieties along with the standard language, have been living in the city side by side from the late 1940's down to the present day. This must result in a great deal of linguistic variation on the part of the speech community as a whole. The hypothesis to be raised here is that the linguistic behaviour of the individual speaker in Irbid City does co-vary with his regional origin and that the more he is integrated with his group, the more he adheres to his vernacular norms.

Putting the two local groups together and comparing their realizations of the SA variant [q], it becomes clear (see Figure 4.2) that they are not keeping up with one another in their involvement with the process of standardization that is taking place among the city speakers. In other words, we can observe that the Fellahi speakers appear to use the SA variant [q] more frequently than the Horani speakers do.

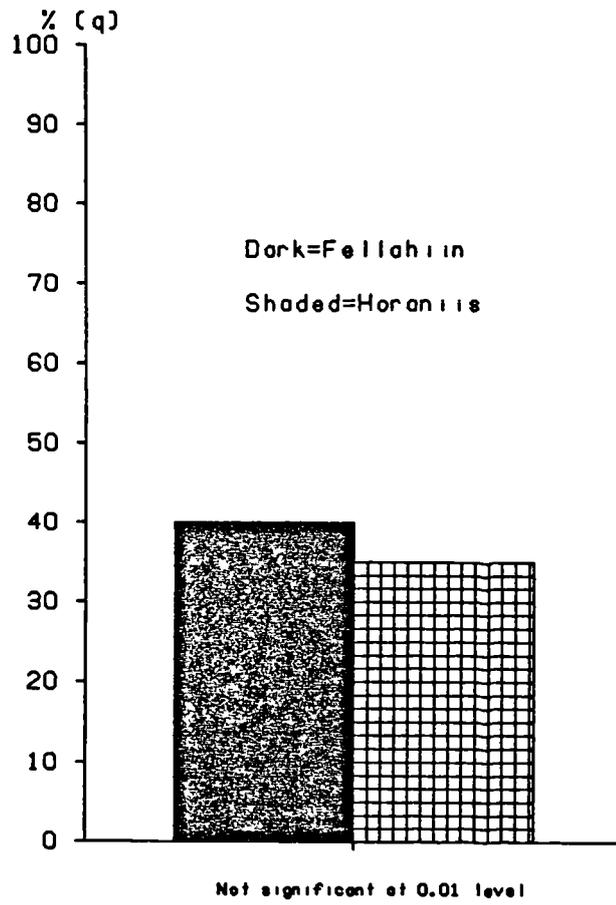


Figure 4.2 : Distribution of (Q)  
by origin

The same pattern of differentiation is also evident when we compare the percentages of these two groups across the stylistic continuum: (see Table 4.6 below) while Fellahiin and Horaniis demonstrate similar use of the SA [q] in the 'casual style, Fellahi speakers show a wider pace of style-shifting away from the colloquial variants in the formal style. This indicates that Fellahiin, who are stigmatized variant [k] speakers, seem to be more aware of social context than Horaniis are.

Table 4.6 Distribution of (Q) by origin and style

Origin groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total	[q]	[q]%
Horaniis	28	259/919	50	244/486	100	100
Fellahiin	28	246/876	56	306/545	100	100

Breaking down the percentage scores by sex and origin across style, we find that another pattern of variation emerges (see table 4.7). It is apparent that Fellahi men demonstrate a stronger tendency toward using the SA [q] at all levels of style than the Horani men do. But in the female group of speakers the reverse is true; while Fellahi women show lower percentages of the SA [q] in styles 1 and 2, Horani women score high percentages of the same variant in these styles. A plausible explanation for this pattern of variation between the Horani men and women on the one hand and the Fellahi men and women on the other, is that Fellahi men, who are generally [k] speakers, are fully aware of the stigmatized status of their colloquial variant. Therefore avoidance of this stigma (attached particularly to rural stereotypes) provides a powerful incentive for the adoption of the more prestigious

Table 4.7 Distribution of (Q) by origin and sex across style

Origin and sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total	[q]	[q]%
<b>Horaniis</b>						
Men	34	209/619	54	176/324	100	100
Women	17	50/300	42	68/162	100	100
<b>Fellahiin</b>						
Men	40	196/496	67	246/367	100	100
Women	13	50/380	34	60/179	100	100

variant (Milroy and Milroy 1977). As the SA variant [q] is the most prestigious variant in the city, and also the safest mode to be utilized in insecure communication context, Fellahi male speakers have subsequently increased their use of it in formal situation and decreased it slightly in informal situation.

Supporting this interpretation is the fact that (as we shall see later in chapter 9) an analysis of the process of accommodation between the three local groups reveals that the Fellahi male speakers have shown that they have almost completely relinquished their colloquial variant [k] and have adopted either the Horani colloquial variant [g] or the SA variant [q]. As this is the case it is highly likely for them in formal or interview style speech to use the SA variant [q], which enjoys a great deal of prestige over the other three colloquial variants collectively. The Horani male speakers, however, show mixed use of [q] and [g], and it is highly unlikely for them to demonstrate

the same degree of shift toward the standard variant because their colloquial variant [g] enjoys a considerable amount of prestige among the male speakers of all three local groups in the city.

Having said that, it is the opposite pattern of differentiation for the female speakers that needs explanation. The patterning of the Fellahi female speakers suggests that they do not share the same degree of preference for the SA variant [q] as the Horani female speakers do (see Table 4.7). This is because Fellahi women, like their men, have internalized the notion that their colloquial variant [k] is stigmatized. Thus, it is most likely for them to look for a linguistic variant enjoying a greater amount of prestige. We have seen above that Fellahi men show high preference for either the SA [q] or the Horani variant [g], whereas Fellahi women, particularly the younger age group, seem to favour the urban variant [ʔ], (as we shall see in Chapter 9). The two variants, then, appear to enjoy almost the same amount of prestige among the younger group of Fellahi female speakers. Subsequently, frequency with which they use the SA variant [q] has been affected by their use of the urban variant [ʔ]. Similarly, Holmquist (1985:199) has observed that in Montana, Spain, "the presence of lower closure (i.e. the [u] variant) scores for many rural women, and younger women in particular, may reflect not a difference of exposure to the standard, but a general turning away from things rural in Montana."

By contrast, Horani women are bound by strong relations to their relatives in the village who are only a few miles away from the city. Adoption of a colloquial variant other than their own would be considered disagreeable behaviour by their families and relatives and might subject them to ridicule and mockery. Therefore it is most likely that the Horani women would either choose to use the SA variant [q] which secures the respect of all people in the city or cling to

their colloquial variant [g]. In formal situations their choice would then be the standard variant rather than their colloquial variant. This attitude of the Horani women toward the other colloquial varieties in the city was reflected in the words of informant 2, a 22 year old Horani woman who, when asked in the presence of her female friends, who were from the Fellahi and urban groups and who usually use the urban variety in their speech, whether she usually used the Horani variety in her speech even with her female friends, replied: "of course, this is MY dialect which I use at home with family members and with my friends."

On the whole, these findings seem to be in agreement with both Abdul-Jawad's (1981) research in Amman City and Shorab's (1982) study of the Palestinian speech community in Buffalo; in both cases it transpired that the Fellahi speakers felt that their variant [k] was detestable and that they tended to substitute for it either the prestige SA variant [q], or the more feminine variant [ʔ], or [g] which is preferred mainly by male speakers. But the Bedouins, on the other hand, were found to be more faithful to their colloquial variant [g].

#### 4.6.3 Age

In a variety of sociolinguistic works (Labov 1963, 1966; Labov, Yaegar and Steiner 1972, Trudgill 1974) the age factor has proven to be of great significance in revealing ongoing linguistic changes. In his study on Martha's Vineyard, Labov (1963) discovered that there was a great deal of correlation between the age pattern of the Vineyarders and their adoption of the linguistic features peculiar to the island. He noticed that sound change was most frequently spearheaded by the middle-aged speakers, followed by the younger age speakers, with the elderly, who showed a great deal of conservatism, lagging behind. For Labov the sound change in progress on the island was seen to be most

likely a by-product of the inconsistent attitudes of the islanders toward their island : those people who felt very strongly about the island showed a high index of centralization of /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs, whereas those who looked forward to pursuing a career on the mainland exhibited a negative attitude and had the lowest index.

Although age-grading can be considered a good indicator of on-going changes, age by itself cannot be considered a reliable measure of actual sound change; in and of itself it cannot indicate the range or the direction of change. Rather, further evidence must be obtained from "real time" as an indispensable factor in determining whether the age stratification is the consequence of "phylogenetic" or "ontogenetic" processes (Guy et al 1986:31). In other words:

"Age stratification by itself will not allow us to distinguish between a changing language with unchanging individuals, and a stable language with unchanging individuals."

(Ibid:31)

Although the general significance of "real time" data in studying linguistic change is well-recognized, the strongest confirmation of this proposal would come if it were to be demonstrated in the near future that the trend detected had moved further in the same direction (Labov 1981:177).

This being the case, in this study valuable real time data is not available. Thus, any age stratification in apparent time can provide clues only to the central tendencies of change and therefore can be useful only in making certain predictions about linguistic changes that may occur in real time (Al Amadidhi 1985).

Three age groups (i.e. 14-29 year old; 30-44 year old; 45 year and over) were studied here. Looking at Figure 4.3 we can observe that the three age groups are sharply stratified by their use of the variable (Q). The percentage scores indicate a slight but consistent rise as

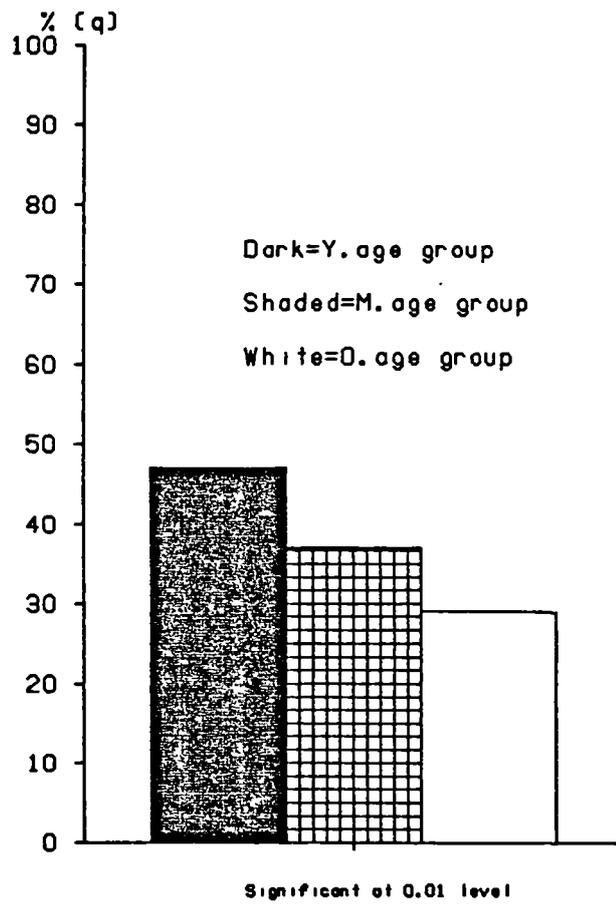


Figure 4.3 : Distribution of (Q)  
by age groups

one proceeds from the older age group through to the younger age group: while the younger speakers demonstrate frequent use of the SA variant [q], the older speakers, by contrast, show frequent use of the colloquial variants, with the middle-aged speakers occupying an intermediate position. The same pattern of variation can also be seen in Table 4.8 where the different age groups demonstrate a significant style-shifting. That is to say, all groups have realized the SA variant [q] in formal style more often than in casual style, but to varying degrees. This finding demonstrates that the relationship between age and language is a matter of 'more or less' rather than 'either/or'. To put it another way, this patterning shows that no age group in the city is immune to variation.

Table 4.8 Distribution of (Q) by age across style

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	[q]%
Y. age group	37	196/525	61	203/331	100	100
M. age group	28	174/630	54	205/381	100	100
O. age group	21	135/640	44	142/320	100	100

Moreover, this result gives support to the hypothesis that there is an ongoing process of standardization taking place in the city. This has been pioneered principally by the younger age group. The older age speakers, who have benefitted least from formal education and are the least exposed to the standard variety, have shown a stronger tendency towards the adoption of the colloquial variants in their speech, on the other hand, the younger and the middle-aged speakers,

who are more educated and have had greater exposure to the standard variety and are thus more aware of the social significance of the language, have demonstrated higher percentages of use of the SA variant. As the majority of the older speakers are uneducated and the bulk of the younger speakers well-educated, it is logical that the standard variant is realized more frequently in the speech of younger and middle age speakers.

Apart from the influence of education, the younger speakers have always been subject to social constraints of the type which motivate the individual to move linguistically toward the prestige norms of the language. The older people, however, who are usually not inhibited by such constraints, appear to adhere to the linguistic features which they have used for a long time. This is partly because of their age and partly because of their emotional attachment to the traditional norms. Furthermore, as Feagin (1979:287) has maintained, old generation speakers know that social mobility is no longer possible for them; the younger speakers know that they may rise socially, if they want to. Also, older people tend to become reintegrated into their own community, returning to their own roots; conversely, younger people are trying to pull away from the ties of family and community to show some kind of independence.

We now move to another important factor which seems to be invaluable in helping to reveal the origin and tendency of change. The breakdown of data by sex groups (as seen in Figure 4.4 - see sex factor) indicates that men show significantly higher percentages of use of the SA variant [q] than women do. It is quite evident that the standard variant was used by men (46%) of the time, twice as often as it was used by women (22%). The same pattern of variation seems to continue as we break down the data for all other factors: age and sex

Table 4.9 Distribution of (Q) by age and origin

Age groups	Fellahiin		Horaniis	
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total
Y. age group	55	236/427	38	163/429
M. age group	46	198/433	31	181/578
O. age group	21	118/562	40	159/398

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 4.10 Distribution of (Q) by age and sex across style

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	[q]%
Y. age group						
Men	45	141/313	70	129/185	100	100
Women	26	55/212	51	74/146	100	100
M. age group						
Men	32	137/433	59	162/276	100	100
Women	19	37/197	41	43/105	100	100
O. age group						
Men	34	127/369	57	131/230	100	100
Women	3	8/271	12	11/90	100	100

(see table 4.10), origin, etc. It would seem therefore that if this patterning is an ongoing change, it is being spearheaded by men rather than women. This result seems to be in broad agreement with other sociolinguistic studies' results (Schmidt 1974; Royal 1985; Abdul-Jawad 1981; Shorab 1982) in which it was found that male speakers in Egypt, Jordan and Palestine respectively, favour the use of standard variants more frequently than the female speakers do.

Upon examining the distribution of data by age and origin (see table 4.9) we notice that the three Fellahi age groups are stratified by their use of the SA variant [q]; while the younger age group produced the SA [q] most often, the older age group produced it the least, with the middle-aged group in the intermediate position showing an average use of it. In other words, we observe that there is a clear indication of regular and gradual age-grading in the Fellahi age groups. On the other hand, however, the difference between the Horani age groups does not seem to be significant and the Horaniis do not appear to be consistent in their use of the variable (Q). The Horani older age group show an unusual high shift toward use of the SA variant [q].

In an attempt to account for this deviation from the norm, a closer examination of the data produced by this group of speakers was made. It was then noted that one of the individuals interviewed behaved significantly different linguistically from the other members. One can observe below that while the older group as a whole used the SA variant [q] (30%) of the time, the speaker (speaker 28) concerned used it 80% of the time.

	No. of [q]	No. of [g, k, ?]	Total	[q]%
Group	93	222	315	30%
Speaker (28)	66	17	83	80%

The deviation of this individual from the linguistic norms of the other group members can be attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, he is a 55 year old man with a university degree, working as managing director for one of the largest companies in the city, where use of the standard variety is predominant. Secondly, since he was interviewed in the formal setting of his office, the location may have contributed in one way or another to the high realization of the standard feature. And finally, taking into consideration his social network, which consists mainly of professionals, it is not unusual to observe him using in his output more standard linguistic features. Thus, if we leave this speaker out of the data temporarily, we note that a new pattern of variation in the Horani group emerges. This pattern indicates that the three Horani age groups are also distinguished by their use of the SA variant [q], i.e. the highest use of the standard variant in the younger group and the lowest in the older group of speakers.

From the evidence presented above, it seems obvious that there is a good deal of correlation between the age of the speaker and the use of the (Q) variable. The younger and middle age speakers use the SA [q] more frequently, but the older age group, on the other hand, shows a stronger tendency towards using the colloquial variants. Whether or not the differences between age groups are an example of sound change

in progress it is impossible to say for two major reasons : firstly, because of the absence of "real time" data that can be used to validate these findings; and secondly, because there seems to be clear-cut overlapping and interaction between age and education.

Education can be seen as the most significant element underlying this pattern of variation. We have observed earlier (see education above) that one is more likely to realize the SA variant [q] in his speech as his educational level gets higher. Since most older speakers are uneducated and the vast majority of younger speakers are educated, younger speakers tend to use more standard features in their speech. So, because of the close interaction between age and education, it is extremely difficult to determine whether the change here is the product of age-grading or the variation in educational attainment between the age groups.

One might share Abdul-Jawad's (1981:268) view that instead of age (apparent time) it is much more useful to take education as a criterion for studying sound change in progress in societies where there is a wide division between the educational attainments of the successive age groups. Feagin (1979) has also argued that:

"the increase in education is part of the historical and social context which is influencing the development of the language, so even though it might be a factor in age grading, it is also part of change in progress."

(Feagin 1979:287)

Examining previous historical studies on the Syro-Palestinian communities, one finds that in the last two centuries (with the decline of the Ottoman empire and the arrival of the British in the area), the large majority of rurals (i.e. Fellahiin and Horaniis) and Bedouins were almost illiterate. This was due partly to socioeconomic factors and partly to the insufficiency of educational facilities. It is true that most of the linguistic sources cited at the beginning of this

chapter reveal that the different variants of (Q) (including the SA[q]) have been in use since early times. Yet not one source has informed us of the degree to which the SA [q] was used in the speech of the past generations of Horaniis and Fellahiin. But if we look back at the near past of these two groups we find that the vast majority, if not all, of these two groups of people were virtually uneducated. Thus it might be possible for us to predict that the variants which had been predominant in their speech are of the colloquial type. Not until the introduction of education and mass media in the last four or five decades did the standard lexical and phonological features begin to creep into people's speech. And the more educated the people became, the more they utilized standard features in their speech. Accordingly, one might suggest that this pattern of variation can be seen as an example of change in progress.

#### 4.6.4 Sex

Differences between the language of men and women has been observed by sociolinguists in many speech communities (Labov 1966, 1972a; J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1977, 1978; Trudgill 1974; Fisher 1958; Macaulay and Trevelyan 1973; Royal 1985). For instance, several scholars have demonstrated that in Western societies women are most often in the forefront of linguistic change; that is, they are more innovative than men are. The orientation of Western women toward the prestigious norms of language is basically attributed by linguists to conventional rather than anatomical distinctions. This is because female speakers appear to be more aware of the social meaning of speech than male speakers are (Trudgill 1974; Romaine 1978), and as such they tend to be more innovative than men. In contrast, however, most of previous works carried out in the Arab speaking world (Schmidt 1974;

Abdul-Jawad 1981; Shorab 1982; Royal 1985) have indicated that Arab men are more innovative than women as far as the standard language is concerned: Arab men tend to standardize their speech more often than women do.

In this present study, our findings seem to be in agreement with the previous works focused on the Arab world. Figure 4.4 demonstrates quite clearly that the two gender-groups behave differently with regard to the use of the SA variant [q]. Men are more standardized than women. One can observe in Figure 4.4 below that while the female speakers used the SA variant [q] (22%), the male speakers used it (46%) of the time. These results establish the fact that there is a very close correlation between linguistic variation and sex differences. Table 4.11 shows that the difference between men and women expands to encompass a stylistic variation as well : although there seems to be no significant difference between them in the two reading styles, in the two conversational styles the difference between them is still maintained. It is also clear that the two gender groups exhibit almost similar stylistic shifting from the casual to the formal style. This indicates that both men and women - especially the educated are fully aware of both the social significance of the variable and the situation. Therefore they tend to use the SA variant [q] in formal situations more often than in casual situations.

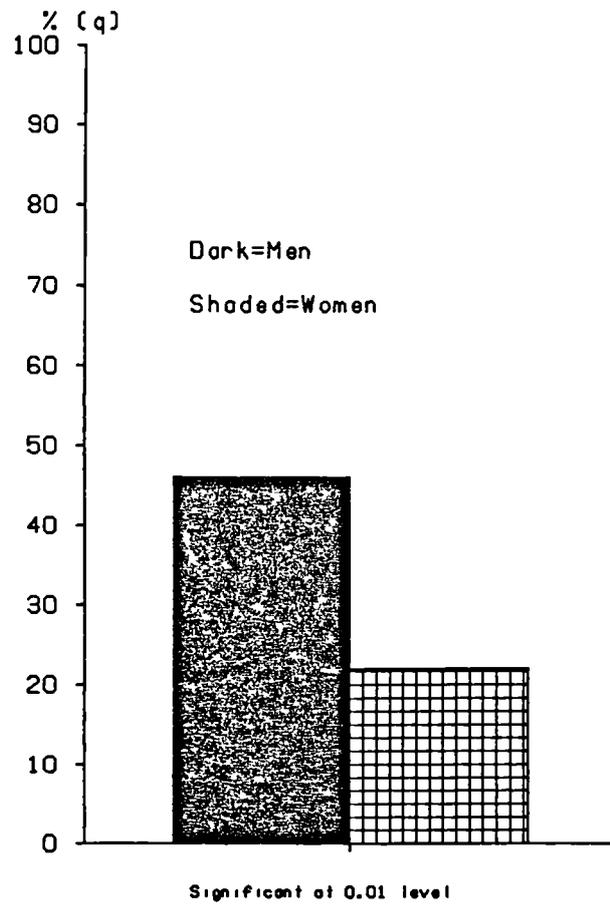


Figure 4.4 : distribution of (Q)  
by sex

Table 4.11 Distribution of (Q) by sex and style

Sex groups	[q]%	CS	[q]%	FS	WLS	RPS
		No./Total		No./Total	[q]%	[q]%
Men	36	405/1115	61	422/691	100	100
Women	15	100/680	38	128/341	100	100

Comparing the percentage scores of the two sex groups across the three educational levels (see Table 4.12) it becomes clear that the three educational groups of both men and women appear to be differentiated by their linguistic behaviour, although the greatest distinction between them seems to exist mostly in the highly educated groups. Even though education has obviously influenced the two sex groups, women, no doubt due to their lack of education, appear to be lagging behind, showing lower percentages of the SA variant.

Table 4.12 Distribution of (Q) by sex and education

Educational groups	Males		Females	
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total
H. educated	62	529/847	48	88/183
M. educated	35	260/741	32	119/377
Non-educated	17	38/218	5	21/461

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 4.13 Distribution of (Q) by sex and origin

Sex groups	Fellahiin		Horaniis	
	[q]%	No./Total	[q]%	No./Total
Men	51	440/863	41	385/943
Women	20	110/559	26	118/462

Significant at 0.01 level

Tables 4.14 and 4.15 demonstrate that yet another pattern of differentiation exists between the sexes as we compare the percentage scores of men with those of women across the three age groups. One notices that the difference between women in the different age levels is clearly great, whereas it is not so pronounced in the three age groups of men, who have been more exposed to the standard variety. This pattern of differentiation, as far as women are concerned, shows that there is a clear interaction between the age and educational factors. As one moves upward from the older generation group through to the younger generation group, i.e. from the least educated to the most educated, the probability of the use of the SA variant increases. But in the case of men who benefit from education earlier than women, the three age groups seem to be inconsistent, exhibiting almost similar percentages to their usage of the SA variant.

Table 4.14 Distribution of (Q) by sex and age (Males)

Age groups	[q]%	No./Total
Y. age group	54	270/498
M. age group	42	299/709
O. age group	43	258/599

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 4.15 Distribution of (Q) by sex and age (Females)

Age groups	[q]%	No./Total
Y. age group	36	129/358
M. age group	26	80/302
O. age group	5	19/361

Significant at 0.01 level

On the whole these results clearly suggest that men and women are distinct in their linguistic behaviour. It is evident that men exhibit a stronger tendency towards the adoption of standard features; women, on the other hand, are moving away from the standard variety, showing a stronger tendency towards the use of colloquial features. An important question must be raised at this point: why do the Horani and the Fellahi male speakers use the standard variants more often than their female counterparts do? In asking this question, reference to three principal factors - educational attainment, social network and the social ranking of sexes - must be made.

As we have seen earlier (see the status of women in the Jordanian society - Chapter I) in Jordanian society, men and women with their different ambitions, aspirations and values form two sub-communities within one larger society. Susan Gal (1978:1) claims that "sexual differentiation of speech is expected to occur whenever a social division exists between the roles of men and women." Levinson (1979) also proposes that:

"most speech markers of genders either result from the hierarchical relation between the genders, and thus are only indirect markers of genders, or result from the different social networks of women and men."

(quoted in Kramaræ 1982:85)

Our findings also seem to be in agreement with those two allegations, showing that the distinction between the two gender-groups with respect to their linguistic behaviour is very likely a by-product of the social dichotomy taking place between them. The linguistic behaviour of men and women can be seen as a genuine reflection of what each sex group has internalized toward the other. Women in Irbid City are not only aware of the social ranking of the two gender-groups, but they are also able to make judgements about what is linguistically more appropriate for males and what is linguistically more appropriate for females.

Through an examination of Tables 4.12 - 4.15, we noticed that the unequal distribution of education between the two sex groups is, in a sense, responsible for the linguistic distinction between them. Apart from the impact of education on the linguistic behaviour of the sexes, it can also be claimed that the social network of men and women influences greatly their utilization of the standard features of the language. This can clearly be seen in the behaviour of the older-age group of women, whose social network, as was stated earlier, is limited to realm of mainly uneducated or poorly educated female speakers with

whom they share similar values, ambitions and attitudes. The women in this age group, by virtue of their domestic activities, neither have access to the social life in the city nor are they given the opportunity to have any type of contact with the standard norms of the language. Therefore they appear to be linguistically very conservative, adhering to the natively acquired variety (i.e. the colloquial variety) in preference to the standard language. L. Milroy's (1982:22) remark on this matter is very clear when she writes:

"the closeknit network may be seen as an important mechanism of vernacular maintenance, capable of operating effectively in opposition to publicly endorsed and status-oriented set of linguistic norms."

The effect of social network can also be seen on the middle age female speakers, who symbolize a transitional stage in the age grading. This group of female speakers share past experiences with the elderly women as well as the newly changing present with the younger women. Therefore, they show a moderate use of the standard features.

Another reason why female speakers in Irbid City (as compared with male speakers), demonstrate lower usage of the standard variant [q] may be that the younger (the educated) and some of the middle-age female speakers show a strong tendency toward urbanizing their speech. That is, they tend to use the urban variant [ʔ] of (Q) in alternation with the SA variant [q]. Therefore their use of the SA variant would be influenced by their use of the urban variant which also enjoys locally a considerable amount of prestige, particularly among the educated Fellahi women.

Our investigation of the distribution of the three colloquial variants of (Q) (i.e. [ʔ], [k] and [g]), as we shall see later - see chapter 9) showed that the Horani women - even the educated ones - appear still to be faithful to their colloquial variant [g]. In other

words Horani women of all educational levels and age patterns were found to be less urbanized in their speech than their Fellahi counterparts. Therefore they showed a much lower percentage use of the urban variant [ʔ] as seen in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16 Distribution of the (Q) variants in the speech of Horani female speakers by age groups

Age groups	[q]	[g]	[ʔ]	N=
O. age group	5%	95%	-	96
M. age group	34%	49%	17%	150
Y. age group	29%	70%	1%	216

As far as the Fellahi women are concerned, our results seem to be in line with those of Abdul-Jawad (1981) who noticed that the educated female speakers of Fellahi origin in Amman City tend to use the urban variant [ʔ] in preference to their colloquial variant [k]. According to Abdul-Jawad:

"Women seem to adopt linguistic features which are characteristic of the urban dialects ... women adopt it because it is believed locally that [ʔ] is more feminine and urban. This process of urbanization is observed mainly among educated women or women who participate in public life in one way or another. This urban variant [ʔ] is competing with the standard prestigious [q] among women."

(Abdul-Jawad 1981:323)

On the other hand, the uneducated female speakers show marked aversion to the urban variant [ʔ] and the SA variant [q]. Not a single illiterate female speaker has used the urban variant [ʔ] even once. All of them have shown that they are very conservative and very faithful to their own vernaculars. Their inhibited use of the SA[q],

of course, would be attributed to their lack of education. But their non-use of the urban variant [ʔ] would be due either to their closeknit network, which is usually limited to uneducated female speakers from the same ethnic group or neighbourhood, or possibly to the fact that uneducated women are quite aware of the prestigious status of the urban variant [ʔ], which is confined exclusively to the educated female speakers (i.e. the elite).

The unresponsiveness of uneducated female speakers toward the urban variant [ʔ] comes through clearly in the words of informant 9, a semi-illiterate Fellahi female speaker who, when asked about her opinion of the three colloquial varieties and whether she sometimes used some of the urban variants in her speech, replied:

Walah be:ni wbe:nack lahid3tu ?ilwa:Had biHibha  
 bidak ?iyya:ni ?aHchi luVa tha:nyyi ?uxra ?il?a:l  
 la? ?il ?a:l mahiya:sh ?ilna ha:y, maHna:sh kadha

"By God! to be honest with you everybody loves his own dialect. Do you want me to speak another language? ?il?a:l is not ours. We are not in such a position to use it."

If we look at the distribution of the different variants of (Q) in the speech of men, on the other hand, we notice that all Jordanian male speakers irrespective of their regional origin appear to disfavour the urban variant [ʔ]. They seem to alternate between the SA variant [q]

Table 4.17 Distribution of the (Q) variants in the speech of the Horani and Fellahi male speakers

Group	[q]%	[g]%	[ʔ]%	[k]%	No.
Men	47%	52%	1%	0%	1754

and the Horani variant [g]. This is because men consider the urban variant [ʔ] more feminine, therefore they attempt to avoid using it as much as possible (see chapter 9). Also, they are all aware that the Fellahi variant [k] is very stigmatized in the city; accordingly, their use of the (Q) variants would be confined to the SA variant [q] and the Horani variant [g]. In other words, unlike women (who are divided by their use of the colloquial variants of (Q) : Horani educated women alternate between [q] and [g]. Fellahi educated women alternate between [q] and [ʔ] and the Fellahi and Horani uneducated women are clung to their colloquial variants [k] and [g] respectively) men appear to stick to only two variants [q] and [g]. Therefore, their use of the SA [q] would not be affected much by their use of the colloquial variant as in the case of the women.

It now becomes easy to answer the question raised earlier. Although the speech community as a whole accepts the prestigious status of the SA variant [q], there seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy between men and women and among women themselves with respect to what is prestigious locally, that is, which of the three colloquial variants of (Q) enjoys more prestige. As a matter of fact, in any speech community, linguistic features cannot be conceived of by the whole community as being stigmatized or prestigious, otherwise there would never be linguistic variation. Stigmatization remains a matter of personal judgement based mainly on certain connotations which the individual speaker has internalized about the features themselves and the variety to which they belong. Thus, the concept of prestige along with other social factors like education, social ranking, social network of the sexes, are all responsible for the uneven realization of the SA variant [q] in the output of the two gender-groups.

#### 4.7 Individual deviations

Supporters of the Labovian quantitative paradigm believe that the speech of the group as a whole rather than that of the individual should be taken as the starting point for analysis. This is because "the locus of grammar is in the community or group and that the speech of any social group will be less variable than the speech of any individual" (Romaine 1982a:19).

In this study our data has been analyzed primarily in terms of groups rather than idiolects. That is to say, the behaviour of the group as a whole rather than that of the individual was the focal point of our analysis. Individuals were aggregated in groups according to such social parameters as education, age, sex etc. in order to examine the influence of those social factors on the linguistic behaviour of the speakers. But the fact remains that the task of the linguist to categorize his informants into social groups according to particular social traits such as social class, origin, education etc. is not easy one. Whatever means are used one has to contend with some invisible psychological and sociological differences between individuals which might not have been taken into account. Obscure factors such as social ambition, aspiration, or the social network of the individual may result in a deviation from the anticipated behaviour of the group. This study is no exception.

Apart from informant 28 another case of individual deviation is worth discussing. This concerns informant 15, a male taxi driver, 38 years of age, married for six years with no children. His level of education is limited to the final class of the preparatory stage or, in other words, he is a preparatory school dropout.

When we examined the data produced by this informant we noted that his linguistic behaviour did not fit with the overall behaviour of the

social group to which he belongs. For instance, while the group of moderately educated speakers scored the SA variant [q] 37% of the time, the speaker used it only 11% of the time. Thus, his linguistic behaviour appears to be more in line with that of the uneducated speaker.

	[q]	[g,?,k]	Total	q%
Group	365	628	993	37
Speaker	14	111	125	11

At first it was very difficult to understand or explain why this informant deviated so greatly in his speech from the norms of the moderately educated group. This speaker was very social, a man with self-confidence and a sense of humour. These traits were all quite evident in the way he spoke, which was constant along the stylistic continuum. For example when he was asked, "what do you think of marriage?," he humourously responded showing his dissatisfaction with it saying:

walahi badi ?agulak shaɣla, ?id3Ha ga:l ?aLLah yin9al ?ili  
 ?id3awazu gabliyyi kulhum wili ?id3awazu 9ugbiyyi. galulu walak  
 yad3Ha le:sh ga:l ?ili ?id3awazu gabliyyi ma?arshaduni:sh wili  
 ?id3awazu 9ugbiyyi ma sa?aluni:sh.

By God! I want to tell you something. JuHa<sup>3</sup> said, God damn all those who got married before me and those who have got married after me. He was then asked, "why JuHa?" He said, "Because those who got married before me did not advise me and those who have got married after me did not consult with me!"

A further examination was necessary in order to provide a reasonable explanation for the linguistically deviant behaviour of this informant. The picture became more clear during the course of the interview with him and through a chat with one of his friends. It was

discovered that he preferred to socialize with people from the villages surrounding the city. When he was asked, for instance, whether his friends were drawn from the same area (i.e. the city) in which he lived, he answered, "To be honest with you, I do have acquaintances in the city, but no good friends. All of my intimate friends are from the neighbouring village. I spend most of my time with my relatives and friends in the villages. The city dwellers have nothing to talk about, except trivial things, while in the village I have found steadfastness, nobility, and politeness. This is why I always want to be in contact with villagers.

Just as this informant affiliated himself with the countryside people socially, he seems to have allied himself with them linguistically. This fact was clearly reflected in the quality of speech he displayed in the interview. For example, we noticed that he used too many proverbs in his speech, one every four or five sentences. As we moved from point to point in the interview, he would say "mithil maga:l ?il mathal" (as the proverb says....) viz., which is an indication of a colloquialization trend, since these proverbs are of the colloquial type, and are usually used more often by less educated people. Thus, his colloquial form of speech has no doubt been moulded by his intimate exposure to the village people, who use the colloquial variety heavily, and by his radical alienation from all things urbanite.

The case of this informant is reminiscent of the cases of Hannah and Paula in L. Milroy's study in Belfast, comparing Paula with Hannah, Milroy (1980) found that the level of integration of these two speakers into the local network has left its influence to a great extent on their linguistic behaviour. While Paula, who had a good relationship with the local people, showed higher indexes of the different

variables, Hannah, who appeared to be estranged from the neighbourhood, demonstrated very low indexes of the same variables.

Similarly, the social network of informant 15 played a very significant role in determining his realization of the (Q) variable. His peer group consisted mainly of people from areas where the colloquial variety was predominant. This clearly had a great impact on his linguistic repertoire.

#### 4.8 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter it has been shown that a strong correlation exists between the variable (Q) and a variety of sociological parameters. The findings reveal that education is the most important factor in determining the choice of the linguistic variant. The SA variant [q] was found to be the speech characteristic of educated people. Namely, it was realized by the highly and moderately educated people far more frequently than by the uneducated. Education also has been shown to overlap with age in influencing one's use of (Q). In other words, we observed that the SA[q] was used mostly by the younger speakers and the most educated, and least by the older speakers and the least educated, with the middle-age group showing an average use of it.

The detailed examination has shown that the use of the (Q) variable is also correlated with age. To put it differently, we found that the age variable clearly played an important role in determining the distribution of the different variants of (Q) in the speech of the speech community members. The older the speaker is, the more he uses the colloquial variant(s) in his speech; and the younger the speaker is the more he uses the SA variant [q] in his speech. Furthermore, the (Q) variable seems to be involved in sound change in progress. But because of the absence of "real time" data this hypothesis could not be confirmed.

There is also clear evidence that the (Q) variable covaries with the origin of the speaker. The Fellahi speakers were found to favour the SA variant [q] more often than Horani speakers did. This was mainly due to the stigma attached to the Fellahi variant [k], whereas the Horani variant [g] enjoys a considerable amount of prestige, particularly among the male speakers in the city. Therefore it is highly likely for the Fellahi to use more standard features in their speech.

It has been shown that the (Q) variable is a sex marker. Men have a tendency to use the SA variant [q] more often than women. This can be partly attributed to the higher educational attainment of men and partly to the fact that there is another prestige variant (i.e. the urban variant [ʔ] competing with the SA [q] in the group of the Fellahi educated female speakers.

Finally, upon investigation of linguistic constraints on variation it was found that the linguistic conditioning factors were external rather than internal. That is, the lexical status of the word containing the variable was the most important conditioning factor on the alternation between the standard variant [q] and the colloquial variants [g, ʔ and k]. We observed that while the SA [q] was categorically realized in lexical items classified as pure standard, it was variably realized in items categorized as shared colloquial-standard, and was inhibited most of all in items classified as pure colloquial. On the whole, the results of this study with respect to the (Q) variable support and are supported by those reported in other sociolinguistic works on the same variable (e.g. Abdul-Jawad 1981, Shorab 1982, Al Amadidhi 1985; Jassem 1987).

Footnotes

1. For help with the statistical analysis in this study, I am indebted to Dr. B.T. Porteous of the Department of Mathematical Science, and to Dr. W. Williams of the Computer Centre, University of Durham.
2. Nasir Al-Jehani (1985) has also studied the lexical variation in spoken Arabic in Makkah. The lexicon in his data was classified into two major categories: literary and non-literary.
3. JuHah is an imaginary character used by some when telling jokes.

## Chapter V

Sociolinguistic variability of (dʒ) and (D)5.0 The (dʒ) variable

Like many consonantal variables which have been studied in other varieties of Arabic, the (dʒ) variable in JA seems to correlate with a variety of parameters, some linguistic; others sociostylistic. In order to examine this hypothesis this section will be centred on an investigation into the correlation, if indeed there is any, between the (dʒ) variable and the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors.

Generally speaking, the CA affricate (dʒ) has a number of reflexes in the different colloquial varieties of Arabic. For instance, in Egyptian, Ommani and South Yemeni Arabic the SA [dʒ] is realized as [dʒ] and [g] (Schmidt 1974; Shabaan 1977). In the Eastern Arabian dialects, and in some of those spoken in the northern region of Arabia, the (dʒ) variable can be heard as [dʒ] and [y] (Johnstone 1967; Holes 1983; Al Tajir 1982; Al Amadidhi 1985). In Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan the SA (dʒ) can be heard as [dʒ] and [ʒ] (Rosenhouse 1982a, 1982b; Hussein 1980; Shorab 1982).

