



A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Two Hōrāni Features in Sūf, Jordan

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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January 2016

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**Abstract**

This study investigates sociolinguistic variation in the traditional dialect of Sūf, a Hōrāni town in northern Jordan. Two variables are examined: (k): depalatalization of /k/; and (l): develarization of /l/, according to internal linguistic constraints and two external social factors: namely age and sex. Conditioned palatalization of /k/ and the presence of a dark allophone of /l/ are two of the most salient phonological features of the dialects of Hōrān in general. The present study provides a quantitative analysis within the framework of Variationist Theory, using the multiple logistic regression program Rbrul.

Palatalization of /k/ is treated at two levels and thus involves two variables: 1. Phonological variable (k); the pool of data for this variable includes tokens of /k/ in the stem of the word. 2. Morphophonemic variable (-ik); the pool of data includes tokens of /k/ in the feminine suffix *-ik*.

Analysis of the data shows that the rate of palatalization in the stem is relatively low (11%), and the palatalized variant [tʃ] may be disappearing, constrained by preceding and following linguistic environments, age and gender. By contrast, the palatalized variant in the suffix shows a relatively high rate of maintenance (70%), and variation in its use in the suffix is constrained by the social variables only. With respect to (l), the study found that dark /l/ is used only in (12%), and Rbrul analysis returned preceding and following linguistic environments, and gender as constraining factors.

Overall, the results show that women are more conservative with respect to the usage of both of these traditional features, thus indicating that women preserve the local way of speech more consistently. The thesis adopts a method of interpretation of the results that focuses on local issues, including the social structure of the community, space, the local mode of production and gender roles.

***Acknowledgment***

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Enam Al-Wer for her love, friendship and continuous support and encouragement during my Ph.D. study. I am particularly grateful for her patience, motivation and immense knowledge and for kindly believing in my research and raising the level of my work at different points during my study. I have learnt a lot from Enam. Her guidance and academic insights widened my thinking and helped me at every stage of researching and writing this thesis. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my Ph.D. study. Her love and genuine care will always be dearly remembered. My sincere thanks also go to Mike and to Petra for their great love and support, especially during the final stages of writing and editing. Enam, Mike and Petra made my stay in Colchester much more homely and cheerful; their kindness and support towards my family and me will always be appreciated. We owe them more than can be put into words.

Besides my supervisor, I would like to thank my thesis committee: Prof. Wyn Johnson and Dr Bruno Herin for their insightful comments and encouragement, and for the question, which incited me to widen my research from various perspectives.

My deepest thanks go to my loving and supportive husband and to my two daughters Aynoor and Lily, for being patient and committed to the family. They have all believed in my ambition and showed great endurance and appreciation of this marvellous experience which we have been through together.

From the Department of Language and Linguistics, my sincere thanks go to the members of my supervisory board; Prof. Bob Borsley, Dr. Wyn Johnson, Dr. Rebecca Clift, and Dr. Vineeta Chand for their academic feedback and support. My thanks are due to the administrative staff in the departmental office, Sam, Carrie, Carlie, Abi, Val, and Cat for their help. My special

thanks also go to the Languages For All program at the University of Essex for giving me the chance to be a member of their teaching family for four years.

I am dearly grateful to my friends and ex-fellows Dr. Uri Horesh and Dr. Khairiah Alqahtani who helped me in using Rbrul, and for being ready to help and to answer my queries at all times. Khairiah has also been great company during my ups and downs in Essex, she has always supported my two daughters and myself and I am so grateful for her friendship.

I would like to thank my colleagues Julie Lowry and Robert Potter for reading previous drafts of my thesis. I would also like to thank the great and supportive friend at Essex: Noora Abu Ain who has been always by myside whenever my family and I needed help. My sincere thanks also go to all my friends Abeer Hussein, Hind Alaodini, Deema Alammar, Moayyad Al Bohnayyah, Mohammad Alrohili and all of the members of the Arabic Research Group who have always been a great audience and indeed offered precious thoughts and insights to widen my research from various perspectives.

From the community, I would like to thank people in the town of Colchester, who welcomed my family and I and made us feel at home from the first day. I would specifically like to thank my neighbours Homa Esfahanian and her family, Paul, and Brenda, for being so kind and caring to me and to my family. I will also not forget to express my gratitude and appreciation to BroomGrove Infants and BroomGrove Juniors schools' staff and pupils' parents for their warm welcome. The staff members of both schools have been so helpful and supportive of my Aynoor and Lily; they also inspired and motivated my daughters to press on and to be two of the most successful children in their schools.

From Jordan, I would like to thank Jerash University (the financial sponsors of my Ph.D.). Thanks for opening the door of opportunity, which is a huge step for me.

My sincere and huge appreciation goes to my loving and devoted parents Haya and Mohammad for allowing me to realize my own potential. The unending support they have provided me over the years has been the greatest gift anyone has ever given me. They taught me the value of the hard work and education, and without them I may never have got to where I am today. My special thanks are also due to my brother Ahmed, whose support and devotion during the different stages of my education I dearly value.

I am grateful to my father-in-law and to my brother Hamzeh who supported and accompanied me throughout my fieldwork trip. I thank the participants from the town of Sūf especially for generously trusting me into their homes and telling me their life stories.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all my brothers and sisters and their families for supporting me spiritually throughout the writing of this thesis, and my life in general.

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### ***Guide to Phonetic and Transcription System***

Two systems are used in this thesis for Arabic transcription: IPA fonts are used in phonemic and phonetic transcriptions throughout this thesis. In Arabic transliteration, I followed the system used in Arabic dialectology (e.g. in the Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics EALL). Below is the list of symbols used in this thesis. These conventions are listed below.

#### *Consonants*

	IPA	EALL	
أ	ʔ	ʔ	voiced glottal stop <i>hamza</i>
ب	b	b	voiced bilabial stop <i>bā'</i>
ت	t	t	voiceless dento-alveolar stop <i>tā'</i>
ث	θ	ṯ	voiceless interdental fricative <i>ṯā'</i>
ج	ʒ	ǧ	voiced post-alveolar fricative <i>jīm</i>
ح	ħ	ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative <i>ḥā'</i>
خ	x	x	voiceless velar fricative <i>xā'</i>
د	d	d	voiced dento-alveolar stop <i>dāl</i>
ذ	ð	ḏ	voiced interdental fricative <i>ḏāl</i>
ر	r	r	voiced alveolar trill <i>rā'</i>
ز	z	z	voiced alveolar fricative <i>zāy</i>
س	s	s	voiceless dental fricative <i>sīn</i>
ش	ʃ	š	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative <i>šīn</i>
ص	s <sup>ʕ</sup>	ṣ	voiceless velarised alveolar fricative <i>ṣād</i>
ض	d <sup>ʕ</sup>	ḍ	voiced velarised dento-alveolar stop <i>ḍād</i>
ط	t <sup>ʕ</sup>	ṭ	voiceless velarised dento-alveolar stop <i>ṭā'</i>
ظ	ð <sup>ʕ</sup>	ḏ̣	voiced velarised interdental fricative <i>ḏā'</i>
ع	ʕ	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative <i>ʕayn</i>

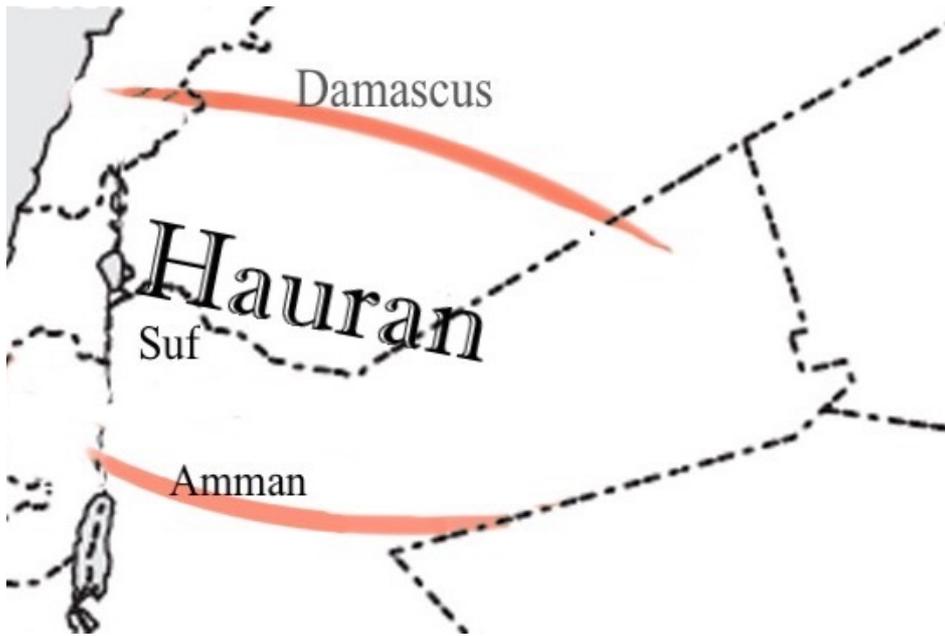
غ	ɣ	ġ	voiced uvular fricative <i>ġayn</i>
ف	f	f	voiceless labio-dental fricative <i>fā'</i>
ق	q	q	voiceless uvular stop <i>qāf</i>
ك	k	k	voiceless velar stop <i>kāf</i>
ل	l	l	voiced dental lateral <i>lām</i>
م	m	m	voiced bilabial nasal <i>mīm</i>
ن	n	n	voiced alveolar nasal <i>nūn</i>
ه	h	h	voiceless glottal fricative <i>hā'</i>
و	w	w	voiced labiovelar glide <i>wāw</i>
ي	j	y	voiced palatal glide <i>yā'</i>
تش	tʃ	č	voiceless palate-alveolar sibilant affricate

### Vowels

IPA	EALL
a:	ā
e:	ē
i:	ī
o:	ō
u:	ū



Map 1: Map of Jordan (source: www.mapsofworld.com)



Map 2: *Hōrān region* (designed with thanks by Petra Jones)

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

This study investigates two sociolinguistic features of a Hōrāni Jordanian dialect within the framework of variationist sociolinguistics. The variables chosen are among the most salient features of the traditional dialect of Sūf, the locale of the study. Sūf is situated in the heart of the Jordanian part of Hōrān (see map 1 and 2, pp.12-13), which is among the oldest, continuously inhabited regions in the Levant. The Hōrāni dialects of Arabic have been described by Cantineau (1946), and are partly covered in Behnstedt's *Atlas of Syrian dialects* (1997). Geographically, the region of Hōrān extends from south of Damascus to the outskirts of Mu'āb (Karak) in southern Jordan. The 1918 Sykes-Picot secret plan between Britain and France, the colonialist powers that came to dominate the Levant in the aftermath of the Great War, resulted in the division of Hōrān between two political entities, today's republic of Syria and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Despite the political division and nearly one hundred years of separation and political upheavals in the region, Hōrāni communities on both sides of the border have continued to be connected through familial relations as well as shared culture, traditions and lifestyle.

Administratively, the town of Sūf is part of the governorate of Jarash, Roman 'Jirasa'. It is home to 35,000 people, the vast majority of whom descend from local indigenous tribes, which include the il-ḥawāmdē, il-baṭārse, il-gawāze, il-marjī, il-ḍēbāt. Altogether the community of Sūf originally consists of seventeen tribes.<sup>1</sup>

Internal population movement in Jordan in general is characteristically from the countryside (provincial towns and villages) to the new large and heterogeneous cities, such as Amman and Zarqa, as well as to the old large cities such as Irbid. This has influenced not only the demography and the traditional modes of production of the villages and provincial towns but

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<sup>1</sup> The remaining Sūf tribes are: il-ṭūm, il-ḥawāmdē, il-zrēgāt, il-gawāgze, bani muṣṭafa, il-ṣmādi, il-bōrīni, il-ja'ār, il-ja'āfre, il-baṭārse, il-ḍāfīf, il-zaṭāyme, il-ḍēbāt, il-nagārše, il-dēri, il-marjī and il-banna.

also it has had an effect on the transmission of culture in its many facets, including the traditional dialect. Sūf has been rather fortunate as far as this particular change in Jordanian communities is concerned. Although there has been some emigration from the town, it has sustained its traditional community and, to some extent, a self-sufficient mode of production, namely subsistence farming of grain and fruit, and animal husbandry. To all intents and purposes, Sūf is a pretty image of the past, fossilized as if untouched by ‘modernization’. In a place like this, it is prudent to approach an investigation of variation in the traditional dialect from the perspective of *maintenance*, rather than change. Based on the well-founded principle in sociolinguistics (L. Milroy, 1980 & 1987), in a tight knit community such as Sūf one expects to find a relatively high rate of maintenance of the local linguistic features. Indeed, the findings from this research, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, can be viewed as a case of maintenance, despite the fact that change too is in progress.

In this introductory chapter I shall firstly provide general information about Jordan and its historical background in §1.1, in §1.2. I will discuss the dialect geography, followed by approaches to the study of variation in Jordanian Arabic, a general outline of the theoretical framework adopted in this study in §1.3. In §1.4 I will discuss the conceptual underpinnings of the current study, followed by the significance of the study in §1.5 this will be followed by the Research questions in §1.6, and finally in §1.7 I will present an outline of the thesis chapters.

## **1.1 Jordan: a historical background**

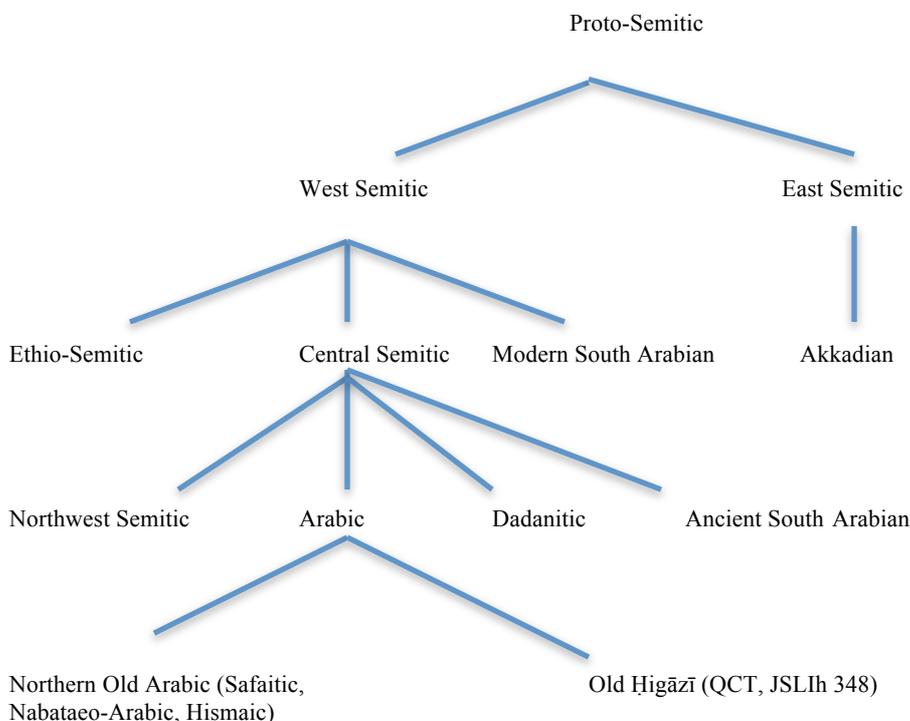
### ***Ancient History***

Jordan is an ancient land, home to some of the most important civilizations whose history goes as far back as the ninth century BCE. According to Salibi (1993) one of the records about the history of the area is a stele called the Moabite stone from the ninth century BC. The records in this stele explained the achievements of Mesha, the Moabite king of *Qahra* (qrhh) today,

possibly the village of Jahra in the Karak region of Bilad al-Sharat. The languages that were spoken in the period leading up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, namely Aramaic, Canaanite and Arabic belong to the Semitic family.

Between the different linguistic stages in the history of the area, there were periods of transition from one dominant language to the next. Inscriptions dating from such periods illustrate this. For instance, the Moabite of the Mesha stele is basically Canaanite, with some features of Aramaic, and possibly also of Arabic (Salibi, 1993: 8-9).

According to Al-Jallad (2015), Safaitic scripts were found in the desert of southern Syria and northern Jordan and the adjacent area of Saudi Arabia. Al-Jallad (2015: 10) concludes that “The Safaitic script is a member of the ANA sub-grouping of the South Semitic script family, which includes Dadanitic, Taymantic, Hismaic, and the various Thamudiac scripts.” According to Al-Jallad, the language of the Safaitic inscriptions should be classified as a form of old Arabic, as shown in the classification below.



**Figure 1.1: Classification of Old Arabic (Source: Al-Jallad, 2015:14)**

On the basis of a detailed linguistic analysis of the Safaitic scripts, Al-Jallad's thesis is that the ancient home of Arabic is the Syrian Steppe – not Arabia proper as commonly believed. This conclusion has obvious and rather exciting repercussions for the history of the region's local dialects, including the Jordanian dialects. It may be suggested, for instance, that the modern Jordanian dialects are direct descendants of 'Old Arabic'.

### ***Middle Ages***

The Umayyads governed Syria, whose capital was Damascus. In 750, the last Umayyad caliph was defeated by a revolution. What followed was the rule of the Abbasids who transferred the capital to Iraq. Syria was divided after the conquest of the Arabs, into four (and later to five) administrative regions, south to north, called *ajnād*. From the beginning, Jordan was divided between two of these *ajnād*. *Jund al-Urdun* included the highlands of the Sawād, and those of al-Balqa west of the water divide (the region of Salt). Until the end of the ninth century, Jordan enjoyed a considerable measure of prosperity under the Umayyads and the Abbasids. Towards the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth century, bedouinization of Jordan began with the movement of Qaramita- a heretical Islamic sect, opposed to all standing government control.

After their conquest to Syria, the Mamluks split its land into six provinces called *mamālik* (singular *mamlaka* 'vice regency'). Damascus was the largest Mamlaka; as it was too large to be administered as one unit, it was subdivided to include four main regions. One of those regions is 'southern safaqa', today's city of *Der'ā* 'Deraa' in southern Syria, just across the Jordanian frontier that includes the northern highlands and the adjacent parts of the *Ghōr*. The Mamluks' control over Syria began to weaken in the fifteenth century, and Ajlūn, in the Sawād highlands, became a "centre of a tribal emirate or principality, headed by a family known as Ghawis" (Salibi, 1993: 26).

The Ottomans followed the Mamluks' conquest in 1516, and Ajlūn was established as *Sanjak* (administrative district). This remained the case until the middle of the seventeenth century. Throughout the first two centuries of the Ottomans reign, Jordan received new Bedouin tribes from Arabian and Syrian deserts. By the turn of that century, the ability of the Ottomans was declining throughout Syria and particularly in Jordan. The rise of the Wahhabi movement in Najd in the second half of the eighteenth century pushed more North Arabian desert tribes in the direction of Jordan. Two years after the Great War 1914, Sharif Hussein announced the 'Great Revolution' (or the Arab Revolt) against the Ottomans in Mecca, and was acclaimed as the king of the Arabs. His son Sharif Abdullh reached Jordan and claimed its territory (Salibi, 1993: 19-28).

### ***Modern history***

Modern Jordan was declared as an independent state in 1921 under the rule of Prince Abdullah (son of Sheriff Hussein of Hijaz). It gained full independence from Britain in 1946, and has since then been officially named as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Amman was declared as the capital city of the newly established 'Emirate of Transjordan' although at the time it was a small settlement with no more than 10,000 inhabitants or so. The largest and most populous city in Jordan hitherto was Salt, 20 kilometres northwest of Amman.

During the early decades, Jordan became home for Arab political activists and merchants of the surrounding countries, especially Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, as it was the first entity to have an 'Arab' government. These early migrants became totally integrated into the local social fabric. The event that has had most influence on the local demography was the 1948 war, which resulted in the establishment of a Jewish state in part of Palestine and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, most of whom sought refuge in Jordan. As a result of this event, Amman and nearby locations, e.g. Zarqa, expanded and grew. In addition to the

Palestinian refugees, the new cities received steady waves of migrants from the countryside, and provincial towns (such as Salt, Kerak, and Ajlūn) (see Al-Wer, 1991).

In 1950, following the Jericho Conference, the West Bank was annexed to the Kingdom, and thus its population became Jordanian citizens. The 1967 War with the Zionist State resulted in the occupation of the West Bank and the displacement of yet more Palestinians. The population increased by more than threefold between 1948 and 1967, reaching approximately 2.5 million in the 1970s (Al-Wer, 1991: xii).

Of particular importance to the sociolinguistic situation in Jordan is the internal conflict between the Jordanian armed forces and the Palestinian guerrilla fighters (later became known as the PLO) in September 1970. According to Al-Wer (1991)

“In the aftermath of the 1970 internal conflict, which was largely perceived as a conflict between Jordanians and Palestinians and caused considerable tension in their relation, it became obvious that the viability of the social and political identity of Jordan depended on the inclusion of the indigenous social groups in development and economic growth, particularly in the civil service sector. Consequently, during the decade following 1974, Jordanians increasingly occupied a greater proportion of the posts in the bureaucracy and services.”

(Al-Wer, 1991: 17-18)

Al-Wer (1991) further suggests that the increased awareness of a ‘national Jordanian identity’ as a result of the 1970 conflict was reflected in adherence to the local norms of social behaviour including local norms of speech, and to the emergence of new social meanings of the use of Jordanian, as opposed to Palestinian, dialects/linguistic features. The use of the traditional local dialects became increasingly associated with local identity, and with political power. Women however were excluded from appointments to high-ranking positions in the state, and their overall participation in the workforce was very modest. They were thus not influenced by the repercussions of these events, but rather continued to be influenced by a different set of constraints; most importantly, the exclusion of women reinforced “the gender distinctions

between urban Palestinian features (prestigious for women) and indigenous Jordanian features (prestigious for men)” (Al-Wer, 1991: 19).

In 1989, Jordan officially de-annexed the West Bank. This political decision has nonetheless not been operationalized. According to some intellectuals and political analysts (e.g. Hattar) the failure to execute the terms of the de-annexation has brought to the forefront of political debate the question of Jordanian identity, and has created a similar socio-political climate that is similar to that of the early 1970s. Further pressure on the internal political situation came in the form of more refugees that have been pouring into Jordan because of the escalations in the region over the past couple of decades: nearly 400,000 Palestinians were expelled from Kuwait following the Iraqi invasion in 1990; approximately one million refugees from Iraq arrived between 1990-2003, as a result of the American and British war on Iraq; and most recently, Jordan has received approximately 1.5 Syrian refugees since the war broke out in Syria in 2011. According to the latest estimates there are currently 12 million people in the country.

## **1.2 Topography and dialect geography**

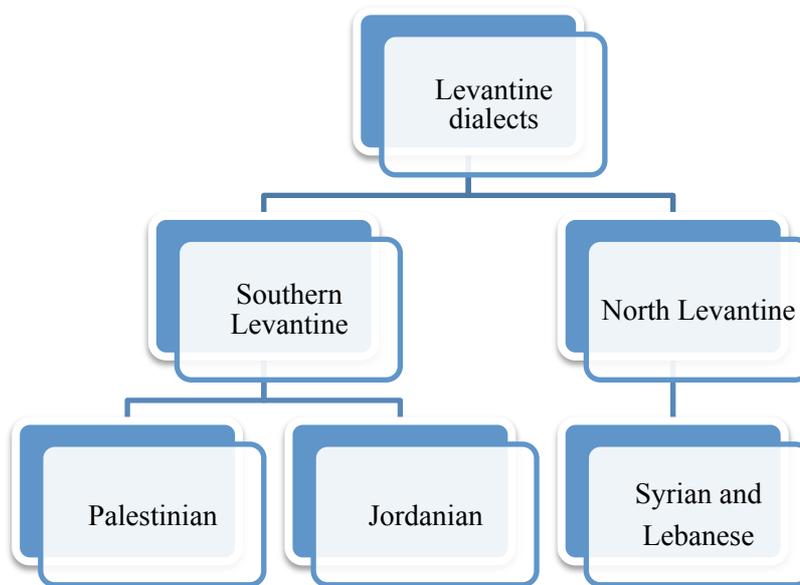
Jordan occupies an area of 89,342 square kilometres. West to east, the country consists of three natural regions, which converge, in the south, on the port of Aqaba-Jordan’s only outlet to the sea. Jordan’s first natural region includes the *Ghōr* ‘the gorge, or the sunken land’. The Ghōr, follows the course of the Jordan River (called locally *iš-šrī’a*) from Lake Tiberias in the north. The second region is the highlands; historically it is recorded as the most populous region. The highlands begin in the north, from the tributary of the Jordan River, called the Yarmūk, which connects with the main course of the river directly south of Lake Tiberias and they taper to an end in the south at the approaches to Aqaba. North to south, the highlands are divided into different parts by valleys and gorges, which are naturally grouped in three distinct areas.

Between the Yarmūk and the Zarqa- the next tributary of the Jordan river-lie the highlands, which the classical Arab geographers used to call the *Sawād* (Sawād al-'Urdun) 'the fertile land'. The region comprises the high plain of Irbid and the hill country of Ajlūn. The highlands of al-Balqa, which follow, span the area between Zarqa and the Wādi al-Mūjib canyon, which drains into the Dead Sea. Al-Balqa is divided into two parts: the eastern part, which is dominated by Amman, and the western part, which is dominated by the town of Salt, the most populous urban centre in the country until the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, a range of higher hills called *Bilad al-Sharat*, which rises from Wādi al-Mūjib to reach summits of 1,200 metres above sea level in the north and over 1,500 metres in the south. The main town here is Karak. The third natural region is the gravel plateau of the Syro-Arabian desert, patched with areas of the basalt and tilting gradually eastwards towards the frontier with Iraq. Geographically, this region extends northwards into Syria, eastwards into Iraq and southwards into Saudi Arabia. The inhabitants of this region are traditionally Bedouin pastoralists but have been largely settled.

The natural divisions mentioned above, influenced the administrative divisions in the country. The administrative divisions followed the natural ones. Until recently, there were five *muḥafaḍāt* 'administrative divisions': Irbid in the north (around the Sawād highland). The capital Amman includes Balqa highlands east of the water divide with the adjacent desert. Salt includes the same highland parts west of the water divide with the adjacent part of the Ghōr. Karak, begins from the Dead Sea shores and the northward drain of Wadi Araba. Finally, in the extreme south, there is Ma'ān. Today's Jordan has twelve administrative units instead of the original five. The countries that border of Jordan are Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. To Arab travellers coming from Arabia, the territory of Jordan was considered *mašārif il-šām* 'the approaches of Syria'. To those travellers back to the Peninsula, it was *mašārif il-ḥijāz* 'the approaches of the Hijaz'. Crossing Jordan was fundamental for peninsular Arabia to reach Syrian destinations from various Jordanian geographical points namely: al-Azraq, Ma'an and Aqaba.

Amman acted as the meeting point for all the Syro-Arabian caravan trails. Jordan was not only the highway between Arabia and Syria but also it was the area where the Middle East met and crossed (Salibi, 1993: 3-7).

Levantine dialects are commonly divided as illustrated in the figure below<sup>2</sup>.

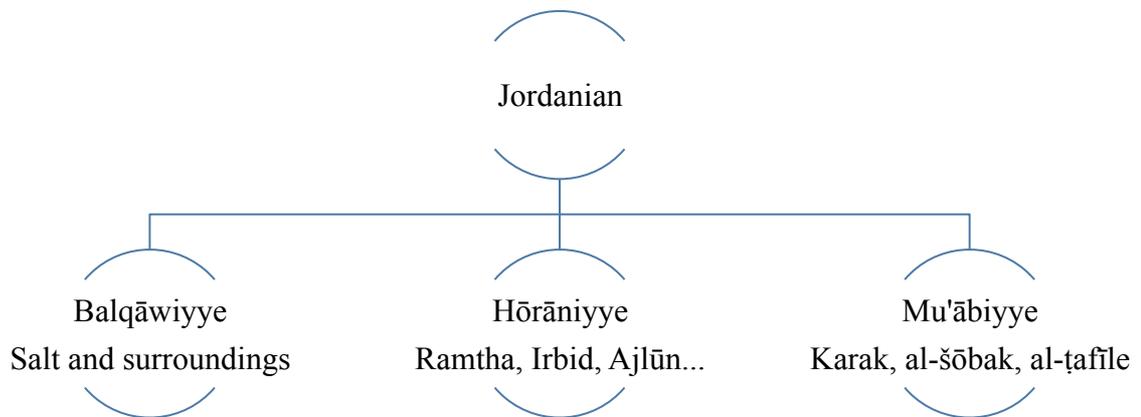


**Figure 1.2:** *The Levantine dialects*

As can be seen, Jordanian dialects are classified as ‘Southern Levantine’. The Jordanian subgroup is usually divided into three main groups, as illustrated in figure 1.3

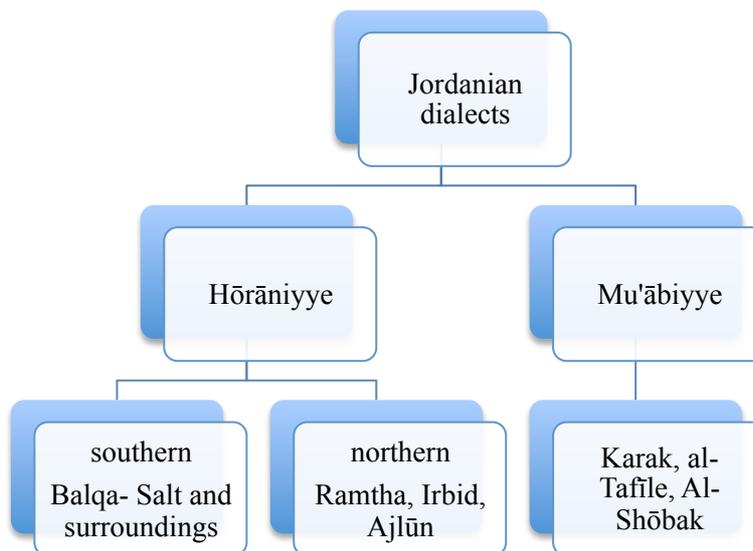
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<sup>2</sup> Figure 1.2: , figure 1.2, and figure 1.3 (pp.22-3) are based on Enam Al-Wer’s public lecture at ‘Heritage of Jordan’ on 9<sup>th</sup> of September 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rYLUG57NtUQ>



**Figure 1.3:** *The classification of the Jordanian dialects*

Herin (2013) examined features of the dialect of Salt in relation to Hōrāni, and concluded that typologically Salti is a type of Hōrāni. Al-Wer agrees with this re-classification and hence suggests that Jordanian dialects be classified as in figure 1.4



**Figure 1.4:** *Jordanian dialects* (source for figures 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4: Al-Wer, 2015)

In spite of the differences among Jordanian dialects, they share a relatively large number of features and at all linguistic levels, such as such as the use of [g] for /q/, the use of interdental, and affricate [dʒ] for /dʒ/ (Al-Wer, 2002 & 2007). From a sociolinguistics point of view, according to Al-Wer (2007), traditional Jordanian dialects do not vary according to socioeconomic class nor to town versus village. The situation is however different in the new city dialects (e.g. Amman), where contact between the various Jordanian dialects and Palestinian dialects in particular has resulted in the emergence of koineized norms, as well as in the complication of the sociolinguistic situation as a whole, such that ‘gender’ and ‘dialectal heritage’ have become important factors. The emergence of a metropolitan dialect in Jordan is an important development especially because not only has the country gained a linguistic centre but also innovations seem to radiate outwards from this centre. In Al-Wer (1991), distance from the capital city of Amman was shown to be significant insofar as variation in the traditional dialects of Salt, Ajloun and Karak was concerned. The town nearest to Amman, Salt, showed the most innovative patterns, and the dialect of Karak, the farthest from Amman, showed the least rate of usage of the innovative features investigated in Al-Wer (1991).

The formation of the Amman dialect is traced over three generations of native inhabitants. According to Al-Wer (2003 & 2007), the scenario of the formation of this dialect is summed up as:

**Generation 1.** For the most part, this generation speak the original dialects of the towns or villages from which they migrated. Nonetheless, Al-Wer reports that a few features are levelled out at this stage. Importantly for the current research, palatalization of /k/ is among the features found to be levelled out at this stage. This is an indication that palatalization is both localized and perhaps stigmatized.

**Generation 2.** In the speech of this generation, Al-Wer found a great deal of mixture of usage of linguistic features from different dialectal stock. The mixture is so large and unsystematic that she describes it as ‘chaotic’ (Al-Wer, 2007: 62).

**Generation 3.** In the speech of this generation, the mixture found in generation 2 is much reduced, and most importantly a process of focusing takes place such that the younger generation now share many features (viz. speak like each other, not like their forefathers) regardless of their dialectal heritage.

The current developments in Amman and the emerging dialect are expected to define the course of change in other cities and towns, including the locality investigated in the present study.

### 1.3 Approaches to the study of variation in Jordanian Arabic

As far as dialectology and dialectological descriptions are concerned, Jordanian dialects are, relatively speaking, poorly covered. There are some articles that provide descriptions of a few dialects, most importantly by Palva on the dialects of Salt and Karak (Palva, 1969, 1970, 1989, 1994, 2004, and 2008), Bani Yasin and Owens (1987), and some dialectological information about Jordanian dialects appear in Bergstrasser (1915) atlas and Cleveland (1963). The only complete description of a Jordanian dialect that is available to date is Herin (2010).

In sociolinguistics, the first variationist study is Abdel-Jawad (1981) on Amman. In this study, Abdel-Jawad examined two phonological variables (q) and (k), each with a standard and non-standard variant. He found correlations between the use of the variants and the extra-linguistic variables of the study namely, style, education, gender, and ethnicity, with educated speakers (predominantly male) using the standard variants most frequently. Among his speakers were a group of rural and urban Palestinians (whom he called ‘rural’ and ‘urban’, respectively); in comparison with the speakers from a Jordanian background, which he calls ‘Bedouin’, and the ‘urban’ speakers, he reported that the rural Palestinians used the standard variant [q] most often (Abdel-Jawad, 1981: 348-9).

Another quantitative study that investigated a Jordanian community is Al-Khatib (1988) whose study was carried out in the city of Irbid (Hōrān). Al-Khatib studies the variables (q), (k) (dʒ), (a) and two interdental, across ‘regional origin’, ‘gender’, ‘age’, ‘education’ and ‘style’. Similarly to Abdel-Jawad, he approached variation in the vernacular from the perspective of ‘standardization’, by which he (and Abdel-Jawad) mean ‘approximation to standard Arabic. He found that the use of most variables was “lexically conditioned”; with respect to standardization, men standardized more than women, younger speakers more than older speakers, rural speakers (Palestinians, originally) more than local Hōrānis (indigenous Jordanians).

An important diversion in the analysis and interpretation of variation in Jordanian Arabic, which has also set up new ways of analysing Arabic data, was marked by Al-Wer (1991) research in three Jordanian towns, Salt, Ajlūn and Karak. In this study, the standardization approach is abandoned. Instead, the new approach begins by analysing the social meanings of the variants, and proceeds to analyse sociolinguistic variation as reflecting an interaction of the socio-history of the community and the social meanings of the use of the variants in question. Thus, for instance, the use of the variant [θ] of the interdental variable (θ) was analysed as a case of maintenance of a traditional variant, rather than a case of ‘standardization’ (the standard variety has the same variant). Therefore, the high rate of maintenance of this variant by the uneducated speakers (many of them were illiterate) was correctly interpreted as adherence to the local norm; under a ‘standardization’ approach, this result would have meant that the illiterate speakers use a standard Arabic variant more often than the highly educated, which is obviously a very unlikely interpretation given that illiterate speakers have no command of the standard variety.

Additionally, Al-Wer’s study provided a detailed analysis of the socio-historical and political events that have influenced Jordan ever since it was established as an independent state. In particular, she analysed the impact on Jordan’s sociolinguistic situation of the Palestinian (forced) migration. With respect to her results of the analysis of four phonological variables, she reported that the innovative features [ʔ] (q), [ʒ] (dʒ), [t] (θ), [dʕ] (ðʕ) were being introduced into the speech of the three communities through contact, and that geographical distance from the capital city, Amman, correlated with the speed with which the innovations were spreading –the nearest to Amman is Salt, which showed higher rate of usage of the innovative features followed by Ajlūn to the north, and finally Karak, the farthest from Amman to the south, which showed the lowest rate of use of the innovative variants. One of the most interesting results in this study is that the different variables behaved differently. In particular, the most salient Jordanian feature

[g], of (q), was maintained to a very high rate. This result prompted Al-Wer to suggest that extremely salient features, such as [g], are most resistant to change in the context of the local community because of the pressure exerted by tightknit social networks towards the maintenance of the local norm (cf. Milroy, 1980). This new approach to investigating variation has since then been established firmly. Two subsequent studies in Jordan, namely Al-Tamimi (2001) in Irbid, and El-Salman (2003) in Kerak followed Al-Wer's approach. Elsewhere, the new approach was applied in the study of Damacus by Ismail (2008), and in cases of dialect contact, e.g. Al-Essa (2008) in Jeddah, Al-Qouz (2009) in Bahrain, Al-Ghamdi (2013) in Mecca, and Alqahtani (2015) in southern Arabia. In the study at hand, variation follows the new approach, and benefits from the improved methodologies and analytical techniques.