Most of the previous linguistic studies on this variable have shown a great deal of uncertainty about its diachronic development. This is not unusual since it can be argued that there was a complete absence of reliable linguistic studies on Arabic from the eleventh century onwards. Thus it seems that there is a disagreement between linguists about the origin and development of this variable. For example, Fleisch (1956) traces its origin to a palatalized [ǧ], whereas Gardner (1925) postulates it to have been a voiced palatal stop, i.e. somewhere midway between g and d (Schmidt 1974:79).

Most of the studies carried out on the Syro-Palestinian dialects have demonstrated, however, that the voiced affricate [dʒ] is

associated with Bedouins, Horaniis and Fellahiin in Jordan, Syria and the central part of Palestine, while the voiced fricative [ʒ] is linked to the inhabitants of the larger Urban centres such as Damascus, Jerusalem and Beirut (Soeper 1909; Driver 1925; Cantineau 1936, 1946; Palva 1976; Blanc 1953).

In Irbid City, synchronically speaking, Fellahi and Horani people who are generally [dʒ] speakers, have begun to exhibit an inconsistent use of this variable. That is, the analysis of the data on the (dʒ) variable has shown that the urban variant [ʒ], which was originally limited to the speech of those urbanites who came to the city from the larger urban centre such as Damascus, Jerusalem etc., has slowly infiltrated the speech of the Horani and Fellahi people. Unlike the situation of the (Q) variable in which we have seen that the two local groups are moving in one direction toward standardizing their speech, using the SA [q] more frequently, the case here seems to be one of an accommodation mechanism of the type described by Blanc (1960) as "levelling devices". In such a situation the speaker usually, as a result of interdialectal contact, tends to replace certain features of his native dialect with their equivalents in a dialect carrying higher prestige, and not necessarily that of the interlocutor.

It should be mentioned here that the variant used by the Fellahi and Horani people is the SA phoneme [dʒ]. This variant may be replaced by [ʒ] in the speech of Fellahi and Horani people. Thus, words such as /dʒe:sh/ "army" and /burdʒ/ "tower" would be rendered as /ʒe:sh/ and /burʒ/ respectively. The variable has two reflexes in the speech of these two groups:

(dʒ) \_\_ 1 = [ʒ]

(dʒ) \_\_ 2 = [dʒ]

In order to gauge and examine the process of urbanization (i.e., adoption of the urban variant [3] by the ruralites) among the members of the Fellahi and Horani speech community, two values were assigned to the variable elements; the (unmarked) standard-colloquial variant [d3] was given the value ( $\emptyset$ ), and the newly adopted (marked) urban variant [3] the value (1), thus;

(d3) \_\_\_ [3] = 1

(d3) \_\_\_ [d3] =  $\emptyset$

Our analysis of this variable shows that occurrences of [d3] and [3] fall into the following categories:

- 1 - Of the 38 speakers, only 4 respondents (both men and women) used the [d3] variant all the time and in all situations. This group consists of speakers who are old (i.e. over 55 years) and uneducated (i.e. illiterate or semi-illiterate).
- 2 - Only one informant, a 14 year old Fellahi female speaker, used the urban variant [3] categorically in both the casual and formal styles of speech.
- 3 - The other 33 informants demonstrated variation in their use of [d3] and [3]. This group can be divided into two subgroups:
  - A - The first group consists of nine informants. The speakers in this group exhibit very high percentages of the standard variant [d3] i.e., 85% or more. Some of them use [3] marginally i.e., four or five times.
  - B - The second group consists of those speakers (i.e., 15 informants) who showed moderate use of the [3] variant, and those speakers (i.e., 9 informants) who demonstrated a very high percentage of the [3] variant. The latter sub-group consists mainly of younger female speakers. It should be noted here that the use of the [3] variant has occurred among this group even while reading from a text.

The analysis of data shows also that the use of the urban variant [3] is affected by such social factors as age, sex, origin and education. The results will be discussed in what follows.

### 5.1 Linguistic constraints

As stated earlier, in any sociolinguistic study the examination of linguistic constraints which might promote or inhibit the application of a certain rule over another is a prerequisite. For this variable we have examined the influence of the following phonetic environments and the effect of the presence of the variable in syllables and words.

#### 5.1.1 Phonetic environment

Our examination of the effect of the phonetic environment on the (d3) variable will be limited to the position of the variable in

Table 5.1 Distribution of (d3) by following segment environment

Environment	No. of [d3]	No. of [3]	Total No. of instances	3%
_a_a:	780	149	929	16
_e_e:	27	6	33	18
_i_i:	496	142	638	22
_u_u:	156	56	212	26
_#	91	29	120	24
-g	10	2	12	17
-h	13	5	18	28
-b	11	6	17	35
-r	6	10	16	63
-l	4	9	13	69
-n	3	8	11	73
-m	6	20	26	77
-t	8	51	59	86
-d	5	50	55	91

preconsonantal, prevocalic and word final position. Table 5.1 indicates that the nature of the following segment seems to be a variable constraint on the (d3) variable. It suggests that the presence of a following consonant has, in general, a greater effect on the variable than the presence of a following vowel: the incidence of [3] increases in preconsonantal environment and decreases in prevocalic and word final position.

A closer examination of table 5.1 will reveal that not all consonantal environments have the same effect on the variable. For example, the presence of a following consonant, particularly (t), (d), (n), (r), (m) or (l), indicates a more favourable environment for the realization of the [3] variant. The table also shows that the consonants form a hierarchical ordering with respect to their effect on the realization of the variable into its different variants.

When we consider these consonantal constraints from an articulatorily point of view (see table 5.2), we find that there is a clear correlation between the place of articulation of the following consonant and the value at which the [3] variant is realized. In other words, the results of the analysis of phonetic environment by place of

Place of articulation	No. of [d3]	No. of [3]	Total No. of instances	3%
Dentals	26	128	154	83
Bilabials	17	26	43	60
Glottals	17	6	23	26
Pharyngeals	10	2	12	17

significant at 0.01 level

Table 5.2 Effect of place of articulation of following consonant

articulation show that dentals and bilabials favour the [3] variant significantly more than, for instance, glottals or pharyngeals do.

### 5.1.2 The position of the variable in syllables and words

In both JA and SA a word may contain between one and six syllables.<sup>1</sup> Five different positions of (d3) have been examined in words consisting of one, two and three syllables (see table 5.3). It appears that the presence of the urban variant [3] is not favoured in initial positions of monosyllabic and two-syllable words, nor in the internal positions of two- or three-syllable words. In words consisting of two syllables, where the initial consonant of the second syllable is (d3) and the final segment is a short high vowel, there appears to be relatively frequent realization of the urban variant [3]. But the most influential conditioning factor which seems to produce much higher values of [3] is the presence of the variable in two-syllable words where the first syllable ends in [d3] and the second

Position of (d3) in syllables	lex. item e.g.	gloss.	No. of [d3]	No. of [3]	Total	3%
* <u>V</u> CCVVC	?id3di:d	new	20	96	116	83
CV <u>V</u> CV	la:d3i	refugee	73	45	118	38
CVC <u>V</u> (V)C	bid3u:z	perhaps	236	62	298	21
<u>C</u> VCVVC(C)	d3awa:d	horse	200	46	246	19
<u>C</u> VVC	d3i:t	I came	64	7	71	10

Table 5.3 Distribution of (d3) by position in syllables and words

\* The underlined element indicates the position of the variable in syllable, while the element in parentheses indicates that a word pattern may or may not be changed into three syllables.

syllable begins with a consonant, particularly a consonant classified as [+ dental] or [+ bilabial], e.g.,

/ʔid3ma:l/    /ʔi3ma:l/    "camels"  
 /ʔid3du:d/    /ʔi3du:d/    "forefathers"

Thus the realization of [3] appears to occur in the latter environment more frequently than in any of the other preceding environments. These results indicate that there is clear overlapping between the two phonological conditioning factors investigated i.e., the effect of the following phonetic environment and the position of the variable in syllables and words: in the former it has been found that dentals and bilabials have the greatest effect, producing much higher percentages of [3]; and in the latter it has been observed that the realization of the [3] variant is more likely to occur in two-syllable words where the final segment of the first syllable is the variable (d3) and the initial segment of the following syllable is a consonant, particularly if this consonant is a dental or a bilabial.

One rule seems to operate for this variable. This rule is, however, not obligatory but rather variable. That is, the voiced affricate [d3] is variably phonetically realized as a voiced fricative [3] in all word contexts. But it is highly probable that the [3] variant is realized whenever a dental or a bilabial consonant follows, particularly in an internal position, in words consisting of two-syllables.

## 5.2 The co-variation of (d3) with its sociological parameters

### 5.2.1 Sex

From Figure 5.1 it is evident that the sex factor plays a significant role in determining the choice of the linguistic variable. While women show a stronger tendency towards the use of the urban variant [3], men, on the other hand, appear to be more conservative,

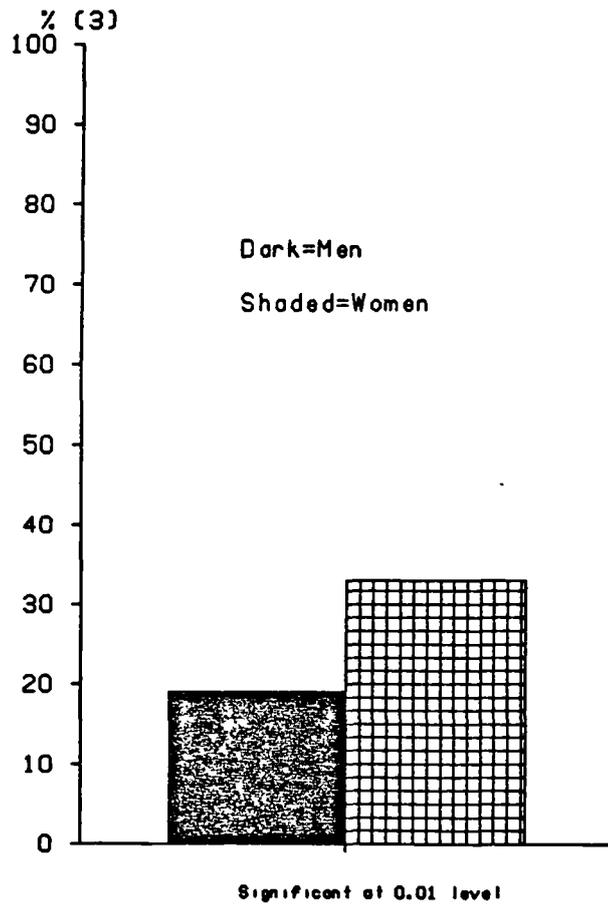


Figure 5.1 : Distribution of (d3)  
by sex

tending to use their colloquial variant [d3] more frequently. As we break the scores down by sex and age (see table 5.5 below), the first pattern that emerges is that women seem to be subtly stratified by their use of the urban variant [3]: the younger female speakers show a very high percentage-use of the [3] variant, and the older female speakers show a very low-percentage use of it, whereas the middle-aged speakers, who occupy an intermediate position on the age-grading, demonstrate an average use of the same variant. But the distinction

Table 5.4 Distribution of (d3) by sex across age; Men

Age groups	% [3]	No/Total
Y. age group	24	108/443
M. age group	18	103/574
O. age group	15	67/449

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 5.5 Distribution of (d3) by sex across age; Women

Age groups	% [3]	No/Total
Y. age group	53	175/332
M. age group	23	52/224
O. age group	11	31/205

Significant at 0.01 level

between the different age groups of men (see table 5.4 above), appears not to be as great as that of the women, particularly where the percentages scored by the middle-aged and the older age groups of speakers are concerned. Comparing the three age groups of men with those of women, we observe that the younger and middle-aged female speakers tend to use the fricative variant [ʒ], more often than their male counterparts do. In the case of the older generation groups, men appear to favour the [ʒ] variant more often than women. Thus, the greatest different between the sexes with respect to their use of this variable takes place in the youngest age group. In other words, younger women show a much stronger tendency than younger men do to urbanize their speech.

As we proceed in our analysis of this variable (see table 5.6), we notice that in the two conversational styles - style 1 and style 2 - use of the urban variant [ʒ] increases slightly as the formality of the situation increases, whereas in the two reading styles - the word list style and the reading passage style - the reverse is true. That is to say, despite the fact that the urban variant [ʒ] enjoys a considerable amount of prestige among women, it appears to be inhibited for the most part in the reading styles. It can be concluded from this table that

Table 5.6 Distribution of (d3) by sex and style

Sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[ʒ]%	No/Total	[ʒ]%	No/Total	[ʒ]%	[ʒ]%
Men	18	163/903	20	115/563	3	8
Women	30	148/496	38	100/265	11	18

women, who show a wider stylistic range than men, are more aware of the social significance of the variable. Subsequently they use the urban variant more in the formal style than they do in the casual style. Furthermore it can be noted that although the urban variant appears to enjoy a considerable amount of prestige among women, and to an extent among younger men, adoption of the prestigious colloquial variants is limited to conversational styles only.

The prominent finding worth discussing here is that both the Fellahi male speakers and the Horani male and female speakers, all of whom have demonstrated a strong negative reaction against the urban variant [ʔ], have begun to use the urban variant [ʒ] to some extent. In other words, the same speakers who scored a low percentage use of the urban variant [ʔ] relative to the (Q) variable are producing a higher percentage-use of the urban variant [ʒ]. The only possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the variable (dʒ) does not seem to be as salient a feature as the (Q) variable (i.e. it is not a marker). Therefore people appear to be less aware of its use than they are of the (Q) variable. In other words, the adoption of the variant [ʒ] is not socially unacceptable, like the urban [ʔ] variant. To put it differently, use of the [ʒ] variant would never be subject to the same strong social pressure related to the [ʔ] variant. Moreover, it has been noticed that there is stiff competition between the [ʔ] variant and the several variants of (Q) used by the speech community members. This competition can be observed mainly between the [ʔ] variant and the SA variant [q] on the one hand, and between the [ʔ] variant and the Horani variant [g] on the other. But in the case of the [ʒ] variant, it competes only with the SA variant [dʒ] which is at the same time a colloquial. Therefore this [dʒ] variant does not constitute a strong threat to the newly adopted variant [ʒ], since it

has been used in this speech community for a long time and is used by both educated and non-educated people alike. So it seems that the [3] variant has a greater chance of finding its way into the speech of the community members than the [ʔ] variant has.

### 5.2.2 Education

We have seen in the previous chapter that education is one of the most influential and important factors affecting the linguistic behaviour of the individual speaker. Even though we are now dealing with a conversion from a standard-colloquial feature which has been in existence in this speech community for a long time to a colloquial variant which has only relatively recently been adopted, we believe that education still plays a very significant role with regard to the utilization and advancement of this innovative variant, at least in the case of women. In order to determine whether or not this hypothesis is true, we will examine the correlation of variation with the educational background of the speakers.

Examining Figure 5.2, one can say that the three educational groups are differentiated by this variable. It is observed that the highly and moderately educated speakers favour the urban variant [3] more often than the non-educated do, who appear to utilize the standard-colloquial variant [d3] more frequently. Interestingly enough, this observation indicates that just as the contribution of education to the use of the SA variant [q] was seen to be great, its contribution to the use of the urban variant (i.e. non-standard) also appears to be considerable, albeit to a lesser extent.

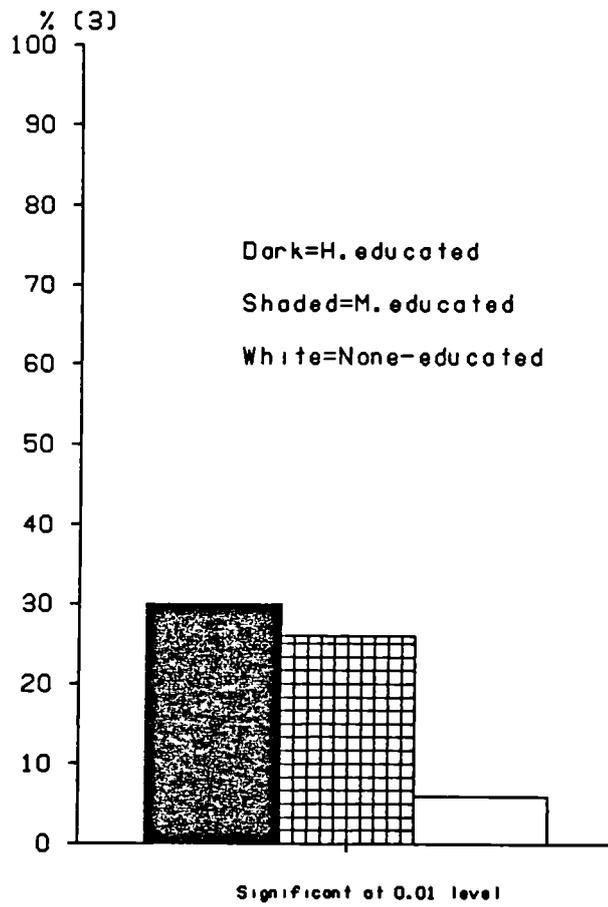


Figure 5.2 : Distribution of (d3)  
by education

When we break the data down by sex and education, as in table 5.7 and table 5.8, we notice that yet another pattern of differentiation emerges. What we now obtain is a clear-cut stratification in the three educational groups of women, showing each group distinguished by its use of the variable from others. It is also noticed that in all styles (see table 5.9) the highly educated scored the fricative variant more often than the moderately educated did, who in turn scored the same variant more often than the uneducated did. That is to say, it is generally true that education seems to be very significant in determining the choice of the linguistic variant.

Table 5.7 Distribution of (d3) by education and sex: women

Educational groups	[3]%	No/Total
H. educated	66	131/200
M. educated	36	105/294
Non-educated	4	12/267

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 5.8 Distribution of (d3) by education and sex: men

Educational groups	[3]%	No/Total
H. educated	20	143/716
M. educated	21	121/583
Non-educated	8	14/167

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 5.9 Distribution of (d3) by education across style

Educational groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	[3]%
H. educated	31	169/531	29	110/385	3	7
M. educated	22	126/562	32	100/315	10	15
Non-educated	6	19/304	5	7/130	-	-

These findings seem to be in sharp contrast with Al-Amadidhi's results (1985:288) concerning Qatari Arabic, in which he found that as the speaker moves up the educational scale, the probability of the application of the d3-standardization rule (i.e. realization of the SA variant [d3]) increases. It is worth noting here with regard to Al-Amadidhi's study of Qatari Arabic that the departure occurred from the archaic stigmatized feature [Y] to the more prestige variant [d3], which is acquired mainly through formal education.

Unlike the SA variant [d3] in Qatari Arabic, which has only recently been introduced to that country through education, the SA variant [d3] in Jordanian Arabic has been in use in the speech of the educated and uneducated for a very long time. This being the case, the SA variant [d3], which is considered colloquial by the Fellahi and Horani people in the Irbid speech community, could never share the same degree of prestige as it does in the Qatari speech community. Stigmatization remains a matter of regional or geographical evaluation, which differs from one country to another and from one speech community to another. Thus, the emergence of any new prestige variant, such as the urban variant [3], will undoubtedly have an impact on the use of the originally adopted SA variant [d3]. To put it another way, while

the move in the Fellahi and Horani speech community is from an old standard-colloquial variant [d3] to a new colloquial variant [3], the change in the Qatari speech community is from an archaic colloquial variant [Y] to a new standard variant [d3].

The colloquial urban variant [3] appears to occur most often in the speech of the educated, and least in the speech of the uneducated. The question which remains as yet unanswered is how, then, can we account for the increase in the use of this variant (i.e. [3]) in the speech of the educated, and the decrease in use in the speech of uneducated? Before proceeding to answer this question, it is interesting to mention that this has been manifested more clearly in the female group of speakers than in the male group.

As stated earlier, the impact of education on the Jordanian individual speaker appears to be great. The more educated a person the more he can be exposed to the outside world, and as a consequence the more he can become familiar with new acquaintances from other social networks. We have also seen how Jordanian women in Irbid City were able, through education, to break down the restrictions which had been imposed on them for a long time. For example, they become more able to participate in the social life of the community by going to schools, universities and work. So the exposure of Fellahi and Horani women to women from other neighbourhoods and from other local groups, coupled with the introduction of television (which usually presents serials produced in Damascus, Cairo and Beirut in the Urban colloquial varieties), have affected the speech of younger female speakers, who are more exposed to such influences than the older age speakers are whose linguistic behaviour is too well-established to undergo such sudden changes. That is to say, the educated women are much more able than the uneducated to innovate and to diffuse this innovation in the

community. On this matter Milroy and Milroy (1985:343) write:

"the diffusion of change is accomplished by individuals who have many ties within the close-knit community and who also have a relatively large number of outside contacts."

Furthermore, by using phonological features from the urban variety, educated Fellahi and Horani women are seen as more urbanized and, as such, are higher ranked on the social hierarchy. In contrast, uneducated women neither have a similar chance to mix socially with women from other social groups, nor are they willing because of their lower social status, to use some features of the urban variety in their speech. Hence it is highly likely for them to stick to their colloquial varieties and their colloquial variants.

Similarly, among the group of male speakers, we find that the educated are much more open to exposure to the outside world than the uneducated are. Thus they were shown to favour the [3] variant albeit slightly more often than uneducated speakers.

### 5.2.3 Origin

Figure 5.3 and tables 5.10 and 5.11 illustrate clearly that speaker origin still has a statistically significant effect on one's linguistic behaviour. It appears that the (d3) variable serves to separate the speakers into two major groups according to their use of the variable. A comparison of the two groups' scores, see Figure 5.3, shows that Horani speakers still appear to be the most faithful to their colloquial variety, while the Fellahi speakers are shown to be the most willing to substitute other variants from other local varieties for their colloquial variants. That is, Fellahi speakers showed a stronger tendency toward use of the urban variant [3] in their speech than the Horani speakers did.

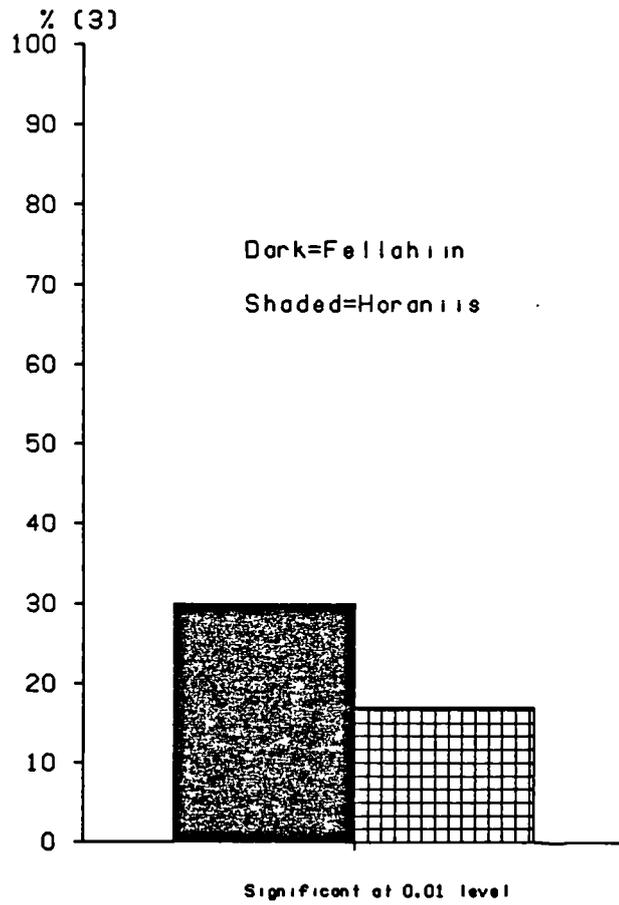


Figure 5.3 : Distribution of (d3)  
by origin

Breaking down the scores by the speaker's origin and sex gives us a clearer picture of the variation tendencies in the two origin groups (see Table 5.10). We have observed that the highest percentage (40%) occurred in the Fellahi female group, which was also shown, with regard to the (Q) variable, to favour the urban variant [ʔ] the most. The lowest percentage (14%) was scored by the Horani male speakers, with the other two groups - Fellahi men and Horani women - coming second with a percentage use of 24%.

Table 5.10 Distribution of (d3) by origin and sex

Origin and sex groups	[3]%	No/Total
Horaniis		
Men	14	105/757
Women	24	88/362
Fellahiin		
Men	24	173/709
Women	40	160/399

Significant at 0.01 level

From these findings two major conclusions can be made: firstly, it is evident that, unlike the urban variant [ʔ] in the previous chapter, the urban variant [3] appears to have found much easier access into the speech of the Horani people of both sexes. In other words, although Horani speakers still seem to be more faithful to their colloquial variant [d3], they have shown a substantially higher percentage use of the urban variant [3] than that which they have shown

in their use of the urban variant [ʔ]; secondly, by comparing the percentage scores of the Fellahi men and women with those of Horani men and women, we have observed that even though Fellahi speakers appear to favor their colloquial variant [d3] more often than the urban variant [3], they tend to use the urban variant [3] more frequently than Horani speakers do.

How should these findings be interpreted? The answer may well be that the variable (d3) seems to be involved in a linguistic change of the type which takes place without overt awareness on the part of the speech community members. Two facts support this contention. Firstly, the realization of the urban [3] variant appears to be less significant than the realization of the Horani and Fellahi variant [d3]. This is to an extent, due to the fact that it was only relatively recently that the urban variant began to appear in the speech of the two local groups. Secondly, it is quite obvious that the stylistic range of the four groups of speakers, Horani men and women and Fellahi men and women, (see Table 5.11) seems to be very narrow. That is, the (d3) variable does not appear to be involved in a stylistic variation of the type noticed for the (Q) variable. Therefore it is highly unlikely that the Horani speakers would reject the urban variant [3] as they did before with another urban variant [ʔ].

With regard to the Fellahi speakers, all observations have so far shown that they have a stronger tendency than the Horaniis to utilize linguistic features other than their own. This is partly because of the stigmatized status of their colloquial variety, which urges them to use some features from the standard language, some from the Horani variety, and some from the urban variety. Also the Fellahi people, who originally came to the city from the villages of central Palestine after the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948 and 1967, had experienced greater

exposure to the urban people and to the urban variety in their country long before they came to the city. Horani people, who are also ruralites, have only relatively recently come into contact with urbanites. Hence, we find that the Fellahi people, especially female speakers, appear to be more willing than the Horaniis to use some linguistic features from the urban variety.

In view of the pattern of stylistic variation, we have noticed - as in Table 5.11 - that the stylistic range of female speakers as a whole is wider than that of male speakers. That is to say, we have

Table 5.11 Distribution of (d3) by origin and sex across style

Origin and sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	[3]%
Horaniis						
Men	14	68/487	14	37/270	1	6
Women	21	49/230	30	39/132	5	6
Fellahiin						
Men	22	93/417	27	80/292	6	9
Women	38	99/264	45	61/135	16	28

observed that female speakers tend to use the urban variant [3] more frequently in the formal style than in the casual style. In contrast, men have shown stylistic shifting but not to the same extent as women. This pattern indicates that women seem to be more aware of the social significance of the variable than Fellahi and Horani men are, and thus show a stronger tendency towards the use of the prestige urban variant

in formal style more often than in casual style. But as we move on to the other two styles, namely the word list style and the reading passage style, where use of the colloquial variants is prohibited, we find that women, particularly the Fellahi, still use the colloquial urban variant [3] but to a much lesser extent than in the two conversational styles.

#### 5.2.4 Age

Age differentiation is often considered to reflect the general developments and changes taking place in a community at any given time. This is also the case in the particular speech community being observed here. In studying the different lives of these people along the age continuum, one can say that there is a vast difference between the linguistic performance of the older generation group, who have grown up in the village and have subsequently experienced a life without formal education or any kind of contact with people from other regional areas, and the younger generation, who have witnessed a complete metamorphosis in the fields of education, science and mass media, along with every other aspect of life. All of these elements have inevitably brought about remarkable and considerable changes in the linguistic behaviour of both the individual and community. In this regard Meillet (1921:16) says:

"From the fact that language is a social institution, it follows that linguistics is a social science, and the only variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic change is social of which linguistic variations are only consequences".

(Quoted from Al Jehani 1985:115)

From the previous linguistic studies on these two social groups i.e., Fellahiin and Horaniis, we observed that the Fellahi and Horani people generally use the SA variant [d3] in their speech, while the urban people are on the whole, [3] speakers. As a result of increasing social contact between these three groups in Irbid City, coupled with

the introduction of education and mass media which has made people more aware of the ways of others, some social and linguistic changes are coming about in the speech community as a whole.

The age variable and its correlation to variation in the speech of Fellahi and Horani speakers will be examined below in the light of the following hypothesis: since the younger speakers have grown up in the city and have thus experienced greater exposure to urban people and urban linguistic norms either, be it through daily contact with them or through mass media, they are expected to show a higher percentage-use of the urban variant [3] than the older generation are, who have spent their childhood and adolescence in the villages and within an almost homogeneous speech community. It is also expected that if there appears to be an on-going linguistic change taking place in the city, it is also highly likely that some social groups will be more influenced by it than others.

Figure 5.4 and tables 5.12 through to 5.16 show that there is a clear pattern of differentiation between the three age groups. This indicates that the younger age speakers tend to use the urban variant [3] more than the middle aged do, who in turn appear to favour it more often than the older aged speakers. Looking carefully at this pattern of differentiation we observe that there is a sharp distinction between the younger age group on the one hand, and the middle-aged and the older age groups on the other. This finding brings into focus the clear-cut change in progress which has begun to take place within the last two or three decades. It would appear that the younger age group is spearheading the introduction of the urban variant [3] into the Fellahi and Horani community.

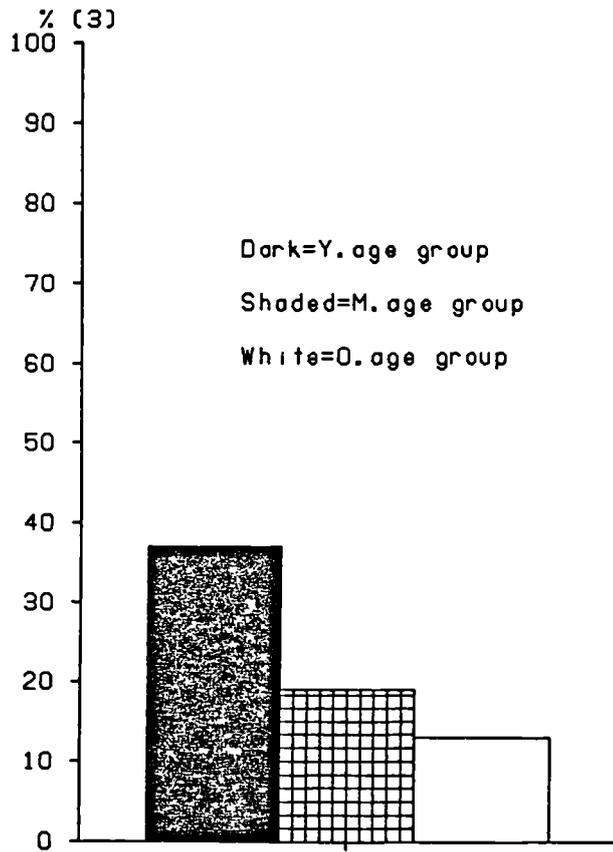


Figure 5.4 : Distribution of (d3)  
by age groups

When we examine the distribution of the (d3) variable in the different phonetic environments for the three age groups separately, we

Table 5.12 Distribution of (d3) by following phonetic environment for age groups

Age groups	_V_VV %3	_# %3	_C %3
Y. age group	32	40	96
M. age group	15	23	78
O. age group	10	9	51

observe that the realization of [d3] as [3] in the different phonetic environments (see table 5.12) is affected differentially by the age pattern of the speakers, although there is a consistent rise in the percentage scores for the three age groups in each phonetic environment. In other words, although, for instance, the highest use-percentages are scored by the younger age group, and the lowest use-percentages are scored by the older age group, the general pattern of effect of pre-consonantal, prevocalic and in word final position is maintained. This shows that the phonetic environments which affect the realization of the variable into its variants are common, albeit in varying degrees to all speakers, and that there must be some extralinguistic factors which might account for the differences among the various age groups.

When the percentage scores are broken down by age and sex (as seen in Table 5.13), yet another pattern of differentiation can be discerned. We observe that the difference between the three age groups

of men varies only slightly, ranging from 15% in the older age group to 24% in the younger age group. But among women the difference between the three age groups appears to be more clear-cut and much more

Table 5.13 Distribution of (d3) by age and sex

Age groups	Men		Women	
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total
Y. age group	24	108/443	53	175/332
M. age group	18	103/574	23	52/224
O. age group	15	67/449	10	21/205

Significant at 0.01 level

pronounced. This patterning shows that the behaviour of the younger age group is at odds with that of the older age group of women, namely the younger speakers appear to be more urbanite, showing 53% use of the urban variant [3], whereas the older speakers appear to cling to their traditional linguistic norms, exhibiting only 11% use of the variant. The middle aged speakers fall in-between, showing 23% use of it. Thus, the [3] percentage scores among women, as we move upward from the older age group through to the younger age group, represents the genuine on-going change that is taking place in the community, women emerging as the more innovative and men as the more conservative.

Supporting this finding is the fact that when we examine the correlation of age with variation in the speech of male and female age groups by style (see Tables 5.14, 5.15), we observe that women, particularly the older and middle aged, show a wider stylistic shifting than that of men. In the male age group, however, only the younger

show wider and uniform stylistic shifting in the two conversational styles. This clearly indicates that women are, in general, much more aware than men are of the social importance of the urban variant. Consequently their use of it is much more frequent than that of men in both the formal and casual styles of speech.

Table 5.14 Distribution of (d3) by age and sex across style: Men

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	[3]%
Y. age group	21	56/271	30	52/172	6	11
M. age group	19	64/343	17	39/231	1	8
O. age group	15	43/289	15	24/160	3	4

Table 5.15 Distribution of (d3) by age and sex across style: Women

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	[3]%
Y. age group	51	107/208	55	68/124	15	24
M. age group	22	30/138	26	22/86	6	7
O. age group	7	11/150	18	10/55	-	11

Our finding is thus that women, who are much aware of the prestigious value of the variable, are the ones most affected by the change. Conversely, men show no conscious awareness of the occurrence of change. Therefore it is evident that there is no significant stylistic variation within the male social groups.

We now turn the discussion towards another important variable which seems to be very significant in revealing the locus of sound change: we shall consider the correlation of the age variable with variation in the speech of the two local groups, the Fellahiin and Horaniis. It can be seen in Table 5.16 that the three Horani age groups are inconsistent in their use of the variable. It is quite apparent that all Horani age groups use few urban variants; however, the middle aged group's use of the urban variant [3] tends to be above

Table 5.16 Distribution of (d3) by age and origin

Age groups	Fellahiin		Horaniis	
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total
Y. age group	52	220/427	18	63/348
M. age group	18	51/290	20	104/508
O. age group	16	62/391	10	26/263

Significant at 0.01 level

average. Nevertheless, the general pattern indicates that there is a change in progress taking place among the Horaniis, since the younger and middle aged speakers are showing a stronger tendency towards the urban variants than the older generation speakers are.

As shown in Table 5.16, there is also a difference between the three age groups of Fellahiin speakers insofar as their realization of the urban variant [3] is concerned. The [3] realizations show at first glance an irregular pattern of age-grading, even though the younger speakers are shown to use it the most. It was particularly surprising at the outset to find no great difference between the middle-aged and

the older age groups, given that both were obviously shown to behave differentially with regard to the (Q) variable. When we examine the data thoroughly we find that this irregular pattern can to a large extent be attributed to a single case of deviation in the older age group, which will be discussed later. So, taking into account this case of deviation, we find a clear pattern of age stratification arising, with the older group of speakers using the [3] variant very rarely (8%) and the younger group using it most frequently (52%).

A comparison of the three age groups of the Fellahiin with their Horani counterparts reveals that the Fellahi speakers, particularly the younger age group, favour the urban variant [3] more frequently than the Horaniis do. This finding shows that the Fellahi speakers, who were shown to be more innovative in the (Q) variable, are responsible for originating the sound change in the present variable. This is not surprising since the Fellahi speakers, whose dialect is the most stigmatized, are subject to more social pressure than the other local groups in the city are. Subsequently they probably tend to yield to this pressure more easily than the Horani people do who appear to be more faithful to their tribal relationships, as shown earlier.

Thus the results of our analysis tally with the hypothesis raised at the outset of this discussion. As expected, we have found that there is a change in progress taking place in the speech community under investigation and that some social groups have been influenced by this change to a greater extent than others have. We have observed, for example, that women rather than men, younger rather than older, educated rather than uneducated and Fellahi rather than Horani people have been affected most by this change.

Having said that a number of questions arise. What is the significance of these results? What is the social origin of change?

What is the social motivation that activates it? Is this change from below or change from above? Even though some of these questions were addressed in the course of our discussion of the results, we shall try to add some more explanations in order that the picture may become more clear.

Bearing in mind that the Fellahi and Horani people are generally [d3] speakers, we are now in a position, given the synchronic distribution of this variable in the two social groups, to generalize and say that this variable is involved in a true change in progress. Realization of the fricative urban variant [3] is increasing day-by-day in the speech of the Horani and Fellahi people.

### 5.3 Social origin of sound change

It was the urbanites, who flooded into the city from Syria and Palestine before and after the 1948 and 1967 wars, who were the element most responsible for originating this linguistic change. The coming of the urbanites coincided with the influx of another group of people, the Fellahiin (i.e. ruralites), from the central part of Palestine. As said earlier, the Fellahiin and Horaniis are both villagers who had left their village and had come to live in the city alongside the urbanites. The Urbanites were much more educated, more modernized and more urbanized since they had a very long history of urbanization. Therefore their influence on the other two groups, be it socially or linguistically, was inevitable. A similarly illuminating observation was cited by Labov (1980:263) when he wrote:

"it is the entrance of new ethnic and racial groups into the community that provides the motivating forces behind this renewed diversification".

Linguistic change in general and sound change in particular are seen to spread through a community as a function of the consciously or subconsciously perceived social connotation of particular variables and

particular groups. The importance, however, is placed not so much on the amount of social contact per se but on the degree of social identification with a particular group. A speaker engages in linguistic change not because he is surrounded by individuals who speak that way (though he usually is) but because he identifies himself as a member of their society (Habic 1980:45). In other words, there are factors apart from that of social contact which support this linguistic change.

Thus the new generation of Fellahiin and Horaniis are fully aware that they are no longer ruralites. They have started to see themselves as urbanites, sharing with the urban people many social characteristics, and as such have begun to adopt the urban linguistic norms, be it consciously or subconsciously. Only the elderly, who still maintain strong relationships with their clans in the village, are rejecting this new linguistic innovation. But as for the younger generation speakers, if they were to attempt to resist this change they would not be able to withstand the peer group pressure exerted by members of other local groups. We see those people who overtly condemned the adoption of the urban variant [ʔ] beginning - deliberately or undeliberately - to utilize the [ʕ] variant in their speech. But due to the fact that the Horani people tend to have a stronger sense of association with their roots as villagers than the other social groups do, they seem to be a bit more reluctant to adopt the innovative variant [ʕ]. During the fieldwork of this study we noticed that from the Horani male informants interviewed, no one was aware that he used the [ʕ] variant.

Two other important factors, the influence of which cannot be overlooked, are the introduction of education and the spread of mass media. These two elements may be seen as the factors most significant

in activating the change initiated by the entrance of urbanites into the city. In discussing the education factor (see education factor above) we observe that educated speakers clearly seem to favour the urban variant [3] more often than the uneducated do. This stems from the fact that education can play an important role in widening the social network of the person. Through daily contact with the urbanites in schools, in universities and elsewhere, educated Horani and Fellahi people have become more susceptible to borrowing prestige linguistic features from the urban variety. This is unlike the case of the uneducated, who have very limited and only indirect contact with the urban people and either remain confined to their linguistic variants categorically, or show a very slight variable use of the urban variant. Therefore, the linguistic behaviour of those people with a large number of acquaintances from other local groups will be much more affected by the linguistic behaviour of these acquaintances than that of those who have very limited number of relationships. As Labov (1980:261) puts it:

"the most advanced speakers (in sound change) are the persons with the largest number of local contacts within the neighbourhood, yet who have at the same time the highest proportion of their acquaintances outside the neighbourhood."

Expressing the same idea in different words L. Milroy and J. Milroy (1985:368) write:

"innovators will be persons marginal to their community, with many weak ties to other groups.... Weak ties are, in a mobile society, likely to be very much more numerous than strong ties, and some of them are likely to function as bridges to the group from which the innovation is flowing."

So, the more a person is exposed to others from other social groups the more he is able to see, hear and possibly innovate new linguistic forms.

#### 5.4 Change from below or from above

Labov (1966, 1972a) posits two kinds of linguistic change:

- 1 - change from above
- 2 - change from below

The first kind of change (i.e. change from above) is one which can be realized by the speech community members as actually occurring. It normally results from an increased social awareness (change from above the conscious awareness), since it emanates from the upper social class and gradually diffuses into the other classes of the speech community. Speakers witnessing this type of change are quite aware that they are participating in it. By contrast, the change from below is a change which goes unnoticed (i.e. change from below the conscious awareness). This type of change usually emerges from classes located in or near the bottom of the social class continuum and begins to work its way gradually through the higher social classes until it either comes to completion or is suppressed midway.

"This is a useful preliminary distinction, even though it is not always possible to categorize changes into either change from above or change from below" (Aitchison 1981:64). Rather, some changes could be classified as either type as will be shown below. With respect to the (d3) variable, the change taking place in this variable apparently embraces both kinds, that is to say, it is a combination of change from below and change from above; for example, the change taking place in the speech of the female speakers seems to be change from above, whereas the change which is happening in the speech of male speakers is change from below. This is evident in the female group of speakers for several reasons:

- 1 - The social source of change is the urban speech community, regarded by the female speakers in general as a highly prestigious

group; subsequently their colloquial [3] variant would also be viewed as prestigious.

- 2 - As we saw earlier, the innovators of change among the Fellahi and Horani female speakers are those women who are highly educated (the educated elite) and who, by virtue of their educational attainment, are ranked high on the social hierarchy.
- 3 - When we examine the distribution of the [3] variant by sex and age across style, we observe that the three age groups of female speakers are subtly stratified by their use of the urban variant [3] along both the age level scale and the stylistic continuum, thus showing wider stylistic range in the two conversational styles than that which was found with their male counterparts. This patterning indicates that women are, in general, much more aware of the social significance of the variable; as such, the change in their case seems to be change from above their level of social awareness.
- 4 - When we examine the distribution of (d3) by sex and education (i.e. very important indicator of social status) we notice that there is a strong correlation between the educational status of the women and their linguistic behaviour; that is to say, the more educated the woman is, the more she utilizes the urban variant [3]. This shows that there is unequivocal social prestige attached to the use of the variant among women.

All these points provide clear-cut evidence for our hypothesis that the change which is occurring in the speech of women is change from above. But, the case among men is different because:

- 1 - Men, in general, have demonstrated minimal use of the urban variant [3], and a very high percentage-use of their colloquial variant [d3].

- 2 - The social origin of sound change (i.e. the urbanites) does not enjoy a great deal of prestige among men. Horani and Fellahi men who boast about being tough, vigorous and very masculine do not appreciate the behaviour of the urbanites, be they men or women, because they seem more delicate and, more spoiled, and because they speaking a rather feminine dialect. Thus, this variety would not enjoy a high degree of prestige among these men.
- 3 - We have seen that the initiators of change among men are the younger age group, which is not as effective in the social structure of the society.
- 4 - We have observed that educated speakers (i.e. the highly ranked people) use the urban variant [ʒ] more often than uneducated do, but the difference between them is not very significant. Neither are they distinguished by their use of the variants (i.e. [dʒ] and [ʒ] as is the SA [q] variant).
- 5 - When we examine the distribution of the [ʒ] variant by sex and age across style we see that only the younger age group has shown stylistic shifting. But the other two age groups have shown the same or a slightly higher percentage use of it in the casual style than in the formal style.

All of these observations support the idea that the change among men seems to be a change from below, in which the Fellahi and Horani male speakers utilize the urban variant [ʒ] subconsciously. Hence, this variable can best be described as "a marker" for women, related to stylistic variation as well as sex, education and age variation, and as an "indicator" for men since it plays a less significant role in marking the different social groups of male speakers.

### 5.5 The (D) variable

The CA phonemes, the voiced post-dental emphatic stop /D/, and the voiced interdental emphatic fricative /Dh/ have usually merged in the colloquial varieties of Arabic into one phoneme, either (D) or (Dh). This phenomenon dates back to the early period of Islam. Although it is impossible to pinpoint precisely the exact timing of the merger, Al toma (1969:159 - footnote 40) reports that the confusion of /D/ with /Dh/ was recorded by Arab grammarians around the seventh century, and persisted thereafter. Abdo (1972:27) suggests that even proto-Arabic does not contain both (D) and (Dh).<sup>2</sup> The distinction between these two sounds was, and still is, problematic for most native speakers of Arabic. It seems that the ancient Arab grammarians faced the same problem, for some of them described the fricative (Dh) and stop (D) as a pair of sounds that one must be careful to distinguish. Moreover, in the early period of Islam, Arabs would correct one another when they confused the two sounds (Abumdas 1985:55).

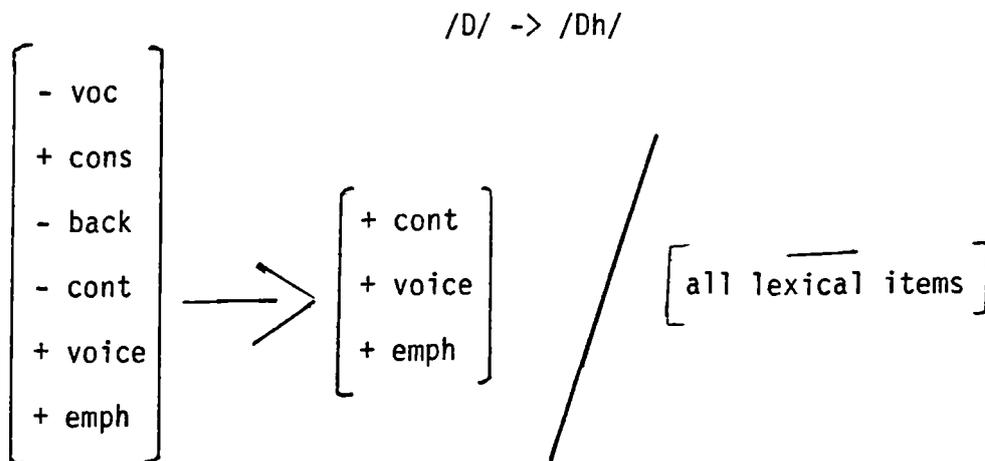
Al toma (1969:159) argues that the original phonetic value of CA /D/ is uncertain, but it is generally assumed that the etymological /Dh/ was the emphatic of the voiced interdental /dh/ and that /D/ had the same features of /Dh/ in addition to being lateral. Nevertheless, he believes that the modern /D/ can be considered a velarized variety of /d/ or a voiced counterpart of /T/

The importance of this variable lies in the fact that it can be used as a criterion with which to identify linguistically the urban from non-urban speakers of Arabic. For instance, in the dialects spoken in the major urban centres such as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Beirut, the CA phonemes /D/ and /Dh/ are always pronounced as /D/, whereas in the dialects spoken by the Bedouins and the ruralites in

many parts of the Arab world, the two phonemes are heard as /Dh/ (Al-Ani 1970, Rosenhouse 1982a, among many others).

### 5.5.1 The synchronic distribution of (D) in the speech of the Jordanian people in Irbid City

In the Jordanian colloquial varieties the CA phonemes /D/ and /Dh/ have also lumped into one; in the Urban variety both are represented by [D], and in the Fellahi, Horani and Bedouin varieties the reverse is true, i.e. the two segments are realized as [Dh].<sup>3</sup> The early historical rule which merged the stop /D/ with the fricative /Dh/ can be schematized in the following phonological rule:



e.g.,

CA	Fellahi/Horani dialects
/De:f/ -> /Dhe:f/	"guest"
/be:D/ -> /be:Dh/	"eggs"
/ʔabyyaD/ -> /ʔabyyaDh/	"white"

This rule reads that any word with the CA /D/ is realized almost categorically in the speech of the Fellahi and Horani people as /Dh/. All previous sociolinguistic studies of these two groups (Cantineau 1936; Palva 1976; Hussein 1980; Shorab 1982) report that the change from /D/ -> /Dh/ was phonetically unconditioned, i.e. the CA /D/ was replaced by /Dh/ in every possible position in a word without exception.

For reasons which have been stated earlier, the present linguistic situation in the city no longer seems to be the same as in the past. Linguistic contact between speakers of the three local dialects, coupled with the spread of education in the country, have left some phonological traces in the speech of most members of the speech community. Thus the synchronic distribution of (D) among the Fellahi and Horani speakers shows that they have begun to demonstrate a great deal of variability in their use of the (D) variable. The standard-urban variant [D] which enjoys both 'national' and 'local' prestige in the city has begun to creep into the speech of the Horani and Fellahi speech community members. Consequently, the early diachronic rule which merged the CA stop /D/ with the CA fricative /Dh/ (indicated above) has started to move in reverse. That is to say, the /D/ variable can be pronounced by both Fellahiin and Horaniis with both fricative [Dh] and stop [D]. The CA /D/ is then variably phonetically realized as one of the following two variants: the colloquial variant [Dh] and the Standard-Urban variant [D].

(D) \_\_\_ 1 = [D]

(D) \_\_\_ 2 = [Dh]

Based on the synchronic distribution of this variable in the speech of Horaniis and Fellahiin, the colloquial variant [Dh] can be considered the unmarked variant, and the Standard-Urban variant [D] the marked one. This is because: firstly, the [D] variant is statistically less frequent than [Dh]; and secondly there are many speakers who have only [Dh], but only a very few who are restricted to [D].

In his study of the three colloquial varieties of Jordan, Riyad Hussein (1980) claims that the colloquial fricative [Dh] is realized almost categorically in the speech of members of the Fellahi and

Bedouin (included Horaniis) speech community, and that the stop variant [D] is realized almost categorically in the speech of members of the urban speech community. By contrast, our assumption is that no such categorical realization of one variant over another can be noticed in the speech of Jordanian Arabic speakers in Irbid City, and that any variation in the realization of the variable (D) is a characteristic common to city dwellers regardless of their local identity. This variation, as we will see later, will be gauged and accounted for in the light of both linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

### 5.6 Linguistic Constraints

All of the available previous linguistic studies, which deal with this variable from an historical point of view, demonstrate that the historical change of (D) to (Dh) which has taken place in the Fellahi and Horani dialects was phonetically unconditioned, i.e., the CA /D/ was realized as [Dh] in every possible position in a word, e.g.,

/Darar/	->	/Dharar/	"harm"
/Dami:r/	->	/Dhami:r/	"consciousness"
/qayyD/	->	/qayyDh/	"hotness"

This fact was clear from Blanc's (1953) study of the dialects spoken in the northern region of Palestine. He wrote:

"the preservation of the interdental spirants (Dh, th, dh), typical of the Bedouin dialect, is also characteristic of a number of Syro-Palestinian sedentary dialects (including the Horani dialect)... In Palestine their preservation is characteristic of non-urban sedentary dialects (the Fellahi dialect)."

In this study the only linguistic (internal) conditioning factor which is examined is the effect of the following phonetic environment on the variable. Table 5.17 below indicates, however, that the differences between the realization of the SA [D] in one environment and the others are not statistically significant. In other words, the three phonetic environments investigated have shown almost contiguous

values with respect to their effect on the variable. Subsequently, our finding shows that phonetic conditioning (i.e. distribution of the variable by the following environment) appears to be of no great significance as far as constraints on variation are concerned. This finding seems to be in agreement with results achieved in a number of modern sociolinguistic studies (Robertson 1970; Schmidt 1974; Al-Jehani 1985; Shorab 1982) with regard to Egyptian Arabic, Makkan Arabic and Palestinian Arabic respectively.

Table 5.17 Distribution of (D) by the following phonetic environment

Phonetic environment	No. of [Dh]	No. of [D]	Total	% D
_C	78	25	103	24
_V_VV	617	277	894	31
_#	138	40	178	22
N=			1175	

### 5.6.1 Lexical conditioning

In order to see whether or not the socio-cultural status of the word containing the (D) phoneme plays a significant role in conditioning the variable, the lexicon (i.e. the lexical items realized in the speech of the "Selected 12 informants" - see the previous chapter) relating to the (D) variable was classified into three classes, according to the same criteria used in classifying the lexicon

relating to the (Q) variable. When we examine the lexical constraint in the "selected sample data", we find that the lexical status of the word plays a much less significant role in conditioning the variable than was the case with the (Q) variable, and its effect does not seem to be common to all members of the speech community (see Tables 5.18 and 5.19 below). For example, we find that a considerable number of pure-standard lexical items were pronounced with the SA variant [D], although we also observe that some other pure-standard items were realized with the colloquial variant [Dh] such as /bayDh/ "eggs" and /Dhu:??/ "light". Furthermore, among the younger and middle age female speakers we found that most words, be they pure standard or pure colloquial, were pronounced with the standard-urban variant [D], whereas among the older age female speakers the reverse is true i.e., most words were pronounced with the colloquial variant [Dh]. On the whole these findings indicate that the socio-cultural status of the word i.e., pure standard; shared standard-colloquial, and pure colloquial, influencing the realization of the [D] variant is neither highly influential, nor common to all members of the speech community; rather its effect can, in a sense, be shown more clearly among male speakers than among female speakers. This is because:

- 1 - Unlike the (Q) variable, the (D) variable appears to be still involved in a merger with (Dh).
- 2 - The [D] as a standard variant is not subject to the same amount of social pressure as the (Q) variable.

Table 5.18 Distribution of (D) in the three classes of lexical items for female speakers in the "selected sample data"

Classes of lexical items			Total No.	
	No. of [Dh]	No. of [D]	of instances	% D
pure standard	5	5	10	50
shared items (standard-colloquial)	55	34	55	62
pure colloquial	29	13	42	31

Table 5.19 Distribution of (D) in the three classes of lexical items for male speakers in the "selected sample data"

Classes of lexical items			Total No.	
	No. of [Dh]	No. of [D]	of instances	% D
pure standard	22	19	41	46
shared items (standard-colloquial)	110	19	129	15
pure colloquial	57	-	57	0

3 - The variability in the use of (D) is the outcome of two major forces: "levelling mechanism" and "classicizing mechanism". The first is clearly reflected in the speech of the younger female speakers (educated) who tend to suppress their stigmatized colloquial variant [Dh] for the sake of the prestigious urban variant [D], and use the variant [D] with every lexical item regardless of its socio-cultural status; the second mechanism is obviously manifested in the speech of men, who tend (more likely in formal situations) to utilize the [D] variant in its capacity as a standard variant.

These findings show that the lexical conditioning factor is also of less importance with respect to the realization of the variable into its variants. We are, then, in a position to demonstrate that the (D) variable is neither phonetically conditioned like the (d3) variable, nor lexically conditioned like the (Q) variable. Rather, the two variants [D] and [Dh] seem to be linguistically in free variation. Thus, the difference between the different social groups, if any, must be due to some extra-linguistic factors.

### 5.7 Calculating the scores

In order to compare the performance of the various groups of speakers' usage of the /D/ variable, each occurrence of the standard-urban variant [D] was given the value (1) and each occurrence of the colloquial variant [Dh] the value (0), thus:

$$(D) \text{ \_\_ } [D] = 1$$

$$(D) \text{ \_\_ } [Dh] = 0$$

According to the methodology of quantification presented in the previous chapter, consistent use of the [D] variant will result in a percentage score of 100% and consistent use of the [Dh] variant in a score of 0%.

## 5.8 The co-variation of (D) with its sociological parameters

### 5.8.1 Sex

With regard to the correlation of variation with the sex of speakers in this present variable, we expect to see women - particularly the younger and middle-aged - showing a higher percentage use of the [D] variant, not because it is a standard form but because it belongs to the urban variety.

Figure 5.5 clearly shows that the two gender-groups are distinct in their use of the (D) variable. There is a greater tendency on the part of the female speakers to use the urban-standard variant [D]. Women used it twice as often as men - 44% and 21% respectively. The normal pattern of sex differentiation has emerged here. The standard variant [D], which is also the colloquial urban variant, is used more frequently by women. Does the higher usage of the [D] variant represent a tendency towards standardization or towards urbanization?

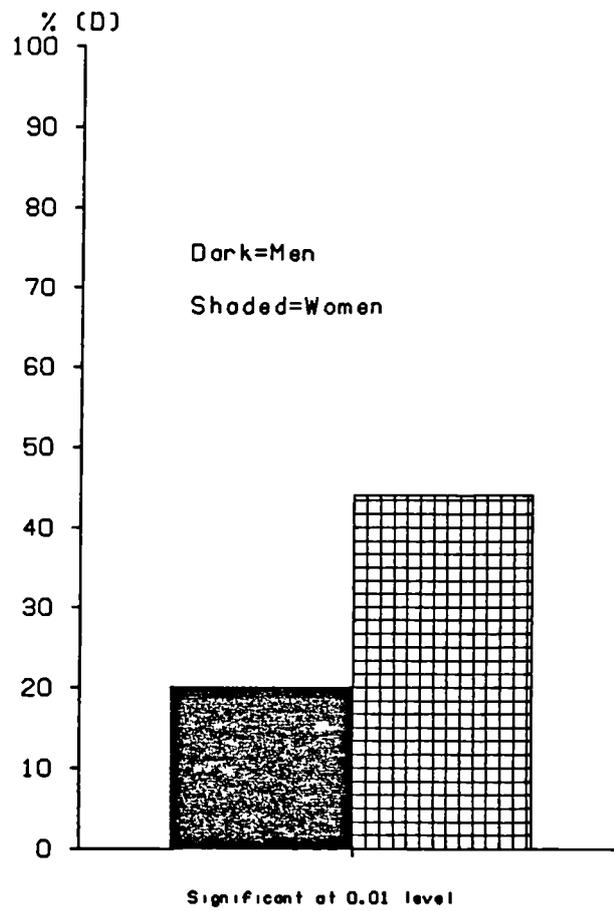


Figure 5.5 : distribution of (D)  
by sex

In a number of sociolinguistic studies it has been shown that linguistic features form a uniform implicational array with regard to their use by the different groups of speakers. That is to say, there are "syntagmatic relations" and "paradigmatic relations" governing the use of the different linguistic variables by the individual speakers. Once an individual has shown a stronger tendency toward the use of a number of colloquial (stigmatized) variants of certain variables, it is less unlikely that he will exhibit a similarly strong tendency towards the use of standard (prestigious) variants of other variables to the same degree. In the case of the former two variables, women, in general, were shown to be less standard in their speech. Thus, what is in fact happening here is that when women increase their use of the [D] variant, it is highly likely that they will use it most frequently, not in its capacity as a standard variant but as a colloquial urban one. Supporting this explanation is the fact that when we check the distribution of the [D] variant in the three classes of lexical items with regard to sex, we observe that women use the (D) variant almost to the same degree with all lexical items regardless of the category to which they belong. That is to say, the class of the lexical item containing the variable, be it pure standard or pure colloquial, plays no significant role in conditioning the realization of the variant.

We shall now see whether or not this pattern of differentiation is constant across the whole of the stylistic continuum. From Table 5.20 it is by no means apparent that the two sex groups are still distinct throughout the stylistic array. The use of the [D] variant in the speech of both sexes increases as the situation becomes more formal. Comparing the percentage scores of men with those of women, one notices that the greatest difference between the two sex groups lies in the two conversational styles. It is in these two styles that the female

Table 5.20 Distribution of (D) by sex and style

Sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	[D]%
Men	14	63/438	29	88/305	75	71
Women	40	111/281	52	79/151	93	91

speakers depart from the male speakers, i.e., they demonstrate a stronger tendency towards the adoption of the [D] variant. In reading styles, although the two groups are differentiated by their use of the variable, the gap between them seems to be narrower than in the two speech styles. Both groups seem to realize that they are reading printed material, and thus their use of the colloquial variant [Dh] is inhibited for the most part, but in varying degrees. This pattern of social and stylistic differentiation indicates that women are more aware of the social significance of both the variable and the situation, and thus their use of the variable increases with the increase in the formality of the given situation.

In breaking down the percentage scores according to sex and age (see Table 5.21), it becomes far more evident that the three age groups of women and their male counterparts differ with regard to their use of the [D] variable. Looking at the three age groups of men, we note that they are inconsistent. However, this irregular pattern of age grading in the male speakers' group is due to a case of deviation in the older age group which will be discussed later. When we look at the three age groups of female speakers, we observe that women are stratified consistently by their use of the variable. The younger age group of women has produced the highest score for use of the variable, and the

Table 5.21 Distribution of (D) by sex and age

Age groups	Men		Women	
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total
Y. age group	25	53/209	76	124/164
M. age group	13	41/309	40	50/125
O. age group	25	57/225	11	16/143

Significant at 0.01 level

older age group the lowest score, with the middle aged coming in second place. Thus the biggest distinction between men and women takes place in both the younger and middle age groups.

This finding shows that the younger and middle-aged speakers of men and women are completely differentiated in their linguistic behaviour: while these two groups of men seem to favour their colloquial variant [Dh] the most, their female counterparts seem to favour the urban variant [D]. It is clearly evident that women are linguistically one generation ahead of men. This can be seen as further evidence of the fact that what is linguistically favoured by women (the urban variety) in Irbid City does not seem to be so by men.

With regard to the use of all three linguistic variables (D), (d3) and (Q), women were seen to spearhead the change taking place from one colloquial stigmatized feature to another prestigious one, whereas men were seen to be in the forefront of the change from a colloquial variant to a standard one. These results raise a number of questions: what are the reasons for this linguistic discrepancy between the sexes with regard to their use of linguistic forms? How can we explain the

slow movement of men in a change originated by women, particularly if this change involves an alteration from one colloquial form to another?

Labov (1972a, 1966) argues that in most cases of sound change, it was observed that the change is socially motivated and that "prestige" is an important factor in the gradual favouring of one allophone over another. In her study of two neighbourhoods in Cairo, Ann Royal (1985) discovered that in addition to "prestige", "gender signalling" can be considered a very important factor in determining the degree to which pharyngealized consonants can be realized, i.e. "weak" or "strong". In tackling the problem of linguistic discrepancy between the sexes with respect to their realization of the different variables, Royal found that in most cases:

"neither the concern for prestige nor the concern to signal gender can stand alone as an explanation for female "weak" and male "strong" pharyngealization. The problem with the "prestige" explanation is that it does not account for the selective nature of women's choice to particularly slight the "back" sound [q] and the pharyngealized consonants ...., while not differing dramatically from men in applying other "standard" forms in elevated speech ... Nor does the "prestige" analysis explain why speakers should evaluate those finding to give sufficiently "standard" pronunciation of these back sounds as feminine or effeminate.

On the other hand; the "gender signalling" analysis cannot account for why both men and women in Heliopolis slightly lower their strength of pharyngealization when addressing strangers (analyzed as a relatively more formal speaking context). What is more "prestige" must be involved in the younger Gamaliyans' acquisition of the Heliopolis mode of gender signalling.

The solution is to seek an explanation that takes account of both "prestige" and "gender signalling".

(1985:183-4)

This also seems to be true in the case of the Irbid speech community, where there exists a clear-cut division between the sexes with regard to their use of the different linguistic forms. For instance, in the previous chapter i.e. (Q) which was concerned with a national prestige variant i.e., SA [q], the two sex groups were seen to move in one direction, favouring the SA variant [q] most often, albeit to varying degrees. In the latter two variables [d3] and [D]

(though [D] is a standard), however, the two gender groups seem to depart from each other with respect to their utilization of the different linguistic forms of these two variables. As many sociolinguistic studies of Arabic have shown, this can be attributed to two main reasons; firstly, with regard to the (Q) variables, the choice of the linguistic variant was mainly governed by what can best be described as "national prestige"; secondly, with respect to the (d3) and (D) variables, the choice seems to be governed by what is described by Royal (1985) as "local prestige" and "gender signalling". While we find that the perception of "national prestige" is common to all speech community members regardless of their sex, the two sex groups seem to be differentiated with respect to their perception of "local prestige". For instance, while the urban variety enjoys local prestige among women, the Horani variety enjoys local prestige among men. This difference in the perception of local prestige is the element most responsible for creating the "gender signalling" factor which, in turn, contributes to the adoption of certain linguistic forms rather than others. It is reasonable to consider "prestige" and "gender signalling" as two major factors determining the choice of the linguistic variable. Thus, it is not unusual for the "educated elite" among the female group, which appears to be fond of the urban variety, to be in the vanguard of any linguistic change taking place from their colloquial variants to what they perceive as prestigious: the urban variants. Neither is it unusual for men, in general, to be reluctant to catch up with a change originally initiated by women. But it is quite common to see the two sex groups behaving differently from one another, even on the level of language use, in a sharply sex-differentiated society like Irbid City.

### 5.8.2 Origin

Since origin was previously seen as one of the most important social factors influencing the individuals' linguistic behaviour, it will be interesting to see whether or not the two origin groups are still differentiated with respect to their use of the (D) variable and, if so, to what extent.

Figure 5.6 suggests that the two origin groups are still remarkably differentiated with respect to their use of this variable. The Fellahi group of speakers tends to realize the [D] variant more often than the Horani group. Further patterns of differentiation between the two local groups emerge as we break the scores down by age and origin, sex and origin, and education and origin.

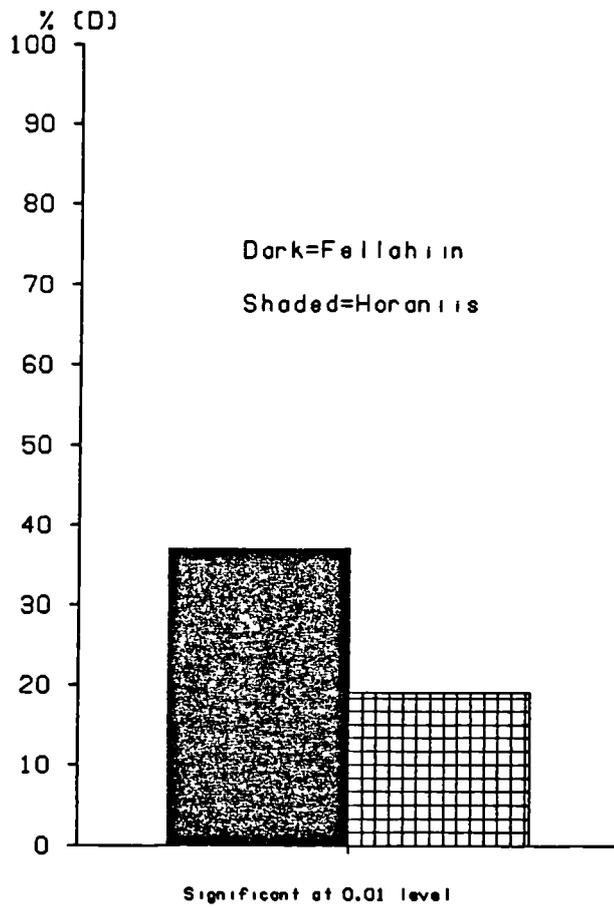


FIGURE 5.6 : Distribution of (D)  
by origin

From table 5.22 we can observe that although the three age groups of Fellahiin are clearly distinct in their use of [D] from their Horani counterparts, the greatest distinction still exists between the younger speakers of both groups, since the younger Fellahi speakers produced the [D] variant twice (61%) as often as the younger speakers of

Table 5.22 Distribution of (D) by origin and age

Age groups	Fellahiin		Horaniis	
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total
Y. age group	61	121/197	32	56/176
M. age group	28	54/196	16	37/238
O. age group	29	57/195	9	16/173

Significant at 0.01 level

Horaniis (32%) did. One explanation why the Fellahi age groups scores are higher than those of their Horani counterparts may be that the Fellahiin experienced extensive exposure to the urbanites and to the urban variety in their country long before they came to Irbid City. Thus it would not be surprising if their linguistic behaviour were different from that of the Horaniis, who have had little exposure to urbanites. Horaniis have only relatively recently come into contact with urbanites, mainly after the arrival of the Palestinians in the country.

The apparent conclusion that can be drawn from these results is that the urban people, along with their colloquial variety, have begun to be socially accepted by both the Horaniis and the Fellahiin. Day-by-day the use of the urban features increases in the speech of

these two rural groups. But this acceptance seems to be still in its early stages, and is limited to unsalient features such as [ʒ], [D] or [th]. In the case of the [ʔ] variant, which seems to be more salient, it has been shown that the Fellahi and Horani people are ambivalent about using it in their repertoire.

Examining the distribution of this variable by origin across style, it is quite apparent, as seen in table 5.23, that the realization of the [D] variant by the two origin groups represents a regular progression of style with the two origin groups using the standard variant [D] more frequently in reading styles than in speaking styles. This shows that there is a clear-cut correlation between variation and the formality of the situation. On the whole, the higher percentage use of the [D] variant in the formal style and the two reading styles indicates that Fellahiin appear to be more aware than the Horaniis are of both the variable and the proper situations in which it can be used. Subsequently one would expect their usage of it to be much greater.

Table 5.23 Distribution of (D) by origin and style

Sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	[D]%
Fellahiin	36	121/340	45	111/248	89	89
Horaniis	14	53/379	27	56/208	74	66

Table 5.24 Distribution of (D) by origin and education

Educational groups	Fellahiin		Horaniis	
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total
H. educated	44	91/207	30	73/242
M. educated	46	140/303	18	30/198
Non-educated	5	4/81	2	3/144

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 5.24 suggests that the realization of the [D] variant in the output of the three educational groups of the Fellahiin on the one hand, and in that of their Horani counterparts on the other, are unmatched. In other words, it is evident that the Fellahi educational groups favour the use of the [D] variant far more often than their Horani counterparts do. Taking each origin group separately, we note that the three Horani educational groups are sharply stratified by their use of the variable i.e. each educational group is distinct from the other in its use of the variable, with the highly-educated group using the [D] variant most frequently. However, in the Fellahi educational groups this does not seem to be the case. There appears to be a wide gap between the highly and the moderately educated groups on the one hand, and the non-educated group on the other. Thus, this finding appears to be in agreement with the results arrived at earlier (see the (Q) and the (d3) variables), in which the educated Fellahi speakers were found to be more aware of the stigmatized status of their dialect, and therefore tended to substitute for their stigmatized variants, features belonging to the other prestigious varieties spoken in the city.

Even though the Fellahi people are found to be more innovative than the Horaniis, these two groups show, in general, less significant use of the urban variants. And despite the fact that these two rural groups have been living in the city side by side with the urbanites for forty years, it is evident that they are still reluctant to adopt the urban linguistic norms in their speech. On what grounds, then, can we account for the lower realization of the urban variants in their output, given that there are a considerable number of variants such as (K) and (D) which are common to both the standard variety and the urban variety? In many urban sociolinguistic studies, the general attitude and evaluative reactions of the urbanized people towards urban speech has not always been positive. For example, Trudgill (1974:20) claims that "it is quite common in heavily urbanized Britain for rural accents, such as those of Devonshire, Northumberland ... to be considered pleasant, charming, quaint or amusing; urban accents, on the other hand such as those of Birmingham, Newcastle or London, are often though to be ugly, careless or unpleasant". Suzanne Romaine (1984:129) also maintains that "Today in Scotland it is easy to elicit conflicting attitudes towards urban and rural scots. The reaction to rural speech is likely to be positive, and the middle-class reaction is often a slightly patronizing approval of 'good old Scots speech'. Further evidence comes from the work of Giles and his colleagues (reported in Romaine 1984:129) who show that speakers with accents peculiar to industrial areas such as Glasgow, Birmingham and Liverpool are consistently ranked unfavourably on a number of counts, e.g. personality characteristics, education, socio-economic success etc.

Evidence from the present study also seems to support these findings. In the light of my personal observations during the fieldwork, together with the results arrived at in this chapter, it

seems appropriate to postulate that not all Fellahi and Horani speakers are alike with respect to their attitude towards the urban variety. Some are quite willing to change their linguistic behaviour while others are not. The acceptance of change itself is based on the assumption that there are a number of social connotations attached to each variety, which is an important factor in relinquishing or maintaining one's social identity. Trudgill (1974) believes that people's judgement of the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties and features is social rather than linguistic. What is happening in the Jordanian society corroborates this view. The Jordanian speakers are quite aware of what is linguistically appropriate for men and what is appropriate for women. As we said earlier, the urban variety is characterized as being the more feminine dialect, and the whole speech community, including the females themselves, consider this to be more appropriate for women. This is because it seems to be pleasant, delicate and more feminine. And as far as the colloquial varieties are concerned, the Horani variety is deemed the most appropriate for males for a number of reasons e.g., it seems to be more quaint for men, more masculine, giving the impression that its user (as a male speaker) is more self-confident and more popular (a trait highly appreciated in Jordanian society). Therefore, one finds only the new generation speakers of women who are willing to use the urban variety in their speech; by doing so they know that they will be more socially acceptable and, as such, rank higher on the social scale. In contrast, men appear rather reluctant to use the urban variety because they are fully aware of the results that would obtain were if they to do so. For instance, they might be accused of effemininity, which would inevitably bring with it a great deal of criticism on the part of the Horani and Fellahi speech community members.

### 5.8.3 Age

When we aggregate the data by age (see Figure 5.7) we observe that there is a close correlation between the age of speakers and their realization of the [D] variant, particularly if we ignore for the time being informant 30 (a 60 year old male speaker) who deviated radically in his speech from the linguistic behaviour of his age group (see individual deviation below). From Figure 5.7 we see that the younger age group shows a greater tendency than the middle-aged group to use the urban variant [D]. In turn, the middle-aged speakers show a greater tendency than the older age speakers to the use of the same variant. Like the other linguistic variables, this variable also serves to stratify the Horani and Fellahi speakers into three distinct age groups.

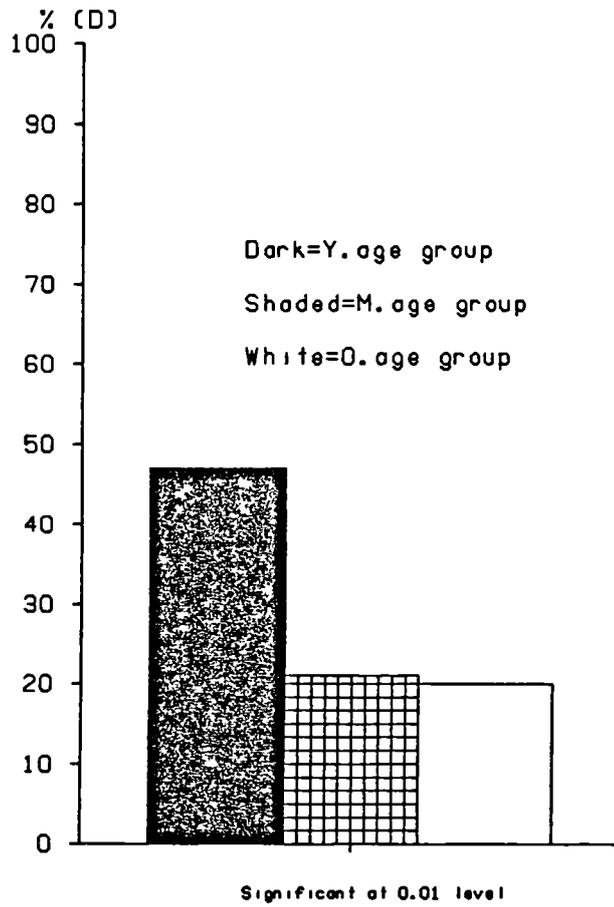


Figure 5.7 : Distribution of (D) by age groups

When we examine the distribution of (D) by age and style, as seen in Table 5.25, it becomes quite apparent that the three age groups are still distinct in their use of the variable throughout the style continuum. In other words, if we look at the table from top to bottom it can be seen that there is a clear pattern of age variation, and from left to right, a steady rise in the use of (D) with increasingly formal styles. It can also be seen that there is a residue of the colloquial variant [Dh] in the two reading styles. Investigation of the data shows that this can be attributed to the unconditioned merger of the

Table 5.25 Distribution of (D) by age and style

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	[D]%
Y. age group	43	98/226	54	79/147	87	79
M. age group	14	37/265	32	54/169	75	72
O. age group	17	39/228	24	34/140	82	77

stop variant [D] and the fricative variant [Dh]. In the middle of the interview each informant was asked to provide us with three lexical items containing the SA variant [D]. Surprisingly enough, a considerable number of the highly and moderately educated informants were unable to distinguish between items that could be pronounced with [Dh] and those that could be pronounced with [D]. For example some informants gave us such words as /Dha:lim/ "oppressor", /niDha:m/ "regime", thinking that such words could be pronounced with the etymological form [D]; others pronounced /Du:ʔ/ "light", /bayD/ "eggs" as /Dhu:ʔ/ and /be:Dh/ respectively. This means that because of the

genuine case of merger which is still taking place between these two variants, the lexical status of the word containing the variable (e.g. pure-standard or pure-colloquial) has nothing to do with conditioning the variable. Therefore it is common to see a residue of the colloquial variant of (D) even in the most formal styles, i.e. the reading passage and the word list styles. On the whole, this variable seems to contrast sharply with the (Q) variable, where the SA variant [q] was realized almost 100% of the time in the two reading styles.

Comparing the percentage scores of the three age groups across the range of styles, we notice that the three age groups appear to be consistent in their use of the variable throughout the whole style continuum, showing the least use of [D] in the casual style and the greatest use of it in the reading passage style. But it is evident that the narrower stylistic range is shown for the older aged speakers. To a large extent this is due to the fact that the urban variant has become an integral part of the linguistic behaviour of the older informant who deviated linguistically from his group. That is, he tended to use the urban variant in all styles of speech irrespective of whether the situation was formal or casual.

In our discussion on the sex variable above we noted that the younger and middle aged female speakers seem to have a stronger tendency to urbanize their speech than that of the male speakers. A comparison between the three age groups of men with those of the women shows clearly that there is a wide gap between the two gender-groups with respect to their use of the variable. It is quite obvious that the Fellahi and Horani women are willing to adopt the prestigious urban variant [D] more often than men are. As we said earlier, this can be attributed more or less to the fact that the two gender groups are in disagreement over what is locally more prestigious. While the male

speakers consider the Horani dialect to be the most prestigious colloquial variety in the city, women view the urban variety as the most prestigious. Therefore it is not unusual to see each sex group innovating in different directions.

The greatest pattern of differentiation between the two gender groups emerges as we make a comparison between the three educational groups of women with those of men (see table 5.26). It can be seen that the three female educational groups on the one hand and their male counterparts on the other appear to be distinct in their use of the variable, although the greatest difference between them lies clearly in both the highly and the moderately educated groups. Taking the educational background of the individual as a parameter for according different social classes to the city's population, we observe that the female "educated elite" tends to use the urban variant [D] most frequently (91%). This shows that the most innovative group, as far as this variable is concerned, is the highly educated female speaker group.