#### **1.4 Conceptual underpinning of the current study**

The conceptual underpinnings of this research are drawn from sociolinguistic variationist theory as pioneered by Labov (1966) the theory is based on the principles that variation is inherent, and variability is structured by linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, Trudgill says that:

“Sociolinguistic research is concerned to learn more about language, and to investigate topics such as the mechanisms of linguistic change; the nature of linguistic variability; and the structure of linguistic systems. All work in this category...is aimed ultimately at improving linguistic theory and at developing our understanding of the nature of the language.....”

(Trudgill,1983: 2-3)

Crucial to the Variationist paradigm is the idea that the speech of no one speaker of a given community can be considered a complete representation of the whole community's speech. Moreover, Labov states, “This heterogeneity is an integral part of the linguistic economy of the community, necessary to satisfy the linguistic demands of every-day life.” (Labov, 1982: 17).

A sociolinguistic approach that will be adopted in this study supports the relevance of linguistic variation. In Sūf, for instance, there is a form of Hōrāni dialect that is considered to be characteristic of the region. However, as explained in this chapter, migration patterns and intermixing between people who speak different dialects might have contributed to some sort of dialect variation. I intend to ensure that the phenomenon of variation is given much more credence as an explanatory factor, as opposed to the manner in which it has been shunned in past studies (Labov, 1972a, Trudgill, 1974). The incorporation of the phenomenon of variation as described in this theory extends from the competence of an individual speaker to the overall manner in which a particular community speaks. According to Labov (1982), the issue of heterogeneity should be concerned with the competence and execution of individual speakers of a given language, as opposed to the notion of considering one speaker to be a representative of an entire speech community.

Another point of departure in the Variationist Theory from other and older approaches to linguistics is the principle that ‘there is no such thing as free variation’. According to Labov (1982) every language contains variability which is not only unique to that language but also constrained by internal and external factors; it is by understanding these constraints on the system, i.e. by factoring into the analysis the relative effects of the linguistic and non-linguistic factors, do we come closer to understanding the system as a whole. And since some of these constraints are not linguistic, but social and stylistic, researching language in its natural habitat, society, and using data from a broad mix of the population (the native speakers) is a necessity.

The theoretical approach that has been selected in this study, and described above, will form the core of the conceptual underpinnings of this study. In the current study, emphasis will be put on explaining how the Hōrāni dialect fits into the matrix of the social context of Sūf. The major aspect that needs to be addressed in this study is the issue of variation in the Sūfāni dialect and the social correlates of this variation.

## 1.5 Significance of the study

Jordanian dialects overall are fairly understudied. The present research is hoped to make a contribution in this field by providing an up to date account of variation and possibly change in one dialect of the Hōrāni group. My choice of the particular dialect to study was motivated by the existence of some studies on similar dialects; most importantly that of Al-Wer (1991). By conducting further research in apparent time of another location in Hōrān, namely Sūf, I hope to be able to provide future researchers with useful information of further developments in the region, which can be used to trace developments in real time. More generally, the present research provides an opportunity to test sociolinguistic principles and methodological practices, and in particular it provides fresh data regarding gender-differentiated patterns, which are explained with reference to the particular community's structure and the daily pursuits of its members. With respect to the variables investigated, the study is the first of its kind to analyse palatalization and /l/ quantitatively using state-of-the-art statistical methods.

## 1.6 Research Questions

Research projects must also attempt to answer a specific set of research questions. The current study is concerned in investigating the following:

1. What are the most visible instances of linguistic variation in the Hōrāni dialect spoken in Sūf?
2. Does the use of the linguistic variables vary across age and gender groups?
3. How can the structure of variation in the use of the chosen variables be explained in relation to the local context?
4. How do the findings fit within general patterns found elsewhere in Arabic speaking communities and beyond?

## 1.7 Outline of thesis chapters

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter presented a historical background of the ancient and the modern history of Jordan, followed by a discussion of the dialect geography of Jordan. It also provides a discussion of approaches to the study of variation, which is followed by the theoretical underpinnings and the research questions.

Chapter two gives a linguistic description of the Sūf dialect. Specifically, this chapter explains the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structure of Sūf dialect. References to other Hōrāni and to Syrian dialects that share the same linguistic features are provided in this chapter.

Chapter three discusses the methods adopted in the current study. This chapter presents information about the participants, whose speech is analyzed in this study, including the stratification of the sample and the sample size. It provides information about the researcher, the town and its community, in addition to information about accessing this community. This chapter also gives detailed information about the sociolinguistic interviews, and ethical issues. The social variables namely, 'age' and 'gender', and the linguistic variables along with the coding techniques are presented in this chapter.

In chapter four, I present and discuss the results of the analysis of the first linguistic variable of the current study, which is palatalization of /k/. In the current study, palatalization of /k/, it is treated at two levels and thus involves two variables: 1. Phonological variable (k); includes tokens of /k/ in the stem of the word. 2. Morphophonemic variable *-ik*; includes tokens of /k/ in the feminine suffix /ik/.

The second variable of the current study (l) is presented in chapter five. In this chapter, I discuss the laterals in general, focusing on liquid (l) in different languages, followed by a discussion of the occurrence of dark /l/ in Arabic. The bulk of the chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the results and analysis of this variable.

The thesis winds up with chapter 6, which presents a summary of the findings and a discussion of the conclusions.

## Chapter 2

### Dialect Description

Jordan is the southernmost country of the Levant. After the dismantlement of the Ottoman Empire in the region, Jordan became a separate political entity like the other countries in the region. In terms of natural and human resources, Jordan was the poorest part in the region, and it lacked large urban centres, which could act as a linguistic focal point and a cultural centre. During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Jerusalem, Haifa, Damascus and Beirut were considered as places of cultural refinement. Unlike the situation in Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria where a national linguistic standard based on the dialect of the metropolis has been in place for decades, the linguistic situation remained diffuse in the Jordanian capital, until the emergence of ‘Ammani Arabic’ (Al-Wer, 2007).

The dialects of Jordan has been studied by a number of researchers such as Heiki Palva who wrote short descriptions of the dialect of Balqa and the dialect of Karak (1969, 1970, 1989, 1994, 2004, and 2008). There is one full-fledged description of a Jordanian dialect (Salt), namely Herin (2010). In his *Atlas*, Bergsträsser includes the area east of the River Jordan, and Cleveland (1963) who classifies the spoken dialects in the country. Following the Labovian sociolinguistic framework, some sociolinguists addressed aspects of phonological variation and change in some Jordanian localities, e.g. on Amman, Abdel-Jawad (1982); Al-Wer (2002, 2003, 2007, 2011); on Irbid, Al-Khatib (1987), Al-Tamimi (2001); on the dialects Salt, Ajlūn and Karak , Al-Wer (1991).

As cited in Herin (2013), Cantineau described the dialect of Hōrān as:

“Two things ought to be noted in CANTINEAU statement about Hōrān dialect. The first one is the strong homogeneity of Hōrān dialects, which makes it possible to consider them a single variety, and thus suitable for comparison with other more localised dialects. The second thing is that, according to CANTINEAU, Hōrān dialects constitute the most northern end of Jordanian dialects.”

(Herin, 2013: 100)

## *Sūf dialect*

### **2.0 Introduction**

The traditional dialect of Sūf is a typical Hōrāni dialect, which contains all of the salient Hōrāni features, as will be explained presently. Geographically Hōrān stretches from the outskirts of Damascus, Syria, in the north to the region of Mu'āb in Southern Jordan (see map 2: 13). The region has been split between two political entities (Jordan and Syria) after the Sykes-Picot agreement between France and Britain in 1918. The region of Hōrān has been known since ancient times as the fertile land of the Levant. In particular, this is the region where wheat and various other grains have been cultivated for centuries.

The best-known reference for Hōrāni dialects is Cantineau (1946). Since then, only a few studies have been carried out in the region, all of which are of the variationist sociolinguistic type, in addition to the comments available in Herin (2013) and Herin & Al-Wer (2013). The Syrian part of Hōrān is included in Behnstedt's *altals* (1997). One of the Hōrāni towns (Ajlūn) was included in Al-Wer's (1991) study. Al-Khatib (1988) studied six variables in the Hōrāni city of Irbid. This was followed by a second variationist study of Irbid by Al-Tamimi (2001). In none of these studies, however, is there a description of any of the Hōrāni dialects which were investigated.

In this chapter, I provide a description of the linguistic Hōrāni features, based on those mentioned in Herin & Al-Wer (2013) and Al-Wer et al (2015). The description below follows the model of dialect description provided by Al-Wer (2007), and is based on the data I collected from the town of Sūf.

## Linguistic Description

### 2.1 Phonology

#### 2.1.1 Consonant

The phonological inventory (consonantal) of the dialect is displayed in table 2.1, followed by commentary.

##### *Consonants*

	bilab.	labio	dental	interdental	alveo	postalv.	palat.	velar	phar.	lar.
plosives	b		t, d					k, g	ʕ	
emphatics			tʕ, dʕ							
nasal	m	n								
fricatives		f		θ, ð	s, z	ʃ		x, ɣ	ħ, ʕ	h
emphatic				ðʕ	sʕ					
affricate						tʃ, dʒ				
trill or tap					r					
lateral					l					
glides	w						j			

**Table 2.1:** *The phonological inventory of the dialect of Sūf*

The use of interdentals /θ/, /ð/, and /ðʕ/ showed considerable variation in some of the previous studies of these features in Jordan (see, for example Al-Wer, 1991). In the Sūf dialect, the use of the interdentals [θ], [ð] and [ðʕ] is stable; no variation at all was found in the use of these sounds. At the outset of my research I anticipated, based on previous studies, that the interdentals will show variation. The fact that they did not is in itself interesting, seeing as these sounds show a relatively high rate of variation in Amman, Salt (Al-Wer, 2007), Irbid (Al-Khatib, 1988), (Al-Tamimi, 2001). Informally, I also noticed that the interdental sounds are subject to variation in the Jerash community, which is the nearest city to Sūf. In this regard, the dialect of Sūf is very conservative.

Similarly, In Sūf /dʒ/ is stable with no variation; in big cities however, such as Amman, there is a variation between [ʒ] and [dʒ].

Herin (2013) states that in Salti and Hōrāni dialects, the reflex of \*/q/ is [g]: *jigdar*, *gu!(u)t*. an unvoiced reflex of \*/g/ does appear in Salti in some roots like *k-t-l* ‘to kill, to beat up’ or *w-k-t* ‘time’. The devoicing of /g/ was of course triggered by the proximity of the voiceless consonant /t/. In my data, /g/ does indeed occur as [k] in the word /wakit/ ‘time/period’. It seems therefore that the Suf dialect conforms to the pattern described in Herin (2013) for the dialect of Salt, namely that /g/ is devoiced in the vicinity of /t/.

Palatalization of /k/ is a feature that has been discussed in various Arabic varieties. Two basic types are identified: (i) dialects that palatalize /k/ unconditionally, e.g. rural Palestinian dialects; (ii) dialects that palatalize conditionally, normally in the vicinity of front vowels. In Hōrāni dialects only conditional palatalization is found (in the vicinity of front vowels); however, /k/ can also be palatalized in the vicinity of high back vowels, e.g. *di:ʃ* ‘rooster’ – *dju:ʃ* ‘roosters’.

The consonant /k/ can be palatalized to [ʃ]. Herin and Al-Wer (2013) and Herin (2010) describe in details palatalization of /k/ in the dialect of Salt and conclude that palatalization in Hōrāni dialects in general is best accounted for as a case of “transfer of lexical items”, rather than “systematic sound change” (Herin & Al-Wer, 2013: 59).

Palatalization of /k/ is one of the variables investigated in the current study (chapter 4). In Sūf, Palatalization of /k/ is found in the stem as in:

<i>ʃe:f</i>	‘how’
<i>ʃam</i>	‘how much’
<i>he:ʃ</i>	‘like this’

Palatalization also occurs in the feminine suffix as in:

<i>biddi-ʃ</i>	‘do you (SF) want’
<i>uxti-ʃ</i>	‘your sister’
<i>ma:ti-ʃ</i>	‘what’s wrong with you!/ what’s up with you!’

Similarly to the dialect of Salt, in Sūf, palatalization of /k/ is found in the vicinity of front vowels for the most part, but some examples were also found in the vicinity of back vowels as in:

<i>xa:f</i>	‘here you (F) go!’
<i>ʔaxu:f</i>	‘your (F) brother’
<i>ʔabu:f</i>	‘your (F) father’

As will be discussed in chapter 3, this feature is variable in Sūf. There are signs that the traditional feature may be changing.

Dark /l/ is another distinctive feature of Hōrāni dialects, including Sūf. This feature is another variable that is investigated in the current study (chapter 5). Examples of dark /l/ from my data are listed below.

<i>gabul</i>	‘before’,
<i>gaʔlu</i>	‘he told him’
<i>ma:tif</i>	‘what’s wrong with you/ what’s up with you (F)’,
<i>xatni</i>	‘let me’,
<i>ʕutba</i>	‘can (n)’
<i>ʔasʕtan</i>	‘originally’,
<i>ʕayʔa</i>	‘something’,
<i>t-ammi</i>	‘for my mother’

As explained in chapter 5, this feature is now variable in Sūf.

One of the most interesting features of Hōrān that is found in the current data is the assimilation of /h/ in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural pronominal suffix *ha/hum*, when it occurs after /t/ and /s/, as in the following examples:

<i>ʕara:s-sa</i>	‘on her head’
<i>ʔuxut-ta</i>	‘her sister’
<i>kannit-tum</i>	‘their daughter in law’
<i>dʒmʕit-ta</i>	‘her university’
<i>ʔimka:nijja:t-ta</i>	‘her abilities’

This assimilation is not found in the word *gultilha* ‘I told her’, which suggests that the assimilation occurs after particular sounds only. Herin (2010) found a similar kind of

assimilation in the traditional dialect of Salt and in Hōrāni dialects involves /h/ after a voiceless consonant. According to Herin (2010) this kind happens when a pronoun bound start with /h/ is suffixed, as in *tʰlaʃt-hin* → *tʰlaʃəttin* ‘I took them (fem.) out’.

This feature is different from the form of /h/-dropping found in many coastal and other Levantine dialects. For instance, in Damascus, as shown by Ismail (2008), /h/ is dropped, but not geminated/assimilated, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular feminine and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural suffixes: *ʔixt-ha* > *ʔixta* ‘her sister’; *ʔixt-hon* > *ʔixt-on*. In the Sūf forms there is always gemination of the preceding consonant, and dropping of /h/ is triggered by a preceding [t] or [s] only

### 2.1.2 Vowels

The inventory of vowels is listed in table 2.2.

short vowels		long vowels	
i	u	i:	u:
	(o)	e:	o:
a		a:	

**Table 2.2:** *The inventory of vowels in the dialect of Sūf*

The phonetic property of the short high front vowel /i/ is normally [ɪ] or slightly lower, and that of the short high back vowel /u/ is /ʊ/ or slightly lower. The third person singular masc. clitic *-o* is phonetically [o] or slightly lower. The contrast between /o/ and /u/ can be found only word finally, *dʒa:bo* ‘he brought it’ versus *dʒa:bu* ‘they brought’. The *-u* of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masc. is phonetically [o], but the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pl. is [u]. Also, /o/ and /i/ contrast phonemically in final position, in the capacity of *-i*, phonetically [i], being the first person

singular possessive clitic form: *fantito* ‘his bag’ versus *fantiti* ‘my bag’ *ʔarðʕo* ‘his land’ *ʔarðʕi* ‘my land’.

A particularly distinctive feature of Hōrāni dialects is the use of /u/ where other dialects, including Amman and Salt, have /i/. According to Al-Wer et al (2015), this feature is a ‘striking feature of Hōrāni’, as it is localised. The following examples, taken from my data in Sūf, illustrate this feature.

Sūf/Hōrān	Amman	
<i>zubde</i>	<i>zibde</i>	‘butter’
<i>bitsub</i>	<i>bitsib</i>	‘she castigates’
<i>mufmuf</i>	<i>mifmif</i>	‘apricots’
<i>sumsum</i>	<i>simsim</i>	‘sesame’
<i>baʕuðʕ</i>	<i>baʕidʕ</i>	‘some’
<i>baxuð</i>	<i>ba:xud</i>	‘I take’
<i>gamuħ</i>	<i>gamiħ/ʔamiħ</i>	‘wheat’
<i>balumm</i>	<i>balim</i>	‘I collect’
<i>minluf</i>	<i>minlif</i>	‘we roll/stuff’
<i>fahur</i>	<i>fahir</i>	‘a month’
<i>ju:suf</i>	<i>ju:sif</i>	‘Yusuf, (a man’s name)’
<i>ʕagut</i>	<i>ʕagil</i>	‘brain’

Noticeably, some of the above items (*mufmuf*, *gamuħ*, *minluf*, *fahur*, and *juðʕrub*) also occur in my data with /i/: *mifmif*, *gamiħ*, *binlif*, *fahir*, and *jiðrib*. This distinctive Hōrāni feature is currently under investigation in the dialect of the village of Saħam by Noora Abu Ain (University of Essex, PhD thesis, forthcoming).

Al-Wer (2007: 509) mentions that the reflexes of \*ay, and \*aw in Ammani are the mid long vowels /e:/ and /o:/: *be:t* ‘house’ and *mo:t* ‘death’. In Ammani, /aj/ is used before /j/ as in *majjel* ‘drop by!’ and /aw/ is used before /w/ as in *ʔawwal* ‘first’, similar examples in addition to *gajjel* ‘have a nap!’ were recorded in my data from Sūf.

## 2.1.3 Pausal forms

*The realization of the feminine ending -a*

According to Al-Wer (2002), Al-Wer et al (2015) and Herin (2013) the feminine ending *-a*, is raised conditionally to [ɛ] after coronal sounds (/t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /θ/, ð/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/ /dʒ/, /n/ and /j/), after labials /b/, /m/, and /f/ and after /l/ and /r/ if there is an /i/ type of vowel in preceding syllables. The following examples, taken from Al-Wer (2015: 77) to illustrate the process.

n-	<i>maɖnu:n-e</i>	‘crazy’
b-	<i>ɖʒe:b-e</i>	‘pocket’

(Al-Wer et al, 2015: 77)

t-	<i>sitte</i>	‘six’
d-	<i>waħade</i>	‘one (F)’
θ-	<i>θala:θe</i>	‘three’
z-	<i>ɖʒi:ze</i>	‘marriage’
ɖʒ-	<i>lahɖʒe</i>	‘accent’

(Herin, 2013: 106)

In the Sūf data, the rule of raising, as above, is followed generally, as can be seen in the examples below:

d-	<i>ħami:d-e</i>	‘Hami:de (family name)’
s-	<i>kabs-e</i>	‘Kabse (name of a dish)’
θ-	<i>ʔiθne:n-e</i>	‘two (M)’
j-	<i>sʔa:fj-e</i>	‘pure’

Noticeably, one speaker has the form *kufte* ‘Kufta, (the name of a local dish)’. This speaker’s pronunciation is ‘unusual’ and will be discussed below. In the traditional Sūf dialect, the name of this dish is normally rendered as /kufta/, without raising. This means that the phonological effect of coronal sounds (here [t]), which encourage raising, may be blocked by the

presence of a back vowel in the preceding syllable. This has been pointed out by Herin (2013).

Commenting on the environment which encourages raising in the dialect of Salt, he writes:

“The vicinity of back vowels is actually enough to prevent raising, even without the presence of an emphatic sound.”

(Herin, 2013: 105)

Herin cites the items *ħabbe* ‘piece, grain’, but *ħubba* ‘kiss’ as examples of this feature. Herin’s observation with respect to the effect of the back vowel explains the form *kuf̄ta* in the dialect of Sūf. At the same time however we encounter the forms *bo:se* ‘kiss’, *ho:fe* ‘argument, fight’ in which there is a back vowel /o:/ in the preceding syllable, but raising is not blocked. It may be the case that only /u/ blocks raising. This point will need further examination using a larger database.

With respect to the form *kuf̄te*, with a raised variant, the speaker who used this form is 15 years-old school girl Aya (see also chapter 4). Her pronunciation of this item with a raised vowel is an innovation, and may be taken as an indication that this feature, raising of the feminine ending, is emerging as a variable in the local dialect –in the same way that it did in the dialect of Salt (see Al-Wer, 2007).

According to Al-Wer et al (2015) *-a* is not raised when it is preceded by back sounds (velar and beyond; which also includes labiovelar /w/) and velarized consonants as in:

<i>magus:m-a</i>	‘divided (f)’
<i>barak-a</i>	‘God’s benediction’
<i>ʔarmat-a</i>	‘widow’

(Al-Wer et al, 2015: 77)

In Sūf, the environment of ‘no-raising’ also includes preceding back sounds (including emphatics) and /w/. Examples from my data are listed below.

-w	<i>xuwwa</i>	‘brotherhood’,
	<i>naxwa</i>	‘chivalry’
	<i>ʕizwa</i>	‘support’,
-k	<i>ʕimba:rak-a</i>	‘blessed’
-g	<i>midraga</i>	‘traditional gown’

However, variation in applying the rule can also be found in the Sūf dialect; thus for instance the data contain both of the following pronunciations: *suḥba/suḥbe*. But, no such variation was recorded for:

<i>mað<sup>ʕ</sup>a:fa</i>	‘hosting venue’
<i>maʕlu:ma</i>	‘a piece of information’.

According to Al-Wer (2007) in Amman the form *ḥilwe* ‘pretty or sweet’ is found (raised after /w/), which is rendered *ḥilwa* in Hōrān. According to Al-Wer, in the dialects of these cities, the default variant is /e/ unless –a is preceded by emphatic sounds. Al-Wer further maintains that this system (/e/ being the default variant) is the one that has been focused in Amman. Assuming that innovations radiate outwards from Amman (i.e. that Amman is now a linguistic centre), it may be hypothesized that the system of raising found in Amman will diffuse to other localities. Indeed, the exceptions, or deviations from the traditional dialect reported above (including *kufte*) may be a sign that this feature is currently variable in the dialect of Sūf.

#### 2.1.4 Syllable structure

*CaCi:C ~ CCi:C*

The use of the nominal/adjective pattern *CaCi:C*, rather than *CCi:C*, is discussed in Al-Wer et al (2015: 81) as a distinctive feature of Hōrāni dialects. They cite the following items from their data:

<i>θagi:l</i>	‘heavy’
<i>kaθi:r</i>	‘much, many’
<i>t<sup>ʕ</sup>aḥi:n</i>	‘flour’
<i>baʕi:d</i>	‘far’
<i>ʕabi:r (kabi:r)</i>	‘big’

In my data, while the traditional pattern is indeed the norm, there is considerable variation, between traditional CaCi:C and innovative CCi:C. Below are some examples.

*tʰaħi:n* ~ *tʰhi:n* ‘flour’  
*kabi:r* ~ *kbi:r* ‘big’  
*zayi:r* ~ *zyi:r* ‘small’  
*sani:n* ~ *sni:n* ‘years’  
*zabi:b* ~ *zbi:b* ‘raisins’

However, the word *kθi:r* ‘much, many’ did not occur as *kaθi:r* in the current data, which may be taken as an indication that the feature is undergoing change in the traditional dialect.

## 2.2 Morphology

### 2.2.1 Pronouns

#### 2.2.1.1 Maintenance of gender distinction in the 2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural forms

Many dialects of Arabic, including some Jordanian dialects, neutralise gender in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural forms (including pronouns, pronominals, nominal and verbal endings). In the traditional dialects of Hōrān, gender distinction in these forms is maintained. Table 2.3 displays this system.

	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> fem.</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> masc.</b>
<b>Pronoun</b>	<i>intin</i> ‘you’	<i>intu</i> ‘you’
<b>Verbal ending</b>	<i>darast-in</i> ‘you studied’ <i>gaṣadt-in</i> ‘you sat down’ <i>ḏibt-in</i> ‘you brought’	<i>darst-u</i> ‘studied’ <i>gaṣadt-u</i> ‘you sat down’ <i>ḏibt-u</i> ‘brought’
<b>Imperfect</b>	<i>btudurs-in</i> ‘study’	<i>btudurs-u</i> ‘study’
<b>Imperative</b>	<i>ḏi:b-in</i> ‘bring’	<i>ḏi:b-u</i> ‘bring’
<b>Adjectival</b>	<i>ḥilwa:t</i> ‘pretty’	<i>ḥilwi:n</i> ‘pretty’
<b>Suffixes</b>	<i>-kin/ fīn</i>	<i>-ku</i>
	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> fem.</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> masc.</b>
<b>Pronoun</b>	<i>hinne</i> ‘they’	<i>humme</i> ‘they’
<b>Verbal ending</b>	<i>ḏa:b-in</i> ‘they brought’ <i>daras-in</i> ‘studied’ <i>gaṣad-in</i> ‘sat down’	<i>ḏa:b-u</i> ‘they brought’ <i>daras-u</i> ‘they studied’ <i>gaṣad-u</i> ‘sat down’
<b>Adjectival</b>	<i>ḥilwa:t</i> ‘pretty’	<i>ḥilwi:n</i> ‘pretty’
<b>Suffixes</b>	<i>-hin</i>	<i>-hum</i>

Table 2.3: Gender distinction in *Hōrān*

## 2.2.1.2 Possessive/object suffixes pronouns

The word ending would affect the form of the possessive/ object suffixes. There are two forms of this suffix depending on whether the word ends with vowel or consonant including (CC)

	after –v			after-C		
	<i>ḥabu-</i> ‘father’			<i>ḥuxt</i> ‘sister’		
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>
sing. masc.	<i>-u</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ak</i>	<i>-i</i>
sing. fem.	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-f</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-if</i>	<i>-i</i>

Table 2.4: Possessive/Object suffix

The plural forms of this suffix are showed in table 2.3, so for instance the possessive pronouns in the 3<sup>rd</sup> masc.pl. is *–hum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> masc.pl. *–ku*, and 1<sup>st</sup> masc. pl. *–na*, the 3<sup>rd</sup> fem. pl. is *t-in*, the 2<sup>nd</sup> fem. pl. is *–kin*, and the 1<sup>st</sup> fem. pl. is *–na*.

## 2.2.1.3 Indirect object suffixes

When this suffix is preceded by –CC, it has three series, as follows:

-after –v	after –C	after –CC
<i>dʒa:bu:-l-o</i> ‘they brought to him’	<i>dʒa:b-l-o</i> ‘he brought to him’	<i>dʒibtt-ill-o</i> ‘I brought to him’
3MS -l-o 2MS –lak IMS -li	3MS -l-o 2MS –lak IMS –li	3MS-illo 2MS –illak IMS-illi
3FS -l-ha 2FS-lif 1FS-l-i	3FS -l-ha 2FS-lif	3FS -ilha 2FS -illif
3MP-l-hum 2MP-lku 1MP-l-na	3MP-l-hum 2MP-lku 1MP-l-na	3MP-l-hum 2MP-lku 1MP-l-na
3FP-il-hin 2FP-ilku~ilkin 1FP-ilna	3FP-il-hin 2FP-ilku~ilkin 1FP-ilna	3FP-il-hin 2FP-ilku~ilkin 1FP-ilna

## 2.2.1.4 Demonstratives

The demonstratives are listed below in table 2.5.

	near	far
singular, masc.	<i>ha:ð<sup>ʕ</sup>(a)</i>	<i>ha:ð<sup>ʕ</sup>a:k</i>
singular, fem.	<i>ha:j</i>	<i>hað<sup>ʕ</sup>i:k</i>
pl.	<i>hað<sup>ʕ</sup>o:ta</i>	<i>hað<sup>ʕ</sup>o:ta:k</i>

**Table 2.5: Demonstratives**

Examples are listed below:

*hað<sup>ʕ</sup>o:la iwla:d ibni abu nabi:l* ‘these are my son (Abu Nabi:l)’s kids’, *hað<sup>ʕ</sup>o:la:k dʒama:ʕa mla:h* ‘those (people) are good people’, *haj ʔigða:ma za:ʔje* ‘this delicious chickpeas’, *ha:ð<sup>ʕ</sup> ibni* ‘this is my son’, and *hað<sup>ʕ</sup>o:k ʕe:le θa:nje* ‘they are another tribe’. The noun is singular feminine but the demonstrative is masculine plural. The reference here is for the individuals rather than the collective noun *ʕe:le* ‘family’.

## 2.2.1.5 Presentatives

*ha:j* functions as a presentatives as in the following: *hajjo dʒa:j* ‘he’s coming’ *hajjhom ra:jhi:n* *ʕal mazraʕa* ‘here, they are going to the farm’.

## 2.2.1.6 Interrogatives

The interrogative pronouns are: *manu:* masc., *mani:* fem. ‘who’, placed nearest to the subject of enquiry, e.g. *manu: ʔaɖʒa* ‘who came’, *mani: ha:j* ‘who is she’ *maʕ manu: ʔaħfi* ‘whom shall I call’, *anhu:* masc. and *anhi:~ani:* fem. ‘which’ e.g. *anhi:~ani: waħade* ‘which one’, and *anhu: ʕam* ‘which uncle’. There are two interrogative particles, which can be used interchangeably: *e:f* and *fu:* ‘what’; these two particles can be placed before or after the verb, e.g. *e:f~fu: dʒibit* ‘what did you (masc.) bring/get’, *dʒibit e:f~fu:* ‘you (masc.) brought what’.

## 2.2.2 Adverbs

1. Temporal: *ame:t* ‘when’, *ljo:m* ‘today’, *bukra ~ yad* ‘tomorrow’, *baʕid bukra* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *ʔimba:riħ ~ ʔamis* ‘yesterday’, *ʔawwal ʔamis~ʔawwal ʔimba:riħ* ‘the day before yesterday’, *hassa* ‘now’, and *θa:ni jo:m* ‘the day after’.
2. Local: *we:n* ‘where’, *mne:n* ‘from where’, *lawe:n* ‘where to’, *ho:n* ‘here’, ‘*hna:k* ‘there’.
3. Manner: *fɛ:f* ‘how’ *fɛ:f baddif tru:hi?* ‘how you (fem.) will go?’, *he:f* ‘like this’ *sa:wi:ha zəjj he:f* ‘do it like this’.
4. Causal: *lawe:f* ‘what for’ ‘why’, e.g. *lawe:f baddif trawhi?* ‘Why do you (fem.) want to leave?’ *laʔin ~ ʕafa:n* ‘because’ e.g. *laʔin ~ ʕafa:n baddi atʕbux* ‘as or because I want to cook’.
5. Number and mass: *gadde:f~gadde:* ‘how many’ ‘how much’.

### 2.2.3 Particles

#### 2.2.3.1 Definite article

The definite article is *il ~ l*, as in *ilbinit* ‘the girl’, *likwajjse* ‘the nice (girl)’.

#### 2.2.3.2 The genitive marker

The genitive marker is *gejj ~ tabaʕ*, which inflects for gender and number:

MASC form: *gejjo ~ tabaʕo*, FEM form: *gejjha ~ tabaʕha*, PLU. FORMS: *gejhom ~ tabaʕhom*.

*gi:t ~ tibiʕit*, and *gijja:t ~ tabaʕa:t* refer to fem. objects as in *gi:t ilwalad* ‘his (fem object)’ or *gi:t ilbint* ‘her’s (fem. object) and *gijji:nhum* ‘their’s (pl.masc. object)’ and *gijja:thum* ‘their’s (pl.fem. object)’.

#### 2.2.3.3 Negation particle

The negative particles are *ma...+ʃ...ma baga:ʃ bi: sajja:rat* ‘there were no cars’, *ma baga:ʃ fi: farug* ‘there was no difference’.

### 2.2.4 Nominal Morphology

#### 2.2.4.1 Gender

Feminine nouns that have no marking include: *ʔi:d* ‘hand’ or ‘arm’.

#### 2.2.4.2 Productive patterns

Some of productive patterns examples are as cited in Al-Wer (2007) about Ammani dialect have also found in the current data such as *miCCa:h* as in *mifta:h* ‘key’, *maCaCC* as in *maffak* ‘screw’; *CaCCa:Ca(e) massa:ħa* ‘windscreen wiper’ and *dʒarra:fa* ‘dugger’, *CuCCe:Ca (e), ħamu:le* ‘hammock’. For professions, *CaCCa:C* as in *lahħa:m* ‘butcher’. The pseudo-dual is formed in: *ʔide:n* ‘hands or arms’ and *ʔiɖgre:n* ‘feet or legs’ the –n will disappear if these items were followed with a suffix as in *ʔide:-ha* ‘her hands or her arms’ and *ʔiɖgre:* ‘his feet or legs’ (Al-Wer, 2007: 512).

## 2.2.4.3 Numerals

The cardinal numbers 1-10 are: *wa:ħad*, *iθne:n*, *θala:θ*, *ʔarbaʕa*, *xamse*, *sitte*, *sabʕa*, *θamanjje*, *tisʕa*, *ʕafara*. When *wa:ħad* and *iθne:n* are used in conjunction with the noun, they match the noun gender for instance *ʕamme waħade* ‘one aunt (from father’s side)’ and *ʔaxu wa:ħad* ‘one brother’, and *ʔixwa:n iθne:n* ‘two brothers’. In the case of numerals 3-10, they are used with a following noun they come before the noun and in some cases they are shortened as in *ʔarbaʕ*, *xamis*, *sitt*, *sabiʕ*, *θaman*, *tisaʕ*, and *ʕafar* for instance *θala:θ bana:t* ‘three girls’, *ʔarbaʕ bana:t* ‘four girls’, *xamis mada:ris* ‘five schools’, *sitt iwla:d* ‘six boys’ and *sitt mʕalma:t* ‘six female teacher’, *saibʕ t-uʕhur* ‘seven months’, *θaman sani:n* ‘eight years’, *tisaʕ dʒa:mʕa:t* ‘nine universities’, and *ʕafar jana:bi:ʕ majj* ‘ten water fountains’.

The numerals 11-19 are: *ʔiħdaʕif*, *ʔiθnaʕif*, *θalaθtʕaʕif*, *arbaʕtʕaʕif*, *xamistʕaʕif*, *sitttʕaʕif*, *sabaʕtʕaʕif*, *θamantʕaʕif*, and *tisaʕtʕaʕif*. If the numerals are followed by a noun, *-ar* is added to them: *arbaʕtʕaʕifar madi:ne* ‘fourteen cities’. The ordinal numbers are *ʔawwal*, *θa:ni*, then they follow Ca:CaC pattern as in: *θa:liθ*, *ra:biʕ*, *xa:mis*, *sa:dis*, *sa:biʕ*, *θa:min*, *ta:siʕ*, *ʕa:ʕir*.

## 2.2.4.4 Strong verbs

## 2.2.4.4.1 Forms

***Verb form I:***

This form is either CaCaC which is transitive verb with *u-* or *a-* imperfect, or CiCaC, which has an *u-* or *a-* imperfect and could be transitive as in *daras*, *judrus* ‘to study’ and *kibir*, *jikbar* ‘to grow’.

***Verb form II***

This form is always CaCCaC, and it has an *i* in the final syllable as in *darras*, *iddarris* ‘to teach’.

**Verb form III**

It is CaaCaC and it has *i* in the final syllable. An involvement of one person/thing in the action is indicated in this form as in: *sa:ʕad, jsa:ʕid* ‘to help’.

**Forms VII (the n- prefix)**

Forms VII (the n- prefix) derive the passive as in *ndaras, jindaris* ‘to be studied’.

**Forms V and VI (t- prefix):** these forms are also function to derive passives.

**Forms VIII**

This form includes an infix *ftarag, jiftarig* ‘to be apart with someone’; there is a change from /a/ to /i/ in the imperfect of X with a *sta*-prefix as in *staʕadd, jistaʕidd* ‘to get read’.

**The verb forms IX**

This form is mainly productive for colour as in: *ħmarr, jiħmarr* ‘to become red’, (Al-Wer, 2007: 514).

**2.2.4.4.2 Inflections****Perfect**

With regards to the perfect form, in the traditional Hōrāni dialects gender distinction is maintained as explained in table 2.3. The following example also illustrates this form:

	<i>daras</i> ‘he studied’		
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>
sg. mas.	<i>daras</i>	<i>daras(i)t</i>	<i>daras(i)t</i>
sg. fem.	<i>darsat</i>	<i>darasti</i>	
pl. mas.	<i>darasu</i>	<i>darasu</i>	<i>darasna</i>
pl.fem.	<i>darasin</i>	<i>darastin</i>	

#### 2.2.4.4.3 The maintenance of /a/ in the imperfective jiCCaCiC

Cantineau (1946: 262-265, as cited in Al-Wer et al (2015)) presented a few examples about the imperfective verb pattern jiCCaCiC. The examples of this pattern show that the vowel /a/ is maintained in the dialect of Hōrān, as in:

<i>jinkasir</i>	‘it breaks,’
<i>jint<sup>ʕ</sup>afi</i>	‘it turns off,’
<i>ji<sup>f</sup>tayil</i>	‘he works.’

Across the Levant, however, many city dialects have /i/: *jinkisir*, *jint<sup>ʕ</sup>ifi*, and the vowel drops in the case of the verb *ji<sup>f</sup>tyil* ‘he works’ (Al-Wer et al 2015: 79). Some tokens with the innovative pattern jiCCiCiC were recorded in Salt by Herin (2010).

The current data showed maintenance to the pattern jiCCaCiC. No variation in this feature is found in my data from Sūf.

## 2.2.4.5 Weak verbs

**Verb II gem.**

Verbs as *ħabb*, *jħibb* ‘to love or like’, for 2<sup>nd</sup> pers.sg.masc. and 1<sup>st</sup> pers sg. perfect inflect as in *ħabbe:t*. In the active participle only one form is found which *ħa:bb*.

**Verbs I ʔ**

These verbs vary in their imperfect conjugations: as in *bo:kel* ‘to eat’

	3 <sup>rd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>
sg.masc.	<i>b-o:kil</i>	<i>b-to:kil</i>	<i>b-o:kil</i>
sg.fem.	<i>b-to:kil</i>	<i>b-to:kli</i>	<i>b-o:kil</i>
pl.	<i>b-o:klu</i>	<i>b-to:klu</i>	<i>b-no:kil</i>

The perfect conjugations are: *ʔakal*, *ʔaklat*, *ʔakalu*, *ʔakalt*, *ʔakalti*, *ʔakaltu*, *ʔakaltin*, *ʔakalt*, *ʔakalna*. The participles are: *ma:kil*, and the imperative *ʔukul*.

**Verbs I w***Perfect*

as in *wigiʕ* ‘he fell down’

	3 <sup>rd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>
sg.m	<i>wigiʕ</i>	<i>wigiʕit</i>	<i>wigiʕit</i>
sg.fe,.	<i>wigiʕat</i>	<i>wigiʕti</i>	
pl masc.	<i>wigiʕu</i>	<i>wigiʕtu</i>	
pl fem.	<i>wigiʕin</i>	<i>wigiʕtin</i>	

*Imperfect*

	3 <sup>rd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>
sg.masc.	<i>bigaʕ~bagaʕ</i>	<i>btigaʕ~btagaʕ</i>	<i>bagaʕ</i>
sg.fem.	<i>btigaʕ~btagaʕ</i>	<i>btigaʕi~btigaʕi</i>	<i>bagaʕ</i>
pl.masc.	<i>bagaʕu~bigaʕu</i>	<i>btigaʕu~btigaʕu</i>	<i>bnagaʕ~bnigaʕ</i>
pl.fem.	<i>bigaʕin</i>	<i>btigaʕin</i>	<i>bnagaʕ</i>

## 2.3 Syntax

### 2.3.1 Noun phrase

The noun phrase is composed of the usual elements: noun or pronouns + adjectives, prepositional phrases/adverbials. The numerals *wa:ħad/waħade* and the definite article (*al, il, l, i*) are used to indicate animate nouns *tʃarraft ʃa bint ilmudi:r il-jo:m* ‘I have met the manager’s daughter today’. *kull* ‘every and all’ *kull ʔisʃħa:bi* ‘all my friends’ *kull tʃa:lib* ‘every student’; *kamm/akamm/akammin~akamman* ‘a few’ or ‘some, *ʃindi akamman ʃayʔa* ‘I have a few things’; *ʃwajj* ‘a little’ *baddi ʃwajj-et wakit* ‘I need a little time’. The noun phrase is negated by *mif*, which is positioned immediately before the negated element as in *mif dʒa:j* ‘he’s not coming’, and *mif kull iʃma:mi* ‘not all my uncles’.

### 2.3.2 Verb phrase

#### 2.3.2.1 Tense and aspect

Past tense is expressed through perfect form, *katab* ‘he wrote; the of *xalasʃ* ‘done’, or *wxalasʃ* ‘and done’ can express the completion of the action. The word *xalas* can be used before or after the verb as in *katabha wxalasʃ* ‘he wrote it and he finished’ or *xalasʃ kattabha* ‘done, he wrote it’. The perfect form is expressed by the combination of *ka:n* ‘was’ to indicate modality in the past, *ka:n ra:ʃagt ʔisʃħa:bak* ‘you should have accompanied your friends’.

### 2.3.3 Word order

Word order is frequently SVO; VSO accompanied with change of intonation, intonation is raised in the use of interrogative sentences: *Aynu:r ʔaklat it-tuffa:ħa* ‘Aynu:r ate the apple’, *ʔaklat it-tuffa:ħa Aynu:r?* ‘Did Aynu:r eat the apple?’ when the subject is indefinite, sentences begin with verbs as in: *ʔidʒa zalame saʔal ʃanak* ‘a man came (and) asked about you’.

### 2.3.4 Conditional sentences

*fʔa:nn*, *fʔinn* ‘if’ these are used to introduce conditional sentences: *fʔa:nn-ak ʔidʒi:t* ‘if (masc.) came’, *fʔa:nn-u ʔadʒa* ‘if he came’, *fʔin ga:tat* ‘if she said’, and *in-fʔinn-ha fa:jfe ħa:lha* ‘as if she is boasting’.

#### Innovation

One of the features that Al-Wer (2014) analysed in Amman is the use of Yod in *b-imperfect* verb forms. According to Al-Wer, Jordanian dialects, as opposed to Palestinian and other dialects, do not use /j/, thus: *biʕmal* not *bjiʕmal* ‘he is doing/he does’; *biʕab* not *bjiʕab*. Especially since overall the dialect of Sūf is quite conservative vis a vis traditional Hōrāni, it is thus rather surprising that some tokens with /j/ were found in my data: *bjiʕmal* ‘he is doing/does’ and *bjiqraʔ* ‘he is reading/reads’. Notice that the form *bjiqraʔ* is standard. In this case, it is possible that the speaker borrowed the word /jaqraʔ/ ‘to read’ from the standard and modified it by adding *b-*, a characteristic feature of the verb in the imperfect form of Levantine dialects, without dropping the /j/. If this is the case, then this item can be simply considered a borrowing from the standard. It is nonetheless worth keeping an eye on this feature for the future.

## Chapter 3

### Methodology

#### 3.0 Introduction

Early methods were designed to study communities in large cities in western societies, for instance New York, Belfast and Edinburgh. These methods were carefully chosen and manipulated to suit the specific communities under investigation. While there are aspects of the methodology that can claim to be general in the sense that they apply to all studies regardless of community, these are normally principles that govern what we consider to be a valid piece of research in the social sciences in general, for example representation and unbiased sampling. Otherwise the methods used in sociolinguistic studies should be specific to and sensitive of the structure of the locality and local community under investigation.

The reliability of sociolinguistic research, then, is to a large extent dependent on the following factors:

1. The use of methods which are valid and appropriate to the community being investigated. A researcher should be fully aware of the unique features that characterise the community under investigation in order to design study methods that are appropriate not only to the aims of the research itself but also applicable in that particular community.
2. Skilled researchers who have a thorough knowledge of the community's structure and its social values.
3. The recording equipment used in interviews. Since the early sociolinguistic studies, carried out during the 1960s and 1970s, for example Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974), technology has advanced in making it considerably easier to collect good quality data. The modern types of recorders which exist nowadays are highly accessible tools which help researchers to conduct

interviews in different places without restrictions. The technological advancements include a noise cancelling option, which is available on most of the new recording devices, and fantastic sensitive microphones which guarantee a good recording quality and accurate representation of the interviews.

This chapter aims to present a discussion of the methodological issues relevant to the current research project in relation to data collection. In §3.0 I present an introduction to the chapter. §3.1 discusses the sampling and research methods of the study; §3.2 clarifies the position of the researcher in the community and its methodological relevance to the sample. §3.3 gives a discussion of the town and its community, § 3.4 discusses the access to the community of the current research, followed by information about the selection of current research participants is showed in §3.5. §3.6 presents a discussion of the data collection and interview structure and design. This is followed by ethics in §3.7. The social variables that are used to categorize the speakers of this study are examined in §3.8. Finally, §3.9 introduces the linguistic variables investigated in the speech of the participants.

### **3.1 The sample and the research methods**

Milroy (1987) proposes that socially sensitive studies of language variation rely on good data. This involves the acquisition of adequate types and quantities of linguistic data and also means that the social context in which the data are collected must be taken into consideration. Thus, the notion of "representativeness" needs to be expanded to include different types of language (used by the same speaker) as well as different types of speakers.

Sociolinguistic research is concerned with the examination and interpretation of linguistic data produced by speakers. To ensure the reliability of the data, the researcher must make use of a valid method for the selection of speakers from the community under study.

Good sampling methods leads to good data, Sankoff (1980) suggests that the need for good data requires the researcher to consider three main issues about sampling procedures, as follows:

1. Defining the universe and the boundaries of the speech community that the researcher is interested in, and then framing a sample which is sufficient to thoroughly examine the group members.
2. Delineating the applicable variation dimensions inside the community that can influence language use, including the gender, ethnicity, and social class of the speaker.
3. Determining the size of the sample.

Individual informants vary in the extent to which they use a characteristic dialect feature (such as the glottal stop in Cockney speech) and clearly speak in a different style according to situational context (Milroy, 1987a). Therefore it is important to bear in mind the key features of the speech community being studied and the aims of the research, in order to help the researcher in selecting a suitable sampling method for the community under investigation.

There are two methods of sampling speakers: random sampling and judgement sampling. The researcher choice of methods is primarily dictated by the practical issues related to the speech community and the objectives of the study.

Milroy (1987) illustrates that:

“It is important to be aware of theoretical implications of adopting any given method and ultimately of the kind of claims which a given method entitles an investigator to make about results.”

(Milroy, 1987: 18)

Labov pioneered the use of the random sampling technique in his 1966 study, which was designed to exclude sampling bias by giving every member of the population being studied an equal chance of selection. Nowadays, however, it is rare to find random sampling used in sociolinguistic research for two reasons; firstly it has been found to be very difficult to attain

representativeness in the strict statistical sense in urban settings, and secondly it is difficult when using the random sampling method to obtain a fair, well satisfied sample.

In judgment sampling, on the other hand, the speakers' type and the size of the sample are prearranged and identified in advance. Investigators use their judgment to construct their research sample based on the features of the area to be studied, allocating a number of speakers to each category such as age, social class and so on, with regard to their research objectives. Finally, they then choose the sample to fill the specific cells appropriate to their study.

As many quantitative sociolinguistic studies depend on judgment sampling, and due to its subjective nature, judgment sampling was utilised in this study in order to select speakers from the Sūf community (the current research community).

“Cities with a well-established population whose characteristics are definable on objectively specifiable dimensions, judgment sampling may be more appropriate for linguistic work.”

(Milroy, 1987: 27)

Sūf is considered to have had a stable population for centuries. It is a well-established Hōrāni town whose dialect is similar to some of the Hōrāni towns and cities which have been studied in the past such as Ajlun (Al-Wer, 1991) and Irbid (Al-Tamimi, 2001). In the current study, a judgment sampling is used.

Labov (1972) states that:

“The study of language in its social context can only be done when the language is ‘known’ in the sense that the investigator can understand rapid conversation.”

(Labov, 1972: 215)

In this study I targeted speakers who were born and raised in Sūf. I faced no difficulty in understanding speakers' fast conversation. I therefore, relied on my knowledge, that of my assistants, and the *Muxtār* (Sūf town Chief) to draw up the sample for the current study.

As I am aware that collecting data from different generations of speakers would show the course of dialectical change over time, my research sample consisted of 24 male and female speakers from three age groups: young, middle age and old see §3.5 where information about the participants are presented.

### 3.2 The researcher

I consider myself a native speaker of the Sūfāni dialect. I was born in the city of Jerash, a nearby city of Sūf, and I descend from a well known local Sūfāni tribe. With some help from local people, I was able to delineate the geographical borders of the area of this study and define the socioeconomic status of the town people. In addition, the current and previous *Muxtārs* ‘chiefs’ provided information about the previous governmental bodies, the people of the area, and the names of the families who would make up the research sample space. For instance, there are some families who have lived in Sūf for at least 400 years now, families like il-baṭārsē, il-‘tūm, il-ḥawāmde, il-zrēgāt, il-‘ḍēbāt, il-zaṭāyme, bani mustafa and il-gawāgze. I interviewed speakers from all of these families and tried to be fair by including at least one member of every family across the age groups.

My family name is one of the oldest tribes in Sūf. Additionally, my father served as an elected mayor of the city of Jerash for 16 years. Consequently, many people recognized me and my family connections immediately, which facilitated my task in finding speakers and in mingling with the local community, as an insider.

In some Middle Eastern communities interaction between men and women is disfavoured. For instance, in Abel-Jawad's study (1981) women were underrepresented due to social restrictions, according to the author. This is not, however, the case in the current study. The fact that I was a female researcher in the town of Sūf did not affect my access to speakers of either sex; indeed both men and women happily took part in the study.

Giles (1973) argues that as interviewers usually expect to find specific linguistic features in the speech of their participants, they tend to accommodate to these features in anticipation, which might therefore have the effect of encouraging the speakers to use those features<sup>3</sup>. Bearing Giles' observation in mind, and as I consider myself able to accommodate to different types of dialects, having been raised near Sūf, I tried as far as possible to consistently use natural Sūfāni dialect so that if my speech were to have an effect on that of my interviewees it would at least be consistent. It is of course quite possible that the fact that I spoke more or less the same as my interviewees encouraged them to maintain their natural way of speaking, which, to all intents and purposes, serves rather than hinders the aim of obtaining natural samples of speech data. A range of topics, such as marriage, cooking, education, and the traditions of the local area were found to be spoken about by women, and certainly women were more relaxed and likely to speak in their natural Sūfāni dialect, whilst men often started the interview using Standard Arabic before gradually shifting to the local dialect.

### **3.3 The town and its community**

The locale of current study is the town of Sūf, an ancient urban settlement in the heart of the Hōrān region. Sūf lies 60 kilometres north of Amman, with a population of 35,000 people according to the Department of Statistics (DOS) census (2010). Sūf is located specifically in the al-Me'rād region, known as the location where the Bedouin who launched attacks on northern Jordan during the 19th century were defeated. Later, this region became part of the Governorate of Jerash, which was created as one of the Kingdom's new administrative divisions (Bani Mustafa, 2012).

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Trudgill responded to this point by analysing his own speech in the Norwich interviews, to check the possibility that he, the interviewer, might have induced the informants to use certain variants by accommodating to these variants in anticipation- as Giles suggests. Trudgill (1986: 4-8) concluded (from empirical results) that he glottalized his *t*'s in contact with his various informants from a speech community in Norwich.

Unfortunately, the history of the town is poorly recorded. I have therefore tried to collect some history through stories that the older residences were happy to share. There are a couple of short volumes about the town, but very little reliable information could be found in them. Some information about the history of Jordan and its tribes is available in Peake (1958).

The name of the town, Sūf, according to Bani Mustafa (2012), is a Latin word meaning ‘river’ or the ‘resort that has a lot of water springs’. This meaning cannot be confirmed, although it is cited in a number of publications, Wikipedia and in the social media. According to my speakers<sup>4</sup>, Sūf is the biblical site Dyūn, which means 'the source of water springs', as the town contains 40 water springs, many of which are still there. Sūf is also considered as the site of an important Roman settlement. It thrived during Roman times due to its location (8 km) to one of Rome’s Decapolis ‘Jirasa’, today’s Jarash.

Sūf covers a wide area of agricultural land, which is in fact considered to be the largest in Jerash. It sits over a series of mountains at a height of 1000 meters. During the Ottoman Turkish rule, which Jordan was under until late 1918, Sūf was considered to be one of the most important settlements by the Ottoman governors for being a great source of high quality fruits and vegetables such as grapes, cherries, pears, berries, figs and olives. The cool climate during the summer season makes Sūf a summer resort for the local population of Jordan. In the winter, its climate is cold and snowy. Because of the relative abundance of water, the town and its surroundings are famous for good quality dairy products. Many of the town’s businesses are based on this trade.

Like most other Jordanian communities, ‘family’ is the most important unit in the community of Sūf, and local families can easily be identified by their family name. Al-Wer’s (1991) description of the Jordanian society applies to Sūf; she writes:

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<sup>4</sup> Abu Hisham (102 years old) and Otum (120 years old. This speaker sadly passed away in 2013).

“The Jordanian community is relatively small, and the family rather than the individual represents the basic unit in society. Especially among the indigenous population, many people recognize most families by their names which, in many cases, betoken the family's origin, social status, and also religion.”

(Al-Wer, 1991: 38)

The town has always been home to Christians as well as Muslims. The Christians and the Muslims of Sūf share the same customs and traditions. There are no social barriers between Christians and Muslims; they interact freely, live in the same neighbourhoods and their children go to the same schools. It is therefore not surprising to find that there are no linguistic features that are peculiar to either religious group. Among the oldest families in the town are: il-nagārše, il-hawāmde, hadād, il-‘tūm, il-zrēgāt, il-gawāgze, bani-mustafa, il-šmādi, and baṭāarse. Two of these families, namely: hadād, and baṭāarse are Christian families.

There are around ten state schools in Sūf. The first school was established in 1922. The main profession in Sūf was farming for centuries, but over the last couple of decades, a growing number of people took up employment in the state as civil servants, many joined the armed forces, and others established various types of businesses. Sūf residents who work outside the town (in Jerash, Irbid and Amman for the most part) normally commute to work. The town is connected to the large cities and to the capital by a modern road network.

### **3.4 Accessing the community**

It is a simpler task for a researcher to select the appropriate sampling method for a community that has been studied in the past, and although Sūf has not been investigated specifically, I was able to benefit from the research conducted by Al-Wer (1991) in the nearby city of Ajlūn.

Being an insider usually helps a researcher to gain access to the community. Although I have never lived in Sūf, my family originally hail from the town, and continue to be connected to it through relatives and friends who live in there, which helped to convince the community members to treat me as ‘one of them’.

Milroy (1987) maintains that a researcher who is known to the participants has a better chance of succeeding in his or her research. I accessed this community through a familial link with the help of two assistants, namely my father-in-law and my brother. I began by interviewing relatives and friends of my assistants, who then introduced me to their friends and relatives (snowball technique, and friend of a friend technique).

I divided my visits to the town into three phases. In phase one, I visited the town for about two weeks before I even began to record any interviews. I did this because I wanted to learn more about the town, its inhabitants and cultural habits, and I also wanted people to get to know me and feel more relaxed around me before taking part in my study. Like in any other town in Jordan, Sūf's inhabitants were always kind to me, with a very warm, welcoming and hospitable manner. They always insisted on me having dinner with them as if it would be a shame to be at somebody's house and refuse to share dinner or food with them. This was a habit I found almost in all the families I visited. People were always willing to help, and some of them even offered to take me on trips around the town to see places, water springs and landscapes in Sūf, without even enquiring about the reason for my visits.

During phase two I was helped by my father-in-law who comes from Sūf and was raised in the town, and by my brother who has a large number of male and female friends from different age groups in the town. They both helped to arrange my interviews using their connections to speakers in the town. In the third phase, after securing the willingness of many individuals to participate in the research, I revisited the town with the intention of making recordings. The speakers who were recorded include shopkeepers, hairdressers, bakers, market sellers and civil servants.

### 3.5 Participants

There is a core of families who have lived in the town of Sūf for at least 400 years now, and when drawing up my sample I tried to interview at least one person from each of these main families in the town, for more details see section (3.3). In order to represent the different generations of Sūf inhabitants, in this study participants were classified into three age groups ‘under 18’, ‘20-50’, and ‘60+’ and both gender groups ‘female’, and ‘male’ as follows:

Gender	female	male
7-18	4	4
20-50	4	4
60+	4	4

For the 60+ speakers, the four females are uneducated and used to be either housewives or working locally in trading dairy products. On the other hand, three of the 60+ male speakers are educated while one is uneducated. The educated speakers used to be schoolteachers in Sūf and were retired at the time of the research. Middle age speakers from both genders were educated apart from Sager who is a market trader. The educated middle age speakers were still in employment at the time of my research, as civil servants and teachers. The young speakers (under 18) were all school students at the time of the research.

### 3.6 Interviews

Milroy (1987) states that there are two compelling reasons why it is difficult to elicit a speaker's vernacular in an individual interview of the kind used by Labov in New York City. Firstly, and most obviously, an interview in our society is a clearly defined and quite common speech event in which it is most appropriate to use a formal or careful speech style (this is particularly the case with tape-recorded interviews). This perception of the interview as a speech event subject to clear rules (of a sociolinguistic type) persists, however carefully the interviewer modifies the formality of their approach. Secondly, informants are usually isolated individuals participating in

a series of exchanges with a stranger they, or in the presence of, members of their own pre-existing social network. If the family or some friends happen to be present during the interview, this is a matter of good luck, and unlike the independent variables such as social class or sex of the informant, quite outside the interviewer's control (Milroy, 1987: 24-25).

According to Trudgill (1974) he was able to distinguish more and less formal styles by subdividing his data according to topic. However, we should note that some sociolinguistic studies employing interview techniques have not been able to show stylistic differentiation. For instance, Macaulay (1977) was unable to give a clear account of the Glasgow vernacular or of the direction in which speakers shifted in conversational styles, although he did consider this to be an important area of enquiry (Trudgill, 1974: 26).

In order to collect data which represent, as far as possible, relaxed, natural and spontaneous speech, I at the outset attempted to increase the level of familiarity between the participants and the interviewer (myself) by arranging a very long visit to the town of Sūf, lasting about three months, in which the interviews were conducted. The interviews took place during May-July 2012. I was quite familiar with the town by this point, as I have often visited relatives there in the past.

I was provided a letter by the University of Essex, stating that I was a student at the university who was carrying out linguistic research. I used this reference in cases where it was required.

I relied on my brother and father-in-law to initially introduce me to the community, after which speakers themselves introduced me to their friends using the 'friend of a friend' method (Milroy, 1987a). This technique helped a lot in terms of being accepted by the community and also making contact with enough speakers to carry out the required number of interviews.

Each one of my visits lasted for three hours with every family, which also enabled me to observe the participants' linguistic behaviour outside of the context of the recorded interviews,

since I was able to visit their homes anytime I wished. The speakers were visited prior to conducting the actual interviews, with the aim of establishing friendly links with them in order that they feel more at ease in my presence. The informal nature of the interview increased with long visits, and conversational topics were chosen depending on the age and gender of the speaker. I tried my best to establish a rapport with my speakers in order to collect data that can reflect their natural speech as far as possible. While I believe that I was generally successful in gaining the trust of the speakers, and in getting them to supply natural speech, I did notice that some of the male speakers tended to maintain some formality in my presence. For instance, in subsequent informal visits where members of their own families were present I noticed that some of my male speakers used localised features more consistently when conversing with their mothers or sisters. This is obviously a serious methodological issue that needs to be controlled for in future research, viz. the possible effect of the gender of the interviewer on the ‘naturalness’ of the data collected

Although the aims of the research were always explained to the speakers, some of the older speakers were also of the belief that I was seeking traditional and historical information about the situation in general in Jordan, and social features of the Hōrān region specifically, as well as the ruling model of Jordan, with a focus on the effect of urbanization on Jordanian towns and cities. Some of the middle-aged speakers were also informed that I was seeking information on social traditions in the region. The younger speakers thought that I was seeking specific answers to my questions, and were therefore paying more attention to the responses they gave than to studying their speech patterns; indeed after the completion of the recording of the interviews some speakers asked if the responses they had given were right or wrong, while others asked if I had agreed with their opinions or not. The interviewees were familiar with the idea of recording for different research purposes, but not in a sociolinguistic study with special

attention paid to how a participant speaks. This may explain the speakers' failure to recognize the aim of the research.

I informed the participants that the interviews would be recorded, using a Sony ICD-UX513F-Digital voice recorder with radio-flash 4 GB- WMA, AAC, MP3, LPCM – red. It is a 3 in 1 stereo voice recorder, music player and USB memory stick, enabling it to be connected to the PC quickly and easily. This equipment produced a high quality recording with a noise cancelling option, meaning that I was able to clearly hear exactly what my speakers said in the interviews.

### **3.7 Ethics**

Before any recording took place, consent forms were given to the participants (see appendix 2), complete with instructions explaining how to fill the form in and information on the research aims and goals, and what their participation in the study would involve (including the fact that the interview would be recorded). I also summarised the main points of the consent form to the participants, such as the fact that their participation is voluntary and that participants can withdraw their consent at any point during the course of the project without having to provide a reason. In addition, I mentioned that any information given in this project (including names and personal data) will be kept confidential and not be revealed to anyone other than the researcher. Once participants confirmed that they were happy to take part in the research with my great appreciation, they were handed a copy of the consent form to sign. Some of the participants were under the age of 18, and so I instead obtained consent from their parents, who were asked to sign a consent form on behalf of their children to allow them to take a part in the research.

### **3.8 The Social variables**

In this study age and gender were considered as the two social variables.

### 3.8.1 Age

Before conducting my interviews, I had preliminary expectations about how the distribution of the linguistic features of the dialect under investigation would be affected by a speaker's age. For instance I was expecting to find more similarities in the speech used by the teenage group (18 and under) and their grandparents (60 and over) than usual in sociolinguistic investigations of variation and change because I became aware during my initial visits that young people in the community spend more time with their grandparents than their parents after school and during the school holidays, especially when their parents are busy at work. The role of grandparents in this community as central members of the extended family was quite obvious. The community simply accept that the grandparent has the right to bring up the children in their own ways, and that the children are looked after by the grandparents, rather than being sent to nurseries, if both parents were busy at work. The children are taught from very young age to respect and listen to their grandparents. From the start I anticipated that this pattern would be likely to have linguistic consequences, that the grandparents' linguistic habits would have a profound effect on the linguistic behaviour of the younger generation, as indeed the results of the analysis show (see chapters 4 & 5).

A change in the speech community can be observed by stratifying a sample by age, as a speaker's age at any given time symbolizes the life period they are in, and changes in the speech of a person occur as the individual moves through life. Speakers' linguistic usages can usually be predicted throughout their life, although there are factors other than age that may affect a person's speech, such as their employment, social network, gender relations, family status, community engagements and other factors, and it is expected that a speaker who passes through all or some of these stages in their lifetime will likely show change in their language use (Eckert, 1997).

There are different methods of categorising a sample of speakers by age. One method is to group participants by chronological age and then compare their vernacular speech. Eckert (1997) suggests that age is an important social variable because the position of a person in society, the community, and a family alters as time passes. For this reason Eckert proposed another method of categorising speakers based instead on life-stages: childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

Different life experiences of participants may be revealed by the usage of different age groups, as stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003):

“Age by itself has no explanatory value; it is only when examined in the context of its social significance as something reflecting differences in real life experiences that it becomes a useful analytical construct”.

(Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 39)

In the apparent time method, " the distribution of linguistic variables across age levels" (Labov, 1994: 45-46) whereby any linguistic differences found across different generations of participants are interpreted as evidence of change in progress. This method became popular because to study a linguistic change in real-time requires a large time-investment, decades or even centuries, which therefore makes it difficult to observe a change in progress. But using the apparent time hypothesis, different age groups stand in place of different periods of time. If a sample of speakers is divided into three age groups: young, middle-aged and old, the speech of the oldest group would represent the usage in a past time period. If a variant is used more often by the youngest group and less often by the older group, it is a signal that the variant used by the younger generation is innovative and a new form is being introduced by the younger speakers, which would indicate change is in progress. On the other hand, the oldest age group is more often associated with the use of traditional or conservative variants.

However, not all age associated differences are evidence of a change in progress. This differing language use across age groups could instead be due to age-grading. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 36) maintain that age-graded linguistic variation is most often associated with childhood or adolescence.

Age is a significant social variable for two reasons: it correlates with linguistic variation and it is a vital factor which largely determines a speaker's ability to acquire another linguistic system.

Chambers (1995: 85) states that "when individuals move from one dialect to another, their ability to master the dialect depends on their age." He explains that only speakers under the age of seven are able to acquire a new dialect and sound like a native. He also references the critical period hypothesis, which marks the age of 14 as the very latest age at which it is possible to completely acquire another dialect.

Labov (2001) meanwhile highlights the fact that children are able to acquire a second linguistic system which is different from their mothers, although mothers are usually considered to be the linguistic models for their children:

"It is now well established that when mothers speak a language or a dialect different from that of the speech community, children quickly learn to disregard that linguistic system and acquire before the age of 5 a local dialect that is phonetically matched to the local pattern."

(Labov, 2001: 307)

This observation may be true in many societies where children interact more with their peers than with their parents. There are societies where socialization patterns are different, leading to a later discrepancy between the parents' and the child's dialect. Al-Wer (2002) in her study of vowel raising in Amman (2002: 72) she asserts that in Middle Eastern societies, children and preadolescents conform to their parents' linguistic norms because children are normally not allowed to spend a lot of time outside of the house, and preadolescents are not

permitted to mix with their friends outside of school until they reach their teenage years. In her study, Al-Wer (2002) shows evidence of the effect of this social constraint on the linguistic production of children and preadolescents by demonstrating that they adhere to their parents' norms in cases where a different norm is available in the community at large.

Age then is one of the social variables that are frequently used to categorize a sample of speakers in sociolinguistic studies that follow the apparent time method to replace 'time'; as such, (Bailey, 2002: 314) calls it "a surrogate for time".

### 3.8.2 Gender

In sociolinguistic studies, sex of the speaker (here used interchangeably with gender) is considered to be one of the most important social factors in structuring linguistic variation, and in understanding the mechanism of language change. In most communities women were found to be the pioneers of linguistic change, whilst in a few cases they were shown to use conservative variants more often than men.

The differences found between the speeches of male and female speakers in the early days of modern sociolinguistic research (1960s through 1970s) were defined as a general tendency on the part of female speakers to use more 'prestigious' features, such as standard forms, while men were generally described as more consistent users of non-standard or vernacular forms ((Labov 1982: 78). Milroy et al (1994) suggested an important reformulation of this generalisation in their study of glottalization in TyneSide. The findings suggested that women's linguistic preferences could be described as 'supra-local' features, while men prefer the localised features.

On the basis of sex-differentiated patterns from a milieu of languages and communities, Labov (1990) suggested the following principles:

Principle 1a: *In stable variables, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women* (p205). *Principle 1b: In change from above, women favor the incoming prestige form more than men* (p213). Principles 1a & b are supported by strong evidence from various languages and communities. Principle 2: *In cases of change from below, women are most often the innovators* (p215). On the basis of these Principles, the conclusion is that women lead most linguistic changes.

Eckert (1989) maintains that women are marginalised and marginalisation leads to exaggerated usage of symbolic means to assert status. They are under pressure to accumulate ‘symbolic capital’ in order to assert authority and membership (Eckert, 1989: 256).

### 3.8.2.1 Gender patterns in Arabic

With respect to Arabic, Al-Wer (2014) critiques the earlier conclusions, of the 1970s and early 1980s, that suggested that Arabic “contravened the general pattern”, in that it is Arab men who use the standard features more consistently (Al-Wer, 2014: 396). Along the lines first suggested by Ibrahim (1986) and Haeri (1987), Al-Wer (1997; see also Al-Wer 2013) argues that these findings from Arabic were misinterpreted, and that the confusion stemmed from equating “standard Arabic” with standard varieties of modern European languages. Instead, it is proposed that the status of say, standard English, should be compared to the status of the “de facto standards” in Arab societies, namely the local standards (see also Al-Wer, 2014). Al-Wer (1997) writes:

“The status and utility of CA [Classical Arabic, viz. the formal standard] is quite different form, and should not be confused with, the social evaluation and function of the standard varieties of modern European languages.”

(Al-Wer, 1997: 255)

She examined a number of changes in vernacular Arabic, and concluded that the trajectory of change in the vernacular is the local standard in all cases. Therefore, she suggested that the formal standard (standard Arabic or Classical Arabic) is not involved in mechanisms of variation and change in vernacular Arabic. It is now accepted among scholars that the pattern of sex differentiation in Arabic is not an exceptional case.

Previous Arabic studies that were conducted within the variationist framework have reported a number of interesting gender patterns. For instance, Ismail (2008) who investigated variation and change in the use of (r) in Damascus, found the female speakers to be ahead of the male speakers in using the innovative feature in the suburban neighbourhood (analogous to 'middle class' in studies on variation in English), but that the young male speakers were leading change in the inner city neighbourhood of Shaghoor (analogous to a 'working class' community). She explained the Shaghoor pattern by referring to the employment situation in the locality: the men for the most part were market sellers; through their jobs, they interacted with customers from all over the city. The women on the other hand, with the exception of one woman, were all unemployed, and largely immobile.

Al-Essa (2009) studied dialect contact between Najdi and Hijazi Arabic in Jeddah. She found that the older female speakers, among the migrant Najdi community in Jeddah, were the most conservative group with respect to the traditional Najdi features, yet the younger female speakers were the most innovative group. Al-Essa's explained that the first generation Najdi migrants in Jeddah adhered to strict community norms, which restricted the amount of contact that the Najdi women were allowed to have with members of the majority community (the Hejazi community of Jeddah). Later, for the subsequent generations, these traditions were eased off, which resulted in the expansion of the social networks of the younger Najdi women. Through this expansion in their social contacts, women had more access to the target linguistic features.

Similarly, Alqahtani's study in southern Arabia (2015), which focussed on variation and change in the dialect of Tihamat Qahtan as spoken in two isolated villages, found clear gender correlations. Table 3.1, taken from Al-Wer and Qahtani (in press), displays the results of the use of the variable ( $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}$ ) with respect to age and gender.

Gender	Age			Tokens
	Old	Young	Total	
Female	0.159	0.685	0.449	196
Male	0.200	0.273	0.233	120

Sources: based on Al-Wer & Qahtani (in press): Table 3: [ $\text{ð}^{\text{c}}$ ], *Cross-tabulation of age and gender*.

**Table 3.1: Mean usage of the innovative variant [ $\text{ð}^{\text{c}}$ ] across age and gender in the villages of al-Jawwa and al-Farsha in southern Arabia.**

As can be seen, in the case of the older generation the women are more conservative than the men. Al-Wer and Qahtani explain that the social activities of older women in these villages were confined and restricted to the local village, whereas the men of the same generation travel freely outside the village, for one thing to trade their produce in the city. The social conditions for the younger women are not much different in terms of mobility but the younger women benefitted from improvement in school provision locally and college education in the surrounding villages. The teachers in these schools are non-local, and speak dialects that contain the target feature; they therefore have had much more exposure to the target feature than the previous generation through interaction with their teachers, and through interaction with students from other localities.

Furthermore, the authors maintain that young women have ambitions, which are curbed by the local traditions. For instance, there is pressure on young women to get married early; and

marriage is given priority over education. Young women are generally not free to travel outside the village to pursue career ambitions, etc. According to Al-Wer and Qahtani, the linguistic divergence on the part of the young women can be seen an expression of dissatisfaction with the local way of life that restrict their choices (cf. Gal, 1978). On the other hand, as noticed from the figures above, the young men are quite conservative; importantly, we notice only a slight increase (7%) in the use of the innovative feature by the young men, compared with older men. For the young men, life in the village provides good prospects. Farming provides them with a stable income, and they are free to travel to trade their products in the city. An interesting observation that is also highlighted by the authors is that when trading their honey produce in the city, the young men tend to speak the local dialect with their customers as a way of endorsing their produce as ‘authentic Tihami honey’ -the honey of this region is famous for its high quality.

We can thus see that the use of traditional vernacular features is associated with a range of social meanings, and in order to understand gender differences it is important to analyse the social structure of the community.