The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the findings discussed above is that the (D) variable seems to be involved in a sound change in progress, and that the use of the standard-urban variant [D] is very much on the increase. We have also observed that the change is most prominent in the speech of the younger age group (i.e. 14-29 years old). The unusual patterns of sex differentiation which have been revealed throughout our analysis can be considered as a true sign that a linguistic change is taking place.

#### 5.8.4 Education

Figure 5.8 indicates that, as in the case of the two previous variables (Q) and (d3), education still plays a role in determining the choice of the linguistic variable and the frequency with which it is

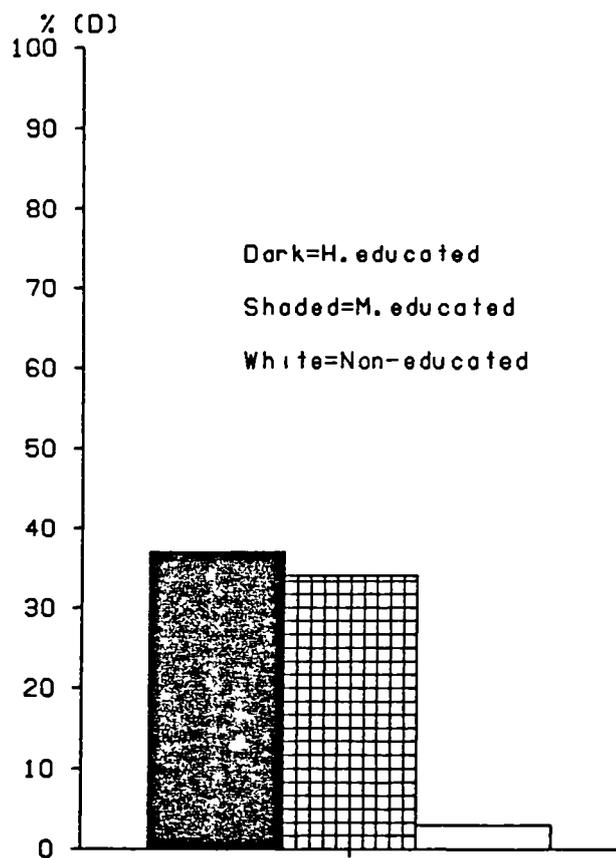


Figure 5.8 : Distribution of (D)  
by education

used. Figure 5.8 demonstrates that the three educational groups do not seem to be sharply stratified in their use of the variable as was the case with the (Q) variable. It is clear that there is a great division between the two educational groups; the highly and moderately educated speakers, on the one hand and the non-educated group on the other. To put it differently, instead of a regular and symmetrical increase of [D] commensurate with the increase in education within each group, we have an irregular pattern of differentiation. Although the educated speakers appear to have registered higher percentage use of the standard-urban variant [D] than the uneducated, admittedly it is extremely difficult to prove whether this pattern of differentiation is the result of education per se as a formal means of acquiring the standard forms, or the result of education as a socio-economic factor through which a person can be exposed to a greater number of people in schools, universities or work and, as such, be liable to learn new linguistic forms. (Remember that the [D] variant is a standard-colloquial variable used by the urbanites as a colloquial form and the educated as a standard form). However, it may well be that the effect of education on this variable is both direct and indirect. It is probably the case that for some social groups e.g., educated men, the use of the [D] variant can be seen as the result of standardization, while for other groups e.g., educated women, it can be seen as the result of urbanization.

Table 5.26 below shows that the influence of education on women is far-reaching, much more so than on men. It is clear that the three educational groups of women are sharply stratified by their use of the (D) variable. This can be taken as evidence that education per se has no great direct effect, since women, as we pointed out earlier, have always been less frequent users of the standard forms. Another

observation can be noticed in this table, namely, that there is clear interaction and overlapping between age and education, particularly among women. In other words, since the younger generation is the most educated, and the older the least educated, it is difficult to say whether this pattern of differentiation among women is the result of age-grading or of education. In the men's group, on the other hand, this does not seem to be the case; the highly and the moderately educated speakers have shown almost similar use of the variable. That

Table 5.26 Distribution of (D) by education and sex

Educational groups	Men		Women	
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total
H. educated	20	68/343	91	96/106
M. educated	25	80/318	49	90/183
Non-educated	4	3/82	3	4/143

Significant at 0.01 level

is to say, the fact that the division existed between the two educational groups of men on the one hand and the uneducated group of men on the other is probably the result of the direct effect of education.

We can conclude on the whole that the increased use of the [D] variant in the speech of the Fellahi and Horani women is most likely the product of a process of urbanization which imposes itself on the "educated elite", and that the increased use of the same variant in the speech of men is the product of a process of standardization which

imposes itself on the male speakers regardless of their socio-economic status.

A comparison between the Horaniis and Fellahiin shows that the highly and moderately educated groups of Fellahiin are heavy users of the [D], whereas the uneducated group appears to stick to their colloquial variant [Dh]. In the Horani group, on the other hand, we observe that there is a uniform rise in the percentage scores of the three educational groups, with the highest score in the highly educated group (30%) and the lowest in the uneducated group (2%), and with the moderately educated group coming second with (18%) (see Table 5.24 above). This result suggests that the educated Fellahi speakers are quite aware of the stigmatized status of their dialect, and subsequently tend to replace their stigmatized linguistic features with other prestigious features adopted from both the standard and the other colloquial varieties spoken in the city.

Finally, a comparison between the results of this variable with those of the two previous variables suggests that (D) is not as finely linked to educational stratification as the (Q) variable is. However it sounds similar to the (d3) variable in that both variables have served to stratify the three educational groups of women into three distinct groups, with the higher use of the urban variants [3] and [D] in the highly educated group and the lower in the uneducated, and the moderately educated women in between. Thus, this variable and the (d3) variable can be considered as sex markers.

### 5.9 Individual deviation

The only anomalous case which has been witnessed in this chapter is that of informant 30, a sixty year old Fellahi male speaker - Married with one daughter, this informant is a secondary school graduate who is now working in the city as a foreman for a governmental

authority. He was born in a village in the central part of Palestine, and grew up in a relatively large town in the northern region of that country. He came to Irbid City as a 22 year old in 1948, along with thousands of other Palestinians.

From the beginning of the interview with this speaker we noticed that he tended to be more urbanized, using a large number of urban phonological features in his speech. For example, words like /d3amal/ "camel", /Dha:lim/ "oppressor", /?ithne:n/ "two" were pronounced by him in their urban form as /3amal/, /Da:lim/, and /?itne:n/ respectively. That is to say, the Fellahi colloquial variants [d3], [Dh] and [th] were realized in his speech, though variably, as [3], [D] and [t] respectively. The most interesting observation was that the colloquial urban variant [ʔ] of (Q) was inhibited in his speech most of all. This variant, which is considered more feminine as we stated earlier (see (Q) variable), was realized only 4 times out of 95. However, his original variant, i.e. the colloquial Fellahi variant [K] of (Q), was completely absent from his speech; moreover he used the Horani variant [g] interchangeably with the SA variant [q].

A comparison of the percentage scores of the urban variants [D] and [3] in the linguistic repertoire of informant 30 with that of his age group, as in Table 5.27, shows that the speaker seemed to be much more urbanized in his speech than other speakers of the same age pattern; while he realized the [D] and [3] variants 87% and 45% of the time respectively, his age group realized them only 14% and 10% of the time. This high percentage-use of both urban variants in his speech seems to be an unusual deviation from the linguistic behaviour of the group to which he belongs. The same pattern of deviation can also be seen when we examine the distribution of the variables in the different educational groups. If we break down the percentage scores with

respect to education and sex, we notice that he scored the urban variants more often than other male speakers of the same educational attainment did. As such, there ought to have been other factors contributing to the high percentage of the urban variants in his speech.

Table 5.27 Distribution of [d3] in the speech of Informant (30) and his age group

	No. of [3]	No. of [d3]	Total	%3
Informant (30)	29	36	65	45
Group	59	530	589	10

Table 5.28 Distribution of [D] in the speech of Informant (30) and his age group

	No. of [D]	No. of [Dh]	Total	%D
Informant (30)	27	4	31	87
Group	46	291	377	12

For example, E. Douglas-Cowie (1978), in a study of adult speakers in a northern Irish village, found that correlation between the linguistic behaviour of the individual and his educational and occupational attainment is almost absent. She shows that an individual's level of "social ambition" correlates strongly with the

realization of certain variants. She observes that the more social ambition the individual has, the more he utilizes standard variants in his speech. A similar link between linguistic behaviour and the social ambition of an individual has been reported by Paul Kerswill (1983a) in his study of a group of male and female speakers in Durham City. He shows that the low frequency of DPS (opening/centering diphthongs) is a clear indicator (among other factors) of social ambition among men. Also L. Milroy (1980) explains the high realization of certain vernacular forms in the speech of her informants in terms of close-knit neighbourhoods.

In order to understand the divergent behaviour of Informant (30) and the reasons which have contributed to the incidence of this real case of deviation, one has to look at his social background; where he was born; where he grew up; and those with whom he was in contact during the early years of his life.

Detailed information on this informant, both from him directly and from other sources, highlights even more the intriguing distinction between him and his age group. From this information we know that the eccentric behaviour of this speaker is to a certain extent related to the early stages of his life, when he came into close contact with urban children. He told the interviewer that when he was four years old his family moved from the village into a larger urban center in the northern region of Palestine. Most of his close friends at school and in the neighbourhood were urbanite children (i.e. they use the urban variety in their speech). Because of his extensive exposure to these children he found himself, willingly or unwillingly, using the urban variety in his repertoire. When the interviewer asked his mother, who still uses the Fellahi variety and who happened to be present during the interview, whether she had noticed any change in his speech at that

time, she said that indeed she had noticed and was unhappy about it. His father tried frequently to correct him (i.e. he asked him to use the Fellahi dialect) because the majority of their relatives, whether in the village or in the town, were still using the Fellahi variety in their speech, and therefore it would be more appropriate for him to use their manner of speech rather than imitate the urbanites; a change in his linguistic behaviour would make him, according to his parents, a laughing stock among their relatives and Fellahi friends.

When this speaker came to Irbid City at the age of 22 in 1948, new developments had occurred in his linguistic behaviour as a result of contact with new people (i.e. the Horaniis) who used a new type of dialect. He found himself obliged to make a few modifications to his manner of speech by using some Horani linguistic norms. He told the interviewer "I am still using some of the urban features but to be honest with you, I do not like to use the [?] variant which seems to be disfavoured by men and considered by all members of the speech community as the more feminine one".

I believe that it is now clear why this subject has deviated so radically from the linguistic behaviour characteristic of his age group; the early linguistic influences exerted on him by his peer group during the early stages of his life have helped to create his linguistic behaviour and maintain it in later stages. The early stage of life (5-15 years old) is seen by Labov (1970:288-9) as the most crucial period in a person's life with respect to linguistic evolution. During this period a child learns the local dialect of his immediate peer group. Thus, the peer group's influence cannot be underestimated since it is at this stage that local neighbourhood dialect features become established in the everyday speech patterns of the child, with the previously dominant parental influence becoming submerged under that of the peer group (reported in Romaine 1984:83-4).

Just as this speaker has affiliated himself with urbanites linguistically, he appears to be affiliated with them socially as well. For instance, we were informed that he had never worn a "Hata and ?ugaal" (a scarf held by a coil of weighted black cord), the traditional dress of the Fellahi and Horani old men. Nor had he ever donned the traditional free-flowing cloth gown known as "gunba:z"; rather, he seems to be very modernized in his dress, wearing the western style suit which has been adopted mainly by the urbanite men.

A comparison between this case of deviation and the one observed in the (Q) variable shows that in both cases the individual's peer group and the degree to which he is affiliated with a particular social group are two important factors which affect his linguistic behaviour. In the case of informant (15) (see the (Q) variable), who was found to be affiliated with the countryside people, it was observed that he is a heavy user of the [g] variant characteristic to the speech of the Horani ruralites; however, in the case of informant (30), who in his early adolescence had had extensive contact with urbanite children, he was found to be a heavy user of urban linguistic variants such as [ʒ] and [D]. Thus, it can be said that the more the speaker is exposed to and affiliated with a particular group of people, particularly during his early stages of life, the more his linguistic behaviour becomes influenced by the linguistic norms peculiar to that group.

#### 5.10 Summary and Conclusion

It has been shown that the (d3) variable correlates with a variety of factors, both linguistic and extra-linguistic : phonetic environment, sex, origin, age and education. The evidence suggests that a following consonant influences the value at which the variant [ʒ] is realized more often than a following vowel. In addition, the place of articulation of the following consonant was found to be highly

significant in conditioning the realization of the variable into its variants. Moreover, the position of the variable in syllables and words plays an important role in determining the kind of the variant realized.

The fricative [ʒ] has been shown to be more typical of women's speech and the affricate [dʒ] more typical of men's speech. In general, women were found to be more innovative and men more conservative. In the female group of speakers it was observed that there is a close correlation between the educational attainment of the speaker and her realization of the urban prestige variant [ʒ]. With regard to the group of male speakers, education was found to be less significant than in the case of women. The conclusion that can be drawn from these findings is that women tend to be more urbanite in their speech than men are.

The (dʒ) variable was found to covary with the speaker's origin. Even though both groups have shown that they are still favouring their colloquial variant [dʒ], Fellahi speakers were found to be less faithful to their variant than Horaniis were. The investigation into the distribution of the (dʒ) variable by age groups has shown that age correlates very closely with variation, although this correlation is much clearer for women than for men. The results also suggest that the (dʒ) variable is involved in a clear case of sound change in progress. In other words, the use of the [ʒ] variant is increasing in the speech of the Fellahi and Horani speech community members who, in general, use the affricate [dʒ] variant.

Our findings on the use of the (D) variable can be summarized as follows:

The results of our data analysis have shown that the most significant factor for determining the choice of one particular variant

over another is the sex of the speaker. Education has also been found to be more significant in certain cases. Although the two educated groups of men have demonstrated higher percentage use of the standard-urban variant, the non-educated group was found to be more faithful to their colloquial variant [Dh]. The clear-cut correlation between variation and education can be seen at its best in the female group of speakers : the three educational groups of women are sharply stratified by their use of the variable; "the educated elite", produced the urban variant more frequently than the moderately educated.

When the data is aggregated by age, we see that age differences are significant only for certain groups. That is to say, there is a close correlation of variation with the age of female speakers; the younger the speaker, the greater the use of the urban variant [D]. In the male age groups there seem to be some irregularities; the difference between them is not so great, nor are they consistent in their use of the variable. The results suggest that there is a linguistic change in progress: realization of the urban variant [D] is increasing daily in the output of the Horani and Fellahi people who are generally [Dh] users.

With regard to the use of the variable by the two origin groups, our findings show that the two origin groups are still identifiable, although they are socially integrated. The Fellahi group of speakers were shown to favour the use of the urban variant [D] more often than the Horaniis. Moreover, we have found a clear co-variation between style and the use of the variable; the use of the [D] variant increases as the situation grows more formal.

One last point: there appears to be a link between the two linguistic variables (D) and (d3), to the extent that those groups of

speakers who showed a higher percentage use of the urban variant [3] also showed a higher percentage use of the [D] variant. This indicates that these two variables are involved in a process of urbanization rather than standardization.

Footnotes

1. For more details on the syllable patterns of both JA and SA, see Ramuny (1966) and Abdo (1969).
2. Abdo (1969) also claims that with the exception of CA, all the colloquial dialects of Arabic retain either /D/ or /Dh/.
3. The Fellahi and Horani dialects very rarely change both /D/ and /Dh/ to /Z/. For instance, /ZabiT/ <- /Da:biT/ "officer", /maZbuiT/ <- /maDbu:T/ "correct" and /manZu:m/ <- /manDhu:m/ "well-organised". Garbell (1958) claims that this /Z/ was introduced into Arabic between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries by the Turkish.

## Chapter VI

Sociolinguistic variability of (th) and (k)6.1 The variable (th)

The distribution of the interdental voiceless fricative (th) is closely related to the other two segments /dh and Dh/ in that each of the colloquial varieties of Arabic tends to preserve either the fricatives /th, dh and Dh/ or the stops /t, d and D/. In other words, what differentiates the colloquial urban varieties from their non-urban counterparts (i.e. the Bedouin and the rural varieties) is, generally speaking, the realization of the interdental stops /t, d and D/ in the former and the realization of the fricatives /th, dh and Dh/ in the latter.<sup>1</sup>

Even though we are concerned in the current study with two rural groups (the Horaniis and the Fellahiin) a thorough view of the distribution of the fricatives /th, dh and Dh/ in the speech of the urbanites (the third group inhabiting the city) is very useful for a better understanding of the synchronic distribution of the (th) variable in the speech of the two groups under investigation.

Historically speaking, the SA phonemes /th, dh and Dh/ in the urban dialects appear to have been subject to two rules (Schmidt 1974; Al Jehani 1985; Shorab 1982). The first rule changed the fricative into the stops [t], [d] and [D] respectively in some items, e.g.,

<u>SA</u>		<u>urban dialects</u>	
/thala:the/	->	/tala:te/	"three"
/dhe:l/	->	/de:l/	"tail"
/Dha:biT/	->	/Da:bit/	"officer"

The second rule changed the fricatives into the sibilants [s], [z] and [Z] respectively in some other items; thus

<u>SA</u>		<u>urban dialects</u>	
/xabi:th/	->	/xabi:s/	"cunning"
/ladhi:dh/	->	/lazi:z/	"delicious"
/Dha:lim/	->	/Za:lim/	"tyrant"

Schmidt (1974:92) argues that "although it is not possible to date either rule precisely, there is no doubt about their relative chronology". Furthermore he adds that both rules operate on CA forms and there is no feeding from the output of one rule to the input of the other. Since both rules produce mergers, feeding from the first to the second rule would have changed to /s/ not only those /t/'s which were originally /th/'s, but also those /t/'s which were originally /t/'s. This has not happened. If the relative chronology of the rules were reversed, then a feeding order would change both the etymological /s/'s and those /s/'s which were originally /th/'s to /t/'s. This has also not happened. Secondly, the two rules are not in bleeding order i.e. the items which underwent the change from /th/ to /t/ are not excluded from the change from /th/ to /s/. As a result Schmidt noticed that there are a large number of lexical items which have three representations, such as /tha:lith/, /sa:lis/, /ta:lit/ "third"; /Dhahir/, /Zahir/, /Dahir/ "back".

Although these two rules operate in the same way with regard to the fricatives in the speech of the urban people in Jordan, the application of the second rule (i.e. change of fricatives to sibilants) is different from its application in Egyptian Arabic, as described above by Schmidt. That is, the change of the fricatives to sibilants has not reached as advanced a stage as Egyptian Arabic. The change, with respect to the second rule, appears to have affected Egyptian Arabic much earlier than the Jordanian-Palestinian urban dialects, since a large number of the words that can be pronounced in Egyptian

Arabic with the stops and sibilants are still pronounced in the Jordanian urban dialects with stops (Shorab, 1982:161) e.g.,

SA	JA	EA	
/thulth/	/tult/	/tult/or/suls/	"one third"
/Hadi:th/	/Hadi:t	/Hadi:t/or /hadi:s/	"talk"

With respect to linguistic constraints, previous related sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Al Jehani 1985:46; Schmidt 1974:94) have demonstrated that the two rules (i.e. change of the fricatives to stops and change of the fricatives to sibilants) are phonetically unconditioned. Both Schmidt and Al Jehani discovered that variation between the fricative and stop variants, and variation between the fricative and sibilants are constrained by the status of the lexical item that contains the variable : realization of the stop and sibilant variants predominates in words of non-literary status, while realization of the fricative variants is dominant in lexical items of literary status (Al Jehani 1985:56). Table 6.1 below indicates clearly that the non-standard variants (i.e. the stops and the sibilants) are realized in non-literary lexical items much more often than in the literary items.

	Literary	Non-literary
( <u>th</u> )	23.8	68.4
( <u>dh</u> )	30.4	63.6
( <u>Dh</u> )	30.2	51.7

Table 6.1 Percentage of stop and sibilant variant realization in literary words in all the data

Source: based on Al Jehani 1985:57

Strictly speaking, in the Jordanian urban dialect the CA phoneme (th) has three reflexes [th], [t] and [s], whereas it has been retained in both the Fellahi and the Horani dialects as [th] e.g.,

SA	urban dialect	Fellahi-Horani dialect	
/ thami:n/	/tami:n/	/thami:n/	"expensive"
/9uthma:n/	/9usma:n/	/9uthma:n/	"proper noun"
/Hadi:th/	/Hadi:t/	/ Hadi:th/	"talk"

However, this variable, like (d3) and (D), is one of the phonological features which shows that the Fellahi and Horani speakers in Irbid City are influenced by the urbanites and their dialect. A considerable number of our informants, particularly the younger and the middle-aged female speakers, showed that they are willing to adopt the urban variants of (th) in their output. In other words, an analysis of our data revealed that the colloquial urban variants [t] and [s] are no longer restricted to the urbanites, but rather that some of the Fellahi and Horani speakers have begun to use them in their speech.

Owing to the absence of the original speakers of the urban variants [t] and [s] from this study, and because of the lower realization of these variants in the data collected from the Horani and Fellahi speakers, who have only recently begun to use them, it is extremely difficult to verify whether this variable is phonetically conditioned.

A closer examination of the distribution of the (th) variable in the output of those informants who showed variable use of it, reveals that the assertion that this variable is lexically conditioned is a valid one. For example, in the following words (which, according to the criteria displayed in chapter 4, can be classified as pure-standard : /?althaqa:fiyye/ "cultural", /mutha:bir/ "persistent", /mumathil/ "actor" and /?ithnain/ "two", we found that the colloquial variant [t] was inhibited most of all. However, in words classified as pure colloquial or shared colloquial-standard items such as /?ithne:n/ "two", /kthi:r/ "much", /mithlu/ "like him", the urban variant [t] was

used as a variant. That is to say, in order for words classified as pure standard to be pronounced with the stop variant [t] they should undergo some phonological modification in their patterning, e.g.,

SA		urban dialect	
/thawb/	->	/to:b/	"dress"
/mutha:bir/	->	/mta:bir/	"persistent"
/kathi:r/	->	/ʔikti:r/	"much"

For example, in order for the lexical item /thawb/ to be pronounced with the variant [t] and be accepted as a colloquial lexical item, the diphthong /aw/ has been changed into a monophthong /o:/, similarly, in the word /kathi:r/, the short-low vowel /a/ has been changed into a short high vowel /i/ and moved along with a glottal stop [ʔ] to a word initial position.

It is worth mentioning here that the data collected from our informants suggest that the rule predominant among those who tend to use the urban variants in their speech is the first rule, i.e. that which alternates between the fricative [th] and the stop [t]. The second rule, which changes the fricative into the sibilant, seems to be completely absent. Only two words with the sibilant [s] were detected in the speech of our informants : /ʔisba:t/ - /ʔithba:t/ "evidence" and /masalan/ - /mathalan/ "for example".

Due to the infrequent use of the sibilant variant [s], our investigation will be confined to the variation between the SA variant [th] and the urban variant [t]. Accordingly, this variable has in reality in the speech of the urbanized Horani and Fellahi speakers two variants:

(th) \_\_\_\_\_ 1 = [t]

(th) \_\_\_\_\_ 2 = [th]

The fricative variant [th], which is still used heavily by the

Horani and Fellahi speakers, can be considered unmarked, and the urban variant [t] which still seems to be a new adoption and is restricted to certain social groups, can be viewed as the marked variant.

Thus the following lexical items can be pronounced by the urbanized Jordanian speakers variably with the fricative variant [th] and the stop variant [t]:

/thama:nyye/	-	/tama:nyye/	"eight"
/thala:th/	-	/tala:t/	"three"
/tho:m/	-	/to:m/	"garlic"
/thum/	-	/tum/	"month"
/ba9ath/	-	/ba9at/	"he sent"

This variable has been quantified on the basis of a two-variant variable. That is to say, in order to see which social group has overtaken the others with respect to the use of the urban variant [t], each occurrence of the [t] variant was given the value 1 and each occurrence of the fricative variant [th] the value 0. After summing and averaging, an index of 100% was given for those who showed consistent use of [t] and 0% for those who showed consistent use of [th].

#### 6.1.1 Findings

When we examine the distribution of the variable by sex (the percentage scores of the two sex groups are given in Table 6.2 below) it can be seen that use of the innovation, the stop variant [t], was almost exclusively peculiar to women. It is futile to look for any variation in the use of this variable /th/ in the speech of the male group, since men of all age levels and educational backgrounds in the two origin groups appear to be much more faithful to their variant [th] and much more consistent in their speech than women.

Table 6.2 Distribution of (th) for the two sex groups

Sex Groups	[t]%	No./Total
Men	3	25/754
Women	34	161/477
Total		1231

Significant at 0.01 level

When we closely re-examine the occurrence of the urban variant [t] in the speech of the male speakers, we find that the large portion of the [t]'s which occurred in their speech was realized mostly in numbers, namely in the pronunciation of the colloquial numbers, e.g. /?itne:n/ "two", /tala:te/ "three" etc. And most of this residue (3%) of [t] has occurred in the three numbers that contain /th/, that is /?ithne:n/ "two", /thala:the/ "three" and /thama:nyye/ "eight". This phenomenon, in a sense, agrees with conclusions of Al-Jehani (1985:54) and Schultz (1981:131) who also observed that one of the first colloquial elements to creep into the modern standard Arabic speech was the use of colloquial numbers. Schultz (ibid:131), for instance, concluded that "Even in newscasts and lectures it is manifestly not considered bad form to use the colloquial numbers."

Taking the female group of speakers separately, when we breakdown the percentage scores by education, we observe that there is an obvious stratification, as seen in table 6.3, with a clear gap between each educational group. This table shows the highly educated group at the top of the hierarchy, the uneducated at the bottom, and the moderately educated coming in between.

Table 6.3 Distribution of (th) for women by education

Educational groups	[t]%	No./Total
H. educated group	67	84/126
M. educated group	39	77/200
Non-educated	0	00/151

Significant at 0.01 level

As we break the percentage score down by age, it is also evident that the three age groups of women are distinct in their use of the /th/ variable. The widest gap is obvious, as seen in table 6.4, between the younger age group and the other two age groups. This indicates that the younger informants have a stronger tendency to urbanise their speech than the middle-aged and the older age groups collectively do.

Table 6.4 Distribution of (th) for women by age

Age groups	[t]%	No./Total
Y. age group	53	127/240
M. age group	16	25/153
O. age group	11	9/84

Significant at 0.01 level

When we examine the distribution of the variable by education across the four styles (see table 6.5) we see that the wider stylistic shift takes place in the moderately educated group. The higher

educated, who are more advanced and open to change, appear to be more consistent across the two conversational styles, showing less stylistic shifting between the casual and the formal styles of speech. In the two reading styles, the two educated groups who were exposed to reading showed a categorical use of the SA variant [th] i.e. complete inhibition of the urban variant in their reading.

Table 6.5 Distribution of (th) for women by education and style

Educational groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[t]%	No./Total	[t]%	No./Total	[t]%	[t]%
H. educated group	65	42/65	69	42/61	00	00
M. educated group	29	28/98	48	49/102	00	00
Non-educated	00	00/95	00	00/56	-	-

Significant at 0.01 level

Additionally, it is observable in table 6.6 that the two origin groups of women are not keeping up with one another in their involvement with the process of linguistic change. In other words, the distribution of the variable by sex and origin indicates that the

Table 6.6 Distribution of (th) for women by origin

Origin groups	[t]%	No./Total
Fellahiin	47	113/241
Horaniis	20	48/236

Significant at 0.01 level

Fellahi female speakers are still leading the change. They showed 47 per cent use of the urban variant, twice as much as the Horani women did (20%).

### 6.1.2 Conclusions

Throughout our analysis of the (th) variable, the following patterns of social and stylistic differentiation have been established:

1. The variable is apparently involved in a sound change in progress. The use of the urban variant [t] is increasing gradually in the speech of some of the Fellahi and Horani speakers, who are in general [th] speakers. The younger age group of women appeared to be more innovative than any other group. This conclusion seems to be in line with our conclusions concerning the (d3) and (D) variables (which are also involved in a process of koineization), in which the younger age group of women was found to be more innovative, and men more conservative with respect to the change taking place on the levelling plane. However, when it came to a change on the standard level, the opposite was true --- men were more innovative than women. This conclusion seems to be in agreement with Romaine (1978:152) who found that with regard to postvocalic /r/ in Scotland the two gender groups were innovating in different directions : women were almost always

Table 6.7 The covariation of (r) with sex : total use of each (r) type

Sex groups	(r) types		
	[ɾ]%	[ɹ]%	∅%
Males	55	24	21
Females	42	51	7

Source : adapted from Romaine 1978:152

rhotic and most frequently used [ʁ], while men were less frequently rhotic and tended to use [r] more frequently.

2. This variable contrasts sharply with the previous two, (d3) and (D) with respect to its distribution for style. With regard to the latter two variables, which were also involved in a process of sound change in progress on the levelling plane, we saw a considerable share of the colloquial variants in both the reading and the word list styles. However, the patterning for this variable shows that there was a complete absence of the colloquial variant [t] in these same two styles.

3. The educational level of the individual still seems to be very significant in initiating change. Educated women who have a wider social network are more innovative than their uneducated counterparts.

4. The wide gap existing between the younger and the middle-aged female speakers observed (also for other linguistic variables) shows that the middle aged speakers have closer ties with the older age group than they have with the younger group of speakers.

5. The results of the data analysis of this variable are in broad agreement with the results for all the previous linguistic variables, in that the Fellahi group of speakers in general are more innovative than the Horani. The Fellahiin have tended to use linguistic features other than their own more frequently than the Horaniis.

## 6.2 The variable (k)

The SA voiceless velar stop (k) is one of the major salient features of Arabic, differentiating some of the nomadic and the rural sedentary dialects from their urban counterparts. In the North Arabian and Syro-Mesopotamian area, Palva (1976:13), for example, was able to isolate the following phonological variants of (k) for a variety of dialects:

- "1. k without a palatalized variant : the sedentary dialects of Syria, Lebanon and North Palestine; the old sedentary (qeltu) dialects of (mainly northern) Iraq; the Negev Bedouins.
2. k/ch --- with a complex distribution: the rural sedentary dialects of central and South Palestine. The palatalization which earlier was probably phonetically conditioned has spread through root analogy.
3. k/ch with a rather regular distribution (the fronted variants occur in the contiguity of front vowels, but this is not obligatory; a phonemic contrast /k/ vs /ch/ can be shown by few minimal pairs): the sheep-rearing nomads and semi-nomads between the desert and the cultivated lands of Syria and Jordan; the gelet-dialects of Iraq; the Persian Gulf dialects; the rural sedentary dialects of Horaan and east of the Jordan.
4. k/ch (ch=tš) with the same distribution as no. (3) above : the dialects of the camel herders of Neġd and the Syrian Desert; al-Ġôff, ar-Rass Hâyel; the sheep rearing tribe al-9awâzem, the pariah tribe Ŗlêb; sporadically found in Jordan and Iraq in the dialects of tribes of a recent North Arabian origin."

Strictly speaking, the Horani and the Fellahi dialects in Jordan are distinct from the urban variety in that in both the former two dialects the SA [k] has two reflexes : [k] and [ch], whereas in the latter it has only one reflex : [k], (i.e., invariant).

Most of the previous linguistic studies on both the Horani and the Fellahi dialects (Cantineau 1946; Blanc 1953; Johnstone 1963; Palva 1976) report that the k-affrication<sup>2</sup> (i.e. change of /k/ -> [ch] in the Horani dialect was phonetically conditioned. Namely the change of

/k/ -> [ch] took place most often in the vicinity of front vowels, e.g.,

/ke:f/	-	/che:f/	"how"
/Haki/	-	/Hachi/	"talk"
/balki/	-	/balchi/	"maybe"
/he:k/	-	/he:ch/	"like this"

However, Palva points out that the distribution of [k] and [ch] is far from systematic. Thus while the variable /k/ can be pronounced as [ch] in a word like /kaf/ -> /chaf/ "palm", it cannot be pronounced as [ch] in a word like /kaf/ "refrained". This phenomenon was explained by Cantineau (1946) (reported in Palva 1976:12) as a consequence of a root analogy, viz: the /k/ would not be affricated in /kaf/ "refrained" because in the imperfect form (i.e. /yakuf/) the /k/ is followed by u, a back vowel, and as such the speakers tend not to affricate the /k/ in the perfect form /kaf/. In contrast, Palva (1976:12) stated that in Central Palestinian Fellahi dialects the palatalized variants have gained ground : /cha:n/ -> /ychu:n/.

With regard to the Fellahi dialects, earlier studies (e.g. Blanc 1953) point to the change of /k/ to [ch] as being a phonetically unconditioned one : namely the k-affrication took place in every possible place in a word e.g.,

/kilme/	-	/chilme/	"word"
/ka:s/	-	/cha:s/	"cup"
/ku:9/	-	/chu:9/	"elbow"
/mabru:k/	-	/mabru:ch/	"congratulation"
/Ha:kura/	-	/Ha:chu:ra/	"small garden"

The only linguistic constraint which has been historically attested to is the pronominal suffix of the 2nd person masculine singular, i.e. the change appears not to have taken place in the

pronominal suffix of the 2nd pers. masc. singular, e.g.,

SA	2nd pers.masc.sing.pronom.suffix	2nd pers.fem.sing.pronom.suffix	
/madrastak-ik/	/madrastak/	/madrastich/	"your school"
/qami:sak-ik/	/qami:sak/	/qami:sich/	"your shirt"

Synchronically speaking, as a result of two advanced processes of change taking place on this variable (a process of standardization and a process of urbanization or koineization) the phonetic conditioning factor appears to have lost its influence on the variable in the Horani dialect. To put it differently, the variable does not synchronically appear to be phonetically conditioned in the Horani dialect. Therefore any lexical item with SA /k/ can be pronounced by both the Horaniis and the Fellahiin with [k] and [ch], e.g.,

/kaf/	-	/chaf/	"palm"
/balki/	-	/balchi/	"maybe"
/ke:f/	-	/che:f/	"how"

The variable /k/, thus, has in the speech of the Horani and Fellahi people two variants, the voiceless velar stop [k] and the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [ch]. The [k] variant is the standard-urban one and as such is prestigious, whereas the [ch] variant is a highly stigmatized feature in the city, one towards which the city's inhabitants have a very negative attitude: most of the Jordanian people in Irbid City disfavour it. Once again, this strong negative attitude is the by-product of two major forces of change pulling in different directions : a process of standardization and a process of koineization. Therefore it is to be expected that the speakers are being motivated by a great power of change experienced by none of the linguistic variables previously investigated.

In order to examine and gauge these two processes of change which have resulted in the adoption of the SA variant [k], index scores for

groups of speakers were counted in the following manner: each occurrence of the standard variant [k] was given the value 1 and each occurrence of the colloquial variant [ch] the value 0. After summing and averaging, consistent use of [k] would result in a 100% score and consistent use of [ch] in 0% score.

### 6.2.1 Findings

The results of our analysis of the (k) variable are displayed under the following headings:

Table 6.8 Distribution of (k) by sex

Sex groups	[k]%	No./Total
Men	97	1437/1484
Women	91	891/987

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 6.9 Distribution of (k) by sex and age

Age groups	Men		Women	
	[k]%	No./Total	[k]%	No./Total
Y. age group	99	402/405	96	434/452
M. age group	94	569/603	86	222/258
O. age group	98	466/476	85	235/277

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 6.10 Distribution of (k) by sex and origin

Sex groups	Fellahiin		Horaniis	
	[k]%	No./Total	[k]%	No./Total
Men	99	739/745	94	698/739
Women	88	493/549	91	398/438

Significant at 0.01 level

Table 6.11 Distribution of (k) by sex and education

Educational groups	Men		Women	
	[k]%	No./Total	[k]%	No./Total
H. educated	99	653/657	100	228/228
M. educated	94	577/613	98	428/435
Non-educated	97	207/214	73	823/324

Significant at 0.01 level

#### 6.2.1.1 General patterns

1. The analysis of our data on the (k) variable shows, as seen in Tables 6.8 through 6.11, that the Horaniis and the Fellahiin are clearly aware of the stigmatized status of the [ch] variant and therefore have both shown a very high percentage use of the SA variant [k].
2. The general pattern for the speech community as a whole suggests that the variable is involved in a clear case of on-going change which has nearly come to completion.

3. Our analysis indicates that the least progressive group, still lagging behind with a relatively high percentage use of the stigmatized variant [ch], is the group of uneducated female speakers.

4. Upon closer examination of the distribution of the variable in the speech of the 38 informants, we found that they could be divided into two major groups with respect to their use of the variable.

A - 19 informants showed categorical use of the prestige variant [k]. This group, which experienced the change earlier than the others, consists of 8 younger speakers, 8 middle-aged speakers and 3 older speakers, each of whom are educated (highly or moderately).

B - The remaining 19 informants showed variability in their use of the (k) variable. They can be divided into two sub-groups:

1. The first sub-group consists of 10 informants who exhibited a very high percentage use of the SA variant [k] and a very low percentage use of the stigmatized variant [ch]; only 2%-9% of the potential time. The speakers included in this group are 5 older, 3 middle-aged and only one younger respondent.

2. The second sub-group, third on the path of change, consists mainly of the elderly and the middle-aged uneducated female speakers (8 informants) plus informant No.15, a moderately educated speaker, who deviated radically from the linguistic behaviour of his social group (see chapter 4). This group showed moderate use of the stigmatized variant [ch] but still recorded a high percentage use of the [k] variant.

Additionally, our analysis reveals that there was no single speaker of any of the three age groups, nor of any of the three educational levels, who showed categorical use of the stigmatized variant [ch].

Table 6.12 below displays the percentages of use of the colloquial variant [ch] in the output of these three groups of speakers.

Table 6.12 Percentages for the [ch] variant in the speech of three Fellahi-Horani groups of speakers

Group	No. of [k]	No. of [ch]	Total	[ch]%	No. of informants
Group I	1219	-	1219	0%	19
Group II	813	33	846	4%	10
Group III	296	110	406	27%	9
N=	2328	143	2471	6%	38

On the whole these results appear to be in broad agreement with Abdul-Jawad (1981:281), who also concluded that this variable is involved in a sound change in progress which is about to reach its completion.

#### 6.2.2 Sociological factors conditioning the [k - ch] alternation

Even though the present evidence shows that this variable is involved in an on-going linguistic change which has nearly come to completion, we believe that there are still certain socio-cultural factors exerting their influence by pulling the speakers back to their linguistic behaviour, resulting in the use of the stigmatized variant [ch]. These are:

### 6.2.2.1 Use of the [ch] variant as an accommodative device

The cultural norms of Jordanian society require the younger, though educated, to address the elderly, though uneducated, in a more respectful and serious way. The younger Jordanians consider the social approval of their elders to be a major objective. Therefore in order for the young to meet the society's cultural standards and "win the social approval" of their elders they tend to accommodate their speech style towards the speech patterns of their older interlocutors. (For a fuller illustration of this issue see Linguistic accommodation - Chapter 9).

Because the [ch] variant is still predominant in the speech of the older uneducated male and female speakers of both Fellahi and Horani origin, it is not surprising to find some individuals, even though they are highly educated, using this variant heavily when talking to their older parents, relatives, neighbours or other elderly interlocutors.