### 3.9 The Linguistic variables

The current study investigates the usage of two linguistic features: palatalization of /k/, and the distribution of clear and dark /l/ in the dialect of Sūf. Palatalization is treated as two variables:

- The first variable is (k), which concerns palatalization of /k/ in the stem of the word. It has two variants: [k], [tʃ]
- The second is *-ik*, which concerns palatalization of /k/ in the feminine suffix. It has two variants [-ik], [-itʃ]

The variable (l) has two variants: [l], and [ɫ]

The coding procedure of the variables is discussed in the following section.

### 3.9.1 Coding procedures

An impressionistic analysis was carried out on the data, wherein I relied on my own ability as being a native of Sūfāni dialect to distinguish between the variants produced by every speaker. The data was analysed using the statistical software Rbrul.

Each linguistic variable was coded separately in its own Excel sheet, and each sheet included a linguistic variable and all of the social variables. Each linguistic variable was coded differently. The variable palatalization of (k) was found in two forms: (1) as a phonological variable with two variants in the stem of the word; namely [k] and [ɟ]. (2) As a morphophonemic variable where palatalization is found in the feminine suffix (-ik) with its two variants [-ik] and [-iɟ] (see chapter 4 for more details).

The second variable of the current study is dark (l). This variable was coded with its two variants, namely: dark and clear /l/ (see chapter 5 for more details).

The coding protocol is summarised in table 3.2.

<b>Dependant variables</b>		
<b>Variable</b>	<b>realization</b>	<b>code</b>
<b>(k)</b>	[k] de-palatalized	k
	[ʃ] palatalized	C
<b>(-ik)</b>	[-ik] depalatalized	k
	[-iʃ] palatalized	C
<b>dark (l)</b>	dark /ɫ/	L
	clear /l/	l
<b>Independent variables</b>		
<b>Factor group</b>		<b>code</b>
<b>(k)</b>		
<b>Preceding</b>	high front vowel	high.front
	Pause	0
	Consonant	con
	High back vowel	back.v
	Low front vowel	low.front
<b>Following</b>	High front vowel	high.front
	Pause	0
	Low front vowels	low.front
	Consonant	con
	High back vowel	back.v
<b>(-ik)</b>		
<b>Following</b>	Pause	0
	High front vowel	high.front
	High back vowel	back.v
	Consonant	con
<b>(l)</b>		
<b>Gemination</b>	geminate	gem
	single	non
<b>Onset/Coda</b>	onset	onset
	Coda	coda
<b>No. of syllable</b>	one	1
	two	2
	three	3
	four	4
	five	5
<b>Preceding</b>	Back vowel	back.v
	Consonant	con
	Front vowel	front.v
<b>Following</b>	Back vowel	back.v
	Consonant	con
	Front vowel	front.v
<b>Age</b>		
Under 18	young	
20-50	middle	
60+	old	
<b>Gender</b>	female	
	male	

**Table 3.2: Codes used in Rbrul analysis**

The linguistic variables investigated in this study along with their coding procedures are explained in details in chapters four (Palatalization) and five ((l)).

## Chapter 4

### The variables (k) and *-ik*: Palatalization of /k/

This chapter will present the analysis of the data of the palatalization of /k/, which is treated in this thesis as two separate variables. The first variable is phonological which concerns the palatalization of /k/ in the stem of the word. The second variable also involves palatalization of /k/ but in this case the process concerns the feminine suffix *-ik* in particular; therefore, this variable is described as morpho-phonological.

The chapter begins with a general introduction about the process of the palatalization of velar stops §4.1 in which I summarize the major arguments put forward by phoneticians, phonologists and historical linguists. This is followed by a review of the literature concerning this feature in Arabic in general §4.2. I begin this section with the descriptions provided by the ancient grammarians, in particular Sibawaihi (1988) in his famous treatise *al-Kitāb*, and move on to present the views of Holes (1991) and Watson (2002), as well as results from recent sociolinguistic investigations of the feature in Peninsular Arabic. The palatalization of /k/ is characteristic of a number of dialects in the Hōrān region. A discussion and a description of the findings from studies that focused on the Hōrān region in general and on Jordanian dialects in particular is presented in section 4.3. In this section I shall focus on the information available in the major work of Cantineau (1940), the atlas of Syrian dialects, Behnstedt (1997), Herin (2010), and Herin & Al-Wer (2013). In §4.4 a discusses of the variable (k) as a variable of the current study is introduced along with its coding protocols and the statistical (Rbrul) results, which is followed by a discussion of the results according to age and a discussion of the results in regard to gender. The other variable concerning palatalization of /k/ in this study is the palatalization in the feminine suffix */-ik/*, this variable is presented in § 4.5. This section contains a discussion of the coding protocols that have been adopted in the current research in regard with this variable

/-ik/ and the statistical (Rbrul) results along with their discussions. Finally, this chapter winds up with a summary in §4.6.

## 4.1 What is palatalization?

The palatalization feature is present in a number of languages throughout the world, e.g. Bantu in Africa, Mandarin in Asia, Catalan in Europe, Arabic in the Middle East and in English.

According to Ladefoged (1982), palatalization can be defined phonetically as “secondary articulation”, while Katamba (1989) defines it as an “assimilation process”. This view that palatalization is a process of assimilation is echoed in Hoek. In his words:

“It results from the contiguity of two sounds, one of which is a palatal consonant or a front vowel and which imparts its palatality to the adjacent consonant.”

(Hoek, 2010: 16)

Clark and Yallop (1990: 100) describe the process as involving “raising of the tip and blade of the tongue to a high front position close to the anterior part of the hard palate region, as for an [i] vowel”.

Campbell (1998, 2004) agrees with Clark and Yallop (1990) and proposes that palatalization often takes place before or after [i] and [j] or before other front vowels, depending on the language, although he adds that unconditioned palatalization can take place. The palatalization process has been extensively studied from a variety of perspectives, namely phonetics, phonology and historical linguistics. In this section I shall review the major arguments from these fields, focusing in particular on those that pertain to the palatalization of velar stops.

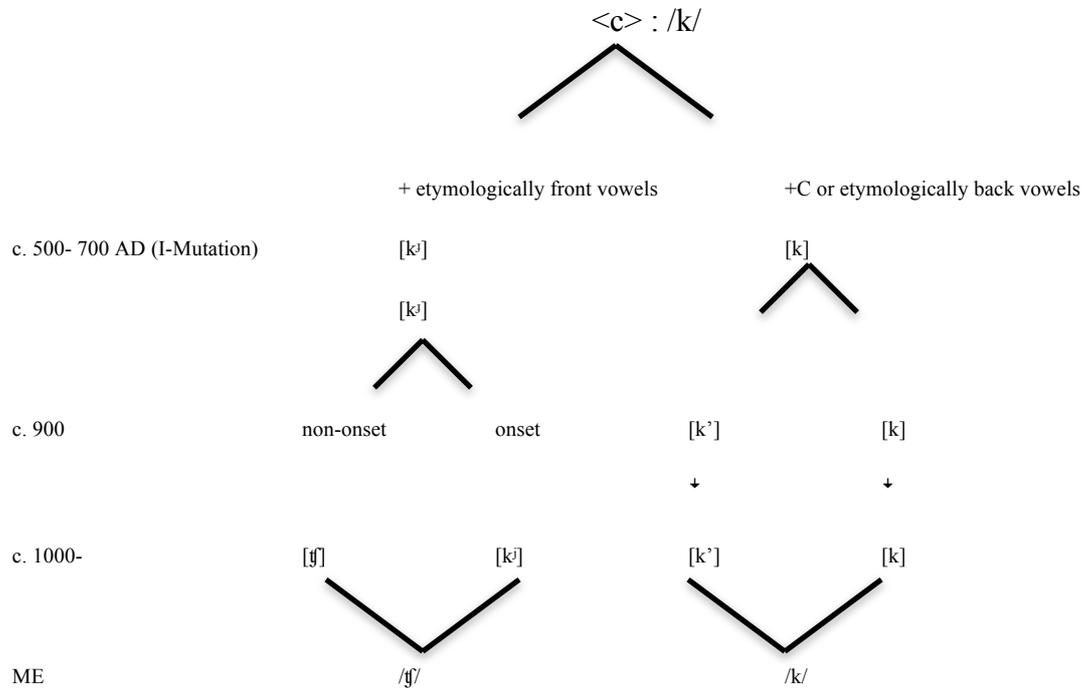
There are two common kinds of changes that are called ‘palatalization’. One is the typical change of a velar or alveolar sound to a palato-alveolar sound as in  $k > tʃ$ ,  $t > tʃ$ ,  $s > ʃ$  and so on. In colloquial English, for instance, sequences of  $t+y [j] > tʃ [tʃ]$  and  $d+y [j] > dʒ [dʒ]$ , as in *whatcha*

*doin* ‘what are you doing?’, *I betcha* ‘I bet you’, and *didja go* ‘did you go?’, may be palatalized. It has also been observed in varieties of English for *ty* [tj] word-internal sequences to change to [tʃ], such as in *nature*, *picture*, *literature*, *lecture*, and *fortune*, and for *dy* [dj] sequences to change to [dʒ], in *module*, *grandeur*. The second type of change occurs when a consonant becomes palatalized by taking a secondary manner of articulation. For example, in the eastern dialects of Finnish consonants are palatalized before /i/, *susi* > *susi* (sus*i*) (Campbell, 1998, 2004).

Calabrese (2005) agrees with both Clark and Yallop (1990) and Campbell (1998, 2004). He states that there are two aspects of palatalization. Firstly, in addition to the secondary articulation of velar fronting, the palatalization processes include a change in the place of articulation in which the target consonants become coronal. Secondly, the targets affected by palatalization also face a change in their manner of articulation; stops are a good example of this second type of change as in the palatalization processes, as they often become affricated. For Italian, Calabrese states that both changes are found in the palatalization of velars. In the lexicon of Italian, certain masculine nouns and adjectives palatalize in the plural while others do not; nouns such as *medico*, /mediʧi/ ‘doctor’, and *filologo*, /filolodʒi/ ‘philologue’ palatalize, yet there is no palatalization in the nouns *arabesko*, *arabeski* ‘arabesque’ and *sfogo*, *sfogi* ‘rash’; there is palatalization in the adjective *comiko*, [comiʧi] ‘comic’, but not in *antiko*, *antiki* ‘antique’ and *lungo*, *lungi* ‘long’ (Calabrese, 2005: 301-342).

Recasens (2014) describes palatalization as the shift of /k/ to the affricate /tʃ/ in certain contextual positions. In a number of Romance languages such as Italian, the unaspirated stop is usually accounted for through the alveolo-palatal stop realization /c/. In most of the cases this phenomenon occurs in the languages where /c/ is an allophone of /k/, for instance in Italian and Majorcan Catalan (Recasens, 2014: 37).

Minkova (2003: 112) describes the development of the voiceless velar stop from early Old English to Middle English in the following graph:



Minkova (2003: 112) illustrates that:

“The affrication and merger of [kʲ] with the independently generated [tʃ] after c.1000 marks the cut-off point beyond which phonemicization of /k/ and /tʃ/ realigns the allophonic relations, creating a new entity and distancing it from the velars.”

(Minkova, 2003: 112)

Minkova (2003) states, that “the account consistent with the alliterative evidence assumes that initial coronalization of the voiceless velar stop [k] → [kʲ] → [kʲ] was triggered by adjacency to etymological /i, ɪ, j/.” she explains that in the history of /k-/, the high front vowels or glide is the most important influence.

Bhat (1978) studied over 120 different instances of palatalization in languages across the world and proposed that phonetically at least three distinct processes are involved. He writes:

“There are three distinct processes, namely tongue-fronting, tongue raising, and spirantization which, could occur either alone or in different combinations to produce the instances that have been denoted by the cover term, palatalization.”

(Bhat, 1978: 50)

He further points out that these processes can be differentiated in certain ways: firstly by the environments that encourage them, secondly by the type of consonants that are affected by them, and finally by the languages and dialects that have experienced these changes. Based on his study Bhat proposed that a sound change has to meet two important requirements in order to be identified as “palatalization”. Firstly, the sound causing the change must be a front vowel, palatal semivowel, or palatal or palatalized consonant, and secondly, the resulting sound has to either be a fully palatal sound itself or obtain a secondary palatal articulation.

Some linguists such as Jakobson et al. (1963), Allen (1958), Chen (1971), Lightner (1965), Campbell (1974) and others considered palatalization as “a single diachronic process”, while Bhat still prefers the idea of allowing equivalent and distinct status to the three different diachronic processes (tongue-fronting, tongue-raising, and spirantization) (Bhat, 1978: 50).

There are different phonological theories about palatalization, particularly in the phonological systems of living languages. In most modern theories palatalization is viewed as a rule of the phonological system that controls the alternation of palatalized allophones and their non-palatalized counterparts; or in generative terms, as the production of palatalized surface forms out of their non-palatalized underlying forms in the appropriate linguistic contexts (Hoek, 2010).

Palatalization is especially known to occur in the Slavic languages (Bhat, 1978), as well as in Italian (see also Calabrese, 2005 where a variety of examples from Italian are cited).

Bhat (1978) studied palatalization from different perspectives. For instance he discusses palatalization according to different environments: yod not affecting a velar consonant, yod needing additional support to affect the velars, front vowels affecting the apical, etc.<sup>5</sup>. He provides instances from a variety of languages for each perspective.

Slavic languages are well known for a number of palatalization changes. In discussing Common Slavic, Bhat (1978: 53) cites Shevelov (1964), who states, “The dental palatalization occurred before y only, whereas the velar palatalization occurred before front vowels as well”. Bhat (1978) also cites Chomsky and Halle (1968) on West Slavic /t/ and /d/ changing to dental affricates before /j/ (Bhat, 1978: 58), as well as Slavic, /k, g, x/ became /c, z, s/, respectively before /ai/ and /oi/ (Bhat’s /ay/, /oy/), with the exception of West Slavic /x/ which became /š/ [ʃ]. In South Slavic, “a dental stop, when palatalized, does not become an affricate, but only a palato-alveolar stop” (Chomsky and Halle (1968) cited in Bhat, 1978: 59-60).

According to Shevelov (1964), the palatalization of velars preceded by a front vowel in Common Slavic occurred after an oral or nasalized /i/, except where the velar was followed by a consonant or an /u/- type vowel (which prevented palatalization) (Shevelov, 1964 cited in Bhat 1978: 62).

Finally, as a structuralist phonologist Twaddell (1938) believed that palatalized phonemes developed out of a pre-stage of allophonic alternation. Twaddell was the first to call this process “phonologization” or “phonemicization”.

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<sup>5</sup> Bhat (1974: 52-76) includes many examples from a variety of languages, however providing more details in text will lead the discussion into a different direction beyond the concerns of the current thesis.

## 4.2 Palatalization in Arabic

In Arabic as in many European languages (Slavic and old English), the change of /k/ to /tʃ/ is mostly observed in the vicinity of vowels and in some cases in the vicinity of /j/.

This section will concentrate on the palatalization of /k/ in Arabic language. The perception of the existence of the palatalization of /k/ was noted by early Arab scholars such as Sībawaih, who offered a description of the early Arabic phonological phenomenon. This palatalization feature was later called *kaškaša/kaskasa*, and was observed in certain dialects of Arabic.

In Al-Kitaab, Sibawaih (2009) maintains that the 2FSG suffix can be realized as –ʃ, -kiʃ, -kis and –ki. He explains that some people (Tamim and Asadin) replace the /k/ with /tʃ/ when addressing a female in order to distinguish between masculine and feminine in the pausal positions. Sibawaih also mentions that some other Arabs add /s/ after /k/, as in *ʔaʃte:tukis* or *ʔaʃtʔajtukis* ‘I gave you F’ and *ʔukrimukis* ‘I honour you’. Other Arabs attach /ʃ/ after /k/ for the feminine distinction, as in *ʔaʃtʔe:tukif* or *ʔaʃtʔajtukif* and *ʔukrimukif*. These two features are called *kaskasa* and *kaʃkafa* (Sibawaih, 2009, part (4): 314-315).

From the 1940s to the present day there has been an increase in the number of studies that investigated this characteristic feature of a number of modern Arabic dialects. Many scholars, such as Cantineau (1940), have given varying reasons for why and when this phenomenon occurs, although there have been some differences in the findings reported by the various sources. For instance, Cantineau (as cited in Herin, 2010) suggests that there has been contact among the various Arabic dialects which has influenced the occurrence of the feature, and that the palatalization of /k/ is mostly found in the vicinity of high front vowels, but in some dialects may occur in the vicinity of back vowels.

Palatalization is a phonological process and is very frequently found among the dialects of Central and North-Central Arabia, the Gulf, and Yemen (Al-Rojaie, 2013; p. 43). The affrication process is commonly noticed in the presence of front vowels. In the case of /k/, the palatalization might occur in the stem /k/ and/or the suffix *-k*. In the dialects spoken in the northern and central parts of Saudi Arabia (Najd) /g/ and /k/ can be realized as the affricate and dental variants [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively.

Owens (2013) states that modern Arabic dialects have four basic variants of the 2FS object suffix, which he describes as follows:

- (a) *-j*/highland Yemen, eastern Arabian peninsula
- (b) *-its* Najdi (Ingham 1994: 14)
- (c) *-ič* [iʃ] IPA [tʃ] Gulf, “gilit” Iraqi, Jordanian and Syrian desert, rural Palestinian
- (d) *-ik* or *-ki* otherwise in the rest of the Arabic-speaking world

(Owens, 2013: 177)

Owens (2013) suggests that both *k > č* dialects are found within the Arabic pre-diasporic homeland, as well as outside of it, and that this is evidence that the change occurred, within the homeland, before spreading outside of it. The *k – tʃ* split thus already existed in pre-diasporic Arabic (Owens, 2013: 200).

Holes (1991: 666) and Johnstone (1963: 225) point out that the change of *\*k > tʃ/-ts* extends beyond the 2FSG suffix to front vowel contexts generally, where *\*k* precedes a front vowel (either /i/ or front /a/), for example in *tʃa:n/tsa:n* ‘he was’. This general, conditioned change is paralleled by the change of *\*g > dʒ/dz*, e.g. *ǧidda:m/dzidda:m* ‘in front’. Holes (1991) notes that of the two changes *\*k* and *\*g*, *-tʃ* is the more widespread form: it occurs in Baghdadi/*gilit* dialects and southern Iraqi, as well as in central Syrian, rural Palestinian and Jordanian dialects whereas the [dʒ/dz] variants are largely limited to the eastern Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf region.

Al-Essa (2008: 135) clarifies that the /k/ is palatalized to the voiceless alveolar affricate [ts] in the Najdi dialect. Al-Essa investigated the linguistic consequences of dialect contact between two varieties of Arabic: the Najdi variety and the Urban Hijazi variety. According to Al-Essa (ibid) the palatalization of /k/ is common in the Arabic dialects that are spoken in the Arabian Peninsula, with its two variants [ts] and [tʃ]. The palatalization of /k/ in these dialects occurs in the vicinity of front vowels.

Al-Rojaie (2013: 43) investigated the effect of linguistic and social factors (age, gender, and level of education) on the patterns of variation in the palatalization of [ṭ] for [k] in the stem and suffix of a local Najdi Arabic, spoken in the Qasīm province in central Saudi Arabia. Al-Rojaie found that in the phonological context, palatalization was significantly favoured in the vicinity of high front vowels and in the suffix-based, it was found as a categorical usage of [-ṭ̃]. For the stem palatalization, Al-Rojaie (2013) maintains that it is correlated with age, educational level, and gender of the speaker i.e., older uneducated speakers from both sexes tend to maintain the use of the local variant [ṭ], however younger and middle-aged educated speakers, specially women, use the variant [k].

Watson (2002: 257-259) proposes that the palatalization of coronal and dorsal stops appears in both Cairene and San'ani. Watson (2002) suggests that the Cairene coronal palatalization has two outputs: weak and strong palatalization; weak palatals being those whereby the palatal feature shows as a secondary feature but the main feature remains apical, as in /t/ > [tj] and /d/ > [dj]; and strong palatals being those in which there is a switch in the place of articulation from apical to post-alveolar, as in /t/ > [tʃ] and /d/ > [dʒ]. She further explains that in San'ani, palatalization occurs in fast casual speech and shows as weak palatalization. On the other hand, in Cairene, palatalization is triggered by a following /j/, /i/, /i:/, /e:/, or the epenthetic vowel [ɪ] (Haeri, 1997: 58).

### 4.3 Palatalization in the Hōrāni Dialect

Cantineau (1940-1946), who was among the first scholars to study the region, argues that the maintenance of /k/ has been found to be two and a half times more frequent than its palatalization into [tʃ] in the Hōrāni dialect. (Cantineau, 1946: 122, cited in Herin, 2013: 102).

In his linguistic atlas of Syria, Behnstedt (1997) describes that in the coastal part of Syria, namely Lattakia and Banyās, and Aleppo in northern Syria, the /k/ sound has no other allophone. Meanwhile the distribution of the reflexes /k/ and /tʃ/ are complementary in the east and the south of Syria, as in *fala-ya:kul* ‘to eat’, and there is another complementary reflex of /k/ and /c/ distributed in the north-eastern part of Syria, in Tall Alu, such as in *kala- ma:cil*. Furthermore, in Albu Kamāl, Der izZōr, alHōl and alXātūnīya /k/ and /tʃ/ is distributed in lexical items as in *katab* ‘he wrote’ - *afal* ‘he ate’ (Behnstedt, 1997: 31).

Herin (2013: 101-103) investigated the grammar of the dialect of the city of Salt, which he concluded was a Hōrāni dialect. According to Herin, palatalization is an important feature of this dialect. In Salt, etymological \*k/ has two reflexes, /k/ and /tʃ/. Unlike the rural Palestinian, which has unconditional palatalization, from a diachronic point of view, the palatalization of /k/ in Salt is mostly triggered by the presence of front vowels and sometimes these two allophones exist in minimal pairs e.g., *fe:f* ‘how’ *ke:f* ‘pleasure’. In addition, the palatalization of /k/ in Salt and Hōrān is found in the vicinity of back vowels as in *abu:tʃ* ‘your (second feminine singular) father’ and *dju:tʃ* ‘cockerels’.

Abdel Jawad (1981) reports that palatalization of /k/ to /tʃ/ takes place in the contiguity of front vowels and explains that linguistically, the palatalization of /k/ rule works as follow:

-voc		+voc
+cons		-cons
+high	→[+coronal]/	-back
-anterior		
-coronal		
-voice		

Abdel Jawad (1981) rule of palatalization of /k/ (cited in El-Salman, 2003: 52).

El Salman (2003: 52-54) states that the palatalization of /k/ is realized as [tʃ] unconditionally in every possible place in a word by rural Palestinians. This can be illustrated in the following examples from one such speaker:

*ʔabu:k - ʔabu:tʃ* 'your (m.s.) father'

*karim- tʃarim* 'field'

*kunna- tʃunna* 'we were'

El-Salman (2003) proposes that the variant [tʃ] is stigmatized and is perceived as very rural, and to a great extent is related to the dialect of older speakers. Al-Khatib (1988), Abdel Jawad (1981) and Al Zu'bi (2001) also agree that the variant [tʃ] is stigmatized in other local Jordanian dialects because of these social connotations. Consequently, Al Khatib (1988) reports that in Irbid city "the variant [tʃ] is a highly stigmatized feature in the city ... and most of the Jordanian people in Irbid City disfavour it" (Al Khatib, 1988: 236). Abdel Jawad (1981: 279) also reports that "speakers are aware of this stigmatized feature more than any other feature and they try their best to avoid using it in their speech, especially in front of strangers". Accordingly, one can claim that the way the two variants of the variable (k) are perceived relates to what Sturevant (1947) explains is a condition which must be achieved before a phoneme can spread from word to word: namely, that one of its variants (in this case the variant [k]) is perceived as

prestigious and one of its variants is perceived as highly stigmatized (Sturevant, 1947; cited in Labov, 2001).

Herin and Al-Wer (2013: 58) argue that the affricate realization of /k/ is a salient component of the traditional Hōrāni dialect. However, this feature is mostly found in the speech of older speakers. Similar to the case of other dialects in the region, Examples in this dialect include the following:

*ʃinne* ‘daughter-in-law’

*ʃe:l*, ‘unit weight’

*maʃa:n* ‘place’

*biʃi:d* ‘it vexes’.

#### 4.3.1 Where does palatalization of /k/ in Hōrāni dialect come from?

Herin and Al-Wer (2013) propose that it is possible that the affricate became part of the Hōrāni dialect because of the 2fs bound pronoun –iʃ. Many of the Levantine dialects have a gender distinction, which is evident in the second person singular and is signalled through a vocalic difference between /i/ and /a/.

In North Arabian dialects that have conditional palatalization, related to gender distinction, which is, maintained through /k/ /tʃ/ contrast. However, in the Salti dialect (a Hōrāni dialect), the marking of the gender differentiation is double, namely:

- 1) A vocalic alternation, that is similar to the Levantine; and
- 2) A palatalization that is similar to Northern Arabian palatalization as in: *ʔahl-ak* ‘your (m) family’ vs. *ʔahl-iʃ* ‘your (f) family’.

This implies that the preservation of the vocalic contrast in together with palatalization possibly did not originally exist in the Hōrāni dialect and perhaps has been borrowed from neighbouring

dialects and not internally developed. Also, there is a possibility that affrication of /k/ in the Salti dialect has not become the ‘phonetic rule’, but instead was introduced through the palatalized lexical items. Gradually, the borrowed palatalized items were generalized to their derivations and inflections. This would probably be a good explanation for the fact that in Salti the plural for *di:f* ‘cockerel’ is *dju:f* ‘cockerels’ while, on the contrary, in the Northern Arabian dialects the plural is *dju:k* ‘cockerels’. It also explains the fact that affricates in the Hōrān dialect are marginal when compared to the varieties existing within the nomadic dialects that have similar affricates (Herin and Al-Wer, 2013: 59).

Herin and Al-Wer (2013) argued that the transfer of lexical items theory could offer an explanation for the independent approach of the phonemes. This implies that palatalization is borrowed and added into the native language system. This means that contact with dialects, which have palatalization, has been the trigger for the lexical items, which has led to the introduction of the affricate realization of various roots. Hence, an alternation between the two variants /k/ and /tʃ/ might be found in the same word in the speech of an older speaker, for instance in the word *kammal* ‘he finished’ and *kammalt* ‘she finished’ in the following examples:

- *xa:lid kammal ədʒ -dʒa:mʕa*; ‘Khalid finished university’
- *mart mus<sup>tʕ</sup>afa tʃammalat dʒa:mʕa*. ‘Mustafa’s wife finished university’.

Yet other speakers might replace the affricated /tʃ/ with /k/. The expectation is that this lack of contrast between the two consonants will lead to ambiguity. However, the fact that they belong to distinct lexical categories makes this presumption impossible (Herin and Al-Wer, 2013: 59-60).

There are a number of areas whereby the loss of an affricate will impact the grammar. From the earlier observations, there is sufficient evidence that the syntactic load of /tʃ/ extends to the differentiation of the feminine from the masculine. This distinction is possible, mostly

because of the second person singular pronouns, namely /-ak/ and /-iʃ/. Contrary to the previously explained phenomenon, this is not the case in other dialects. In the case of the Levantine dialect, gender differentiation in the environment after a vowel is achieved through the use of allomorphs, -ki for feminine and -k for masculine. There are special cases whereby the speaker is interested in avoiding the use of palatalization in the feminine variant, in which case the distinction of gender may be achieved through the use of -ki.

There are also other means of achieving the gender distinction. For instance, when the contrast is made using /ʃ/ and /k/ a further distinction is made in the case of second person singular bound pronouns. When attached to the negation marker /-ʃ/, the masculine allomorph is -kī-, as in the following examples:

‘hassa ‘ma ‘-ki:-š      duxxa:n u-ga: ‘id      əb-ǧəʃeb      zəjj      he:k

Now    with-2MS-NEG smoke and-sitting    in-meeting    like    so

‘Now (if) you don’t have cigarettes and you are sitting in a gathering like this”

-čī for feminine as in:

inti    ja:      xa:lt-i      mni ‘rif-čī:-š

2FS    VOC    aunt-1SG    know.IMPV.1PL-2FS-NEG

‘We don’t know you (2FS) my dear”

(Herin and Al-Wer, 2013: 61)

In other Levantine dialects which do have the negation marker /-ʃ/, the allomorph /-ki/ is restricted to the feminine only. For the masculine, there are no changes and when there is a change the allomorph /-ka/ is used. This situation is applicable in northern Palestinian dialects.

Al-Wer et al. (2015) propose that in the Bedouin varieties of the Levant, Mesopotamia and North Arabic, [ʃ] is usually found as an allophone of /k/. The authors illustrate that [ʃ] is noticed in the varieties: \*di:k ‘rooster’ and the verb \*ka:n ‘to be’ in all the aforementioned dialects. According to the authors, Hōrān, resemble the Bedouin varieties most frequently in the

environment of front vowels and in some cases it might also be found in the vicinity of the back vowel (u), yet in Bedouin dialects the palatalization of /k/ is only found in the vicinity of front vowels as follows: ‘rooster’ is *di:f* and ‘roosters’ is *dju:k*, *ʃa:n* ‘he was’ and *jku:n* is ‘he is’. The authors confirm that palatalization in Hōrān is phonetically conditioned and it relies on a root-based lexical distribution.

(Al-Wer et.al, 2015: 77-8)

I shall begin to investigate this variable with respect to the arguments presented in this section, and the literature provided about the process of the palatalization of /k/, and the linguistic and social factors which have been shown to influence this process. In the following section, I present details of how the analysis was carried out, along with a discussion of the results for these variables.

#### 4.4 The variable (k) in the current research

The variable (k) concerns the palatalization of /k/ to [ʃ] in the stem of a word. In the current study, the variable (k) has two variants: [k], which is the koineised predominant variant that is used in the dialects of the large cities, including Amman; and [ʃ], the local traditional Hōrāni variant which is generally recessive. Some examples from the data are listed below.

<i>ʃam</i>	‘how much’
<i>ʔasʃa</i>	‘tastier’
<i>kanti</i>	‘my daughter in law’
<i>ʃanne</i>	‘daughter in law’
<i>ʔakal</i>	‘he ate’
<i>ʃe:f</i>	‘how’
<i>ʔaħʃi</i>	‘I tell’
<i>kabi:r</i>	‘big’

#### 4.4.1 Results of the statistical analysis of (k) in the current study

##### 4.4.1.1 Coding protocol

For this variable, I coded for the following factor groups:

1. Preceding environment. In the first stage of coding for this factor group, I entered the preceding sounds individually. In the data as a whole, the variable (k) occurred after the consonants /s, n, h, b, l, r, k, f, t, m, q, ʃ, ʒ, z, t, ð, ʔ, ʧ, ʒ/. Table 4.1 contains examples of words in each one of these environments, and of preceding ‘pause’ environment (word-initial), with their occurrence number:

Sound	no. of tokens	example	gloss
Initial	135	<i>ʃanne</i>	daughter in law
/s/	15	<i>ʔastʃa</i>	tastier
/n/	24	<i>inʃinʃin</i>	if they (F.Pl.)
/h/	26	<i>tiħʃi</i>	you say
/b/	11	<i>liʃneb kθi:r</i>	too many grapes
/r/	22	<i>ʃarkas</i>	Circassians
/k/	23	<i>ʔafka:r</i>	thoughts
/t/	16	<i>bitku:n</i>	it becomes
/m/	24	<i>ʃimkin</i>	maybe
/l/	30	<i>ʔilku</i>	for you (pl.)
/q/	1	<i>ʃari:q kabi:r</i>	a big team
/f/	9	<i>taʃki:r</i>	‘thinking’
/ʃ/	9	<i>muʃkile</i>	‘a problem’
/ʃ/	1	<i>iʃka:ʃe</i>	‘family name’
/z/	1	<i>ɖʒo:z kafa</i>	‘Kafa’s husband’
/t/	1	<i>ʔaħotʃ ʃanne</i>	‘I get daughter in law’
/ð/	1	<i>baðkor</i>	‘I used to remember’
/ʔ/	1	<i>maʔku:l</i>	‘eaten’
/tʃ/	5	<i>ʃale:tʃ kamli:ha</i>	‘on you, finish it!’
/d/	4	<i>ilbalad kulha</i>	‘the whole country’
/z/	1	<i>da:riʒ ka:n</i>	‘it used to be common’
/ðʃ/	1	<i>mari:ðʃ kθi:r</i>	‘so ill’
Total	361		

**Table 4.1:** Examples of (k) in the stem with the preceding consonant sounds and pause

As can be seen in table 4.1, the number of tokens in each environment varies widely, with some environments having only one token. The preceding environment was therefore re-coded according to place of articulation in the second run. In this run, the number of tokens is spread out more evenly but there were still a number of environments with very low number of tokens ('glottal stop', 'interdental', 'affricate'). In the third run, the consonants were re-coded as 'back (dorsal and pharyngeal sounds)' and 'front' (coronal, labial). According to this re-classification there was still a relatively large difference in the number of tokens in the different environments, which could have skewed the statistics (pause =139; front = 198, back = 41). Eventually, based on the statistical runs, all consonants were included in one factor called 'consonant', which contrasted with 'pause' (i.e. where (k) occurred word-initially), and the different vocalic factor groups, as explained below.

The classification of the vowels followed a similar procedure, coding for the exact vowel sound to begin with. Preceding vowels were first coded as /i, e, u, a, o:, i:, u:, a:, e:/, then eventually they were coded according to their height, length and position as 'high front', 'high back' and 'low front'. There was one token with a preceding low back /a/ ([ɑ]), *mba:raka* 'blessed' which occurred three times with the variant [k]; this word was therefore excluded from the analysis. Based on the initial Rbrul runs, tokens with a preceding /j/ were coded with 'high front' and those with a preceding /w/ were coded as 'high back'. Table 4.2 shows the various vowels and glide environments with examples and token numbers:

Vowel sounds	no.of tokens	example	gloss
/a/	170	<i>faklo</i>	‘it looks’
/a:/	28	<i>za:fi</i>	‘tasty’
/e/	8	<i>ilmadrase kulha</i>	‘the whole school’
/e:/	3	<i>he:ʃ</i>	‘like this’
/i/	45	<i>ʔiʃʃanne</i>	‘the daughter in law’
/i:/	5	<i>bi:ʃ</i>	‘with you’
/o:/	2	<i>to:kil</i>	‘you eat’
/u/	40	<i>tukul</i>	‘you eat’
/u:/	3	<i>ʔikʃu:k</i>	‘kiosk’
/j/	8	<i>ha:jj ʃannitku</i>	‘this is your daughter in law’
/w/	14	<i>ʔawka:t</i>	‘some times’
Total	326		

**Table 4.2: Examples of (k) in the stem with the preceding vowel sounds**

2. Following environment: coding for the following environment followed the same procedure as for the preceding environment. The data contained tokens of (k) before the consonants /l, b, n, t, s, θ, d, r, f, h, ð<sup>s</sup>, ʃ, k, m, ʃ/. At the beginning, I coded for individual consonants; included the following sounds individually; they were then grouped according to place of articulation, then as ‘back’ and ‘front’ consonants, and eventually all consonants were included in one factor called ‘consonant’. Following pause was also coded, so in occurrences where the variable appears word finally it was coded as followed by pause. Examples (of following ‘consonant’ and ‘pause’) along with the number of tokens in each environment are listed in table 4.3.

Sound	no.of tokens	example	gloss
Word final	7	<i>maʕiʃ</i>	‘with you (F.S)’
/l/	8	<i>ʃakliʃ</i>	‘your appearance’
/b/	18	<i>ʔakbar</i>	‘bigger’
/n/	5	<i>sa:kni:n</i>	‘they live’
/t/	18	<i>ikta:b</i>	‘book’
/s/	2	<i>maksab</i>	‘profit’
/θ/	45	<i>ʔakθar</i>	‘more’
/d/	1	<i>btikdaħ</i>	‘work really hard’
/t/	12	<i>bukra</i>	‘tomorrow’
/f/	2	<i>jba:rik fi:k</i>	‘bless you’
/h/	1	<i>he:f he:f</i>	‘and so on and so on’
/ðˤ/	1	<i>jurukðˤin</i>	‘they (F.pl.) run’
/k/	17	<i>ʔinniʃ kwajse</i>	‘that you (F.S.) are good’
/ʕ/	2	<i>ðˤiħik ʕalajj</i>	‘he cheated me’
/m/	1	<i>ikʃu:k min</i>	‘kiosks from’
/ʃ/	3	<i>mwwaʃʃid</i>	‘do you still remember’
total	143		

**Table 4.3: Examples of (k) in the stem with the following consonant sounds**

Similarly, following vowels were initially coded individually as /i, i:, u, u:, a, a:, e, e:, o/, then eventually they were coded according to their height, length and position as ‘high front’, ‘high back’ and ‘low front’ vowels. There was one token where /k/ was followed by long back /ɑ:/, /rka:ðˤ/ ‘hastily’. This token occurred twice with the variant [k]; it was excluded from the analysis. Tokens with a following /j/ were counted with ‘high front’, and tokens with a following /w/ were counted with ‘high back’. Table 4.4 contains examples of the words in this environment and token numbers.

Sound	occurrence	example	gloss
/u/	101	<i>ʃindku</i>	‘at yours’
/u:/	22	<i>ðuku:r</i>	‘males’
/a/	134	<i>ʃannitku</i>	‘your daughter in law’
/a:/	112	<i>ka:n</i>	‘it was’
/e/	8	<i>mwwatfed</i>	‘do you still remember’
/e:/	35	<i>ʃe:f</i>	‘how’
/i/	88	<i>za:ʃi</i>	‘tasty’
/i:/	25	<i>iʃʃi:lha</i>	‘tell her’
/w/	17	<i>he:ʃwalla</i>	‘I swear, it’s like this’
/j/	2	<i>he:ʃjamma</i>	‘is it like this, mum!’
Total	544		

**Table 4.4:** Examples of (k) in the stem with the following vowel sounds

3. Position in syllable: onset vs. coda. The following examples illustrate these two factors:

Onset *ʃam* ‘how much’, *ʃe:f* ‘how’, *za:ʃi* ‘tasty’ *ʃaʃana:ynak* ‘on your daughters in law’, *ma:ska* ‘she is holding’, *iʃʃanne* ‘the daughter in law’, *inʃinʃin* ‘as if they (F.PI.)’.

Coda *ʃaklo* ‘it seems’, *he:k* ‘like this’, *sukka:n* ‘residents’ *ða:lik* ‘that’, *ʃakbar* ‘bigger’.

4. Age. Three factors: young, middle and old.

5. Gender. Two factors: female and male.

In summary the final coding protocol consisted of four factor groups: *preceding* (5 factors), *following* (5 factors), *age* (3 factors) and *gender* (2 factors).

#### 4.4.1.2 Rbrul results and discussion

The overall usage of the traditional feature [ʃ] is quite low, standing at 11% (81 tokens) of the total occurrence of this variable (687 tokens). The results of the Rbrul analysis of (k) are displayed in table 4.5. The traditional variant [ʃ] is the application value.

In this run, Rbrul returned all of the social and linguistic factor groups as significant. A factor weight above 0.5 favours the application of the rule (i.e. palatalization is more likely to occur), while a value less than 0.5 disfavors the application (i.e. palatalization is less likely to occur). The log-odds values express the same information in another form; in this case, a negative value disfavors application and a positive value favours application. A log-odds value of 0 expresses neutrality and is equivalent to a centered factor weight of 0.5.

In table 4.5, ‘high front’ /i, i:, e:, j/, ‘low front’ /a, a:/, ‘high back’ /u, u: o, o: w/. ‘Pause’ in the preceding environment indicates that the variable occurred word initially and was not preceded by any sounds; ‘Pause’ in the following environment indicates that the variable occurred word finally and was not followed by any sounds.

				<b>R<sup>2</sup>0.573</b>
<b>Preceding category</b>				<b>(P&lt;0.00182)</b>
Factor	log-odds	Tokens	[ʃ] mean	centered factor weight
High front	1.084	70	0.200	0.747
Pause	0.545	135	0.133	0.633
Consonant	-0.174	228	0.123	0.457
High back	-0.720	56	0.018	0.327
Low front	-0.734	198	0.101	0.324
<b>Following category</b>				<b>(P&lt;5.76e-19)</b>
High front	2.137	158	0.310	0.894
Pause	1.590	7	0.286	0.831
Low front	0.292	246	0.106	0.572
Consonant	-1.312	136	0.022	0.212
High back	-2.707	140	0.007	0.063
<b>Gender</b>				<b>(P&lt;1.62e-11)</b>
Female	0.98	285	0.225	0.727
Male	-0.98	402	0.042	0.273
<b>Age</b>				<b>(P&lt;0.00388)</b>
Old	0.382	265	0.151	0.594
Young	0.231	107	0.112	0.557
Middle	-0.613	315	0.092	0.351
				<b>Grand mean (0.118%)</b>

**Table 4.5: Rbrul results of the correlation of the use (*k*) with the independent variables (application value is [ʃ]).**

The P Values of the significant factor groups were returned by Rbrul in the following order: ‘following segment’ ( $P < 5.76e-19$ ), ‘gender’ ( $P < 1.62e-11$ ), ‘preceding segment’ ( $P < 0.00182$ ) and finally ‘age’ ( $P < 0.00388$ ).

With respect to the preceding linguistic environment, table 4.5 shows that the environment where the variant [tʃ] is most likely to occur is when it is preceded by a high front vowel (20%, with a factor weight of 0.747). This was followed by word initial occurrences preceded by a pause (13%, with a factor weight of 0.633). However, [tʃ] is disfavoured when it is preceded by a consonant (12%, with a factor weight of 0.457), a high back vowel (1%, with a factor weight of 0.327), and when it is preceded by a low front vowel (10%, with a significant factor weight of 0.324).

For the following environment, as we can see, [tʃ] is highly favoured when it is followed by a high front vowel (31%, with a factor weight of 0.894). It is important to note that this is an even more significant and stronger finding than when the variant [tʃ] is preceded by a high front vowel (20%), and hence the results strongly suggest that [tʃ] is favoured to the highest degree when it occurs in the vicinity of high front vowels. This is a common finding cross linguistically, and the current results confirm that the fronter and the higher the vowel is, the more likely this rule (palatalization) will apply. The second best following environment for palatalization to happen is word finally followed by a pause (28%, with a factor weight of 0.831). It should be pointed out, though, that there were only seven tokens in this category (where /k/ was followed by a pause), namely; *ʔamla:k* ‘properties’, *ħira:k* ‘movement’, *ið<sup>s</sup>ð<sup>i</sup>ħik* ‘laughing’, *ʔatra:k* ‘Turks’, *he:f* ‘like this’, and *ʃakk* ‘doubt’. Then third most favourable following environment for the occurrence of [tʃ] is when it is followed by a low front vowel (10%, with a factor weight of 0.572). The variant [tʃ] is disfavoured when it is followed by a consonant (2%, with a factor weight of 0.212) and is strongly disfavoured when it is followed by a high back vowel (0.007%, factor weight 0.063). It is also worth mentioning at this point that the only token which occurred

in the stem with the variant [tʃ] followed by a back vowel is *biḥfu:ha* ‘they say it’, while 138 tokens with /k/ in the stem disfavoured palatalization when they were followed by high back vowels.

Turning to the social variables, the results in table 4.5 indicate that, the female speakers are the most conservative, i.e. they use the traditional variant [tʃ] more often than the male speakers, (22% usage with a factor weight of 0.727). On the other hand, men disfavour the usage of the traditional local variant [tʃ] at factor weight 0.273 (rate of usage 4%). The correlation with gender in table 4.5 suggests that women are more often the ones who maintain the traditional local feature [tʃ] in their speech. The gender difference is statistically significant ( $P < 1.62e-11$ ). With regards to the age, old speakers, use the palatalization more than the other age groups with rate 15% with a factor weight 0.594, followed by the young speakers (11%, with a factor weight 0.557), however the middle age groups disfavour the usage of palatalization (9% with a factor weight 0.351).

The low overall mean of usage of the traditional palatalized variant, app. 12% of the total number of tokens, strongly suggests that this variant is becoming obsolete. Although we have no previous statistics from this community, or indeed any community in Hōrān, with which to compare our statistics, it is most likely the case that palatalization stood at a much higher level than the current statistics suggest. For instance, Cantineau (1946) included conditioned palatalization as a characteristic feature of Hōrāni dialects. Similarly, in Behnstedt’s atlas of Syrian dialects (Behnstedt, 1997), the feature is also included as one characterizing many localities within Hōrān. Furthermore, Herin’s account of the dialect of Salt (2010), as a Hōrāni dialect (Herin, 2013 & Herin & Al-Wer, 2013), includes palatalization as one of the traditional features. Finally, a strong indication that palatalization in traditional Hōrāni dialects is a salient feature that has been undergoing change comes from Al-Wer’s work on the formation of the Amman dialect (e.g. see Al-Wer 2007), where she maintains that it is levelled out very early on

in the dialect of Amman (1<sup>st</sup> generation). It is therefore likely that the progression that is captured in my results in apparent time represents the final stage of a sound change that had started some time ago.

It is also possible that the change from [tʃ] to [k] in the stem is no longer active/progressive, but has reached completion, leaving a few fossilized items. The fossilized items are usually marked lexical items, such as popular sayings, local recipes, proper names, particles that have grammatical function, etc. For instance, Al-Wer (2007) mentions that some words are immune to the transition [g] → [ʔ] in Amman, such as the proper names *ʕga:b*, *ʕugla*.

To test the possibility that the items that occurred with traditional [tʃ] in my data are marked in some way, I examined all 81 items that occurred with this variant. Table 4.6 lists these items along with classification of their status in the local dialect.

Number	Token	Gloss	Classification
1	<i>fam</i>	How much	Interrogative word
2	<i>fɛ:f</i>	How?	Interrogative word
3	<i>fɛ:finha</i>	How it used to be?	Interrogative word
4	<i>fannit-ku</i>	Your (pl.) daughter-in-law	Kinship term
5	<i>i-ɸifanne</i>	The daughter-in-law	Kinship term
6	<i>fana:jinnak</i>	Your (MS) daughters-in-law	Kinship term
7	<i>fannit-ak</i>	Your (MS) daughter-in-law	Kinship term
8	<i>fannanna</i>	We had a daughter-in-law	Kinship term
9	<i>ɸɸana:j-ni</i>	My daughters-in-law	Kinship term
10	<i>ɸɸana:j-in</i>	Daughters-in-law	Kinship term
11	<i>ɸɸana:j-in</i>	Daughters-in-law	Kinship term
12	<i>ɸɸanna:-ti</i>	My daughters-in-law	Kinship term
13	<i>ɸɸanne</i>	A daughter-in-law	Kinship term
14	<i>fanna:-ti</i>	My daughters-in-law	Kinship term
15	<i>ʔastfa</i>	Tastier	Local expression
16	<i>za:fi</i>	Tasty	Local expression
17	<i>ʔastfa:ha</i>	What so tasty!	Local expression
18	<i>ʔinɸin-hin</i>	If they (F.pl.) Were	Grammatical particle
19	<i>fɸan-nu</i>	If he	Grammatical particle
20	<i>fɸann</i>	If it was	Grammatical particle
21	<i>fɸin</i>	If it is	Grammatical particle
22	<i>fɸa:nn-ha</i>	If she was	Grammatical particle
23	<i>fɸa:nn-ak</i>	If you are	Grammatical particle
24	<i>fɸa:n</i>	If it is	Grammatical particle
25	<i>tiħfi</i>	You say	Verb
26	<i>ʔaħfi:l-ha</i>	I say to her	Verb phrase
27	<i>jiħfi</i>	He says	Verb
28	<i>jiħfi</i>	He says	Verb
29	<i>ħaɸe:t</i>	I said/told	Verb
30	<i>ʔaħfi</i>	I say	Verb
31	<i>ʔaħfi</i>	I say	Verb

32	<i>ħaʃfi</i>	saying	Noun
33	<i>ħaʃfi</i>	saying	Noun
34	<i>nihʃfi</i>	We say	Verb
35	<i>ilħaʃfi</i>	The speech	Noun
36	<i>bihʃfi</i>	He says	Verb
37	<i>bahʃfi:-ha</i>	I say it	Verb
38	<i>ħaʃfi</i>	saying	Noun
39	<i>bihʃfu:-ha</i>	They used to say it	Verb phrase
40	<i>ħaʃfe:t</i>	I said	Verb
41	<i>ʔahʃfi:-lak</i>	I will tell you (M.S.)	Verb phrase
42	<i>ħaʃfa</i>	He said	Verb
43	<i>ħaʃfi</i>	saying	Noun
44	<i>ħaʃfi</i>	saying	Noun
45	<i>jihʃfin</i>	They (F.pl.) used to say	Verb
46	<i>bahʃfi</i>	I say	Verb
47	<i>ʃaffe</i>	Hand	Noun
48	<i>jʃʃamm-lu</i>	They finish	Verb phrase
49	<i>ʃʃabbit</i>	I am damned	Local idiom
50	<i>diʃʃe</i>	Waistband	Local term
51	<i>diʃʃe</i>	Waistband	Local term
52	<i>mwwaʃʃid</i>	Used to remember	Local idiom
53	<i>mwwaʃʃid</i>	Used to remember	Local term
54	<i>mwwaʃʃid</i>	Used to remember	Local term
55	<i>mwwaʃʃid</i>	Used to remember	Local term
56	<i>he:ʃa</i>	Like this	Demonstrative
57	<i>he:ʃ</i>	Like this	Demonstrative
58	<i>he:ʃ</i>	Like this	Demonstrative
59	<i>ʃilmit</i>	The word	Noun
60	<i>ʃaʃa:ʃi:l</i>	Dish name	Local recipe
61	<i>ʃaʃa:ʃi:l</i>	Dish name	Local recipe
62	<i>ʃiðib</i>	Lying	Noun
63	<i>ʔiʃʃiðib</i>	The lying	Noun
64	<i>ʔiʃʃiðib</i>	The lying	Noun
65	<i>ʃaðða:b</i>	liar	Adjective
66	<i>ʃaʃʃat</i>	She fell down	Local idiom

**Table 4.6:** List of the items that occurred with the variant [ʃ] along with their classification and their status in the local dialect.

Table 4.6 lists 66 tokens, as some of the tokens already occurred in the same word form different times, altogether there are 15 different lexemes and their derivatives, namely:

*ʃam, ʃe:f, ʃe:finha, ʃannitku, ʃi-ʃʃanne, ʃana:jnak, ʃanntak, ʃannanna, ʃʃana:jni, ʃʃana:jin, ʃʃanna:ti, ʃʃanne, asʃa, za:ʃi, ʃasʃa:ha, ʃinʃinʃin, ʃannu, ʃann, ʃin, ʃa:nnha, ʃannak, ʃa:n, tiħʃi, ʃahʃi:lha, jiħʃi, ħaʃe:t, ʃahʃi, ħaʃi, niħʃi, ilħaʃi, btiħʃi, baħʃi:ha, biħʃu:ha, ħaʃe:t, ʃahʃi:lak, ħaʃa, ħaʃi, jiħʃin, baħʃi, ʃaffe, jʃʃammlu, ʃʃabbit, diʃʃe, mwwatʃʃid, he:ʃa, he:ʃ, ʃilmit, ʃaʃa:ʃi:l, ʃiðib, iʃʃiðib, ʃaðða:b, ʃaʃʃat.*

The examination of these items suggests that there may be ways of categorising them, which might shed further light on the status of palatalization in the dialect under investigation synchronically. Below, each lexeme is treated separately.

*ʃe:f* ‘how’. This is a frequent word that is used as a WH-word (particle) in the frequently occurring statement of greeting:

*ʃe:f ħa:lak?* ‘how are you?’

And generally as a WH-word to enquire about the manner in which a certain action is performed:

*ʃe:f tʻli?ti?* ‘how did you travel (by bus, by car ..)?’

*ʃe:f bitdaħibri* ‘how do you roll (vis. shape the strained yoghurt as balls)?’

Also, in exclamations:

*ʃe:f marrat li jja:m!* ‘how (quickly) days have passed!’

*ʃe:f laʃa:d!* ‘how else!’

*ʃe:f! ʃinna ze:tu:n* ‘how (do you assume otherwise)! We do have olive trees?’.

*l ħaja: ʃe:f inha bitsa:wi!* ‘how life changes people!’ the word *ʃe:f* and its derivations occurred 19 times with the variant [ʃ].

*ʃam* ‘how many’? This item is also used as a WH-word; it is also frequent and is used with count nouns generally. The following expression occurred in the data:

*ʃam uxt ilif* ‘how many sisters do you have?’

*tihʃi* ‘you say’. This verb is used frequently; it occurred 21 times in the current data. Examples are:

*ʔilli btihʃi fi*: ‘the things you’re saying’

*lamma dʒidditi tihʃi maʕa*: ‘so when my grandmother speaks to him’

*ʃanne* ‘daughter in law’. This expression and its derivations are used 10 times.

Examples from the current data are listed below:

*ʔaħuttʃ ʃanne ho:n?* ‘I get daughter in law, here!’

*ʔi ʃʃanne ha:jj* ‘this daughter in law’

*gu:li:lu ʃanntak* ‘tell him, your daughter in law’

*sallim ʕa ʃanna:jjn-ak* ‘say hello to your daughters in law’

*ʃannitku* ‘your (pl.) daughter in law’

*ja: re:t ma: ʃannan-na* ‘I wish we had no daughter in law’ (lit. ... our sons did not get married)

*le: i-ʃanna:jn he:ʃ?* ‘I don’t know why the daughters in law are behaving like this’

*ʃanna:jni* ‘my daughters in law’

*na:gis<sup>ni</sup> fanna:jin ʔana* ‘(as if) all what I need is daughters in law (to live with me in the same house)’

*ʕindi fanna:jin ʔana* ‘I have daughters in law’

*fanna:ti bana:ti* ‘my daughters in law are like my daughters’

*mwwatffid* ‘do you (M.S.) remember’ this expression occurred 4 times in the current data as following:

*mwwatffid jamma* ‘do you (M.S.) remember, mum?’

*ffabbitt* ‘unlucky me’ this is an expression used locally. In the current data it is used in the example *ja: hasirti ja: ffabbitt s<sup>aba</sup>:hi!* The word *ffabbitt* occurred once in the current data.

*difffe* ‘stitching and darts of a trouser’ this word occurred two times in the current data.

*faʕa:fi:l* ‘a famous local dish’, this term will never be pronounced with the variant [k] in Sūf and it is used two times in the current data.

*faʕʕat* ‘she fell over’ it is a term used when somebody falls down facing the ground. This is used once in the data.

*fin* as in the phrase *fin ga:l*, ‘then’ as in the phrase ‘and then (all of a sudden) he said...’. *fin* and its derivations are used 7 times in the current data.

*jffammlu* ‘they finish’; in the current data it occurred once.

*he:fa* ‘like this’ adverb of manner, *he:fa* and its derivations occurred three times in this data.

*ʃilimit* ‘the word of’ in the current data it is used in *ʃilimit ilħag* ‘the word of the right’, which occurred once in this data.

*ʃiðib* ‘lying’ the usage of the variant [ʃ] gives a stronger meaning to the word. In this data this word and its derivations occurred four times.

*ʔazʃa~ʔasʃa* ‘tastier’ an example from the data is *azʃ iʃi* ‘the tastier thing’, this word and its derivations are used three time in this data.

*ʃaffe* ‘hand’ the example found in the current data is *ʃaffet i:do he:ʃ* ‘his hand like this’, which occurred once in this data.

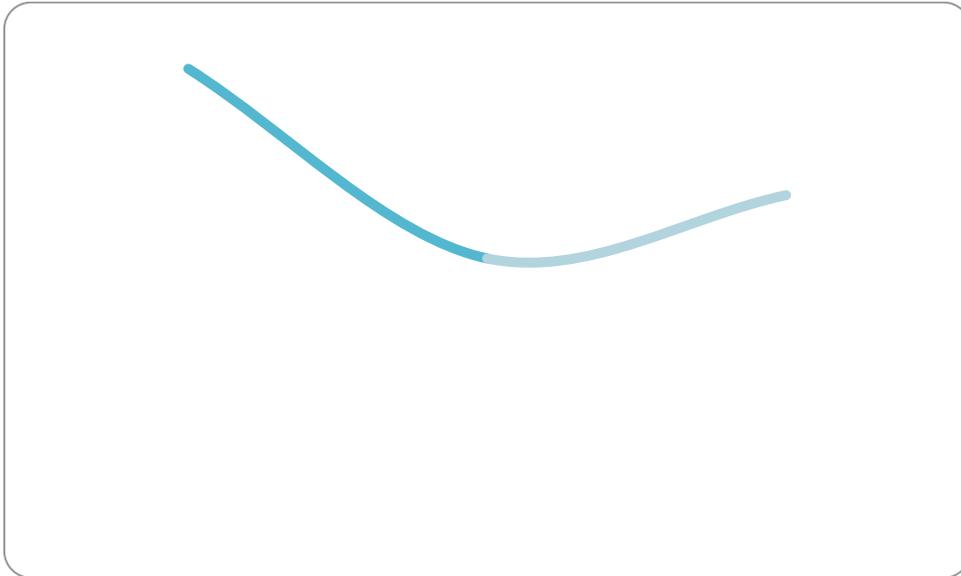
The analysis of these items would support the conclusion that [ʃ] in the stem is maintained in a group of lexemes that are marked in some way, for the most part. This is an indication, supported by the statistics in table 4.5, that palatalization in the stem, viz. depalatalization [ʃ] → [k], is at an advanced stage of change. Assuming that what I found at this point in time is a ‘snapshot’ of a diachronic process that has been advancing for some time, the analysis presented here would suggest that the change affecting /k/ in the stem in the dialect of Sūf follows/has followed S-shaped model of progression (Wang, 1969; Chen & Wang, 1975, 1977). According to the theory of ‘lexical diffusion’ (Wang, 1969), sound change spreads through the lexicon, affecting a few words at the beginning of the change, then progresses rapidly, and in the final stage it slows down again. The old sound may survive in ‘relic forms’ (fossilised, for instance, in a few marked items, such as some of the items analysed above).

In the next two sections, I will discuss the age and gender patterns separately.

#### 4.4.2 Age patterns in the use of (k)

##### *Age pattern*

The results in table 4.5 show that the youngest speakers' use of the traditional palatalized variant [ʃ] is higher (11%) than the middle age (9%); the oldest speakers use it most often (15%). These results produce a U-shaped pattern, as below.



**Figure 4.1:** *The usage of variant [ʃ] by age groups*

In cases of change in progress, we expect the youngest speakers to be most innovative and the older speakers to be most conservative. In this case, however, it is the middle age group who are the most innovative group, thus the U-shaped pattern. Normally a U-shaped pattern is associated with variables that are in stable variation.

For instance, the pattern found by Trudgill (1974) regarding (ng) in Norwich showed a u-curve pattern. In Arabic, the pattern described by Ismail (2007 & 2008) for the variable (h) in Damascus showed a similar pattern. In both of these studies, the U-shaped pattern was taken as evidence for age-graded variation that the variables in question were in stable variation, rather than undergoing change. While this is a possibility in the case of the results presented above, the overall low ratio of the use of the local variant (11%), together with the descriptions available of the traditional Hōrāni dialect (e.g. Cantineau, 1946, Behnstedt, 1997), which suggest that [ʃ] is a

characteristic feature of Hōrāni dialects, are strong indications that what the current study found is indeed the outcome of change over time. In order to investigate the rather unusual pattern of age differentiation further, I looked at the behaviour of each individual speaker within the three age groups. The results are displayed in table 4.7 below.

Speaker	ʃ	k	total	% [ʃ]
<b><i>Young</i></b>				
Ammar	0	24	24	0%
Aya	0	10	10	0%
Aysar	0	17	17	0%
Fayiz	0	12	12	0%
Lana	3	14	17	18%
Nadine	3	13	16	19%
Maha	4	3	7	57%
Mahmood	2	2	4	50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>11%</b>
<b><i>Middle</i></b>				
Ahmad	0	11	11	0%
Najeh	0	23	23	0%
Sager	0	91	91	0%
Mairvat	0	37	37	0%
Mamduh	3	49	52	1%
Samar	11	46	57	19%
Ikram	6	24	30	20%
Suaad	9	4	13	69%
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>314</b>	<b>9%</b>
<b><i>Old</i></b>				
Hisham	1	59	60	1%
Jamal	2	32	34	5%
Yusef	3	34	37	8%
Haya	4	30	34	11%
Dandan	6	27	33	18%
Fayze	8	19	27	29%
Nada	1	2	3	33%
Muntaha	15	18	33	45%
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>15%</b>

**Table 4.7: The use of the variable (k) among all speakers across age groups**

In the young group, we notice that half of the speakers (blue), 4/8, did not use the local variant at all, and two of the speakers (black), Maha and Mahmoud, used it in 57% and 50% of the total occurrence of this variable, respectively. The remaining two speakers (red), Lana and Nadine, score 18% and 19%, i.e. just above the group's average. In other words, the group's overall score (11%) obscures the behaviour of those who did not use the local feature at all as well as the behaviour of the two speakers who used it at or above 50%. Importantly, the highest users of the local feature, Maha and Mahmoud, are the youngest speakers in the group, 12 years and 9 years, respectively. Among the group of 'innovators', those who used the innovative variant [k] consistently are brothers Amar and Fayiz, 17 and 16 years old, respectively. Their third brother is Mahmoud is 9 years old. Their mother is Mervat, middle age, a schoolteacher who commutes to Jarash, the nearest city. She did not use the local feature at all. The remaining speakers who score 0% are Aya and Aysar, sister and brother, 15 and 16 years old, respectively. Sisters Lana, 15 years, and Nadine, 16 years, scored 18% and 19%, respectively. The pattern that emerges is that the younger the speakers are in this group the more consistently they use the local feature, which leads to the conclusion that among the youngsters, those in early adolescence behave more conservatively than those who are well into their teenage. This conclusion may be a reflection of the fact that in the local community, as elsewhere in Jordan generally (cf. Al-Wer, 2007), youngsters do not socialise away from their homes, or form their own peer group until they are well into their teenage. Their out of school/holiday time socialisation is normally confined to the family circle. Therefore, the possibility that younger people will speak like their parents more than like their peer group is quite high. Additionally, in the local community, it is the norm for the grandparents to be living in the same house as the children, and for the children to be looked after by their grandparent, especially in cases where the mother is employed. The children, therefore, spend long hours interacting with the older generation, and it is therefore not surprising for them to speak similarly to their grandparents in early childhood/adolescence. Even

in a large and heterogeneous city like Amman, the capital city of Jordan, Al-Wer (2007) found that among the Ammani speakers with Palestinian heritage, the youngest speakers (12 years) showed more influence of their parents' speech, with respect to the raising of the feminine ending, than the older teenagers from the same group. Similarly, Al-Wer (2007) observes that as the young adolescents grow older they diverge from their parents' and grandparents' speech by adjusting their speech to that of their peers in the City. The behaviour of the youngsters in Sūf seems to exhibit the same phenomenon.

In the middle age group there are four speakers who did not use the local variant at all. All of these speakers are employed in Jarash; they are daily commuters and interact with outsiders on regular basis. Their employment conditions, in that they are exposed to and interact with outsiders regularly, explain their innovative linguistic behaviour. The rest of the middle age group vary in their scores, from 1% into 69%. With the exception of Suad (see below), these speakers work locally in Sūf and rarely venture outside the town. Along the same line of interpretation, frequent interaction with the local community seems to result in higher usage of the local variant. The one speaker that stands out as having a particularly 'broad local accent' is Suad. Her score is 69%, the highest average use of the local variant among all of the speakers. The case of this speaker will be explained in §4.4.3.

With the respect to the old age group, all of them are retired or run their own businesses locally. The vast majority of their contact and daily activities are conducted in the local community.

#### 4.4.3 Gender differentiation and age in the use of (k)

Table 4.8 displays the results regarding the social variable ‘gender’. Recall that this factor was found to be significant in Rbrul modelling.

Gender				(P<1.62e-11)
Factor	log-odds	tokens	[ʃ] mean	centered factor weight
<b>Female</b>	0.98	285	0.225	0.727
<b>Male</b>	-0.98	402	0.042	0.273

**Table 4.8:** *Use of [ʃ] according to gender*

One of the most interesting findings of the analysis of this variable is the gender patterning. As can be noticed in Table 4.8 the female speakers fairly strongly favour the traditional variant (FW 0.727), while the male speakers disfavour it strongly (FW 0.273). The female speakers, of all age groups, use [ʃ] at a rate of 22%, whereas the male speakers only use it at a rate of 4%. If this is indeed a case of change in progress, this finding is at odds with research findings from a variety of languages and communities where it was found that women lead linguistic change especially when this change is in the direction of a koineised or supra-local (and prestigious) form, such as the change from [ʃ] to [k] in Sūf.

Similar findings are reported in a number of studies. For instance, with respect to ‘reversal’ of the gender pattern, Thomas (1989), who investigated a Welsh mining village (Pont-Rhyd-Y-Fen), found that older women maintain the local dialect features more often than older men. She connected this finding to their social networks, whereby the women’s contacts were limited to their home village, while the men’s work often brought them into communication with speakers of other dialects.

In Arabic, the study by Al-Essa (2008) on dialect contact between two varieties of Arabic in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Al-Essa examined the correlation between ten linguistic variables with

reference to age, gender and amount of contact with speakers of other varieties. One of the linguistic variables in her study was the palatalization of /k/ and /g/, and in the feminine suffix – *ik*. Similarly to the findings of Thomas (1989), Al-Essa found that older women were considerably more conservative than the older men among the Najdi group, which she attributed to the women's less frequent contact with the target features. Likewise, Walters (1991) found that older women in Korba, Tunisia, preserve the usage of stigmatized raised variants. He explains this results in relation to their relative isolation. Another study from Rades, Tunisia, by Jebeur (1987) found a comparable pattern regarding the use of diphthongs versus monophthongs. In this case, the older women preserved the older pronunciation (diphthong) more often than men. We noticed that in all of these cases, the patterns found are explained in reference to the social conditions under which speakers live.

The findings from Sūf are partly similar to the findings reported above except that in this case it is women overall (old and young) who behave more conservatively than men. This can be explained by analysing the nature of the social structure of the local community, the employment situation and the speakers' daily activities and pursuits. Sūf is the type of community where it is the norm for people to live with their extended family. Most local families own land in the town or its surroundings. The norm for local families is to build their own homes on their land, which may be surrounded by orchards and vineyards. It is also normal in Jordanian towns and villages that the father of the family builds homes for his sons and their families to live either within the same big family house or next to it. While it is the sons who benefit from the fathers' provisions it is the duty of the wives of those sons to maintain the home, and to ensure that the family bond remains strong. The women are expected to bear children as soon as they are married, and producing children and maintaining the home is always considered a woman's priority, even if she had a career. In a nutshell, women are considered the custodians of the local traditions and customs. If something happens that upsets the traditional order, it is normally the women who

are blamed. Therefore, women are under considerable pressure to ensure that local customs are maintained and traditions are passed on to the next generation. This would lead us to expect a conservative behaviour on the part of women with respect to the local social order. The local way of speaking (the vernacular) is part of the local traditions; preserving the local dialect is a symbol of the preservation of the local customs, which women are expected to preserve. This is not to say that women's lives have not changed over the decades. In actual fact, the educational level of women is higher than that of men in the country overall, and in Sūf. The difference, however, is that whereas the men are free to pursue careers anywhere in the country or abroad, the educated women in Sūf are confined to the local town or the nearby city (Jarash) if they wanted to pursue a career. This means that the women are also considerably less mobile than the men. Together, local traditions and immobility lead women to maintain the local way of speaking, and thus explain the relative conservative linguistic behaviour of the women in Sūf in general.

A further important point that explains women's linguistic conservatism in Sūf is related to the local means of production and women's involvement in this sphere. As mentioned in chapter 2, Sūf is located in a fertile agricultural land. Its local produce includes, in addition to a variety of fruits, dairy products, yoghurt, cheese, buttermilk and butter, which are renowned for their high quality. Traditionally, it is the women who are involved in the production of this commodity, which is sought after by customers who may travel long distances to buy these products from Sūf. The local dialect is sometimes perceived as a 'stamp' of the authenticity of the local produce. Two of the women who were involved in this business participated in my research. Muntaha and Nada, mother and daughter, ran their own business from their home. Their speech was very broad generally speaking. In addition to using a relatively high rate of [ʃ], they palatalized the feminine suffix *-ik* almost consistently (see §4.5), and maintained a consistent pronunciation of traditional Hōrāni features (not analysed in this thesis), e.g. *kabi:r*,

‘large, big’, *zabi:b* ‘raisins’ which are pronounced as *kbi:r* and *zbi:b* in koineised urban dialects; they used /u/ instead of /i/ in *dʒubne* ‘cheese’, *zubde* ‘butter’.

In §4.4.2 (age patterns in the use of (k)) I noted the behaviour of Su‘ad, the female speaker who used the highest ration of [tʃ] in the whole sample (69%). Su‘ad is 35 years old, university graduate. She works as a laboratory technician in Jarash (private) university. This University was opened in 1992, and provides skilled and unskilled employment opportunities for the local communities. This participant was particularly keen to speak about the local community and the town. She expressed strong attachment to her hometown, and repeatedly, during the interview, expressed pride in being, in her words, a ‘Sūfāni girl’. She talked about her grandmother who apparently was a very strong and wise woman. She told me stories about how people in the town consulted her grandmother on all sorts of social matters and businesses. For Su‘ad, the local accent was a source of pride. She wanted to be known as the granddaughter of that much admired local woman. Like Muntaha and Nada, Su‘ad’s linguistic behaviour overall was quite conservative and she spoke with a broad local accent. In her case, the local dialect is associated with a particular type of ‘prestige’, that of the local, well-connected person.

Finally, my results show that the middle-aged men in particular are the most innovative since they use the local feature at a rate of 1% only, a pattern which can be attributed to that fact that this group of speakers are engaged in activities that bring them in direct contact with the target feature on daily basis through their jobs. Normally, individuals who are at the height of their career are more conscious of their social behaviour since their behaviour can influence their career prospects. According to Chamber (1995) and Eckert (1997), adults in the job markets are under the pressure of the “marketplace dialect”. In other words, they are likely to conform to “institutional” pressure of speaking standard.

In order to have a more detailed view of the behaviour of the various social groups, Table 4.9 reproduces the information with regard to ‘gender’ and ‘age’.

Age	gender		tokens	total
	Female	male		
Young	0.20	0.03	12	0.11
Middle	0.18	0.01	29	0.09
Old	0.28	0.07	40	0.15
Total	0.22	0.04	81	0.11
Tokens	66	15	81	

**Table 4.9:** *Cross tabulation of the use of [tʃ]*

It can be seen in Table 4.9 that across all three age and gender groups the middle-aged men lead in the use of the innovative feature, which, as explained above, is at odds with the generalisation regarding leaders of language change (young women).

Ismail (2008) analyzed Damascus community’s history in relation to the socioeconomic changes in Damascus. Her analysis shows that, as a result of the physical expansion of the city that began in the early 1970s, new dimensions of linguistic variation emerged that related to two aspects of life in the city: residence in a traditional inner-city district (Shaghoor); and residence in a new satellite suburb (Dummar). These in turn broadly correlate with two different “life modes,” self-employed and professional, respectively. Ismael uses the construct of life mode (Højrup, 2003) to explain observed linguistic differences. The results of the Ismail’s analysis are adopted in the following table.

	Male	Female
<b>Shaghoor</b>		
Y	29% (406)	23% (407)
M	4% (294)	5% (449)
O	1% (380)	3% (393)
<b>Dummar</b>		
Y	19% (422)	27% (499)
M	21% (414)	10% (393)
O	4% (379)	20% (427)
<i>Note:</i> Y=young; M=middle age; O=old age		
<i>Source:</i> Based on Ismail 2007: 207, fig. 9.8.		

**Table 4.10:** *Innovative (= non-trill) “r” variants in two Damascus neighbourhoods*

This table shows correlations of the use of the most advanced /r/ variant with age, gender, and neighbourhood. Statistically, all correlations were found to be significant and the variable of age was found to have the most significant effect, thus indicating a change in progress toward an approximant type of /r/. Table 4.10 also shows that the locus of the change is the suburb, where the new pronunciation appears in significant proportions in the speech of the middle-and old groups as well. The gender effect is particularly interesting: here we notice that, while in the suburb the female speakers have a clear lead, in the inner-city locality of Shaghoor it is the young male speakers that lead the change over all other groups. The data also provide a well-analyzed example of a male-led linguistic change. This particular finding is explained by Ismail (2008) in relation to the employment situation; at the time of research, all except one of the women were unemployed, and all of the men were employed in the retail business, which brought them in direct and regular contact with customers from all walks of life and all parts of the city.

The following section is going to discuss the palatalization feature in the feminine suffix (-ik).

#### 4.5 The morphophonemic variable (-ik)

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular suffixes in Hōrāni dialects in general show gender distinction:

*-ak* (2SM) and *-iʃ* (2SF). When the word ends in a vowel, these forms become *-k* and *-ʃ*, respectively. Below are examples of these forms.