### 6.2.2.2 Using the [ch] variant as a "covert prestige" form

Although the [ch] variant can be considered a "stereotype", in accordance with Labov's (1970) definition of a stereotype:

"Stereotype, which have risen to full social consciousness may be based on older changes which may in fact have gone to completion; or they may actually represent stable oppositions of linguistic forms supported by two opposing sets of underlying social values."  
(Labov 1970:70, quoted in Maclaran 1976:47)

Even though the results of this investigation reveal that there is no single informant who shows consistent use of the [ch] variant, it can be considered for some speakers, particularly the Horaniis who are faithful to their dialect, a symbol of "covert prestige" which reflects the identification of the speaker with his cultural norms as well as in-group membership.

This fact was clearly manifested in the repertoire of informant 18, a young Horani female speaker who had finished her secondary school

education and was working as a secretary in a bank. When we were about to begin our interview, her colleague, who had introduced her to us, tried to encourage her to speak to us in a more spontaneous way and not to be shy. Although she was interviewed in the presence of another urban female colleague she said loudly:

"?ana baddi ?aHchi zay mabaHchi, wallah ma batSanna9  
gidda:m Hada."

"I am going to talk as I usually talk, by God I do not  
act affectedly in front of anybody"

Despite the fact that she used the colloquial variant [ch] only twice throughout the entire interview, in these two items (?aHchi zay mabaHchi) she intended to let us know that she was proud of her colloquial dialect - even if it did have some stigmatized items - and that she was going to go on using them, if not in the context of the interview at least in her unguarded speech with friends, relatives etc. This was a clear indication of "covert prestige".

Rose Maclaran (1976:47) comes to a similar conclusion in her study of the relic form (ʌ) in Belfast. She found that the non-standard form [ʌ] has gained a certain prestige (covert prestige) among some groups, although no-one uses it consistently, even in casual style.

Thus even though the colloquial variant [ch] can, for some speakers, be seen as an example of a "covert prestige" variant, unlike the usual cases of the "covert prestige" forms which result in a change from below (i.e. below the social awareness) this form will not be able to withstand the two strong processes of change i.e., a process of standardization and a process of urbanization (change from above) which are taking place in the city. Our expectation, then, is that the home will remain the domain of the colloquial variant [ch], to be used among

family members, close friends and relatives. Also it might remain a symbol of "covert prestige" for some speakers who will use it in a very limited domain.

### 6.2.3 Linguistic constraints on [k - ch] alternation

We have seen how the /k/ - /ch/ (non-continuant/continuant) alternation was, for the Horani dialect, historically speaking a function of the palatal value of the syllable peak vowel. The present study suggests that such a conditioning factor on the alternation has basically lost its influence and is no longer effective.

When we examined the data obtained from the Horani informants, who showed varying use of the /k/ variable, we found that there is some justification for the suggestion that the most constraining phonetic factor influencing the realization of the [ch] variant was the front vowel environment, since the residue of the [ch] variant realized in the speech of our Horani informants is still clustering in this environment, e.g.,

/ke:f/	-	/che:f/	"how"
/Haki/	-	/Hachi/	"talks"

On the other hand, we stated earlier that the diachronic change of k -> ch was phonetically unconditioned in the Fellahi dialect. Our examination of the few examples of [ch] realized in the speech of the Fellahiin shows that the alternation between [k] and [ch] is also neither grammatically nor phonetically conditioned. That is to say, the two variants can be considered linguistically in free variation.

### 6.3 Summary and conclusion

In our investigation of the previous two variables (th) and (k) we observed that in the (th) variable the speech community as a whole was divided in its utilization of the variable according to the sex of the speaker. While the (th) feature can be considered a linguistic

variable for women, who showed the most variability in its use, this does not seem to be the case for men, who were very consistent in their speech, showing very high percentage use of their colloquial variant [th].

The results of our analysis of this variable suggest that, like the other linguistic variables (d3) and (D), it is involved in a linguistic change in progress on the colloquialization plane, in which women are rather innovative and men rather conservative. In reality the linguistic change observed seems to be in its initial stage, as only the younger and the middle-aged educated female speakers are taking the lead in this process of change.

Men were found to be reluctant to participate in this change for two reasons : Firstly because of their involvement in the process of standardization, which requires them to stick to the SA variant [th], though also colloquial; Secondly, because of their negative attitude toward the urban variety, which is considered by the society as being rather feminine.

In the case of the (k) variable, which seems to be similar to the (Q) variable in that it is involved in a process of standardization, both men and women appear to be very willing to get rid of the stigmatized feature. Although the motivation for change as far as men are concerned is to standardize their speech, as far as women are concerned the motivation could be to both standardize and urbanize their speech. The results show that the group which is still lagging behind in this process of change is the Fellahi and the Horani older and uneducated female speakers. These same women were seen with regard to all linguistic variables as being more conservative and more faithful to their colloquial variants.

Even though the change from /k/ -> /ch/ was, historically speaking, phonetically conditioned as far as the Horani dialect is concerned, the synchronic reversed change of /ch/ -> /k/ which is about to come to completion appears to be unconditioned phonetically. Moreover, for the first time the Horaniis and the Fellahiin were found to be indistinguishable in their use of the variable, since both of them have shown that they are unwilling to use the stigmatized variant [ch]. Nevertheless there is evidence that some of the younger speakers tend to accommodate toward the elderly by using the stigmatized feature as well as by boasting about being proud of their colloquial variants.

Footnotes

1. For a thorough view of the distribution of fricatives in general, see Madiasson (1984:3-58).
2. For more details on the affrication of k -> ch, see Johnstone (1963:210-226)

## Chapter VII

### A Comparison between the linguistic and sociolinguistic results arrived at from a study of the different phonological variables

#### 7.0 Introduction

Having finished the examination of our selection of phonological variables ((Q), (d3), (D), (th), and (K)) in light of a number of sociological factors (age, education, origin and sex), we will devote this chapter to a general view of the linguistic and sociolinguistic results arrived at in the previous three chapters. We shall try to present the prominent linguistic and sociolinguistic results of each variable and discuss them in light of the results appertaining to the other variables.

Generally speaking, linguistic variables can be classified into various types according to their social evaluation and the degree to which they are correlated with other independent variables (see Labov 1972a; Chambers and Trudgill 1980; Romaine 1982b; Dowens 1982). These include:

##### 7.0.1 Markers

A linguistic variable can be considered a "marker" if it is found to co-vary closely with a large number of sociological parameters such as class, age, sex, origin etc. and if it is also subject to stylistic variation. In other words, those linguistic variables which exhibit regular and sharp stylistic shifts as well as social stratification can be called markers. For instance, the variables (r) and (eh) in New York City (Labov 1966) and (ing) in Norwich (Trudgill 1974) are good examples of markers.

##### 7.0.2 Indicators

A linguistic variable can be viewed as an "indicator" rather than "marker" if the variable is found to differentiate the speech community

members by age and class and if it has no pattern of stylistic variation and the speakers appear to be less "aware" of it than they are of a marker. To put it another way, a linguistic variable is considered an indicator if the variable serves to differentiate the speech community by age, sex etc. and if, for instance owing to the lower social awareness of the community, the variable reveals very little or no pattern of style shift. An example of this type of indicator is perhaps the [a:] variable in the Norwich study (1974). Linguistic features of this type are not usually involved in a sound change in progress, but, if any, the change is either still in its initial stages or only participated in by some social groups (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:87).

### 7.0.3 Stereotypes

Stereotypes are shown by Labov (1972a:314) as being those forms which are socially marked ones, prominently labelled by society. Such forms are often subject to a great deal of social pressure, owing to the social stigma attached to them. Forms of this type are most often predominant in the lower social classes.

In the light of these definitions, we shall now review the different linguistic and sociolinguistic results of our analysis on the major five linguistic variables:

#### 7.1 The (Q) variable

What basically differentiates this variable from all other linguistic variables examined so far is the fact that it is a very salient feature which seems to have attached to it a great deal of social awareness on the part of the Jordanian speech community as a whole.

Unlike the (d3), (D) and (K) variables, the (Q) was found to be conditioned by the lexical status of the word containing the variable.

That is to say, the socio-cultural status of the lexical item itself plays a very significant role in determining the variant (i.e. SA [q] or colloquial [g], [K], and [ʔ]) with which that item is to be pronounced.

Among the many sociological variables which were shown to co-vary with this linguistic variable is education. Education was found to be the most important social factor conditioning the realization of the SA variant [q] in the speech of the Horani and Fellahi community members. In other words, unlike the other linguistic variables, the (Q) variable sharply divided the Fellahi and Horani speech community into three distinct groups according to the educational background of each group. The highly educated, who were supposed to have had more exposure to the standard variety, were found to be the most frequent users of the SA variant [q]. The uneducated or semi-educated were shown to use their colloquial variants most often, because of their lack of education. The moderately educated speakers were in second place, showing moderate use of the standard variant.

The results of our analysis of the other linguistic variables also support the idea that education plays an important role in the process. With regard to the (d3) and (th) variables, education (in its capacity as a promoting element on the social hierarchy) was also found to be very influential, particularly among women. It has been shown that the more educated a woman was, the higher her rank on the social scale and the greater her use of the urban variants [ʒ] and [t] in her speech; however, this does not seem to be the case among men to the same extent. Similarly, education was found to have great influence on both sexes with regard to the sociolinguistic variability of the (D) variable. We have seen that the educated were using the SA variant [D] more often than the uneducated.

Another result worth mentioning here is that when a change was taking place on the standardization plane, i.e. from a colloquial variant to a standard one, educated people in general showed a wider stylistic shift in the two conversational styles than the uneducated did. This is partly due to the fact that the educated have a full mastery of the standard language and greater ability to use more standard lexical and phonological features in their repertoire, and partly due to their wider social network, which enables them to appraise acceptable behaviour and utilize it as well as distinguish inappropriate behaviour and avoid it.<sup>1</sup>

The results of our analysis of the (Q) variable also show that this variable is a sex marker, with men favouring use of the SA variant [q] twice as much as women. This result was also true of the other linguistic variables ((d3), (D) and (th)) in which women and men were shown to be innovating in a different direction. Moreover, the findings have revealed a dichotomy between speakers when they were categorized by regional origin. In other words, the majority of the results arrived at on the different linguistic variables show that the Fellahiin are more innovative than the Horaniis, in that, they tend to use linguistic features other than their own more often than the Horaniis do. Our results also suggest that there is an on-going linguistic change motivated primarily by the element of education. The use of the SA variant [q] is on the increase in the speech of the Horani and the Fellahi people, coinciding with an increase in the educational attainment of the speakers.

The major conclusion that can be derived from these results is that the (Q) variable can be classified as a marker, in that it seems to divide the Jordanian speech community into different social groups along the stylistic dimension.

## 7.2 The (d3) variable

In our analysis of the (d3) variable it has been observed that the sex of the speaker is a conditioning factor on variability. The general pattern for women is that they were found to be more innovative than men. The variable was found to be involved in a linguistic change in progress: the use of the colloquial urban variant [3] is on the increase in the output of the Fellahi and Horani speech community members who otherwise use the variant [d3].

Unlike the (Q), (D) and (th) variables, the results of the analysis of this variable show that the alternation between the two variants [d3] and [3] is phonetically conditioned. For example, the realization of the urban variant [3] was found more often in the pre-consonantal environment (i.e. particularly dentals and bilabials) than in the pre-vocalic environment.

A comparison between the linguistic change which is taking place in this variable and that which is taking place in the (Q) variable shows clearly that the change here is confined mainly to women, whereas in the (Q) variable all speech community members of both sexes were participating in the change, albeit to different degrees. Further comparison shows that the (Q) variable serves to mark the divergent social groups much more often than the (d3) variable. With regard to the (Q) variable, it was shown that all sex, age and education groups were sharply stratified on two dimensions (i.e. the social and stylistic) through their use of the SA variant [q]. In contrast the (d3) variable served to divide the speech community into two gender-groups, with the female group of speakers more willing than the males to adopt the urban variant [3].

Considering the two gender-groups separately, it is evident that the variable helps to divide the female speech community into different

groups according to age and level of education. The women were shown to be subtly stratified on the social dimension, but this does not seem to be the case on the stylistic continuum. Thus this variable is a sex marker.

Taking the speech community as a whole the results suggest that the variable (d3) is an indicator, although it can be viewed as a marker, or on its way to becoming a marker, among women. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:87) maintain that "variables may ... start as indicators if they occur as the result of a linguistic change that only some social groups participate in". Applied to our findings one could argue that this variable is an indicator. This is partly because it is involved in a change which is still in its initial stages and partly because only certain group of speakers rather than the whole speech community participate in it actively.

### 7.3 The (D) variable

As in the case of the (Q) variable, the departure point for this variable is from the colloquial to the standard ([Dh] -> [D]). But owing to the fact that the SA variant [D] is shared by both the standard and the colloquial urban varieties, the move from the colloquial domain [Dh] to the standard domain [D] seems to have covered more ground than that of the (d3) variable. Therefore because the [D] variant belongs to the standard variety, we found that men were a bit more willing to participate in the change than in the case of the (d3) variable, showing a stronger desire to use the standard-urban variant [D].

Nevertheless, comparing the percentage scores of men with those of women, one notices that this variable is also a sex marker in the sense that it divides the Horani and Fellahi speech community into two groups according to the sex of the speaker. Moreover, it also serves to

divide the speakers into two main sub-groups according to their origin. These results also show that the different social groups, both Fellahiin and Horaniis, are stratified more distinctly than they were in the case of the (d3) variable but less than they were in the case of (Q). This fact is clearly evident when one examines the distribution of the variable by age, education, sex and origin. The two main reasons for this are that, firstly, in the female group of speakers, particularly in the educated group, the variable is subject to more social pressure than there is in the case of the (d3) variable. That is to say, the colloquial Horani-Fellahi variant [Dh] is regarded by the younger and the educated female speakers as an overtly stigmatized feature (stereotype). Therefore they tend to use it much less than they could, but show a higher use of it in the casual style of speech than in the formal style; and secondly, even though the male groups appear not to favour the standard-urban variant [D], since it belongs to the urban variety they are urged to use it through their desire to standardize their speech. They use it in the formal style, with minimal use in the casual style.

Comparing the sound change observed for this variable with that of the (Q) and the (d3), it is easy to see that the (D) variable is similar to the (Q) variable in that it stratifies the speech community on both the social and the stylistic levels, although to a much lesser extent. It is also similar to the (d3) variable in that it shows women to be much more advanced than men with regard to their innovating change. Consequently, we can safely say that the variable is a sex marker.

#### 7.4 The (th) variable

Comparing our results regarding the /th/ variable with those of the other linguistic variables, we find that the /th/, /d3/ and /D/

variables were similar in that they were all involved in a process of sound change in progress which was taking place on the colloquialization plane: the speakers are moving from their colloquial variants [th], [dʒ] and [Dh] to the urban variants [t], [ʒ] and [D]. But unlike the case of the /dʒ/ and /D/ variables the change for /th/ seem to be still in its initial stages, since those who participated in it were the younger educated women rather than the whole community.

Although the small size of variation did not allow us to verify the type of conditioning linguistic factors affecting variability for the /th/ variable, we felt that the variable was similar to the /Q/ in that variation in both was conditioned by the lexical status of the item containing the segment. Furthermore the two SA variants [th] and [q] were found to be realized categorically in the reading styles (100%) by those speakers who used them variably in the two conversational styles. Also, like all other linguistic variables investigated, the gap between the two reading styles and the two conversational styles seems to be very wide in the case of those speakers who participated in the reading. In short, this variable can be considered a genuine sex marker.

### 7.5 The (K) variable

This and the (Q) variable are good examples of those sounds which are undergoing a change on the standardization plane: the move for most speakers is taking place from a colloquial variant towards a standard prestigious variant. What differentiates the (K) from the (Q) variable is that the former seems to be involved in sound change in progress at a more advanced stage than the latter. Therefore the change with regard to (K) was found to have nearly reached its final stage.

Even though previous studies on the Horani group show that the [K - ch] alternation was diachronically phonetically conditioned, it seems to be synchronically unconditioned. That is, the phonetic conditioning factors seem to have lost their influence on the alternation between [K] and [ch].

Like all other linguistic variables the (K) indicates that the older and the uneducated women are the least willing to participate in the change i.e. they were found to be very conservative because they tended to preserve their colloquial linguistic variants, although stigmatized, more often than any other group in the community. On the whole, the colloquial variant [ch] of /K/ can be categorized as a "stereotype" on the grounds that the majority of the speech community members are quite aware of its stigmatized status, therefore they overtly tend to avoid using it in their speech.

Finally, it should be mentioned here that as a result of the clear dichotomy which exists between the two sex groups with respect to their perception of the "local prestige", it is extremely difficult to generalize over whether a particular variable is a "marker" or "indicator". In other words, even though certain linguistic variables can be seen as indicators for the speech community as a whole, they can also be regarded as markers or semi-markers for women in particular. The (d3) variable is a good example of this since it was viewed as an indicator for the speech community as a whole and a marker, or on its way to becoming a marker, for women.

Footnotes

1. In the next chapter we shall discuss thoroughly the correlation of variation with style for five linguistic variables. Therefore we shall try not to touch on the results relating to stylistic variation in this chapter.

## Chapter VIII

### Sociolinguistic variation and style shifting

#### 8.0 Introduction

Every speaker is aware that in certain situations he can be more favourably rated overall if he used more prestigious forms of the language. This fact is clearly manifested in the production and evaluation of our verbal output. It may be stated that any speaker has more than one speech style. Labov (1972a:208) remarks about this by saying:

"there are no single-style speakers".

There is no doubt that in an informal style the type of speech used is obviously different from that used in the formal style. In other words, in an informal (unguarded) situation, a speaker tends, more or less, to adopt in his output linguistic vernacular norms, whereas in a formal (guarded) situation the language used is of the more prestigious variety.

Thus situation and style seem to co-vary closely with each other. Joos (1959) who has recognized five styles: (1) intimate, (2) casual, (3) consultative, (4) formal, and (5) frozen, maintains that:

"The social occasion and its adequate style are dynamically correlated, of course: in one direction of this correlation, the speaker uses the style that suits the occasion; in the other direction, the speaker defines the occasion for the listener (and for himself) by his "choice" of style."

(Joos 1959:189)

Joos believes that alternation from one style to another seems to be rule-governed. It is not uncommon for a person to alternate within a single discourse between two styles which are neighbours on the continuum. However it is uncommon to shift two or more steps in a single jump i.e., from the intimate to the formal style.

Oddly enough, there is some evidence that apart from the formality of situation, a multitude of other factors, some social and others cultural, overlap to produce what is referred to as 'stylistic-shifting'. As Sachs puts it:

"each speaker's particular voice quality and speech style is determined partially by physical make-up and partially by other factors, such as culture, socio-economic status, personality and communication setting."

(Sachs 1975:153)

Cultural norms are, then, seen as important factors in conditioning style-shifting. Obviously, different cultures have varying social rules that strictly govern styles. This claim appears to have been supported by the results of a wealth of sociolinguistic research. Greetz (1960:167) says that in Javanese it is nearly impossible to say anything without indicating the social relationship between the addresser and the addressee in terms of status and familiarity. Evidently this is because the choice of linguistic forms, as well as speech style, in every case is partially determined by the relative status (or familiarity) of the interlocutor. For example, Greetz reported that to greet a person who is ranked socially lower or equal to oneself (such as someone with whom one is intimate) one says "Apa pada slamat". However one greets a superior or elder person with "Menapa sami sugeng" - both of which mean "Are you well?". Similar observations have been adduced by Frake (1964:260) who wrote: In Subanum<sup>1</sup> it is important to know how to ask for a drink, for there are certain linguistic forms that are to be used in that situation.

Also, in some Indo-European languages there is a distinction between "you familiar" and "you polite". The German du and the French tu are used only with people with whom one is on intimate terms, whereas Sie and vous are more formal and used with non-intimates (Fromkin and Rodman 1983:264).

Similarly, in the Irbid speech community stylistic variation depends largely on the addresser-addressee relationship as well as the age and sex of a speaker. The influence on one's speech of an interlocutor, younger in age or in close relationship is, of course, not the same as the effect of a stranger or an older interlocutor. For example, it is not unusual to hear bidi:sh said to intimates in the informal style and ma:bidi said to non intimates in the formal style, both of which mean "I do not want".

#### 8.0.1 The acquisition of style

However, linguists have shown a great deal of disagreement over the exact point at which "communicative competence" can be acquired, although most agree that it begins to become more evident in the adolescent stage. For example, Labov (1970) reported that by the age of 13 or 14 children begin to learn how to modify their speech in the direction of the prestige standard, especially in formal situations (Romaine 1984:84). Other sociolinguistic studies, however, have discovered evidence of a stylistic shift at a rather younger age (see Reid 1978, Romaine 1975). In her study of the speech of school children in Edinburgh, Romaine (1984, Chapter 4) maintains that communicative competence can be acquired by children at an early age (i.e. 6-10 years). Similar evidence of stylistic variation is also reported by Anderson (1977) who suggests that "children by the age of four appropriately use stylistic variables (syntax, lexical choice, politeness forms, intonation and so on) in role playing puppet characters of different social status" (reported in Tannan 1984:10).

One point that can be deduced from all of these observations is that even children are not immune to stylistic variation. The effect of the interlocutor, along with the situation on the speaker, is far-reaching. Every human being, be it child or adult, tends to adjust

his usage of language according to the situation and circumstances in which he finds himself.

### 8.0.2 Stylistic variation in Arabic

Blanc's (1960) article "style variation in spoken Arabic" is the pioneering work which deals with stylistic-shifting in Arabic from an empirical point of view. In this work, which was carried out on the speech of four highly educated subjects, Blanc claimed that:

"major stylistic modification in the Arabic dialects takes place on one of two planes, or simultaneously on both; these may be labeled the "levelling" and "classicizing" planes, respectively, and the mechanisms used to modify utterances may accordingly be discussed under "levelling devices" and "classicizing devices".  
(1960:81-2)

In the "levelling mechanism" the speaker, according to Blanc, would in certain situation tend to relinquish his native dialect's features for the sake of other features belonging to the more prestigious colloquial variety. In the "classicizing mechanism", in order for a speaker to standardize his speech, particularly in situations where he comes into contact with other educated non-intimate speakers, he tends to incorporate in his speech some lexical and phonological elements belonging to the classical Arabic variety (for more details on Blanc's stylistic levels see literature review - Chapter 2).

In Amman City, Abdul-Jawad (1981:92-100) observes that the participants, the setting, the aim, and the topic are strong conditioning factors on stylistic variation in Arabic. He argued that:

"Stylistic variation correlates with speaker-hearer relationships as well as the social network that the interlocutors are part of. Cultural rules and restrictions in Amman call for the proper linguistic behaviour, and that the speaker should watch his "tongue" and evaluate his addressees and address them in the proper manner."

A number of other studies (e.g. Al-Amadidhi 1985; Shorab 1982; Al-Jehani 1985) carried out on a number of Arab speech communities also

show that the situation, the participants and the topic are very influential with regard to stylistic-shifting in Arabic. Additionally, all these studies show that Arab speakers, particularly the educated, are fully aware of the social significance of the standard norms of the language, as well as the proper situation in which these linguistic norms can be used. Therefore they tend to use standard features in formal situations more often than in casual situations.

### 8.1 Style shifting in the present study

In this present chapter we will concern ourselves with investigating the correlation, if any, between five linguistic variables: (Q), (d3), (D), (th) and (a)# and style. It should be mentioned here that this additional variable (a)# was not considered in the previous chapters because it shows a very slight stylistic variation in speech styles. But it seems to co-vary with style when consider it along a continuum ranging from the casual style to the word list style. In other words, it seems to exhibit a wide stylistic-shifting from the two conversational styles on the one hand to the two reading styles on the other. Before taking the discussion any further a few introductory remarks about the variable (a)# will be presented.

#### 8.1.1 The /a/# variable

In JA, as in most of the colloquial varieties of Arabic, there is a tendency for the vowel (a) in word final position to be realized as [e]. Although the quality of the realized vowel [e] varies from one Arab country to another, in JA it is easily recognized as [e]. The variable thus has two realizations in the speech of JA speakers: the CA variant [a] and the colloquial variant [e].

The phonetic process which changes the word final (a) to [e] is known to Arab linguists from the early works of Arab grammarians (Ibn Jinni 1954, 1952-6; Sibawaihi 1889), for most of the ancient Arab

dialects experienced this phenomenon. This phonetic process is referred to by Arab linguists and Ancient Arab grammarians as Imala<sup>2</sup> (translated - inclination). In JA "Imala" might occur in different word positions i.e., in word-initial, -medial and -final positions. But the most common one is that which takes place in word final position, resulting in the changing of the open central short vowel (a) to a mid front short vowel [e]. Even though many sociolinguistic studies on Arabic have written about the Imala, no single study, as far as is known, has dealt with it quantitatively.

In this study we will be concerned only with the word final Imala.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the (Q), (D) and (th) variables discussed formerly, the /a/# - /e/# is phonetically conditioned. Namely, the phonological change which results in the realization of the colloquial variant [e] does not take place when the vowel is preceded by certain consonants. In general, only non-emphatic consonants may produce a final Imala in Arabic (Johnstone 1967; Rosenhouse 1982a; Abumdas 1985, Ibin Jini 1954). But in JA there is a number of other consonantal segments which block the phonetic change of /a/ -> [e] in word final position. Specifically, these segments are : S, D, dh, T, x, ʃ, 9, H, h, q and r. Even though this phonetic conditioning is common to both the Fellahi and the Horani dialects, there are five more consonants peculiar only to the Horani dialect which block the alternation between [a]# and [e]# these are : the labials w, f, b, the velar k and the dark L. The difference is exemplified as follows:

<u>SA</u>	<u>Horani</u>	<u>Fellahi</u>	
/Hilwa/	/Hilwa/	/Hilwe/	"beautiful"
/tuHfa/	/tuHfa/	/tuHfe/	"good"
/sharika/	/sharika/	/sharike/	"company"
/lu9ba/	/lu9ba/	/lu9be/	"doll"
/baʎla/	/baʎLa/	/baʎle/	"ass"

Thus when the variable /a/# is preceded by any consonant other than those presented above, it can be variably phonetically realized as a mid-front vowel [e] or an open central vowel [a], e.g.,

/kilma/	-	/kilme/	"word"
/kibda/	-	/kibde/	"liver"
/d3umla/	-	/d3umle/	"sentence"

In environments where the alternation between /a/ and [e] is not blocked (i.e. is not phonetically conditioned), this alternation is available as a stylistic device.

For the purpose of investigation, any instances of the variable /a/# in environments where the Imala is phonetically blocked will be dismissed. Moreover, we will also ignore - with regard to the Horani speakers only - any instances of /a/# when it is preceded by (w, f, b, k and dark L). For both groups, therefore, only instances in which the Imala is possible (i.e. adopting the colloquial variant [e] in alternation with the SA variant [a]) were computed. The variants recognized for the variable are the following:

- (a) \_\_\_ 1 = [a] (standard realization)
- (e) \_\_\_ 2 = [e] (colloquial realization)

Each occurrence of the SA variant [a] was given the value 1 and each occurrence of the colloquial variant [e] the value 0. Thus, consistent use of (a) \_\_\_ 1 will result in a score of 100%, while consistent use of (a) \_\_\_ 2 will produce a score of 0%.

To serve as a reminder, in this study four styles have been identified (1) casual, (2) formal, (3) reading passage, and (4) word list.

## 8.2 Limitation of the obtained data

The major constraint imposed on investigating stylistic variation in this study is the fact that due to the lower level of education

among the older age group, and also among some of the younger and middle age groups, only 29 out of 38 informants took part in the word list and reading passage styles. Thus, the investigation of the performance of the uneducated and semi-educated speakers (i.e., nine subjects) was limited to the two conversational styles only. Therefore the comparison between the different social groups with regard to the two reading styles will be confined to those subjects whose educational attainment allowed them to read from printed material.

### 8.3 Stylistic-shifting in four styles

#### 8.3.1 The (Q) variable

At first glance, table 8.1 points to an increase in the realization of the SA variant [q] as the situation grows more formal. The educated speakers tend to use the SA variant [q] more frequently in the formal style than in the casual style. It is also evident that the SA variant was realized more often in the two reading styles than in the two conversational styles. In other words the main gap between the four styles lies between the two conversational styles on the one hand and the two reading styles on the other.

Table 8.1 Distribution of (Q) for 29 speakers by style

Styles	[q]%	No./Total
CS	37	478/1309
FS	62	517/838
RPS	100	- -
WLS	100	- -

In the reading styles, i.e. the reading passage style and the word list style, the SA variant [q] was realized 100% of the potential time. In other words, in reading, the [q] variant was realised categorically.

### 8.3.2 The (D) variable

As table 8.2 below suggests, even though the colloquial variant [Dh) was predominant in the two conversational styles (CS and FS) the speakers became more aware of the formality of the situation in the two reading styles, showing a higher percentage use of the SA variant [D] than they did in the two conversational styles. As we compare the realization of the SA variant [D] with that of the SA variant [q] in

Table 8.2 Distribution of (D) for 29 speakers by style

Styles	[D]%	No./Total
CS	30	172/573
FS	43	162/377
RPS	81	- -
WLS	78	- -

the two reading styles, we note that while the SA variant [q] was categorically realized in these two styles (i.e. RPS and WLS), the SA [D] variant appears to be realized variable, showing lower percentages in these two styles than those of the [q] variant.

As we pointed out earlier this can be attributed to the fact that the SA variant [D], unlike the SA variant [q], is still involved in a merger with the etymological [Dh], which is still exerting a great deal of influence on the linguistic output of the speakers. This is because the pressure on the colloquial variant [Dh] is not as strong as that of

the colloquial variants [g, k and ?] of (Q). Therefore the Jordanian speakers, especially the males, are not so willing to adopt the SA variant [D] in replacement of their colloquial variant [Dh]. This became clear when they were asked to read, for we noticed that the speakers seemed to encounter much difficulty in pronouncing the SA variant [D], since they tended to correct themselves frequently.

From this table it is also obvious that there is a wide gap between the two speech styles and the two reading styles

### 8.3.3 The /a/# variable

It is clear that table 8.3 below displays a stylistic pattern of variation different from those shown in the (Q) and the (D) variables. Checking the percentage scores of the SA variant [a] in the different styles, one finds that the variable has shown a very slight stylistic variation in the two conversational styles. In the two reading styles it is evident that the 29 subjects who took part in reading have scored higher percentages of use of the [a] variant than in the two conversational styles. We also observe that the speakers have scored the SA variant [a] in the reading passage style more often than in the word list style, although the difference seems to be very small. The greatest difference can be detected between the formal style and the reading passage style.

Table 8.3 Distribution of /a/# for 29 speakers by style

Styles	[a]%	No./Total
CS	2	31/1288
FS	10	87/856
RPS	95	- -
WLS	93	- -

These results indicate that the JA speakers seem to behave differently in their linguistic behaviour when speaking than reading as far as this variable is concerned. In other words, they seem to be much more standardized when reading than when speaking. They tend to use their colloquial variant [e] much more often in the two conversational styles than in the two reading styles. Consequently the semi-categorical use of [e] in the conversational styles and the semi-categorical use of [a] in the reading styles clearly reflects the diglossic situation which characterizes this speech community.

This pattern of stylistic variation brings to mind a similar pattern of stylistic-shifting in Shorab's (1982) study with regard to the two diphthongs (aw) and (ay). In his study on the Palestinian speech community in Buffalo, Shorab found that the Palestinian subjects showed a rapid and wide stylistic shift ranging from 0% in the casual style of speech to 70.5% in the word list style (see Shorab 1982:177).

#### 8.3.4 The (d3) variable

The most interesting finding which table 8.4 reveals is that the speakers seem to be pulled in two directions on the stylistic continuum. In other words, the same stylistic continuum seems to be divided into two continua, since the speakers tend to behave linguistically in two different ways in the two sets of styles: the

Table 8.4 Distribution of (d3) for 29 speakers by style

Styles	[3]%	No./Total
CS	27	290/1093
FS	30	210/700
RPS	6	- -
WLS	11	- -

conversational styles and the reading styles. One notices a slight increase in the use of the urban colloquial variant [3] commensurate with the increase in the formality of the situation in the non-reading styles; by contrast there are dramatic downward shifts in the reading passage and the word list styles. In other words, there is a decrease in the same variant's use with an increase in the formality of the reading style; the result is two continua with two kinds of style shifting.

This variable is a good example of the two kinds of "prestige" discussed in Chapter 5. In the reading styles the speakers become fully aware that this is the domain of the "national prestige" i.e. the standard Arabic variety; thus despite the fact that the [3] variant is locally prestigious among certain social groups, its realization in reading is most often inhibited. In the reading styles, then, the use of the variable takes a reversed direction: the SA variant [d3] occurs more frequently.

#### 8.3.5 The (th) variable

We noticed in the previous chapter that this variable was involved in linguistic variation, albeit only in the speech of women (see Chapter 6). Therefore we shall confine our investigation of stylistic variation here to the female group of speakers.

Table 8.5 Distribution of (th) for women by style

Styles	[t]%	No./Total
CS	37	70/258
FS	42	91/219
RPS	00	- -
WLS	00	- -

Table 8.5 demonstrates that in the two conversational styles women have shown a strong tendency to use the urban variant [t] in their speech, whereas in the two reading styles, the same variant ([t]) was the most inhibited and they tended to use the SA' variant [th] 100% of the time. The same pattern of stylistic variation shown in the (d3) variable above repeats itself here. In the reading styles, women realized that they were now in the domain of the revered standard variety; therefore even though the urban variant [t] enjoys locally a considerable amount of prestige (among women), its use in reading material is prohibited.

#### 8.4 Discussion

So far we have seen that all of the linguistic variables investigated are involved in stylistic variation and that each variable has shown a pattern of stylistic-shifting different from that of the others. We have also seen that some of the variables were found to be more sensitive than others to the conversational and the reading contexts, e.g. the (Q), (d3) and (th) variables; some were sensitive to the conversational and, in a sense, to the reading contexts e.g. the (D); and still others like the /a/# variable showed sensitivity to the reading contexts alone.

On the whole, our results with respect to style-shifting in the two conversational styles seem to conform broadly to the findings of the majority of the sociolinguistic studies (Labov 1966; 1972a; Trudgill 1974; Al-Amadidhi 1985; Schmidt 1974; Modaresi 1978) viz the fact that the prestigious variants are used more often in formal style than in casual style.

With regard to the (Q) variable, our results are very similar to those of Abdul-Jawad (1981). It has been shown that the Jordanian speakers in Irbid and Amman cities are fully aware of the prestigious

status of the SA [q] and therefore tend to use it more often as the situation becomes more formal, whilst in an intimate type of speech setting they tend to decrease their use of the SA variant [q] and increase their use of the colloquial variants. Similar results have also been arrived at by Al Amadidhi (1985:307-308) with respect to Qatari Arabic, for he verifies that "the application of the standardization rule (the realization of SA [q] increases as the situation becomes more formal".

The (D) variable has also shown a pattern of stylistic variation similar to that obtained by Shorab (1982) as far as the reading styles are concerned. In Sharab's study it has been shown that educated Fellahi and Bedouin Palestinians tend to use the standard-urban variant [D] as a replacement for /Dh/ in the formal style. He also observed that in reading there was a residue of the colloquial variant [Dh]. Comparing our results with those of Shorab, we find that the results

Table 8.6 Percentages for [D] by four style in Palestinian Arabic

Styles	[D]%
CS	16
FS	22
RPS	96
WLS	97

Source : adapted from Shorab 1982:171.

seem to agree with the fact that in the reading styles, our speakers and his speakers were not able to show a categorical use of the SA [D].

The main difference between our results and those of Shorab lies in the two conversational styles. His Fellahi and Bedouin speakers showed very lower percentage use of the [D] variant with a very narrow stylistic shift in these two styles, while our speakers, both Fellahi and Horani, showed higher percentage use of the same variant with a wider significant shift from the casual to the formal styles. This discrepancy stems from the fact that the subjects in Shorab's study were interviewed in Buffalo, far away from their homeland and were not subject to the effect of both the standard and the colloquial urban varieties, both of which share the [D] variant, as in the case of our subjects. This being the case they would clearly never show the same percentage of use of the variable as would our speakers, who were in daily contact with both the standard and the urban varieties in Irbid City. Thus the realization of both groups of informants in these two studies will inevitably show different percentages of realization of the [D] variant in their repertoire.

The most surprising results pertain to the <d3> and the <t3> variables, in which there appears a broken stylistic continuum: increased use of the urban variants [3] and [t] commensurate with the increase in the formality in conversation, and decreased use of the same two variants with the increase in formality in reading. This pattern indicates that the stylistic shift on the "levelling" plane and the stylistic shift on the "standardization" plane cannot be arranged along a single linear stylistic continuum. In other words, these two variables are involved in a process of "levelling" or "koineization" in which the speakers tend to suppress their use of their stigmatized colloquial variants for the sake of the prestigious urban variants [3] and [t]. In order to be more urbanized they tend to use the urban variants in the formal style more often than in the casual style. In

the reading styles the reverse is true, and they tend to use their colloquial variants [d3] and [th], which are shared by the standard variety, and inhibit their use of the urban variants. Thus the two conversational styles, which require the use of the prestigious urban variants, and the two reading styles, which require the use of the standard variants, can never be arranged on the same stylistic continuum.

Although the /a/# variable has exhibited a continuous but slow pattern of stylistic shift along a single stylistic continuum, it is apparent that there is a sharp break between the two conversational styles and the two reading styles. That is to say, the speakers seemed to behave differently in the reading context than in the speaking context. This pattern shows that different linguistic variables are not all sensitive to the same situational context, nor are they sensitive, as was seen in the former two chapters, to the same sociological factors. In fact, each variable seems to differ from others with respect to the relation that links it to social awareness of the speech community members.

Other results worth discussing here are those in which we observe that the colloquial variants [3], [Dh] and [e] were realized in the word list style (the most formal style) more than in the reading passage style, albeit only to a small extent. Similar findings were also arrived at by Al-Jehani (1985:60) who found that a residue of the colloquial variants of (dh) and (Dh) persists in the word list style. This residue was attributed by Al-Jehani to the absence of context, namely, the words are without the inflected forms which usually occur more frequently when these words are read within a context. We also propose that the major reason for this slight augmentation which takes place in the word list style is "absence of context". It is well-known

that in classical Arabic, all words can be inflected to either case or mood, whereas words in the colloquial variety lack this peculiarity. So when the CA words are read within their context, a speaker may or may not pronounce them with their inflected forms, although it is often the case that they would be pronounced with them. But once they are emancipated from their context i.e. listed individually, these words are pronounced without any change in their patterning. To put it another way, in CA most words are subject to inflection. The words capable of inflection must have a vowel ending (verbal ending, case ending etc.). For example, in definite nouns this would be a short vowel such as, /ʔalqalam/ -> /ʔalqalama/ "the pin", whereas in indefinite nouns it is a short vowel plus the indefinite marker (-n), which is referred to as "tanwin" or "nunation", e.g., /qalam/ -> /qalamun/ "a pin". The use of these endings - the short vowel (-a) or (-u) and the "tanwin" (-un) or (-an) - is dependent in part on the position of the word in an utterance, e.g., in the following sentence: Darab ʔahmad Hassan "Ahmad hit Hassan", these three words would be pronounced with their inflectional endings, which depends to a great extent on the relation of each word to the preceding or the following word(s), as follows: Daraba ʔahmadu Hassanan.