<i>-ak</i>	<i>ʔumm-ak</i>	‘your (M) mother’
<i>-k</i>	<i>ʔabu:-k</i>	‘your (M) father’
<i>-iʃ</i>	<i>ʔumm-iʃ</i>	‘your (F) mother’
<i>-ʃ</i>	<i>ʔabu:-ʃ</i>	‘your (F) father’

As can be noticed in the forms above, following a consonant the gender information is expressed through two features: vowel (/a/ vs. /i/) and consonant (/k/ vs. /ʃ/), i.e. there is double marking of gender distinction. In the environment following a vowel, there is one feature that carries the gender information, namely palatalization of the consonant. This means that palatalization in the environment following a vowel is a distinctive feature.

In the modern koineized dialects (e.g. Amman), the gender information is expressed through vowel change only after words ending in a consonant; thus we have: *ʔumm-ak* vs. *ʔumm-ik*; and *-k* vs. *-ki*. When the suffix is attached to a word ending in a vowel: *ʔabu:-k* vs. *ʔabu:-ki*. There is no palatalization of /k/ in the dialect of Amman.

The range of variation of variable (-ik) includes traditional feminine form *-iʃ* and modern feminine form *-ik*. There was no variation in the words ending in a vowel for instance *ʔabu:ʃ*, *ʔaxu:ʃ*, were pronounced with traditional *-ʃ*, i.e. the form *-ki* was not used. Therefore, these words were excluded from the analysis.

#### 4.5.1 Results of the statistical analysis of (-ik)

##### 4.5.1.1 Coding protocol

The preceding environment of this variable is invariable, as variable *-ik* the tokens will always be preceded by a high front vowel. For this variable I coded for the following factor groups:

1. Following environment: In the first stage of coding for this factor group, I coded the following sounds individually. In the data as a whole, the variable (-ik) occurred before the consonants /ʔ, ʃ, ʎ, tʃ, b, f, h, ʒ, k, l, m, n, s, sʃ, t, x, z/. Table 4.11 contains examples of words in each one of these environments, and of following 'pause' environment (word and sentence final), and number of tokens in each environment.

Sound	no.of tokens	example	gloss
/ʔ/	6	<i>bi:f ʔahla w sahla</i>	‘you are welcome’
/ʃ/	8	<i>ʒɖɪblik ʃarra:la</i>	‘he got you a maid’
/ʒ/	7	<i>wað<sup>ʕ</sup>ɪf ʒindo</i>	‘your situation with him’
/t <sup>ʕ</sup> /	2	<i>ħað<sup>ʕ</sup>irtik t<sup>ʕ</sup>abʒan</i>	‘of course you!’
/b/	10	<i>ʒba:rik bi:f</i>	‘may you be blessed’
/f/	10	<i>ʒaʒirfiʃ ʃla:ne</i>	‘I know you, you are’
/ħ/	4	<i>wiɖʒhik ħilo</i>	‘you have a pretty face’
/ɖʒ/	1	<i>ʒindiʃ ɖʒidde</i>	‘you have a grandmother’
/k/	5	<i>biddik kama:n</i>	‘so, you also have’
/l/	2	<i>nba:rik la baʒuð<sup>ʕ</sup>na</i>	‘we greet each other’
/m/	17	<i>ʒaʒirfiʃ maθalan</i>	‘so, I know you for instance’
/n/	2	<i>ʒagullif nsi:t</i>	‘I say, I forgot’
pause	76	<i>baxtiʃ</i>	‘your luck’
/s/	2	<i>ʒinnik su:fa:nijje</i>	‘that you are from Sūf town’
/s <sup>ʕ</sup> /	1	<i>ʒummik s<sup>ʕ</sup>aħ</i>	‘your mum, right!’
/t/	20	<i>baddiʃ tgarri:ha</i>	‘you want to teach her’
/x/	3	<i>ʒiliʃ xawa:t</i>	‘do you have sisters’
/z/	1	<i>bagullik zaj</i>	‘as I tell you’
/w/	9	<i>ʒisiʒdiʃ waħħa</i>	‘may you be blessed’
/j/	13	<i>rabbik ʒassarha</i>	‘God made it easier’

**Table 4.11: Examples of (-ik) with the following consonant sounds**

As can be seen in table 4.11, the number of tokens in each environment varies widely, with some environments having only one or two tokens. The following environment was therefore re-coded according to place of articulation in the second run. In this run, the number of tokens is spread out more evenly but there were still a number of environments with very low number of tokens. In the third run, the consonants were re-coded as ‘back (dorsal and pharyngeal sounds)’ and ‘front’ (coronal, labial). According to this re-classification the results obtained of the mean of

usage of the application values in the consonantal environment ‘back’/ ‘front’ were very similar. All consonants were thus coded in one group called ‘consonant’, which contrasted with ‘pause’ (i.e. where (-ik) occurred word/sentence-finally) and ‘vowel’. Glides /j, w/ were coded as ‘consonant’ because they form the onset of the syllable (the first syllable of the word that follows), and thus behave like consonants (also, see below).

With respect to a following vowel environment, Jordanian dialects, similarly to other Arabic dialects, do not permit onset-less syllables. Therefore, in the few tokens where suffix *-ik* is followed by a vowel (all tokens in my data have /i/), the suffix forms both the coda of the suffix in which it occurs, and the onset of the first syllable of the following word (in which case it replaces a glottal stop); below are some examples from the data: †

Underlying form	token	syllable structure	gloss
<i>ma:t-ɪfʔinti</i>	<i>ma:t-ɪfɪnti</i>	<i>ma:t.liɪf.ɪnti</i>	‘what’s up with you’

There were 18 tokens in this environment (suffix followed by /i/).

1. Age, three factors: ‘young’, ‘middle’ and ‘old’.
2. Gender, two factors: ‘female’, ‘male’.

In summary the final coding protocol consisted of three factor groups: *following* (3 factors: consonant, vowel and pause), *age* (3 factors) and *gender* (2 factors).

#### 4.5.1.2 Rbrul results of (-ik) variable and discussion

The results of the Rbrul analysis of (-ik) with respect to the ‘following sound’, ‘age’ and ‘gender’ are displayed in table 4.12. the application value that is selected for this run is the traditional feature [-ɪʃ].

<b>R<sup>2</sup> 0.495</b>				
<b>(P&lt;1.76e-10)</b>				
<b>Gender</b>				
<b>Factor</b>	<b>log-odds</b>	<b>tokens</b>	<b>[-itʃ] mean</b>	<b>centered factor weight</b>
Female	1.404	181	0.807	0.803
Male	-1.404	45	0.289	0.197
<b>Age</b>				<b>(P&lt;1.3e-10)</b>
Old	1.796	104	0.913	0.858
Middle	-0.878	83	0.578	0.294
Young	-0.917	39	0.410	0.285
<b>Grand mean</b>				<b>(70%)</b>

**Table 4.12:** *Rbrul results of the correlation of the use (-ik) with the independent variables (application value is [-itʃ]).*

Unlike the overall usage (11%) of the results of palatalization in the stem (4.4.1.2.), the overall usage of the traditional feature [-itʃ] is quite high, standing at approximately 70% (159/226 tokens).

In this run, Rbrul only returned the social factor groups as significant ‘gender’ and ‘age’ with (P<1.76e-10 and P<1.3e-10, respectively) but the linguistic factor ‘following environment’ was not found statistically significant. A factor weight above 0.5 favours the application of the rule (i.e. palatalization is more likely to occur), while a value less than 0.5 disfavors the application (i.e. palatalization is less likely to occur). The log-odds values express the same information in another form; in this case, a negative value disfavors the application and a positive value favours the application. A log-odds value of 0 expresses neutrality and is equivalent to a centered factor weight of 0.5

With regards to gender, table 4.12 shows that the female speakers are the most conservative group, i.e. they use the traditional variant [-itʃ] more often than the male speakers (80% usage with a factor weight of 0.803). On the other hand, men disfavor the usage of the

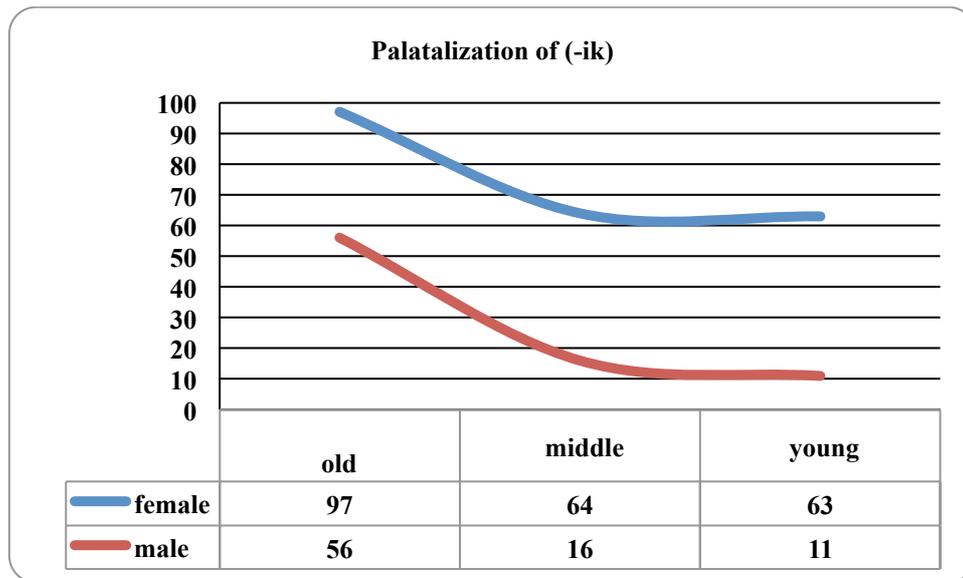
traditional local variant [-iʃ] at factor weight rate 0.197 (rate of usage 28%). The correlation between the use of the traditional feature and gender in table 4.12 suggests that women are more often the ones who maintain the traditional local feature [-iʃ] in their speech.

With reference to age, it is shown in table 4.12 that the oldest age group is the only group favours the variant [-iʃ], with 91% usage and a high factor weight at rate (0.858), whilst the middle-aged speakers disfavour the use of [-iʃ] with (57% and a factor weight at rate (0.294); finally, the younger speakers who are also found to disfavour the use the variant [-iʃ] with (41% and a factor weight 0.285).

In order to explain the data in further details, table 4.13 and figure 4.2 below, display the cross-tabulation results of the suffix variable (-ik) by age and gender.

<b>Gender</b>			
<b>Age</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>total</b>
<b>Old</b>	0.977	0.562	0.913
<b>Middle</b>	0.648	0.167	0.578
<b>Young</b>	0.636	0.118	0.410
<b>Total</b>	0.807	0.289	0.704

**Table 4.13:** *The use of [-iʃ] across age and gender*



**Figure 4.2:** *Distribution of [-iʃ] usage by male and female speakers, across the three age groups.*

In the cross tabulation we notice that gender has a very strong effect, such that the female speakers of *all* age groups are ahead of their male counterparts in maintaining the traditional form [-iʃ]; and further, the youngest female age group maintain it more consistently than the oldest male age group. Among the male group, there is a big gap between the old and the middle age groups; use of [-iʃ] is reduced by app. 40%. The results that are shown in table 4.13 and the Figure above show that the usage of the variant [-iʃ] by female speakers might indicate a gradual change in progress with regards to the palatalization process. Old female speakers use the variant [-iʃ] 97%, it gradually drops to 64% among middle-aged female speakers and then falls slightly to 63% by younger female speakers. The differences in the usage level of [-iʃ] among the three female age groups is more gradual than the differences in using this variant among the three male age group. In the case of men, the pattern suggests there is a sudden change in progress, as the usage of the variant [-iʃ] is 56% by old male speakers, yet it is only 16% among the middle-aged group and 11% among the youngest group.

When we compare the usage levels of men and women for this variable (-ik), we notice that the three age groups from both genders behave similarly towards the application value [-iʃ].

The older age groups across both genders are the highest users of the palatalized variant, followed by the middle-aged group and finally the youngest age group who use the non-palatalized form most often. Despite this similarity, there remains a large difference in the amount of usage of the variant [-iʃ] between female and male speakers. The reason for this difference might be related to the socialization patterns in the local community. Women have more exposure to the local variant [-iʃ], since this form appears only when the addressee is a woman and same-sex socialization is the norm in the local community. The very low usage among the middle age male group can also be explained by the fact that many of them are at the peak stage of their careers, and many of them interact with outsiders through their jobs.

Palatalization generally is not only a localized feature that seems to have disappeared from the Amman dialect, but also it attracts strong stereotypes. It would not be surprising for this feature in particular to be avoided when interacting with outsiders. At the same time, women's social networks/the sum of their relations are more local, and they travel less often; they are the homemakers and many live with their extended families. In a sense, they are also the custodians of the local customs and local traditions, and thus would be expected to adhere to the local norm of speech more than men. The women who are employed work locally, for the most part, and their workmates are at the same time their neighbours and/or relatives.

Hachimi (2011), (as cited in Al-Wer, 2014) investigated the linguistic behaviour of male and female speakers from a Fessi background in Casablanca. Hachimi found that among this migrant group in Casablanca the Fessi men lead the women in adopting the Casablancon features.

Comparing my results to those reported in Al-Essa (2008 & 2009) regarding palatalization among the Najdis who live in Jeddah, some interesting observations can be made. Al-Essa (2009) found that the use of the innovative variant [-ik] among the Najdi speakers in Jeddah is “steadily rising” in all age groups, and especially among the speakers with a high rate of contact with the Hijazi community –the native speakers of the target feature. In addition to that, and contrary to what I have found, she found the female speakers to be more innovative than the male speakers. Al-Essa (2009) explained this with reference to “local density”, in her words:

“The use of the feminine suffix seems to be affected by the configuration of the social interaction between men and women in the Najdi community. In a traditional society like the Najdi community social interaction between men and women outside the family sphere is not allowed. Najdi men have limited access to contexts where they would be involved in face-to-face interaction with urban Hijazi women. We argue that the urban Hijazi suffix –ik is habituated in the speech of Najdi female speakers with the recurrent verbal exchanges in their face-to-face interaction with the urban Hijazi women.”

(Al-Essa, 2009: 218)

In the Najdi community therefore, ethnicity and gender are important factors. The interaction between these two factors results in men’s contacts with the opposite sex being less diverse *ethnically*, and in women having more exposure, and thus easier access, to the target feature (the Hijazi form of the feminine ending suffix), since Najdi women’s contacts with Hijazi women are less constrained. This state of affairs means that the women among the Najdi group not only have more exposure to the innovative feminine form through interacting with more women, but also through interacting with more women from the outside group (the Hijazis).

My study is different from Al-Essa’s in two respects, which might explain the differences in the findings. Firstly, the context of my research is the hometown of the speakers –the target features, the non-palatalized variants, are characteristic of dialects outside Sūf, and are not used regularly by any local group. Secondly, there are no restrictions on interacting or forming

friendships with members of the out-group (i.e. ‘ethnicity’ is not a factor). This means that the men from Sūf who commute for work to larger cities come in more frequent contact with (women) speakers who use the *-ik* form interact with women, who use the innovative variant *-ik*.

We can thus see that while ‘gender’ appears consistently as an important organizing category, no generalisations regarding leaders of language change are tenable without analysing the social context in order to understand speakers’ linguistic behaviour.

The results of Ismail (2007, 2009) and Alqahtani (2015) showed different patterns of age and gender. Ismail (2007, 2009) investigated variation and change in the use of two linguistic variables. One of the variables was found to be in stable variation (viz. h-dropping) while the other, lenition of /r/, showed a case of change in progress. Ismail’s study was conducted in two neighbourhoods in Damascus: a) A traditional inner city district (Shaghoor) and b) A new satellite suburb (Dummar). The results from the inner city community of Shaghoor indicated that the young male speakers lead the change from tap to approximant /r/, which is explained in relation to the employment situation in the neighbourhood. The young men of Shaghoor worked as salesmen in sweet shops which are frequented by clients from all over the city. These young men, in other words, had frequent face-to-face contact with outsiders, most importantly with clients from the suburban locality where the change had been initiated –and was found to be more advanced. The young men of Shaghoor not only had more access (through exposure) to the new feature but also they were motivated to accommodate to the speech of their clients (in order to sell their merchandise; cf. the principles of ‘Accommodation Theory’ (Giles, 1973; and the findings in Coupland, 1980).

By contrast, Alqahtani (2015) found that the young men in one of her communities, al-Farsha, who were also salesmen, were considerably more conservative than the women in the same community (who for the most part were unemployed). The young men of al-Farsha sold

their honey products in the big cities away from the local community. According to Alqahtani, one way of verifying the authenticity of their product as being honey that was produced in this particular village, al-Farsha, which is known for its good quality honey, was to maintain the local way of speaking as conservatively as possible. We see then that it is not only a question of ‘type of employment’ (in Damascus and in al-Farsha the young men were salesmen) but is also a matter of interaction between a number of variables peculiar to each community.

Finally, it is noticeable that the findings show that this historical (natural) process of palatalization in the environment of front vowels is being reversed, viz. there is an increasing tendency to use the velar variant in front vowel environment. This finding shows that the effect of the social constraints on variation and change can be so strong as to override the effects of linguistic constraints (see also chapter 5).

## 4.6 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the results of the palatalization of /k/ with respect to two variables: firstly, a phonological variable (k), where /k/ occurs in the stem, and secondly, a morphophonemic variable (-ik), where /k/ occurs in the feminine suffix *-ik*. The results of the statistical analysis are summarized below:

With respect to the results of the linguistic environment, palatalization was found to occur most often in the vicinity of high front vowels, which is consonant with findings from other dialects and other languages in general. This feature seems to be undergoing change in the local dialect, with palatalization in the stem showing a very low rate of occurrence.

In terms of the social variables, the female speakers were found to be considerably more conservative. In this community it is the men who are in the vanguard of linguistic change in the direction of the innovative de-palatalized variant. This result is explained in reference to gender

roles: women are the ones who look after the house, bring up the children and they are the ones who are less mobile and thus interact with people who live locally most often. An important although informal observation to emerge from the current analysis is that the male speakers may have used a more formal style when interacting with the (female) researcher, and the use of the vernacular form may be connected with an informal, intimate style that the men use with members of their close family only. This issue needs to be investigated more thoroughly in future research, using appropriately designed methodology.

## Chapter 5

### Variable (l)

#### 5.0 Introduction

Laterals are some of the most important consonants in most of the languages around the world. They are present in the majority of languages throughout the Middle East, Europe and Asia. Laterals pose a challenge for learners of foreign languages because of the varying usage of lateral sounds and their allophones; the rules that are followed in one language are distinct from the next.

For the purpose of the current study I present a discussion of laterals, particularly /l/ and its allophones: the clear or light /l/ and the dark or velarized /l/. This chapter is divided into seven sections, beginning with a various discussion about laterals and their places of articulation in §5.1. §5.2 presents a discussion on on the liquid /l/, its place of articulation, when it becomes dark /l/ and when it becomes clear /l/ the discussion involves /l/ in English, European and Arabic languages and from Arabic language, from the later, I particularly, shed the light on the dark /l/ in Hōrān. A summary of liquids is presented in §5.3. Followed by the social meaning of the variation of (l) in the town Sūf is showed in §5.4. This is followed by the variable (l) results in §5.5 this section includes the coding protocol that I adopted in the current study and the statistical results. Finally, in §5.6 I present a Summary of the results along with conclusion.

#### 5.1 What are laterals? And what are their places of articulation?

Almost every language has at least one lateral, about 84% of the world languages have one lateral (at least) and 30.8% of languages have more than one lateral. Laterals can be categorized into five types: /l/ approximants: 72.5%; fricatives: 11.3%; affricates: 4.5%; flaps: 3.4% and clicks: 4.2% (Walsh, 1997: 12).

Walsh (1995) states that laterals perform as coronal consonants, yet the articulation of laterals may include both coronal and dorsal gestures. The phonological behaviour of laterals shows that they are a complex combination of Corono-Dorsal segments (Walsh, 1995: 548).

The following table shows the place of articulation of laterals:

	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Approximant	L	L	ɭ	ʎ	ɮ
Fricative		ɬ    ɮ			
Affricates		tɬ    dɮ			

**Table 5.1: Laterals place of articulation (based on Walsh, 1995: 535)**

As can be seen in table 5.1, lateral sounds may be dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal and velar in their place of articulation. Laterals are articulated entirely by the tongue tip, blade, and body. Walsh (1997) proposes that lateral approximants could be located in all five places of articulation. The majority of laterals are coronal (99.2%), however, there are other types: the phonemic velar laterals and alveolar-velar complex laterals (Walsh, 1997: 10-12).

When speakers produce laterals, the flow of air through the mouth is constrained. Chomsky and Halle (1968: 317) state that: “lateral sounds are produced by lowering the mid section of the tongue at both sides or at only one side, thereby allowing the air to flow out of the mouth in the vicinity of the molar teeth”.

Pullum & Ladusaw (1986: 237) argue that laterals are “.... [a]rticulated in a manner that involves oral airflow predominantly around the central obstruction across the sides of the tongue rather than down the center line of the oral cavity.”

Catford (1988: 75) defines laterals as sounds “... in which mouth-passage is blocked in the centre so that air flows out only along (the) side(s) of the tongue...”

Using x-ray microbeam data, Sproat and Fujimura (1993) confirmed that all sorts of laterals have both coronal and dorsal gestures in English. The coronal gesture is a movement of the tongue blade to the alveolar ridge. The dorsal gesture is a retraction of the tongue body away from the palate.

Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996: 182) define laterals as sounds in which “the tongue is contracted in such a way as to narrow its profile”. This definition is based on cine x-rays and palatograms from a variety of language families and is confirmed by magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) on English light and dark /l/ by Naryanan, Alwan, & Haker (1996).

Bhat (1974) asserts that the phonetic distinction between laterals and rhotics is important. Laterals are usually found in the vicinity of consonants while rhotics are found in the vicinity of vowels; however, the literature does not provide a full explanation for the effects of the realization of laterals on the surrounding vowels. Bhat proposes that laterals might raise a preceding front vowel or diphthong, as in Scots English the diphthong /ai/ is lowered before /r/, but raised before /l/ (Wells 1971). Yet laterals lower a back vowel in, for example, Old High German, where /ai/ becomes /e:/ before /r/, /h/, /w/, and #, and /au/ is lowered to /ō/ before /r/, /h/, and dental consonants including /l/ (Bhat, 1974: 76-7).

Bhat (1974) illustrates that laterals behave differently in the aforementioned languages. Lateral sounds tend to affect their surrounding sounds; for instance, in some languages vowels in the vicinity of laterals might be raised and fronted (as shown in Scots English, the diphthong /ai/ is raised before /l/) (ibid: 77, 79). Bhat provided various examples of the effect of laterals on their preceding consonants, as follows:

“In PSKOV dialect of RUSSIAN, *tl* > *kl*, *dl* > *gl* (Shevoly, 1964). In FOLKLATIN, *tl* has transformed to *kl* and *dl* > *ll* (Ford, 1921). GERMANIC *l* has become *fl* word initial and *hl* in the medial position (Pribsch and Collinson, 1966). In ITALIAN, *stl* > *skl* > *sky*; *sl* > *skl* > *sky*; word medial *tl* > *kl* > *kky*; yet *sr* > *str* (Grandgent, 1927). In FRENCH, medial *kr, gr* > *ir* (Mendeloff, 1969). In ENGLISH, the cluster *pr, br* metathesize dialectally as in *pretty* > *purdy*, *great* > *gurt* (Wakelin, 1972).”

(Bhat, 1974: 90)

Bhat also explains that there are some instances of dialects which show restrictions in the occurrence of consonants after laterals, as well as after non-lateral liquids:

- a. In ANCIENT ARABIC, *l* has assimilated to following dental, interdental and alveolar consonants but not to following labial or velar consonants (Garbell, 1985);
- b. In OLD PROVENCAL, *l* was vocalized to *u* before *t, d, n, s* but was retained before other consonants (Fords, 1921);
- c. In KOYA, *r* is spirantized before a dental stop or *r*, whereas *l* is slightly spirantized before a velar stop (Tyler, 1969).
- d. In OLD HIGH GERMAN, post-vocalic clusters with *r* frequently show the spontaneous development of a vowel between the *r* and the following labial or velar (Reed, 1972).

(Bhat, 1974: 81-82)

Hualde (2005) proposes that in Spanish liquids, including both laterals */l/* and */r/*, are consonants. He suggests “laterals are produced with central obstruction in the mouth, allowing free passage of the airflow through one or both sides of the tongue”. In English */l/* has both ‘clear or light’ allophone, [l] as in *light*, and a ‘dark’ or velarized’ allophone, [ɫ], as in *tall*. In Spanish instead, */l/* is pronounced light whether in the onset or in the coda position. With an exception to this is found in Catalonia, where Catalan-dominant bilingual speakers occasionally transfer the dark [ɫ] of this language to Spanish (Hualde, 2005: 178-179).

As mentioned above, the */l/* sound is defined by linguists as a coronal lateral liquid approximant. The agreement on this definition comes from linguists who accept that when pronouncing the */l/* sound, a contact between the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge takes place which results in a minimal air block at the sides of the tongue, or sometimes a passage is permitted down the sides of the tongue. Historically, the */l/* sound in the dialects of English has been categorized into two allophones: light (also known as non-velarized or non-pharyngealized)

/l/, which occurs syllable-initially, and dark (also called velarized or pharyngealized) /l/, which can occur syllable-finally. In addition, Sproat and Fujimura (1993: 291) state that intervocalic /l/ has been found to precede phonological boundaries. The authors (ibid: 298) argue that the place of articulation for dark and clear /l/ varies. When dark /l/ is produced, the lowering of the tongue dorsum precedes tongue tip raising, while for clear /l/ the tongue tip is raised before the dorsum is lowered. The two allophones are thought to be primarily distinct. For instance, the /l/ in [lip] and the /l/ in [piɫ] have conflicting phonetic properties. It is important to note though that there is no clear cut boundary between the two allophones; intervocalic /l/ acts as a bridge between the allophones, resulting in an easier, smoother transition between the syllable initial [l] and syllable-final [ɫ] (Sproat and Fujimura, 1993: 292-298).

Recasens and Espinosa (2005: 4) state that at the place of articulation of the two variants of /l/, there is variation in the degree of tongue fronting, the realization of the constriction or closure, and also the relative duration of matters such as voicing, lowering, and closure of the tongue dorsum and the apical closure.

## 5.2 Liquids

Linguistic variables are the subject of research both intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically. Liquids are some of the most widely researched variables, with conflicting assessments of their validity as a linguistic class. The term liquid incorporates both lateral and rhotic sounds; indeed all liquids are said to belong to the set of rhotic or to the sonorant laterals (Walsh, 1997: 10).

### 5.2.1 The phonetic of /l/

Walsh (1997) states that there is allophonic variation between plain and velarized /l/ in English. In most dialects the lateral is plain in the onset and velarized in the coda, although both versions may appear in one segment when there is ambisyllabicity; for example, in words like *feeling*

when a lateral occurs post-tonically it begins as a velarized [l̥] and ends as a plain [l] (Walsh, 1997: 51).

Walsh confirms that there are phonotactic restrictions on liquids in different languages. Languages such as Diyari (Austin, 1981), Djabugay (Patz, 1991), Guugu Yimidhirr (Dixon, 1980), Kuman (Trefry, 1969), Mayi (Breen, 1981), Mongolian (Ramsey, 1987), Warragamay (Dixon, 1980), and Yidij (Dixon 1977) all have different types of liquids that are prohibited word-initially. The positional restrictions are based on place of articulation. For instance, only dorsal consonants can appear in the coda in Nantong Chinese (Ao, 1993). However liquids can also be the subject of different restrictions to all other types of consonants, even those that share the same place of articulation, and these kinds of restrictions cannot be based on place of articulation. For instance, in Kuman (Lynch, 1983) liquids are forbidden word-initially. Whilst the coronal and dorsal liquids (L r) cannot occur word-initially, every other coronal and dorsal consonant can, including the nasals (Walsh, 1997: 142-143).

Walsh (1997) suggests that the complex articulation of liquids tends to eliminate them from word-initial position. Walsh states that:

“The desire to have one articulator specification word-initially can force a language to prohibit liquids in this position. This predicts that the languages, which prohibit liquids, word-initially also prohibit other place-complex segments in this position.”

(Walsh, 1997: 145)

There are some conditions which control phonological changes for liquids. Liquids as a class are observed to phonological changes condition. One of the most well-known cases is the English language. In English, liquids trigger total assimilation of nasal consonants. Although all of the other consonants in English trigger simple place assimilation of the prefix /in/, the rhotic and the lateral are the only consonants which prompt total assimilation, as in the following:

In-perfect	[impə.ɪfɛkt]
In-considerate	[ɪŋkənsɪdərət]
In-legal	[ɪlɪjgəl]
In-responsible	[ɪɪjspənsɪbəl]

As there is a rule against gemination in English, a total assimilation with the nasals appears to be simplified with the resultant sound being [l] or [ɫ] (Walsh, 1997: 145-146).

Ballard and Starks (2004) identified liquids as “any oral sound made with the stricture open enough to avoid turbulence or obstruction, but still closed enough to produce a consonant” (Ballard and Starks, 2004: 2); hence, the group of liquids includes laterals like /l/ and rhotic /r/. Ballard and Starks (2004) state that the most common variety of laterals is the approximant [l], which appears in 79.7 percent of the documented languages in the UPSID database (Ballard and Starks, 2004: 2).

Typically, the /l/ sound is produced after linguo-alveolar contact occurs along the midsagittal line in such a way that air will flow along one or both sides of the tongue. While the flow channels located along the sides of the tongue are known as lateral channels, the supralingual cavity is the space that is located behind the linguo-alveolar contact (Zhou, 2009: 18).

There is a greater degree of variability in the articulation of /l/ than /r/. The major concerns in the configurations of the articulation of these sounds are the amount of contact with the linguo-alveolar area and lateral channels and the shape of the tongue (Zhou, 2009: 2).

Narayanan et al. (1997) conducted a study into the production of the dark [ɫ] and light [l] allophones by two female and two male participants, using data based on MRI and EPG scans. The results of the study showed that the primary tongue-shape mechanisms for /l/ are responsible for the linguo-alveolar contact, inward-lateral compression and convex shaping of the middle

and back of the body of the tongue. For light /l/ the tongue tip is lowered, the mid part of the tongue is raised and the tongue back is also lowered to form a concave shape, whilst the dark /l/ showed no linguo-alveolar contact. Narayanan et al. (1997: 1066-1070) state that the main articulatory difference between light and dark /l/ is the greater retraction of the anterior tongue body in the production of dark /l/ .

In English, the alveolar consonant /l/ is usually articulated by the tip of the tongue making contact with the upper ridge of the teeth, and the soft palate being raised so that the nasal resonator is shut off (Cruttenden, 2001: 201-202).

### 5.2.2 Clear and dark in English and European languages

Traditional phoneticians, such as Shriberg and Kent (1982), differentiate between the two types of /l/, light and dark. The types of /l/ vary by syllable position, as it is more likely for /l/ to be dark when it occurs syllable finally as in ‘bell’ and light when it occurs syllable initially as in ‘luck’. In addition the phonetic context may influence the quality of /l/, with dark /l/ found next to back vowels and light /l/ found next to front vowels (Lehman and Swartz , 2000, Sproat and Fujimura, 1993).

Light /l/ might lack a central closure in the process of articulation when compared to dark /l/. Dark /l/ may undergo vocalization in final syllable position, whether before another consonants or before a pause in American or British English (Recasens, 2005: 4).

In a “light” or plain [l], the tongue tip extremum occurs before the tongue body is lowered. In a “dark” or velarized [ɫ], the tongue body lowering extremum occurs before the tongue tip extremum. Sproat and Fujimura proposed that, of the two gestures of /l/, the dorsal gesture always occurs nearer the nucleus of a syllable; it appears second in onset laterals and first in coda laterals (Sproat and Fujimura, 1993: 291).

Recasens and Espinosa (2005) acquired their data through Electropalatographic (EPG) scans. The data indicate that the alveolar closure is shorter for dark /l/ and less extensive and variable than for clear /l/ in American English compared to Italian. They concluded that dark /l/s have a greater retraction and lowering of the body of the tongue in American and British English (Recasens & Espinosa, 2005: 1).

Dark /l/ in British English in word-final position usually ranges across vowel context. Sometimes, the allophones can change positions and overlap so that syllable-initial /l/ can be found word-finally, and vice versa. The darkness in /l/ diminishes to become clear by passing through a transition (the intervocalic /l/s). Scottish, Russian, Polish, Albanian and American dialects of English are among those which exhibit a strong dark variety of /l/ in all positions. In Eastern Catalan, dark /l/ is articulated more in codas than syllable-initial positions. As a result, the difference in the degree of darkness of /l/ in the two syllable positions stems from the fact that consonants strengthen syllable-initial positions, while vowels strengthen syllable-final positions. This is the reason that clear /l/ appears word-initially and dark /l/ is found word-finally (Recasens & Espinosa, 2005: 6).

Coarticulation is the pronunciation of two or more speech sounds together in such a way that each sound influences the other. It usually involves the overlapping of two or more sound patterns. The degree of velarization or pharyngealization influences the coarticulation of clear and dark /l/ (Recasens & Espinosa, 2005: 7). Dark /l/ in Eastern Catalan or American English permits very little vowel-to-consonant coarticulation at the palatal region in a V-C-V sequence compared to Italian clear /l/, which freely permits it. Coarticulation between the lateral variants also happens at the articulation site. Clear /l/ shows a more varied constriction location over the alveolar zone than dark /l/. For this reason, coarticulation also influences the gradual transition from dark /l/ to light /l/ (Recasens and Espinosa, 2005: 7).

In both American and British English, the /l/ which precede a linguistic boundary, such as in *feel-ing*, whereby the /l/ precedes a morphological boundary before the affix *-ing*, and in *feel it*, in which the /l/ precedes the boundary separating *it* from the verb *feel*, are considered to be intermediate between the dark and light variants. For instance the /l/s in the phrases *feel it* and *feel ill* are not completely light, though they are likely to be closer to the light /l/ which is found in a word like *Ely* than to a dark /l/ such as in a prepausal instance of *feel* (Lehiste, 1964 and Baldon and Al-Bamerni, 1976, as cited in Sproat and Fujimira, 1993: 292).

The main distinction between clear [l] and dark [ɫ] rests on tongue retraction. The dark /l/s have a more retracted tongue body than the light (clear) /l/s (Sproat & Fujimura, 1993: 293).

“...The dark /l/s have a more retracted tongue body than light /l/s. Perhaps non-prepausal intervocalic /l/s are lighter than prepausal /l/s because in non-prepausal position the duration of the syllable is such that the tongue retraction does not reach its full target.”

(Sproat and Fujimura, 1993: 293)

Much research has been conducted into the lateral liquid /l/. Some of the studies have focused on the articulatory, coarticulatory, and positional features for both light /l/ and dark /l/. In their research, Sproat and Fujimura (1993: 293) sought to demystify the lack of distinction between the light /l/ and its dark counterpart. Their major areas of focus were the articulatory and coarticulatory features of the lateral liquids, and the influence of the phonetic duration on the syllable position of the lateral liquid. Their findings, which advance the understanding of the role of the intervocalic /l/ in bridging between the clear and dark allophones, has been picked up and supported by other researchers who postulate the existence of a transition as one pronounces the liquid consonant. Furthermore, the researchers were able to establish that the phonetic implementation of the dark and clear variants of /l/ depend on positional factors, as well as the time-course of the context containing the /l/ phoneme.

Recasens and Espinosa (2005) carried out research on the articulatory, positional and coarticulatory features of /l/ next to /i/, /a/ and /u/ in word initial, intervocalic and word-final position in two Catalan dialects (Valencian and Majorcan). The authors utilized Electropalatographic (EPG) technique and acoustic data to show existing distinctions between clear /l/ and dark /l/. EPG data refer to information collected from tongue movements using touch-sensitive objects during speech. Seven repetitions of meaningful Catalan words containing consonants and vowels of interest were spoken by five male speakers of Majorcan and five male speakers of Valencian in short expressions, for instance *litres de llet* ‘litres of milk’, *ingeri liquid* ‘he/she swallowed liquid’ and *no li fa mal* ‘it does not hurt him/her’ where /l/ occupies the word-initial, intervocalic and word-final position, respectively. The findings showed that dark /l/ in Majorcan is articulated with a more anterior (dentoalveolar) and less variable closure location than clear /l/ in Valencian. The results also show that /l/ is not necessarily darker syllable-finally than syllable-initially and thus position-dependent degrees of velarization are not universal. (Recasens and Espinosa 2005: 8-22).

Recasens and Espinosa (2005: 2) state that languages and dialects have been categorized into two phonetic classifications, depending on the positional presence of dark (velarized or pharyngealized) and clear (non-velarized or non-pharyngealized) /l/. The authors state that in both British and American English dark /l/ tends to be found syllable-finally, whether it precedes another consonant or is followed by a pause (Recasens and Espinosa, 2005: 4).

Brown (1989: 294) states that both the clear and dark allophones of /l/ “include a primary articulation whereby the tongue tip makes contact with the alveolar ridge in the centre of the oral tract, behind the upper front teeth, but not at all sides of the mouth. The airstream thus escapes without friction over the sides of the tongue, which are not in contact with the side teeth and gums”. Brown suggests that clear (also known as ‘palatalized’) /l/ has been found to precede a

vowel in RP, for example in *like* and *feeling*, and that the velarized or dark /l/ includes a retraction of the tongue body towards the velar or pharyngeal areas, influencing the quality of back vowels such as [ɔ]. Dark /l/ is found before consonants as in *hold* and *hillside*, and in syllabic positions as in *battle* and *fiddle*. In addition, the quality of the high back vowel might have an influence on the quality of the preceding vowel. If a dark syllabic /l/ and a dark non-syllabic /l/ are both preceded by an [ɔ] vowel whose quality is very similar to the darkness of the /l/, for example in the words *Eiffel* (/aɪfəl/) and *eyeful* (/aɪfʊl/), the play-on-words would be complete only in a limited distinction between minimal differences (Brown, 1989: 294-295).

The classification of /l/ as either clear or dark depends on the presence or absence of postdorsal constriction at the upper pharynx or velum as previously indicated. The two consonants have been assigned two distinct gestural specifications, with the Articulatory Phonology Framework classifying them into two categories: one, the gesture of the retraction of the postdorsum (dark /l/), and two, the gesture of raising the tip of the tongue (clear /l/). Research and cross-language data suggest that it is vital that darkness should not be considered to be a categorical attribute, but rather a phonetic property that is gradual in nature. This means that there is a continuum, which is specific to each dialect, and ranges from an explicitly dark /l/ at one end to a clear /l/ at the other, via realizations of the consonant with varying levels of darkness (Recasens and Espinosa, 2005: 2).

In their study Recasens and Espinosa (2005) state that “the alveolar closure for dark /l/ in New York City American English is more anterior, and less extended and less variable than for clear /l/ in Italian”. Recasens and Espinosa (2005) argue that in Albanian, Russian, Breton, American English and other American varieties, dark /l/ does appear to be dento-alveolar. Contrary to this, it has been reported that light (clear) /l/ is a plain alveolar in Parisian French (Recasens and Espinosa, 2005: 4).

Clear /l/ does not have a central closure but dark /l/ does. Instances of vocalization have been identified in both American and British English, and they occur in place of dark /l/ syllable-finally, regardless of whether the following segment is a pause or another consonant. The same case applies for Brazilian Portuguese. The fact that there is lingual contact at the sides of the alveolar ridge rather than at the central zones for the realizations of /l/ that are vocalized is achieved through the process of articulatory reduction. In fact, this issue has in some cases been associated with the common confusion of acoustic spectra for both /w/ and /l/ (Recasens and Espinosa, 2005: 4).

Meuter (2002) agrees that English /l/ has two allophones. The more palatalized allophone when followed by a vowel or /j/ is usually referred to as clear [l], and the more velarized variant in all other positions is referred to as dark [ɫ] Meuter (2002: 19).

Spero (1996: 11-12) argues that /l/ is an alveolar consonant which has a complex articulation. It has several variants, dark /l/, clear /l/, and voiceless /l/. The lone phonological entity /l/ is implemented as a light or dark variant depending on factors such as the position of /l/ in the syllable, that is whether it is post-vocalic, pre-vocalic or syllabic, and the phonetic duration of the prosodic context containing /l/.

Spero (1996) adds that:

“the phenomenon of dark /l/ loss or change is not a novel occurrence in the English language. In early modern English [ɫ] was lost before velars in words such as chalk, walk, and yolk, and before the labials /f, v, m/ in words such as calf, half, and palm. These words in which [ɫ] was lost all contained back vowels.”

(Spero, 1996: 12)

### 5.2.3 Dark /l/ in Arabic

Sibawaih is one of the famous Arabic language grammarians (8<sup>th</sup> century CE) who labelled the place of articulation of /r/ as being further back in the roof of the mouth than that of /l/. The relative constriction that takes place between the tip/blade of the tongue and the postalveolar area

for English [r], and the rapid vibrations (of the tip) of the tongue with the rear of the alveolar ridge in Arabic [r] do not amount to a closure similar to that witnessed in the case of [l], or even to a friction. The air that accompanies [r] is allowed to flow almost freely along the centre of the tongue. In other words, since the sides of the tongue are in contact with the sides of the palate, the air is released centrally. Sibawayh (whose book were published on 1988: 574 and 1999) describes /l/ as a stop, though he concedes that it differs from other stops in that the tongue does not block the airflow (completely) as happens with other stop sounds, while it also differs from fricatives in that the tip of the tongue does not move away from its position of contact with the alveolar ridge (Sibawayh, 1988: 573-574).

Ibn Jenni another influential Arab classical linguist (10<sup>th</sup> century CE), draws attention to the different articulatory gestures involved in the production of /l/ by discussing the Arabic /l/ in two positions in his book: it is discussed along with the stop sounds (which are specified as [-cont]) and separately with the sounds that, according to Ibn Jenni, have continuant as well as non-continuant characteristics (Ibn Jenni's book was published later on 1993: 7, 61).

Watson (2002) states that:

The lateral \*/ has been maintained in all dialects. In most modern Arabic dialects, /l/ has an emphatic counterpart /l/. In many of these dialects, /l/ is found exclusively in *aḥāh* 'God' and derivatives. In some southern Yemen dialects, including that of Ghaylhabbān, the Classical Arabic emphatic lateral fricative articulation of ḍād is preserved as an allophone of ḍād and, according to Habtoor (1989: 31-3), is indistinguishable from the emphatic /l/ in *aḥāh* 'God'.

(Watson, 2002: 16)

Alfozan (1989), whose study is concerned with assimilation in Classical Arabic, defines /l/ as a *mustafil* sound 'plain' (i.e. non-emphatic). According to him, /l/ is pronounced emphatic when it occurs in the vicinity of emphatic consonants (i.e. it assimilates), as in the examples below (cited in Alfozan, 1989: 190-191):

1. *Alla:h* 'God' and *Alla:humma* 'my God' excluding if it is preceded by /i/ or /i:/.

2. /l/ is found as emphatic in the vicinity of the following sounds: when /l/ precedes /a/ or /a:/ and when it is preceded by /s<sup>ʕ</sup>, ð<sup>ʕ</sup>, t<sup>ʕ</sup>/ it will be influenced to become emphatic whether the sounds occurred immediately or if they are separated by a short vowel /a/ as in *mus<sup>ʕ</sup>atla* ‘a place of prayer’
3. /l/ is described as emphatic if it occurs between high consonants as in *al-ʔalmuxlas<sup>ʕ</sup>i:n* ‘the sincere’ (Alfozan, 1989: 190-191).

Jaradat (2014) investigated the widespread usage of ‘Allah’ expressions in Jordanian Arabic as well as other Arabic dialects. Jaradat suggested that the quality of the sound /l/ has undergone some change; the /l/ found in the word *ʔila:h*, which is frequently used in everyday Arabic is a light one, “whereas the resulting/l/ is a dark one similar to the English one, but, with some extra pressure and extra length since it is geminate” in the word ‘Allah’ ‘God’ (Jaradat, 2014: 62).

Alhjouj (2013) investigated laterals and rhotics in the class ‘liquids’ in English and Arabic. Alhjouj maintains that in some Arabic dialects /l/ and /r/ are found to behave the same, phonologically speaking. The two phonemes behave similarly in word initial /l, r, m, w, j/ where they are found to be the subject of a complete assimilation when preceded by word final /n/. In most cases, the phoneme /n/ is deleted and the resulting sonorant is nasalized and geminated. Exceptional cases occur when the resulting sonorant is followed by /l, r/ and where deletion has occurred, for instance in /*man jaʕmal*/ → [majjaʕmal] ‘whosoever does’, and /*ʔafu:run raħi:m*/ → [ʔafu:rur raħi:m] ‘the Oft-Forgiving, The Most Merciful’ (Alhjouj, 2013: 32). Nevertheless both /l/ and /r/ could be found to be velarized or emphasized, yet the environment in which this emphasis or velarization takes place varies between the two sounds. The dominant allophone of /l/ is the clear one, yet /l/ is also velarized in specific occurrences such as in the word *ʔalla:h* ‘God’ if it is not preceded by a high front vowel, since /l/ will be clear when it is preceded by a

high front vowel as in /*lilla:h*/ ‘for God’. /l/ is conditionally dark when it is preceded by the emphatic consonants /s<sup>ʕ</sup>, t<sup>ʕ</sup>, ð<sup>ʕ</sup>/ and followed by a short low front vowel, or when the emphatic consonants are separated from /l/ by a short low front vowel (but not by any other sound): /s<sup>ʕ</sup>, t<sup>ʕ</sup>, ð<sup>ʕ</sup> +(a)+l+(a)/ (Alhjouj, 2013: 48).

Occurrences of dark ‘emphatic’ or ‘velarized’ /l/ are noted in Classical Arabic as well as in the modern Arabic dialects. The emphatic /l/ occurs in different contexts, two of which are observed in Classical Arabic, while the third seems to be found in the modern dialects only. The first context is the word ‘God’ and associated forms; the second is in the neighbourhood of emphatic sounds; and the third is in the ‘unpredictable items’, occasionally in ‘inherited’ Arabic words or ‘loanwords’ (Ferguson, 1956: 446). The dark allophone of /l/ is found in the sequence /-*llaah*/ ‘God’ when it is not preceded by /i/. In the modern dialects it is possible to find minimal contrasts for the word God in its normal form as in *lla* ‘God’ and *lla* ‘no’ from Moroccan Arabic and *ʔalla* ‘God’ and *ʔala* ‘he told her’ in Syrian Arabic. Ferguson argues that the phoneme /l/ has a velarized allophone /l/ in specific contexts, such as the following:

- “(a) next to a velarized consonant;
- (b) separated from a velarized consonant by one short vowel other than /i/;
- (c) preceded by a long vowel other than /ii/ which is in turn preceded by a velarized consonant.”

(Ferguson, 1956: 448)

In addition to the *God* word occurrences of velarized /l/ as in point (a) and partly or wholly conditioned type (b), almost every Arabic dialect has some other incidences of /l/. For type (c) above there are three kinds of velarized /l/: first, /l/ that arises from analogical change such as the contrasts which are illustrated by Iraqi Arabic *xall* ‘vinegar’ and *xa:t* ‘uncle’; second, the /l/ which is found in loanwords as in the word *lamba* ‘lamp’; and third, the /l/ which arises from dialect borrowing, for instance the pairs *qall* ‘diminish’ *qall* ‘raise’ from Sudan Arabic (Ferguson, 1956: 449-451).

Ali (2009) states that the lateral /l/ is produced with a total closure between the centre of the tongue and the roof of the mouth, which causes the air to escape along the sides of the tongue. Ali (2009) argues that the alveolar lateral approximant /l/, with its two allophones (dark and light), is present in Arabic in a similar manner to the English language (Ali, 2009: 3-4).

#### 5.2.4 Dark /l/ in Hōrān

In *Sprachatlas von Syrien* feature number 17, Behnstedt (1997: 35) clarifies that the emphatic /l/ is available with different derivations in different dialects in Syria. For instance, in some of the coastal cities of Syria, such as Lattakia, and in Iskenderun, Hamā, Damascus, isSwēda, Banyās, and Aleppo there are no derivations of dark /l/, except for *waḷla:hi* ‘by the name of God’. Meanwhile in Tartūs, Zimrīn, and Arwād an additional derivation exists, *ʔuḷt* ‘I said’. Furthermore, all of Hōrān, including Palmyra, Soukhne, AlbūKmāl, Dēr izZōr, arRaḡqa, alHasake and Qāmišli have dark /l/ in certain lexical items such as *gaḷb*, *gāl*, *baḡal*, *nxala* and *sxaḷa*.

Herin (2013) uses the feature of ‘secondary emphasis’ as a criterion to define Hōrāni in comparison with Salti (the dialect of the Jordanian city of Salt) and Ğalbuṅ (a rural Palestinian dialect), and maintains that among these three types of dialects Hōrāni shows secondary emphasis most consistently. The examples below, from Herin (2013: 104), demonstrate this tendency.

Hōrān:	<i>gaḷb</i> ‘heart’	<i>xa:ṭa</i> ‘aunt’	<i>ga:t</i> ‘he said’	<i>baḡal</i> ‘mule’	<i>gabur</i> ‘grave’
Salt:	<i>gaḷb</i>	<i>xa:ṭa</i>	<i>ga:l</i>	<i>baḡal</i>	<i>gabir</i>
Ğalbu:n:	<i>kalb</i>	<i>xa:le</i>	<i>ka:l</i>	<i>baḡal</i>	<i>kabir</i>

(Herin, 2013: 104)

### 5.3 Summary

Liquids occur when the stream of air molecules flow continuously with minimal obstruction through the mouth. They are usually consonant sounds in which the tongue triggers a partial closure of the mouth, leading to the production of a resonant, vowel-like phoneme. There has been contention as to their existence as a natural class, with opponents noting the phonetic dissimilarities which are to be found amongst different liquids. However, liquids do share a common phonological distribution, and their contrasting features do not necessarily prohibit their being grouped into a single class. The most researched liquid is the lateral /l/, with two allophones, clear /l/ and dark /l/. The lateral variants share articulatory, positional, and coarticulatory properties. For this reason, they tend to exist in a continuum based on their degree of darkness.

As is evident from the discussions contained in this chapter, /l/ is an important consonant in both the English and Arabic languages. The phonological studies of this consonant reveal some interesting aspects. In the production of /l/, there is the bifurcation of the airstream that flows around linguo-alveolar contacts. The outcome of this is that there is a formation of zero spectrums that can be associated with the radiation of the sound emanating from the opening. This differs in the production of light /l/ and dark /l/. That is to say that, in the case of the former, the tongue will raise and lower. This movement forms a convex shape, but for some speakers the configuration may be flat. Contrarily, the degree of darkness of /l/ is closely associated with the amount of enlargement of the medial cavity.

In terms of the European languages, Italian has more extension of dark /l/ than is to be found in New York English. Dark /l/ appears to be a dento-alveolar sound in Russian and Albanian. On the contrary, Paris French has a plain alveolar light /l/.

In Arabic, the presence or absence of the emphatic consonants which were discussed above determine if /l/ is dark or light. When /l/ is preceded or followed by an emphatic consonant and a back vowel then it is dark, while the presence of a non-emphatic consonant produces a light /l/. It should however be noted that this trend cannot be generalized to represent all of the Arab speaking regions.

#### **5.4 The social meaning of variation in the use of (l) in Sūf**

The variable (l) in Sūf concerns the alternation between two variants; dark [ɫ] that is considered a traditional and stereotypical feature of Hōrāni dialects in general (including Sūf). The other variant is clear [l]. This alternation is not found in the dialect of Amman generally, nor in the koineised Jordanian dialects (e.g. the dialect of the central region, see Al-Wer, 2007, and Al-Wer et al, 2015). This is probably why outsiders often comment on this feature of Hōrāni dialects, and use it to mimic those dialects. What outsiders comment on specifically is dark /l/, since this sound is largely absent from city dialects-unbeknown to them that clear /l/ is also used in these dialects. It is probably precisely because the dark pronunciation is localised and peculiar to specific dialects that it is stigmatized by outsiders. Among the locals however, there does not seem to be awareness of its use, which is not surprising given it is part of the grammar/phonology of the dialect. The locals themselves do not comment on this feature, nor do they appear to be aware that their dialect contains two types of /l/. Nonetheless, it is likely that the locals are aware that their dialect as a whole is considered by outsiders as ‘rural’, ‘provincial’, and the like, although I have not tested this aspect empirically.

## 5.5 The statistical results of Rbrul run

### 5.5.1 Coding protocol

For this variable, I coded for the following factor groups:

1. Preceding environment: at an earlier stage of coding, I included the preceding sounds individually /ʃ, pause, ʃ, tʃ, ðʃ, b, tʃ, d, f, h, dʒ, k, l, ɫ, t, x, z/. Table 5.2 contains examples of words in each one of these environments, and of preceding ‘pause’ environment (word-initial), with their occurrence numbers:

Sound	no.of tokens	example	gloss
Initial	19	<i>laʕa:d</i>	‘how, then!’
/ʃ/	7	<i>ʃlo:n</i>	‘how’
/ʕ/	3	<i>maʕlu:ma</i>	‘an information’
/y/	8	<i>ʃayta</i>	‘one thing’
/tʕ/	4	<i>tʕliʕti</i>	‘you went’
/ðʕ/	1	<i>ʔaðʕlam</i>	‘more oppressive’
/b/	9	<i>dʒabliʃ</i>	‘he brought you (F)’
/tʃ/	1	<i>sʕa:hibtiʃ lizrege:wa:tije</i>	‘your zre:gat (a family name) friend’
/d/	1	<i>maʃhu:dlo</i>	‘he’s well know with’
/f/	10	<i>ifla:n</i>	‘that person’
/g/	3	<i>ʃugta:tʕa</i>	‘chocolate’
/h/	13	<i>ʔihliʃ</i>	‘your relatives’
/ħ/	2	<i>raħlat</i>	‘she moved her place’
/dʒ/	2	<i>sadzli:ha</i>	‘record it, the addressee is a female’
/k/	10	<i>ʔakl</i>	‘eating’
/l/	59	<i>ʔilli</i>	‘the’
/ʔ/	45	<i>walla</i>	‘I swear’
/m/	13	<i>biʕmilu</i>	‘they do’
/n/	4	<i>imfa:n lamma</i>	‘so when’
/r/	3	<i>ʔðkurlif</i>	‘I will mention it to you (F)’
/s/	3	<i>ʔityasli</i>	‘you wash (a female addressee)’
/sʕ/	8	<i>ʔinwasʕlik</i>	‘we will give you (F) a lift’
/t/	9	<i>bitla:gi</i>	‘you (F) will find’
/x/	1	<i>ʔixligit</i>	‘I was born’
/z/	1	<i>na:zle</i>	‘she is going down’
Total	239		

Table 5.2: Examples of (l) with the preceding consonant sounds and pause

Table 5.2 shows that the occurrence number of tokens in each environment varies; with some environment having only one or two tokens was therefore re-coded and re-grouped in a second run. In the second run, I noticed that the 19 words (table 5.2) that have /l/ word initially, are all pronounced with the clear variant [l] (/l/ occurred syllable and sentence initially), thus these tokens were excluded from the data.

In this run the number of tokens is spread out more evenly but there were still a number of environments with very low number of tokens ('alveolar', 'liquid', 'dental', 'fricatives', 'labial', 'pharyngeal', back consonant). Eventually, based on the statistical runs, all consonants were included in one factor called 'consonant', and the different vocalic factor groups as explained below.

Preceding vowels were coded according to their height, length, and position to begin with 'long a' 'long /a/', 'long e', 'long i', 'long o', 'long u', 'short a', 'short e' 'short i', 'short u' 'w', and 'j'. Eventually, Based on the Rbrul runs, vowels were re-coded as 'front vowel', and 'back vowel'. Tokens with a preceding /j/ were coded with 'front vowel' and those with a preceding /w/ were coded as 'back vowel'. Table 5.3 contains examples of words in each one of these with their occurrence number along with their meaning.

Sound	no.of tokens	example	gloss
/a:/	27	<i>fa:l</i>	‘veil’
/ɑ:/	30	<i>ma:tɪf</i>	‘what is wrong with you (F)’
/e:/	3	<i>ʒe:le</i>	‘family’
/i:/	19	<i>ʒaħki:lik</i>	‘I will tell you (F)’
/o:/	9	<i>ʃlo:nɪk</i>	‘how are you (F)’
/u:/	13	<i>bagu:l</i>	‘I tell’
/a/	214	<i>jsalmɪf</i>	‘may you (F) be safe’
/e/	1	<i>maʃkaldʒijje le:f</i>	‘a trouble maker, why?’
/i/	224	<i>willa</i>	‘so what!’
/u/	90	<i>gult</i>	‘I said’
/w/	13	<i>ʒiwla:dɪf</i>	‘your (F) kids’
/j/	3	<i>ʃlɪddu</i>	‘they look’
Total	646		

**Table 5.3:** *Examples of (l) in the stem with the preceding vowel sounds*

2. Following environment: coding for the following environment followed similar coding stages of the preceding environment. In earlier stages, I coded for all the consonant sounds individually /h, ʃ, pause, ʒ, tʃ, b, ʒ, d, f, g, ħ, dʒ, k, l, t, m, n, q, s, t, x, z/. Examples of words in each one of these environments, and of following ‘pause’ environment (word-final), with their occurrence number are shown in table 5.4.

Sound	no.of tokens	example	gloss
Pause	27	<i>rasu:l</i>	‘a messenger’
/h/	36	<i>gultilha</i>	‘I told her’
/ʃ/	6	<i>kul ʃi</i>	‘everything’
/ʕ/	26	<i>jilʕab</i>	‘he plays’
/tʕ/	2	<i>kul tʕa:qto</i>	‘all his energy’
/b/	24	<i>ʔilbalad</i>	‘the country’
/tʃ/	1	<i>bagu:l tʃe:f</i>	‘I say, how’
/d/	5	<i>ʔawwal da:r</i>	‘the first house’
/f/	5	<i>ʔilfasʕil</i>	‘in details’
/g/	2	<i>bnukul gatʕa:jif</i>	‘we eat gattayef (a type of desert)’
/ħ/	20	<i>ʔilħimδʕija:t</i>	‘the citrus’
/dʒ/	3	<i>ziʕil dʒa:rak</i>	‘your neighbour gets angry’
/k/	29	<i>ʔilkahraba</i>	‘the electricity’
/l/	64	<i>nistaʕmilu</i>	‘we listen to him’
/ʔ/	36	<i>watʔa</i>	‘I swear’
/m/	41	<i>kilmet</i>	‘the word’
/n/	7	<i>xatni</i>	‘let me’
/q/	2	<i>ʔilqura</i>	‘the villages’
/s/	3	<i>ʔihil su:f</i>	‘the residents of Sūf’
/t/	13	<i>risa:ltik</i>	‘your (F) message’
/x/	5	<i>ʔilxe:r</i>	‘the prosperity’
/z/	3	<i>bnukul zubde</i>	‘we eat butter’
Total	360		

**Table 5.4: Examples of (l) with the following consonants and pause**

In a second run, consonants were then grouped as follows: ‘alveolar’, ‘back consonant’, ‘labial’, ‘liquid’, ‘fricative’, ‘dental’, and ‘pharyngeal’. Then, eventually all consonants were grouped under the factor ‘consonant’.

Following vowels were coded according to their height, length, and position ‘long a’, ‘long a’, long e’, ‘long i’, long o’, long u’ short a’, short e’, ‘short i’, ‘short o’, ‘short u’, ‘w’, and ‘j’. The following table demonstrates examples of words in each of these environments with occurrences and gloss:

Sound	no.of tokens	example	gloss
/a:/	64	<i>billa:</i>	‘you swear by god name viz (really)!’
/ɑ:/	8	<i>ʃayta:t</i>	‘things’
/e:/	34	<i>ʃale:ʃ</i>	‘on you (F)’
/i:/	26	<i>was<sup>o</sup>li:ha</i>	‘pass it (addressing a female)’
/o:/	10	<i>ʃlo:nhom</i>	‘how are they’
/u:/	6	<i>maʃlu:ma</i>	‘an information’
/a/	154	<i>bagullak</i>	‘I tell you (m)’
/e/	8	<i>ka:mle</i>	‘complete’
/i/	149	<i>ʃhalli</i>	‘to sweeten’
/o/	4	<i>maθgalo</i>	‘how heavy it is’
/u/	40	<i>ħilu</i>	‘pretty’
/w/	12	<i>kul wa:ħad</i>	‘everyone’
/j/	10	<i>bð<sup>o</sup>at ʃiħki</i>	‘he used to say’
Total	525		

**Table 5.5: Example of /l/ with the following vowels**

In the final coding step, vowels were coded as ‘back vowel’ and ‘front vowel’. The semi vowel /w/ was coded with the back vowels and the /j/ was included with front vowels as in *ʔiwla:diʃ* ‘your (F.) kids’, the /w/ that precedes /l/ is coded as back vowel, and as in *bið<sup>o</sup>at ʃiħki* ‘he says’ the /l/ is coded with a preceding back vowel and followed by front vowel (viz /j/).

4. /l/ in stem vs. /l/ in suffix (stem, suffix): at the beginning, I coded for /l/ in both stem and suffix. After inspecting the results I found that when /l/ occurs in the suffix it always

occurs as a clear /l/, there is no variation. In the suffix, /l/ is always followed by /i/ or /a/, as in *dʒablik* ‘he brought to you (2FS)’ or *dʒablak* ‘he brought to you (2MS)’. Therefore, all tokens containing /l/ in the suffix were excluded from the pool of data.

5. Gemination: I coded for gemination, as in the following examples: *ð<sup>s</sup>atlat* ‘she stayed’ and *ʔagullik* ‘shall I tell you (F)’.
6. Position in syllable: onset vs. coda. The following examples illustrate these two factors: *ma:tif* ‘what’s wrong with you (F)’, *ba:tif* ‘your (F.) opinion’, *s<sup>h</sup>a:lha* ‘decent’. The /l/ occurred in the onset in the first two examples and in the coda in the third example.
7. Number of syllables in the word: I coded for the number of syllables of each word i.e., one syllable, two syllables, three syllables, etc. The longest word coded was found to contain five syllables: *kul* ‘every’ one syllable, *tukul* ‘she eats’ two syllables, *bagullik* ‘I tell you (f.)’ three syllables, *issala:me* ‘the safety’ four syllables, and *bmarħalitna* ‘in our stage’ five syllables.
8. Age. Three factors: young, middle and old.
9. Gender. Two factors: female and male.

The distribution of the variable (l) in every coded factor groups is shown in table 5.6.

<b>Gemination</b>	<b>clear /l/</b>	<b>dark /l/</b>	<b>total</b>
Gem	66	13	79
Single	406	51	457
<b>Onset/coda</b>			
Coda	217	30	247
Onset	255	34	289
<b>No. of syllable</b>			
First	39	4	43
Second	282	47	329
Third	128	13	141
Fourth	22	0	22
Fifth	1	0	1
<b>Preceding sound</b>			
Back vowel	109	51	160
Consonant	114	13	127
Front vowel	249	0	249
<b>Following sound</b>			
Back vowel	49	39	88
Consonant	169	15	184
Front vowel	254	10	264
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	291	46	337
Male	181	18	199
<b>Age</b>			
Young	78	15	93
Middle	202	23	225
Old	192	26	218
Total	472	64	536

**Table 5.6: The distribution of the variable (l) across factor groups**

All instances of the word *ʔatta* ‘God’ and *watta* ‘in God’s name’ were excluded from the data because they show no variation. All such words are pronounced with dark /l/.

In summary the coding protocol consisted of eight factor groups: *gemination* (2 factors), *onset vs. coda* (2 factors) *preceding* (3 factors), *following* (3 factors), *syllable number* (5 factors), *syllable position* (2 factors), *age* (3 factors) and *gender* (2 factors) with a total number of tokens 563 (472 tokens of clear /l/ and 64 tokens of dark /l/).

### 5.5.2 Rbrul results and discussion

In the current research clear /l/ occurred 472 times and dark /l/ occurred 64 times, in total the number of tokens of variable (l) is 536. The proportion of the usage of [ɫ] is ( $\approx 12\%$ ).

Rbrul results for the use of the variable /l/ with its variants [ɫ] as the application value, are shown in table 5.7. In this run, Rbrul returned the preceding category, following category and gender as significant. The application value, correlated with the significant factors is displayed in the same table (5.7).

A factor weight above 0.5 favours the application of the rule [ɫ], while a value less than 0.5 disfavors this application. Log-odds values mainly express the same information; in this case, a negative value disfavors application and a positive value favours the application. A log-odds value of 0 expresses neutrality and is equivalent to centered factor weight 0.5.

				<b>R2</b>	<b>0.966</b>
<b>Preceding Category</b>				<b>(P&lt;4.38e-22)</b>	
<b>Factor</b>	<b>log-odds</b>	<b>Tokens</b>	<b>† mean</b>	<b>centered factor weight</b>	
Back vowel	7.468	160	0.319	0.999	
Consonant	4.970	127	0.102	0.993	
Front vowel	-12.438	249	0.000	< 0.001	
<b>Following Category</b>				<b>(P&lt;3.89e-16)</b>	
Back vowel	2.103	88	0.443	0.891	
Consonant	-0.962	184	0.082	0.277	
Front vowel	-1.141	264	0.038	0.242	
<b>Gender</b>				<b>(P&lt;0.0476)</b>	
Female	0.369	337	0.136	0.591	
Male	-0.369	199	0.090	0.409	
<b>Overall proportion (~12%)</b>					

**Table 5.7: Rbrul modeling results of the use of dark /ɫ/**

As discussed above, in this Rbrul run, I tried to test for the gemination factor, onset/coda factor, number of syllable factor, syllable position factor, preceding factor, following factor, age and gender. The results shown in table 5.7 returned some of the linguistic factors and gender from the social factors as significant.

P Values of the significant predictors as returned by Rbrul run when dark /ɫ/ is the application value are as follows: ‘Preceding Category’ (P=4.38e-22), followed by ‘following category’ (P=3.89e-16), followed by gender (P=0.0476).

In terms of preceding predictor, [ɫ] is strongly favoured when it is preceded by a back vowel (rate 31%) with factor weight at level (0.999), followed by when it is preceded by

consonants (rate 10%) with a similar factor weight at level (0.993). The application value /ɫ/ is disfavoured when it is preceded by a front vowel (rate 0%) with factor weight at level (0.001). The preceding environment indicates that back vowel and consonants favour the use of dark /ɫ/. Examples of the environments which favour dark /ɫ/ include: *gatlub* ‘heart’ and *ʃayla* ‘one thing’; however, none of the tokens that have variant [ɬ] were found preceded by a front vowel.

For the following predictor, the application value /ɫ/ is favoured when it is followed by a back vowel (rate 44%) with factor weight at level (0.891). When followed by a consonant, dark /ɫ/ is strongly disfavoured with (rate 8%) and factor weight at level (0.277). Finally the variant [ɬ] is strongly disfavoured when it is followed by a front vowel at rate (3%) and factor weight at level (0.242). Since a front vowel environment clearly disfavours the use of dark /ɫ/, the explanation for why this variant occurs in words such as *ba:t-ɪf* ‘your (2FS) opinion’, *ma:lɪɪf* ‘what’s wrong with you (2FS) or what are you (2FS) up to?’ is due to the influence of the preceding back vowel and not the following front vowel. This also indicates that morphological boundary (here suffix – *ɪf*) prohibits influence of a following front vowel.

To shed more light on the environment in which dark /ɫ/ is more likely to occur, in table 5.8, I list all 64 dark /ɫ/ items categorized according to preceding and following environment.

Number	Tokens	Preceding sound	Following sound
1	<i>b-baa:tiʃ</i>	Back v	front v
2	<i>maa:tiʃ</i>	back v	front v
3	<i>ð<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃlat</i>	back v	back v
4	<i>s<sup>ʰ</sup>a:ʃha</i>	back v	Consonant /h/
5	<i>ma:tiʃ</i>	back v	front v
6	<i>xa:ʃo:</i>	back v	back v
7	<i>gati</i>	back v	front v
8	<i>xa:ʃa</i>	back v	back v
9	<i>ʔað<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃ</i>	back v	back v
10	<i>t<sup>ʰ</sup>a:ʃka</i>	back v	Consonant /ʃ/
11	<i>xa:ʃi</i>	back v	front v
12	<i>xa:ʃa</i>	back v	back v
13	<i>xa:ʃo:</i>	back v	back v
14	<i>xa:ʃa</i>	back v	back v
15	<i>itfað<sup>ʰ</sup>ð<sup>ʰ</sup>atu</i>	back v	back v
16	<i>ʔagutʃiʃ</i>	back v	front v
17	<i>itfð<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃ</i>	back v	Consonant /s/
18	<i>ga:t</i>	back v	Consonant /k/
19	<i>t<sup>ʰ</sup>ataʃ</i>	back v	back v
20	<i>gati</i>	back v	front v
21	<i>ma:tak</i>	back v	back v
22	<i>ma:tiʃ</i>	back v	front v
23	<i>ʔagutʃlak</i>	back v	back v
24	<i>bat<sup>ʰ</sup>t<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃlaʃ</i>	back v	back v
25	<i>xataʃat</i>	back v	back v
26	<i>ma:tiʃ</i>	back v	front v
27	<i>kufurxaʃ bi:ha</i>	back v	Consonant /b/
28	<i>ma:tak</i>	back v	back v
29	<i>t<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃlat</i>	back v	back v
30	<i>s<sup>ʰ</sup>a:ʃta:t</i>	back v	back v
31	<i>ibð<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃ</i>	back v	front v (y)
32	<i>fayya:ʃa</i>	back v	back v
33	<i>bagutʃak</i>	back v	back v
34	<i>ma:tak</i>	back v	back v
35	<i>t<sup>ʰ</sup>uʃfa:h</i>	back v	Consonant /f/
36	<i>gataʃak</i>	back v	back v
37	<i>gatu</i>	back v	back v
38	<i>xatni</i>	back v	Consonant /n/
39	<i>xatni</i>	back v	Consonant /n/
40	<i>gult</i>	back v	Consonant /t/
41	<i>ð<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃ maʃi</i>	back v	Consonant /m/
42	<i>has<sup>ʰ</sup>s<sup>ʰ</sup>a:ʃa</i>	back v	back v
43	<i>t<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃlaʃu</i>	back v	back v
44	<i>ð<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃlamu:</i>	back v	back v
45	<i>ma:ʃu</i>	back v	back v
46	<i>bið<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃ ʃind</i>	back v	Consonant /ʃ/
47	<i>bið<sup>ʰ</sup>ð<sup>ʰ</sup>aʃ ʃind</i>	back v	Consonant /ʃ/
48	<i>gabut buxuð</i>	back v	Consonant /b/
49	<i>bʃuʃba</i>	back v	Consonant /b/
50	<i>batʃlat<sup>ʰ</sup>u</i>	back v	back v
51	<i>hað<sup>ʰ</sup>o:t lamma</i>	back v	Consonant /l/
52	<i>ʔasʃan</i>	Consonant /s <sup>ʰ</sup> /	back v
53	<i>ʃugʃa:t<sup>ʰ</sup>a</i>	Consonant /g/	back v
54	<i>ʃayʃa</i>	Consonant /ʃ/	back v
55	<i>ʃayʃa</i>	Consonant /ʃ/	back v
56	<i>ʃayʃa:t</i>	Consonant /ʃ/	back v
57	<i>ʃayʃa:t</i>	Consonant /ʃ/	back v
58	<i>ʔasʃak</i>	Consonant /s <sup>ʰ</sup> /	back v
59	<i>ʃasʃat</i>	Consonant /s <sup>ʰ</sup> /	back v
60	<i>ʔað<sup>ʰ</sup>ʃam</i>	Consonant /ð <sup>ʰ</sup> /	back v
61	<i>t-tammi</i>	Consonant /t/	back v
62	<i>ʔasʃan</i>	Consonant /s <sup>ʰ</sup> /	back v
63	<i>ʔiʃʃayʃa</i>	Consonant /ʃ/	back v
64	<i>batʃlat<sup>ʰ</sup>u</i>	back v	back v

Table 5.8: The tokens with the variant [t] + preceding and following sounds (linguistic constraint)

Ten of the tokens that have the dark [ɪ] were preceded by a back vowel and followed by the front vowel [i]. These words are *b-ba:t-ɪf* ‘in your (F) opinion’, *ma:t-ɪf* ‘what’s up with you (f)!', *ʔagut-ɪf* ‘I shall tell you (F)', *gat-ti* ‘he told me’ and *xa:ti* ‘my maternal uncle’; some of the words are repeated. If we look carefully at the words, we will notice that they are all preceded by the back vowel [ɒ:] and that the dark /ɪ/ occurs in a morphological boundary. On the basis of these words, and although these tokens have dark /ɪ/ followed by one of the categorically disfavoured front vowel [i], it clearly indicates that the preceding back vowel environment is the influencing factor on these tokens. Hence, on the basis of these words, one might claim that the preceding environments are more important in influencing the /ɪ/ pronunciation.