Thus in the word list, when the words Daraba, ʔahmadu and Hassanan are read individually (i.e. emancipated from their contexts) they are never pronounced with these endings; rather they are pronounced with pausal forms (i.e. without their inflectional endings) as Darab, Ahmad and Hassan. Therefore the Arab reader when reading from printed material (i.e. reading passage), where the words are put in their contexts, would be much more aware of the formality of the situation than when he reads from a structured list of SA words. Subsequently,

for those variables which are subject to less social pressure, the SA variants are more likely realized in the reading passage style than in the word list style.

The findings of the current study, insofar as the variables (d3), (D) and /a/# are concerned, basically support those of Al-Jehani (1985) who observed that a residue of the colloquial variants of (dh) and (Dh) persists in the word list style.

Now we shall turn our discussion to another important finding relating to the stylistic continuum. For Labov (1972a), styles can be arranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech. In other words Labov assumes that five styles can be arranged on a linear continuum ranging from formal, sometimes "word list" and sometimes "minimal pairs" styles, to informal, "casual style", and that movement from one point to the other on this continuum is dependent on the amount of attention paid to speech. The more the speaker is aware of the situation, the more he produces standard (prestigious) linguistic features.

In fact this view has been questioned by a number of sociolinguists, all of whom (the Milroys 1977; Romaine 1979, 1980; Romain and Traugott 1981) maintain that the conversational and reading styles must be seen as belonging to two different domains of speech, and as such cannot be arranged along a single linear continuum. Romaine (1980:227-8) reports that evidences from her study (1979) and also from that of the Milroys (1977) show that the fact that certain phonological variables have failed to pattern themselves along a continuum from the least formal (spoken) to the most formal (reading) in Belfast and Edinburgh respectively is sufficient justification for regarding conversation and reading as separate parts of a speaker's linguistic repertoire. According to Romaine this is because the gap

between reading and speaking is greater for some speakers than for others. Also, the range of variation appropriate to reading a text can be considered quite narrow.

A similar criticism has been levelled by Macaulay (1977), who maintains:

"however, Labov may have been mistaken in claiming that his five contextual styles were on a single continuum. It is reasonable to claim that styles A and B (casual and formal) are on a single dimension, namely that of impromptu speech, and that styles C, D and D1 (reading, word list and minimal pairs) are on another dimension, namely that of reading aloud. However there is a gap between the first two and the last three that may be more than a single step, and it would seem advisable to keep the two kinds of stylistic variation separate, since to a certain extent variation in the reading styles may depend on skill in reading aloud."  
(Macaulay 1977:219)

The present study has also found difficulties in placing the reading styles and the conversational styles along a linear stylistic continuum from formal to casual. The data on the (Q), (D), (th) and (a#) variables displays quite clearly the wide gap between the two conversational styles on the one hand and the two reading styles on the other. Moreover, when we look at the pattern of stylistic variation for the (a#) variables, we realize that the two distinct types of behaviour revealed along the linear continuum of styles can never be regarded as one continuous gradient behaviour reflecting increasing use of the standard feature with an increase in the formality, and decreasing use of standard variant with a decrease in the formality.

Yet the greatest example of the contradiction in the patterning set forth by this assumption can be most clearly seen in our analysis of the data on the (d3) and (th) variables, in which the departure in the first two styles (1 and 2) takes place from a standard-colloquial variant to a colloquial, and in the second two styles (3 and 4) where the departure takes place from the colloquial to a standard variant again. Thus the result of the analysis of this variable (d3) can be

considered sufficient evidence of the fact that reading and speaking are best kept separate on the style continuum, at least with regard to certain phonological variables in Arabic.

Furthermore, the assumption that stylistic-shifting is the result of one single factor i.e. "the amount of attention paid to speech", has also been questioned at length by various sociolinguists such as Wolfson (1976), Cheshire (1982b), Coupland (1980) and Bell (1984). These linguists, among others, have questioned the Labovian view on the grounds that not all cases of style shifts can be considered the product of the "attention" variable solely, nor can they be explained only in terms of increase or decrease in formality (see Bell 1984 and Cheshire 1980). As Coupland (1980) argues this is because "attention" itself is subject to the individual speaker's volition. Subsequently, he can in certain situations turn his attention deliberately to producing the style desired. Therefore, "attention is better be regarded as a factor in the linguistic interview, rather than the all-embracing dimension of style" (Bell 1984:150).

Although the "attention paid to speech" could, in a sense, be the source of some kind of style shifts, there must be other factors exerting their influence on the mechanism. For instance, in his study on news language in New Zealand, Bell (1977, see Bell 1984) observes that there are considerable style differences in the news read on different radio stations by the same broadcaster, who happened to switch between two stations in the same studio in the same day. Even though the recorded news was read in one style (i.e. reading style) by the same newscaster in the same setting, Bell found that there were clear differences in style between news recorded on either station. According to Bell, these differences, can be attributed neither to the amount of attention paid to speech, nor to the topic nor to the

setting; rather, they can be seen as the result of the influence of two different groups of audiences on the newscaster, since the news was recorded for different people in different areas. Thus it is quite plausible to say:

"attention is at most a mechanism of response intervening between a situation and a style. This explains both why it seemed a plausible correlative of style shift, and why it could never be a satisfactory explanation of style. The mechanism should not be mistaken for the motive power - but it is closely related."

(Ibid:150)

Evidence from our study data also confirms the fact that although "attention" is of great importance in producing style shifts, there are a host of other factors, such as the relationship of addresser to addressee, the topic at hand, and the setting which all overlap to produce style-shifting. For example, the relation of addresser to addressee was one of the significant factors that influence the quantity and the quality of speech acts produced. This fact was clearly manifested in the verbal behaviour of informant 35, a fifty year old school-master who was interviewed in the comfort of his office. This informant was briefed on the aims of the study three days before the recording with him was made. From the beginning of the interview we tried through various means to elicit a natural type of speech, using many tricks to ease the formality of the situation, yet throughout the interview he was over-conscious both of the aim of the interview and of the microphone placed in front of him. Thus he started his speech with a very high rate of formality, using standard lexical and phonological features almost exclusively. Relief came when all of a sudden his telephone rang and it was a friend of his on the line asking about another teacher working in the school.

The three extracts of his speech transcribed below show the difference between his speech to the interviewer (an outsider and his

speech to his friend. All the lexical items used in the discussion with his friend can be classified as pure-colloquial, whereas those used with the interviewer are, in a sense, pure-standard or shared-items (i.e. colloquial-standard)

To the interviewer: min madi:nat ?Irbid ?al?a:n wa min qaryyat ...  
sabiqan, biHudu:d thalathi:n sana.

To the friend : Na9am, marHaba, na9am, ?ahlan ke:f Ha:lak ...  
maktab ?itaribyyi walah ... rawaH. Ya:yyib  
?il?usta:dh rawaH gabul Shwayyi ya9ni. ya9ni  
bitlagi:h Hawl ?ilmaktabi Sarlu Xamis  
daga:yyig na:zil, law Hake:t gabul Shwayy  
ma9a:h. la?inu 9indhum laxa:msi di:n wil  
?usta:dh ?ilyyo:m Ya:yyib.

To the interviewer: Milk, sant ?lthamani:n buni, tari:q fu9ara.  
Kamudi:r madrase Sarli sit sanawa:t waba9de:n  
?u9irt ?ila ?almaYrib Hawa:li xamis sanawa:t.  
qadi:m d3idan.

For example in the first extract, words such as madi:nat, ?al?a:n, qaryyat, sa:biqan and biHudu:d (city, now, village, previously and within the extent of) could be rendered were they to be addressed to his friend, as: madi:nit, hassa, garryyit, sa:biqan, Hawa:li respectively. Also notice that the [q] variable was realized in all lexical items addressed to his friend as [g] i.e., in its colloquial form, whereas in his speech to the interviewer it was realized in most words as [q].

Thus, attention on its own cannot account for the dramatic style-shifting which occurred in the speech of this subject one minute after the beginning of the interview (i.e. very formal situation). In fact there are a variety of factors which have contributed to this

shift, such as the speaker's relation to the interlocutor, the aim of the speech act, and the channel used for delivering the speech. Although the telephone call in itself in one way or another helped to distract the speaker's attention from the atmosphere of the interview, its effect represented to the addressee an important factor in producing a style other than that used in the interview.

Thus the relation which linked the addresser to the addressee in both cases, the interview and the telephone call, was the most crucial element that yielded this style shift. This is because it is somewhat unusual in the diglossic speech community to use the standard variety in a relaxed telephone call with a friend; it is also uncommon to use a pure colloquial form of speech with an educated outsider. Therefore it is reasonable to consider this style-shift, in the words of Coupland as:

"a reflection of a change in linguistic function, associated with a change in role-relationship."

(Coupland 1980:11)

The "attention" on its own, appears to be irrelevant.

## 8.5 The effect of the social parameters on style-shifting

Although we have seen in the previous chapters a number of tables indicating the close correlation between variation and style, for a better understanding of this patterning an overview of the co-variation of the different social parameters with style-shifting is needed.

### 8.5.1 Education

Looking at tables 8.7 through 8.10 we see that the educational attainment of the speakers has a great effect on the amount of stylistic-shifting occurring in each of the educational groups in each linguistic variable. With regard to the (Q) variable we notice that all educational groups show a clear style-shifting in the conversational styles; the difference between the realization of the

SA variant [q] in the conversational styles (CS and FS) seems to be statistically significant. Similarly, all educational groups show a stylistic-shifting in the non-reading styles with regard to the (D) variable. However in the reading styles (RPS and WLS) the two educational groups, who took part in the reading, show nearly the same use of the SA variants in both the RPS and the WLS styles.

Table 8.7 Distribution of (Q) by education across style

Educational groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	[q]%
H. educated	50	301/597	73	315/432	100	100
M. educated	25	177/712	50	202/406	100	100
Non-educated	6	27/486	17	33/194	--	--

Table 8.8 Distribution of (D) by education across style

Educational groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	[D]%
H. educated	31	87/278	45	77/171	79	70
M. educated	29	85/295	41	85/206	84	84
Non-educated	1	2/146	6	5/79	--	--

Table 8.9 Distribution of /a/# by education across style

Educational groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[a]%	No/Total	[a]%	No/Total	[a]%	[a]%
H. educated	4	28/661	14	64/445	98	85
M. educated	1	4/627	6	23/411	93	93
Non-educated	0	1/307	0	1/228	--	--

Table 8.10 Distribution of (d3) by education across style

Educational groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[d3]%	No/Total	[d3]%	No/Total	[d3]%	[d3]%
H. educated	31	164/531	29	110/385	3	7
M. educated	22	126/562	32	100/315	10	15
Non-educated	6	19/304	5	7/130	--	--

From these tables we can also see that as the educational level of the speakers rises their stylistic range widens; educated speakers, who by virtue of their educational attainment can use the standard variety more properly, are more able to diversify their speech according to the situation and the topic of discussion. Furthermore, educated speakers are more socially-oriented than the uneducated are. It is remarkable that in all these tables the use of the standard variants is on the increase as we move from left to right, from the casual style of speech to the reading passage style. (For further discussion of the influence of education on style-shifting see also the (Q) variable - Chapter 4).

Generally speaking, our findings appear to be in broad agreement with those of Schmidt (1974), Abdul-Hawad (1981), Al-Amadidhi (1985) and Modaressi (1978). In all of these studies it is shown that the educated speakers (the elite) are more able to diversify their speech style than the non-educated. But our results seem to disagree with J. Milroy (1982:40-42) who finds that the working class Belfast speakers (who are, of course, less educated than the middle-class people) are more able to vary their speech style with respect to the short vowel /a/ variable than the middle class people.

Another intriguing finding evident in these tables is that for the two educational groups (those who took part in reading) the difference between RPS and WLS (the reading styles) seems to be insignificant. Even though the educated speakers tend in some cases to use the standard variants in the reading passage style more frequently than in the word list style, the distinction between the two styles appears to be very small. But the greatest difference clearly lies between CS and FS on the one hand and RPS and WLS on the other; viz between the conversational styles and the reading styles.

In Table 8.10, one can see that when the departure takes place from a standard-colloquial variant [d3] to a colloquial variant [3], education still has influence on style-shifting, but to a far lesser extent than that of both the (Q) and the (D) variables. Comparing the realization of the educated group of speakers with that of the uneducated we find that the educated speakers show a stylistic shift that is wider, though not significantly so, than that of the uneducated speakers. Moreover, as the four tables reveal, the uneducated speakers show almost categorical or semi-categorical use of the variants acquired natively in the two conversational styles.

We are now in a position to demonstrate that in the diglossic speech community the most important social element influencing the linguistic behaviour of the individual is education. This conclusion seems to be in line with other studies such as Modarissi (1978) and Jahangiri (1980) with respect to Tehrani Persian, Schultz (1981) and Schmidt (1974) with respect to Egyptian Arabic and Abdul-Jawad (1981) and Shorab (1982) with regard to Jordanian and Palestinian Arabic respectively.

### 8.5.2 Age

It was shown in the preceding two chapters that as a social variable, age plays a fundamental role in the linguistic behaviour of the individual speaker. With regard to age and its correlation with stylistic variation in the speech of the Fellahi and the Horani speech community, our findings reveal that in all linguistic variables (as seen in tables 8.11 through 8.13) the younger and middle-aged speakers appear to be more aware of the social situation than the older speakers. Subsequently they showed a wider stylistic-shifting than that of the elderly. This is partly because of the longer exposure of the younger speakers to education, and partly because the elderly have reached a stage of life at which it is not as important for them to show a radical stylistic-shifting in their speech.

Table 8.11 Distribution of (Q) by age across style

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[Q]%	No/Total	[Q]%	No/Total	[Q]%	[Q]%
Y. age group	37	196/525	61	203/331	100	100
M. age group	28	174/630	54	205/381	100	100
O. age group	21	135/640	44	142/320	100	100

Table 8.12 Distribution of (D) by age across style

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	[D]%
Y. age group	43	98/226	54	79/147	87	79
M. age group	14	37/265	32	54/169	75	72
O. age group	17	39/228	24	34/140	82	77

Table 8.13 Distribution of (d3) by age across style

Age groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	[3]%
Y. age group	34	163/479	41	120/296	11	18
M. age group	20	94/481	19	61/317	3	8
O. age group	12	54/439	16	34/215	3	5

These results seem to disagree with those of Kerswill (1983a:7) who observed that style-shifting seems to be wider for the older age group than the younger. In his study of a group of speakers in Durham City, Kerswill found (as seen in the following table) that the younger speakers have a narrower stylistic shifting than the older speaker. Kerswill attributes this to the social experience of the elderly which entitles them to vary their speech style. In contrast, our results show that the younger speakers in Irbid City are more educated and as such are more exposed socially to the outside world. Thus the younger the speaker, the more educated he is and, as a consequence, the more diversified his social experience becomes.

Table 8.14 Scores for lexical variables across two styles

	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Adolescent</u>	
	Conv. style	Int. style	Conv. style	Int. style
% vernacular	86%	16%	58%	37%
N variables	73	62	32	33
Occurrences	285	350	109	111

Source : adapted from Kerswill (1983a:7)

Looking at tables 8.11 through 8.13, one realizes that the age of the speakers, particularly in the two linguistic variables (D) and (d3) determines the increase or decrease in the amount of style-shifting. It is quite apparent that the younger and the middle age speakers show wider style-shifting than the older speakers.

When we move to the reading styles, we observe that all age groups show almost similar percentage use of the different variables in these two styles, with the highest realization taking place in the younger age group. As stated earlier, this is mainly due to the fact that speaking and reading, particularly in a diglossic speech community, are two wholly different activities which cannot be placed along one linear continuum.

### 8.5.3 Origin

Examining the distribution by style of the three linguistic variables (Q), (D) and (d3) in the speech of the two origin groups, one observes (as seen in tables 8.15 through to 8.18) that the Fellahiin appear to take the lead with regard to style shifting in most cases. It is also quite evident that in all styles the difference between the two groups of speakers (the Fellahiin and the Horaniis) is maintained. This lends support to the findings discussed in the previous chapters

which show that the Horaniis are more faithful to their colloquial variety than the Fellahiin are. Accordingly, the influence of the situation on the Horaniis is less than that on the Fellahiin, who are more willing to change their linguistic behaviour.

Table 8.15 Distribution of (Q) by origin across style

Origin groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	[q]%
Fellahiin	28	246/876	56	306/546	100	100
Horaniis	28	259/919	50	244/486	100	100

Table 8.16 Distribution of (D) by origin across style

Origin groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	[D]%
Fellahiin	36	121/340	45	111/248	89	89
Horaniis	14	53/379	27	56/208	74	66

Table 8.17 Distribution of (d3) by origin across style

Origin groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	[3]%
Fellahiin	28	192/681	33	141/427	10	16
Horaniis	16	117/717	19	76/402	2	6

Table 8.18 Distribution of /a/# by origin in the two reading styles

Origin groups	RPS [a]%	WLS [a]%
Fellahiin	97	96
Horaniis	94	90

Giles and Powesland (1975:87) maintain that "there is, however, some evidence that language and speech styles are closely bound up with feelings of group identity". A similar observation is mentioned by Bourhis' (et al) (1974) who write:

"a group with a very positive self-esteem will feel able to use its characteristic speech style in most social situations, however public. In contrast, a group with feelings of inferiority (linguistically) will restrict its own demotic speech style to very informal situations."

(quoted from Giles and Powesland 1975:87-8)

The present study's results also show that the more affiliated the speakers with their dialect and their origin group, the less situational diversity they show in their linguistic behaviour.

Looking at the same tables we find that even in the reading styles the Fellahiin score all variants, whether standard or colloquial, more often than the Horaniis. This is another indication of the overt willingness on the part of the Fellahiin to appear more standard and at the same time more urban in their speech.

As we move to another variable, the (d3), it is quite apparent that the Fellahiin are still taking the lead over the Horaniis in all speech and reading styles; the Fellahi speakers realize the urban variant [3] more often than their Horani counterparts in both the reading and the non-reading styles. But what is interesting is that

both groups are fully aware that in the reading styles the realization of the urban variants are strictly prohibited. Subsequently their use of this variant [3] has begun to recede to the lower extent as we move from FS to RPS. The Fellahiin, however, appear to realize it more frequently than the Horaniis in the reading styles.

To conclude, it can be deduced that both the Fellahiin and the Horaniis basically follow the same distribution in the different styles for most of the variables, with the Fellahiin showing only moderately wider style shifting in (Q) and (d3).

#### 8.5.4 Sex

From Tables 8.18 to 8.21 all observations indicate that both men and women are aware of the linguistic situation. Both show percentage use of the different linguistic variables that are higher in formal than in casual situations. But it is clear that in all types of style, with the exception of the (Q) variable in the two conversational styles, women show higher percentage use of the different variables than men. Even in the casual style of speech, they appear to use variants other than their own more frequently. Although women display lower values for the SA variant [q] in both the casual and formal styles, they show a wider stylistic shifting from the non-reading styles to the reading styles. It is apparent that in both the casual style and the formal style, women tend to use the SA variant [q] less frequently. However, when it comes to the (D) variable, women appear to realize the SA variant [D] more than men. As we pointed out earlier, the reason for this higher percentage use of [D] is that this variant is common to both the standard and the colloquial urban varieties. Therefore it is highly likely that women use it in its capacity as an urban variant. In other words, this seems to be a

tendency towards koineization rather than standardization. This is verified by the higher values of the urban variant [3] displayed by women in all speech styles.

Table 8.19 Distribution of (Q) by sex across style

Sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	[q]%
Men	36	405/1115	61	422/691	100	100
Women	15	100/680	38	128/341	100	100

Table 8.20 Distribution of (D) by sex across style

Sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	No/Total	[D]%	[D]%
Men	14	63/438	29	88/305	75	71
Women	40	111/281	52	79/151	93	91

Table 8.21 Distribution of (d3) by sex across style

Sex groups	CS		FS		RPS	WLS
	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	No/Total	[3]%	[3]%
Men	18	163/903	20	115/563	3	8
Women	30	148/496	38	100/265	11	18

Table 8.22 Distribution of /a/# by sex in the two reading styles

Sex groups	RPS	WLS
	[a]%	[a]%
Men	93	91
Women	99	97

From these tables one can also observe that in the reading styles women score the standard variants more frequently than men (of course with the exception of [d3]). This suggests that women in Irbid City show a greater amount of awareness of the social significance of the different varieties of the language and the appropriate situations in which these varieties should be used than men do. The lower realization of the standard variants [q] in the conversational style, in its capacity as a standard, is due partly to the lower level of education among women and partly to the influence of the "local prestige" on the "national prestige" perception.

An important point also revealed in these Tables is that there is an increase in the realization of the colloquial Fellahi and Horani variant [Dh] and a decrease in the realization of the SA variant [D] in the reading styles in the speech of men, as well as a relative increase in the use of the colloquial urban variant [3] and a decrease in the use of the standard variant [d3] in the same two styles; 3 and 4 in the speech of women. These findings clearly reflect the effect of the "local prestige" on both sexes and an unconscious creeping of the colloquial variants into the standard variety.

On the whole, what we have seen above seem to confirm the suggestion raised in the previous chapters that the two sex groups are

in disagreement on several issues with respect to their use of the different variables in the different situational contexts. Their use of the language seems to be governed by what might be referred to as a division in the views of the sexes regarding "prestige". For instance, when the matter comes to "national prestige" we see that the two sex groups show an increase in their use of the standard variants [q] and [a] following along with the increase of formality. But once we turn to the "local prestige" we find that each of the two gender-groups displays different values of the variants according to their dissimilar perceptions of "prestige".

#### 8.6 Summary and conclusion

As in other sociolinguistic studies, the argument of this study is that every speaker has at his disposal at least two styles of speech: one to be used in formal situations and the other in informal situations. The results of this study indicate that this is the reality as it is revealed in the linguistic repertoire of all members of the speech community.

The first thing worthy of remark with regard to all of the linguistic variables considered is that each shows a certain sensitivity to variations in the social context differently from one another, although all of them have shown that as the situation becomes more formal the use of the standard variants [q], [D], [a] and the colloquial prestigious variants [ʒ] and [t] increases, whereas in less formal situations the colloquial and the less prestigious variants prevail.

From the analysis of the influence of the different sociological variables on style-shifting, it has been observed that education is the most significant factor affecting style; educated speakers were found to be more able to shift in their speech in a formal situation than the

uneducated were. Women were also found to be more aware, albeit only slightly, of the situation than men. And Fellahi speakers, who generally speak an unfavoured dialect, appear to shift more in a formal situation than the Horani speakers.

Finally, our findings reveal that both situational and sociological factors are very influential in producing stylistic variation; the results show that situational factors determine the stylistic level of an alternate, while social factors (independently) affect the stylistic range of a speaker.

Footnotes

1. "The Subanun are pagan Swidden agriculturalists occupying the mountainous interior of Zamboanga Peninsula on the Island of Mindanao in the Philippines" (Frake 1964/1972:260-265).
2. The lack of Imala is a phenomenon shared by the SA language and the Egyptian variety.
3. We confine our investigation to the word final imala because the imala in other word positions e.g., word-initial, or -medial position, does not show any kind of variation, particularly in the two conversational styles.
4. Al Jahani (1985:60) found that a residue of the colloquial variants (dh) and (Dh) persists in style 4 (i.e. the word list style): the percentage of literary lexicon is less in this style than in 3 for both variables. The following table shows the percentage of literary lexicon by style for all speakers for (dh) and (Dh).

	<u>dh</u>	<u>Dh</u>
Style 1 (casual style)	3.9	20.0
Style 2 (formal style)	6.5	41.0
Style 3 (reading passage style)	67.5	71.0
Style 4 (word list style)	43.5	56.0

Source : adapted from Al-Jehani (1985:63).

## Chapter IX

Social contact and linguistic accommodation9.0 Introduction

This chapter can be viewed as a complimentary part of Chapters IV and VIII in the sense that this and chapter IV both discuss the (Q) variable with its different realizations and thus shed more light on its sociolinguistic variability; this chapter and chapter VIII both deal with stylistic variation, although from different points of view and according to two different models, but provide a more thorough insight into the use of this form of variation.

In Chapter IV (cf. Sociolinguistic variability of (Q)) it has been shown how the speakers are moving in one direction towards standardizing their speech regardless of their regional origin. In the second part of this chapter we shall see an example of the linguistic accommodation taking place between the speakers of the three colloquial dialects, in which the Horani and Fellahi speech community members tend to adopt colloquial variants other than their own. We shall use the different variants of (Q) (i.e. [q], [g], [k], and [ʔ]) as a tool for studying this process of long-term accommodation.

In Chapter VIII we have seen how the Fellahi-Horani speakers shift their speech style according to the formality of the situation along two dimensions of style: the conversational styles and the reading styles. In the first part of the current chapter we shall see how the speaker tends to accommodate his speech style to that of his interlocutor(s) for a variety of social and psychological reasons.

9.1 Short-term accommodation9.1.1 The accommodation model

The accommodation model is a social and psychological model which was originally developed by Howard Giles and his associates (Giles and

Powesland 1975; Giles and Smith 1979). They maintain that the effect, whether positive or negative, of the addressee on the addresser is much greater than any other single element in producing stylistic variation. The basic paradigm of the model assumes that people tend to accommodate their speech style to their interlocutor(s) as a result of the speaker's desire to receive the listeners' social approval (Giles 1980; Giles and Smith 1979; Giles and Powesland 1975).

In developing the accommodation theory Giles (1980) and Giles and Smith (1979) made use of four socio-psychological theories:

1. Similarity - attraction processes
2. Social exchange processes
3. Causal attribution processes
4. Tajfel's theory of intergroup distinctiveness

The speaker's desire for his interlocutor's social approval can be seen as the basic element upon which Giles and Smith and Giles and Powesland have built their theory. The more a speaker has the desire to gain another's approval, the more he converges. It has also been assumed that in the process of converging, as one aspires to win the addressee's approval there would be certain costs involved on the part of the convergent speaker. That is to say, in order for convergence to take place the convergent speech acts should result in potential rewards (e.g. an increase in attraction and/or approval) which outweigh the costs (e.g. the increased effort made to converge, and a loss of perceived integrity and personal identity) to the convergent speaker.

The theory also suggests that the mechanism can be evaluated, favourably or unfavourably, according to the reasons causing the addresser to converge his speech style toward his addressee. For example, Giles and Smith (1979:50) report that when French Canadian listeners attribute an English Canadian's convergence to French to a

desire to break down cultural barriers, the shift was viewed favourably. A contrasting example in the Irbid speech community results when a Jordanian, Horani, or Urban speaker converges to the Fellahi dialect, which is highly stigmatized in the city. This shift is viewed unfavourably by the Fellahi speakers as the convergent speaker is seen as disdaining the Fellahiin and their dialect.

Moreover, Giles and Smith (1979) have argued that convergence may occur on a number of levels: pronunciation, speech rate and message content, and that convergence on all three levels is more highly evaluated by the addressee than it is on merely one or two levels. But Giles and Smith found that overabundant convergence could result in making the interlocutor(s) react unfavourably, since this may be viewed by the addressee as patronizing, condescending or ingratiating behaviour.

On the other hand, speakers may tend to maintain their speech style or diverge it as a result of a desire to dissociate themselves from their addressee. In other words, speakers may diverge in their speech styles from those of their listeners in order, among other reasons, to keep themselves psychologically and favourably distinct from members of an outgroup(s) (Giles and Smith 1979).

Unlike stylistic variation, which was accounted for by Labov (1972a, 1966) as resulting from more attention being paid to speech, the accommodative behaviour which takes place in interpersonal encounters, is, according to Giles and his associates, perceived as being the outcome of the effect of the addressee on the addresser or vice versa, and that this behaviour seems to be rule-governed and accounted for by a social and psychological theory.

## 9.1.2 Previous studies on accommodation

### 9.1.2.1 The Canadian male's message for an English audience in Britain (Giles and Smith 1979)

In order to see whether a person is more favourably evaluated by his addressee(s) when making a radical convergence, Giles and Smith (1979) conducted a study that was administered on twenty-eight qualified teachers. These informants were all British native citizens, randomly divided into two groups and evenly distributed by sex. The subjects listened to eight different tape-recorded messages made by a Canadian male speaker. Only one of these recordings presented a message in which the Canadian speaker did not converge towards his audience (the British informants) from a standard version on any of the three linguistic descriptive dimensions. The other versions represented all possible combinations of pronunciations, speech rate, and content convergence/non-convergence.

The subjects were asked to assess each version individually on the basis of five different ratings:

- 1) the effectiveness of the speaker's communication
- 2) the effort the speaker made in accommodating his audience
- 3) how willing they would be to co-operate with this speaker later
- 4) how complimentary a view of his audience the speaker had
- 5) how likeable the speaker seemed to them (Ibid:57).

The results were very striking. The study showed that the subjects reacted more favourably to speech rate convergence than to content or pronunciation convergence. The results also showed that the influence of speech rate convergence was statistically significant beyond the 1 per cent level on four of the five ratings, while content convergence seemed to be significant with regard to only one rating, and pronunciation did not generate any influence. Moreover, the

speaker was evaluated more favourably on the first two ratings when he was not making any content convergence, and when he converged both his speech rate and pronunciation. However, when he did not converge in content, the speaker was granted the most favourably ratings when he converged his speech rate only. On the whole, these results indicate that the speaker was more favourably rated when he converged to his audience partially than when he did so completely.

#### 9.1.2.2 Quantitative studies of accommodation

##### 9.1.2.2.1 Coupland's (1984) study of accommodation at work

The most remarkable comprehensive study on accommodation is that of Nikolas Coupland (1984) who examined style-shifting closely as an accommodative device in a work atmosphere from a quantitative point of view. The data collected for the purpose of investigation consisted of tape-recordings made in a travel agency in central Cardiff. The subjects were 51 clients and the assistant, Sue. They were all natives of the city. The recordings were made while the customers were talking to Sue, who had given her prior approval for the recordings.

Coupland claims that the main objective of this study was to examine the speech behaviour of the travel agency customers rather than that of the assistant. The recordings which were made during the first four days were not used in the study, but by the fifth day all of the "channel cues for casual speech" were present. This means that his recordings are free from observer effects.

Four phonological variables were chosen for the purpose of the investigation, all of which were expected to correlate with both social and stylistic variation. These are : (h) Aitch-dropping, intervocalic (t), (ng) G-dropping, and all (consonant cluster). The variables are indicated as follows:

(1) (h) \_\_ 1 = [h]

(h) \_\_ 2 = [0] e.g. house, hamster

(2) (t) \_\_ 1 = [t]

(t) \_\_ 2 = [tʔ], [ʔ] e.g. better, water

(3) (ng) \_\_ 1 = [ŋ]

(ng) \_\_ 2 = [n] e.g. drinking, moving

(4) (C cluster - 1 = alveolar elided

(C cluster - 2 = if the full form was retained or replaced, for instance, by [ʔ] or an assimilated form, e.g. next day, left turn etc.

(Ibid: 55-8)

The 51 subjects selected for study were grouped according to their occupational status into six groups. The main goal of this study was to detect whether the assistant's speech, as manifested in the four phonological variables, matched the variation realized in the clients' speech. In other words, Coupland was interested to know whether or not Sue converged her speech style to her addressees and, if so, to what extent. He hypothesized according to the accommodation theory that:

"Sue's phonological behaviour will, within limits, vary in relation to that of her interlocutor's if (i) she desires their approval (provided she perceives the rewards of so doing as greater than the costs); and for (ii) she wishes to improve communication efficiency."

(Coupland 1984:54)

As Coupland had hypothesized, the study's results showed a very interesting correlation in the use of the four variables between Sue's speech behaviour and that of the clients. Figure 9.1 below illustrates the clear correlation between Sue's pronunciation and those of her interlocutors for the (t) variable. It is by no means clear, however, that the percentage scores relative to the (t) variable in Sue's speech were a mirror image of the different percentages scored by the different clients occupational groups. This is because Sue, according

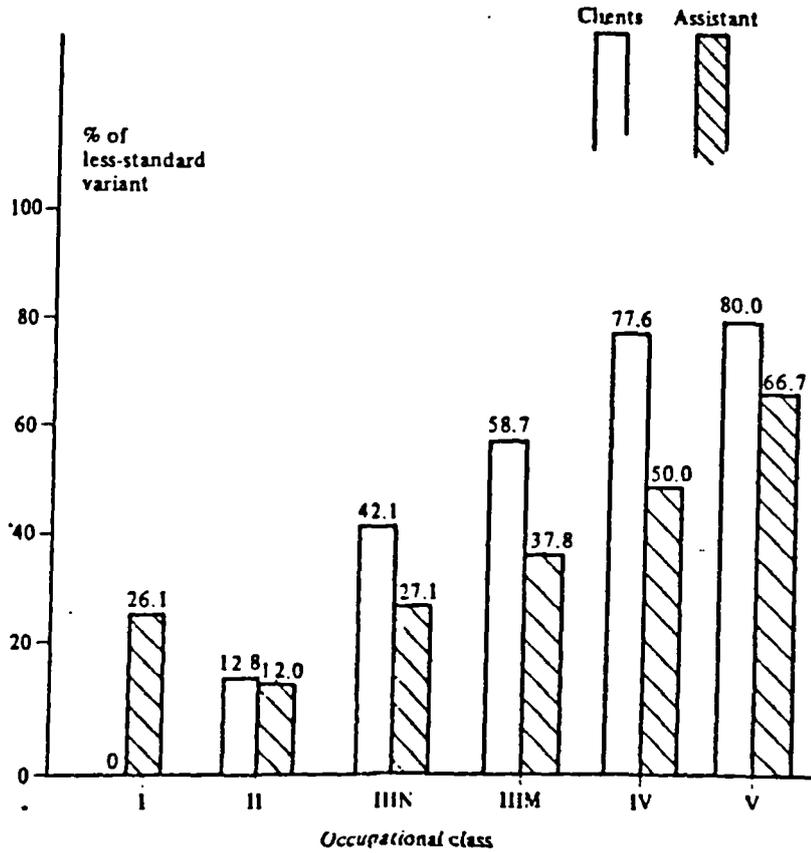


Figure 9.1 : Variable (t) : Comparison of clients' use and assistant's use; clients by occupational class (adopted from Coupland 1984:63).

Coupland, was quite aware of the linguistic background of each of her interlocutors; subsequently she accommodated her speech style, deliberately or undeliberately, to match that of her clients.

What do these results tell us? Firstly, they confirm the hypothesis that a speaker tends to converge his speech behaviour towards that of his addressees in order to gain their approval, provided that this approval outweighs the costs paid on the part of the speaker, since "communication efficiency and social approval are presumably both relevant criteria for success for a travel agency assistant" (Coupland 1984:54-5). Secondly, it provides further confirmation of the accommodation theory, which posits that the greater the ability of the speaker to vary his speech style the more effective the accommodation between this speaker and his recipient will be. Thirdly, the results show that the best way for examining the accommodative behaviour of speakers is to handle it in terms of a quantitative linguistic analysis.

#### 9.1.2.2.2 Trudgill's (1986/1974) study of Norwich

In his book Dialects in contact, Peter Trudgill (1986:5) reports that in a comment on Labov's work in New York city (1966) Giles claims that in an interview setting, when sociolinguists are interviewing their subjects, they expect the pronunciation of these subjects to covary with, for instance, social class. The interviewing linguist therefore accommodates in anticipation, as it were, and uses a speech pattern characteristic of the socio-economic background of the interviewee. The subjects in the face-to-face situation then accommodate the interviewer, producing the type of language that was expected and fulfilling the sociolinguist's prophecy. As such the results of some sociolinguistic studies may, according to Giles, be somewhat suspect.

In an attempt to refute Giles' argument, Trudgill uses his data collected in Norwich (1974). To test this claim, Trudgill analyzes his own speech as an interviewer for two phonological variables; the (t) variable in which the speakers in Norwich city alternate between, [t], [tʔ] and [ʔ] in intervocalic and word final position of a word; and the variable (a:) which deals with the degree of fronting or backing of the vowel of the lexical set of part, half etc. The latter variable has three variants : [ɑ:], [ɘ: - ɤ:] and [a:].

In this review we shall concern ourselves with the (t) variable because Trudgill found very interesting results with respect to the accommodation of the interviewer to the interviewees with regard to this variable. Trudgill works out index scores for the realization of the variable in his speech and in the speech of 10 of his informants. Indices for the variable are computed as follows : consistent use of (t) - 1 = [t] produced a score of 0, while consistent use of (t) - 3 = [ʔ] produced a score of 200.

The study's results are shown in figures 9.2 and 9.3 below. Figure 9.2 illustrates that a clear-cut accommodation has taken place between the Interviewer and his informants. It also shows that the one who was accommodating throughout the course of the interview was the Interviewer rather than the interviewees. According to Trudgill, this is because if he was manoeuvring in such a way as to urge his informants to produce the type of pronunciation expected in anticipation, he (Trudgill) would have higher (t) indices than the working-class speakers and lower scores than the middle-class speakers (Ibid:8).

Thus it is quite apparent that in most cases (with eight informants) the interviewer used more glottal stops than his informants. This was attributed by Trudgill to the age factor. When

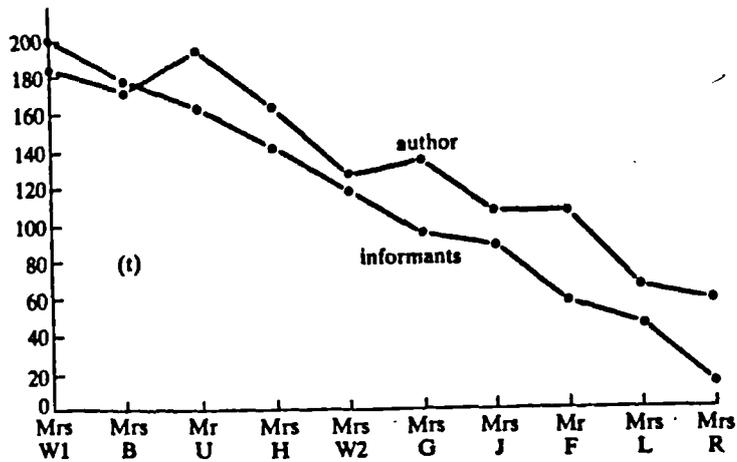


Figure 9.2 : Variable (t) : Comparison of informants' use  
and interviewer's use (adopted from Trudgill 1986:8)

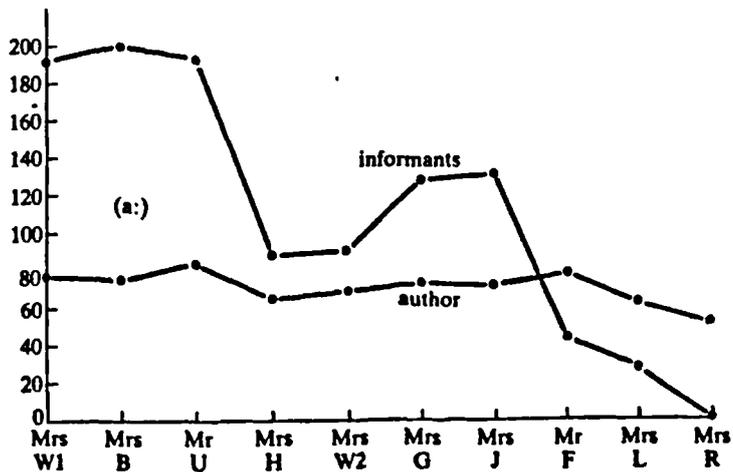


Figure 9.3 : Variable (a:) : Comparison of informants' use  
and interviewer's use (adopted from Trudgill 1986:9)

his original study was made in (1974) Trudgill was aged 24 and the 10 informants selected for that study were all older than him. Because of the more frequent usage of the glottal stops by the younger aged speakers in Norwich, Trudgill showed higher scores of it than his informants.

Even though Figure 9.2 shows that Trudgill did accommodate to his informants in the case of (t), Figure 9.3 by contrast demonstrates that he did not accommodate to them in his pronunciation of (a:). This was explained by Trudgill on the grounds that the (t) variable is a marker in Norwich English, while (a:) is merely an indicator. Namely, Norwich English speakers do not change their pronunciation of /a:/ radically from one situation to another as they do for /t/.

Although the major aim of Trudgill's study was to attempt to prove the validity of the sociolinguistic studies which are based on face-to-face interviews, it can be considered further support for the accommodation theory and the quantitative approach as a useful and precise means for studying linguistic accommodation. Furthermore, the study reveals that the linguistic interview itself is not exempt from the approval-seeking target; just as the Travel Agency assistant desired the customer's attraction and/or approval for more sales, the interviewer also strove for his subjects' attention and/or approval in order to secure the cooperation with him.

### 9.1.3 The present study

By short-term accommodation we mean the kind of accommodation which takes place in interpersonal encounters, where the speaker tends to converge or diverge his speech style towards or away from that of his interlocutor(s). In order to test the hypothesis which states that speakers accommodate their speech style to that of their addressees so as to win their social approval (Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and

Smith 1979), and that the personal attributes of the addressee such as sex, age, ethnic identity, etc. play a significant role in the process (Giles and Powesland 1975; Lambert 1967, 1974; Taylor et al 1977), I carried out a linguistic self-analysis while talking to the subjects. This was done also in order to see to what extent linguistic accommodation takes place between my pronunciation behaviour and that of the informants.

Before discussing this investigation it is worth clarifying that when my field research was carried out in 1986, the original objective of the study was to examine only the speech behaviour of the informants selected for study and not my own speech. I did not set out to investigate my own linguistic behaviour. Because of the increasing importance of accommodation as a sociolinguistic topic, and owing to the fact that by using the accommodation model we can set up a thorough and comprehensive interpretation of all sorts of stylistic-shifting, it was decided to include our study in this chapter. This means that the findings of this investigation will be valid and genuine, since I was not aware during the fieldwork that my speech could be used for the purpose of study. Therefore, no bias would be present on the part of the obtained findings.

For reasons that have been given in chapter 3, it is worthwhile to mention here that not all female subjects were interviewed by me. This is because the cultural norms of Jordanian society impose certain restrictions on women as far as their exposure to male outsiders and being tape-recorded is concerned. Therefore three out of the 15 female informants were interviewed by a well-trained female interviewer (see the Interviewer - Chapter 3).

Hence only the data obtained from the 35 informants who were interviewed by me personally will be used for the purpose of this

investigation. In order to gauge the process of accommodation which was taking place between myself and the subjects, the 35 informants were grouped according to social parameters such as age, origin, sex and educational attainment. The phonological variable used for examining the accommodation between myself and the different social groups is the (Q) variable. The reason for this choice was as seen in Chapter IV that the (Q) variable shows a great deal of both stylistic and social variation. Additionally, in order to investigate the sensitivity of different linguistic variables to the formality of the situation resulting in interpersonal encounters, I shall use both the (Q) and the (d3) variables for the sake of examining my accommodation to individual speakers.

To serve as a reminder, in Chapter IV, where we have concerned with studying the process of standardization which is taking place in the speech of Fellahiin and Horaniis, the (Q) variable was treated as a two-variant variable, viz:

(Q) - 1 = [q] the standard variant

(Q) - 2 = [K], [g] and [?] the colloquial variants collectively.

Each occurrence of the standard variant [q] was given the value 1 and each occurrence of the colloquial variant(s) [g], [K] and [?] the value 0. After summing and averaging this gave a score of 100% for consistent use of [q] and 0% for consistent use of the colloquial variant(s) [g], [K] and [?].

### 9.1.3.1 Accommodation of the interviewer to social groups

#### 9.1.3.1.1 Education

As can be seen from Tables 9.1 and 9.2 there is a clear-cut correlation between the pronunciation behaviour of the interviewer and the different educational levels. It is quite evident that there is a gradual increase in the use of the SA variant [q] as the educational

level of the informants increases, although there is more regularity evident in the informants' speech than in that of the interviewer. In other words, the educational attainment of the informant plays a significant role in determining the quantity and quality of the variant realized in the speech of both informant and interviewer.

Table 9.1 Interviewer's accommodation to three educational groups

Educational groups	Informants		Interviewer	
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total
H. educated	61	592/977	55	334/610
M. educated	37	345/938	46	314/684
Non-educated	9	60/680	9	35/404
N=		2595		1698

Examining the distribution of the (Q) variable in the speech of the interviewer on the one hand and the informants on the other, across the two conversational styles i.e. the casual and the formal styles, (as seen in Table 9.2) it seems to be that just as the informants showed stylistic-shifting in the formal style, the interviewer also showed a parallel stylistic-shifting in the same direction. This indicates that the interviewer was still accommodating his speech style towards his informants along the stylistic dimension.

This patterning suggests that the interviewer has made an effort to modify his pronunciation behaviour to match that of his informants on the three educational levels. It is a well-known fact that in the Arab world (a diglossic society) uneducated speakers are unable to use

Table 9.2 Interviewer's accommodation to three educational groups across two styles

Educational groups	Informants				Interviewer			
	CS		FS		CS		FS	
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total
H. educated	51	291/566	73	301/411	49	183/377	65	151/233
M. educated	27	162/594	53	183/344	39	168/430	57	146/254
Non-educated	6	27/486	17	33/194	6	16/279	15	19/125

the standard variety. Therefore when an interviewer conducts an interview with an uneducated person who is unable to utilize standard features in his speech, he should try to minimize as much as possible his use of the standard features in order to put the subject at ease, to win his social approval and secure his cooperation.

It is often the case that when an educated person uses the standard variety in his speech while talking to an uneducated person, he hears the uneducated person say mockingly /ballash yitfalsaf/ "he began to philosophize" meaning that he has begun to use in his speech lexical and phonological items above the educational level of the interlocutor in order to show himself to be more educated and, as such, more socially ranked on the social scale. Therefore when I modified my speech style to that of the moderately or poorly educated persons, an attempt was made to do that which had been done by the travel agency assistant who, according to Coupland (1984:65), attempted "to convey via her pronunciation and presumably other behaviours, verbal and non-verbal, a persona which was similar to that conveyed by her interlocutors."

The stylistic-shifting which occurred, consciously or subconsciously, in my speech can be attributed to the influence of both the addressee and the question and topic at hand. Such convergence along the stylistic dimension can be regarded as "initiative" in that "it redefines the relationship between the speaker and his/her addressee in order to bring them closer to each other" (Bell 1984:185).

#### 9.1.3.1.2 Age

Comparing my realization of the SA variant [q] with that of the three age groups (see table 9.3) one realizes that my speech seems to echo that of the informants when distributed by age. This coincidence between my speech style and that of the interlocutors is not unusual in Arabic, since the topic at hand is the most determinant element in recalling lexical and phonological items from either code; viz: the standard or the colloquial, particularly if the speaker's repertoire allows him to do so, i.e. if the native Arabic speaker is well-educated and has full mastery of both the standard language and the colloquial variety to the extent that he is able to use both forms skillfully.

Table 9.3 Interviewer's accommodation to three age groups

Age groups	Informants		Interviewer	
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total
Y. age group	47	399/856	48	319/667
M. age group	37	335/917	35	224/635
O. age group	32	263/822	35	140/396
N=		2595		1698

This table (9.3) shows that there is a clear correlation between the age pattern of the subjects and their usage of the standard variant [q]. As we have pointed out earlier, this is because the age and educational factors are indistinguishable. The younger speakers are more educated than the middle-aged speakers, who in turn are more educated than the older age speakers. Therefore it is not unusual for the interviewer to use more standard features in his speech when talking to the younger or the middle-aged speakers than when talking to the older age speakers.

#### 9.1.3.1.3 Sex

As we move to tables 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6 a new pattern of accommodation appears to take place in the pronunciation behaviour of the interviewer. The results indicate that the sex of the informant in the Jordanian speech community is an important factor in conditioning the process of accommodation between a speaker and his interlocutor. It is obvious that while I appear to have converged towards my male informants, I refrained from doing so with the female group of speakers. A comparison between the realization of the SA variant [q] in my speech while talking to the male subjects (40%) and that while talking to the female subjects (42%) shows clearly to what extent the divergence has taken place between my pronunciation behaviour and that of the female interlocutors.

The same pattern emerges when we examine my accommodation to the informants distributed by sex and education. Table 9.5 indicates that I converged only to the non-educated. Such a convergence appears not to have taken place with the highly and the moderately educated female speakers however. By contrast, when we examine the distribution of the (Q) variable in my speech while talking to the educated male informants

(see Table 9.6), we notice that I did indeed show a speech style shift towards the male interlocutors of all educational backgrounds, although to varying degrees.

Table 9.4 Interviewer's accommodation to two sex groups

Women		Interviewer		Men		Interviewer	
[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total
22	170/789	42	226/543	46	827/1806	40	457/1155

Table 9.5 Interviewer's accommodation to women distributed by three educational groups

Educational groups	Women		Interviewer	
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total
H. educated	48	63/130	76	100/132
M. educated	43	85/197	59	114/194
Non-educated	5	22/462	6	12/217

Table 9.6 Interviewer's accommodation to men distributed by three educational groups

Educational groups	Men		Interviewer	
	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total
H. educated	62	529/847	50	234/478
M. educated	35	260/741	41	200/490
Non-educated	17	38/218	12	23/187

This investigation is not the only one which shows men and women to be differentiated in their speech behaviour. Similar results have also been previously obtained. In our analysis on the other linguistic variables : (d3) and (D), we observed that men and women were also found to be distinct in their use of the different linguistic variables. How can we explain the dissimilarities in the linguistic behaviour of the interviewer and his female interlocutors? Perhaps the best way to explain this pattern of linguistic divergence is to handle it in terms of the "intergroup relations approach"<sup>1</sup> (Tajfel 1974).

Giles and Smith (1979), building on Tajfel's (1974) theory of intergroup relations and social change, suggest that:

"Given that speech style is, for many people, an important subjective and objective clue to social group membership..., it can be argued that in situations when group membership is a salient issue, speech divergence may be an important strategy for making oneself psychologically and favourably distinct from outgroup members".

(Giles and Smith 1979:52)

We pointed out earlier (Chapter IV and Chapter V) that in Jordanian society as in many other Arab milieux, men and women form two sub-communities with differing values, attitudes and perceptions of social life. Such a dichotomous perception of life should leave its

mark on the linguistic norms used by both of these communities. The idea that cultural norms are a strong influential factor on language has been emphasized by different scholars. For instance, J. Gumperz and E. Hernandez (1969:111) maintain that:

"the presence or absence of particular linguistic alternates directly reflects significant information about such matters as group membership, values, relative prestige, power relationship etc."

We saw previously that men and women are in disagreement over what is linguistically prestigious relative to the colloquial varieties; for instance, while educated women view the urban colloquial variety as more prestigious, men see the Horani variety as more appropriately used by local male speakers. However, both of them consider the standard language as the most prestigious on a national level. Thus it is that the dichotomous perception of the "local prestige" will inevitably affect the coalitional perception of the "national prestige".

As I am part of this speech community I am also fully aware of what is linguistically appropriate for each gender-group. Therefore the only plausible explanation for the linguistic divergence which has taken place between myself and the female subjects is due to the differentiation between them and myself with respect to the perception of the "local prestige". What happened is that by showing a lower percentage use of the SA variant [q], educated women, who triggered off the large portion of [q], were taking advantage of the two types of prestige: the local (i.e. the urban variety) and the national (i.e. the standard language). By using the SA variant [q] more often in my speech, I capitalized on the "national prestige" only, attempting to persuade the women that I was alright since I was using heavily a linguistic variant which belongs to no colloquial variety but to the standard language.

As such, in my aim to keep my identity as a male speaker independent, without prejudicing the objective of the interview, I consciously diverged my speech style from that of the female interlocutors showing higher use of the [q] variant and lower use of the colloquial variants, upon whose use men and women disagree. This tactic seems to be in line with Tajfel and Wilkes' (1963) assumption (quoted in Giles and Powesland 1975:156) that "divergence is a strategy aimed at accentuating interpersonal differences" and that "it is quite likely that the strategy of speech divergence is more available to conscious awareness than that of speech convergence" (Giles and Powesland 1975:156).

#### 9.1.3.1.4 Origin

As seen in Table 9.7 below the results of our analysis of the process of accommodation which took place between myself and my informants when distributed by origin demonstrate that accommodation to both groups did indeed take place, although I showed a higher percentage use of the SA variant [q] while talking to the Fellahi subjects and a lower percentage use of the same variant [q] while talking to the Horani subjects.

Table 9.7 Interviewer's accommodation to two origin groups

Horaniis				Fellahiin			
Informants		Interviewer		Informants		Interviewer	
[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total	[q]%	No/Total
35	459/1311	28	235/851	42	538/1284	53	448/847

Examining the distribution of the (Q) variants in my speech on the one hand and the Horani informants on the other, one observes that

another type of convergence, as seen in Table 9.8 seems to have taken place with Horaniis on the colloquial level, showing a significantly higher percentage use of the Horani colloquial variant [g].

Table 9.8 Distribution of (Q) variants for the interviewer and the Horani informants

Variant	Informants		Interviewer	
	N=	%	N=	%
q	459	35	235	28
g	845	64	615	72
?	7	1	1	00
Total	1311	100	851	100

Table 9.9 Distribution of (Q) variants for the interviewer and the Fellahi informants

Variant	Informants		Interviewer	
	N=	%	N=	%
q	538	42	448	53
g	418	32	278	33
K	242	19	114	13
?	86	7	7	1
Total	1284	100	847	100

Before proceeding with our interpretation of these results it is worthwhile mentioning that I am a native of Irbid City; I was born and raised there, and belong originally to the Fellahi group of speakers. Since the Fellahi dialect is seen by all of the Jordanian speech community members as an unfavourable form of Arabic, Fellahi speakers therefore tend either to adopt other phonological features from other dialects spoken in the city, or to increase their use of the SA variants as a mechanism for avoiding such a stigma. Since I am a native of the city, I have no difficulty at all in using any of the other colloquial varieties if I so desire.

Admittedly, like many other Fellahi male speakers the influence of the receiver's identity (regional origin) on my repertoire is far-reaching. For instance, taking the (Q) variable as a parameter, at home in intimate communications with family members, the variant which prevails in my speech is the [K] variant, whereas outside the home, even with friends of all three local groups, the colloquial variant that I use exclusively is the Horani variant [g], although in alternation with the SA variant [q].

Looking once again at the distribution of the (Q) variants in my speech and in that of the Horani interlocutors, it is clear that while I realized the SA variant [q] 28% of the time, I showed a very high percentage use of the Horani variant [g] 72%. This means that I used the Horani variant more often than the Horani native speakers themselves. Therefore we notice here a clear pattern of "hypercorrection" as Labov (1966, 1972a) calls it. In addition, it can be noted that while I was talking to the Horaniis, the Fellahi variant [K] (my native variant) was inhibited in my speech most of all (0%). What one can deduce from these results is this: firstly, a clear case

of speech convergence toward the Horani speakers has taken place on the colloquial level; and secondly, a slight divergence on the standard level has occurred.

Giles (1980:115) argued that:

"While desire for another's social approval is a prerequisite for convergence to take place, a sufficiently well-developed emphatic capacity seems needed in order to facilitate the process."

In another place Giles et al (1973:180) maintain that "the amount of accommodation a person exhibits may in part be a function of the strength of his need for social approval from the other" and in part to compensate for the unsuitability of his own dialect in interpersonal encounters with persons speaking a more prestigious variety.

When I converged toward the Horani speakers on the colloquial level more often than on the standard level it was because I was quite aware that convergence on the colloquial level would be accepted by the Horaniis more than a convergence on the standard level would. Further, even though there is a unique type of unity among the three regional groups in the city with regard to social, religious, political and economical interests, another reason for the conscious or unconscious convergence toward the Horaniis on the colloquial level was to break any psychological barrier between myself as an outsider and them, and also to emphasize this unique type of unity. This comes through clearly in Bell's (1984) words when he suggests that in outgroup refree design:

"speakers lay claim to a speech and identity which are not their own but which hold prestige for them on some dimensions. They diverge from the speech of their ingroup ... towards an outgroup with whom they wish to identify".

(Bell 1984:188)

#### 9.1.3.2 Accommodation of the interviewer to individual speakers

The question remains whether or not the pronunciation of different phonological variables in the speech of the same individual in dyadic

encounters can be modified according to the speech pattern of the interlocutors; and to what extent this modification can take place. In order to find an answer, I decided to investigate my accommodation vis-a-vis a number of individual speakers with regard to two linguistic variables: (Q) and (d3).

Because of the importance of the sex and origin factors as two influential elements in the process, I decided to select the informants by sex and origin evenly distributed: 2 women and 2 men were selected from each origin group, giving eight informants in total. Index scores for the (d3) variable were calculated in the same way used in Chapter V (see Chapter V), i.e. each occurrence of the colloquial-standard variant [d3] was given the value 0 and each occurrence of the urban variant [3] the value 1. After computing the percentage scores, consistent use of [3] results in 100% and consistent use of [d3] results in 0%.

Figures 9.4 and 9.5 indicate that while in most cases accommodation has taken place between myself and the informants in their use of the (Q) variable, there seems to be no accommodation at all, or if any, very slight, in the case of (d3) i.e. only a very slight rise in my use of the urban variant [3] can be traced in my speech with informant 8.

In the case of the (Q) variable (as seen in figure 9.4) there appears to be a clear example of divergence between my pronunciation and that of informant 8; while this informant uses the SA variant [q] 48% of the time, the interviewer uses the same variant [q] 90% of the time. This genuine case of divergence in which I showed a radical shift in my speech from that of my interlocutor can be interpreted as follows: Informant 8 is a Fellahi highly educated female speaker who was interviewed in the presence of her peer group (three urban ladies) and a relative (her aunt, a 65 year old Fellahi speaker).

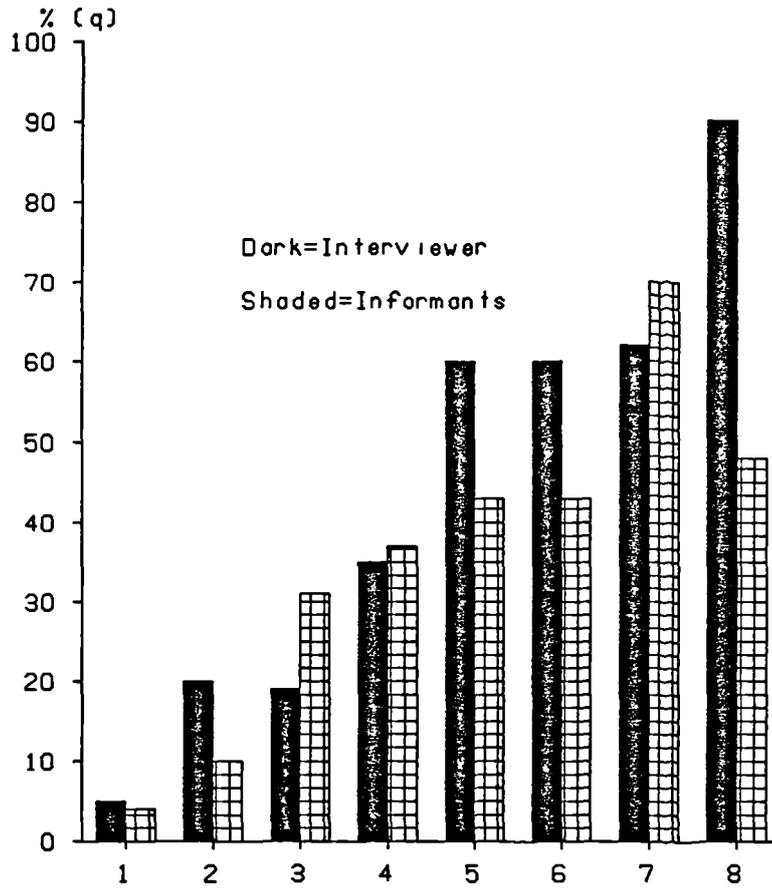


Figure 9.4 Variable (Q): Interviewer's accommodation to eight informants

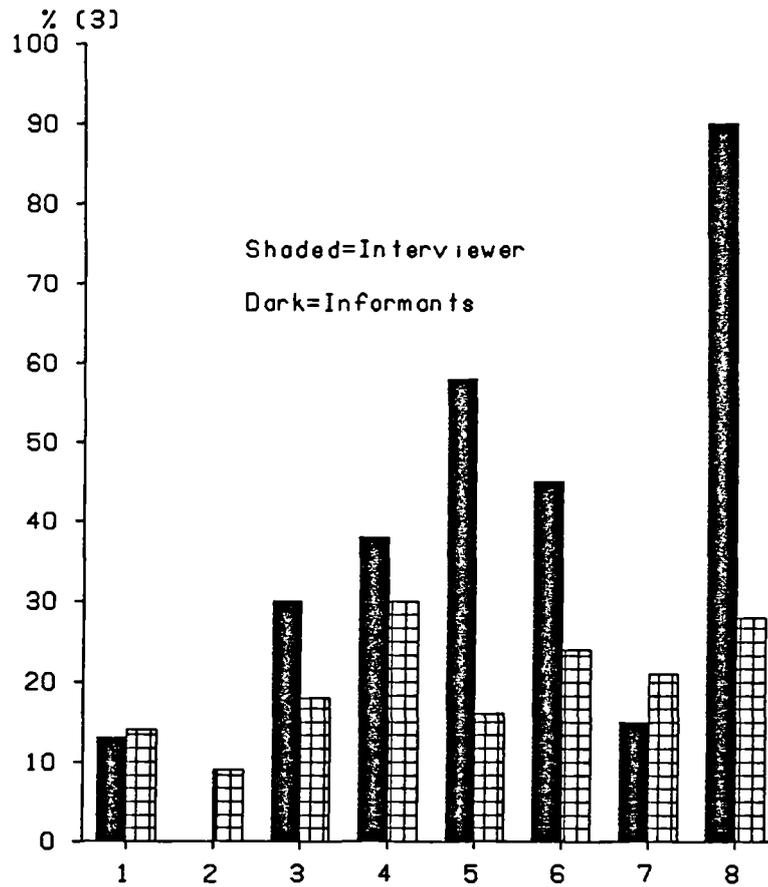


FIGURE 9.5 Variable (d3): Interviewer's accommodation to eight informants

Because of her high standard of education (a pharmaceutical student, in her final year of study) this informant tended to alternate her speech between the SA variant [q] and the colloquial urban prestigious variant [ʔ]. In fact she was using the local prestigious variant [ʔ] more often than [q], whereas I was taking advantage only of the SA variant [q]. This was because of the presence of the informant's aunt (the older Fellahi lady) who almost categorically uses the Fellahi variant [K] in her speech. I was not in a position to use the [ʔ] variant, partly because it is considered effeminate and partly because it is not a part of my normal linguistic behaviour. If I had used it it would have caused a great deal of embarrassment and hindered my rapport with the informant. At the same time, the stigmatized status of the colloquial variant [K] rendered it improper for me as an educated person, to use it in my conversation with this highly educated lady in the presence of other highly educated urban female speakers. Therefore the only possible choice for me was to use the SA variant [q] in order to standardize my speech and obtain my interlocutor's social approval. Whether the higher use of the SA variant [q] was taking place in my speech consciously or subconsciously, I was quite aware that the higher use of [q] is acceptable to all recipients.

A similar pattern can also be seen in Figure 9.5 with regard to the (d3) variable. Here the same informant (No. 8) showed a very high percentage use of the urban variant [3], whereas I remained consistent in my speech since the colloquial variant [d3] is also common to the standard variety and is not subject to a great deal of social pressure as is the [K] variant. Subsequently I did not show a great deal of shift in my speech.

The question which remains unanswered is: how can we account for the clear-cut accommodation between the interviewer and the informants

in the case of (Q) and the absence of such a pattern in the case of (d3)? It has been shown in both Coupland's (1984) and Trudgill's (1986) studies that not all phonological variables respond in the same way when a speaker accommodates to this interlocutors. Once again, for example, Trudgill found that although accommodation occurred in the case of the (t) variable, in the case of (a:) the accommodation was almost absent or, if existent, faint .

Building on Labov's classification of linguistic variables (1972), Trudgill attributes the unequal degree of accommodation of the two variables (t) and (a:) to the amount of awareness attached to each of these variables by the speakers. This is because linguistic variables can be classified into "markers", which are subject to both stylistic and social variation, and "indicators", which are subject only to social variation (see Chapter VII). Trudgill believes that the high level of awareness attached to markers leads people to adjust their pronunciation of that variable when they come into contact with speakers of other language varieties (Trudgill 1986:10-11).

Trudgill's explanation is straight to the point, since it seems to work for the process of accommodation which occurred between myself and the 8 informants in the case of (Q) and (d3) in this study. From our analysis of these two variables, in Chapter IV and V, we have seen that the (Q) variable is the most salient feature in Arabic clearly involving in both stylistic and social variation; this can be associated with a level of awareness on the part of the speakers that is higher than the (d3) variable, a new adoption that is classified as an "indicator" for the overwhelming majority of the speech community. Therefore it is not unusual for me to have shown a radical accommodation toward my informants in the case of (Q) and a consistent pattern of pronunciation in the case of (d3).

Having shown that the accommodation between myself and the informants as groups and individuals did take place, our task is now to identify the direction and source of this accommodation : who accommodates to whom. As mentioned earlier, the core of the accommodation theory is "social approval": in order for linguistic accommodation to take place between persons in interpersonal encounters, there must be a motivating force that prompts the speaker to diverge in his speech style. This depends basically on the speaker's desire for gaining his interlocutor's approval.

Since one of the prerequisites of a satisfactory linguistic interview is the cooperation of the interviewee with the interviewer, there is no doubt that it is the interviewer rather than the interviewee who is in need of the approval. Consequently in order for the interviewer to win the interviewee's approval, it is highly likely that he will be the one who will accommodate rather than the interviewee.

The present evidence suggests that, indeed, the one who has accommodated is the interviewer. If, apart from the fact that he is the one who is in need of the subjects' approval, the interviewer were the target of accommodation and were to maintain speech behaviour classed as more standardized than that used by illiterates, the uneducated speakers who have not had the chance to learn the standard language would be unable to match their speech style with the interviewer's or even to understand him. Furthermore, the close match between the interviewer's scores and those of the informants, whether grouped by age, educational level etc. or as individuals, indicates unequivocally that it is the interviewer rather than the subjects who accommodated. Thus these results lend support to those of Trudgill

(1986) who found that accommodation between him and his interviewees did take place, but that he was the one who accommodated linguistically to his informants rather than inducing them to accommodate to him.

## 9.2 Long-term accommodation

The second kind of accommodation, which is the topic of this section, is described by some sociolinguists in terms of duration as long-term accommodation. In the previous section we saw an example of short-term accommodation in which the speaker accommodated his speech style to his interlocutors in order to gain approval. If short-term accommodation occurs frequently between two speakers, speaking two different regional varieties, it would result in what is called long-term accommodation, particularly if additional factors are favourable (Trudgill 1984:82).

It is a well-established fact that in bi- or multi-dialectal communities, where the speakers come into daily contact with each other, dialects can be affected by each other. For instance when certain phonological features belonging to dialect A are used by speakers who more commonly use dialect B in in-group gatherings, it is believed that this is an indication that long-term accommodation (i.e. linguistic diffusion) has begun to take place between the speakers of the two dialects. Thus the process can be seen as follows: social contact will result in linguistic accommodation, which in turn will produce a linguistic diffusion.

In most studies on dialects in contact, linguistic accommodation was found to be a crucial element in initiating change and linguistic diffusion. Trudgill (1983), for instance, cites an interesting example of linguistic diffusion. In Norwich he discovered that the vowel /ɒ/ = [a] in words like *top*, *hut* etc. was being replaced by [ʊ]. The innovation [ʊ] was shown to be predominant mostly in the speech of

younger generation speakers as a substitute for the unrounded vowel [ɑ], which was still most often used by the older generation speakers. Moreover Trudgill found that there were two patterns of sex differentiation with respect to the use of this variable : while the working-class males tended to use the rounded form [ɒ], working-class females showed a preference for the unrounded form [ɑ]. In contrast, the middle-class women were found to use the rounded form [ɒ] more often than the middle-class men. This was accounted for by Trudgill on the grounds that there are two sources for the innovation, the first being the RP accent (as a prestige form); and the second being the working class accents (as a non-prestige form). In both cases linguistic accommodation of the type taking place in face-to-face interaction was responsible for the change.

Trudgill (1982:284) argues that in short-term contacts between speakers with socially different accents, the direction in which accommodation will take place is often problematic. In long-term contacts between speakers speaking two different regional varieties, the question of who accommodates to whom is less of a problem. Nevertheless in order to know in the latter situation in which direction the accommodation will occur between the two groups of speakers with regionally different dialects, the limits of their accommodation, and which variety has the ability to socially outstrip the other, one has to consider the mechanism in the light of "ecological" and "ethological" or emotional factors (Rickford 1986:248-9), among others.

In discussing different views with regard to social contact and linguistic diffusion, Rickford (Ibid:248-9) summarizes the results of studies conducted in various social contexts and different bilingual and bidialectal speech communities. Rickford uses Whinnman's (1971)

"barriers to hybridization" as a parameter, these being:

- 1 - 'ecological' barriers: size of population; length of intimacy of contact; physical, demographic, geographic and political constraints; and the relative order in which immigrant populations settle in new areas.
- 2 - The ethological or emotional are such factors as: the attitude of populations in contact towards each other and towards each other's languages. e.g., the more positive the speakers' attitude towards a certain group of speakers, the more they adopt linguistic features from that group.
- 3 - ''Mechanical' factors (factors of outer or phonological form).'
- 4 - ''conceptual' factors (inner form - perception as shaped by syntactic and semantic structure)'. .

Rickford suggests that the last two factors can be grouped together as internal constraints on diffusion.

Owing to a wealth of personal, social, and psychological distinctions between individuals, it is not necessary for all those individuals who speak dialect A to show a similar attitude toward those individuals who speak dialect B. Therefore this differentiation between people with respect to their attitude towards others must result in different degrees of accommodation to others. Expressing a similar argument, Mougean et al (1985:455-6) say:

"in contact situation ... involving shift to a superordinate language, typically yields a continuum of subordinate language speakers who are more or less advanced on the shift path".

In order to examine this hypothesis, we will attempt to draw a clear picture in this present section of the direction of accommodation between the three origin groups, the limits of accommodation shown by the different social groups, and the reasons motivating the speaker(s) to accommodate. We shall model our methods on those used by Gal

(1984:293) in her study of the Hungarian-German bilingual neighbourhood in a town in Austria; (1) the social identity of the speakers in each origin group, indexed by education, age and sex; and (2) their pattern of choice between the three colloquial varieties spoken in the city.

Although the linguistic diffusion taking place between the three colloquial varieties in the city is not limited to one phonological feature<sup>2</sup>, the best phonological form that has been diffused in the city can be seen in the different variants of the (Q) variable: [g], [ʔ] and [K]. It is not surprising to see these three variants involved in change in progress, since accommodation between individuals, whether on the micro-level or the macro-level (i.e. on the level of the individual speaker or on the level of the groups of speakers), takes place on the most salient features; the linguistic features attached to a greater social awareness on the part of the speech community members.

The (Q) variable will be used for this investigation. Here we shall be concerned mainly with a process of adaptation in which the speakers are expected to be moving from a certain colloquial variety toward another. Unlike the (Q) variable in Chapter IV, which was treated as a two-variant variable - standard - colloquial - it will be treated here as a multi-variant variable. Namely we will consider the (Q) (though it actually is) as a variable consisting of four variants.

For reasons mentioned in Chapter IV (see quantifying the (Q) variable - Chapter IV) in this present investigation we have decided not to use the Labovian index score system. In order to discover which social group favours a particular variant over another we decided (like Romaine 1978) to consider the (Q) variable as four distinct variables. The calculation of index scores for each variant will be made as follows: we will compute the number of occurrences of each variant (i.e. [q], [g], [ʔ] and [K]) over the total number of occurrences of

the variable and multiply that by 100 to give a percentage score. This is exemplified as follows: If informant A uses the variant [g] 75 times and [q] 20 times and [ʔ] 5 times but does not use [K], and informant B uses the [q] variant 50 times and [ʔ] 50 times but does not use [K] and [g], then these variants will be distributed in the speech of the two informants as indicated below:

Speaker	[q]%	[g]%	[ʔ]%	[K]%
Speaker A	20	75	5	-
Speaker B	50	-	50	-

### 9.2.1 Findings

#### 9.2.1.1 Fellahiins' accommodation to other origin groups

The results of our analysis of the diffusion of the Horani colloquial variant [g] and the urban colloquial variant [ʔ] among the Fellahi group of speakers (as seen in Tables 9.10 through 9.13 below) can be summarized as follows:

the two gender groups of Fellahiin were found to be differentiated in their use of the three colloquial variants:

- 1 - Men, regardless of age or education, were found to favour the Horani variant [g] over both their native variant [K] and the urban variant [ʔ]. A similar result emerged in the previous section ("short-term accommodation") when the interviewer (a Fellahi male speaker) was found to be using the Horani variant [g], consciously or unconsciously, more often than his native variant [K].

- 2 - Women, on the other hand, were shown as being either faithful to their native variant [K], or as favouring the urban variant [?]. Fellahi women, thus, can be divided into two groups with respect to their accommodation to the other local varieties:
- A - The younger and the highly educated female speakers, who have a wider social network, were shown to favour the urban variant [?]. Thus by virtue of both their social status as the educated elite and their open social network, they use the urban variant in their speech almost exclusively, alternating with the SA variant [q].
- B - The uneducated or the semi-educated female speakers, whose social network is characteristically closed (restricted to their own home or neighbourhood), were found to cling to their colloquial variant [K], despite it being overtly stigmatized by other groups of speakers. This performance can be attributed partly to their social status as uneducated and partly to their low level of education which restricts their exposure to other social groups. This result is supported by those we arrived at in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 with regard to the (d3), (D) and (th) variables. In these three cases it was shown that the uneducated women were very conservative. They favoured their native variants [d3], [Dh] and [th] over the urban variants [3], [D] and [t]; the opposite was true of the educated female speakers.

Table 9.10 Distribution of (Q) variants in the Fellahi group

	[q]	[g]	[K]	[?]	Total
No. of Tokens	552	414	366	90	1422
Percentages %	39	29	26	6	100

Table 9.11 Distribution of (Q) variants by sex for the Fellahiin

Variants	Men		Women	
	No. of Tokens	%	No. of Tokens	%
[q]	442	51	110	20
[g]	402	47	12	2
[K]	7	1	359	64
[?]	12	1	78	14

Table 9.12 Comparison of Fellahi men's use and Fellahi women's use of the different variants of (Q) according to education

Educational groups	Men					Women				
	[q]	[g]	[K]	[?]	N=	[q]	[g]	[K]	[?]	N=
	%					%				
H. educated	62	37	0	1	401	51	10	0	39	84
M. educated	46	51	1	2	378	26	1	53	20	234
Non-educated	22	78	0	0	84	2	0	98	0	241

Table 9.13 Comparison of Fellahi men's use and Fellahi women's use of the different variants of (Q) according to age

Age groups	Men					Women				
	[q]	[g]	[K]	[?]	N=	[q]	[g]	[K]	[?]	N=
	%					%				
Y. age group	59	38	2	1	285	47	6	00	47	142
M. age group	60	37	00	3	281	19	3	71	7	152
O. age group	35	64	00	1	297	6	00	94	00	265

Thus while the male speakers of Fellahi origin were found to accommodate to the Horaniis, their younger and middle-aged educated female counterparts were seen to accommodate to the urbanites. The responsibility for maintaining the colloquial Fellahi variety was found to lie squarely on the older and the uneducated groups of female speakers.

By way of comparison, the results of our analysis of the Fellahi group vis-a-vis their use of the (Q) variants basically confirms the results of other sociolinguistic studies on the Fellahiin in Amman City (Abdul-Jawad 1981) and on the Palestinian speech community in Buffalo, New York (Shorab 1982).

Abdul-Jawad (1981:323) found that women (of whom the Fellahi female speakers are a part) seem to adopt the linguistic feature characteristic of the urban dialect, e.g., they adopted [?] because it was believed locally that [?] was more feminine and urban. He also observed that the process of urbanization took place primarily among educated women who participated in public life in one way or another (see the sex factor - Chapter IV). Moreover, uneducated women were

found to be very conservative linguistically, preferring to use their local variants. Men seemed to favour the use of the standard variant [q]. The urban variant [ʔ] was rarely used by Bedouin or Fellahiin men, and the Fellahi variant [K] was never used by either the urban or the Bedouin speakers. The variant [g] was used by men of nearly all origin groups: Bedouin, Fellahiin and Urbanite. Abdul-Jawad concludes that the Bedouin variant [g] could be regarded as [+ masculine], and that the urban variant [ʔ] was [+ feminine]. He also concluded that the Fellahi variant [K] was disfavoured by all social and origin groups except the uneducated Fellahi female speakers.

Similarly, Shorab (1982) discovered that the uneducated Fellahi female speakers showed a higher percentage use of the [ʔ] variant than the urban female speakers in both the casual and the formal styles. The strong tendency of the Fellahi educated women to use the urban variant [ʔ] was attributed by Shorab to the linguistic insecurity of the female respondents, who were fully aware of the stigmatized status of their colloquial variant [K].

#### 9.2.1.2 Horaniis' accommodation to other origin groups

Looking at tables 9.14 through 9.17, it is quite evident that the Horani group of speakers is very consistent in its speech with respect to its use of the native variant [g]. The results of our analysis of the Horaniis showed them to be more faithful to their own variety than the Fellahiin. However all Horaniis, with the exception of some of the highly educated and the middle-aged female speakers, exhibit a strong tendency towards the use of their colloquial variant [g] in preference to the other colloquial variants used in the city.

Table 9.14 Distribution of (Q) variants in the Horani group

	[q]	[g]	[?]	Total
No. of Tokens	503	869	33	1405
Percentages	35	63	2	100

Table 9.15 Distribution of (Q) variants by sex for the Horaniis

Variants	Men		Women	
	No. of Tokens	%	No. of Tokens	%
[q]	385	41	118	26
[g]	554	59	315	68
[?]	4	00	29	6
N=	943	100	462	100

Table 9.16 Comparison of Horani men's use and Horani women's use of the different variants of (Q) according to education

Educational groups	Men				Women			
	[q]	[g]	[?]	N=	[q]	[g]	[?]	N=
	%				%			
H. educated	62	37	1	446	45	29	26	98
M. educated	24	76	00	363	40	58	2	143
Non-educated	14	85	1	134	8	92	00	221

Table 9.17 Comparison of Horani men's use and Horani women's use of the different variants of (Q) according to age

Age groups	Men				Women			
	[q]	[g]	[?]	N=	[q]	[g]	[?]	N=
	%				%			
Y. age group	47	51	02	213	29	70	01	216
M. age group	30	70	00	428	34	49	17	150
O. age group	51	49	00	302	5	95	00	96

Examining the distribution by sex and education of the (Q) variants in the speech of the Horaniis, one notices that the urban variant [?] has also begun to creep into the speech of the educated female speakers. But the general pattern shows that the Horaniis are the group accommodated to, particularly by the Fellahi men, rather than vice versa.

The apparent conclusions which can be drawn from our analysis of the Horaniis are as follows:

- 1 - Unlike the Fellahi men, Horani male speakers of all age groups and educational levels are very faithful to their vernacular form [g].
- 2 - Women are also faithful to their colloquial variant [g], although some of the educated and the middle-aged female speakers appear to favour the urban variant [?] in alternation with the Horani variant [g] and the SA variant [q].

### 9.2.2 Discussion

The main conclusion that can be drawn from these results is that the Fellahi speakers are more prone to accommodate their speech style than the Horaniis are. In the previous chapters we have touched on

some of the factors contributing to the adoption of certain phonological features from one dialect by another. We will now attempt to address some other questions related to the motivations which induce speakers in general and the present study's speakers in particular to accommodate, to the direction of this accommodation, and to the extent to which this accommodation took place.

Having pinpointed the direction of accommodation between the regional groups (i.e. who accommodates to whom), we must now verify whether or not the adoption of the Horani variant [g] by the Fellahi male speakers and the adoption of the urban variant [ʔ] by the Fellahi educated female speakers represent a genuine case of long-term accommodation.

Peter Trudgill (1984:1) claims that linguistic "diffusion can be said to have taken place, presumably, on the first occasion when a speaker employs a new feature in the absence of speakers of the variety originally containing this feature." Taking this claim as a criterion, it is highly likely that the pattern of accommodation recognized here, particularly for the Fellahiin, is permanent rather than temporary, since all speech monitored by the 19 Fellahi informants was given in face-to-face interviews with a Fellahi interviewer in the absence of both Horaniis and urbanites. Moreover, the high percentage use of the [g] variant in my speech (see table 9.9 in the previous section) when talking to the Fellahi subjects gives additional support to the allegation that the [g] variant has become a part of the linguistic behaviour of some of the Fellahi speakers. Nonetheless we shall not be considering this conclusion definitive until another sociolinguistic study using data free from observer effects and devoted exclusively to this purpose can substantiate or refute it.

Accordingly, the findings on the Fellahi group of speakers suggest that the Fellahi dialect in Irbid City, as we have seen above, is a dying dialect, since younger Fellahiin of both sexes tend to shift to other dialects spoken in the city according to the sex of the speaker. Although the analysis of the data obtained from the Fellahi informants does not reveal that the change taking place in the speech of the Fellahiin, insofar as the colloquial variants of (Q) are concerned, is linguistically gradual; rather it revealed that it is socially and stylistically gradual. In other words there seems to be a close correlation, particularly within the female group, between the age, the educational attainment of the speaker, and her use of the innovation.

Giles and his associates have frequently argued that the main objective of accommodation between individuals is the reduction of dissimilarities. Before this can occur it is necessary for the convergent speakers to be motivated by a number of factors, some social and others psychological. Among the socio-psychological factors inspiring a speaker to accommodate is his attitude towards those who live closest to him. It is a well-established fact that the attitudinal factors are some of the most important elements which motivate speakers to accommodate linguistically to one another.<sup>3</sup>

In this present study the attitude of a particular group of speakers towards one another was found to be important in the process. Various questions regarding language attitude were put to the informants. Their answers revealed that:

- 1 - The fact that the speech community is divided by sex with respect to its evaluation of the three dialects was attested. For example, most of the male subjects agreed that the most appropriate dialect to be used by men is the Horani dialect, while women were in disagreement over the prestige status of the urban variety.

- 2 - The Fellahi dialect is the least favoured by all groups of speakers except, of course, the older and non-educated Fellahi female speakers.
- 3 - The urban variety is disfavoured by male speakers of both the Horani and Fellahi groups. Most of our male informants felt that it is a rather feminine dialect.
- 4 - Some of the Fellahi informants were inaccurate in reporting their linguistic behaviour. For instance, informant 11, a Fellahi male speaker in his early twenties, was asked about his attitude towards the three colloquial varieties. He initially reported that his favourite dialect as a male speaker is the Horani, but when he realized that the interviewer was Fellahi in origin, he admitted that he usually used the Fellahi variety with parents, siblings, close friends and so on.

On the whole the results of our analysis seem to conform the predictions of Le Page who wrote:

"Each individual creates the systems of his verbal behaviour so that they resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that:

- a) he can identify the group
- b) he has the opportunity and ability to observe and analyse their behavioural systems
- c) his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose and to adapt his behaviour accordingly
- d) he is still able to adapt his behaviour."

(Le Page 1974:46)

Since the linguistic behaviour of an individual is a real reflection of his attitudes toward a particular group of speakers, we found that each of our informants was willing to identify himself with a certain group of speakers according to sex and regional origin.

Another important factor in the process is "prestige". Generally speaking, in most cases of linguistic diffusion it has been argued that prestige is the major element motivating the speaker to forego his

dialect or features of it in favour of another dialect's features. The Irbid speech community is also no exception. For example, we have seen that the Fellahi male speakers have almost relinquished their colloquial variant [K] in favour of the Horani variant [g].

Since the Horani people, like the Fellahiin, were originally a group of ruralites and none of the three groups inhabiting the city can be given preference over the other in terms of social, political, religious or economic status, the question which arises is this: What is the source of prestige for the Horani variant [g]? Although the Horaniis were not always found to be immune to change, as in the case of all variables investigated formerly, the general pattern is that they have been more consistent in their speech than the Fellahiin. There are two main reasons for these. Firstly, unlike the Fellahi dialect, which is basically restricted to the speech of the rural people of central Palestine, the Horani dialect derives its prestige as a colloquial variety from the fact that the [g] variant of (Q) is used by a large number of people in a very large area stretching from the Western region of the Arab world to the Eastern region. Therefore it can be considered as a national colloquial variant rather than a local one. In contrast, the Fellahi variant [K] is confined exclusively to the speech of Fellahiin in the central part of Palestine. As such it would never enjoy the same degree of prestige as that of the Horaniis. Despite the fact that the Horani variant belongs to a rural group of speakers, its widespread use in the Arab world means that it does not have the same social connotations usually attached to the features used by the ruralites. The Horani people are very proud of it since it attracts the speakers of other dialects in the city such as the urbanites and the Fellahiin. Secondly, the Horani people are characterized as being a tribal society. This fact reemphasizes itself

daily in the city as one hears the Horani person saying proudly ?ana min 9ashi:rat fula:n (I am from so-and-so's tribe). Since language and culture are two integral parts of a society it is not as easy for an Horani person to accept linguistic change as it is for other people such as the Fellahiin and the urbanites who, as immigrants from another country, are no longer bound by strong ties to their clans. The move of the Horaniis from the surrounding rural area to the city, within the same country and the same region, does not represent a process of immigration on a par with that of the Fellahiin and the Urbanites. The Horaniis are still tied to their roots in the village, and therefore maintenance of their linguistic norms is not unusual. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1982) show how tribalism in Africa and other parts of the world exerts its influence on the individual's behaviour and results in a "focussing" on the part of linguistic behaviour. Their words are very clear and to the point when they say:

"of course, a strong tribal sense also carries with it a sense of common cultural traditions."

(1982:164-5)

Aware of the source of prestige of the Horani variant [g], we can say then that "prestige" is one of the most important elements which influence a person's speech, and which contribute to the diffusion of certain phonological variables. The more prestigious a linguistic variable, the more likely it is to be diffused in a particular speech community; the less prestigious it is, the less likely.

Having touched on a real case of phonological diffusion between the three Jordanian dialects, as well as the reasons motivating the speakers to accommodate and to acquire new phonological features, along with the direction and the limits of accommodation, we will now focus our attention on some other linguistic phenomena for which accommodation in face-to-face interaction is the most responsible factor.

### 9.2.3 Linguistic accommodation and intermediate forms

The intermediate linguistic forms were viewed by Peter Trudgill (1986:62-65) as an example of 'interdialect'. This term was originally styled after the term 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972) which was meant to refer to situations in which linguistic contact between the speakers of a number of dialects leads to the development of new forms which did not exist in any of the spoken varieties. These forms could be either temporary or permanent and are usually the by-product of imperfect accommodation (Trudgill 1986:62).

In his discussion of this linguistic phenomenon, Trudgill (1986) reports a number of examples of such intermediate forms. These could be phonological, lexical or even grammatical. For instance, he reports that Reckdal (1971) gave a clear example of the influence of long-term accommodation on the development of new lexical items. Reckdal noticed in the output of her subjects a number of 'hybrid' forms which belonged neither to the Oslo nor to the Sunndal Norwegian dialects. These being:

	Sunndal	Oslo	interdialect
'to work'	/d3ub/	/d3abdh/	/d3ubdh/
'the matches'	/fyʒtʃikɔɲ/	/fyʒtʃikənɔ/	/fyʒtʃikan/

Similarly, Rosenhouse (1982a:17) states that owing to the influence of the Sedentary speakers on the Bedouins in the northern region of Palestine, her informants were no longer aware of the special conditioning that was once involved in the use of the phoneme [ch] in their dialects. She noticed, for example, that words such as /kalsa:t/ (socks) which is an Italian loanword that should not be pronounced with [ch] was used by the Bedouin speakers with [ch], pronounced /chalsa:t/.

Likewise the frequent accommodation between the Irbid speech community members has resulted in a considerable number of such hybrid

forms, whether on the level of phonology or on the level of the lexicon. These can be clearly heard in the speech of the new generation speakers of all origin groups.

For instance, the lateral segment /l/ has two allophones: [l] and [L] in the original Horani dialect which is still spoken in the surrounding rural areas. The emphatic allophone occurs largely in roots where it is preceded by /G/, /X/, /ʕ/ or /q/ (see Blanc 1964:20), e.g.,

/GuLa:yye/ "pan"  
 /GabuL/ "before"  
 /baʕuL/ "ass"

Incontrast, both the velarized allophones [G], and [L] are absent in both the Fellahi and the urban dialects. Thus when a Fellahi or an urban person pronounces the words indicated above, he pronounces them with the non-velarized allophones such as /gala:yye/, /gabil/, /baʕil/ respectively. Because of the long exposure of the Irbidian Horaniis to the Fellahi and Urban people, the use of the Horani dark /L/ and the velarized /G/ have begun to diminish in the speech of Horaniis to the extent that they are hardly detected nowadays. Consequently words like /baʕuL/, /GuLa:yye/ etc. which were realized by the Horaniis with the velarized [L] and [G] are now pronounced by Fellahiin, Urbanites and Horaniis with the non-velarized forms. This occurred after the speakers made a few modifications in the structuring of the words i.e. they replaced the emphatic (or velarized) /G/ with the non-velarized /g/ and the back vowel /u/ with the front vowel /i/ or /a/ such as:

/gala:yye/  
 /gabil/  
 /baʕil/

The pronunciations of these lexical items with their new forms, i.e. with the non-velarized forms [g] and [l], were found originally neither

in the Horani dialect nor in the Fellahi or urban dialects. Therefore they represent newly innovated intermediate forms which are at present very commonly used in the city.

Furthermore the following examples of intermediate forms on the level of the lexicon were attested to in our data:

	Fellahi-Urban dialect	Horani dialect	interdialect
"good"	/mli:Ha/	/ma <li>he/</li>	/ma <li>Ha/</li>
"company"	/shirKe/	/shariKa/	/shariKa/ or /shariKe/
"slaughter animal"	/dhbi:Ha/	/dhabi:He/	/dhabi:Ha/

All such forms came into being after a few adjustments had occurred in their patterning.

Taking the age grading of our study as a parameter, we find that the younger the speaker the more his speech has taken on new forms; the older the speaker the less his speech contains such forms.

#### 9.2.4 Accommodation and hypercorrective forms

Just as frequent linguistic accommodation might result in the acquisition of correct linguistic forms, it might also result in the acquisition of others that are incorrect. We have just seen above an example of intermediate forms which are the by-product of linguistic accommodation. Now we are going to see hypercorrective forms which are the consequence of two major factors. The first is the great desire on the part of a particular person to accommodate his speech style toward a certain group of speakers; the second is the influence of the native dialect of that speaker on the newly acquired forms.

The best example of this phenomenon is cited by Labov (1966) who noticed that there was a tendency for some of the lower class people in New York to pronounce words like door as if it were doer /duə/. Upon closer examination, Labov discovered that the phenomenon was persistent

mainly in the speech of the younger Jewish and Italian speakers. Labov explains that the second generation of the Italian immigrants are aware of mistaken pronunciations by their parents, and in order to avoid such mistaken pronunciations tend to exaggerate or emphasize certain syllables or sounds in words, producing words such as door as doer and coffee as cooeffee.

Trudgill (1983:148) also points to some hypercorrective forms when he reports that some of British pop-singers tend to imitate their American counterparts by pronouncing the post-vocalic /r/s where they do not belong. This form of hypercorrection was explained by Trudgill on the grounds that "singers know that, in order to sound like an American, one has to insert /r/ after the vowels /a:/ as in cart; /o:/ as in fort ... and /ɔ:/ as in letters". But because "some singers have not mastered the principle behind where this should and should not be done; they are liable to insert an /r/ after the above vowels even where an /r/ is not required, as in 'calm', 'taught' etc. Trudgill believes that it is highly likely that this pattern of hypercorrection is due simply to the ignorance of some of the British pop-singers of where the /r/s should be inserted.

Yet another example can be drawn from Rosenhouse's study (1982a:7) of the Bedouin dialect. She notes that some hypercorrection of K > g '(apparently representing q in the speaker's mind)' such as /tgallaf/ for /tKallaf/ "it will cost" has been observed in some of her informants' speech. This word /tgallaf/ should not be pronounced with [g] because the underlying phoneme is the sound /K/ rather than /q/.

Similarly, our data show a number of hypercorrections, some of which, like those recognized in Rosenhouse's study, were the by-product of an ignorance on the part of the speaker of the correct form that should replace his colloquial variant. For example, a closer

examination of the hypercorrective forms in the speech of the Horani group reveals that some of the younger female informants are unable to distinguish which lexical item can accept the variant [ʔ] of (Q) and which one can resist it. Lexical items such as /qáryye/ "village" and /qa:sim/ "proper noun" were pronounced by one Horani female speaker as /ʔaryye/ and /ʔa:sim/ respectively. When a native urban speaker was asked to verify, she reported that they were incorrect pronunciations, because the urbanites used to pronounce these two lexical items in their SA forms as /qaryye/ and /qa:sim/.

My own personal knowledge substantiates the claim that there has been a strong tendency, particularly among the older Fellahi speakers, to overgeneralize the use of the Horani variant [g] and the urban variant [ʔ] in words which were pronounced originally with the etymological (K) and not (Q). This is similar to the case cited by Rosenhouse. In other words, in order for an older Fellahi speaker to avoid using his stigmatized variant [K] of (Q), he tends to use the Horani variant [g] or the urban variant [ʔ] (both of which are variants of (Q)) with lexical items that were pronounced originally with the SA segment (K) which alternates with [ch] rather than [g] or [ʔ]. For example, the item /Kali:l/ "little" can be pronounced with both [q] and [K], but the item such as /kibde/ "liver" can never be pronounced with [q], rather it should be pronounced with [K] and [ch].

Although the data collected from our Fellahi informants does not provide examples of hypercorrection with the [g] variant, we can demonstrate through personal experience that some Fellahi speakers use the [g] variant with lexical items containing the etymological /K/. I personally heard an older Fellahi speaker say to an Horani person: /n o:gil/ instead of /no:kil/ "to eat" and /galamtu/ instead of /Kalamtu/ "I spoke to him". Our data also records the speech of a 65

year old female Fellahi speaker who happened to be present during our interview with a neighbour; she used words such as:

/ʔulha/ for /Kulha/ "all of it"

/no:ʔil/ for /no:Kil/ "to eat"

In fact this lady was using the Fellahi variant [K] of (Q) in her speech almost categorically. However these two words were detected in her speech when she mockingly imitated her granddaughter, who used the urban variant in her speech almost exclusively.

The implication that can be drawn from these findings is that the Irbid speech community is still undergoing a great deal of linguistic change. Since the change is taking place rapidly at all levels and in different directions, it is still too early to predict whether or not such faulty intermediate and hypercorrective forms will enter the future language and become part of it. But one might expect that words with the variant [t] instead of [s] for /th/ such as /mathalan/ "for example" could be more acceptable by the urban and urbanized speakers than words such as /ʔulha/ for /Kulha/ or /galamtu/ for /Kalamtu/.

### 9.3 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we have considered two sorts of linguistic accommodation: short-term and long-term. The results of our analysis of my accommodation, as interviewer, towards social groups and individual speakers (short-term accommodation) provide strong evidence in support of the "accommodation theory" and the hypothesis that linguistic accommodation of the temporary type seems to reflect the speaker's desire to gain the social approval of his interlocutor. The more the speaker has the desire to be associated with a certain group of speakers, the more he converges toward the speech pattern peculiar to that group. Also, the more the speaker has the desire to be disassociated with a certain group, the more he diverges from the

speech pattern characteristic of that group. These results appear, to a large extent, to meet the predictions of the accommodation theory.

It has been shown that the convergence to or divergence from the pronunciation behaviour of the addressees is conditioned by a number of sociological and psychological factors: age, sex, education, origin and the desire of the speaker to avoid stigma, social approval etc. For example, in the case of the male subjects, I was found to be very willing to converge linguistically, but in the case of female speakers such a convergence was completely absent on both the standard and the colloquial levels. Likewise we have seen that in Arabic, accommodation can take place on both levels, the colloquial and the standard. The origin or group identity factor was found to exert great influence on both the choice of the linguistic variable and the extent of accommodation. For instance, while I was seen to accommodate to ingroup subjects (Fellahiin) on the standard level, I accommodated to outgroup subjects (Horaniis) on the colloquial level most of all. Although I accommodated to the subjects in the case of (Q), I did not do so in the case of (d3). This is because the more the variable is attached to conscious awareness on the part of the speaker, the more accommodation takes place on that linguistic form.

The most striking conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of "long-term accommodation" is that, as we have seen in Chapter IV, there is a linguistic change in progress taking place on the standardization level. There is also a linguistic change in progress taking place on the colloquialization level. This process has accelerated as a result of widespread education in the country and a desire on the part of certain groups of speakers to be identified with others.

Building on our results for the other linguistic variables: (d3), (D) and (th) (see Chapters V and VI) along with the present

investigation results, it is believed that the only group of Horani speakers who have a strong tendency to accommodate other regional groups (i.e. the urbanites), was some of the educated and the middle-age female speakers.

We have also found that the more salient the linguistic feature, the more it can be diffused among other regional origin groups. Moreover it has been shown that in some cases the diffusion of new forms has served to create new intermediate and hypercorrective forms which have not been experienced before by any of the three Jordanian dialects.

On the whole, these results suggest that although the accommodation theory was originally developed to account for the linguistic variation taking place in interpersonal encounters between dyads, it can also account for linguistic variation of the type taking place between different regional, ethnic, or even social groups.

Moreover these results also prove that quantitative linguistic analysis can be a very helpful tool for revealing more definitive and more precise results regarding the direction, distance and degree of accommodation between individuals and groups; results which could never have been reached by means of the classical impressionistic research.

Footnotes

1. For a discussion of intergroup distinctiveness, see R Bourhis and H. Giles (1977:119-135); C. Husband (1977:211-249).
2. The lexicon also shows that the three colloquial varieties are being affected by one another. The few lexical items which differentiate the Horani colloquial variety from the urban and Fellahi varieties are good examples of the linguistic proximity that is taking place between the three colloquial varieties. For instance, the lexical items belonging to the Horani variety : /silik/ (a scarf), /maznu:k/ (a free-flowing gown for men), /waTyye/ (shoes), /mTa99am/ (candies) have been almost completely replaced in the Horani dialect spoken in the city by their urban and Fellahi equivalents : /HaTTa/, /gunba:z/, /kundara/, and /mlabbas/.
3. For an extension of the discussion of the role of attitudinal factors in language shift, see P. Trudgill and C. Tzaveras (1977:171-184).

## Chapter X

Conclusions

It was the primary objective of this work to thoroughly investigate linguistic variation in the speech of two rural groups in Irbid City in terms of its relationship with a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. The general conclusions drawn from this research are summarized briefly under the following headings:

1 - Linguistic variation

The numerous deductions drawn from the linguistic analysis of the data collected from 38 Jordanian Arabic speakers in Irbid City justify the assumption raised by the quantitative paradigm innovators that speech communities are far from being homogeneous; rather they are, to some extent, heterogeneous. Moreover, they confirm the allegation that the best way to study language is to handle it in its social context in terms of its link with a web of sociological factors.

This study demonstrates that the language spoken by the two rural groups in Irbid City is highly varied and that this variation is systematic and rule-governed. A number of social factors such as education, age, sex and origin, as well as style, were found to correlate strongly with linguistic variation. In addition to their correlation with social parameters, some of the phonological variables investigated were found to be subject to strong lexical constraints. That is, in classifying the Arabic Lexicon into three classes of lexical items, it was observed that variation is highly conditioned by the lexical status of the word containing the linguistic variables; this was clearly evident in the case of the (Q) variable. It has been shown that those lexical items classified as pure-classical favour the use of the standard variant more often than items classified as pure-colloquial or standard-colloquial (shared-items). From the data

analysis we also observed these two major factors i.e. that the social context and the educational level of the speaker are the social elements that most condition and affect the variability with respect to most of the phonological variables investigated. Jordanian speakers tend to use more standard features in their speech in formal contexts than in casual contexts. Also the more educated the speakers, the more they tend to use standard lexical and phonological features in their output.

As for age, the three age groups (the younger age group, the middle-age group and the older age group) differed in their use of the different linguistic variables. This was more evident in conversational styles rather than reading styles. It was the (Q) variable that most often served to distinguish the three age groups from one another. It has been shown that the older non-educated speakers are more faithful to their colloquial variants than the older educated speakers. On the whole it was found that the younger the speakers, the more they tend to use standard features in their speech. Likewise, the younger the women, the greater their tendency to use urban features in their repertoire.

Sex is also one of the most important social factors, for the two gender groups were found to be clearly distinct in their linguistic behaviour and in their view of the prestigious variants. Men were found to be more standardized in their speech than women; women on the other hand were found to be more urbanized than men. We can say that each of the two gender-groups, however, innovated in a different direction from the other.

This study also posits that the origin of the speaker is a great influence on linguistic variation. The Fellahiin were found to be more willing than the Horaniis to use both standard and colloquial features

other than their own. The Horaniis who still have a great deal of affiliation to their roots in the village, are more conservative than the Fellahiin.

## 2 - Stylistic variation

This study shows that variation correlates to a large extent with style, and that the range of variation depends mostly on the level of educational attainment, sex and age of the speakers. Our data reveals that the educated people have more ability to diversify their speech according to the situation than the uneducated have. When it comes to the phonological variables involved in a process of standardization, such as, for example, the (Q) variable, men have a wider stylistic range than women; in the case of those variables which are involved in a process of urbanization, the reverse is true.

Among the most salient conclusions drawn from our research is that reading and speaking are two different activities which cannot be placed on the same linear continuum. We also conclude that in the two reading styles a residue of the colloquial variants persists in the word list style, a by-product of the absence of context (i.e. the lexical items are read out of their context).

The linguistic self-analysis carried out by the researcher (the interviewer) demonstrates that the identity of the interlocutor and the amount of desired 'social approval' on the part of the speaker exert considerable influence on stylistic variation. The analysis reveals that the effect on the interviewer (myself), of both the sex and origin of the addressee was great, for I tended, consciously or subconsciously, to adjust my speech style (i.e. divergence or convergence) to that of my interlocutors according to their ethnic background and their sex. We also observed that there is a clear-cut case of linguistic diffusion taking place in the speech community at

all levels and in all directions, for which the most responsible elements are the social contact and the frequent accommodation between individuals.

### 3 - Sound change

The two major factors most likely to have contributed to the initiation of change at both the social and the linguistic levels are: the existence of three regional groups speaking three different colloquial varieties along with the standard one in the same city; and the introduction of education and mass media to the country. The sudden, extensive exposure to the standard variety, as well as the colloquial varieties other than the individual's own, shows its influence on the repertoire of all of the Jordanian inhabitants of the city regardless of their regional or ethnic background.

The data presented in this work reveals two genuine processes of linguistic change taking place in Irbid City. These are occurring side by side, but to varying degrees. The first is that which is taking place on the standardization plane; the second is that which is taking place on the levelling plane. These two mechanisms could be seen clearly when we examined the distribution of the different phonological features investigated across the three age levels.

It can be concluded that the speech community members as a whole are divided into two sex groups with respect to their initiation and acceptance of the change. On the basis of a wealth of observations, women in Irbid were found to use the standard prestigious forms less often than men. In other words, the general tendency was for men to innovate in the standard variety direction (i.e. to favour the use of the standard features more often than women do) and for women to innovate in the colloquial variety direction (i.e. to favour the use of the urban colloquial variants more often than men do). This means that

the linguistic change taking place in the speech community is a functional outcome of the perceived social connotations of certain colloquial varieties in general, and certain linguistic variables in particular. This fact comes over clearly, for example, in the heavy use of the urban variant [ʔ] of (Q) by the Fellahi women and the heavy use of the Horani variant [g] of (Q) by the Fellahi men.

The origin of the speaker has also been found to be very influential in the process of change, as the Fellahi speakers, who are fully aware of the stigma attached to their variety, tend to use more linguistic forms from the standard and other colloquial varieties than their Horani counterparts do.

#### 4 - Predictions

Whether the several cases of sound change observed in our data will reach completion is a question that will remain open until future research is able to shed more light on this issue. But what we feel is that it is highly unlikely that the clear case of sound change which the (Q) variable is experiencing, will not reach completion. This is partly because the other two colloquial variants [g] and [ʔ] of (Q) are not highly stigmatized (i.e. they are not subject to a great deal of comment or ridicule), and partly because there is a two-direction change in society, one adopted by men and the other by women. The same is also true of the other linguistic variables (D), (d3) and (th). But in the case of the (K) variable, we do feel that the sound change which the (K) variable is experiencing is a very genuine one, and that it is highly likely to reach completion very soon, since the colloquial variant [Ch] of (K) is very stigmatized in the city, avoided by Jordanian people as far as possible.

In his study of the Amman speech community, Abdul-Jawad (1981) predicted that a complete change would not occur for the standard forms

at all levels. This is because he observed that: "(1) half the speech community, i.e. women are not going into the direction of standardization as men; (2) The use of the vernacular forms serves a communicative function. Certain forms indicate local identity, intimacy and informality while others may indicate the opposite. To expect that people will give up this functional variation easily is very unlikely" (Abdul-Jawad 1981:358).

The analysis of our data has also shown that the use of certain colloquial variants such as, for example [g] and [Dh], still reflects a sense of loyalty to the ethnic background of the speaker (e.g. the case of Horaniis), and in some other cases an accommodative device used by the speaker in order to accommodate the elderly speakers or speakers from the other origin groups (e.g. the case of the researcher while accommodating the Horaniis).

On the whole, the present study's results confirm all other works of sound change in that linguistic change in general and sound change in particular are socially motivated, and that prestige is the most significant element in the gradual preference of one allophone over another (Labov 1972a).

##### 5 - Recommendations

This study sheds some light upon a variety of aspects of JA as it is spoken by two rural groups in Irbid City. However, to provide a clearer and more inclusive description of JA as it is still spoken in the village, additional research is needed. Also among the contributions made by this study to the understanding of linguistic variation is the attention it focuses on the use of linguistic analysis as a tool for studying linguistic accommodation in Arabic. In Irbid City, where three colloquial varieties are spoken alongside the standard variety, research on linguistic accommodation using data collected exclusively for this purpose is recommended.

To conclude, this research contributes much to the characterization of variability in JA and in Arabic in general. It represents a new attempt to describe the language and linguistic variation, and the elements resulting in this variation, at a very crucial point in the history of the language. This could be of great use for future research on the language in the same locale.

Appendix AQuestionnaireSection I

- 1 - What is your name?
- 2 - Are you originally from Irbid City?
- 3 - Were you born in Irbid?
- 4 - Which parts of the city have you lived in and for how long?
- 5 - Which village or city did you, your father, mother, grandparents and husband/wife, come from?
- 6 - Do you own your place of residence? When was it built?
- 7 - What do you and your husband/wife do for a living?
- 8 - What is your father's occupation?
- 9 - In what area is your office located? What means of transportation do you use to get to work?
- 10 - How old are you?
- 11 - What level of education have you reached? How old were you when you finished or left school/university?
- 12 - Which school/university are/were you enrolled in? Where is it located?
- 13 - How many hours a day do you normally study? How else do you pass your time?
- 14 - Are you married? How many children do you have?

Section II

- 1 - Would you please count from 1 to 10?
- 2 - Name five colours
- 3 - Name five animals
- 4 - What is the first month of the Gregorian year?
- 5 - Would you tell me 15 words i.e. three with each of the following five letters: (D), (th), (Q), (d3) and (K)
- 6 - In which month do Moslems fast?

Section III

- 1 - What do you think of Irbid City? If you had the choice to live in Amman, where would you prefer to live?
- 2 - What do you think of marriage?
- 3 - What kind of marital difficulties do Jordanian people face today?  
Can you suggest any solutions to these problems?
- 4 - What is your opinion of the role of women in Jordanian society?
- 5 - What do you think of equality for women?
- 6 - Have you ever read a book on Arabic history? What historical personality do you most admire and why?
- 7 - At present, there are some who would replace the metrical Arabic verse with free verse; what do you think of this? Do you support it? Why?
- 8 - Would you tell me about the agricultural season in Jordan this year?
- 9 - What kind of sport do you most enjoy?
- 10 - What do you think of soccer?
- 11 - Which sports club, if any, do you support? Why?

Section IV

- 1 - What do you think of happiness?
- 2 - How many close friends do you have? In which area(s) of the city do they live?
- 3 - Do you all support the same sports club?
- 4 - What kind of social activities do you engage in?
- 5 - Have you ever had a dispute with any of your friends?
- 6 - What is your favourite season? Why?
- 7 - What are your favourite hobbies?
- 8 - Do you like travelling? Which country(ies) have you seen? Would you tell me something about your trip to that country?

- 9 - Would you tell me about a time when you had a good laugh? What was the last joke you heard?
  - 10 - Tell me please about some of the sweet memories you still bear in mind from your school days?
  - 11 - Would you tell me how you usually spend your evenings during the month of Ramadan?
  - 12 - Would you tell me two popular proverbs, along with the context in which they can be used?
  - 13 - What do you think of the younger/older generations?
  - 14 - If someone (e.g. a friend of yours) invited you to share a cup of tea with him/her and you do not care for tea, what would you say and why?
  - 15 - Which of the three colloquial varieties spoken in the city sounds more beautiful to your ear? Do you like to use it? Why?
  - 16 - In your opinion which dialect is more appropriate for males and which one for females? Why?
  - 17 - Do you normally use the dialect you are using at the moment at home with your family members?
  - 18 - What do you think of a language consisting of a combination of features from both the standard and colloquial varieties? In what situation do you think this variety (i.e. modern standard Arabic) could be used?
-

## الأسئلة

أ

- ١ - ما أسـمك ؟
- ٢ - هل انت من مدينة اربـد ؟
- ٣ - هل انت مولود في اربـد ؟
- ٤ - في اي حي من احياء المدينة عشت ولمدة كم سـنة ؟
- ٥ - من اي قرية او مدينة قدم والدك ، والدتك ، اجدادك او زوجك الى  
الى مدينة اربـد ؟
- ٦ - هل البيت الذي تعيش فيه ملك لكم ؟ متى تم بنائه ؟
- ٧ - ماذا تعمل انت او زوجك / زوجتك ؟
- ٨ - ماذا يعمل والدك ؟
- ٩ - في اي منطقة يقع عملك ؟ ماهي وسيلة المواصلات التي تأخذها للعمل ؟
- ١٠ - كم عمرك الان ؟
- ١١ - ماهو مستوى تحصيلك العلمي ؟ كم كان عمرك عندما انتهيت من  
الدراسة ؟ او عندما تركت المدرسة ؟
- ١٢ - ماسم المدرسة / الجامعة التي كنتا و لازلت تلتحق بها ؟ اين تقع ؟
- ١٣ - كم ساعة في اليوم تدرس ؟ وبعد ذلك ماذا تفعل ؟
- ١٤ - هل انت متزوج ؟ كم طفلك عندك ؟

ب

- ١ - ممكن تعدد من ١ الى ١٠ ؟
- ٢ - اسم خمسة الـوان
- ٣ - اسم خمسة حيوانات
- ٤ - ماسم الشهر الاول من السنة الميلادية ؟
- ٥ - اذكر ثلاثة اسماء تبدأ بحرف الضاد ، الثاء ، القاف ، الجيم والكاف
- ٦ - ماسم الشهر الذي يصوم به المسلمون ؟

ج

- ١ - مارأيك في مدينة اربـد بشكل عام ؟ هل تفضلها عن عمان  
لو خيرت على ان تسكن في عمان ؟
- ٢ - مارأيك بالزواج ؟
- ٣ - ماهي المشاكل التي تواجه الشباب هذه الايام فيما يتعلق بالزواج ؟  
ماهي الحلول المقترحة في رأيك لهذه المشاكل ؟

- ٤ - مارأيك بدور المرأة في المجتمع الاردني ؟
- ٥ - مارأيك بالنسبة لموضوع المساواة بين المرأة والرجل ؟
- ٦ - هل قرأت كتاب عن التاريخ العربي ؟ ماهي الشخصية التاريخية التي تنال إعجابك ؟
- ٧ - هل تؤيد الرأي القائل باستبدال الشعر الحر بالشعر المنظوم ؟
- ٨ - هل تخبرني عن الموسم الزراعي هذا العام ؟
- ٩ - ماهي رياضتك المفضلة ؟
- ١٠ - مارأيك في كرة القدم ؟
- ١١ - ماهو النادي المفضل عندك ؟ لماذا ؟

=====

د

- ١ - ماهي السعادة في رأيك ؟
- ٢ - هل عندك مجموعة من الاصدقاء ؟ في اي منطقة من المدينة يعيشون ؟
- ٣ - هل جميعكم تشجعون نفس النادي الرياضي ؟
- ٤ - ماالنشاطات الاجتماعية التي تقومون بها ؟
- ٥ - هل حصل ووقع خلاف بينك وبين احد اصدقائك ؟
- ٦ - ماهو فصلك المفضل ؟ لماذا ؟
- ٧ - ماهي هواياتك المفضلة ؟
- ٨ - هل تحب السفر ؟ ماهو البلد الذي قمت بزيارته ؟ هل من الممكن ان تخبرني عما صادفك في تلك الرحلة ؟
- ٩ - هل ممكن ان تخبرني او تقص علي موقف مضحك حصل معك ؟
- ١٠ - هل ممكن ان تخبرني عن شي من ذكريات المدرسة الحلوة التي لازلت تذكرها ؟
- ١١ - ممكن تخبرني كيف بتقضوا امسيات شهر رمضان ؟
- ١٢ - هل ممكن تذكر لي مثلين من الامثال الشعبية والمناسبة التي تقال فيها ؟
- ١٣ - مارأيك بالجيل القديم / الجديد ؟
- ١٤ - اذا دعاك صديق لتناول كوب من الشاي معه وانت لاترغب في ذلك ماذا تقول لـــــــه ؟
- ١٥ - ماهي اجمل لهجة مستعملة في المدينة تبدو الي مسامعك ؟ هل تحبان تستعملها ؟ لماذا ؟

- ١٦ - فى رأيك اى اللهجة تصلح للرجال و اى اللهجة تصلح للنساء ؟  
١٧ - هل انت فى العادة تستعمل نفس اللهجة التى تستعملها الان ؟  
١٨ - مارأيك باللهجة تتكون من مزيج من الفصحى و العامية ؟  
فى اى المواقف للهجة كهذه ممكن ان تستعمل ؟
-

## Appendix AI

## Reading Passage

حاضر اللغة العربية

تربط اللغة العربية في العصر الحاضر بين شعوب تعدد  
 بعشرات الملايين ، فهي من حيث ذلك عامل قوى واضح عظيم .  
 ذلك بانها قوام الثقافة المشتركة التي تصل انحاء  
 ذلك العالم الكبير الذى نسميه " العالم العربي " او  
 عالم الناطقين بالضاد . لهذا نرى الشعوب العربية  
 على اختلاف نزاعاتها وتناقضاتها وتعارضاتها وملابساتها  
 الاجيالية والجغرافية ، تعمل مجتمعة وبجهود حثيثة على  
 احيائها وبعثها من تلك الركود الذى انتابها نيفا  
 وعشرة قرون ، تلاحق بالمثابرة وبما فيها من قوة  
 الحياة ، غيرها من اللغات الحاضرة التي يتكلمها شعوب  
 المدينة الحديثة .

وفي معرض حديثنا عن لغة الناطقين بالضاد قد نرى  
 اهل العربية في الزمان الحاضر يشعرون شعورا عميقا بما  
 لها من اثر في خلق التصورات الحديثة الملائمة لثقافتهم  
 ومن ثم نجد ابنا \* العربية يبحثون مرة واثنان او اكثر  
 دون كلل او ضجر ليستخلصوا من آثار الماضي العجيب  
 قواعد يتخذونها اساسا لبنا مستقبل ثابت اعظم من  
 الماضي وامجد من الحاضر . وهذا كله يتم بثمره وتظافر  
 جهود حثيثة مضيئة تودى بالنهاية الى نهضة اللغة من  
 جديد ومسيرتها لكل ما هو جديد حقا .

## Appendix A2

Word List

جَابِي	القاهرة
ثَمَن	قران
قاسم	مراهق
قبض	ضوء
قافلة	مجاهد
يوعظ	ظافر
يثمر	ذئب
يلقاه	هيثم
ذيل	جبل
مجاملات	ماضي
مثلث	جذع
ضرار	وضوء
يظلم	تجديد
ذوى	عظمة
مثنى	اذاعة
ذائع	جميل
ظروف	ثابت
ادلج	بيض
ورائة	مقابل
ثنا	مأخوذ
أجرد	يذور
ظلام	حاضر
ملاذ	ملاقي
تظنين	ضرر
ظاهر	بيضع

## Appendix B

Dialect identification test

سوف اقوم بلفظ الكلمات التالية امامك كل كلمة على حده ،  
الرجاء اعطاء اسم اللهجة التي تنتمي اليها الكلمة :مدنى ،  
فلاحي ، حوراني .

أديم	٠ ١ قديم
كال	٠ ٢ قال
قمح	٠ ٣ قمح
ديل	٠ ٤ ذيل
بيظ	٠ ٥ بيض
قشيس	٠ ٦ كيس
ستريح	٠ ٧ استريح
طيف	٠ ٨ ضيف
قشيف	٠ ٩ كيف
ارستاراطي	٠ ١٠ ارستقراطي
أريسة	٠ ١١ قريسة
هيسم	٠ ١٢ هيثم
عقل	٠ ١٣ عقل
فزيع	٠ ١٤ فظييع
رغيف	٠ ١٥ رغيف
أندرة	٠ ١٦ كندرة
چمئل	٠ ١٧ جمئل
أرغيف	٠ ١٨ رغيف
آسي	٠ ١٩ كاسي

Appendix C

The distribution of the 38 informants according to four  
social parameters

Origin	Age	Educ.: H.educated		M.educated		Non-educated	
		Sex: M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Horaniis	Y. age group	2	1	1	1	-	1
	M. age group	1	1	3	1	1	1
	O. age group	2	-	1	-	1	1
Fellahiin	Y. age group	1	2	2	2	-	-
	M. age group	2	-	1	1	1	1
	O. age group	1	-	2	1	1	1

- Indicates an empty cell

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