Table 5.8 shows that twenty seven of the tokens that have dark /ɪ/ were preceded and followed by back vowels, namely *ðʕaʔlat* ‘she stayed’, *xa:ta* ‘maternal aunt’, *xa:to:* ‘maternal uncle’, *ʔitfaðʕatu* ‘please come in’ or ‘here you go’, *tʕataʕ* ‘he left’, *ma:ʔak* ‘what’s you are up to (2MS)’, *ʔagutʔak* ‘I shall tell you (2MS)’, *batʕtʕaʔaʕ* ‘I look’, *xaʔʔafat* ‘she gave birth’, *tʕaʔlat* ‘she made a look’, *ʕsa:ta:t* ‘halls’, *ʕayya:ta* ‘cleaner’, *baʔutʔak* ‘I tell you (2MS)’, *gaʔʔak* ‘he told you (MS)’, *gaʔtu* ‘he told him’ *ħasʕsʕa:ta* ‘money box’, *tʕaʔaʕo* ‘he let him out’ *ðʕaʔlamu* ‘oppressed him’, *ma:tu* ‘what’s wrong with him’ and *baʔʔatʕu* ‘I covered it with concrete’; some of these words are repeated.

The rest of the tokens (27 tokens) are either preceded by a back vowel followed by a consonant or preceded by a consonant and followed by a back vowel; twelve of the tokens that have dark /ɪ/ are preceded by consonants and followed by a back vowel as in the following words:

*ʔasʕtan* ‘originally’, *ʕuʔta:tʕa* ‘chocolate’, *ʕayta* ‘one thing’, *ʕayta:t* ‘things’, *ʔasʕʔak* ‘your (2MS) origin’, *ʕasʕʔat* ‘it stopped’, *ʔaðʕlam* ‘more oppressive’. The dark /ɪ/ in the following example is

the only dark /l/ occurring word initially. I believe that the reason behind this is that the speaker herself is using the dark /l/ and there is an emphasis spreads everywhere: *gutt lammi* ‘I told my mum’. As we can see, this word initial dark /l/ is preceded by t in the previous word *ʔiffayta* ‘the thing is’, and some of the words are repeated. We can notice that when the dark /l/s are preceded by consonants, they are consonants from the following choices: /s<sup>ʕ</sup>, g, ɣ, ɖ<sup>ʕ</sup>/, and once it was preceded by /t/ as we see in example 63 of table 5.8.

Fifteen tokens have dark /l/ proceeded by back vowel and followed by consonants; in eight of them, the dark /l/ occurred word finally followed by a consonant sound in the following word as in the examples: *hað<sup>ʕ</sup>o:t* ‘these are’, *bið<sup>ʕ</sup>at* ‘he stays’, *bið<sup>ʕ</sup>ð<sup>ʕ</sup>at* ‘she stays’, *gabul* ‘before’, *ð<sup>ʕ</sup>at* ‘it remains’, *kufurxat* ‘a name of a town near Jerash’, *ʔitð<sup>ʕ</sup>at* ‘it remains’, *ga:t* ‘he said’. While the other seven tokens are preceded by a back vowel and followed by a consonant sound within the same word syllable as in the examples: *bʕulba* ‘in a box’, *xatni* ‘let me’, *t<sup>ʕ</sup>ulfa:h* ‘a family name’, *t<sup>ʕ</sup>a:kʕa* ‘it was out’, *s<sup>ʕ</sup>a:tha* ‘descent’ and *gutt* ‘I said’.

In terms of the social factors, Rbrul run returned only gender as significant. Female speakers slightly favour dark /l/ (rate 13%) with factor weight at level (0.591) while male speakers use the variant at a rate of 9% and slightly disfavour the use of this variant at factor weight 0.409.

The cross-tabulation results of age and gender are displayed in table 5.9 and figure 5.1. The total number of tokens with the variant dark /l/ is 64 tokens out of 536 tokens, i.e. 12% of the total occurrence of this variable.

	Female	proportion	male	proportion	tokens total
Young	13	0.186	2	0.087	15
Middle	17	0.119	6	0.073	23
Old	16	0.129	10	0.106	26
Total	46	0.136	18	0.090	64

Table 5.9: Cross-tabulation of age and gender (application value [t])

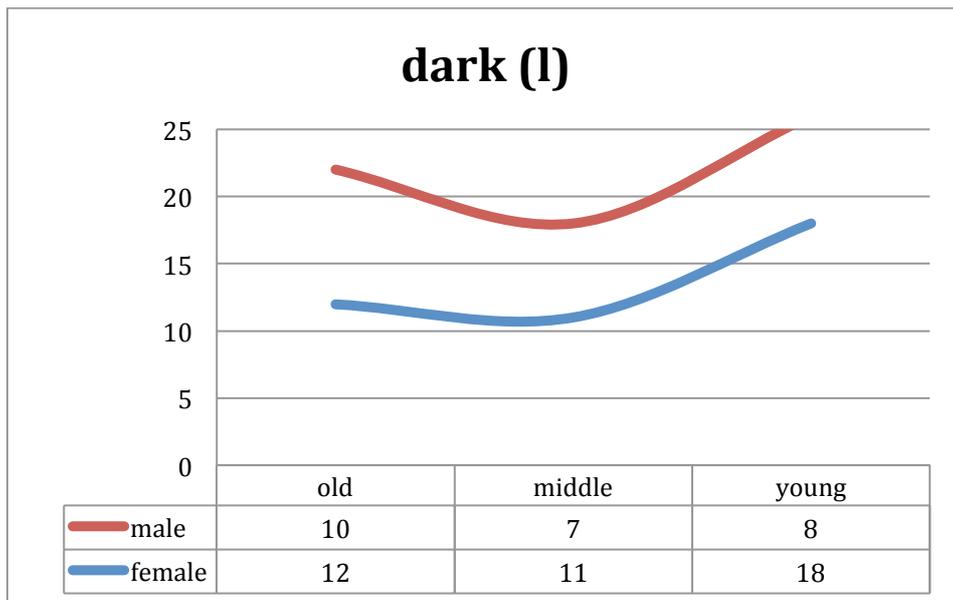
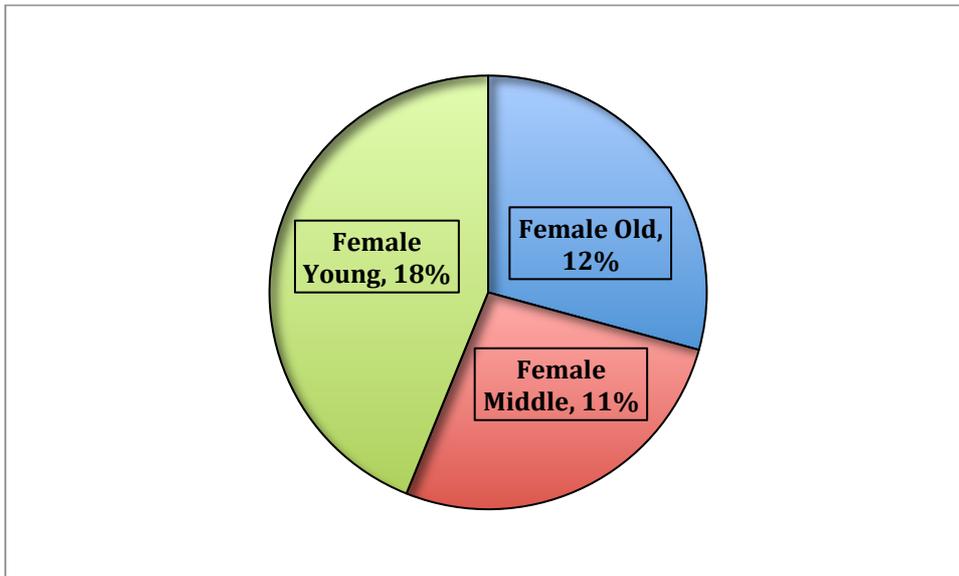
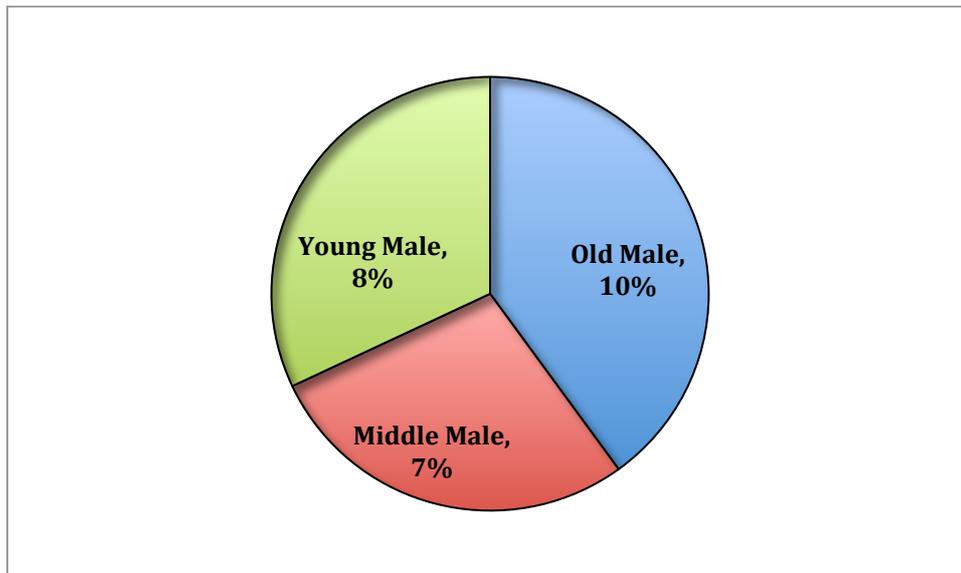


Figure 5.1: Results of cross-tabulation of age and gender (application value [t])

As we can notice, the young female speakers are the most consistent users of dark /l/, followed by the old women and the middle aged women; interestingly, the female group use the local feature, dark /l/ more often than any of the male age groups, including the oldest group. Among the male group, the oldest speakers use it most often. The use of [ɫ] by female and male speakers in regards to the three age groups is also displayed in and Chart 5.2 below.



**Chart 5.1:** *The usage of /ɹ/ by female speakers*



**Chart 5.2:** *The usage of /ɹ/ by male speakers*

Although the use of dark /ɹ/ is overall not very high (12% in total), there is a clear tendency for the female speakers to use this local feature more consistently. Recall, chapter 4 that women were also found to use the local feature [tʃ] more consistently than male speakers. Given the salience of dark /ɹ/ and palatalization as hallmarks of the local dialect (and of Hōrāni in general), women’s speech overall has a stronger ‘local flavour’, so to speak.

The two phonological changes from /tʃ/ to [k] discussed in chapter 4 and change from dark to clear /l/ in the current chapter are totally unexpected from a cross-linguistic perspective. The phonological change in these features is not predicted as a natural change. In other words, the changes detected in this research point in the ‘wrong’ direction. These findings point to the importance of social factors in constraining variation and change.

## 5.6 Summary

The usage of dark /l/ in the current data is found at the rate of approximately 12%. As we can see in §5.5.2, results of the Rbrul run shows that not all the coded factor groups were found significant. The linguistic environments: ‘preceding environment’ and ‘following environment’ sounds, and ‘gender’ were the only factors among all the coded factors are found to be statistically significant in the current study.

In terms of linguistic environment, preceding and following back vowels are the most favouring factor for the use of the application value [ɫ]. Preceding consonant also strongly favours the occurrence of the dark variant.

With regard to gender, Rbrul shows that while the female speakers favour the application value (use of dark /l/) the male speakers disfavour it. Recall that the same pattern was found in the case of the variables (k) and (-ik) –women favoured the local variants. The findings, again, might be linked to the social conditions and gender roles as well as the expectations dictated by the local customs of the role of the women as custodians of the local culture. The women spend most of their time in the town, interacting with local people and caring for the family; most of the employed women were employed locally too. On the other hand, many of the men are daily commuters to nearby cities. One should also mention the informal observation which emerges from the current analysis, that male speakers may have used a more formal style when interacting with the (female) researcher, and the use of the vernacular form may be connected

with an informal, intimate style that the men use with members of their close family only. This issue needs to be investigated more thoroughly in future research, using appropriately designed methodology.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

This thesis has presented analysis of two linguistic features by sampling 24 native speakers of the dialect of Sūf, categorized according to three age groups and two gender groups.

Regarding the statistical findings and correlations with the independent variables, the results show that palatalization in the stem is most favoured when /k/ is preceded and followed by high front vowel. This result is consistent with the most favoured environments of palatalization reported in the literature for varieties of Arabic (that have conditioned palatalization) as well as in cases of palatalization in other languages (cf. Bhat 1974; Shevelov 1964, among others). For gender, the results showed that women favour the use of palatalization in the stem while men disfavour it, which indicates that women are more conservative and maintain the traditional variant more than men in this community. This result is rather interesting given the general pattern of gender differentiation in sociolinguistic research, which shows that men use vernacular forms more consistently than women, especially in cases of change from above. In order to explain this result, an analysis of the social structure of the local community was presented. In particular, the analysis focused on the close social networks that women in Sūf characteristically belong to, as well as community's expectations of women's role as custodians of traditions. The line of analysis regarding gender lends support to L. Milroy (1980) statement that a close-knit social network functions as a "norm-enforcement mechanism". Additionally, the findings and interpretations adopted in this thesis support Eckert (1989) in that gender should be analysed as a process and understood in relation to the specific community, its structure and the daily pursuits of its members.

The age correlates regarding palatalization in the stem show that the middle age group use the highest rate of the innovative feature [k], while the youngest group come second in

frequency of usage of the innovative variant. The middle age group in my sample are the speakers who have most frequent interaction with outside communities through their jobs; given this aspect of their lives, and the fact that palatalization is a localized feature as explained above, this result is not surprising. While the pattern overall, a curve pattern, is usually one that we encounter in cases of variables that are in stable variation, rather than undergoing change, the extremely low rate of usage of the palatalized variant however, 12%, is a strong indication that this is indeed an advanced case of change, and that palatalization in the stem is fast becoming obsolete.

The results of palatalization in the suffix showed a considerably different rate of usage and pattern of correlation with age. In this variable (-ik), the analysis only returned the social factors 'age' and 'gender' as significant. The overall usage of [-iʃ] is approximately 70%. The age pattern showed a steady decrease of the use of the traditional palatalized variant, with the youngest age group scoring 28% of [iʃ]. Recall that palatalization in the suffix is confined to cases where the addressee is feminine; in addition to change in vowel from /i/ (fem) to /a/ (masc), Palatalization in the suffix thus carries gender information. When compared with palatalization in the stem, it is noticeable that palatalization in the suffix is quite high overall. Similar results have been reported by Al-Essa (2008) in Jeddah, which she explains with reference to the fact that in the suffix palatalization has a function in the grammar. While this is also true of palatalization in this suffix in Sūf, the difference between our case and that reported by Al-Essa is that in the Sūf dialect there is also change in the vowel quality –to this end palatalization in Sūf, and Hōrāni in general, may be thought of as being redundant. With respect to gender, here too the women in Sūf are much more conservative than the men; they palatalize at a rate of 80%, and strongly favour palatalization at FW 0.80, compared with 28%, and strongly disfavour palatalization at FW 0.19. This result replicates the behaviour of the gender groups in the case of palatalization in the stem.

The use of dark /l/ is another very salient and localised feature of the dialect of Sūf. Rbrul modelling returned preceding and following sounds, and gender as significant factors. The overall usage of the traditional feature, dark /l/, is only 11%, which is a strong indication that this feature too is undergoing change in progress although age was not returned as a significant factor. The most favouring linguistic environment is preceding and following back vowel, and preceding consonant. Here too, the women of Sūf are more conservative than the men; they use dark /l/ at a rate of 13%, and favour its use at FW 0.59, compared with 9%, and disfavour dark /l/ at FW 0.40 in the case of men.

Dark /l/ and palatalization of /k/ are among the most salient features of the traditional dialects of Hōrān in general. They are marked and localised features in the region as a whole. There are strong indications in previous research that the palatalization of /k/ is levelled out in cases of koineization and dialect contact (see for example the findings and comments in this respect in Al-Wer, 2007). It is noticeable that despite the fact that the region of Hōrān occupies a fairly large area (in both Jordan and Syria), and in Jordan in particular it includes all of the northern and central areas of the country, these two features of Hōrāni are among the most likely linguistic features to be shunned by the native speakers who have moved to large cities. At the same time however, Hōrāni dialects, including the dialect of Sūf, contain features that are shared with all other Jordanian dialects, such as [g] for /q/, [θ], [ð], and [ðʕ] for /θ/, /ð/, and /ðʕ/, respectively, and [dʒ] for /dʒ/. These features were found to be variable and possibly undergoing change in larger cities and towns (see Al-Wer, 1991; Al-Khatib, 1988), but they were found to be stable in Sūf; no variation at all was found in these features. One way of looking at this pattern, whereby the most localised features are variable and may be undergoing change while supra-local Jordanian features are maintained, is that by moving in this direction the local dialect aligns with what is becoming a ‘national supra-local Jordanian norm’.

On the basis of the results for both variables, it may be concluded that the women of Sūf speak with a particularly broad local accent; their speech undoubtedly has a stronger Hōrāni ‘flavour’ than the men. The findings might be linked to the social conditions and gender roles as well as the expectations dictated by the local customs of the role of the women as custodians of the local culture. The women spend most of their time in the town, interacting with local people and caring for the family; most of the employed women were employed locally too. On the other hand, many of the men are daily commuters to nearby cities. I cautioned however (see chapter 3) that some of the men may have used a more formal style when interacting with the (female) researcher, and the use of the vernacular form may be connected with an informal, intimate style that the men use with members of their close family only.

A particularly important finding from the current research is that the changes detected (depalatalization of /k/ in front vowel environment and change from dark to clear /l/) are unexpected from a cross-linguistic perspective. As alluded to in the discussion sections of chapters 4 & 5, the findings in this regard strongly support the sociolinguistic principle that linguistic structure and linguistic change are influenced by two types of constraints: linguistic and social (and stylistic), and that in order to fully account for the trajectory of change the effects of both types of constraints need to be factored into the analysis.

Despite the fact that the features under investigation in this thesis show variation and possibly change away from the traditional forms, the overall picture in Sūf is that there is a relatively high rate of maintenance of the local dialect. The town is located in proximity to two major cities: Irbid, the largest city in the north; and Amman, the capital city. Many of its inhabitants are daily commuters to these cities. At the same time however, it is a close-knit community, which has preserved much of the archetypal characteristics of the Jordanian countryside. Unlike many other towns and villages, Sūf has kept its indigenous community for

centuries, and alongside it has maintained aspects of the traditional modes of production and lifestyle that revolve around the 'land'. In the local culture 'land' encompasses a range of symbols and activities. The local people continue to cultivate the land while holding positions as employees in the civil service, teachers in schools, lawyers and even members of cabinet in the central government. By maintaining the connection with the land, which is seen not only as a mode of production, but also as a source of pride and expression of identity, the community as a whole maintains group coherence, and dialect maintenance is one expression of the unity of the group.

## Further Research

The two examined variables are both marked sounds in the traditional Hōrāni dialects. The overall results of both variables showed that the women's speech in Sūf has a stronger flavour of the traditional dialect and they are more conservative than the men. It would be useful to conduct further research specifically designed to investigate gender differentiation since the pattern I found in Sūf contradicts the general pattern of gender differentiation in sociolinguistic research.

Additionally, the dialect of Hōrān in Sūf contains a number of traditional and interesting linguistic features that require further investigation, such as:

- Yod in *b-imperfect* verb forms as in the verb *bjiʕmal* 'he is doing'
- The alternation between /u/ and /i/ as in: *zubde* ~ *zibde* 'butter'
- The use of the nominal/adjective pattern CaCi:C, rather than CCi:C, as in  
*θagi:l* ~ *θgi:l* 'heavy', and *zabi:b* ~ *zbi:b* 'raisins'.
- The assimilation of /h/ in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural pronominal suffix *ha/hum*, when it occurs after /t/ and /s/, as in: *ʕara:s-sa* 'on her head', and *ʕara:s-hum* 'on their head', (for more details about these features, see dialect description in chapter 2).

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## Appendix 1: Samples of speech

### Speaker 1: Old woman

*hað'o:l iwla:d ibni nabi:l sa:kni:n bid-da:r it-tahitna. waŋla: ŋamo: hal ħaja: jaŋni ana la: tʔa:xiðni la: darast wala gimit ʔift zaj izzama:n il-awal. jaʔni mað'e:na hal ħaja: ihna w hal dʒama:ŋa nu:kil bs'aħin wa:ħad; in ŋurus niðtamiŋ sawa inba:rik la baŋuð'sna nuħḍur iŋra:s baŋuðna...ŋa:jif barra w dʒuwa jaŋni wa:ħad ma: fif tafarrug, nru:h w ni:dʒi maŋ hal ħaja: in ziŋil dʒa:rak tizŋal maŋa: win firiħ dʒa:rak tifrāħ maŋa: ....miŋ miθil hal ijja:m ha:j ja: dʒidde. gabuŋ bagat illi ga:lha ma: fi:f ilħa:ra kulha tlagi:ha maŋ baŋuðha..*

These are my son's (Nabil) children; their house is down the stairs. For me, I am illiterate; I just lived in this life like anyone in the old days. we used to spend the time together with our neighbours and friends in this life, we used to eat the same food, to share each other's occasions by gathering in the happy and the sad occasions. We used to care for the neighbour so much, if the neighbours were happy you share them their joy and if they're sad we used to stand by their side. Not like these days, in the old days we used to care for our neighbours more.

*...bani mis't'afa, ilħawa:mde, iliŋu:m, ilħa:ra if-fargijje wil-ɣarbijji, wil-zre:ga:t, w da:r ħada:d w bat'a:rse w ħma:jjel kθi:re бага juskun b Su:f.*

..... The speaker (here) is mentioning some of the family names that used to live in the town....  
bani mis't'afa ilħawa:mde, iliŋu:m, the eastern and the western district, il- zre:ga:t, the hada:d family as well as the bat'a:rse and many more families used to live in Su:f.

.....*ha:j lo: minno maragu il dʒe:f il biritʰa:ni maragu min ba:b idda:r ʒal xe:l, ihna b Su:f sʰurna nisʔal fu sʰa:r...mif miððakir aj sane, mani:f ħa:fiðʰ kθi:r ajja sane...*

....I remember that once soldiers from the British army passed by our house door, they were riding their horses. In Su:f we started to ask what happened, why they were passing by our doors..... I can't remember which year, I am that good with the dates...

.....*mi:n ka:n jifakir ilħaja: badha tityajjar zaj he:f...lawe:f ga:l ka:n jistardʒj walad jimfi gida:m usta:ð barra il-midrase? bas is-sa:ʒ ilwalad bigðʰab ʒasʰa: lal usta:ð....*

...who would've ever think that life will change to be like what we are living nowadays...for instance, in the old days, pupils never dare to show themselves to their teachers out of school (as they used to be so shy from their teachers). But nowadays, the pupils are rude with their teachers....

**Speaker 2: Middle age woman**

*ma:tif ʔinti ja: mi:t ʔahla wa sahla, ha:j is-sa:ʕa il-imba:raka. atla jsalmif w jba:rif fi:ʔ!*

what's up, you're more than welcome, it's a pleasant to see you. may god bless you!

*hað'o:l iwla:dti if-faba:b, isʕha:b iwla:di fiʕlan baʕtabirhum iwla:d lajje.*

These young men are my kids, I really feel like that my kid's friends are my kids.

*baddi aʕrab funja:n gahwa, baʕta ja se:f jamma tʕi:h maʕ ibin ʕammak w sa:wu:lna gahwa!.*

I would like to have a cup of coffee, se:f, would you go with your cousin downstairs and prepare some!

*ana na:gisʕni ʕana:jn juguʕdin ʕindi houn? ʕanajnni bifu:tin ʕalaj ðʕju:f saʕtein θala:θ aw iða badhum jna:mu ʕindi jo:me:n θala:θ w bxa:tʕrak maʕ is-sala:me. ʕana:ti bana:ti bas kul waħade maʕha ʕe:le w badhum xusʕusʕittum!*

I can't handle having my daughters in law to stay over in my house; they are welcome as visitors for two or three hours or if they like to sleep over for a couple of days, and then that's it. They are (my daughters in law) like my daughters but each of them is having her family and they need their privacy!

*ʔinta hazra:n ʕa da:r fibli? da:r mus<sup>ʕ</sup>t<sup>ʕ</sup>afa il-fa:ris t<sup>ʕ</sup>allaʕu binnittum ʕa ru:sja, imba:riḥ miʕkunt agullak ja se:f! iddakto:ra ibtisa:m binit ʕi:sa ixwa:lha ḥawa:mde ka:nat awwal waḥade min Su:f btit<sup>ʕ</sup>laʕ ʕa ru:sja tudrus t<sup>ʕ</sup>ib, bas walla ja: ʕammi iddakto:ra ibtisa:m muʕadalha t<sup>ʕ</sup>allaʕa, walla bagat fa:t<sup>ʕ</sup>ra.*

Are you talking about shibli's family? The family of Mustafa il-fa:ris has sent their daughter to study in Russia in the old days, it was just yesterday that I was talking about it, right Se:f! In particular, Dr. Ibtisa:m is the daughter of Isaa whose maternal uncles are from ḥawa:mde's family, she was the first girl of Su:f town to go and study medicine out of the country, honestly her marks were excellent and she deserved it.

*baddi agu:l, t<sup>ʕ</sup>a:lama inta btiḥki ʕa da:r fibli, ḥada gaḥk innu dam maratak fibla:wi? t<sup>ʕ</sup>ajjeb ja si:di ʔutrukni ana w hassa raḥ tluffu ʕa na:s kḥi:r iḍa ma: lage:t iffabah min da:r if-fibli jamma baku:n ana ma baḥhamif, xus<sup>ʕ</sup>us<sup>ʕ</sup>an fakl ʕiu:nha.*

By the way, as long as you're talking about the shibli family, did anyone mention that you're wife looks so much like one of this family? don't take my opinion, but now when you're visiting the people from this family (shibli) if you didn't notice this (how much you're wife look like one of them), then I don't understand anything, especially if you look at her eyes, they are so much like the shibli people.

...t<sup>ʃ</sup>ajjib hassa baddubijf ʃal haɖijje ho:n ʃamti. inti biddijf fiʔa:t moxtalife w baddijf tittabʃi il-azmine, jaʃni law ʃindijf hada kabi:r miθil ʃamti (hama:ti) ʃa:t<sup>ʃ</sup>ra bilhaʃfi, it<sup>ʃ</sup>rahi maʃha ʃidit qað<sup>ʃ</sup>a:ja, hama:ti maθalan btiʃrif bil-xut<sup>ʃ</sup>ba wil-zawaadɟ, amma bmarhalitna ihna isʔali in-na:s ʃan ke:f was<sup>ʃ</sup>s<sup>ʃ</sup>alna b-marhalit it-taʃli:m w ke:f ʃifna ajja:m it-taʃli:m is<sup>ʃ</sup>s<sup>ʃ</sup>aħ.

...then, now I will take you to an old woman here, my auntie (mother in law). You need different age groups for your research so you need to focus of the time sequence and to choose the appropriate topics with each age group, thus if you have an old speaker like my auntie (mother in law) for instance, she's a good speaker, you can discuss different topics with her, my mother in law is specifically an excellent person to talk about the marriages in the old days. But if the speaker is younger like my generation (the speaker's) you can talk about the different stages of education that we noticed through time.

### Speaker 3: Young male

baħib alħab jadde bil-le:l.ħasab il-ħaħwa:ħ biħ-ħita balħab kul jo:m.....ħu baddik teħirfi.. ħa:b asħi:r tħabi:b maħalan, ħimkin ħindi biku:n maħħa:la:t ħadħol ħal maħi:ne ħaftaħ ħija:de xa:sħa, baħid ma: atxa:sħasħ ha:ħħ.....ħa: xa:sħ ħa: ħasab itħ-tħalab, baħmil ilħafħal ħaħni maħu il-wa:ħad biddu ħudruħa w ħittaxiħ il-ħafħal la mustaħbalħ.

I like to play cards in the night...depends on the weather, in winter I like to play it everyday.....what do you want to know....for instance, I'd like to be a physician....maybe then I will have different choices such as to be in the city, have my own clinic, when I choose my area of specialisation of course.....by that time I will check carefully the choices and carefully select what can be better for my future career.

.....la waħla ma baħħakir antaħil min Su:f, ana ħaħni law ma ħuntif sa:ħin b Su:f baħtaħil ħa Su:f. laħinha ħafħal min dħami:ħ il ħama:ħin, biħħa:ħiħħ ħal ħa:da:t wil taħa:li:d w in-na:s btiħrif baħħha....gara:ħbi ħulhom ho:n fa ħul ħe ħafħal...

....No, I don't think to move and live in another place, and if I weren't living in Su:f I'd rather move to live in it. From different perspectives, Su:f is the best place to live in, the town's people still keep the traditions and the social habits, also people in the town know each other....all my relatives are living here so it is the best place for me...

.....ħulhom baħħum ħudruħu tħibb, wil il-ħurdun ħulha raħ tsħi:r daka:tra bilħari:b ilħa:dħil talbiħatan la taħalab il-ħa:ba:ħ ħakħar ħiħi, inħa:ħla innħ ħaku:n qa:ħir innħ adruħu .....

....all of them want to study medicine, all Jordanians will be physicians soon, mostly pupils think of being doctors as their parents want to do so, hopefully, I will be able to do it myself.

baħib ʔafla:m il-ʔa:kfīn, ihðʕirit avatar, helu kθi:r w ka:nat qisʕtu muʕabirra, humma ka:uo na:s tʕilʕu min il-ʔarðʕ ʕa faðʕa:ʔ ʕaʕa:n jiktaffu il-kawa:kib lagu fi: avata:r .....maʕ il-wagt, sʕa:ru badhum jiʕrifu ke:f fi: ulfa be:n in-na:s il-avata:r maʕ itʕ-tʕabi:ʕa, w ha:d ka:n dars kbi:r ja: re:t in-na:s jfakru ke:f mumkin insʕi:r asʕdiqa:ʔ lal bi:ʕa.....

I like action movies, I have watched Avatar movie which I liked so much. Its story is really meaningful, there were some people from the planet earth went in a discovery trip to another planet, so they found the Avatar .....by time the earth people wanted to know the secret connection between the avatar people and the mother nature on that planet.....this in itself, I see it as a big lesson and I wish if people really think of how they can be helpful and friends with the mother nature....

## Appendix 2: Consent form

### *English Version*



### Department of Language and Linguistics

#### Participant information sheet and consent form

**Title of the project:** Variation and change in Sūf (a Hōrāni dialect in Northern Jordan)

**Aim of the project:** this study aims to investigate the traditional dialect of Sūf. In particular it focuses on variation and change in the use of particular linguistic features in the dialect. The study will attempt to correlate linguistic variation/change with the social characteristics of the speakers, such as 'age' and 'gender', and with change in the community's structure, contact with outside communities and social mobility.

**Your participation in this research consists of the following:**

An interview during which I will ask you questions. The interview will be recorded. The questions I will ask are informal and casual. They include topics such as 'life in the town of Sūf', 'happy memories that you might have from school days', 'things that you like or disapprove of in the town', 'your friendship circles in the local community', 'your work'. The interview will last for approximately 30 minutes. You are welcome to ask me any further questions about any aspect of the research, and about your participation.

**Participation is voluntary and participants can withdraw their consents at any point in the course of the research without giving any reason and without penalty.**

**The researcher promises that:**

- All parts of the interview will be treated with utmost confidentiality. No persons other than the researcher, myself, will have access to the content of the interview or the identity of the participants.
- Pseudonyms will be used to refer to the participants in writing the project.
- The recorded interview will be saved on the hard disc of my personal computer, protected by password.
- The recorded interview will be used for the purpose of this research only.
- Nothing that the participants say in the recording will affect them in any way in the future.
- The participant is handed a copy of a statement containing full information about the study in the form of 'participant information sheet' and contact details of the researcher and the supervisor.
- The participant will have the opportunity to ask any questions about the research.

**Contact details of the researcher and the supervisor for any queries:**

Supervisor: Dr Enam Al-Wer

Researcher: Areej AL-Hawamdeh

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Signature:

Signature :

**Participant declaration:**

I \_\_\_\_\_ have read all the above information and I agree to take a part in the current study. I am aware that I have the right to withdraw from the current study at anytime without giving any explanations.

Participant's signature:

**Minor guardians declaration:**

I \_\_\_\_\_ the guardian of \_\_\_\_\_ declare that I have read all the above information and I agree to my son/daughter to take part in the current study, I am aware that my son/ daughter is able to withdrawal form the current study at any time without giving any explanations..

Signature:

Arabic Version



قسم علم اللغة و اللغويات/جامعة اسيكس/ بريطانيا

## ورقة معلومات البحث للمشاركين مرفقة بنموذج الموافقة

عنوان البحث: دراسة الاختلافات و التغييرات في اللهجات لمدينة سوف اللهجة الحورانية في شمال الاردن.

**الهدف من البحث:** تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى اكتشاف الاختلافات والتغييرات في اللهجة التقليدية لمدينة سوف، وهي من إحدى المدن الرئيسية الحضرية الواقعة في قلب منطقة حوران، الممتدة من ضواحي دمشق (سوريا) في الشمال إلى منطقة موآب في جنوب الأردن. حيث تعتبر هذه الدراسة جزءاً تكميلي لبحث سابق تم تطبيقه من قبل (الور، ١٩٩١) على مدينتين من منطقة حوران وهما السلط و عجلون.

**كيفية تطبيق الدراسة على المشاركين بالبحث:**

ستقوم الباحثة بتسجيل المشاركين جزءاً من أحاديثهم اليومية عن طريق مسجل الكتروني عند قيام المشاركين بالتحدث لأصدقائهم أو أحد أفراد عائلتهم لمدة زمنية تتراوح بين ١٥ - ٣٠ دقيقة.

**الأمر المترتبة على الباحث اتجاه المشاركين:**

**أولاً:** المعلومات المسجلة ستعامل بسرية تامة بما فيها الأسماء وأي نوع من المعلومات شخصية ولن يتم كشفها لأي احد سوى الباحثة.

**ثانياً:** سيتم استعمال رموز و أسماء مستعارة للإشارة عن المشاركين بالبحث.

**ثالثاً:** ستكون المشاركة تطوعية وبحق للمشارك أو المشاركة في البحث أن يسحب الموافقة و المشاركة في أي وقت من إجراء البحث بدون تقديم أي أسباب لذلك.

**رابعاً:** سوف يتم حفظ التسجيلات الصوتية على الكمبيوتر الشخصي مع التأكد بأنها محفوظة بكلمة سر لا يتم اختراقها إلا من قبل الباحثة.

**خامساً:** لن تستخدم المعلومات المسجلة تحت أي ظرف للتأثير على المشاركين بأي شكل من الأشكال خلال فترة البحث و في أي وقت لاحق.

**سادساً:** ستقوم الباحثة بإعطاء نسخة من هذه الورقة الملزمة بمعلومات البحث مرفقة بنسخة من ورقة اقرارهم بالمشاركة مع المعلومات للتواصل بالباحثة و المشرفة عن البحث.

**سابعاً:** ستقوم الباحثة بالاجابة عن أي استفسار يطرحه المشاركون حول ما يتعلق بالبحث.

**جهة الاتصال:**

قسم علم اللغة و اللغويات في جامعة اسيكس/بريطانيا

المشرفة على البحث:

د.إنعام الور هاتف رقم: ٠٠٤٤١٢٠٦٨٧٢٢٤٠ البريد الالكتروني

[enama@essex.ac.uk](mailto:enama@essex.ac.uk)

التوقيع:

الباحثة: أريج الحوامدة هاتف رقم ٠٠٤٤٧٧٧٤٨٦٩٩٣٨ البريد الالكتروني

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التوقيع:



### موافقة المشارك/ المشاركة

أنا المشارك/المشاركة في هذه الدراسة \_\_\_\_\_ أقر بأنني قرأت المعلومات المرفقة سابقاً و أوافق على المشاركة

في البحث.

التوقيع:

### موافقة ولي أمر المشارك/ المشاركة:

أنا ولي أمر المشارك/المشاركة في هذه الدراسة \_\_\_\_\_ أقر بأنني قرأت

المعلومات المرفقة سابقاً و أوافق على مشاركة ابني/ابنتي في هذا البحث.

التوقيع: