



A Sociolinguistic Study in Saḥam, Northern Jordan

Noora Abu Ain

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Department of Language and Linguistics

University of Essex

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To my beloved Ibrahim for his love, patience and continuous support

Abstract

This is a sociolinguistic investigation that examines variation in the use of two Ḥorāni traditional features in the dialect of Saḥam in Jordan. The first sociolinguistic variable is (U). Traditional northern Jordanian Ḥorāni dialects generally prefer [u] to [i] in words such as: *zubde* ‘butter’ and *dʒubne* ‘cheese’. On the other hand, the central and southern Jordanian dialects have [i] in similar environments; thus, *zibde* and *dʒibne*. The second sociolinguistic variable is (L). Traditional Ḥorāni dialects generally prefer the dark variant [ɫ] to the light variant [l]. In other words, while the traditional Ḥorāni dialects often realise /l/ as [ɫ] in words like: *xāl* ‘uncle’ and *gāl* ‘he said’, other dialects realise it as [l], and thus: *xāl* and *gāl*.

These variables are studied in relation to three social factors (age, gender and amount of contact) and three linguistic factors (position in syllable, preceding and following environments). The sample consists of 60 speakers (30 males and 30 females) from three age groups (young, middle and old). The data were collected through sociolinguistic interviews, and analysed within the framework of the Variationist Paradigm using Rbrul statistical package.

The results show considerable variation and change in progress in the use of both variables, constrained by linguistic and social factors. As for the linguistic constraints, the innovative variant [i] was found to be favoured in the environment of a preceding or following coronal sounds. The traditional variant [ɫ] was found to be most favoured when preceded or followed by a back vowel. For both variables, the young female speakers were found to lead the change towards the non-local variants [i] and [l]. The interpretations of the findings focus on changes that the local community have experienced

as a result of urbanisation and increased access to the target features through contact with outside communities.

Keywords: Jordan, Ḥōrān, variable (U), variable (L), Rbrul, variation and change

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List of Phonetic Symbols

Below are the phonetic symbols used in transcribing the Arabic examples. I included the corresponding Arabic letters and IPA symbols to make comparisons easier for the reader. It has to be noted that I have not changed the symbols when quoting examples from previous literature by other authors.

Consonants

Arabic Letter	IPA Symbol	This Thesis	Sound Description
أ	ʔ	ʔ	Voiced glottal plosive
ب	b	b	Voiced bilabial plosive
ت	t	t	Voiceless dento-alveolar plosive
ث	θ	θ	Voiceless interdental fricative
ج	dʒ	dʒ	Voiced post-alveolar fricative
ح	ħ	ħ	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	x	x	Voiceless velar fricative
د	d	d	Voiced dento-alveolar plosive
ذ	ð	ð	Voiced interdental fricative
ر	r	r	Voiced alveolar trill
ز	z	z	Voiced alveolar fricative
س	s	s	Voiceless dental fricative
ش	ʃ	ʃ	Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
ص	s ^ʕ	ʕ	Voiceless velarised/emphatic alveolar fricative
ض	d ^ʕ	ḍ	Voiced velarised/emphatic dento-alveolar plosive
ط	t ^ʕ	ṭ	Voiceless velarised/emphatic dento-alveolar plosive
ظ	ð ^ʕ	ḏ	Voiced velarised/emphatic interdental fricative
ع	ʕ	ʕ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	ɣ	Voiced velar fricative
ف	f	f	Voiceless labio-dental fricative
ق	q	q	Voiceless uvular plosive
ك	k	k	Voiceless velar plosive
*ل	l	l	Voiced dental lateral
م	m	m	Voiced bilabial nasal
ن	n	n	Voiced alveolar nasal
هـ	h	h	Voiceless glottal fricative
و	w	w	Voiced labio-velar glide
ي	j	j	Voiced palatal glide

*For the emphatic or dark lateral, two symbols were used [ɭ] and [ɭ̤]. The former symbol is used when discussing the English dark variant (i.e., the velarised allophone) while the latter is used when discussing the Arabic emphatic variant (i.e., as a member of the Emphatics).

Vowels

Short Vowel	Long vowel
a	ā
u	ū
o	ō
i	ī
	ē

Important Note: I followed the transcription conventions in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, i.e., each transcribed word is italicised followed by the English gloss between single inverted commas. The only exception were the Proper Names.

Introduction

This is a sociolinguistic study following the variationist approach based on empirical data elicited through audio-recorded spontaneous sociolinguistic interviews carried out in a Ḥōrāni village named Saḥam in the northmost part of Jordan. It investigates two salient traditional Ḥōrāni features in the speech of male and female informants, distributed over three age cohorts. The variables under investigation are:

1. The alternation between /u/ and /i/ in words such as *zubde* ~ *zibde* ‘butter’ and *ḡubne* ~ *ḡibne* ‘cheese’. The pronunciation with /u/ is the traditional local Ḥōrāni realisation while the realisation with /i/ is characteristic of the koineised modern and city Jordanian dialects.
2. The use of [ɭ] (dark /l/) in words such as *gaɭb* ~ *gaɭub* ‘heart’ and *gaɭam* ‘pen’. Dark /l/ is a stereotypical feature of the traditional local dialect. In other dialects, these words are realised with clear /l/.

These traditional variants are amongst the most salient phonological features of the northern dialects, and are often used by outsiders to mimic, or even mock, speakers from the north. The use of these features is generally associated with rural and outdated lifestyle; they are described as ‘thick’, ‘heavy’, ‘ugly’ and ‘tough’ sounds, and are thus stigmatised. Previous studies (Al-Khatib 1988 on Irbid; Al-Wer 1991 on Ajlūn) found that the local variants were being increasingly abandoned in favour of the innovative city variants, which have considerable social prestige in the country as a whole. At the same time, however, linguistic stereotypes can be used by native speakers as an expression of identity, regardless of the negative social values that outsiders attach to such features. For instance, Al-Wer (2007) maintains that the stereotypical Jordanian (as opposed to urban Palestinian) feature [g] of (Q),

which is also stigmatised in specific contexts, is frequently used by Ammani male and female speakers, whose heritage dialects contain this sound, as an expression of ‘local identity’, and to resist social marginalisation. Such interpretations of the social meanings associated with the use of linguistic variables demonstrate that linguistic variation can be closely associated with ‘local issues’, as maintained by Eckert (2000).

The locale of the present research is the village of Saḥam, which is located at close proximity (22 kilometres) to the city of Irbid, the second largest city in Jordan (1,770,158 inhabitants according to the latest census, 2015). Although Irbid is also located in the Ḥōrān heartland, and has its own original native population and native Ḥōrāni dialect, the expansion in the city’s population, especially over the past four decades or so, has transformed Irbid from a largely homogeneous community into a heterogeneous and multilingual urban centre. It is now considered the capital city of the north; it has also become a linguistic centre, as indicated by previous researchers on the linguistic developments in the city’s dialect. Al-Khatib (1988), who investigated variation in Irbid, has reported a number of linguistic divergences from the traditional local Ḥōrāni dialect, including dark /ɫ/. The sum of developments reported in Al-Khatib’s study show that the dialect of Irbid converges towards the dialect of the metropolis (Amman). This suggests that linguistic innovations radiate outwards from Amman in the first place, the focal point, to other large cities such as Irbid, which itself has become a linguistic focal point for the northern region (cf. Trudgill, 1974). In other words, contact with the community of Irbid is the major route via which linguistic innovations are transmitted to Saḥam, the locale of the current study.

The main objective of this study is to investigate how the participants, all of whom are native to Saḥam (and indigenous Jordanian), negotiate multiple and varied types of pressure, e.g. the pressure of the local social network of the small community of Saḥam to conform to its linguistic norm, and the allure of accommodating to the city's lifestyle and dialect.

Descriptive and dialectological studies of Jordanian dialects are sparse. In fact to date there is only one comprehensive description of the grammar of a Jordanian dialect, namely that of Herin (2010) on the central Jordanian dialect of Salt. The main source of information about Ḥōrāni dialects specifically is the seminal study of Cantineau (1940, 1946), in addition to the information available in the Atlas of Syria (Behnstedt, 1997). There are also short descriptions of various Jordanian dialects by Heikki Palva (1969, 1970, 1989, 1994, 2004 and 2008); Bani Yasin (1980) and Bani Yasin and Owens (1987). These studies provide valuable descriptions and dialectological data, which form the basis of the sociolinguistic investigation presented in this thesis (see Chapter 2), as well as those carried out especially by Al-Wer and Al-Hawamdeh (see below).

As far as sociolinguistic variationist studies are concerned, the earliest studies on Jordan are those by Abdel-Jawad (1981) who investigated Amman, and by Al-Khatib (1988) on Irbid. Both of these studies applied the variationist principles developed by Labov in the 1960s. They also used methods of data collection, originally applied in studies of variation in American and British English in particular (e.g. Labov 1966, Wolfram 1969, Chambers 2002 and Trudgill 1974). It is particularly important to point out that Abdel-Jawad's and Al-Khatib's studies approached variation in Jordanian Arabic as a case of 'standardisation', by which they meant 'approximation to or divergence from Standard Arabic norms' (see also Al-Wer, 2013). Therefore, in their methods of collecting data to represent different styles for

instance, they followed the classic Labovian paradigm of asking the speakers to perform reading tasks. This approach to understanding variation in Arabic has been criticised by Al-Wer (1991), Haeri (1987) and Ibrahim (1986) on the basis of empirical findings that show quite clearly that the trajectory of change in spoken Arabic is not in the direction of the Standard variety, but in the direction of the local *de facto* (spoken) standard varieties. Al-Wer (1991) therefore ushered a new era in studies of variation in Arabic in general, and in Jordan in particular. In her approach, variation and change in spoken Arabic is governed by the interplay between the spoken varieties, which have their own hierarchy of prestige independently of the Standard formal variety.¹ This approach has been followed in subsequent research in Jordan and elsewhere in the Arab World.² Further sociolinguistic studies that have been conducted on Jordanian dialects are: Al-Tamimi (2001) on Irbid, El-Salman (2003) on Palestinians in Kerak, Al-Wer (2002, 2003, 2007) on the formation of the dialect of Amman, and the most recent study by my colleague Al-Hawamdeh (2016) on Sūf (Ḥōrān). The findings from these studies are of direct relevance to the present research, and will be referred to in the course of this thesis.

This thesis is presented in six chapters as follows. Chapter 1 provides a historical, geographical and social overview of Jordan. In particular, it offers a detailed background about the relationship between Jordan and Palestine and how the immigration of large numbers of Palestinians to the East Bank of River Jordan has influenced the linguistic norms in Jordan. It also provides background information about the village of Saḥam. Chapter 2 provides a concise linguistic description of the dialect of Saḥam, covering phonology, morphology and syntax, based on the empirical data collected for the purpose of the present

¹ See also Ibrahim (1986); and Milroy and Gordon (2003)

² For instance, in Damascus (Ismail, 2008); in Saudi Arabia (Al-Essa, 2008, Al-Ghamdi, 2014 and Al-Qahtani, 2015) and in Bahrain (Al-Qouz, 2009).

research. Chapter 3 describes the methods of data collection, including research design and interview procedures; the sample and the sampling criteria; the interviews; the linguistic variables; the social factors and the coding protocol. Chapter 4 discusses the variable (U), and presents the results of the statistical analysis of this variable. Chapter 5 discusses the variable (L) along with the results of the analysis of this variable. Finally, Chapter 6 provides summary and general conclusions.

Chapter One

1 Jordan: History, geography and demography

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter I provide some background information about Jordan and the Jordanian community; including a sketch of the country's ancient and modern history, geography and demography. My objective in this chapter is to acquaint the readers with the area under investigation and help them better understand the sociolinguistic situation in Jordan.

1.1 The History of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Despite the fact that it is a small country in the Middle East with limited natural resources, Jordan has been playing a major role in the region throughout history. The country, officially the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, takes its name from the sacred River Jordan (also The Jordan River) which was described as “the garden of God” (Genesis 13: 10) and where Jesus was baptised (Matthew 3: 13). Before Christ, “the Jordan valley was once the home of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic hunter-gatherers. A Neolithic people introduced agriculture and a settled way of life into the region seven to eight thousand years Before Christ” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 11).

In the modern era, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has been playing a significant role in the Arab-Israeli conflict due to its geography. It lies in the heart of the Arab world and has the longest border with Israel of any Arab country. It has participated markedly in the stability of the area in the last decades after two major Arab-Israeli wars. Indeed, considering its small size and limited resources, “Jordan does, in a phrase ascribed to a former British foreign minister, “box above its weight” if not

quite so effectively as it did during the long reign of King Hussein” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 1). The area known now as the ‘West Bank’ was annexed to Jordan after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war but was subsequently lost after the 1967 war. The “[p]roximity to Israel, and Jordan’s rule over the West Bank from 1948 to 1967, made it the natural and unavoidable destination for hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees in two great exoduses” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, pp. 1-2) after the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars. The settlement of a large number of refugees in Jordan has influenced the sociolinguistic situation in Jordan. The indigenous Jordanian varieties have been affected by the Palestinian varieties, especially in the urban centres.

The history of Jordan can be divided into two major periods: the period before the official formation of the so-called Transjordan in 1921 and the period that followed. The following section will briefly highlight the history of Jordan before 1921.

1.1.1 Pre Transjordan

The geographical area between the Yarmouk River in the north, Aqaba in the south, *Bādiat iġ-fām* ‘Syrian Plateau’ in the east and River Jordan in the west did not have any autonomous political entity before the formation of Transjordan in 1921. Vatikiotis (1967) explains the reason behind the absence of a political entity in this area: (1) the main centre of the so-called Eastern Jordan was a military camp moving from one place to the other according to the conditions of war and peace, (2) its important geographical location east of River Jordan and north of Hijaz subjected it to several occupiers who either occupied it: (a) for its own or, (b) on their way to occupy a neighbouring area or, (c) to protect their trade or, (d) to open new routes for trade.

Several excavations revealed that Jordan had been inhabited since the Palaeolithic Age. The Jordan valley was the destination for the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic hunter-gatherers³. Mahafzah (1990) believes that the formation of mini-states, states and kingdoms in this area did not start before 2000 BC. Some of these were: (1) Gilead that extended from modern Ajloun to Salt, (2) Moab that extended from modern Wadi Moujib to Wadi Hasa, (3) Edom that included Wadi Araba Mountains, modern Tafileh and Shobak, (4) Midian that consisted of some Bedouin tribes, and (5) Ammon that extended from the Zarqa River to Wadi Moujib. Ammon or its capital Rabbath Ammon has lent its name to the modern capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Amman. (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009; Mahafzah, 1990; Vatikiotis, 1967).

After the Israelites left Egypt (1320 BC) until the Hellenic era (330-63 BC), the area known now as Jordan was subjected to a number of foreign invasions, such as the Israelites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians and Greeks (Mahafzah, 1990; Peake, 1934). After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, “his Macedonian Generals split his empire between them (founding the Ptolemaic pharaohs in Egypt and the Seleucid rulers in Syria) with the Jordan region coming under the control of the Ptolemies; Amman the city of seven hills- was renamed Philadelphia in honour of the pharaoh Ptolemy Philadelphus” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 12).

The Romans have influenced the area significantly, especially religiously and linguistically. Moreover, they built magnificent cities, such as Jadara (modern Um Qais), Ayla (modern Aqaba) and

³ Members of a group of people that live by hunting and looking for plants that can be eaten, rather than by keeping animals for food or by growing crops (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 2009)

Dion⁴. Mahafzah (1990) states that during the Roman rule (563 BC-636 AD), the area was divided into three separate states:

1. Decapolis: Linguistically the Greek term 'Decapolis' means 'ten cities' "thus implying an administrative unit or a league of cities embedded in the Roman Empire" (Darabseh, 2010, p. 86). Ancient historians acknowledge the existence of the Decapolis but with varying number of cities between ten to nineteen. Despite the fact that there is no agreement amongst historians concerning the number of the cities in the league, most ancient resources agree that the term 'Decapolis' refers to the geographical area of northern Transjordan and southern Syria (Teller, 2002). All in all, we can say that the 'Decapolis' was some kind of league, union or confederacy in northern Transjordan and southern Syria of ten Roman-controlled cities settled by Greeks. Nine of those cities were east of River Jordan and only one was west of it. The map in figure 1.1, illustrates the location of these ten cities of the Decapolis.

⁴ There is some disagreement to the location of this city; some of the disputed locations are: Souf in Jerash, Al-Hisn in Irbid, Idoun in Irbid, Kufr Abeel in Irbid, and Tal Al-Ashari in Deraa near Ramtha (Ali, 2001)

Figure 1.1: A map showing the location of the initial Decapolis cities

(Source: <http://www.jbu.edu/abila/site-maps/decapolis>)



As can be seen in the map, the ten cities of the Decapolis were:

- a. Philadelphia: modern Amman, the capital city of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. It is situated in a hilly area in north-western Jordan.
- b. Gerasa: modern Jerash in Jordan
- c. Gadara: modern Um Qais in Jordan
- d. Abila: the village of Hartha (Gweilbeh) in northern Jordan

- e. Pella: the village of Tabaqat Fahl in northwestern Jordan
- f. Dion: there is a huge disagreement to the location of this city; some of the disputed locations are: Souf in Jerash, Al-Hisn in Irbid, Idoun in Irbid, Kufr Abeel in Irbid, and Tal Al-Ashari in Deraa near Ramtha (Ali, 2001).
- g. Scythopolis: Modern Beth-Shean or Bisan in Israel/Palestine. It is the only city west of the River Jordan.
- h. Damascus: the capital city of modern Syria. It was the dominant city in the league
- i. Raphana: north of Um Qais in the Abilene Plain
- j. Hippos: Qal'at el-Husn in the Golan Heights

Some historians mention Arabella (present-day Irbid) as one of the ten cities of the Decapolis. It is possible that it was not initially part of the league but joined at a later date.

- 2. Berea: modern Balqa that extended from Zarqa Hills to Al-Moujib. It was controlled by the Jewish Kings in Palestine and those loyal to the Roman Empire.
- 3. Kingdom of Nabataea: modern Petra that extended from Wadi Moujib to Mada'in Saleh in the south. The Kingdom is also thought to have controlled an empire stretching from Syria to the Red Sea.

In 610 AD, Islam appeared and started to spread rapidly from Mecca and Medina to the rest of the Arabian Peninsula and the surrounding areas. Islam, the new monotheistic religion, “envisaged uniting the individual believer, the state and society under the omnipotent God. Thus Islamic rulers were permitted to exercise both temporal and spiritual authority” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p.

12). The first military encounter in the so-called Eastern Jordan was in 629 AD in Mutah. It was between the Muslim and the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) armies. The second encounter in the area was a decisive one. In 636 AD, i.e., during the succession of the second Rashidun (Righteous) Caliphate Omar ibn al-Khattab, the Muslim army met the Byzantine army on the banks of the Yarmouk River⁵ along what is today the Jordanian Syrian border. The battle resulted in a complete victory for the Muslim army that ended the Byzantine rule in Syria; “Palestine and Syria became Muslim nations. The road to Egypt was opened, and through Egypt and Syria, Muslim caliphs acquired the naval force to spread the religion and their power throughout the southern Mediterranean basin, all the way to Spain” (Nafziger & Walton, 2003, p. 30). Nevertheless, “the Islamic conquest did not result in the eradication of Christianity among the Arabs of the Syrian region, which included the present-day Jordan” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 13). They were not even considered a numerical minority in the area until the end of the Crusades (Salibi, 1993).

Syria was thereafter politically and administratively divided into five provinces, each of which called a ‘Jund’. The five Junds were: (1) the Jund of Damascus, (2) the Jund of Hims, (3) the Jund of Kinnasrin, (4) the Jund of Jordan, and (5) the Jund of Palestine (Le Strange, 1890, pp. 24-25). In other words, what is known now as Jordan was politically part of two Junds: the Jund of Jordan (north and west from Tiberias) and the Jund of Damascus (the rest from Damascus).

After the rule of the Rashidun Caliphs, came the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750 AD) with Damascus as its capital. They ruled the Jordan area from Damascus. They built some magnificent palaces for their caliphs in this area, such as Amra Palace, Kharrana Palace, Al-Muwaqqar Palace and Al-Mashta Palace. It

⁵ It is believed that the battlefield included a large part of Saḥam, the village under investigation.

was followed by the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258 AD) with Baghdad as its capital. The Abbasids lost the Jordan area to Fatimid in Egypt. The Fatimid lost it to Seljuk Turks in 1071; “it was their perceived threat to the Christian Byzantine Empire as well as a desire to seize the holy place in Palestine from the Muslims which sparked off Pope Urban II’s call for the launch of the crusades” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 13). During the Crusades, the Jordan area was a backwater (Rinehart, 1980, p. 11). Nevertheless, the Crusaders built the castles of Shobak and Karak. The Jordan area was then controlled by the Ayyubids (1171-1250 AD) followed by the Mamluks (1250-1517 AD) before the Ottoman Empire seized control of the area in 1517 AD.

The Jordan area was part of Syria during the Ottoman rule. It enjoyed a considerable importance as the main Muslim pilgrim route to Mecca from Damascus. In order to fasten its control on the area, the Ottoman Empire encouraged some Muslim non-Arabs to come and settle in the area via granting them fertile land. Some of those were the Circassians who came to Amman in 1878; the Chechens who came to Sweileh, Zarqa and Sukhneh in 1906; and the Turks (Turkmen) who came to Balqa in 1874. Moreover, the Ottomans constructed, with the aid of the Germans, the Hijaz railway that linked Madina with Damascus that extended across the Jordan area with stations in Ma’an and Al-Mudawwarah (Mahafzah, 1999; Peake, 1934).

1.1.2 The Formation of Transjordan

Before World War I, two political and ideological movements emerged that were destined to change the history of the Jordan area forever: the first is Arab Nationalism and the second Zionism. The former sought to unite Arabs in a national homeland while the latter sought to unite the Jews in a national homeland. With the so-called young Turks taking power, centralising rule, and carrying aggressive

Turkification, the Arab Nationalist Movement grew stronger. The Ottoman forces joined the Central Powers (German Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Kingdom of Bulgaria) in World War I (1914-1918). This situation created a mutual interest between Britain and the Arab Nationalist Movement. It was Abdullah, the son of Sharif Hussein bin Ali of Mecca, who opened contacts with Britain. This intense period is informatively explained as follows:

Three sets of documentation drafted between July 1915 and November 1917 were to determine the political geography and history of the Middle East in the immediate post-war years. The first, known as the Hussein-McMahon correspondence... from July 1915 and January 1916. This exchange was intended to establish spheres of territorial interest between Hussein and Britain and its allies. The British undertakings were in many cases vague...Areas of disagreement were left for settlement later, but Hussein was satisfied that he had British support for post-war Arab independence and proclaimed the Arab Revolt (and himself as king of the Arabs) in June 1916. But sadly for Arab ambitions, a month before the French and British governments had concluded the secret Sykes-Picot agreement which, although allowing for a post-war Arab state in Arabia, divided most of the rest of Ottoman possessions in the Levant/Fertile Crescent between them. ... Jerusalem was to be under ill-defined international control and parts of Palestine were excluded. The third document was the Balfour Declaration of November 1917. This was a letter written on 2 November 1917 by Lord Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild, the leader of British Jewry, Balfour made it known that 'His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people as long as it did not prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish. (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 16)

So, the British and French policies in the area were not transparent. In fact they were dishonest.

The promises in the Hussein-McMahon correspondence were secretly broken in the Sykes-Picot agreement. The Balfour Declaration was a blatant betrayal of the Arabs.

The Great Arab Revolt started in 1916 by Sharif Hussein bin Ali, the Emir of Mecca, and his sons Abdulla and Feisal with the aid of the British. Feisal ibn al-Hussein and his forces captured Aqaba in 1917. He then entered Damascus in 1918 and was pronounced King of Syria. This pronouncement was ignored by the allies. By 1919, The Great Arab Revolt ended after the Arab forces (with the aid of the

allies) managed to defeat the Ottoman forces and drive them out of Mecca, Medina, Taif, Jeddah, Yanbu, Aqaba, Ma'an, Damascus and Aleppo. Sadly for the Arabs, the British did not keep their promises to them. Ironically, they even punished them instead of rewarding them: the British got mandatory control of Palestine and Iraq while the French got Syria and Lebanon. Indeed, "Sharif Hussein's grandiose scheme for Arab independence under his family's rule was in tatters. His Hijaz Kingdom was under pressure from Ibn Saud and Greater Syria and Iraq were under French and British control" (George, 2005, p. 7). In 1921 at the Cairo conference and as a consolation reward Feisal ibn al-Hussein was confirmed as King of Iraq and his brother Abdulla as *Emir* 'prince' of Transjordan (Madi & Mousa, 1988).

In 1924 and as a result of Ibn Saud's victories in Hejaz, King Hussein bin Ali had to abdicate his throne to his son Ali and went into exile. Abdullah ibn al-Hussein annexed Aqaba and Ma'an that were part of Hejaz, to Transjordan in order to salvage some parts of the old Hashemite Hejaz Kingdom. In 1925, Ali ibn al-Hussein was forced to abdicate his throne and went into exile in Iraq where his brother Feisal was king. In 1928, Britain recognised Transjordan as an Emirate. This recognition was based on a Treaty between Great Britain and Prince Abdullah ibn al-Hussein, the prince of the Emirate. Although the Treaty (1928-1946) limited the powers of Prince Abdullah ibn al-Hussein and emphasised the British mandatory control over almost all aspects of the Emirate, the period between 1928-1946 is often referred to as the constitutional institution-building phase during which the Organic Law of the Emirate was issued (Mahafzah, 1990; Abu Nowar, 1997). The first legislations concerned the legislative elections and the Legislative Council. Most of the successive members of the Legislative Council criticised the Treaty of 1928 severely due to the limited powers given to the Jordanian people and legislators. During this phase six political parties were established but membership was confined to the educated elite.

During World War II (1939-1945), Prince Abdullah ibn al-Hussein put all the capabilities of the Emirate at the disposal of the British government. As a result of the participation of the Emirate side by side with the Allies in World War II, the British government decided to reward Prince Abdullah by ending its mandate over the Emirate (Mahafzah, 1990). Transjordan Emirate gained its formal independence on 22 March, 1946. In the same year, the Transjordanian government and parliament upgraded the Emirate into a kingdom and changed the county's name into the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan. Abdullah ibn al-Hussein was crowned king of Jordan on 25 May, 1946 (George, 2005). In 1948, the British mandate over Palestine ended making way to the proclamation of the state of Israel in the Palestinian land. The 1948 Arab-Israeli war was a direct consequence. The allied Arab states lost the war and consequently large numbers of Palestinians were forced to leave their occupied country and came to Jordan as refugees. In 1950, King Abdullah ibn al-Hussein annexed the West Bank and renamed the country as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and included some Palestinians in the cabinet. Shortly after the annexation of the West Bank, King Abdullah was assassinated at the entrance of al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem on 20 July, 1950 at the age of 69. (Robins, 2004; Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009). His grandson, Hussein ibn Talal, was "standing by his side (and) narrowly escaped death himself as a bullet deflected off a medal on his chest" (Gubser, 1990, p. 234).

On 20 July, 1951 King Talal ibn al-Hussein ascended to the Jordanian throne to succeed his assassinated father. King Talal established a new constitution for Jordan in 1952, an important political achievement. However, due to health reasons, he was forced to abdicate in favour of his eldest son Hussein on 11 August, 1952. At a young age, King Hussein ibn Talal had to confront many political challenges in order to develop a small resourceless country into a modern one. Until 1956, the

commander of the Jordanian Army was a British one, Glubb Pasha. That year, King Hussein ibn Talal dismissed him and replaced all British officers with Jordanian ones.

The second Arab-Israeli war occurred in 1967. The Hashemite Kingdom participated in this war and consequently lost the West Bank and east Jerusalem. After the war, huge numbers of Palestinians came to Jordan as war refugees and stayed ever since. In 1968, “when an Israeli armoured group invaded the Jordanian town of Karamah on 22 March, Palestinian fighters and Jordanian soldiers stood shoulder to shoulder in battle against Israel. Thanks mainly to the counter offensive led by the Jordanian tanks the Israelis were compelled to withdraw with heavy casualties” (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 39). However, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) manipulated the media and attributed the victory to sole Palestinian bravery. These claims “left many Jordanian officers and soldiers with a feeling that their hard-earned victory had been stolen by upstarts, and inserted a sour note into relations that was to grow into deep bitterness over the next two years” (Sayigh, 1997, p. 179).

Due to the large numbers of Palestinian refugees after the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation’s (PLO) factions (and Fedayeen ‘guerrilla fighters’) tried to exercise authority, i.e., they tried to form a state within a state. Russell (2008) explains the risky situation in Jordan from 1968 until 1970 as follows:

While the battle of Karamah seemed to show the co-operation between the Jordanian military and the fedayeen, the battle also displayed the differing agenda’s for the state’s armed forces and the militias in regards to both tactics and strategy in the military struggle against Israel. State attempts to regulate arms were also ignored by the fedayeen. The ‘taxation’ of Palestinians by the fedayeen also limited the state’s resources and often struck the ‘taxed’ as mafia-like behavior. The fedayeen use of checkpoints also humiliated soldiers in the Jordanian military and alienated them from the fedayeen’s cause. The PFLP’s hijackings clearly demonstrated the limits of the Jordanian state’s ability to control the country’s security and thus pushed King Hussein into cracking down on the

fedayeen. Finally, the intervention of Syrian tanks threatened to turn a civil war into an interstate war...The challenges of September 1970 illustrated the limits of Jordanian state's control over its territory, and the population therein. (pp. 283-284)

As a natural consequence, in September 1970 King Hussein ibn Talal ordered the PLO's expulsion from Jordan. In July, 1971 the Jordanian forces succeeded in expelling the PLO and the Fedayeen out of Jordan and ended the PLO's endeavour to erode the Jordanian government authority. In the history books, this incident is often referred to as Black September or the Jordanian Civil War.

It was mentioned earlier that the West Bank was annexed to Jordan in 1950 by the late Abdullah ibn al-Hussein and some Palestinian seats were allocated in the Jordanian parliament. In accordance with the wishes of the Palestinians and the Arab leaders and following the 'Intifada⁶ Summit' held in Algiers in June 1988, King Hussein ibn Talal officially cancelled the annexation of the West Bank and announced the Jordanian Disengagement in August 1988. Consequently, the allocated seats in the Jordanian Parliament for the Palestinians of the West Bank were cancelled as well (Abdul-Hadi, 1988). King Hussein passed away of cancer on 7 February, 1999. The crown prince Abdullah succeeded his deceased father as King Abdullah II.

1.1.3 The Geography of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

The area of Jordan is a total of 89,318 square kilometres (34,486 square miles): 88,778 km² (34,277 mi²) of them is land and 540 km² (208 mi²) is water (Jordanian Department of Statistics, 2012). It is relatively a small country ranking 14 amongst all 22 Arab countries and 112 amongst 249 countries of the world in terms of its area (United Nations Statistics Division, 2010).

⁶ The term 'intifada' refers to the Palestinian large-scale uprising against the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza that took place in the period 1987-1991 (Lockman & Bein, 1989).

Jordan is located in the southwest of Asia bordering Syria to the north, Saudi Arabia to the south and southeast, Iraq to the east, and Israel/Palestine to the west (see map in figure 1.2). The Gulf of Aqaba is the south-western tip. Jordan's location is a strategic one as it lies at the heart of the Arab world. It is a link between the Arab Mashriq (East Arabia) and Maghrib (West Arabia) through the Gulf of Aqaba via Egypt. Moreover, it is in the middle of Arab Mashriq as it is located in the part of the Levant (Sham) and the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula (Jordanian Ministry of Culture, 2012). It is in the area often referred to by the West as Near East (in contrast to the Far East area) or the Middle East.

As explained in the previous section, the strategic location of Jordan, on River Jordan, throughout history has made it part of great empires, such as Gilead, Moab, Edom and Ammon. Jordan's location continued to be strategic and important in modern time. It shares the longest border with Israel/Palestine of any Arab country. Therefore, it has been at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was involved in the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars that resulted in the influx of large numbers of Palestinians from the west to the east bank of River Jordan. This influx (1948 and 1967) has affected the demography of Jordan that in turn has affected the sociolinguistics of the area, as I will show in detail in a subsequent section. Following the war in Iraq (1990), Jordan has received large numbers of Iraqis as well. Moreover, the bloody Syrian revolt taking place at the moment has and will continue to export large numbers of Syrian refugees to Jordan. Hence, the location of Jordan indeed puts it at the heart of the Arab World and at the heart of the conflicts in the area.

Figure 1.2: A map of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

(Source: <https://maps.google.com>)



1.2 Religions and Languages in Jordan

According to Article 2 of the Jordanian Constitution (1951 and subsequent amendments), Islam is the religion of the country. However, Article 6 of the constitution guarantees equality amongst all Jordanians in terms of their rights and responsibilities regardless of their religion, race, or language. The majority of Muslim Jordanians follow Sunni Islam whereas very few belong to other Muslim sects, such as Shi'ites, Sufis, Baha'is and Druzes (some, including Druzes and Baha'is themselves, might not agree that they are Muslim sects; they might argue that they are separate religions).

Christianity is an indigenous religion in Jordan. Due to the location of Jordan (i.e., close to Jerusalem), the history of Christianity in Jordan dates back to the 1st century A.D. Nowadays, the indigenous Christian minority in Jordan constitutes 5-8% of the population (Library of Congress, 2006). According to Article 2 of the Jordanian Constitution (1951 and subsequent amendments), Arabic is the official language of the country. Like all 22 Arab countries, the Jordanian speech community is a diglossic one. Being members of a diglossic speech community, speakers in Jordan use Standard Arabic (I use Standard Arabic to refer to both Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)) within restricted formal domains. Diglossia, as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, refers to the co-existence of two language varieties in a speech community where one is considered a 'high' and the other a 'low' variety. The 'high' is often restricted to formal domains and the 'low' to everyday conversations (cf. Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1972; Zughouli, 1980; Suleiman, 1985; Rabie, 1991). In Jordan, the high variety is Standard Arabic, and it is mainly used in writing, formal education, religious ceremonies, news broadcasting, etc. On the other hand, colloquial Jordanian Arabic is the 'low' variety, and it is used in everyday communication. Interestingly, the functions of the two varieties are specialised (Trudgill, 1983) so that any attempt of a speaker to use the 'high' variety in everyday communication will be met by estrangement and/or laughter. Although Standard Arabic is not used for everyday conversations, it is highly appreciated by all Jordanian. Not only because it is the language of the Holy Quran, but also for its close attachment to the Arab identity and Arab Nationalism. Non-Muslim Jordanians also highly appreciate Standard Arabic and strive to maintain and protect it.

Al-Wer (1997) traces the history that led to this diglossic situation in the Arab world and explains the ideologies that participated in creating this situation. Al-Wer states that Standard Arabic has

been associated with the history of Islam as it is the language of the holy Quran. Later, it became associated with the Arab culture and identity. During the early stages of Islam (7th century) the holy Quran appeared in the Arabic dialect of Quraysh tribe. As a result, this dialect was codified and standardised by Arab grammarians in order to protect it from being ‘contaminated’ by other dialects and foreign speech. This ‘purist’ ideology of the Arabic language continued to prevail until the 16th century when the Arab World fell under the Ottoman Turkish Empire. Turkish replaced Arabic as the official language and co-existed with spoken Arabic dialects. During the Ottoman Empire the use of Standard Arabic was very restricted to religious domains. During the early twentieth century, the ruling Turkish Committee of Union and Progress began its policy of Turkification intending to wipe out Arabic and other languages. This, Al-Wer argues, might have been a factor in further inciting anti-Turkish sentiments that led to the Great Arab Revolt that ended the Ottoman rule in 1916. In other words, the Great Arab Revolt was reinforced by language ideology as Arabic was and still is associated with religion and identity.

During the Ottoman rule, Standard Arabic had “remained in the same invariant form for 12 centuries...and the language was not equipped with the terminology to cope” (Al-Wer 1997: 254). In addition, after 12 centuries of restricted use, Standard Arabic ceased to have native speakers. Because Standard Arabic did not have native speakers, it was logical at that time to choose one of the spoken varieties and standardise it, but all attempts were rejected by both the governments and the general public on the basis that it “represents a crucial link with the glorious past and that it is a symbol of Arab nationalist aspiration of unity” (Al-Wer 1997: 254). As a result, the Arab World still lives with the problem of diglossia mentioned above where there are 22 different local Arabic varieties and one

‘Standard’ with no native speakers. Arabs are native speakers of their local dialects which they acquire at home. They are not exposed to Standard Arabic until they go to school where they learn it as a second language and do not master it because of its restricted domains.

The local dialects in Jordan can be simplistically classified into: Rural Jordanian Arabic, Urban Jordanian Arabic and Local Bedouin Arabic. Other Levant and non-Levant dialects are also spoken in Jordan, such as Palestinian, Lebanese, Iraqi, Syrian, Najdi, Hijazi and Egyptian Arabic.

Although Jordan is mainly an Arabic speech community, languages other than Arabic do exist in Jordan. They are spoken by a number of ethnic minorities who migrated to Jordan long time ago. Those languages include: Circassian, Armenian, Chechen, Kurdish, Turkish and Domari (of the Gypsies). It is important to point out that all ethnic groups in Jordan speak Arabic in addition to their own languages. Most of them speak Arabic outside their homes and their own native languages at home with the members of their families. Jaimoukha (2005, pp. 238-239) confirms that “Chechen is still the language of communication inside the group, whilst Arabic is mainly used with outsiders”. In addition, English has a very important status in Jordan. It is taught as a foreign language at school.

1.3 Administrative Divisions

Jordan is administratively divided into 12 Governorates. Each governorate is divided into a number of districts which in turn encompass a number of villages. Since the region that I will investigate in this thesis is Saḥam village which is located in Irbid governorate, I will confine my discussion to this governorate.

Irbid governorate is divided into nine districts. Each district consists of a number of villages. The nine districts are: the Capital District (Al-Qasabeh), Bani Obaid, Al-Mazar Al-Shamali, Al-Ramtha, Bani Kinanah, Koura, Al-Aghwar Al-Shamaliyyeh, Taybeh and Wasatiyyeh. Saḥam village is one of the villages in Bani Kinanah District.

The governorate of Irbid is the second largest governorate in Jordan in terms of the population after the governorate of the capital Amman. According to the national census of 2015, it has a population of 1,770,158. The capital of Irbid governorate is the city of Irbid which is surrounded by a number of villages. Irbid, Arabella or ‘The Bride of the North’ is situated on a plain and is about 50 miles to the north of the capital Amman. The plain of Irbid is part of Ḥōrān plains which extend “from south of Damascus to the outskirts of the city of Kerak in southern Jordan, and thus include all of the northern and central Jordanian regions” (Al-Wer, 2015, p. 75). During the Ottoman Empire, Irbid was not in the present shape. It was neglected and abandoned (Al-Khatib, 1988). The population of Irbid grew slightly after 1921, i.e., after Transjordan was politically formed. The Arab-Israeli conflicts, particularly the 1948 and the 1967 wars, resulted in the incursion of large numbers of Palestinians from the west bank to Irbid and other Jordanian cities. This influx affected the dialect spoken in the city of Irbid but not the dialects spoken in the surrounding villages, especially those far away from the centre of the city. Nevertheless, the impact of the Palestinian dialects on the dialects of such villages started recently but with a new name, i.e., Madani (urban) dialects. This impact only affects a small number of the young generation as a result of new prestige norms and market pressure.

Saḥam is the northmost village in Jordan (follow the arrow in the map in Figure 1.3). From Saḥam one can see the Jordanian, Syrian and Palestinian borders. Mount Hermon of Lebanon can also be

seen in winter. In 636 A.D. the Muslims captured Irbid from the Byzantines at the Battle of Yarmouk. A good part of the battle took place in Saḥam on the so-called Khalid's Hill and Khalid's Valley, named after Khalid Bin Al-Waleed who led the Muslim army. Tourists come to Saḥam to visit the historical location of the Battle of Yarmouk established by Yarmouk University on a spot overlooking Khalid's Hill, Khalid's Valley, Yarmouk River and the Golan slopes (Al-Wakousa).

Saḥam's estimated population is 9500. The tribal makeup of the village consists of two major groups: Fellaheen and Tawalbeh. Al-Tawalbeh tribe is the largest tribe whose members approximately equal those of all other tribes who are referred to as Fellaheen. The Fellaheen tribes consist of more than 21 tribes.

Figure 1.3: A map of Irbid

(follow the arrow for Saḥam; source: <https://sfari.com>)



Saḥam's dialect, then, is one of the Ḥōrāni dialects that were not affected by the Arab-Israeli conflict as Palestinians did not come to settle in Saḥam following the 1948 and 1967 wars. To this day, the number of Palestinians in Saḥam is very limited (a few scores). They are mainly wives of some Saḥamis. Nevertheless, the young generation in the village, especially females, sometimes imitate the so-called Madani (urban) dialect.

1.4 Demography and Population

According to the Jordanian Department of Statistics that carried out its sixth Population and Housing Census on 30 November 2015, the population of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is 9,531,712. The

Jordanian population growth has been affected significantly by a number of factors as I will show in the next subsection. The subsequent subsections will discuss the social structure of the Jordanian community and the major ethnic groups.

1.4.1 Population

The population in Jordan has grown significantly since the formation of Transjordan in 1921.

Unfortunately, the Jordanian Department of Statistics does not offer statistics on the Jordanian population before 1952. Nevertheless, Wilson (1987, p. 3) indicates that when Transjordan was formed in 1921, it “had a population of only some 230,000”. Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe (2009) warn researchers of early statistics but provide similar estimates of the population in 1922. They also describe the population of 1922 in detail. Given the importance of these details, it is worth quoting them in full.

Early statistics should be treated with some caution but it is likely that the new state had a population of over 300,000 once Ma'an and Aqaba had been brought within the expanded state. Excluding these areas the population in 1922 was 225,000: 54 per cent 'settled' and the rest 'nomadic'. (Not a clear-cut distinction; some nomads practiced part-time agriculture and some peasants were semi-nomadic). It was, however, more ethnically homogenous than any of the other mandated states, with Arabs making up over 94 per cent of the population. The only significant non-Arab ethnic groups were the Circassians at just under 5 per cent, but they had Sunni Islam in common with their Arab Muslim neighbours. Christian Arabs formed about 10 per cent of Transjordanians- Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic being the most numerousVirtually everyone was identified by family, clan and tribal affiliation, forming a social organization which had been created by lack of urbanization and distance from centers of power or economic influence. (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 20)

The biggest town in terms of population was Salt with 20, 000 inhabitants in 1920. Amman did not have more than 2400 at that time, but quickly expanded after Abdullah ibn al-Hussein decided to make it his capital. By 1925, Amman's population was approximately 20,000, a significant growth in five

years. The population were mainly either farmers, nomadic or semi-nomadic tribesmen (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009).

The Jordanian population has grown dramatically since 1921. The most influential factor that has affected the Jordanian population is war or politics and more often a combination of both. After Britain ended its mandate over Palestine in 1948, and made way to the proclamation of the state of Israel in the Palestinian land, the Arab-Israeli war broke out. The allied Arab forces lost the war and consequently huge numbers of Palestinians left their home and fled to both the West Bank and other surrounding Arab countries, but mainly to Jordan (they mainly settled in cities). After the annexation of the West Bank in 1950, Jordan had to deal with huge numbers of refugees east and west of River Jordan. Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe (2009, p. 31) assert that “by May 1949 the total number of refugees on relief in Transjordan and Arab Palestine was just over half a million...Of these 100,000 were in Jordan ‘proper’ and the rest on the West Bank- thus doubling the previous population of the Arab West Bank. An influx into Amman had increased the population of the capital from 50,000 in early 1948 to 120,000 by October 1950”. The Gulf War in 1990-1991 had a significant impact on the population growth in Jordan. The population increased from 3,144,000 in 1989 to 3,701,000 in 1991. Many Palestinians who resided in Kuwait and Iraq prior to the Gulf War (1990-1991) moved to Jordan and many became Jordanian citizens.

1.4.2 Social Structure

The Jordanian society is a tribal one. The Royal Anthropological Institute (1951, p. 66) defines the tribe as a “politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory.” On his part, Godelier (2009, cited in Rowland, 2009, p. 11) defines the tribe as “a form of

society that arises when groups of men and women who recognize each other as being related by birth or by marriage come together to act in concert to control a territory and appropriate its resources, which they exploit – together or separately – and which they are ready to defend by armed force.” In the definition, a ‘territory’ refers to both the traditional grazing land and to modern-day village, town, suburb or even a whole city. A tribe is different from an ethnic group in its political nature (Godelier, 2009). In Jordan, the tribe protects each and every member against threats from other tribes or any foreign threats. The tribe is often hereditarily headed by a Sheik who leads, controls and systematises all tribal affairs. In Jordan, the tribe is particularly stronger in rural and Bedouin areas. The hierarchy of the tribal system in Jordan starts with the large family *usra*, i.e., grandparents, parents, brothers, sisters, wives and cousins. The next level is the *ḥamūle* ‘the kindred’ which consists of a number of large families linked with blood ties. The next level is the *faxiḏ* ‘lit. the thigh’ that consists of two kindreds or more. The following level is the *fashira* ‘the clan’ that consists of two more thighs. Finally, at the top of the tribal hierarchy is the *qabila* ‘the tribe’ that consists of two or more clans. Interestingly, each level has a leader and they all form the tribe’s council that looks into inter-tribal and intra-tribal affairs (Mashagbih, 1998).

The tribal system in Jordan is very old. In fact, “[t]he tribes were formed and organized thousands of years ago, and the fact that they still persist today, and still play a significant role in the socio-political realm of the state today is extremely pertinent to political discussion in Jordan” (Rowland, 2009, p. 12). During the Ottoman rule, Jordanian tribes were forced to register their lands with the empire, but were given autonomy. The modern state of Jordan rested on existing tribes.

In present-day Jordan, the tribal system is not as rigidly powerful as it used to be in the past.

However, it is still used officially and unofficially. An important point to reiterate in respect to present-day tribalism in Jordan is that it is much more tangible in Bedouin and rural areas than in big cities.

1.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a profile of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan where the data for my study is collected. In sociolinguistic studies, it is often rational to present a profile of the country where the speech community under investigation resides. In so doing, the reader would be better equipped to understand the community in question and the rationale for any future sampling designs. I have traced the history of Jordan before and after the formation of Transjordan in 1921. It is clear that the ‘Jordan area’ has played a major role in the Middle East since ancient times. It is enough to know that it took its name from the sacred River Jordan that was described as the ‘garden of God’ in Genesis. Its location adjacent to Jerusalem made it the marching road for many armies heading to either occupy or free Jerusalem. Finally, I think that any sociolinguistic investigation of the Jordanian speech community should take into account the rich history of the area and the diversity of its inhabitants. It is clear that Jordan has been, and still is, a safe haven for various oppressed emigrants; therefore, I have made sure that my interviewees are native Ḥōrānis who represent the dialect of Saḥam properly.

Chapter Two

2 Linguistic Description of the Dialect of Saḥam

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe the dialect of Saḥam. I will follow the exact methodology and organisation of Al-Wer (2007b). Also, I will follow the transcription conventions in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, i.e., each transcribed word is italicised followed by the English gloss between single inverted commas. Saḥam is one of the villages of Irbid and its inhabitants mainly speak a Ḥorāni dialect.

2.1 Linguistic Description of Saḥam Dialect

2.1.1 Phonology

2.1.1.1 Consonants

Table 2.1 presents the phonological inventory. The speakers of Saḥam dialect generally preserve the consonants /ð/, /ð/, /θ/ and /dʒ/ in their speech unlike the speakers of other nearby urban dialects who often replace them with /d/, /d/, /t/ and /ʒ/, respectively. There is no /d/ in the dialect; therefore, the contrast in Standard Arabic between /d/ and /ð/ is lost in the dialect of Saḥam. For example, the contrast in Standard Arabic between the consonants in question in words like *ḍalla* ‘went astray’ and *ḥalla* ‘stayed’ is lost as both are rendered as *ḥall*. Even in formal styles like reciting the Holy Quran such contrasts are often lost despite being taught at school, e.g. *ḍallin* ‘those who went astray’ vs. *ḥallin* ‘those in the shade’. In some cases, especially in emphatic environments (see §5.2) /ð/ is rendered as /ð/ as in *hāḍa* ‘this’ which is *hāḍa* in Standard Arabic. Another salient Ḥorāni feature that still exists in the dialect of Saḥam is affrication. Although affrication is influenced by external sociolinguistic factors, such as

gender and age, some linguists show that it is linguistically conditioned. The general finding is that /k/ is realised as /tʃ/ in the contiguity of front vowels, e.g. *tʃəf* ‘how’ but not *kursi* ‘chair’ (cf. Wetzstein, 1868; Cantineau, 1936; Blanc, 1964; Altoma, 1969; amongst others). Other linguists believe that the nature of affrication in Ḥōrāni is different and that it might occur in the vicinity of back vowels (see Herin, 2013).

Generally, in the dialect of Saḥam middle-aged and old speakers retain affrication. Amongst the female younger generation, however, it seems to be losing ground to the /k/ pronunciation. One might argue that for some young speakers, this apparent change in progress might be in fact an instant of age-grading. I have noticed that a good number of the young female generation abandon affrication as teenagers and/or when they travel to study at the university, but come back to it after they get married, form a family and settle in the village.

A special feature that distinguishes the old generation from the young generation in Saḥam concerns [p] and [v] which do not exist in Classical Arabic but do exist in some loan words from other languages. Both generations change the [p] into /b/ in loanwords, such as ‘passport’, ‘pepsi’ and ‘panadol’. However, only the old generation change the [v] into /f/ in loanwords, such as ‘villa’, ‘virus’ and ‘video’. Although both age groups are able to utter both sounds, it seems that [p] has not entered the dialect’s phonetic inventory unlike the [v] which seems to have entered it. Not only that but I can even safely argue that the pronunciation of loan words with [v] sounds has gained a prestigious status amongst the younger generation groups compared to the pronunciation with /f/. In their interviews, some of my young informants criticised some educated old people who pronounce loan words like ‘video’ with /f/ instead of [v].

Standard Arabic /q/ is pronounced as [g], e.g. *garīb* ‘near’, with the exception of some loan words from Standard Arabic, such as *al qurʔān* ‘the Quran’, *qajjima* ‘valuable’; and *iffarq il-ʔawṣaʔ* ‘The Middle East’. In Jordan, the variable (Q) is a sociolinguistic marker: speakers are often labelled by one of its variants /q/, /g/, /k/ and /ʔ/ (Al-Wer, 1991). The dialect in Saḥam is clearly a /g/ dialect.

One of the salient features in Saḥam is the pronunciation of dark /l/, e.g. *gabul* ‘before’, *gamul* ‘lice’, *ramul* ‘sand’, *ṣayla* ‘thing/stuff’ and *buryul* ‘bulgur wheat’. It is in a state of variation where the young generation hardly use it (they use light /l/ instead) as it is marked and stigmatised. This salient feature is one of the two variables under investigation in this thesis (see Chapter 5).

Table 2.1: Consonants in the dialect of Saḥam

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental-emphatic	Dental non-emphatic	Interdental-emphatic	Interdental non-emphatic	Palatal	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
stops voiceless			ṭ	t					k	q		ʔ
voiced	b		ḍ**	d					g			
fricative voiceless		f	ṣ	s		θ		ʃ		x	ħ	h
voiced		v*	ḍ	z	ð	ð				ʁ	ʕ	
affricates voiceless								tʃ				
voiced								dʒ				
nasal	m			n								
laterals			ɭ	l								
trills				r								
glides	w						j					

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

** only in some Standard Arabic terms that kept their original pronunciations, especially religious terms

2.1.1.2 Vowels

Table 2.2: *Inventory of Vowels in Saḥam Arabic*

Short vowels		Long vowels	
i	u	ī	ū
	(o)	ē	ō
a		ā	

The vowel system of Saḥam dialect is made up of four short vowels and five long vowels. The two long mid vowels /ē/ and /ō/ are the colloquial representatives of the two Standard Arabic diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/: *ḥēṭ* 'wall', *θōm* 'garlic'. The diphthongs, however, do occur in words, such as *gajjil* 'Have a nap!', *dawwar* 'he looked for'. They are also used in the comparative form of adjectives that begin with /j/ and /w/ as in *jābis/ʔajbas* 'dry/drier', *wāḍḡib/ʔawḍḡab* 'imperative/more imperative'. The long vowel /ā/ is in a state of variation. In the past, it was always realised as [a:] in some words, such as *gāl* 'he said', *gām* 'he stood up', *gābal* 'he met', *gāffe* 'rhyme', *gāwal* 'he agreed a contract', *gāṭiṣ* 'switch (as in electricity switch)' and *gāriṣ* 'mosquitos'. At the present time, this vowel is in a state of variation where the same speakers sometimes pronounce it as [ā] or as [æ]. In some lexical words, the distribution of /u/ varies, e.g. *zubde* ~ *zibde* 'butter' and *ḡubne* ~ *ḡibne* 'cheese'. The pronunciation with /u/ is a salient feature of traditional Ḥōrāni dialects, including Saḥam, while the pronunciation with /i/ is a feature of innovative koineised city dialects. This alternation between /u/ and /i/ is the other variable investigated in this thesis (see Chapter 4).

2.1.1.3 Syllable Structure

In Saḥam dialect there are two types of syllables: open and closed. The possible syllable types are: cv, c \bar{v} as in *jā.ba* ‘daddy’; ccv as in *mru.sī.ha* ‘crush it’; cc \bar{v} as in *kbāb* ‘Levantine Kibbeh’; cvc as in *min* ‘from’; ccvc as in *bsaʕ* ‘quickly’; c \bar{v} c as in *hētf* ‘like so’; cc \bar{v} c as in *ḥbūb* ‘pills’ and ccvcc as in *bxams* ‘for five’.

2.1.2 Morphology

The following section highlights the most important features of the morphology of the dialect of Saḥam.

2.1.2.1 Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns used in Saḥam dialect are listed in Table 2.3:

Table 2.3: Independent personal pronouns in Saḥam dialect

	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.
sg. masc.	hū	inte	ani
sg. fem.	hī	inti	ani
pl. masc.	hommo	intu	iḥna
pl. fem.	hinne	intin	iḥna

2.1.2.1.1 Possessive/object Suffixes

Depending on whether the word ends with a vowel or a consonant, there are two series of suffixes as shown in Table 2.4. Unlike the urban dialect of Amman, gender distinctions are still maintained in Saḥam. For example, the verb *katab* ‘to write’ is marked for gender in the 3rd and 2nd person (pl. & sing.) as follows: *katab-katbat* ‘he wrote - she wrote’; *katabtu-katabtin* ‘you pl. wrote masc. - you pl. wrote fem.’; *katabu-katabin* ‘they pl. wrote masc. - they pl. wrote fem.’; and ‘*katabtu-katabtin* ‘you pl. wrote masc. – you pl. wrote fem.’.

Table 2.4: *Possessive/object suffixes in Saḥam dialect*

	after -v			after -c		
	<i>abū</i> ‘dad’			<i>umm</i> ‘mum’		
	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.
sg. masc.	-h	-k	-y	-o	-ak	-i
sg. fem.	-ha	-tʃ	-y	-ha	-itʃ	-i
pl. masc.	-hum	-ku	-na	-hum	-ku	-na
pl. fem.	-hin	-tʃin	-na	-hin	-tʃin	-na

2.1.2.1.2 Indirect Object Suffixes

The indirect object suffixes are listed in Table 2.5. It is worth mentioning here that gender distinctions are still maintained in the plural unlike the urban Jordanian dialects. For example, the plural indirect object forms for both genders of the verb *ṭabax* ‘to cook’ in Amman are: *ṭabaxūlhum*, *ṭabaxūlkum*, and *ṭabaxūlna* for plural 3rd person, 2nd person and 1st person, respectively. In Saḥam these forms differ according to gender. The masculine plural forms are the same as in Amman; whereas the feminine plural forms are: *ṭabaxūlhin*, *ṭabaxūltʃin*, and *ṭabaxūlna* for plural 3rd person, 2nd person and 1st person, respectively.

Table 2.5: *Indirect object suffixes in Saḥam dialect*

	After -v			After -c			After -cc		
	<i>ṭabaxūlo</i> ‘they cooked for him’			<i>ṭabaxlo</i> ‘he cooked for him’			<i>ṭabbaxtillo</i> ‘I cooked for him’		
	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.
sg. masc.	-lo	-lak	-li	-lo	-lak	-li	-illo	-illak	-illi
sg. fem.	-lha	-litʃ	-li	-ilha	-litʃ	-li	-ilha	-illitʃ	-illi
pl. masc.	-lhum	-lku	-lna	-ilhum	-ilku	-ilna	-ilhum	-ilku	-ilna
pl. fem.	-lhin	-ltʃin	-lna	-ilhin	-iltʃin	-ilna	-ilhin	-iltʃin	-ilna

2.1.2.1.3 Demonstratives

The demonstratives in the dialect of Saḥam are shown in Table 2.6:

Table 2.6: Demonstratives in Saḥam dialect

	near deixis	far deixis
sg. masc.	<i>hāḍ</i>	<i>haḍāk</i>
sg. fem.	<i>hāy</i>	<i>haḍīṭf</i>
pl.	<i>haḍōl</i>	<i>haḍlāk</i>

The demonstrative can be placed before or after the noun: *hāj ilmidrase* ~ *ilmidrase hāj* ‘this school’. The contracted form *hal-* can replace all forms of near deixis, e.g. *haliktāb*, *halbinit*, *halbanāt* ‘this book, this girl, these girls’ (respectively).

2.1.2.1.4 Presentatives

The presentatives are derived from *haj-* as follows: *hajjo*, *hajha*, *hajhum*, *hajjak*, *hajjitf*, *hajku*, *hajtfin*, *hajni*, *hajna*: *hajjo biṣrab* ‘here he is, drinking’, *hajha sarribha* ‘here she is, make her drink’, *hajhum rājhin*. ‘here they are, going’.

2.1.2.1.5 Interrogatives

The interrogative pronouns are: *mīn* ~ *man-u/-i* ‘who?’, e.g. *mīn/manu kasar iṣṣubbāk* ‘who broke the window?’, *lēf* ‘why?’, e.g. *lēf zaṣlān* ‘why are you angry?’, *wēn* ‘where?’, e.g. *wēn abūtṣ* ‘where is your father?’, *mata* ‘when?’, e.g. *mata nimit* ‘When did you sleep?’, *aj* ‘which’, for all genders and numbers, e.g. *aj bēt* ‘which house?’, *aj bint/banāt* ‘which girl/girls?’, *aj ṭāwlāt* ‘which tables?’, and *fū* ‘what?’, e.g. *fū biddak tōkil* ‘what do you want to eat?’, *akalit fū?* ‘you ate what?’.

2.1.2.2 Adverbs

Temporal adverbs: *amēt* ‘when’, *ljōm* ‘today’, *bukra* ~ *yad* ‘tomorrow’, *baṣīd bukra* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *mbāriḥ* ~ *ʔamis* ‘yesterday’, *ʔawwal mbāriḥ* ‘the day before yesterday’, *imsāt* ‘any time in the near past’, *hassa(ʕ)* ~ *ʔassa* ‘now’, *θāni jōm* ‘the day after’.

Local adverbs: *wēn* ‘where?’, *minwēn* ~ *mnēn* ‘from where?’, *lawēn* ‘where to?’, *hōn* ‘here’, *hnāk(a)* ‘there’.

Manner adverbs: *hēk* ~ *hētʃ* ‘like this’, *kθīr* ‘very’, *ʃwaj* ‘little’, *tamām* ‘totally’, *miʃ dājman* ‘not always’, *ḥatim* ‘inevitable’, *ʃū ʕalē* ‘makes no difference’, *umālo* ‘makes no difference’.

Causal adverbs: *lēʃ* ‘why?’, ‘what for?’, e.g. *lēʃ mā biddak trūḥ* ‘why don’t you want to go?’, *ʕafān hētʃ* ‘therefore’.

Number and mass adverbs: *gaddēʃ* ~ *btʃam* ~ *bēʃ* ‘how many?/how much?’, *gaddēʃ ḥag iṭṭōg* ‘how much is the necklace?’.

2.1.2.3 Particles

2.1.2.3.1 Article

Like Standard Arabic, the dialect of Saḥam has a definite article but no indefinite articles. Not using any articles before the noun is the equivalent of using an indefinite article in other languages like English.

The definite article is *il* ~ *l*, and it is used with singular and plural nouns, e.g. *ilbinit* ‘the girl’, *ilbanāt* ‘the girls’.

2.1.2.3.2 Genitive Marker

The genitive marker is *tabaʕ* ~ *gijj*: *tabaʕi* ~ *gijji* 1st person sing. masc., *tabaʕna-gijjna* 1st person pl. masc., *tabaʕak-gijjak* 2nd person sing. masc., *tabaʕitf-gijjif* 2nd person sing. fem., *tabaʕku-gijjku* 2nd person pl. masc., *tabaʕtfin-gijjtfin* 2nd person pl. fem., *tabaʕo* ~ *gijjo* 3rd person sing. masc., *tabaʕha* ~ *gijjha* 3rd person sing. fem., *tabaʕhum* ~ *gijjhum* 3rd person pl. masc., *tabaʕhin* ~ *gijjhin* 3rd person pl. fem. In Saḥam, mostly the old generation use *gijj*, *gijjo*, *gijjha*, *gijjhum*, etc. The genitive marker can be used to add emphasis, e.g. *dārhum dʒanb ilmidrase* ‘their house is near the school’; *fū illi dʒanb ilmidrase?* ‘what is near the school?’; *iddār tabaʕathum* ‘their house, not any other house’.

2.1.2.3.3 Negation

The negative particles are: *mif*, *mā*, *lā*, *lā ... +f*, *mā... +f*, *... +f*. The particles *lā*, *lā... +f* and *... +f* are used before imperatives: *ifrab* → *lātifrab* ~ *lā tifrabif* ~ *tifrabif* ‘do not drink’. The particles *mā*, *m... +f* and *... +f* are used before indicatives: *baʕrif* → *mā baʕrif* ~ *mā baʕrifif* ~ *baʕrifif*. Sometimes in yes/ no questions, an alveolar click can replace *lā* in informal situations.

mif is used in several situations such as:

- To negate participles (active and passive): e.g. *mif sāmiʕ* ‘I do not hear’, *mif masmūʕ* ‘It is not heard’.
- Before prepositions: e.g. *mif bi ʕʕaf* ‘not in the class’, *mif maʕ limʕalme* ‘not with the teacher’.
- Before adjectives: e.g. *mif biʕiʕ* ‘not ugly’, *mif lājig* ‘not nice’.
- Before nouns: e.g. *līn mif mʕalme* ‘Leen is not a teacher’.
- Before quantifiers: e.g. *mif kull ilmunāṣabāt* ‘not all the occasions’, and for sentential negation in the jussive mood: *mif trūḥ itgūlilhum illi ʕār* ‘don’t you go telling them what happened!’

mā, with or without *ʃ*, is used before verbs in the perfect, e.g. *mā ʔakalit ʔiʃi ~ mā ʔakaltif ʔiʃi* ‘I haven’t eaten anything’; and in the imperfect: *mā bōkil ~ mā bōklif* ‘I don’t not eat’.

2.1.2.3.4 Prepositions

The most common prepositions used in Saḥam are *fi* and *bi* ‘in/at’. Despite the fact that both prepositions interchange in the dialect, *bi* is more common amongst adult and old speakers e.g. *billēl ~ fillēl* ‘at night’, *biddār ~ fiddār* ‘in the house’. However, *bi* has other meanings, such as ‘by’, e.g. *idzīt bilbāš* ‘I came by bus’; ‘with’, e.g. *gaṭṭaʃiṭha bissikkīn* ‘I cut it with a knife’ and ‘of’, e.g. *iffarbaʃ biha* ‘got hold of it’. When pronominal suffixes are attached to these prepositions, both *fi* and *bi* suffix are allowed: e.g. *bī/fī + h* ‘in it’, *uxḏi lkīs w huṭṭi liyrāḏ fih (bīh)* ‘take the bag and put the stuff in it’. It is worth mentioning here that *biṣṭāt* is often used to mean *fi* and *bi* as in *biṣṭāti lkīs* ‘in the bag’. Similarly, *ḡuwwa* is often used in the same way as *biṣṭāt*. Other prepositions include:

ʃa ‘to/on’, e.g. *ʃaddār* ‘to the house’, *ʃalkursi* ‘on the chair’

min ‘from/than’, e.g. *minha* ‘from her’, *azjan minha* ‘more beautiful than her’

ʃan ‘about/for/on behalf of/from/over’, e.g. *ʃanha* ‘about her’, *dafaʃ ʃanha* ‘he paid for/on behalf of her’,

itxabbēt ʃanno ‘I hid from him’, *naṭṭēt ʃanissōr* ‘I jumped over the fence’.

maʃ ‘with’, e.g. *ruḥit maʃāhum* ‘I went with them’

l ‘for’, e.g. *ilak* ‘for you sing. masc.’

la ‘for’, e.g. *laʃammak* ‘for your uncle’

ʃafān ‘for’, e.g. *hāḏa ʃafānitʃ* ‘this is for you sing. fem.’

zai ‘like’, e.g. *widzhitf zai ilgamar* ‘your face is like the moon’

baʕid ‘after’, e.g. *idzīt baʕdak* ‘I came after you’

ʕugub ‘after’, e.g. *idzīt ʕugbak* ‘I came after you’

gabul ‘before’, e.g. *idzīt gablak* ‘I came before you’

bēn ‘between’, e.g. *fī sir bēnhum* ‘there is a secret between them’

fōg ‘over/beyond’, e.g. *ṭarat fōghum* ‘it flew over them’, *hāḏa fōg ṭāgithum* ‘this is beyond their capacity’

tīhit ‘under’, e.g. *itxabba tīhit ittāwle* ‘he hid under the table’

Sometimes *min* combines with other prepositions to form compound prepositions, e.g.

min + fōg = minfōg ‘over/above’ as in *ṭār minfōg iddār* ‘It flew over the house’, *min + baʕid = minbaʕid* ‘after’

as in *mā barḏa bzalame minbaʕid dżōzi* ‘I will never accept a man after my husband’,

min + ʕugub = minʕugub ‘after’ as in *minʕugub mā jāb* ‘after he had grey hair’, *min + ʕind = minʕinid* ‘from’ as

in *iftarēt minʕinid Ali* ‘I bought from Ali’, *min + fān = minfān* ‘for’ as in *minfān Allah* ‘for the sake of Allah!’,

and *min + gabul = mingabul* ‘before’ as in *mingabul mā tyīb iffamis* ‘before the sun sets’. Compound

prepositions are formed to add emphasis to the meaning of the second preposition of the compound and they are not as common as simple prepositions.

2.1.2.3.5 Conjunctions

The conjunctions used are: *lamma* ‘when’; *tā-* ‘until’, *tājinzil irrātib bifriḡha Allah lit.* ‘until the salary

comes, God shall solve the problem’; *ʕafān ~ fān* ‘so that’ (in the speech of some speakers in Saḥam) *igra*

ʕafān tindzaḡ ‘study so that you can pass’; *ḡatta ~ tā-* ‘so that’, *ḡuskut tā tismaʕ* ‘be silent so that you can

hear'. Other conjunctions include *laʔinno* 'because' as in *bahdalto laʔinno ma bistaḥi* 'I rebuked him because he is rude', *bass* 'but' as in *malīḥ bass yāli* 'good but expensive', *ū* 'and' as in *ṭawīl ū ḥabīl* 'tall and foolish', *willa* 'or' as in *gahwa willa fāy* 'Coffee or tea?', *ʔiḏa* 'if' as in *bādʒi ʔiḏa fōit* 'I will come if I became free', *law* 'if' as in *law ṣabrat tʃān mā nidmat* 'if she had been patient, she wouldn't have any regrets', *lā* 'lest' as in *dīr bālak lā tiḡaṣ* 'be careful lest you fall', *ʔinno* 'that' as in *hū gājil ʔinno ani xām* 'he said that I was bad' and *lamma ~ lamman* 'when' as in *faḥḥadni ʕaṣar lērāt lamman ruḥit ʕalē* 'he lent me 10 JDs when I went to him'.

2.1.2.4 Nominal Morphology

2.1.2.4.1 Gender

Most of the feminine nouns end with *-a* to mark gender, e.g. *ʃaḏʒara* 'tree', *ḥadara* 'slope', *waraga* 'paper'. Classical Arabic feminine ending *-āʔ* is rendered as *-a*, so Classical Arabic *xaḏrāʔ* becomes *xaḏra* 'green'. Some nouns are feminine without marking, e.g. *ʔid* 'hand; arm', *ʕēn* 'eye', *idʒir* 'foot'; leg'.

2.1.2.4.2 Productive Patterns

- For instruments: *mu(i)CCāC munfāx* 'air pump'; *maCaCC maʃadd* 'bandage'; *CaCCāCa(e) sammāʕa* 'stethoscope'; *CuCCēCa(e) murdʒēḥa* 'swing'.
- For professions: *CaCCāC xabbāz* 'baker', *ʕattāl* 'porter', *zabbāl* 'scavenger'; for this category noun + *dʒi* is productive: *mōsardʒi* 'plumber', *baṇʃardʒi* 'puncture repairer'.

2.1.2.5 Numerals

The cardinal numbers 1-10 are: *wāḥad*, *θnēn*, *θalāḥe*, *ʔarbaʕa*, *xamse*, *sitte*, *sabʕa*, *θamānje*, *tisʕa*, *ʕaʕara*.

The numerals *wāḥad* and *θnēn* are positioned after the noun and show gender agreement: *bāb wāḥad* 'one door', *waraga waḥade* 'one paper', *bābēn θnēn* or *bwāb θnēn* 'two doors', *bintēn θintēn* 'two girls'. The

numerals 3-10 are positioned before the noun and shortened as follows: *θalaθ*, *arbaʃ*, *xamis*, *sitt*, *sabiʃ*, *θaman*, *tisiʃ*, *ʃaʃar*: e.g. *θalθ wrāg* ‘three papers’. For the nouns that begin with a vowel, *-t* can be added and the vowel changes from /a/ to /i/ (i.e. is raised), if it is followed by /a/: *ʔarbaʃ t-ijjām* ‘four days’, and from /a/ to /u/, if it is followed by /u/: *sitt-t-ufhur* ‘six months’. The numerals 11-19 are: *hdaʃiʃ*, *θnaʃiʃ*, *θalaʔʔaʃiʃ*, *ʔarbaʃʔaʃiʃ*, *xamiʃʔaʃiʃ*, *sittʔaʃiʃ*, *sabaʃʔaʃiʃ*, *θamanʔaʃiʃ*, *tisaʃʔaʃiʃ*. If the noun follows, *-ar* is added to the numeral: *xamiʃʔaʃar bēt* ‘fifteen houses’. The ordinal numbers are: *ʔawwal* ‘first’, *θāni* ‘second’. From ‘third’ upwards, they follow the *CāCiC* pattern: *θāliθ*, *rābiʃ*, *xāmis*, etc. The pseudo-dual is preserved in: *ʔidēn* ‘two hands/arms’, *ʔidzrēn* ‘two feet/legs’. These items lose the *-n* when suffixed: *ʔidēha* ‘her hands’, *ʔidzrēh* ‘his feet/legs’.

2.1.2.6 Strong Verbs

Table 2.7: *Derived forms in Saḥam dialect*

I <i>libis/jilbas</i> ‘to wear’ <i>liʃib/ jilʃab</i> ‘to play’ <i>ʃaʃas/juʃʔus</i> ‘to sneeze’	II <i>labbas/ilabbis</i> ‘to clothe’ <i>laʃʃab/ilaʃʃib</i> ‘to entertain’	III <i>sāmaḥ/isāmih</i> ‘to forgive’ <i>gātal/igātil</i> ‘to fight’ <i>hādʒam/ihādʒim</i> ‘to attack’
	V (t-II) <i>tlabbas/jitlabbas</i> ‘to be haunted’ <i>tlaʃʃab/jitlaʃʃab</i> ‘to be played’ <i>ʔakkal/jitʔakkal</i> ‘to be formed’	VI (t-III) <i>tsāmaḥ/jitsāmaḥ</i> ‘to be forgiven’ <i>tgātal/jitgātal</i> ‘to be fought’ <i>thādʒam/jithādʒam</i> ‘to be attacked’
VII (n-I) <i>nlabas/jinlabis</i> ‘to be worn’ <i>nlaʃab/jinlaʃib</i> ‘to be played’ <i>ngatal/jingatil</i> ‘to be killed’	VIII <i>gtaraḏ/jigtariḏ</i> ‘to borrow’ <i>xtalaf/jixtalif</i> ‘to disagree’	IX <i>swadd /jiswadd</i> ‘to become black’ <i>zragg/jizragg</i> ‘to become blue’
X <i>stafsar/jistafsir</i> ‘to inquire’ <i>staslam/jistaslim</i> ‘to surrender’		

2.1.2.6.1 Forms

Verbs in Form I follow two models, either CaCaC, which usually has an ‘u’ or ‘a’ imperfect and can be transitive, e.g. *kasar/jiksir* ‘to break’, or intransitive, e.g. *gaṣad/juṣud* ‘to sit’, or CiCiC, which has an ‘a’ imperfect and can be transitive, e.g., *ribiḥ/jirbaḥ* ‘to win’, or intransitive, e.g. *ḍiḥik/jiḍḥak* ‘to laugh’.

Verbs in Form II are always CaCCaC and have an ‘i’ imperfect in the final syllable. This form here alters intransitive verbs into transitive, e.g. *ṣaṭas/juṣṭus* ‘to sneeze’ → *ṣaṭṭas/iṣaṭṭis* ‘to cause to sneeze’. Verbs in Form III follow CaaCaC model and have an ‘i’ imperfect in the final syllable. This form denotes that there are more than one person/thing engaged in the action, *sāmaḥ/isāmiḥ* ‘to forgive’. In Form VII verbs, the n-prefix derives the passive as in, *infawa/jinfawi* ‘to be grilled’. The jin- prefix in *jinfawi* suggests continuity/habitual as in: *hāḍa ilʔakil ḍarūri jinfawi miṣ jingali* ‘this food must be grilled not fried’. In Forms V and VI the *t*-prefix derives the passive, and in the case of Form VI, there is a sense of mutual action and reaction. Verbs in Form VIII have a *ji*-prefix and those in Form IX are productive in relation to colours as in *ḥmarr/jiḥmarr* ‘to become red’. Verbs in Form X involve *sta*- prefix and change from /a/ to /i/ in the imperfect, e.g. *stamtaṣ/jistamtiṣ* ‘to have fun’.

2.1.2.6.2 Inflections

2.1.2.6.2.1 Perfect

There is gender distinction in the speech of all generations in Saḥam in the 3rd and 2nd singular and plural. In the 3rd person masculine singular, -t is added to the verb to change it to feminine as in:

libis/libsat ‘he/she wore’, *daras/darsat* ‘he/she studied’. In the 2nd person, masculine singular is changed to feminine by adding -i to the verb as in the following example: *ilbisit/ilbisti* ‘you wore masc./fem.’.

Gender distinction in the plural is also maintained, e.g. *darastu/darastin*, *darasu/darasin* ‘you studied masc./fem; they studied masc./fem.’.

Table 2.8: Inflection of the perfect in Saḥam

	rasam ‘he drew’		
	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	1st pers.
sg. masc.	<i>rasam</i>	<i>rasamit</i>	<i>rasamit</i>
sg. fem.	<i>rasmat</i>	<i>rasamti</i>	<i>rasamit</i>
pl. masc.	<i>rasamu</i>	<i>rasamtu</i>	<i>rasamna</i>
pl. fem.	<i>rasamin</i>	<i>rasamtin</i>	<i>rasamna</i>

2.1.2.6.2.2 Imperfect

Similar to the perfect verbs, there is gender distinction in the imperfect verbs in the speech of the younger and older generations in the 3rd and 2nd singular and plural.

Table 2.9: Inflection of the imperfect in Saḥam

	jigra ‘he reads’		
	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	1st pers.
sg. masc.	<i>jigra</i>	<i>tigra</i>	<i>bagra</i>
sg. fem.	<i>tigra</i>	<i>tigri</i>	<i>bagra</i>
pl. masc.	<i>jigru</i>	<i>tigru</i>	<i>nigra</i>
pl. fem.	<i>jigrin</i>	<i>tigrin</i>	<i>nigra</i>

The forms in the above table can be also used to mark present and habitual actions as in, *lin biṭhib tigma* ‘Leen likes reading’, *lin gāṣde tigma ~ lin btigma* ‘Leen is reading now’. *gāṣde/bt-* can be used with the imperfect verbs to emphasize that the action happens in the present time. The future marker in Saḥam is most often the verb *bidd* ‘to want’ as in, *biddi ʔarsum bukra* ‘I will draw tomorrow’.

2.1.2.6.2.3 Participles

In Forms I (in Table 2.7), the passive and active participles take the forms: CāCiC and maCCūC, *lābis* ‘dressed’, *maktūl* ‘killed’. The active participle derivations in Forms II-VIII involve a prefix *m-*, *mi ~ mu*,

and /i/ in the final syllable: *mlabbis* ‘dresser’, *mlāṣib* ‘player’, *mixtalif* ‘different’. The passive participle of these forms has a prefix *m-* and an /a/ in the final syllable: *mlabbas* ‘clothed/covered’, *mlāṣab* ‘played’.

The Forms in IX have one active and passive derivation with *mi-*, *mixḏarr* ‘was/became green(er)’, *miṣfarr* ‘was/became yellow(er)’.

2.1.2.7 Weak Verbs

2.1.2.7.1 Geminated Verbs

In geminated verbs such as *sadd/jsidd* ‘to close’ as in *sidd ilbāb* ‘close the door!’, and *ṭall/jṭill* ‘to look’ as in *ṭill mni ṣṣubbāk* ‘look from the window!’, the 1st person singular and the 2nd person singular masculine perfect inflect as: *saddēt/ṭallēt*. The active participle in Saḥam has the form: *sādd, ṭāll*.

2.1.2.7.2 Verbs Iʔ

Iʔ verbs (those verbs whose perfect forms start with /ʔ/, e.g. *ʔaxaḏ* ‘took’) in their imperfect are produced with raised back /ō/ as shown in Table 2.10:

Table 2.10: Inflection of Iʔ verbs (imperfect) in Saḥam

	<i>jōxuḏ</i> ‘to take’		
	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.
sg. mac.	<i>b-ōxuḏ</i>	<i>b-tōxuḏ</i>	<i>b-ōxuḏ</i>
sg. fem.	<i>b-tōxuḏ</i>	<i>b-tōxḏi</i>	<i>b-ōxuḏ</i>
pl. masc.	<i>b-ōxḏu</i>	<i>b-tōxḏu</i>	<i>b-nōxuḏ</i>
pl. fem.	<i>b-ōxḏin</i>	<i>b-tōxḏin</i>	<i>b-nōxuḏ</i>

The perfect conjugation is: *ʔaxaḏ, ʔaxḏat, ʔaxaḏu, ʔaxaḏin, ʔaxaḏit, ʔaxaḏti, ʔaxaḏtu, ʔaxaḏtin, ʔaxaḏit, ʔaxaḏna*. The participles are: *māxiḏ, māxūḏ ~ mittāxiḏ*, and the imperative is *xuḏ ~ ṭuxuḏ, ʔuxḏi, ʔuxḏu, ʔuxḏin*.

2.1.2.7.3 Verbs *Iw*

The forms of *Iw* verbs are shown in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11: Inflections of *Iw* verbs in Saḥam

Perfect	wigīṣ 'he fell'		
	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	1st pers.
sg. masc.	wigīṣ	wgiṣit	wgiṣit
sg. fem.	wigīṣat	wgiṣti	wgiṣit
pl. masc.	wigīṣu	wgiṣtu	wgiṣna
pl. fem.	wigīṣin	wgiṣtin	wgiṣna
Imperfect			
sg. masc.	b-jagaṣ~bigaṣ	b-tagaṣ~b-tigaṣ	b-agaṣ
sg. fem.	b-tagaṣ~b-tigaṣ	b-tagaṣi~b-tigaṣi	b-agaṣ
pl. masc.	b-igaṣu	b-tagaṣu~b-tigaṣu	b-nagaṣ~b-nigaṣ
pl. fem.	b-igaṣin	b-tagaṣin~b-tigaṣin	b-nagaṣ~b-nigaṣ

The imperative form in Saḥam is traditionally: *agaf/agafi* 'stand up!', but it is currently losing ground to a more regional form: *waggif/wagfi*. When talking about the participles we follow the pattern for strong verb Form I: *wāgīf/mwggaf*.

2.1.2.7.4 Verbs *Iw/y*

The imperfect of *rāḥ* 'he went' is *jrūḥ* 'he goes' and after adding b- prefix it conjugates as follows: *birūḥ*, *bitrūḥ*, *barūḥ*, *bitrūḥ*, *bitrūḥi*, *birūḥin*, *birūḥu*, *bitrūḥin*, *bitrūḥu*, *binrūḥ*. The perfect inflections of the verb *rāḥ* are listed in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12: The perfect forms of *Iw/y* verbs

<i>rāḥ</i> 'he went'			
	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	1st pers.
sg. masc.	<i>rāḥ</i>	<i>ruḥit</i>	<i>ruḥit</i>
sg. fem.	<i>rāḥat</i>	<i>ruḥti</i>	<i>ruḥit</i>
pl. masc.	<i>rāḥu</i>	<i>ruḥtu</i>	<i>ruḥna</i>
pl. fem.	<i>rāḥin</i>	<i>ruḥtin</i>	<i>ruḥna</i>

The imperative form has long vowels. e.g., *rūḥ* ‘go!’, *gūl* ‘say!’ and *gūm* ‘stand up!’. The participles follow the pattern CāyiC/maCyūC, e.g., *zājīd/mazjūd* ‘adding/added’.

2.1.2.7.5 Verbs *IIly*

The imperfect form of *bana* ‘he built’ is *jibni* ‘he builds’ and it conjugates as follows: *bibni*, *btibni*, *babni*, *btibni*, *btibni*, *btibnin*, *bibnin*, *bibnu*, *bnibni* ~ *mnibni*.

Table 2.13: The perfect forms of *IIly* verbs

<i>bana</i> ‘he built’			
	3 rd pers.	2 nd pers.	1 st pers.
sg. masc.	<i>bana</i>	<i>banēt</i>	<i>banēt</i>
sg. fem.	<i>banat</i>	<i>banēti</i>	<i>banēt</i>
pl. masc.	<i>banu</i>	<i>banētu</i>	<i>banēna</i>
pl. fem.	<i>banin</i>	<i>banētīn</i>	<i>banēna</i>

The imperative form is: *?ibni* ‘build!’ The participles follow the pattern CāCi/maCCi: *bāni/mabni*.

2.1.3 Syntax

2.1.3.1 Noun Phrases

The noun phrase has the following units: nouns or pronouns + adjectives, prepositional phrases, and adverbials. There is no indefinite article used before the nouns. Instead, the absence of any articles before a noun denotes its indefiniteness. The definite article is *il*, e.g. *il bāb* ‘the door’. It assimilates to the following coronal sounds as in *iz zalame* ‘the man’.

The following quantifiers are used: *kull* ‘every’, *kull binit* ‘every girl’; *kull* ‘all’, *kull iddūr* ‘all the houses’; *kam/atfam/akammin/atfammin* ‘a few/some’, *biddi aštari akammin* ~ *atfammin yaraḏ* ‘I want to buy some stuff’; *fwajj* ‘a little’, *aṣṭīni fwajjit sukkar* ‘give me a little sugar!’; *kaḏa* ‘a number of’ *kaḏa marra*

gultillo jigra gabul mā jītlaṣ min iddār ‘a number of times, I told him to study before he goes out of the house’. There are other less common quantifiers that are still used by the older generation, such as: *rīḥit* ‘some/little’, e.g. *ṣubli rīḥit fāi* ‘pour me some tea please!’, *ḥabbīt* ‘some/little’, e.g. *bīṣir astagriḏ ḥabbīt gamuḥ* ‘can I borrow some wheat?’ and *kamfit* ‘handful/some’, e.g. *aṣṭāni kamfit ḥilu* ‘he gave me a handful of sweets’. The noun phrase is negated by using *miṣ* before the negated element, e.g. *miṣ ḥajā* ‘not a life’, *miṣ hū* ‘not him’, *miṣ biddār* ‘not in the house’, *miṣ kabīr* ‘not big’.

2.1.3.2 Verb Phrases

2.1.3.2.1 Tense and Aspect

The perfect form denotes the past tense, e.g. *?akal* ‘he ate’. The use of *xalaṣ* ‘done’, or *wxalaṣ* ‘and done’ can indicate the completion of the action as in: *xalaṣ ?akal*, *?akal wxalaṣ* ~ *wxallaṣ* ‘he has (done) eaten’. Modality in the past can be shown by combining the perfect form with *kān* ~ *tṣān* ‘was’ as in: *tṣān gulit la?ummak mbāriḥ miṣ kān ?aḥsan* ‘had you told your mother yesterday, would it not have been better?’

Speakers of Saḥam use *b*-imperfect and *gāṣid* ‘sitting’ to express habituality and continuity, respectively: *bigra* ‘he reads’ or ‘he is reading’; *gāṣid bigra* ‘he is reading’. The active participle can express the present continuous for some verbs as in: *ṣāḥi* ‘he is awake’, *wāḡif* ‘he is standing’. For other verbs, the active participle expresses perfect tense as in: *bigūl ?inno nāḡiḥ* ‘he says he has succeeded’.

Future can be expressed by *rājiḥ* ‘going’, e.g. *rājiḥ jigra* ‘he is going to study’, or *bidd-* ‘want’, e.g., *biddi agra bukra* ‘I am going to study tomorrow’. *kān* ‘was’ occurs before the imperfect to express past continuous as in: *kān bigra* ‘he was studying’; or past habitual, e.g. *kān jigra kull jōm* ‘he was (in the habit of) reading everyday’. *gāṣid* + *kān* + *bi*-imperfect/perfect also express past continuous: *kān gāṣid*

bigra/jigra ‘he was reading’. *rāḥ* + *mā* denotes past intention as in: *ruḥit mā amūt min ilxōf* ‘I was going to die out of horror’.

2.1.3.3 Word Order

The most common and unmarked word order is SVO, e.g., *līn rāḥat fa lḥafle* ‘Leen went-3F to the party = Leen went to the party’. VSO is also common but slightly marked, e.g. *rāḥat līn fa lḥafle* ‘went-3F Leen to the party = Leen went to the party’. In certain constructions, however, VSO is the only possible word order. For instance, when the numerals are used as indefinite subjects, VSO prevails, e.g. *fāfat zalame zai axūk bi lḥafle* ‘saw-3F a man, who looks like your brother, in the party = She saw a man, who looks like your brother, at the party’.

2.1.3.4 Conditional Sentences

To introduce the conditional sentences *in*, *intfān*, *iḏa* and *law* ‘if’ are used: *in mā ūtāt lḡalam ḡūli lalim salme* ‘if he didn’t give you the pencil, tell the teacher’. Moreover, conditional meaning is implied by joining two clauses; the first clause usually starts with a verb in the imperative form, and the second clause begins with the verb in the *bi*-imperfect form as in: *ṭaṣmi ṭṭum btistaḥi lṣēn* lit. ‘if you feed the mouth, the eye becomes shy’. Sometimes, the second clause ‘main clause’ can start with *tḡān*, e.g. *law fuftak, tḡān sallamit salēk* ‘if I had seen you, I would have said hello’.

2.2 Summary and Conclusion

The traditional dialect of Saḡam is a typical example of northern rural indigenous Ḥōrāni Jordanian dialects. The linguistic description presented in this chapter shows that the dialect is a relatively conservative one that seems to have survived the influence of the so-called *madani* koineised forms coming from the city of Irbid and the capital Amman. However, as will be shown in chapters three and

four, in the speech of the younger generation, a few *madani* koineised features are being slowly welcomed into the dialect but are still in the stage of variation where they coexist with the traditional Ḥōrāni features.

Chapter Three

3 Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a full description of the methodology I followed while conducting this research including research design and procedures. Firstly, in § 3.1 the sample is described: the participants' number, gender, age, place of residence and the selection procedure. Secondly, in § 3.2 the researcher is described in relation to the speech community showing how she managed to elicit spontaneous natural speech even with the presence of a voice recorder. Thirdly, data collection procedures and the instruments used to collect the data are discussed in detail in § 3.4. Finally, the social and linguistic variables that are taken into account in the analysis of the data are justified and discussed thoroughly in § 3.5.

3.1 The Sample

The sampling procedure in sociolinguistic studies is one of the most important steps that challenge any researcher. The sample has to be selected carefully in order to ensure the representativeness of the population which, in turn, guarantees a high level of generalisability of the results. Some sociolinguists prefer the random sampling procedure pioneered by Labov (1966) as it gives all members of the population equal opportunities to participate in the study. In other words, this method ensures objectivity and avoids bias. In this method, the researcher randomly chooses a number of participants from a list that contains all members of the population, such as a telephone directory or a list obtained from certain Municipal Bureaus of Civil Affairs, etc. While this method has its pros it is not without any cons. First, even Labov's random sample in 1966 was not 'bias-free' because he had eliminated some

speakers who did not meet his selection criteria; this is why he himself calls it a “secondary random sample” (Labov, 1966, p. 168). Secondly, the typical lists from which participants are often randomly selected are themselves biased. For example, a telephone directory lists only those people with landlines and excludes people with only mobile phones. Moreover, some numbers might not be listed in the directories. In addition, often not all of the randomly chosen participants agree to participate (Schilling, 2013). Furthermore, a random selection procedure does not guarantee a well-stratified sample (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). To illustrate, “[s]ociolinguists are usually interested in seeing how particular linguistic features pattern across certain social factors (e.g. regionality, age, gender, ethnicity) and there is no guarantee that a strictly random sample will yield data from speakers in all the categories of interests” (Schilling, 2013, p. 33).

Because of the above-mentioned shortcomings of strict random sampling procedures, some researchers use a less strict technique called 'proportionate stratified random sampling'. This method yields "essentially a random sample that is proportionate based on a certain variable" (Schilling, 2013, p. 34). In other words, in this method, the researcher constructs the sample using modified random techniques to ensure the inclusion of balanced stratified sectors of the population based on the social variables under investigation, such as age, gender, ethnicity, etc.

Generally, most sociolinguistic research uses a more practical method which is called 'quota' or 'judgment' sampling. This sampling procedure, "involves identifying in advance the types of speakers you want to study and then obtaining a certain number of each type of speakers- for example, older, middle-aged, and young speakers; males and females; African American and Whites", etc. (Schilling, 2013, p.

35). Schilling (2013) affirms that this method guarantees that all social variables cells are filled based on the research questions instead of hoping that these cells are filled as is the case in random sampling.

For all of the above-mentioned reasons, I have utilised 'quota' or 'judgment' sampling in this study to draw a sample from Saḥam speech community. Because my study takes into consideration different social factors, i.e., gender, age, and amount of contact with the outside speech communities, judgment sampling is more suitable for my study as it ensures filling all social factors' cells with equal number of participants. Moreover, being married to a native speaker of Saḥam's variety equipped me with valuable knowledge of the speech community that enabled me to draw an adequate sample that included equal number of participants from different age and gender groups. Although subjective in nature, the 'judgment' sampling procedure is more convenient and practical in sociolinguistic research (see §6.2). Through my own knowledge of the speech community and through help from my in-laws, I have included only speakers who were born and raised in Saḥam; therefore, I excluded the Syrian refugees and the wives of Saḥam's natives who were born and raised outside Saḥam.

When setting the number of the sample, one has to remember that the nature of sociolinguistic research is quite different from that of other fields of social sciences. Notably, in most of other social science research that use random sampling, the size of the sample is often very large to ensure representativeness (Schilling 2013). For example, Neuman (1997 cited in Milroy and Gordon 2003) claims that a sample size of 300 is necessary for small populations (under 1,000), and a sample size of 1,500 is necessary for large populations (over 150,000). Schilling (2013) rightly argues that such sample sizes are not necessary in sociolinguistic research because they are not practical. First, while most social science research uses short questionnaires or completion tasks, sociolinguistic research use recorded

interviews as the chief tool which needs more time and effort. Secondly, questionnaires and other similar tools are easier methods to collect and analyse data compared to the work involved in transcribing recorded interviews. Thirdly, analysing linguistic data both quantitatively and qualitatively is more time consuming than analysing other data. Hence, my sample size is 60 speakers, distributed according to the social variables included in the research (see below), which is an adequate number in sociolinguistic research.

My sample consists of 60 participants who were born and have lived in Saḥam. They belong to three age groups: 20-39, 40-59, 60 + . Each age group consists of even numbers of male and female participants; this means the sample includes 30 male and 30 female participants. Unlike the situation in other Arab speech communities (see Alessa 2008 for problems in gaining access to male participants by female interviewers), gaining access to the required number of participants was not difficult. In fact, being a female researcher made it easier for me to collect data as I was able to enter the homes of the participants and record both males and females either in the same sessions or in different ones. Had the researcher been male, it would have been more difficult to gain access to female participants who often need permission from their male partners or relatives to be interviewed and recorded. Moreover, the community in Saḥam is a tribal community with intermarriages among all tribes; with the help of my in-laws in Saḥam, I was able to enter the participants' homes and record with relative ease.

3.2 The Researcher

I am a native speaker of Jordanian Arabic and I do not have any difficulties in understanding rapid conversation in the variety studied here. As Labov (1972, p. 215 cited in Al-Wer 1991) emphasizes “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.” I have a deep knowledge of the Jordanian social system and its speech community as I was born and raised in Irbid. When in Jordan, my husband and I make frequent visits to Saḥam to see his family and relatives almost twice a week. Sometimes, we stay overnight. During those visits, I mingle with all my in-laws, their relatives and neighbours. This has given me a deep knowledge of the local dialect and the ability to understand rapid speech uttered by speakers from different age and gender groups. Moreover, I have a deep knowledge of the social values, customs and taboos in Saḥam. This knowledge is very important for any researcher intending to conduct a linguistic fieldwork. Milroy (1987, p. 33) emphasises the latter point by explaining that "most obviously, the researchers needed to know a great deal about local values and the local social system before they could even begin their analysis". She illustrated that in his Martha's Vineyard study (1963), Labov's analysis of the data would not have been possible, had he not had a deep knowledge of the social system in the island. His knowledge of the people and their social values helped him to arrive at the social motivation behind the sound change he was able to document.

On a personal level, people often describe me as friendly and easy-going. In addition, I am a determined and patient person. These personal attributes have facilitated my job in interviewing participants. During some days of my data collection period, participants would postpone or even cancel our appointments with very short notices. I dealt with these inconveniences with wisdom and patience and happily accepted any changes of the scheduled interviews. This flexibility in my schedule made the participants feel at ease and never under pressure which, in turn, reflected on the nature of the interviews when they occurred, i.e., my flexibility helped my interviews to be spontaneous and natural and more like informal social visits than formal interviews.

As I mentioned above, Saḥam's social system is a tribal one. Although I do not belong to any of the tribes in Saḥam, I belong to a famous tribe which is rooted in one of the Ḥōrānī villages, Natifah. My father is a well-known figure in Irbid governorate as he has held many positions in civil service sector. My husband belongs to the second largest tribe in Saḥam and his family is well-known and widely respected in the village. These personal attributes and connections facilitated conducting my interviews at the participants' houses, in a friendly and spontaneous atmosphere. Entering someone's house and interviewing them is not easy in a tribal village like Saḥam unless they felt that the researcher is trustworthy and in some way connected to them. I can claim that I have a huge social network in Saḥam of friends, in-laws and neighbours. I found people willing to participate and take part in the interviews as the word spread that I was visiting homes and talking to people. Some people even phoned and offered to help. The fact that I was close to the society, and the type of my visits and the existence of my sister-in-law, who is close to both the researcher and the interviewees, helped in solving the problem of the observer's paradox and the image of the outsider. At the end of most of the interviews, the participants used to say that they felt as if they had known me for a long time and begged me to visit again.

As Al-Wer (1991) rightly argues, being a female researcher gave me an advantage as a researcher to include the desired number of female participants in my sample. In many of the societies in the Middle East, most families are often reluctant to grant male researchers permission to access their houses and interview female members. This is why female participants are underrepresented in some of the sociolinguistic studies in the Middle East when the interviewer is a male researcher. Abdel-Jawad (1981) and Alkhatib (1988) admitted facing difficulties in recording for female participants in Jordan

that they had to ask other females to do the task. Male Saudi Arabian sociolinguists faced similar problems, such as Al-Jehani (1985), Al-Shehri (1993) and Kahtani (1993) in Mecca, Jeddah and Abha, respectively. It has to be noted that some Middle Eastern cultures are more conservative than others when it comes to male-female communication. For example, the Saudi culture is more strict than the Jordanian one. In my case it was easy to find both female and male participants and I was able to ask questions freely that helped in eliciting spontaneous natural speech. This does not mean that all female researchers are given an automatic access to interview male and female participants in conservative Middle Eastern societies. Being a female researcher is a mere advantage that has to combine with other necessary personal, moral and social traits as I mentioned earlier.

My original accent is similar to the dialect of Saḥam as I was born and raised in Irbid city with intensive contact with the dialect of Natifah, a Ḥōrāni dialect (see §6.2). My family originally come from Natifah village and we are still in contact with our relatives and friends. I have to admit that the presence of my sister-in-law and the nature of my visits (social informal visits) helped to obtain informal spontaneous natural speech. All of the recorded interviews were conducted by me in the presence of my sister-in-law who is local during March-June, 2013.

3.3 The Interview

In this study, I sought informal spontaneous natural speech from native speakers of the dialect of Saḥam.

In line with most variationist sociolinguistic research, the instrument used to collect the data in this study is the sociolinguistic interviews. However, social interviews are not all pros. One of the cons of social interviews is the so-called 'observer's paradox', viz. obtaining a sample of speech that represents the way people speak when they are not being observed. Labov (1972, p. 209) warns that this

requirement is paradoxical "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation". Milroy and Gordon (2003) explain the problems of recorded social interviews as follows:

Traditionally, the data of primary interest to sociolinguists have been those representing the spontaneous, everyday usage of vernacular speakers. However, the status of researchers as community outsiders inevitably challenges their ability to gain access to such data. The investigator is faced with the "observer's paradox": we want to observe how people speak when they are not being observed. The problem is made more acute when tape-recordings of speech are needed for analysis, since many speakers will tend to shift away from their casual usage in situations where they are being recorded by a stranger. (p. 49)

Thankfully, these problems can be overcome via utilising certain data collection techniques.

Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 65) state that the solutions or techniques to overcome the 'observer's paradox' are of two main types: "(1) attempts to influence the content of the interview; and (2) modifications to the dynamics of one-on-one interviewing." One of the famous attempts of the first technique is asking Labov's 'danger of death' question: "Have you ever been in a situation where you thought you were in a serious danger of being killed- where you thought to yourself, 'This is it?'" (Labov, 1972, p. 93). The rationale behind such a technique/question is that by getting the interviewees involved in reciting emotional events makes them less aware of the presence of the interviewer and thus deliver informal spontaneous natural speech. While this technique can work in one speech community, there is no guarantee that it will work in another⁷. Sociolinguists all over the world developed many similar 'danger of death questions' in order to get the interviewees emotionally involved in their answers and

⁷ See Trudgill (1974) for details on the failure of this technique in Norwich that he had to change it into an 'amusing situation' question; see also Butters (2000) for the overreaction of his participants to the 'danger of death' question (i.e. too scary) that some of them refused to answer it).

thus obtain informal spontaneous natural speech, such as ‘amusing questions’, ‘ghost questions’, ‘childhood questions’ and ‘high school questions’ (Milroy and Gordon, 2003).

As for the second type of techniques in solving the ‘observer’s paradox’, some sociolinguists suggested increasing the number of the interviewers and/or the interviewees and thus mitigating the “awkwardness of two strangers having to speak one-on-one” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p. 66). In their Harlem research, Labov et al. (1968) studied groups instead of individuals. During this study, group members talked to the interviewers and sometimes to each other.

Another ethnographic technique is called “participant observation”. Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 68) explain that in order to change the outsider status of the researcher, “investigators may adopt a role of participant observer.” They illustrated by citing Penelope Eckert’s (1989, 2000) study in Detroit-area schools in which she spent two years collecting data outside the classroom and tape-recorded 200 students in the library, cafeteria and halls. She both interviewed the students individually and in groups. Her involvement with the participants for two years helped overcome the ‘observer’s paradox’ as she became a ‘participant observer’. However, becoming a ‘participant observer’ is not without problems. Firstly, it requires long time and tremendous effort as well as total commitment. Secondly, when the researcher becomes a ‘participating observer’ he/she waves his/her rights of controlling the flow of the interviews. This may lead to chaotic speech interactions. Thirdly, recording for a group of people who interact without a controller may lead to simultaneous or parallel conversations. Without a doubt, this influences the intelligibility of the recordings, i.e., the researcher may find some recordings very hard to follow when too many people speak at the same time. Even if the researcher managed to follow these chaotic conversations, it would be very hard to identify all speakers. Finally, in this method there is no

guarantee that the researcher can get enough recorded time from each participant (for more details see Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p. 70).

Other methods do exist to avoid the ‘observer’s paradox’. One of these methods is recording the participants without telling them that they are being recorded. While this method might guarantee natural spontaneous speech, it is unethical. Sociolinguists should not try to deceive their participants; therefore, this method should not be acceptable and should be avoided. Another method is to hide the real purpose of the interview, i.e., the researcher tells his/her participants that they will be recorded before starting to do so, but informs them that the recordings would be used for another non-linguistic purpose. In doing so, the participants would concentrate on the content of their answers rather than their linguistic production. Consequently, the researcher would get natural spontaneous speech. This method is a controversial one and poses some ethical issues regarding deceiving the participants. However, Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 3) admit that traditionally sociolinguistic data have “often been gathered in the context of conversational interviews in which the subject (or informant) remains unaware that his/her linguistic usage is the focus of investigation.” A third method involves gathering data through a friend-of-a-friend or even through a ‘friend-of-a-friend’s-friend’ (see Milroy, 1987 for more information on Social Networks). This method helps to mitigate the formality of the interviews as the researcher is introduced through a friend or a friend of a friend. Labov (1972, p. 88) argues that the “most frequent place for casual speech to emerge...is at the end of the interview. It is perhaps most common when the interviewer has packed away his equipment, and is standing with one hand on the door knob.” Along this line of thought, the researcher should not switch his/her recorder before completely leaving the place of the interview.

3.4 Data Collection Procedure in this Study

In this study I tried my best to avoid the ‘observer’s paradox’ and, at the same time, exerted every effort not to deceive my participants. Firstly, I solicited the help of a local woman. Before each interview, she would phone some possible participants through her social network of relatives and friends in the village (i.e., I utilised Milroy’s a friend-of-a-friend procedure). During the phone calls she would tell them about my research and the need to record. To my surprise, and satisfaction, no one objected to being recorded (some inquired about the necessity of audio-recording and then agreed after I assured them that all recordings would be used for academic purposes and would not be heard by anyone else other than me and my supervisor, if needed). Although permission was granted beforehand, my first question of the interview was asking for consent and permission to record. All young participants signed a formal consent form and consented verbally at the beginning of the interviews. Some of the old participants did the same but some only consented verbally as they were illiterate. The consent form was prepared by me and approved by the Department of Language and Linguistics at the University of Essex. It was prepared in two versions: one in English and the other in Arabic as most of my participants are monolingual in Arabic (see Appendix 2). Moreover, I obtained an ethical approval form (no criminal record) from both the University of Essex and Jadara University, my sponsor in Jordan. Like the consent form, the ethical approval was obtained in two versions: one in English and the other in Arabic.

Although I briefed all the participants about the purpose of my study, most of them believed that I was investigating their social life, customs and traditions due to the nature of my questions. They seemed more concerned with the accuracy of the content of their answers rather than their actual speech. I suspect that they did not understand the purpose of my study. Perhaps it was because they

were not aware of the nature of sociolinguistic research. My evidence to their failure to understand the purpose of the study comes from the fact that they used to correct some historical information (not language) they had given days after the end of their interviews. Moreover, sometimes a bystander (a spouse, son, daughter of the interviewee) would interfere and interrupt the interview correcting some information given by the interviewee. This worked to my advantage as it helped to avoid or at least mitigate the 'observer's paradox'. In other words, I noticed that most of them spoke freely and naturally and did not try to monitor their speech. My participants' failure to understand the purpose of sociolinguistic research is not unprecedented in the Jordanian sociolinguistic studies. In fact, a similar case was documented by Al-Wer (1991, p. 42) who explained that "[a]lthough the aims of the research were explained to the speakers, the majority of them, especially the older speakers, seemed to believe that I was investigating social customs and traditions, and how they were affected by urbanization."

Before I started collecting my data and audio-recording orderly, I piloted group interviews with the aim of checking the viability of group interviews as a method likely to mitigate the adverse effects of the 'observer's paradox' but I realised that it was not suitable for my purposes as I confronted the following problems. First, the quality of the recordings was not up to par. Because many participants talked simultaneously and because some of them were sitting far away from the recorder, the recording quality was poor and very hard to follow. Secondly, I noticed that in group interviews males often dominated the discussions. Thirdly, I did not get enough recorded time from each participant as some of them were more talkative than others. Fourthly, when I listened to the recordings I could not recognise the speakers all of the time. Due to these disadvantages, I decided to stop group recordings and switch to one-to-one interviews. However, I did not ask for private sessions, i.e., I did not prevent other members of the

family from being present as I tried to make my interviews as informal and natural as possible. In cases when more than one member of one family volunteered to be interviewed, all or some of them sat in the same room and listened waiting for their turns. Sometimes some of them would go to the kitchen and bring some drinks, snacks, etc.

I tried to utilise Labov's famous 'death question' in my interviews. However, when I felt that the participants were not comfortable about answering such a question either because they did not want to remember such incidents or because they felt it was too personal, I resorted to using other questions, namely the 'childhood question'. I found the latter question to be a suitable one as most of them smiled and talked in detail about it. The 'childhood' question was actually a module, i.e., a series of linked questions. I used to start by asking the participants to narrate some recollections of their childhood. Depending on the answers, I used to follow up with other related questions. As for the topics raised in the interviews, I often started by taking permission to audio-record then asking some biographic questions, such as name, age, educational level, career and details about other members of the family. After that, I used to ask a set of questions on different topics on life in the village in the past and the present such as education; dowry and wedding customs; raising children; passing time; transportation; the effect of technological advances on the life in the village; hospitality; condoling customs; visits and trips to other areas in Jordan and outside Jordan; traditional local games; childhood memories; food and recipes; driving licenses; smoking; etc. However, following Al-Wer (1991), I did not ask all of these questions to all participants. I gained experience on what to ask depending on the situation. Sometimes I would omit, change and add questions depending on the personality of the interviewee. In dealing with my participants in the interviews, my guideline was the following statement by Al-Wer (1991, p. 44):

“they were encouraged to feel that it was an amusing experience to participate in an interview. It was, therefore, essential not to bore the speakers, nor to embarrass them.”

Each interview took place in the participants' houses and lasted from 30 to 60 minutes depending on the situation as some participants were more talkative than others. I did not attempt to end any interview before I felt that the participants said all they wanted to say. Moreover, I did not stop the audio-recorder until I left their houses because casual speech often emerges at the end of the interviews (Labov, 1972).

As for the recording apparatus, I used a Sony ICD-UX513F 3 in 1 stereo voice recorder (Stereo mic and headphones, USB, MP3 recording, MP3/WMA/AAC playback, 4GB, memory card slot, FM tuner). I saved the audio files in MP3 format. The size of this audio-recorder is really small and looks like a mobile phone; this was an advantage as most participants did not pay attention to it. I did not face any difficulties in the recording, and I used to make sure that it was fully charged before the interviews took place. The sound provided via this device was excellent and clear. Although I did not attach the microphone, the quality of the sound was high. That there was no microphone attached to the pocket-sized recorder was a good idea, as the participants almost forgot all about it.

As for the length of the interview, there does not seem to be a consensus amongst sociolinguists about how long it should last. For example, Labov (1984, p. 32) stipulates that a good sociolinguistic interview should last “from one to two hours of speech from each speaker.” In contrast, Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 58) advise that “useful phonological data can often be obtained in a relatively short time- perhaps as short as 20 to 30 minutes.” Other types of data might need longer interviews in order to

be obtained. Cheshire (1982) claims that obtaining enough tokens of syntactic features need longer interviews than phonological features. In this thesis, my interviews lengths ranged from 30-60 minutes depending on the participants. Indeed, these lengths were adequate to elicit the necessary number of tokens for each variable under investigation.

3.5 Variables and Coding Procedures

3.5.1 The Social Variables

3.5.1.1 The Age Variable

In the field of variationist sociolinguistics age as a social variable is often discussed in relation to three important terms: real time, apparent time and age grading. All of the above represent approaches that try to explain variation and change in speech communities, either in the past, i.e., change that had occurred, or in the present, i.e., change in progress. As Wolfram (2006, p. 338) puts it, “speakers do not go to bed one night using a particular form only to wake up the next morning to find the form categorically replaced by another one”. In the 1960s, William Labov, the founder of variationist sociolinguistics, developed a systematic method that enabled sociolinguists to study language change synchronically. He postulated that language change can be studied by analysing the linguistic behaviour of different age groups at a particular point in time period (apparent time). His hypothesis claims that “linguistic differences among different generations of a population (apparent-time differences) would mirror actual diachronic developments in the language (real-time linguistic changes)” (Bailey, 2002, p.313). Nevertheless, the apparent time hypothesis is a hypothesis and cannot be relied on blindly. Sometimes, linguistic differences among different age groups do not reflect a change in progress. They

might rather reflect age grading. The linguistic phenomenon of age grading is considered one of the main dangers threatening the validity of the apparent time hypothesis as will be explained later.

Chambers and Trudgill (1995) admit that the best way to get information about linguistic change is to use the real-time approach; that is, to survey a particular population using the same sampling design and elicitation tools at two different points in time and compare and contrast them looking for linguistic change. Labov (1994) states that there are two main ways for making real-time observations: ‘reviewing the past’ and ‘repeating the past’. The first way entails that researchers find previous studies in the literature related to the linguistic variable in question and review and compare the results of these studies that have been conducted in different time periods. The second way is more difficult because it entails going back to the “community after a lapse of time and repeat the same study” (Labov, 1994, p. 74). Labov (1994) admits that ‘reviewing the past’ approach of making real-time evidence suffers from a number of problems and complications: 1) it is often the case that previous investigations are not available, 2) previous data are often inadequate or fragmentary, 3) the method used in available previous studies might be unreliable, 4) the phonetic transcription used in studies conducted some decades ago often lack necessary details that makes comparisons with modern transcriptions very difficult to accomplish. Repeating the past studies can come in two forms: trend or panel studies. The former involves replicating all of the procedures followed in the previous study but using a different sample. The latter involves replicating everything including using the same sample. No doubt that trend studies are simpler and more doable than panel studies and this is why they are more available in the literature than panel studies. Undoubtedly, repeating a study using ‘repeating the past’ approach may involve some complications. It is sometimes not possible to find the same sample due to immigration,

war, unwillingness to re-participate, death, etc. If, on the other hand, we decided to repeat it as a trend study, we should make sure that the new sample is representative and similar to the one in the previous study. Sometimes, however, things happen over time that are beyond the control of the researcher. For example, when Fowler (1986) decided to replicate Labov's famous Department Store study, she discovered that one of the stores (namely, S. Klein) ran out of business.

The apparent time construct, therefore, facilitates the way in which sociolinguists study language variation and change in different speech communities. It makes use of special sampling designs that include different age groups. It stems from "the assumption that differences across generations of speakers at a given point in time will mirror actual diachronic change" (Wolfram, 2006, p. 338). It is very useful in variationist sociolinguistics as it equips researchers with a useful tool to identify change in progress in speech communities. Within the apparent-time approach, researchers do not have to observe speech communities for long periods of time in order to identify linguistic change. They, instead, can take a synchronic cross-sectional sample from different age groups and study them. Any linguistic variation due to age can be potential change in progress. The word 'potential' is very important here as variation due to age can bear one of two possible interpretations: either a change in progress or age-grading. The latter belongs to a "pattern that repeats itself in a community in generation after generation" (Chambers, 1995, p. 203).

Age grading involves a linguistic situation whereby some speech community members change their speech at some periods of their lives in order to conform to adult norms (Chambers, 2008). Bailey (2002) admits that such successive age-graded changes that are repeated in some generations pose problems for the concept of apparent-time but at the same time acknowledges that such changes are very rare. In fact,

age grading often involves the “speech of children or adolescents” and the “sociolectal adjustments that young adults sometimes make in response to the pressures of the marketplace” (Bailey, 2002, 322).

Therefore, apparent-time studies should try to exclude children and teenagers from their investigation.

The instability of the individual vernaculars of teenagers is very well-documented. Cukor-Avila (2000)

empirically showed that individual vernaculars are more stable during adult years than during

adolescent years by interviewing two adults and two children who then became adolescents several

times over a decade. In his review of Cukor-Avila’s study, Bailey (2002, p. 324) concluded that apparent-

time studies that “use teenagers as one of the age cohorts, then, must be viewed with some suspicion.”

Because of the danger of using teenagers in apparent-time studies, Bailey (1991, p. 241) redefined the

apparent-time construct as “differences among generations of similar adults mirror actual diachronic

developments in a language.” In this definition, Bailey only included adults and excluded teenagers.

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developments in a language.” In this definition, Bailey only included adults and excluded teenagers.

The sample of my research included three age groups: 20-39, 40-59, 60+. As an apparent-time procedure, it is hoped that including different age cohorts in my sample would reveal change in progress (if any) in the speech community under investigation.

3.5.1.2 The Gender Variable

Gender as a social variable or factor plays an important role in the study of language variation and

change. Data from empirical studies as early as Labov (1966), Fasold (1968) and Wolfram (1969) show

that women “consistently produce linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men” (Trudgill, 1972, p. 180).

In the Arab world, the findings of the early sociolinguistic studies on Arabic speech communities suggested that the use of standard forms is less prevalent in women’s than in men’s speech which “appeared to contravene the general pattern of gender differentiation found elsewhere in sociolinguistic research” (Al-Wer, 2014, p. 396). To illustrate, studies on the phonological variable (Q) such as those done by Abdel-Jawad (1981, 1987) in Amman and Nablus; Sallam (1980) in Cairo; Al-Khatib (1988) in Irbid and Schmidt (1974) in Cairo claimed that Arab women used the standard pronunciation less than men. In addition, other studies on the pronunciation of Arabic interdentals, such as Kojak (1983) in Syria and Bakir (1988) in Basrah claimed that Arab women used the standard pronunciation less than men. As Al-Wer (2014) rightly argues, this apparent deviation of Arab women’s linguistic behaviour led to the false conclusion that it is a sociolinguistic anomaly.

Labov (2001, p. 270), for example, considered it “a widespread reversal of the position of men and women predicted by principle 2.” It was explained as a result of Arab women’s limited access to formal education and/or their limited roles in public life (Al-Wer, 2014). However, Ibrahim (1986) pointed out that such conclusions are misconstrued. He called for reinterpreting the Arabic data without confusing the status of standard Arabic with that of prestigious varieties. Haeri (1987) and Al-Wer (1997) followed suit. Al-Wer (1997) argues that while in most European speech communities the standard varieties coincide with the prestige ones, the case is different in Arabic. She states:

The status and utility of CA is quite different from, and should not be confused with, the social evaluation and function of the standard varieties of modern European languages. For instance, Standard British English with an RP accent derives its prestige from the social status of its native speakers. CA, on the other hand, has no native speakers, and it is not used by any social group

consistently. In sociolinguistic analyses, this distinction is pivotal. In principle it implies that the stratification of an English-speaking community would involve Standard English native speakers, whereas in the case of Arabic, a stratification which involves CA would be untenable. (pp. 255-256)

Ibrahim (1986) convincingly argues that most of those who have investigated Arabic sociolinguistics in relation to gender have wrongly assumed that Standard Arabic is the only prestigious or highly valued variety of Arabic as:

Evidence from various sources and different Arab countries shows that spoken Arabic (L) has its own prestigious varieties which always comprise certain features that are not only different from but are stigmatised by H norms. All available data indicate that Arab women in speaking Arabic employ the locally prestigious features of L more than men. This is in perfect conformity with patterns of language use in other language communities.” (p. 124)

Al-Wer (2014) summarises the issue mentioned above and provides a comprehensive survey of studies related to Arabic sociolinguistics and gender. Sadiqi (2003) argues that women in Morocco are associated with the ‘private space’ whereas Moroccan men with the ‘public space’. The ‘site of power’ is the public space where Standard Arabic prevails, whereas the private space is associated with vernacular Arabic. She hypothesises that as a result of women’s recent advances in the public space (politics and religion) there has been an increase of the use of vernacular Arabic in the media, a domain that was only confined to Standard Arabic.

Bassiouny (2009) studied the relationship between the language of Egyptian television commercials and the target audience. Her findings reveal that “advertisement makers...associate MSA with education, working women, even wealth, while ECA [Egyptian Colloquial Arabic] is the trivial variety” (p. 280) associated with uneducated housewives. However, Bassiouny (2010) found no effect of gender on the use of either Standard Arabic or Egyptian Arabic by educated men and women in talk shows. The significant factor was the ‘topic’ rather than ‘gender’.

Roux (1925, cited in Al-Wer, 2014) observed the excessive usage by women of three innovative phonetic features in Meknes, Morocco: fronting of /ʃ/ to /s/, /ʒ/ to /z/ and pronouncing /r/ as /y/. He argued that these features were exclusive to women in Meknes. Al-Wer (2014, p. 401) admits that the exclusivity of these features to women might be exaggerated, but “his findings can be taken to indicate sound changes in progress.”

Abdel-Jawad and Awwad (1989) investigated the Arabic interdentals in Jordan and other urban centres in the Arab World. They found that male speakers in Jordan pronounced the interdentals in their localised forms more than women. They argued that although the localised forms of the interdentals coincide with the standard pronunciation in Standard Arabic, they are old and non-prestigious pronunciations.

Abu Haidar (1989) investigated the role of gender in the use of six sociolinguistic variables in Baghdad, Iraq. The results show that “in Baghdad the prestige variety of spoken Arabic is in the direction of the standard, and that women, more than men, tend to favor this variety” (p. 471).

To conclude, most of the recent research on gender differentiation in Arabic is in line with Ibrahim (1986). Other linguists suggest that gender can be approached from new angles. For instance, Haeri (1987) proposes to tackle gender with respect to modernisation. Similarly, Al-Wer (1991, 2007) suggests tackling gender with respect to the marginalisation of women in the civil service, especially in the 1970s that resulted in the women’s appeal to the ‘modern’ and ‘urban’. Thus, studies on gender differentiation in Arabic need to consider the real position of the colloquial vis-à-vis the Standard (Algarawi, 2006).

3.5.1.3 Amount of Contact

Language contact is an essential factor in the study of Sociolinguistics. It is important for the study of both mono and bilingual speech communities. In fact, it is “part of the fabric of everyday life for hundreds of millions of people the world over” (Sankoff, 2001, p. 638). In sociolinguistics, Weinreich (1951) and Ferguson and Gumperz (1960) were among the first studies that focused on language contact. Sankoff (2001, p.640) explains that language contacts historically have “taken place in large part under conditions and social inequality resulting from wars, conquests, colonialism, slavery and migration- forced or otherwise. Relatively benign contacts involving urbanisation or trade as a contact motivation are also documented.”

Mobility and amount of contact with other speech communities are very important factors that can lead to language and/or dialect variation and change. Milroy and Gordon (2003, pp. 133-134) point out that the classical description of a speech community involves specifying a “particular location, and ... a series of putatively relevant social categories such as gender, class, or generation cohort.” This description, they argue, implicates that the speakers are “constrained by geographical location” (p. 134). In reality however, people constantly move and have contact with others. Jespersen (1954) emphasises the effect of universities (education), military service, urbanisation, officials and actors on dialectal variation and change. Most of the previous factors involve mobility of one kind or another. He states that linguistic communities can be viewed upwardly: “the family, the clan, the tribe, the people or nation, and finally the super-nation” (p. 33). He then admits that it is impossible to draw clear-cut dividing lines between them as there seem to be “two opposing tendencies, the one in the direction of splitting, the other in the direction of larger and larger units” (p. 37).

Chambers (2009, p. 244) posits that mobility comes in three guises all of which have to be involved in order to influence language use. These three guises are geographical, social and occupational. While the first “brings people into contact across vast distances,” the other two guises bring them into contact as “workmates and neighbors.”

In his book, *Dialects in Contact*, Trudgill (1986) discusses what happens when different dialects come into contact. Specifically, he “deals with how and why mutually intelligible linguistic varieties may influence one another, as well as with the social and geographic spread of linguistic forms from one dialect to another” (p. vi). He argues that Giles’ (1973) Accommodation Theory can be relied on in order to explain the linguistic convergence and/or divergence that arise when speakers of different dialects come into contact. Giles (cited in Trudgill, 1986, p. 2) states that “if the sender in a dynamic situation wishes to gain the receiver’s approval, then he may adapt his accent patterns towards that of this person, i.e. reduce pronunciation dissimilarities.” Giles calls this situation ‘accent convergence’. Conversely, speakers might choose to show disapproval of others and dissociate themselves from the receivers via sticking to their accents and making no efforts to reduce pronunciation dissimilarities. Giles calls this situation ‘accent divergence’.

Trudgill (1986) examines both short-term and long-term linguistic accommodation. The former is transitory while the latter is more permanent. Trudgill investigated two sociolinguistic variables in his own speech while conducting interviews in his own speech community, Norwich. These variables are (t) and (a:). He noticed that he accommodated to his informants in the case of (t), but not in the case of (a:) (the accommodation of (a:) was either not present or very slight in comparison to that of (t)). In order to explain this, he refers to Labov’s (1972) distinction between variables, indicators and markers. The latter

are very salient variables that have both stylistic and social class variation and speakers are often aware of their saliency. Indicators, on the other hand, have only social class variation and speakers are less aware of them than of markers. So, sociolinguistics variables can change status from mere variables to indicators and finally to markers depending on their linguistic saliency and the amount of speakers' awareness of them. Such awareness and saliency are "due to factors such as those...to do with stigmatization, linguistic change, phonetic distance, and phonological contrasts" (p. 11). Trudgill argues that he accommodated (t) more than (a:) during his interviews because (t) is a salient marker in Norwich while (a:) is an indicator. Following Labov (1972), Trudgill explains that "the high level of awareness associated with a marker leads speakers to modify their pronunciation of it in situations (such as formal occasions) when they are monitoring their speech" (p. 10). This is true in both short-term accommodations and long-term ones.

According to Trudgill (1986), accommodation in dialect contact situations involves two processes: modification of speech features and/or the acquisition of new ones. The first process involves modifying dialectal markers first, then indicators. The second process especially arises in long-term accommodation and involves the "adoption of totally new features of pronunciation" (Trudgill, 1986, p. 12). Trudgill (1986, p. 23) warns that dialect accommodation does not only rise due to saliency and markedness of some features; "the desire to be intelligible is also an important factor."

Dialect contact situations have some consequences, such as dialect levelling, interdialect forms and the development of new forms. Dialect levelling (sometimes termed supra-localisation) refers to "the process by which, as a result of mobility and dialect contact, linguistic variants with a wide socio-spatial currency become more widespread at the expense of more localised forms" (Britain, 2010, p. 194). A

case in point is the spread of a glottal stop [ʔ] pronunciation of the standard (t) at the expense of both the standard pronunciation /t/ and the localised pronunciation ‘glottal reinforced /ʔt/’ in Tyneside (J. Milroy, 1994). In other words, the glottal pronunciation is a widespread non-standard supralocal variant.

Trudgill (1986, p. 62) refers to the incomplete accommodation on “a wide scale during diffusion” as ‘interdialect’ following Selinker’s (1972) ‘interlanguage’. The term is “intended to refer to situations where contact between two dialects leads to the development of forms that actually originally occurred in neither dialect”. A case in point is the development of Norwegian diphthong /øy/ in Oslo. Larsen (1907, cited in Trudgill, 1986) explains this development as a compromise (interdialect form) between the upper-class pronunciation /ø:/ and the peasant-like pronunciation /æu/. If the contact situation was long enough and the linguistic distance between the two dialects was divergently sufficient, a new dialect might form. Trudgill demonstrates this process by referring to the case of the Norwegian industrial town Høyanger whose inhabitants came from different areas following the industrial development. Omdal (1976, cited in Trudgill, 1986) explains the present linguistic situation in Høyanger as follows:

the oldest generation in Høyanger...speak dialects that still to a considerable extent reflect the area of the country where they grew up. The second generation...still speak dialects which show to a certain extent the influence of their parents’ regional dialects...It is only the third generation...who speak a relatively unified and distinctive Høyanger dialect. (p. 95)

Trudgill explains that new dialect formation involves the process of koineisation which comprises the process of levelling and the process of simplification.

Finally, it has to be noted that in contact situations, sometimes, some variants are retained; this is called lack of accommodation. According to Trudgill (1986, p. 125), “forms that are not

accommodated to are either of low salience or of very high salience: that is, *extra-strong* salience may inhibit accommodation.”

The amount of contact as an external social factor was included in a number of sociolinguistic studies. Wolfram (1968, cited in Alessa, 2008) is one of the oldest studies that utilised the amount of contact as a social factor in investigating the speech of African Americans in Detroit, USA. He did not use the term contact though; he instead called it ‘racial isolation’. The latter term refers to the estimated amount of contact each of his African American participants had with other races.

The social networks concept tacitly involves contact as a social factor. Social networks as a general “intuitive concept have been used in sociolinguistic studies for a very long time [see Labov et al., 1968]...but they only gained general currency as a solid methodological tool with the publication of Lesley Milroy’s ground breaking study of Belfast English” (Bergs, 2006, online). Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 117) state that “[a]n individual’s social network is the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals, sometimes remotely.” The nature of the network ties, i.e., whether strong or weak, can influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of the network members. Strong networks foster uniformity while weak or loose networks “are more tolerant towards non-conformity with network norms, i.e., ‘deviant’ behaviour” (Bergs, 2006, online). In her famous Belfast study, L. Milroy (1980) developed a five-level network strength scale. L. Milroy (1987, p. 160) predicts that “a dense-multiplex network structure predicts relative closeness to the vernacular norms.”

Similarly, Labov (2001) devised ‘communication indices’ to identify the degree of social interaction of each of his informants. Labov himself admits the similarities between his indices and that of L. Milroy’s.

The term communication index reflects the focus on verbal interaction as the product of social relations. The communication indices are not dissimilar from the criteria used to construct the Belfast multiplexity scores, which involve the number of kin and workmates in the neighbourhood, and they define the sets of social relations that are often referred to as social networks. (p. 335)

Labov’s indices comprised four-levels: C1-C4. He found a correlation between the communication indices and the adoption of some sound changes in Philadelphia, such as the pronunciation of the diphthong /aʊ/ as /æ/ in words like ‘house’ and ‘loud’.

As Alessa (2008) argues, contact is seldom utilised as a social factor in its own right in Arabic sociolinguistic studies although it is indirectly investigated in the majority of studies. Jabeur (1987), Alessa (2008) and Horesh (2014) are among the few studies that included the amount of contact with other dialect as a social factor correlated with other social and linguistic variables. Jabeur (1987, cited in Alessa, 2008) investigated dialect variation and change in the speech of informants who immigrated from rural areas and settled in Rades, an urban Tunisian harbour city. He developed an index to gauge the rural immigrants’ contact with other urban speakers. He found that “convergence to the urban dialect features is largely dependent on the urban nature of the social contacts with whom the rural immigrant establishes patterns of face-to-face interaction” (Jabeur, 1987, p. 225, cited in Alessa, 2008, p. 68).

Alessa (2008) investigated the outcome of contact between two Saudi dialects, Najdi and Hijazi Arabic. She classified the 61 Najdi speakers living in Hijaz according to their degree of contact with the

Hijazi natives. She developed a four-scale index of contact depending on the amount of “regular face to face verbal interaction...Speakers scored one point for each criterion they fulfilled” (p. 69). The four criteria used are: 1) formal relationships at school, work and/or the marketplace, 2) participation in affairs in the neighbourhood, 3) close friendships with Hijazi natives, and 4) kinship and intermarriage with Hijazi natives. She found that “diffusion of the urban Hijazi features is higher among high contact speakers who are engaged in frequent and intimate interaction with members of the Hijazi community” (p. ii).

Horesh (2014) investigated the phonological outcomes of language contact in the Palestinian Arabic dialect of Jaffa. He studied two phonological variables: (ʕ) and (EMPH). He placed his 24 informants in a three-scale contact index: 1) 0 = no contact with Hebrew, 2) 1 = occasional contact (1-2 times a week), 3) 2 = extensive contact (works, studies and/or lives with Hebrew speakers). His results “confirm the hypothesis correlating language contact and the change in progress in Palestinian Arabic with reference to the weakening of pharyngeals” (p. 79).

As mentioned earlier, despite the fact that contact is rarely used in its own right as a social factor in Arabic sociolinguistic studies, it is often used in disguise. One of these guises is education (cf. Alessa, 2008, p. 68; Chambers, 2009, p. 244). Al-Wer (1997) rightly argues that:

[E]ducation is perhaps more accurately interpreted as an indicator of the amount of contact a speaker has had with speakers of non-local varieties since, in most cases, college and university education involves leaving one's home town and interacting with speakers from different linguistic backgrounds. Educated speakers appear to be leading linguistic changes, most often in the direction of urban and koineized regional standards. (p. 259)

A second disguise is the length of stay with a speech community (Alessa, 2008). For example, the longer a speaker stays in a speech community the more contact he/she is likely to receive with the local natives.

Al-Wer (1997) presents empirical evidence from Jordan that there is no relationship between the level of education and the use of the ‘standard’. She concentrated on the ‘standard’ variants [θ] and [ð]. She showed that there was no relationship between the level of education and the use of the ‘standard’ variants. I have decided not to include education or length of stay for the reasons mentioned above, i.e., they are both guises for the amount of contact (see §6.1). Following Horesh (2014), I developed a three-scale index to gauge the amount of contact of my informants with other dialects, especially the urban ones. The scale was designed according to the following criteria:

Table 3.1: *Criteria for gauging the scale of amount of contact*

Code	Scale	Frequency of contact
0	No contact	No or very little contact
1	Low, L	Occasional contact (1-2 times a week)
2	High, H	Extensive contact (work and/or study)

The values of this factor have been obtained by asking the informants clear questions about their frequency of contact with the outside speech communities. Such questions include:

1. Where do you study/work?
2. How often do you travel outside your community?
3. Do you have friends/relatives who live outside the community? How often do you visit?
4. Have you ever lived outside your community? How long did you stay?

3.5.2 The Linguistic Variables

The current study investigates the following two linguistic variables:

1. The alternation between /u/ and /i/ in words such as the one for ‘butter’ in Jordanian Arabic.

This word has two realisations: the first with /u/ *zubde* and the second with /i/ *zibde*. The former is a traditional Ḥōrāni feature while the latter is an innovative one.

2. Dark (L) in words such as *gaḷb~gaḷub* ‘heart’. Dark (L) is a traditional Ḥōrāni feature that seems to be losing ground to its light counterpart.

These two linguistic variables are correlated with three social variables, namely age, gender and amount of contact with outside speech communities. I will use the following typing conventions throughout this study: the sociolinguistic variables will be typed between round brackets (U) and (L), while their variants will be typed between square brackets [u], [i] and [ɫ], [l], respectively. When referring to one of the variants as a sound or a phoneme, it will be written between slashes //. The following section is dedicated to discussing the coding procedures of the two variables.

3.5.3 The Coding Procedures

The tokens for both variables were coded based on aural analysis relying on my ability as a native speaker of Arabic to distinguish between the variants. The data were statistically analysed using Rbrul.

An excel sheet was prepared for each of the linguistic variables where each token was coded for linguistic (preceding, following, position in syllable, number of syllables and gemination) and social factors (gender, age and amount of contact). The first variable (U) was coded with its two variants: [u] and [i] (see chapter 4 for more details). The second variable (L) was coded with its two variants: [ɫ] and [l] (see chapter 5 for more details). The coding protocol is demonstrated in Table 3.2.

The linguistic variables investigated in this study along with their coding procedures are explained in detail in Chapters four (The alternation between /u/ and /i/) and five (Dark (L)).

Table 3.2: *Codes used in Rbrul analysis*

Dependent variables		
Variable	Realisation	Code
(U)	[u]	u
	[i]	i
(L)	[ɫ]	L
	[l]	l
Independent Variables		
Factor group (U)		
Preceding	Coronal	cor
	Non-coronal	non-cor
Following	Coronal	cor
	Non-coronal	non-cor
Stress	Stressed	stress
	Unstressed	unstress
(L)		
Gemination	Geminate	gem
	Single	non
Position in syllable	Onset	onset
	Coda	coda
No. of Syllable	One	1
	Two	2
	Three	3
	Four	4
Preceding	Back vowel	back.v
	Front vowel	front.v
	Dorsal*	dor*
	Labial	lab
	Coronal	cor
	Emphatic	emph
	Pause	0
Following	Back vowel	back.v
	Front vowel	front.v
	Dorsal*	dor*
	Labial	lab
	Coronal	cor
	Emphatic	emph
	Pause	0
Age		
20-39	Young	Y
40-59	Middle	M
60 +	Old	O
Gender	Male	m
	Female	f
Amount of contact	High	H
	Low	L

Chapter Four

4 Variable (U): The Alternation between /u/ and /i/

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the data analysis and discussion of the variable (U). In § 4.1, I begin with a general description about this feature in the context of Ḥōrāni dialects followed by a review of previous studies about the alternation between /u/ and /i/. The results of Rbrul analysis are presented in § 4.5. In § 4.6, I provide a summary of the chapter.

4.1 The Alternation between /u/ and /i/ in Ḥōrān

This chapter is mainly concerned with the lexical distribution of /u/. According to Al-Wer et al. (2015) Ḥōrāni dialects often favour the short vowel /u/ where other Levantine dialects have /i/ or /a/ (see also Herin, 2013, p. 108). Below are some examples to illustrate this alternation.

Ḥōrāni	other dialects (including Amman)	Gloss
<i>zubde</i>	<i>zibde</i>	butter
<i>džamur</i>	<i>džamir</i>	embers
<i>ʃuʃba</i>	<i>ʃaʃbe~ʃiʃbe</i>	difficult
<i>ʃaʃur</i>	<i>ʃaʃar~ʃaʃir</i>	hair

This Ḥōrāni pattern feature seems to have weakened over the years. According to the analyses presented in Herin (2011) and Al-Wer et al. (2015) the dialect of the city of Salt (20 kilometres west of Amman) is originally also a Ḥōrāni dialect. In this dialect, there has been an almost total shift from /u/ to /i/. Remnants of /u/ items were found to be used alternately with /i/, e.g. *sumʿa~simʿa* ‘fame’,

ḡumʿa~ḡimʿa ‘Friday’ and *ʿuḃi~ʿibi* ‘traditional men’s gowns’ (Al-Wer et al., 2015, p. 80). According to Herin (2013, p. 112) coming into contact with Palestinian varieties has influenced the dialect of Salt. With respect to the alternation /u/~/i/, Herin (2011) argues that /u/ is original in the traditional dialect of Salt and /i/ was imported from Palestine.

Abdel-Jawad (1986b) mentions that one of the phonological features in the Jordanian Bedouin and rural dialects in Irbid and Amman (he terms them [g]- dialects) is the fronting of the back vowels in words such as *faṣul*→*faṣil* ‘season’ and *raṭul*→*raṭil* ‘unit of mass’. He reports that Jordanian Bedouin and rural speakers traditionally pronounce such words with [u] but that this feature is increasingly changed to [i] instead, because the latter “corresponds with the urban and standard forms” (p. 55). Al-Wer (1991) agrees with Abdel-Jawad (1986b) and reports that although the [u] pronunciation is the traditional feature of the northern Jordanian varieties (i.e., Ḥōrāni), it seems to be losing ground to [i], especially in the speech of the younger generation.

4.2 The Relationship between Epenthesis and the Variable (U)

Connected to the alternation between /u/ and /i/ above is the phenomenon of epenthesis in Arabic. In most Levantine dialects, an epenthetic vowel is inserted to resolve impermissible onsets and/or codas. For example, in MSA the word for ‘grave’ is *qabr* which has a CVCC structure. It is rendered in most Levantine dialects with a CVCVC structure. While some dialects render it with an epenthetic /i/, i.e., *gabit* some other dialects render it with an epenthetic /u/, i.e., *gabur*. Some linguists (see Herzallah, 1990) argue that these vowels are underlying in their respective dialects and thus are not epenthetic. In other words, they believe that such words should be interpreted irrespective of MSA. However, what

proves that the /u/ and /i/ in *gabur* and *gabir* are epenthetic is the fact that they are never stressed and that they alternate with zero when a vowel initial suffix is added. Thus

gabur + -uh = *gabro* ‘his grave’

gabir + -uh = *gabro* ‘his grave’

Epenthetic vowels in Levantine dialects can also be inserted to resolve issues arising after the elision of unstressed high vowels. For instance the unstressed high vowel /u/ in *burbuṭ* ‘he ties’ is elided when the plural suffix -u is added: *burbuṭu* ‘they tie’ → *burbṭu* then an epenthetic vowel /u/ is added to solve the non-permissible consonant cluster ‘rbṭ’: *burbṭu* → *burubṭu*. In contrasting the dialects of Ḥōrān, Salt, and Ġalbūn, Herin (2013) summarises the issue of epenthesis with respect to /u/ and /i/ in detail. Given the importance of these details, it is worth quoting them in full below:

Levantine dialects in general insert epenthetic vowels to resolve consonant clusters that may occur after the elision of unstressed high vowels (CCvC → CCC → CvCC: búg‘udu “they stay” → búg‘du → búgu‘du) or to avoid initial and final CC cluster (gbāl “in front of” → igbāl, bint “girl” → binit). The unmarked quality of this epenthetic vowel is i (I.P.A. [I]). In both Salti and Ġalbūni, the vicinity of /u/ is not enough to trigger a vowel harmony and move the epenthetic vowel to the back: xubiz-ha “her bread”, ruḥit “I went”, gulit “I said” (kult in Ġalbūn). The epenthetic vowel is pushed to the back only in the vicinity of a back consonant (although not pharyngeal, see ruḥit): šuḡul “work”, ḥukum “rule” and for Salt also ‘ugub “after”, muḡur “caves”, rukubto “his knees [sic]”. In Ḥōrāni dialects, the vicinity of /u/ is enough to push the epenthetic vowel to the back: xubuz-ha “her bread”, ruḥut “I went”, ḡulut “I said”, maḥḥummuš “they don’t have” (realised in Salt maḥḥummiš). The same thing happens in the vicinity of an emphatic (primary or secondary) [emphatic consonants have both primary and secondary articulations, namely coronal and dorsal]. (p. 104)

In the dialect of Saḥam, I found many examples where the epenthetic vowel alternates between /u/ and /i/ even in the vicinity of a preceding /u/, e.g. *xubuz*~*xubiz* ‘bread’, *ruḥut*~*ruḥit* ‘I went’ and *gulut*~*gulit* ‘I said’.

Al-Sughayer (1990) investigates epenthesis in Jordanian Arabic (JA). He defines JA as the “Arabic dialect spoken in northern Jordan” (p. 1). While acknowledging the presence of three main local varieties in Jordan (urban, rural, and Bedouin), he limits his study to the rural variety which bears resemblance to the Ḥōrān dialect in southern Syria and “can be considered an extension of it” (p. 11). He divides his study of epenthesis into two main contexts: 1) in the context of a preceding high vowel, and 2) in the context of a preceding non-high vowel. In the first context, Al-Sughayer argues that the epenthetic vowel is a “copy of the preceding high vowel” (p. 139). He offers many examples some of which are listed as follows.

In the context of a preceding /u/

ḥulm→*ḥulum* ‘dream’

kutb→*kutub* ‘books’

ʕuṣb→*ʕuṣub* ‘grass’

zurg→*zurug* ‘blue ones’

šuġl→*šuġul* ‘work’

In the context of a preceding /i/

fikr→*fikir* ‘thought’

ʕiṣg→*ʕiṣig* ‘love’

ʕilm→*ʕilim* ‘science’

rizg→*rizig* ‘property’

tibn→*tibin* ‘hay’

In the second context, Al-Sughayer argues that the vowel is determined by the preceding and/or following consonants. He (p. 139) explains:

1. the vowel is /u/ in the context of a preceding velar or emphatic and a following non-coronal
2. the vowel is /u/ in the context of a following velar and a preceding non-coronal
3. the vowel is /u/ in the context of a following emphatic
4. elsewhere, the vowel is /i/

He complements these conditions with a comprehensive table:

Table 4.1: *The quality of the epenthetic vowel in the context of non-high vowels*

(Al-Sughayer 1990, p. 125)

First consonant	Second (following) consonant						
	lab	cor	lat	vel	emph	flap	pharynx
Pharyngeal (pharyn)	[i]	[i]	[i]	[u]	[u]	[u]	---
Flap	[u]	[i]	---	[u]	[u]	---	[u]
Emphatic (emph)	[u]	[i]	[u]	[u]	---	[u]	[u]
Velar (vel)	[u]	[i]	[u]	---	[u]	[u]	[u]
Lateral (lat)	[i]	[i]	---	[i]	[u]	---	[i]
Coronal (cor)	[i]	[i]	[i]	[i]	[u]	[u]	[i]
Labial (lab)	---	[i]	[i]	[u]	[u]	[u]	[i]

Although Al-Sughayer mentions that his data come from a rural Jordanian dialect, he does not identify it clearly. He does mention though that it might be an extension of the Ḥōrāni dialects in southern Syria and indeed it behaves like an ideal Ḥōrāni dialect. For example, the claim about the quality of the epenthetic vowel in the context of a preceding high vowel seems too ideal. He states that in such contexts, the epenthetic vowel is a “copy of the preceding high vowel” (p. 139). In other words, he argues that in rural JA, there is a perfect vowel harmony between the epenthetic vowel and the preceding high vowel. He postulates Rule (26) of epenthesis which could be quite safely referred to as the ‘epenthetic harmony’ rule and it states that: if the preceding vowel is /i/ then the epenthetic vowel is /i/ and if it is /u/ then the epenthetic vowel is /u/. Nevertheless, there are many instances of counterexamples as Al-Sughayer himself admits. He dedicates a whole chapter in his study to deal with what he calls ‘problematic data’. For example, he admits that in some instances vowel harmony with an epenthetic /u/ might yield unacceptable data like the ones below:

fujl→**fujul* ‘radish’ but *fujil* is acceptable

bušl→**bušul* ‘bushel, a measuring unit’ but *bušil* is acceptable

He remarks that similar examples to the ones above are very rare and tentatively explains that such examples only occur in the context of unemphatic coronals. He also presents data with vowels /u/ and /i/ optionally alternating like the ones below:

xubz→*xubuz*~*xubiz* ‘bread’

burj→*buruj*~*burij* ‘tower’

zurt→*zurut*~*zurit* ‘I visited’

šuft→*šufut*~*šufit* ‘I saw’

He notes that in such alternating constructions the “[u] alternate is more common among the older generation and less common among the younger generation. This alternation is not predictable by rule (26)” (pp. 147-148). In trying to explain the alternation between /u/ and /i/, Al-Sughayer argues that the /i/ alternatives are new innovations as a result of coming in contact with urban Jordanian dialects. His full argument is presented below:

To account for the alternation of the vowel, we assume that the vowel appears as [u] in compliance with rule (26) and that it appears as [i] under the influence of borrowing from other Arabic dialects in which the corresponding vowel is [i]. In the Urban dialects, the vowel is [i] as in *xúbiz*. This also reflects a language change which goes in the direction of using [i] instead of [u]. This change is probably initiated under the influence of the other dialects with which JA is in contact. I assume the pronunciations with [i] represent code-switching and as such are outside the rules of JA (Al-Sughayer, 1990, pp. 149-150).

It is clear that Al-Sughayer tries to explain variation as dialect mixing or code-switching, an old strategy that was first addressed in the 1960s and 1970s. Counterexamples to the conditions set in context 2 (i.e.,

in the context of non-high vowels) summarised in Table 4.1 above are not hard to find either. Al-

Sughayer himself offers the following:

<i>gabʕ</i> → <i>gabʊʕ</i> ‘peeling’	compare with	<i>nabʕ</i> → <i>nabiʕ</i> ‘spring’
<i>galb</i> → <i>galub</i> ‘heart’		<i>čalb</i> → <i>čalib</i> ‘dog’
<i>şafḥ</i> → <i>şafuḥ</i> ‘forgiveness’		<i>safḥ</i> → <i>safiḥ</i> ‘foot of a hill’
<i>taʕm</i> → <i>taʕum</i> ‘taste’		<i>daʕm</i> → <i>daʕim</i> ‘collision’

As Al-Sughayer explains, the conditions in Table 4.1 predict the vowel [i] in all of the examples above, but in reality [u] appears in the examples in the left column. As the initial vowels in the controversial examples begin with either an emphatic or a velar, Al-Sughayer proposes adding a new condition to account for such counterexamples, but he ignores the fact that in the controversial examples /u/ and /i/ might alternate. Nevertheless, he admits elsewhere that in the rural JA he investigates, there are signs of a change in progress amongst the younger generation. In other words, in certain contexts where [u] is predicted, the younger speakers realise the vowel as [i] instead.

Indeed, my data present many counterexamples to the conditions proposed by Al-Sughayer and they come from a similar rural JA dialect. For instance, in the context of a preceding high vowel /u/, my data show alternations between the traditional Ḥōrānī pronunciations with vowel harmony and the new innovative pronunciations without vowel harmony, such as *rubuʕ*~*rubiʕ* ‘a quarter’, *guṭun*~*guṭin* ‘cotton’ and *furun*~*furin* ‘oven’. Similarly, in the context of a preceding low vowel /a/, my data exhibit many counterexamples (alternations) to the conditions set in Table 4.1, such as: 1) after a pharyngeal and before an emphatic *faḥuṣ*~*faḥiṣ* ‘examination’, 2) after an emphatic and before a lateral *faṣul*~*faṣil* ‘season or semester’, 3) after a pharyngeal and before a flap *šaʕur*~*šaʕir* ‘hair’, 4) after a labial and before a lateral *ramul*~*ramil* ‘sand’ and 5) after an emphatic and before a pharyngeal *šaṭuḥ*~*šaṭiḥ* ‘roof’.

Thus, it is obvious that in the sedentary dialects of Jordan (central as that of Salt and northern as the one studied by Al-Sughayer and the one under investigation here) the distribution of /u/ which is reminiscent of traditional Ḥōrāni dialects is witnessing a possible change in progress that needs to be investigated.

So far, I have shown how traditional Ḥōrāni dialects prefer /u/ to /i/ and how this preference is changing especially amongst the younger generation (Herin and Al-Wer, 2013; Herin, 2013; Al-Wer et al., 2015 and Al-Sughayer, 1990). In the next section, I will review the variable (U) in two Bedouin Jordanian dialects.

4.3 The Variable (U) in Bedouin Jordanian Arabic

Irshied (1984) examines Bani Hassan Arabic, a Bedouin Jordanian non-Ḥōrāni dialect. He sketches the distribution of /u/ and /i/ by asserting that Bani Hassan Arabic (BHA) has “curtailed the distribution of the short high back vowel /u/ in comparison with Classical Arabic (CA). Aside from rather obvious borrowings from the standard language such as *kutub* ‘books’ BHA has retained /u/ in just CVCC nominals” (p. 88). Even in these nominals, /u/ occurs only if followed by a labial /m/ or /b/, e.g. *kumm* ‘sleeve’, *ḥubb* ‘love’ and *xubz~xubiz* ‘bread’. However, BHA changes Classical Arabic CuCC nouns into CiCC when the vowel is not followed by a labial, e.g. *kill* ‘all’, *širb* ‘drinking’, from Classical Arabic *kull* and *šurb*. Irshied (1984) maintains that in the imperfect form of “[m]easure I verbs when the final radical is a labial and the root contains an emphatic consonant, then /u/ occurs to the exclusion of /i/” (p. 89). He lists the following examples: *xaṭab*→*yixṭub* ‘give a speech’, *ḍaṛab*→*yidṛub* ‘hit’, *fiṭam~faṭam*→*yifṭum* ‘wean’ and *liṭam~laṭam*→*yilṭum* ‘strike with hand’. In the environment of non-emphatics, the /i/ and /u/ are interchangeable in BHA, e.g. *risam*→*yirsim~yirsum* ‘draw’ and

kitab→*yiktib*~*yiktub* ‘write’. He adds that these are general observations and cannot invoke phonological rules as there are many exceptions to them. With regard to epenthesis in BHA, Irshied asserts that only /i/ epenthesis occurs in BHA, i.e., epenthesis with /u/ does not occur in the dialect. Finally, he discusses the phenomenon of rounding harmony in BHA which harmonises a preceding /i/ with a following suffix –u^h ‘his’ or -u ‘they m.’, e.g. *kitab*→*ktub-u* instead of *ktib-u* ‘they m. wrote’ and *faras*→*frus-u^h* instead of *fris-u^h* ‘his horse’. He then lists many counterexamples where rounding harmony does not apply in similar environments, e.g. *limas*→*lmis-u* but not *lmus-u* ‘they m. touched’ and *balad*→*blid-u^h* but not *blud-u^h* ‘his country’. All in all, he observes that rounding harmony cannot be explained phonologically in BHA and may be best explained along variationist sociolinguistic lines.

Sakarna (1999) discusses epenthesis in ʕabbādi (he writes it 9abady) Arabic, a Bedouin Jordanian non-Ḥōrāni dialect from the Balqa region. He explains that in ʕabbādi Arabic only i-epenthesis and a-epenthesis occur. The latter occurs when the first consonant of the cluster is a guttural while the former occurs in all other contexts. Following McCarthy (1989), Sakarna defines the guttural sounds as those produced in the back region of the vocal tract and include: the uvulars /x, ǧ/, the pharyngeals /ħ, ʕ/ and the laryngeals /h, ʔ/. For instance, ʕabbādi Arabic inserts an epenthetic /a/ in the following examples because the first consonant of the cluster is a guttural: *taxt*→*taxat* ‘bed’, *sahm*→*saham* ‘arrow’, *laḥm*→*laḥam* ‘meat’, *saʕd*→*saʕad* ‘happiness’. When the first consonant of the cluster is not a guttural, ʕabbādi Arabic inserts /i/ but never /u/: *kabd*→*kabid* ‘liver’, *rajf*→*rajif* ‘shivering’, and *kasf*→*kasif* ‘disappointing’. Sakarna (1999, p. 42) provides a list of words in which he compares and contrasts Classical Arabic, Rural Jordanian Arabic (Al-Sughayer, 1990) and ʕabbādi Arabic in terms of their treatment of epenthesis.

Table 4.2: Some examples contrasting /i/ epenthesis in Ṣabbādi Arabic and /u/ epenthesis in Rural Jordanian Arabic (Sakarna, 1999, p. 42)

Classical Arabic	Rural Jordanian Arabic	Ṣabbādi Arabic	Meaning
<i>makr</i>	<i>makur</i>	<i>makir</i>	trickery
<i>ḥafr</i>	<i>ḥafur</i>	<i>ḥafir</i>	digging
<i>habr</i>	<i>habur</i>	<i>habir</i>	lean meat
<i>jamr</i>	<i>jamur</i>	<i>jamir</i>	glowing charcoal

In the dialect under investigation in this thesis, all these examples can occur in both forms, i.e., they optionally alternate between /u/ and /i/: *makur~makir*, *ḥafur~ḥafir*, *habur~habir*, and *jamur~jamir*.

4.4 The Variable (U) in Palestinian Arabic

Although the dialect of Saḥam has no direct contact with Palestinian Arabic, the indirect impact of the Palestinian dialects started recently but with a new name, i.e., Madani Jordanian Arabic. This impact affects the younger generation as a result of new prestige norms and market pressure. Thus, a discussion of the variable (U) in neighbouring Palestine is in order.

Herzallah (1990) confirms that unlike Ḥōrāni dialects, the Palestinian dialects prefer /i/ to /u/.

In fact, Herzallah even claims that the vowel /u/ does not exist in the underlying short vowel system in Palestinian Arabic. In other words, she claims that the short vowel system in Palestinian Arabic consists of only two short vowels: /i/ and /a/. She argues that /u/ is only a derived short vowel in Palestinian Arabic and surfaces in strictly conditioned contexts. She seconds Norlin's (1987) argument that minimal pairs with short /u/ and /i/ are very rare in both Egyptian and Palestinian Arabic. Moreover, she invokes Fischer and Jastrow (1980) who claim that the short vowel systems for some varieties of Arabic consist of only two short vowels, such as Bedouins of Maghrib, El-Ḥamma, Bengazi, North Mesopotamia and others.

Specifically, Herzallah (1990) asserts that in Palestinian Arabic, the short vowel [u] is a “contextual variant of the vowel /i/” (p. 147) and that the former’s distribution is “restricted to certain morphological categories” (p. 147). Those categories are: imperfective of measure I verbs (e.g. *yinṣub~yunṣub* ‘set up’), imperatives of measure I verbs (e.g. *ṭull* ‘appear’), nominals of certain prosodic forms (e.g. *ḡulub* ‘defeat’), broken plurals (e.g. *zuruK* ‘blue pl.’), some suffixes (e.g. *-hum* ‘them/their m. pl.’), some proper nouns (e.g. *Muna*) and a handful of other residual measures (e.g. *muḥKaan* ‘funnel’). She demonstrates that, with some few exceptions, even in these morphological categories, the occurrence of [u] is phonologically conditioned by a well-defined environment. She defines the conditioning environment of [u] as the vicinity of a natural class of consonants in Palestinian Arabic that she calls dorso-pharyngeals. The dorso-pharyngeal class includes both the back velars and the coronal emphatics: /t̤, ʂ, d̤, z̤, r̤, x, ġ, K/⁸. In other words, Herzallah asserts that in Palestinian Arabic, the short vowel [u] does not appear unless it is within the vicinity of one of the dorso-pharyngeal consonants listed above. These dorso-pharyngeals can be within the “immediate vicinity of the vowel, to its left, or to its right, or even separated from it by another consonant” (p. 208). If we study the examples on the morphological categories mentioned above, we will notice that in almost all of the examples, the vowel [u] surfaced within the vicinity of one or more of the dorso-pharyngeal class. The only two examples that have [u] without being in the vicinity of a dorso-pharyngeal are the suffix *-hum* ‘them/their m. pl.’ and the proper noun *Muna*. Herzallah explains that suffixes belong to a closed-class set of function words and hence are immune to regularity changes in the language. Similarly, proper nouns can be considered unassimilated borrowings from Classical Arabic. No doubt that there are other exceptions but they are rare.

⁸ /d̤/, /z̤/, /ġ/, /K/ are equivalent to IPA /ð̤/, /z̤̤/, /ɣ̤/, /k̤/

Interestingly, there are a huge number of examples that show how Palestinian Arabic lacks an underlying /u/ in its short vowel system and how it generally prefers /i/ to /u/. To illustrate, many words that have /u/ in Modern Standard Arabic (the H-variety used in formal situations and the written form in Palestine and all other diglossic Arab speech communities) have been changed in Palestinian Arabic to \emptyset , /a/, or /i/ instead. Below are just a few:

<i>kutīb</i> →	<i>nkatab</i> ‘was written’ (passive)
<i>yu-qātil</i> →	<i>y-Kātil</i> ‘he fights’ (imperfective)
<i>muqātal</i> →	<i>m-Kātal</i> ‘one who is fought against’ (participle)
<i>xurūj</i> →	<i>xrūj</i> ‘getting out’ (derived nominals)
<i>dustūr</i> →	<i>dastūr</i> ‘constitution’ (CVCCu(u)C nominals)
<i>šubbāk</i> →	<i>šibbāk</i> ‘window’ (CVCCa(a)C nominals before geminates)
<i>kabur</i> →	<i>kibir</i> ‘grew up’ (perfective)

An interesting example is the way the name of prophet *Muḥammad* is pronounced in Palestinian Arabic. Herzallah explains that the name is pronounced in its Classical Arabic form, i.e., with an [u] *Muḥammad*, when it is used to refer to the prophet. However, as it is a very common male first name, it is pronounced as *Mḥimmad*, i.e., without the [u], when it is used to refer to those people who are named after the prophet. Finally, in CVCC constructions, epenthesis in Palestinian Arabic inserts [i] if the vowel in the Classical Arabic stem is /a/ regardless of the phonological environment, e.g., *nasl* → *nasil* ‘offspring’ and *baṭn* → *baṭin* ‘belly’. When the vowel in the Classical Arabic stem is /u/, Palestinian Arabic deals with epenthesis in two different ways: 1) if the phonological environment contains one or more of the dorso-pharyngeal consonants, then [u] is inserted to break the consonant cluster, e.g., *ḡulb* → *ḡulub* ‘defeat’, *buṛj* → *buṛuj* ‘tower’, and *furn* → *furun* ‘oven’, 2) if the phonological environment does not contain any

dorso-pharyngeal consonants, then [i] is inserted to break the consonant cluster and the /u/ in the stem is changed into /i/, e.g. *ḥulm*→*ḥilim* ‘dream’, *duhn*→*dihin* ‘fat’, *ḥuzn*→*ḥizin* ‘sadness’. The reason for changing the vowel in the stem to /i/ is twofold. Firstly, Classical Arabic /u/ is merged with /i/ “since there is no dorso-pharyngeal consonant to condition its appearance” (p. 207). Secondly, both vowels become identical because they are subject to vowel harmony. In Palestinian Arabic, “it is only [-open, +dorsal] stem vowels that trigger the rule” (p. 231) of vowel harmony, i.e., stems with /u/ or /i/ but not with /a/ are subject to vowel harmony.

Abu-Salim (1982) claims that the epenthetic vowel in Palestinian Arabic is always /i/, such as *tamr*→*tamir* ‘dates’, *jahl*→*jahil* ‘ignorance’ and *karm*→*karim* ‘orchard’. However, he admits that in some cases the epenthetic vowel is /u/ as in *furn*→*furun* ‘oven’, *šugl*→*šugul* ‘work’ and *ḍuhr*→*ḍuhur* ‘noon’. He explains such cases on the ground of vowel harmony. In other words, he argues that “it is reasonable to assume that the epenthetic vowel is realized as /u/ if the stem vowel is /u/; otherwise, it is /i/” (p. 218). He immediately admits that vowel harmony is not always observed and lists few exceptions, such as *xubz*→*xubiz* ‘bread’, *rubʿ*→*rubīʿ* ‘quarter’ and *ṣubḥ*→*ṣubīḥ* ‘morning’. In my opinion, his analysis is less comprehensive than Herzallah’s (1990). For example, he does not include the so-called dorso-pharyngeal class in his analysis, nor does he explain how Palestinian Arabic prefers /i/ to /u/. For instance, he does not mention what type of stem to consider before inserting the epenthetic vowel, i.e., he does not mention if stems are considered from Classical Arabic or from Palestinian Arabic. In Herzallah’s analysis, the Classical Arabic stem *ḥulm* is changed into *ḥilm* in Palestinian Arabic before epenthesis is applied (i.e. *ḥilim*) due to its lack of any dorso-pharyngeal consonants. In Abu-Salim’s analysis, this example is only listed as *ḥilim* without any explanations why it was not *ḥulum*. Moreover, some examples in Abu-Salim’s

are different from their counterparts in Herzallah, such as the Arabic word for ‘belly or abdomen’. In Herzallah’s, it is *baṭn*→*baṭin* ‘belly’, whereas in Abu-Salim’s it is *buṭin* ‘abdomen’ (*buṭin* in his transcription). Probably, the data for both studies come from different Palestinian dialects: Herzallah’s data come from the town of Yaṣbad in the northern West Bank whereas Abu-Salim’s data come from Raamallah city in the central West Bank (p.s., Abu-Salim does not mention the origin of his data, but Herzallah points to Ramallah (see Herzallah, 1990, p. 231)).

4.5 Results of the Statistical Analysis of (U) of the Current Study

4.5.1 Coding Procedure

In this thesis, I only coded for those tokens where the alternation between [u] and [i] is possible. As the aim of this design is to investigate the linguistic and social distribution of (U) in Saḥam, the tokens are coded for both linguistic and social factors. Three social factors were coded for: age, gender and amount of contact (see Chapter 3 for details and justifications). In addition to those social factors, the linguistic environment was coded for as follows: preceding, following and stress.

1. Preceding environment: In the first stage of coding for this factor group, I coded the preceding sounds individually: /ʔ, ʕ, ʃ, ʕ, t, ʔ, b, d, f, g, h, ʔ, ʕ, k, l, m, n, r, s, ʃ, t, x, j, z/. Table 4.3 shows examples of the variable in each of these environments. As the number of tokens varies with each of the preceding consonants, with some having only three tokens, I re-coded and re-grouped them. In the second run, consonants were coded as: coronal, dorsal and labial. In this run, the model showed convergence in the mean between ‘dorsal’ and ‘labial’: (24%) vs (29%), respectively. Therefore, I conflated them together in one group called ‘non-coronal’. So, in the final analysis the preceding consonants were coded as: coronal and non-coronal.

Table 4.3: (U) with preceding consonant sounds

Sound	Tokens	Example	Gloss
/ʔ/	3	ʔatruk	'I leave'
/ʏ/	17	ðayut	'pressure'
/ʃ/	8	aʃum	'I smell'
/ʕ/	50	baʃuð	'each other'
/t/	43	ʃatʉl	'bucket'
/ð/	7	waðuʃ	'situation'
/b/	251	gabul	'before'
/d/	9	adug	'I knock'
/f/	49	ħafur	'digging'
/g/	28	saguf	'celling'
/h/	113	ʃahur	'month'
/ħ/	21	baħur	'sea'
/ɕ/	22	ɕubne	'cheese'
/k/	5	kuʃkāt	'kiosk'
/l/	64	nlum	'we collect'
/m/	136	ramul	'sand'
/n/	9	nuħsub	'we calculate'
/r/	61	zaruʃ	'plants'
/s/	29	simsim	'sesame'
/ʂ/	70	ʔaʃul	'origin'
/t/	16	tuħsub	'she counts'
/x/	24	xitbe	'engagement'
/j/	27	juħlug	'he shaves'
/z/	88	zubde	'butter'

2. Following environment: Coding for the following environment followed the same procedure as the preceding environment. In the first stage, I coded for all the consonant sounds individually /r, ʃ, ʕ, t, ð, b, d, f, g, ħ, ɕ, k, l, m, n, s, ʂ, t, x/. Table 4.4 shows examples of the variable in each of these environments.

Table 4.4: (U) with following consonant sounds

Sound	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
/r/	182	<i>ʃaʃur</i>	‘hair’
/ʃ/	14	<i>miʃit</i>	‘comb’
/ʕ/	50	<i>rubitʕ</i>	‘quarter’
/t/	31	<i>ðayut</i>	‘pressure’
/ð/	28	<i>aruð</i>	‘land’
/b/	142	<i>zubdiyye</i>	‘bowl’
/d/	10	<i>guddām</i>	‘in front of’
/f/	58	<i>nluf</i>	‘we roll’
/g/	14	<i>ʔalug</i>	‘labour’
/ħ/	207	<i>ʃubuh</i>	‘morning’
/ʕ/	2	<i>fuʕʕil</i>	‘radish’
/k/	9	<i>sukirtēra</i>	‘secretary’
/l/	258	<i>gabul</i>	‘before’
/m/	25	<i>ʔagum</i>	‘suit’
/n/	84	<i>fundʒān</i>	‘cup’
/s/	11	<i>jusbug</i>	‘he outruns’
/ʃ/	7	<i>faḥiʃ</i>	‘examination’
/t/	11	<i>bukuttin</i>	‘they (F) go down’
/x/	7	<i>ʔabux</i>	‘cooking’

As the number of tokens varies with each of the following consonants, with some having only two tokens, I re-coded and re-grouped them. In the second run, consonants were coded as: coronal, dorsal and labial. In the final analysis and based on Rbrul runs consonants were coded as: coronal and non-coronal.

3. Stress: I coded for stress in the syllables in which the variants occurred. Abu-Abbas (2003) explains that in Jordanian Arabic “stress is assigned to the rightmost heavy syllable provided that it is not separated from the right edge of the word by more than two syllables, i.e., preantepenultimate syllables

are never stressed in JA. In the absence of a heavy syllable under the condition above, i.e., in the ultimate or penultimate syllable, the antepenultimate is stressed” (p. 46). He adds that Jordanian Arabic treats CVC as a light syllable in final positions and as a heavy syllable elsewhere. Moreover, he notes that monosyllabic words are stressed while epenthetic syllables are unstressed. Some examples are: *'nlumm* ‘we gather’ (stressed monosyllabic), *gun'tār* ‘unit of measurement’ (disyllabic and the rightmost heavy syllable is stressed), *'zubde* ‘butter’ (disyllabic and the first syllable is stressed because the rightmost syllable is not heavy), *'aḥlib* ‘I milk’ (disyllabic and the first syllable is stressed since JA considers CVC syllables as light in final positions), *'ṣabir* ‘patience’ (disyllabic and the first syllable is stressed since JA considers CVC as light and because the nucleus of the final syllable is epenthetic), *luf 'fīha* ‘wrap it’ (trisyllabic and the penultimate syllable is stressed because it is the rightmost heavy syllable).

4. Amount of contact: I initially classified this factor into: high contact, low contact and no or very little contact. However, none of my participants scored zero on the scale; therefore only two values were coded for: high and low contact.

5. Age: I classified participants into three age groups: young (20-39), middle (40-59) and old 60+.

6. Gender: two factors: male and female.

In summary the final coding protocol adopted included six factor groups: preceding (2 factors), following (2 factors), stress (2 factors), amount of contact (2 factors), age (3 factors) and gender (2 factors). The total number of tokens in the data is 1150 (270 of [i] and 880 of [u]). The proportion of the usage of [i] is 24%.

4.5.2 Rbrul Results and Discussion

The results of Rbrul runs of the use of the variable (U), with the short high front variant [i] as the application value, correlated with linguistic environment (preceding/following/stress), amount of contact, gender and age are displayed in Table 4.5. A factor weight above 0.5 favours the application of the rule (in this case, the use of the front high short variant [i]), while a value less than 0.5 disfavors this application. Log-odds values are raw co-efficients for the regression model and they principally convey the same information given by the factor weight: a negative value disfavors the application of the rule and a positive value favours it. A log-odds value of zero expresses neutrality and is equivalent to a GoldVarb centred factor weight of 0.5 (see Johnson, 2009, p. 361; Clark, 2010 and Guy, 1993).

Table 4.5: (U) linguistic environment, amount of contact, age and gender, Rbrul results

R ² 0.202				
Age group	logodds	tokens	[i] mean	centred factor weight
young	1.013	258	0.481	0.734
old	-0.488	439	0.169	0.38
middle	-0.525	453	0.159	0.372
(p < 1.84e-19)				
Following	logodds	tokens	[i] mean	centred factor weight
coronal	0.557	616	0.312	0.636
non-coronal	-0.557	534	0.146	0.364
(p < 6.09e-12)				
Gender	logodds	tokens	[i] mean	centred factor weight
F	0.294	517	0.284	0.573
M	-0.294	633	0.194	0.427
(p < 0.000228)				
Contact	logodds	tokens	[i] mean	centred factor weight
high	0.219	803	0.259	0.555
low	-0.219	347	0.179	0.445
(p < 0.0171)				
Preceding	logodds	tokens	[i] mean	centred factor weight
coronal	0.174	446	0.242	0.544
non-coronal	-0.174	704	0.230	0.456
(p < 0.0323)				
Grand mean (0.235%)				

As it is the case in multivariate analyses, Rbrul executes both step-up and step-down analyses. Rbrul runs for both of these two analyses returned: ‘step-up and step-down match’. The results displayed in Table 4.5 are those from the step-down analysis. A closer look at Table 4.5 reveals the following descending

significance order of the factor groups affecting the use of the dependent variable (U): Age Group (1.84e-19) + Following (6.09e-12) + Gender (0.000228) + Amount of Contact (0.0171) + Preceding (0.0323).

4.5.2.1 The Effect of the Linguistic Environment

The Linguistic environment is returned as a significant factor (Table 4.5) with the following environment ($p < 6.09e-12$) far more significant than the preceding environment ($p < 0.0323$). Stress, on the other hand, returned insignificant. The application of the rule with [i] as the application value is most favoured when it is followed by a coronal (factor weight 0.636), e.g. *giddām* ‘in front of’, *mistaʃiddāt* ‘they (fem.) are ready’, *mifit* ‘comb’, *fidzil* ‘radish’, *filfil* ‘pepper’, *dʒamir* ‘embers’ and *findzān* ‘cup’. It is disfavoured when it is followed by a non-coronal (factor weight 0.364), e.g. *ʃaḍum* ‘bones’, *blubha* ‘inside it’, *luf* ‘roll!’, *fukk* ‘untie!’, *ʔaʃzughin* ‘I throw them’, *tabux* ‘cooking’ and *rubuʃ* ‘quarter’. Similarly, the application of the rule with [i] as the application value is favoured when preceded by a coronal (factor weight 0.544), e.g. *yadir* ‘betrayal’, *zibdiyye* ‘bowl’ and *figga* ‘flat’. It is disfavoured when it is preceded by a non-coronal (factor weight 0.456), e.g. *baḥur* ‘sea’, *kufkāt* ‘kiosks’ and *xufit* ‘I was scared’.

The results conform to the general rules of phonology, i.e., the application of the rule with [i] as the application value is most favoured when followed and/or preceded by a coronal. The vowel /i/ is a short front high vowel and coronals by definition “refer to a movement of the blade of the tongue...the flexible portion at the front of the tongue that can be curled back or stuck out unproblematically” (Roca & Johnson, 1999, p. 96). In other words, “both front vowels and coronal consonants are specified as [coronal]” (Flemming, 2003, p. 336). In the field of phonology, it is a well-established phenomenon that coronal consonants can trigger fronting of vowels (Flemming, 2003). For instance, in Cantonese “back

rounded vowels cannot appear between coronal consonants” (Flemming, 2003, p. 335, see also Kao 1971). In the present study, the front high variant [i] which carries the feature [coronal] is triggered by preceding and following [coronal] consonants. Reversely, the traditional Hōrāni variant [u] is triggered by preceding and following [non-coronal] consonants. Flemming (2003, p. 335) explains that in such cases, “fronting of vowels by coronals can then be analysed as spreading [coronal] from consonant to vowel”.

Nevertheless, the afore-mentioned ‘rule’ explanation is far from comprehensive. Firstly, the following linguistic environment is more influential than the preceding environment. The p-value for the following linguistic environment is ($p < 6.09e-12$) compared to ($p < 0.0323$) of the preceding environment; therefore, claiming that the application of the rule with [i] as the application value is most favoured when it is followed or preceded by a coronal is, at least, unsatisfactory. It can be restated to say the front high variant [i] is more influenced by a following coronal than by a preceding coronal. However, the reason why the feature [coronal] spreads more from right-to-left than from left-to-right would not be accounted for on assimilatory bases. Secondly, the rule entails that the variation between [u] and [i] is a gradual assimilatory fronting. However, based on my personal judgement it is not the case (it is a discrete issue and needs further investigation). Thirdly, there are many cases in which the same linguistic environment can occur with either [u] or [i], e.g. *bunni~binni* ‘brown’, *baḥur~baḥir* ‘sea’ and *fugga~figga* ‘flat’. The existence of such alternations in the same linguistic environment may lead to the conclusion that while the vowels in Cantonese are categorically fronted by coronals, [u] in Hōrāni is not categorically but only variably fronted by coronals. Thus, the afore-mentioned assimilatory rule might account for a small part of the phenomenon but it does not entirely explain it.

Rbrul returned ‘stress’ as an insignificant linguistic factor. This result is not surprising because stress-placement rules in Jordanian Arabic (see §4.5.1) are not affected if the vowel is [u] or [i] as both of them are short and carry the same weight. In other words, in alternations as *'zubde~'zibde* ‘butter’ and *'dʒubne~'dʒibne* ‘cheese’ stress is placed on the same syllable regardless of the variants in question. Put differently, changing [u] into [i] and vice versa in any syllable would not turn it from being light into being heavy and vice versa. Even when they are epenthetic, they are both unstressed.

I argue that despite the fact that the linguistic factors returned as significant factors (see Table 4.6) with following coronals far more influential than preceding coronals, the existence of alternations between [u] and [i] in the same linguistic environment points towards an explanation within social factors. It is true that R-brul results show that the following linguistic environment is more influential than gender and contact, but the interchanging behaviour of the two variants [u] and [i] seem to be better explained in terms of extralinguistic factors.

4.5.2.2 Age Patterns in the Use of (U)

Age is the most important factor with the highest p-value among all other social and linguistic factor groups ($p < 1.84e-19$). The results in Table 4.5 show that the younger generation use the innovative variant [i] (FW = 0.734 and M = 48%) more frequently than both the middle (FW = 0.372 and M = 16%) and old (FW = 0.38 and M = 17%) age groups. The difference in the percentages of the usage of the innovative variant [i] between the middle and old groups is not large, as can be seen in the table. The one thing that these groups share, however, is that they disfavour the innovative variant [i] with centred factor weights less than 0.5 and negative log-odds values for each one of them. These figures can be interpreted as indications of on-going change in progress towards the innovative short front high variant

[i] and away from the traditional Ḥōrāni short back high variant [u]. These findings confirm previous reports and findings, e.g. Herin (2011) and Al-Wer et al. (2015) who report that [u] is preserved only in a few lexical items in the dialect of Salt. Additionally, the results echo Al-Sughayer's (1990) explanation, mentioned above, that the alternation between [u] and [i] in some words in Rural Jordanian Arabic, where only [u] is expected, is evidence of change in progress led by the younger generation and "in which the use of the [i] form is generalized to more contexts replacing [u]" (p. 150). According to Al-Sughayer, this is due to coming into contact with other urban Jordanian dialects.

4.5.2.3 Gender Differentiation and Age in the Use of (U)

While the 'following' linguistic environment is the second-most important factor among all factor groups, gender is the second-most important social factor group with a p-value ($p < 0.000228$) compared to the most significant social value, i.e., age ($p < 1.84e-19$). The figures in Table 4.5 show that females use the innovative variant [i] (FW = 0.573 and M = 28%) more frequently than males (FW = 0.427 and M = 19%). Assuming that this is a case of change in progress in the dialect of Saḥam, the pattern demonstrates that the female speakers lead this change. This pattern conforms to the general pattern of gender differentiation with respect to language variation and change attested in a number of empirical studies in different speech communities (see Labov, 1966, 1990, 1994; Fasold, 1968; Wolfram, 1969; Abu Haidar, 1989; Abdel-Jawad & Awwad, 1989; Al-Wer & Al-Qahtani, 2016, amongst others). On the other hand, it disagrees with the recent findings by Al-Hawamdeh (2016) in the Ḥōrāni town of Sūf where she found that women favoured the use of the traditional variant dark [ɤ] more than men. She interprets her results on the basis of the different roles women and men are expected to play in the town of Sūf (see Chapter 5, § 5.3).

The cross tabulation of ‘age’ and ‘gender’ is displayed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Cross tabulation of ‘age’ and ‘gender’ in the use of the innovative variant [i]

Gender	Age			Total	Tokens
	Young	Middle	Old		
Female	0.645	0.200	0.143	0.284	517
Male	0.328	0.129	0.191	0.194	633
Mean	0.481	0.159	0.169	0.235	1150

The figures in Table 4.6 show that the old female speakers are more conservative with respect to the traditional feature than their male counterparts. The pattern is reversed in the case of the two younger age groups, i.e., the middle-aged and young groups. In these two younger groups, females are more innovative than males. The group with the highest frequency of usage of the innovative variant is clearly the young female group: 0.645 compared to 0.328 by their male counterparts.

This pattern of age/gender differentiation, where the older women are more conservative than older men, was reported in a number of sociolinguistic studies, such as Thomas (1989) in Pont-rhyd-y-fen (Wales), Hadjadj (1981) in Saint-Thurin (France), Alessa (2008) in Jeddah (Saudi Arabia), and Al-Wer and Al-Qahtani (2016) in Tihamat Qahtan (Saudi Arabia).

I argue that the change from the traditional variant [u] to the innovative variant [i] in Saḥam is best explained in relation to all three social factors, i.e., age, gender and contact. Undoubtedly, with a p-value of ($p < 1.84e-19$), age is far more influential than gender ($p < 0.000228$) and contact ($p < 0.0171$). However, these social factors interact with each other and do not direct change separately. For example,

when it is said that the young female generation in a certain speech community have more contact with other speech communities, what is often referred to is not one social factor but all three, i.e., age (young), gender (female) and contact. However, it is imperative not to exaggerate the influence of gender and contact in the direction of change in Saḥam as the p-value for each is far lower than that of gender. Obviously, the young generation is leading the change in Saḥam. If gender and contact are to be included, it can be stated that change is led by young female speakers with high contact. This pattern of linguistic change is also similar to that reported by Gal (1978) in Oberwart (Austria) and Holmquist (1985) in Uceda (Spain).

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, the results for the first variable (U) have been shown and discussed. The results show that the use of the innovative non-Ḥōrāni variant [i] is most favoured when followed and/or preceded by coronal sounds. With respect to the social factors, Rbrul shows that the most important social factor affecting the use of [i] is age. In my data, the younger generation used the innovative variable [i] more than the other age groups. Gender plays an important role where women, especially young women, have been found to use the innovative variant [i] the most. Finally, Rbrul shows that the amount of contact with other speech communities is an important social factor (but not as important as other factors). The higher the contact of the speaker, the higher his/her use of the innovative variant [i] is. This is most true within the female speakers who aspire to better life than the rural one in the village.

Chapter Five

5 Variable (L): The Alternation between dark /ɫ/ and light /l/

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the second linguistic variable under investigation, i.e., the alternation between dark [ɫ] and light [l]. In § 5.1, I introduce the phonetic nature of the phoneme /l/ and its allophonic alternations, specifically the alternation between its dark and light reflexes. Moreover, I present the variable in the context of Ḥōrānī dialects via reviewing some related research in Jordan and some other Arab countries. In § 5.4, I describe the quantitative analysis of the variable: coding protocol, tokens, and Rbrul analysis. Also, I present the results, discuss and interpret them within the framework of language variation and change and show if this variable presents a ‘change in progress’ or not. In § 5.5, I provide a summary of the chapter.

5.1 Light and Dark /l/

5.1.1 The Phoneme /l/ in English and its Allophones

Dickey (1997, p. 1) asserts that liquids (lateral sounds like /l/ and rhotic sounds /r/) are widespread crosslinguistically that “almost every language in the world has a liquid”. Peter Roach (2009) describes the phoneme /l/ in English as an alveolar voiced lateral approximant. Its pronunciation involves pushing the air from the lungs through vibrating vocal folds (hence ‘voiced’) and then through the oral cavity where the tip of the tongue connects with the alveolar ridge forming a complete closure along the centre; therefore, the air escapes through the sides of the tongue (Roach, 2009, p. 59). The distribution of the /l/ phoneme in the English word is not restricted as it occurs word initially as in ‘lea’ /li:/, medially as in ‘yellow’ /jeləʊ/ and finally as in ‘eel’ /i:l/ (Roach, 2009, p. 59).

The /l/ phoneme in many dialects of English has two allophones: light [l] and dark [ɫ] (many other terms are used in the literature to describe the former as ‘clear’, ‘plain’; and the latter as ‘velarised’). The former occurs in syllable onsets and the latter in syllable rhymes, e.g. *leaf* [li:f] vs. *feel* [fi:ɫ] and *trouble* [trʌbɫ] (Johnson & Britain, 2003, p. 1). Sproat & Fujumura (1993) restate the latter distinction as a difference between a prevocalic light [l] as in ‘lip’ [lɪp] and a post-vocalic or syllabic dark [ɫ] as in ‘pill’ [pɪɫ], ‘milk’ [mɪɫk] and ‘whittle’ [wɪtɫ]. Moreover, Wells (1982, p. 258) argues that semivowels (glides) have special treatment with regard to light [l] vs. dark [ɫ] distinction. He observes that /j/ behaves like a vowel; therefore, when /l/ is followed by /j/, it is realised as light [l] as in *million* [mɪljən]. The /w/, on the other hand, behaves phonologically as a consonant; thus, when /l/ is followed by /w/, it is realised as dark [ɫ] as in *always* [ɔ:ɫweɪz]. While the pronunciation of the light allophone involves the tip of the tongue contacting the alveolar ridge, “and one or both sides [of the tongue] are near the upper side teeth, but not quite touching”, the pronunciation of the dark allophone involves primary and secondary articulations. The primary is the same as in the production of the light allophone, but the secondary involves lowering the centre of the tongue and arching the back of the tongue (Ladefoged, 2001, p. 55). This description entails that the light allophone only involves a coronal gesture while the dark allophone involves both coronal and dorsal gestures; hence the term ‘velarised’. Some linguists (e.g. Sproat & Fujumura, 1993; Johnson & Britain, 2003) argue that both allophones involve both coronal and dorsal gestures but they differ in how the two gestures occur. According to Johnson and Britain (2003), the coronal gesture generally precedes the dorsal gesture in the production of light [l]. The order is reversed in the case of dark [ɫ] making the coronal gesture weaker. Similarly, Roach (2009) demonstrates that light [l] “resembles an [i] vowel, with the front of the tongue raised” while dark [ɫ]

“has a quality rather similar to an [u] vowel, with the back of the tongue raised” (p. 59). He further reports that in RP, the two allophones are in complementary distribution, i.e., they occur in different linguistic environments: “clear l will never occur before consonants or before a pause, but only before vowels; dark l never occurs before vowels” (p. 60). However, this is not the case in other varieties of English. For example, Ladefoged (2001) argues that in most varieties of American English, all instances of /l/ are “comparatively velarized” with some few exceptions (p. 55). Wells (1982) reveals that in the southern varieties of Welsh English, light [l] occurs in all environments whereas dark [ɫ] occurs in all environments in the northern varieties.

The fact that the coronal gesture is a consonantal feature and the dorsal gesture is a vocalic one, in some dialects of English where light [l] and dark [ɫ] distinction exists, the dark allophones is vocalised into a non-syllabic back vocoid (Wells, 1982, p. 258). Linguists seem to differ on the exact tongue and/or lip position of this vocoid as it seems to vary from one variety to another. For instance, it is seen as something like [u] or [w] (Johnson & Britain, 2003, p. 1); [ɣ] (Sproat & Fujumura, 1993, p. 292) and as many other realisations, such as [ʊ], [o] and [ö] (see Brown, 1989, p. 297).

The vocalisation of dark [ɫ] is not confined to English. Ash (1982) traces back its history as:

Final and preconsonantal /l/ was vocalized during the Gallo-Romanic period of French, giving rise to the diphthongs in such words as "chevaux," "mieux," "outré," and "chapeau" (Fox and Wood, 1968: 43-44). In Polish, the unpalatized /l/ spelled "ł" began to be replaced by /ɔ/ in all positions sometime during the 16th Century and now the bilabial segment has virtually completely replaced the apical. It has even recently been decided that the apical [l] should no longer be obligatory in stage Polish because it sounds unnatural (von Essen, 1964; Stieber, 1973: 129). According to Franolic (1967) quoting Vaillant (1950), in Serbo-Croatian syllabic /l/ became /ʊ/ at the end of the 15th Century. In Brazilian Portuguese, too, final /l/ is categorically replaced by /ʊ/ in the dialect spoken in Rio de Janeiro and in much of the rest of the country. Thus "mal" 'bad' is produced as /maʊ/ (p. 3-4).

The history of the vocalisation of dark [ɫ] in English dates back to the 15th century. Wylde (1927, reported in Ash, 1982) documented a loss of /l/ in the writings of Queen Elizabeth I. For example, he lists ‘behalf’ as ‘behaf’, ‘falcon’ as ‘facon’ and ‘stalk’ as ‘stauke’. Those spelling peculiarities reflect how these words had been pronounced at the time. Johnson and Britain (2003) state that in the 16th century, /l/ was vocalised after “/ɑ:/ and /ɔ:/ and before labials and velars” (p. 7). As Wells (1982) asserts, the vocalisation of [ɫ] in London is “less than a century old” (p. 259). It is widely recognised as a feature of Cockney English. Sivertsen (1960, reported in Ash, 1982) demonstrates that Cockney English has /l/ vocalisation, especially in preconsonantal and word final positions. He also reports some labialisation and/or a total deletion of /l/ in certain positions. Johnson and Britain note that the vocalisation of /l/ is a “very marked characteristic” of Cockney English nowadays. They also note that it is widespread in south-eastern varieties of British English and some other varieties including American English, Australian English, New Zealand English, Falkland Island English, etc.

As to why dark [ɫ] vocalisation occurs, Gess (2001) claims that it occurs as a result of a phonetic constraint called CAE (Conserve Articulatory Effort); therefore, when articulating dark [ɫ], speakers start producing the dorsal gesture, but finish before doing the coronal gesture obeying the CAE and consequently a non-syllabic vocoid is produced instead of dark [ɫ].

Sociolinguistically, [ɫ] vocalization was “overtly stigmatized, being disapproved of by the speech-conscious” (Wells, 1982, p. 314) and was socially sensitive, i.e., associated with working class young speakers (Hudson & Holloway, 1977, reported by Wells, 1982, p. 314). However, it has been diffusing to other accents and dialects rapidly for the last few decades. Wells (1982, p. 259) goes on to say that “it seems likely that it will become entirely standard in English over the course of the next century.”

Horvath & Horvath (2001) investigated [ɫ] vocalisation in New Zealand and Australian English. Their findings show that gender and social class are weak social factors whereas age and locality are strong; i.e., younger speakers vocalise more than older ones and vocalisation is more spread in New Zealand than in Australia. Ash (1982) investigated /l/ vocalisation in the city of Philadelphia, USA. Her findings show that age, ethnicity, locality, gender, and speaking style have no significant effect on postvocalic /l/ vocalisation. However, they show that social class plays a significant role, i.e., postvocalic /l/ vocalisation is “most favored by groups in the middle of the social scale” (276). As for intervocalic /l/ vocalisation, the findings show that ethnicity and speaking style have no significant effect, whereas gender and locality have: speakers in Kensington vocalised more and men vocalised more than women. Evidence for a stigmatized status for /l/ vocalisation in Philadelphia is minimal although generally “it seems to be a working class male-dominated feature in the environments where it is most innovative” (p. 283).

5.1.2 The Phoneme /l/ in Arabic and its Allophones

Sibawayh (8th Century A.D.) describes /l/ as a *Munḥarif* and *Shadīd* sound that continues to flow. Al-Nassir (1993) argues that Sibawayh calls /l/ *Munḥarif* because the tongue “moves aside with the sound” (Volume 4, P. 435), i.e., the airstream is diverted through the two sides of the tongue. In other words, *Munḥarif* is Sibawayh’s term for ‘lateral’. To Sibawayh, *Shadīd* sounds are produced when the “articulators are in full contact with each other” (Al-Nassir, 1993, p. 48). Finally, Sibawayh describes /l/ as a continuant sound that is neither a plosive nor a fricative although it shares the feature ‘*Shadīd*’ with the former and the feature ‘continuant’ with the latter (Al-Nassir, 1993). Notably, Sibawayh does not

mention anything about the allophonic variation of /l/. In other words, he does not discuss light and dark reflexes of /l/ although they exist in Standard Arabic as will be shown later.

Modern Arab linguists typically describe the phoneme /l/ in Arabic as a voiced dental lateral (cf. Al-Ani, 1970, p. 48; Shaheen, 1979, p. 176; Abdel-Jawad, 1981, p. xv; Al-Khatib, 1988, p. 25; Kopczynski & Meliani, 1993, p. 194; Al-Wer, 1991, p. ix; Khattab, 2002, p. 339; El Salman, 2003, p. v). However, some describe it as a voiced denti-alveolar lateral (Anani, 1985, p. 180). Others describe it as a voiced alveolar lateral/liquid (cf. Bani Yasin, 1980, p. 65; Al-Sughayer, 1990, p. 26; Zawaydeh, 1999, p. 15; Sakarna, 1999, p. ix; Abu-Abbas, 2003, p. 9). Irshied (1984, p. 5) sees /l/ as a labial liquid while Al-Tamimi (2001, p. xi) sees it as post-alveolar lateral approximant. All in all, almost all Arab linguists agree that /l/ is a coronal lateral that is produced with a coronal gesture while the air escapes through the sides of the tongue. Strangely, Irshied (1984) is the only one who does not consider it as coronal. Frankly, I cannot see how it can be pronounced primarily by the lips in the Bedouin dialect of Bani Hassan that he describes; therefore, most likely it is a typo. The distribution of the /l/ phoneme in the Arabic word is not restricted as it occurs word initially as in *laban* ‘yoghurt’, medially as in *balad* ‘country’ and finally as in *miθil* ‘like’.

Unlike some varieties of English, vocalisation of /l/ does not occur in Arabic (Khattab, 2011), but like English there are two /l/ allophones: light [l] and dark [ɫ]. Although Sibawayh does not mention the dark allophone, it has long been observed that the realization of /l/ in the word *Allah* ‘God’ is dark [ɫ] in Standard Arabic. While some linguists (cf. Sproat & Fujumura, 1993, p. 310; Johnson & Britain, 2003, p. 14) argue that in English light [l] and dark [ɫ] involve both coronal and dorsal gestures but differ in the timing of each, in Arabic light [l] involves only a coronal gesture with the tongue tip (Khattab, 2011).

On the other hand, the pronunciation of dark [ɬ] in Arabic, like English, involves a secondary dorsal gesture (back of the tongue) in addition to its primary coronal (front part of the tongue) gesture. This type of articulation is not confined to dark [ɬ] in Arabic. The combination of primary and secondary articulations in certain consonants is present in the so-called ‘emphatic’ consonants in Arabic and other Semitic languages like Tigrinya (Bellem, 2007) as will be explained later in this chapter. In fact, dark [ɬ] in Arabic is widely referred to as emphatic and transcribed as [ɬ̤] (I will adopt this transcription to refer to the Arabic dark allophone henceforth).

While the distribution of the light reflex of [ɬ] is not restricted in the Arabic word, its dark counterpart [ɬ̤] is restricted to certain environments. The linguistic environment for dark [ɬ̤] in Arabic is a controversial issue and it seems to vary from one dialect to another. Ferguson (1956) acknowledges that the environments for the occurrence of dark [ɬ̤] in Classical Arabic and some other dialects have been stated by many linguists (see Petracek, 1952) and lists them as follows:

The emphatic ɬ̤ occurs in three kinds of situations, of which at least the first two hold for Classical Arabic and all three seem to hold for all modern dialects: (A) in certain forms of the word for God, (B) in the neighborhood of other emphatic consonants, and (C) in other unpredictable items, sometimes loan words, sometimes inherited Arabic vocabulary (p. 446).

Ferguson, however, argues that dark /ɬ̤/ “must be regarded as an independent phoneme in Classical Arabic and in most if not all the modern dialects” (p. 446). He builds his argument on the basis of the following pieces of evidence: 1) some varieties of Arabic have dark [ɬ̤] only in the word *Allah* ‘God’ and other related forms when not preceded by /i/ and this exclusivity does not change or correlate with any social factors of the speakers, 2) there are minimal and near-minimal pairs “involving the word for God and another word of similar phonological shape but different meaning” (p. 447) in Classical Arabic and

other varieties. Examples from Classical Arabic include *waḷḷāhu* ‘and God’ vs. *wallāhu* ‘he appointed him’; *waḷḷāhi* ‘by God’ vs. *wallāhi* ‘and the one who amuses’. An example from Syrian Arabic is *ʔalla* ‘God’ vs. *ʔalla* ‘he told her’, 3) the concept ‘emphatic neighbourhood’ is not satisfactory to explain dark and light /l/ allophony; in fact, Arabic has a widespread phenomenon that realises non-emphatic consonants as emphatic when “immediately next to or in the neighborhood” (p. 449) of other emphatic consonants; therefore, the ‘emphatic environment’ conditioning is not exclusive to emphatic [l].

Al-Nassir (1993) demonstrates that light [l] is more frequent in Arabic than its dark counterpart which seems to appear in the “neighbourhood of velarized or back consonants in some dialects” (p. 48). As for the /l/ in the word *Allah* ‘God’, Al-Nassir lists the following general phonological rule:

If the Lām [l] is preceded by the palatal short vowel /i/ it is produced as clear [l] /lilla:hi/ (for God); when the preceding short vowel is the velar /u/ or the pharyngeal /a/ the Lām is produced as dark [l], ismuḷḷa:hi/ (name of God) and /waḷḷa:hi/ (by God) (pp. 48-49).

Nevertheless, he admits that sometimes these two allophones of /l/ can appear as two separate phonemes in some Arabic varieties as in Baghdadi Arabic that shows phonemic contrast between them as in *xāli* /xa:li/ ‘empty’ vs. *xāli* /xa:li/ ‘my uncle’. Drawing on the aforementioned phonological rule, Brown (1989) goes on to claim that “the alternation between clear and dark /l/ is determined in Arabic not by the nature of the following segment, as in RP, but by the nature of the preceding vowel” (p. 297). He emphasises that both occurrences of the /l/ in *Allah* ‘God’ and *Abdullah* ‘servant of God’ are dark because they are preceded by the back vowels /a/ and /u/, respectively, but the /l/ in *bismillah* is light because it is preceded by the front vowel /i/. What he ignores, however, is that dark [l] does occur in words other than the word *Allah* in other varieties of Arabic, e.g. *laṭṭ* ‘ate gluttonously’.

As for the Arabic word *Allah* ‘God’ itself that is often claimed to be the only word in Classical Arabic that has dark [ɓ] (cf. Al-Batal, et al, 2006; Mace, 1998). Jaradat (2014) explains that the Arabic term *Allah* is derived from “the definite article in Arabic (?)*al* “the” and the word *ʔlah* [sic] “deity, God” (p. 62). He clarifies that these two words have undergone blending: firstly, the /ɓ/ in *ʔlah* has been elided, secondly, the definite article *al* ‘the’ has been added to *lah*, thirdly, the lateral /l/ of the definite article has been assimilated to the /l/ in *lah* giving it more strength and length by geminating it (see also Al-Ashqar, 2007). He adds that the quality of /l/ in *ʔlah* before blending is light [l], whereas after blending is dark [ɓ]. Jaradat too believes that the only dark [ɓ] in Arabic occurs in the word *Allah*. With regard to the pronunciation of the word *Allah* in Jordanian Arabic, he maintains that it appears in two phonetic forms: the first pronunciation stresses the second syllable replicating its pronunciation in Classical Arabic, while the second pronunciation stresses the first syllable and both have a geminate of dark [ɓ]. He does not mention though if the quality of the /l/ in *Allah* differs when preceded by /i/ in Jordanian Arabic.

Because the pronunciation of dark [ɓ] involves both primary and secondary articulations (velarisation in Western linguistics, cf. Roach, 2011, pp. 78-97; Ladefoged, 2001, p. 55), and because most Arab linguists (cf. Ferguson, 1956 and Al-Nassir, 1993 above) believe that the distribution of dark [ɓ] in Arabic is restricted to the ‘neighbourhood’ or ‘vicinity’ of other ‘emphatic’, ‘velarised’ or ‘back’ consonants, a detailed discussion of the phenomenon of ‘emphasis’ in Arabic is in order.

5.2 Emphasis in Arabic

Emphasis in Arabic is a process that involves a secondary articulation in the back of the mouth in addition to a primary one when producing certain consonants. It is similar to English velarisation

discussed above, but differs from it because it primarily involves consonant phonemes not just allophones (Roach, 2002, p. 85). The literature shows no consensus on the exact mechanism involved in the production of emphatic consonants in Arabic, nor does it show any consensus on the term used to describe this mechanism. Lehn (1963) admits that emphasis has received many terms by western and modern scholars, such as velarisation, pharyngealisation, uvularisation, u-resonance, heaviness, strong articulation and retraction. Ancient Arab grammarians, on the other hand, discuss the phenomenon as “*ʔitbāq* ‘spreading and raising of the tongue’, *ʔistiʔlāl* ‘elevation of the dorsum’, and *tafxīm* ‘thickness, heaviness’” (Lehn, 1963, p. 29). Sibawayh (8th century A.D.) describes the four widely recognised emphatic consonants /ṭ, ṣ, ḍ, ẓ/ as *Muṭbaq* contrasting them to *Munfatih*. Precisely, he describes the pronunciation of these four consonants as:

In these four letters, if you apply your tongue in their place, it will close on from their (primary) places up to that part of the tongue opposite the velum, towards which you raise the tongue. Applying the tongue this way the sound will be enclosed between the tongue and velum (on one side) and the places of the letters (on the other side) (Volume 4, p. 436, translated in Al-Nassir, 1993, p. 50).

Although he does not use the term ‘emphatics’ or ‘velarised’, undoubtedly he is referring to the same mechanism as he acknowledges that the pronunciation of these four sounds has “two places on the tongue” (Volume 4, p. 436), i.e., it involves both primary and secondary articulations. Cantineau (1964, cited in Al-Nassir, 1993, p. 50) describes these four consonants as ‘emphatique’.

Adding the three uvular consonants /q, ɣ, x/ to the four *Muṭbaq* /ṭ, ṣ, ḍ, ẓ/ Sibawayh forms a new set of consonants and calls them *Mustaʔliyah*, i.e., “elevated to the velum” (Volume 4, p. 129). Lehn (1963) notes that *Mufaxxama* consonants include the seven *Mustaʔliyah* and “in certain environments also /l r/ as well as some vowels and semi vowels; later grammarians add /ħ ʕ/ [ħ ʕ] to the last two

classes” (p. 29). Ghazeli (1977) states that *Mufaxxama* consonants include all seven *Mustafliyah* and in “certain cases [l, r, y] and [a], but not the pharyngeal consonants [ħ, ʕ]” (p. 7). Al-Nassir (1993) asserts that the *Mufaxxama* consonants include /q, ɣ, x, b, m, n, l/. Cantineau (1946, p. 86, cited in Herin, 2013, pp. 106-107) distinguishes between two types of *Mufaxxama* consonants: 1) ‘*Mufaxxama* par nature’: /w, k, g, x, ʂ, t, ð/ and ‘*Mufaxxama* par position’: /b, m, f, r, l, ħ, ʕ, h/. To Cantineau (1946), the main difference between the ‘*Mufaxxama* par nature’ and the ‘*Mufaxxama* par position’ is that the former can occur in any linguistic environment, whereas the latter can only occur in the vicinity of other ‘*Mufaxxama* par nature’ consonants or back vowels. It is worth noting that these two groups of emphatic consonants are often referred to in the literature as primary and secondary emphatics where the former occur freely but the latter occur only in emphatic environments (cf. Sakarna, 1999). Additionally, while the primary emphatics have their own Arabic orthographic symbols, the secondary emphatics do not (cf. Lehn, 1963). Strikingly, more often than not, the term ‘emphatics’ is used to refer to any or all of the three aforementioned consonant groups (Al-Nassir, 1993; Ghazeli, 1977, Card, 1983). Ghazeli (1977) argues that *Mufaxxama* consonants should not be confused with emphatic consonants for articulatory and co-articulatory reasons. In fact, Card (1983, p. 8) asserts that one of the reasons that modern linguists use *Tafxīm* and ‘Emphasis’ interchangeably is the fact that the term *Tafxīm* has been mistranslated as ‘Emphasis’ into English. He cites the title of Roman Jakobson’s (1957) paper, “*Mufaxxama*, The ‘Emphatic’ Phonemes in Arabic”, as evidence for this confusion and mistranslation. Even for Cantineau (1946) himself, the two groups of *Mufaxxama* consonants he proposed are not clear-cut. To illustrate, Cantineau (1946, p. 128, cited in Herin, 2013, p. 107) believes that /ħ/ and /ʕ/ are ‘*Mufaxxama* par nature’ in some regions and ‘*Mufaxxama* par position’ in other regions of Ḥōrān.

Sakarna (1999) shows that while the primary emphatics are four /ṭ, ṣ, ḍ, ḏ/ (sometimes three /ṭ, ṣ, ḏ/ due to the merger of /ḍ/ and /ḏ/ into /ḏ/ in some dialects of Arabic), the secondary emphatics are four /r, l, m, b/. Again the members of these two categories differ from one linguist to another apparently due to dialectal variation (cf. Jakobson, 1957; Herzallah, 1990; Hoffiz, 1995).

If we return to the second situation listed by Ferguson (1956, p. 446) for the occurrence of dark [ɫ], i.e., “in the neighborhood of other emphatic consonants,” it is not clear what is meant by ‘emphatic neighbourhood’. Is it the neighbourhood of the *Muṭḥaq*, *Mustaṣliyah* or *Mufaxxama* consonants discussed above? In fact, even if we understood ‘emphatic neighbourhood’ as identical to the so-called ‘emphasis-spread’, i.e., the power of certain emphatic consonants to spread ‘emphasis’ on preceding and/or following sounds (cf. Ghazeli, 1977; Card, 1983; Herzallah, 1989), we would be confronting five problems: 1) What emphatic consonants trigger emphasis-spread? 2) How far can emphasis spread? 3) What direction(s) can emphasis spread to? 4) What blocks it? and 5) Do all plain consonants have emphatic counterparts to change to when subjected to emphasis-spread? (cf. Ghazeli, 1977; Sakarna, 1999). Furthermore, it is not clear if the ‘emphatic neighbourhood’ has to do with the vowels. For example, it has been assumed that Arabic has only one low vowel /a/ which is realised as [+ back] next to emphatic consonants and as [+ front] elsewhere (cf. Ghazeli, 1977, Herzallah, 1990). Herzallah (1990) argues that the Arabic low vowel is ‘pharyngealised’ next to ‘pharyngealised’ (i.e., emphatic) consonants and uses the pharyngealisation diacritic [ˤ] after it to mark this property. For instance, in the pair *latt* ‘spoke nonsense’ vs. *laṭṭ* ‘ate gluttonously’, the vowel in the second word is [+ back] (or in Herzallah’s words ‘pharyngealised’) *laṭṭ* because it is next to an emphatic consonant /ṭ/ (note also that /l/ is realised as emphatic). It is not clear though, if back vowels trigger emphasis or they are the by-

product of emphasis-spread from other emphatic consonants (cf. Ghazeli, 1977; Al-Wer, 1991). Because of these problematic issues associated with the concept of ‘emphatic neighbourhood’ some linguists believe that dark [ɓ] in Arabic is lexically conditioned (cf. Herin, 2011). The latter treatment is motivated by those instances of dark [ɓ] that cannot be explained in relation to the spread of emphatic neighbourhood, e.g. *ṣayla* ‘thing’ and *yūla* ‘ogress’.

5.3 The Alternation between Light [l] and Dark [ɓ] in Ḥorān

This chapter is mainly concerned with dark [ɓ]. Ḥorāni dialects, thus, exhibit a tendency to realise /l/ as dark [ɓ] in words, such as *xāl* ‘uncle’, *gāl* ‘he said’, *naxla* ‘palm tree’, *buryul* ‘bulgur wheat’, *yaḷa* ‘high cost’, *yaḷaba* ‘inconvenience’, *raḥal* ‘he changed residence’, and *igbāl* ‘opposite to’ (Al-Wer et al., 2015, p. 78; Herin, 2013, p. 104). As shown in Chapter 4 (§ 4.2), where other Levantine dialects would insert an epenthetic vowel /i/ to resolve impermissible onsets and/or codas, Ḥorāni dialects have the tendency to insert /u/ instead. Where one of the consonants in the CC cluster is ‘l’, the insertion of [u] epenthesis is accompanied by the realisation of dark [ɓ]. For instance, the MSA word for ‘before’ is *qabl* which has a CVCC structure. In most Levantine dialects, this word is rendered as a CVCVC after epenthesis. While some dialects render it as *gabil* (i.e., with epenthetic [i] and light [l]), Ḥorāni dialects render it as *gabul* (i.e., with epenthetic [u] and dark [ɓ]). Other examples where the second consonant in the CC cluster is ‘l’ include *gamul* ‘lice’, *ramul* ‘sand’, *naxul* ‘palm trees’, *ṣaxul* ‘kid (goat)’ and *raṭul* ‘unit of mass’. Examples where the first consonant in the CC cluster is ‘l’ include *gaḷub* ‘heart’, *yūlub* ‘loss’, *ḥaḷub* ‘milking’, *muḷuk* ‘ownership’, *ḥuḷum* ‘dream’, *ṣaḷux* ‘skinning’, *ṭaḷug* ‘labour’ and *yūluḍ* ‘thickness’. More importantly, Al-Wer et al. (2015) propose the following linguistic conditioning of dark [ɓ]: “spread from an adjacent velarized consonant and the vicinity of a velar and post-velar element” (pp. 78-79).

Nevertheless, Herin (2013) hints to cases in which dark [ɫ] is not linguistically conditioned but rather lexically conditioned; he asserts that “in the case of /l/, only the vicinity of another emphatic will trigger dark /l/ (except when /l/ is lexically conditioned)” (p. 106). He also argues that the emphasis-spread of an emphatic consonant to the vicinity might be blocked by a front vowel, such as /i:/; therefore, the /l/ in a word like *ṭawīl* is not dark although it starts with an emphatic consonant followed by a back low vowel because emphasis is blocked by the front vowel /i:/.

This Ḥorāni feature of realising /l/ as dark [ɫ], especially in emphatic environments, seems to have weakened over the years. The last few decades have witnessed a shift from [ɫ] to [l] in some of the Ḥorāni dialects; assuming that the dialect of Salt is originally a Ḥorāni dialect (following the suggestion of Herin, 2013), it can be taken as an example of the dialects that have undergone almost total shift from dark to light /l/ (see also AL-Wer et al., 2015). In this dialect, the traditional Ḥorāni pronunciation with [ɫ] alternates with a new innovative pronunciation with [l] in words, such as *xāḷa~xāla* ‘aunt’, *gabul~gabil* ‘before’. In fact, sometimes the innovative feature seems to have replaced the traditional one in Salt in words like *gāl* ‘said’ and *bayil* ‘mule’ (Al-Wer et al., 2015, p. 80; Herin, 2013, p. 104). Al-Wer et al. (2015) show that dark [ɫ] is a recessive feature in the dialect of Salt except amongst the Christians who seem to preserve the traditional features of the dialect:

The distribution of dark /l/ in Salti differs from Horani. Only the word *gaḷb* ‘heart’ was recorded consistently with /ɫ/ [equivalent to dark [ɫ] in this thesis]. The preposition/adverb *gab(ə)l* ‘before(hand)’ occurs 74 times in the corpus; of these, 44 tokens contain the velarized (dark) reflex *gab(ə)ɫ* ‘before(hand)’. Among these 44 tokens, only three tokens occur sporadically in the speech of three Muslim informants, while the remaining 41 items occur in the speech of Christian informants. One of the Christian informants, an elderly female Christian, used the velarized reflex consistently (p. 80).

Herin (2013) compares and contrasts the dialects of Ḥōrān ‘proper’, Salt and Ġalbūn (rural Palestinian) in terms of realising secondary emphasis like dark [ɫ]. His findings show that Salt ranks second after traditional Ḥōrāni and before the dialect of Ġalbūn. In other words, although the dialect of Salt is a Ḥōrāni dialect at its core, some features have been either lost or, at least, restricted in usage due to coming in “contact with Palestinian varieties” (Herin, 2013, p. 112); dark [ɫ] is one example of such receding Ḥōrāni features.

Abdel-Jawad (1986b) mentions that one of the phonological features undergoing change in the Jordanian Bedouin and rural dialects (he terms them [g]-dialects) is dark [ɫ]. He indicates that the Jordanian [g]-speakers traditionally pronounce /l/ as dark [ɫ] in the environment of back sounds, e.g. *gāl* ‘said’, *xāl* ‘uncle’ and *gaḷam* ‘pen’. However, he notes that dark [ɫ] is “changed to light [l] increasingly in the speech of females more than in the speech of males” (p. 55). Overall, he believes that most of male and female [g]-speakers tend to avoid using dark [ɫ] because it is not associated with modern urban speech that most Jordanian speakers aspire to. Al-Wer (1991) agrees with Abdel-Jawad (1986b) and reports that her data supports his observation as dark [ɫ] “occurs only a few times in the speech of the middle and young age groups. It seems, therefore, that the variable (L) is undergoing linguistic change in the northern varieties, which involves divergence from the local stigmatized variant [ɬ] by female speakers” (p. 36). She argues that the linguistic development in favour of light [l] at the expense of dark [ɫ] in the northern Jordanian varieties (i.e., Ḥōrāni) may represent a ‘change in progress’.

Al-Khatib (1988) maintains that in Ḥōrāni dialects, dark [ɫ] occurs largely when it is preceded by /g/, /x/, /ɣ/, or /q/. He refers the reader to Blanc (1964, p. 20) for the aforementioned phonological conditioning environment that is necessary for the occurrence of dark [ɫ] in “the original Ḥōrāni dialect

which is still spoken in the surrounding rural areas [of Irbid]” (Al-Khatib, 1988, p. 341). What he does not mention, however, is the fact that Blanc (1964) discusses dark [ʔ] in the speech of Muslims, Christians and Jews in Baghdad⁹. In fact, Blanc (1964) himself refers the reader to Cantineau (1946, pp. 107-109) for information about dark [ʔ] in Ḥōrāni dialects. Al-Khatib argues that while the traditional Ḥōrāni pronunciation for words such as those for ‘pan’ and ‘before’ is *gullāyye* and *gabul*, respectively; their non-Ḥōrāni pronunciation is *gallāyye* and *gabil*, respectively (i.e., without emphatic [ʔ]). Al-Khatib claims that due to coming in contact with the Urbanites (i.e., Irbid dwellers who have come from the surrounding urban centres, such as Nablus, Haifa and Damascus) and the Fellahiins (i.e., Irbid dwellers who have come from Palestinian central rural areas), the Ḥōrāniis (i.e., Irbid dwellers prior to the Palestinian immigration) seem to have abandoned dark [ʔ]. Al-Khatib strongly states that the use of dark [ʔ] by Irbidian Ḥōrāniis has “begun to diminish...to the extent that...[it is] hardly detected nowadays” (p. 341). From my experience as a native dweller of the city of Irbid, dark [ʔ] has not diminished from the speech of the Irbidian Ḥōrāniis as I hear it constantly, especially in the speech of the older generation. However, I do agree that it is increasingly disappearing, especially in the speech of the younger generation.

Bani Yasin (1980) demonstrates that in the Ghawarna dialect in the Jordan Valley in Jordan, there are only three primary emphatic consonants /ṭ ṣ ḏ/ because Standard Arabic’s /ḍ/ is either merged with /ḏ/ (e.g. *ḍarab*→*ḏarab* ‘he hit’) or pronounced as /z/ (*ḍābiṭ*→*zābiṭ* ‘lieutenant’). Bani Yasin reveals that in the Ghawarna dialect, a large number of consonants have emphatic variants. He reports the following non-emphatic vs. emphatic consonantal pairs: b-ḅ, dʒ-dʒ, ḥ-ḥ, x-x, r-r, g-g, k-k, m-m and l-l. He

⁹ Blanc (1964) reports that dark [ʔ] occurs when preceded by /x/, /ɣ/ or /q/ in Baghdad and generalises this environment to other gelet-dialects and other Bedouin varieties in other areas.

argues that dark [ɫ] “occurs in an emphatic environment, notably in contiguity with the back open-vowel” (p. 65.), e.g. *xallā* ‘left’ and *ḡayyāl* ‘worker’. It is not clear though if he rules out the occurrence of dark [ɫ] in contiguity with the back close-vowel /u/ in words such as *ḡuyul* ‘work’.

Anani (1985) investigates the distribution of light [l] and dark [ɫ] in what he calls Standard Jordanian Arabic, a variety he claims to be spoken by educated Jordanian speakers. He argues that the dark variant [ɫ] occurs in two distinct environments: 1) before or after a back vowel and an emphatic consonant (ṭ, ṣ, ḍ, ḏ), e.g. *laṭam* ‘slapped/filled’, *ṭalab* ‘request’ and *baṭal* ‘hero’, and 2) before or after a uvular (i.e., /q/, /x/, /ʁ/), e.g. *ḡalq* ‘throat’ and *bayl* ‘mule’. Furthermore, he states that the light variant [l] appears in non-emphatic contexts, e.g. *lamas* ‘he touched’, *balah* ‘dates’ and *ḡasal* ‘honey’. It is not clear, though, what he means by Standard Jordanian Arabic, but it seems that he was referring to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as the uvular /q/ is not realised as /q/ in any local Jordanian variety (it has the following reflexes in Jordanian varieties: [g], [ʔ] or [k]) nor the cluster in CVCC nouns is widespread (it is usually broken by an epenthetic /u/ or /i/ as mentioned in § 4.2). Indeed, his conditioning linguistic environment cannot account for the occurrence of dark [ɫ] in the Jordanian Ḥōrāni dialects such as the dialect of Saḡam. The following examples are taken from my data and have dark [ɫ] although they are not in the environment of any of the seven consonants Anani mentions above: *ḡāl* ‘he said’, *mālō* ‘what is wrong with him’, *ramul* ‘sand’ *bālā* ‘second-hand clothes market’ *ḡulba* ‘tin’ and *ʔarmaḡla* ‘widow’.

Alhjouj (2013) notes that although there are two allophones for the phoneme /l/ in Arabic, the dominant allophone is light [l]. He contends that the occurrence of the dark allophone [ɫ] is limited to a restricted number of contexts and that these contexts precede it. He explains:

First, it occurs in the word [ʔallāh] 'Allah' when it is not preceded by a high front vowel (cf. [lillāh] 'for Allah'). The second, and debatable case, is when /l/ is preceded by the emphatic consonants /ṣ ṭ ḏ/. It is stipulated here that /l/ be followed by a short low front vowel, and that the emphatic consonant is either followed by a short low front vowel or not separated from /l/ by any sound: /ṣ ṭ ḏ + (a) + /l + (a)/ (p.48).

It is obvious that Alhjouj (2013) does not acknowledge that the underlying Arabic low vowel /a/ can surface as a back low vowel, especially in emphatic environments. Secondly, the context for dark [ɫ] does not have to precede it. My data contains many examples where dark [ɫ] occurs word initially, e.g. *laṭum* 'full/slap' and *laṣum* 'full'. Thirdly, he ignores the fact that dark [ɫ] can occur in contexts other than the vowel /a/, e.g. *juḥḷub* 'he milks'. Finally, he ignores other cases where dark [ɫ] occurs without the presence of any of the three emphatic consonants he mentions (i.e., /ṣ/, /ṭ/ and /ḏ/), e.g. *ramuḷ* 'sand'.

Al-Hawamdeh (2016) investigated dark /l/ in Sūf, a Ḥōrānī town in Jordan. She relied on spoken data obtained from the speech of 24 participants categorised into three age groups and two gender groups. She used Rbrul software for the statistical analysis of the data. The findings reveal that the dark variant [ɫ] is favoured when preceded and followed by back vowels. Also, preceding consonants are found to favour the occurrence of the dark variable (she coded for three preceding and following factor groups: back vowels, front vowels and consonants). With regard to gender, the results show that women favour the use of dark /l/ more than men. Her findings are at odds with previous research from various speech communities where it has been found that women often lead the change away from the local linguistic features. She interprets the results on the basis of the social gendered roles in Sūf. In other words, she argues that women are expected to serve as the custodians of the traditional local culture in the town; therefore, they use the local linguistic features.

It is noteworthy that some Jordanian linguists claim that dark [ɫ] only occurs in the word *Allah* ‘God’ when not preceded by a high front vowel both in Standard Arabic and various Jordanian varieties, e.g. northern Jordanian Arabic (Jaradat, 2014, p. 62), Ma’ani Arabic (Rakhieh, 2009, p. 7) and ʕabbādi Arabic (Sakarna, 1999, p. 104). It is not clear, though, what phonological grounds they have relied on, or whether they have investigated dark variant [ɫ] in their respective dialects or Standard Arabic! For instance, from my own experience as a Jordanian who lives in the northern part of Jordan, I can emphasise that the occurrence of dark /l/ is not restricted to the word *Allah* ‘God’ in the dialect referred to by Jaradat (2014) above.

To sum up, unlike other Levantine dialects, the dark variant [ɫ] is the dominant variant in traditional Ḥōrāni dialects, but this dominance seems to be weakening in favour of the light variant [l]. This shift in dominance seems to be a sign of a ‘change in progress’ in the traditional Ḥōrāni pronunciation. The following section presents the statistical analysis of Rbrul results and explains if the use of dark [ɫ] is changing in Saḥam or not.

5.4 Results of the Statistical Analysis of (L) of the Current Study

5.4.1 Coding Procedure

In this thesis I coded for all tokens with the variable (L) and its variants light [l] and dark [ɫ]. To investigate the linguistic and social distribution of (L) in Saḥam, the tokens in this thesis are coded for both linguistic and social factors. Three social factors were coded for: age, gender and contact (see Chapter 3 for justifications). In addition, the linguistic environment was coded for as follows: preceding, following, gemination, position in syllable and number of syllables. The procedures followed in coding for the above factor groups are discussed below.

1. Preceding environment: In the first stage of coding for this factor group, I included the preceding sounds individually: pause, ʏ, ʃ, ʦ, ʧ, b, d, f, g, h, ɦ, ɕ, k, l, m, n, r, s, ʂ, t, x, z. Table 5.1 illustrates the coded preceding consonants and preceding pause (i.e., word-initial) with their occurrence numbers. As the number of tokens varies with each of the preceding consonants; with some having only one or two tokens, I re-coded and re-grouped them. In the second run, I re-classified the preceding consonants into: labial, velar, pharyngeal, glottal, coronal and emphatic. In this run, there were still a number of environments with very low tokens occurrences (pharyngeal and glottal). Finally, based on the statistical runs I classified them as: labial, dorsal* (velar + pharyngeal + glottal), coronal, emphatic and pause.

Table 5.1: (L) with preceding consonant sounds and pause

Sound	Occurrence	Example	Gloss
pause	4	<i>libig</i>	‘nickname’
/ʔ/	133	<i>ʔayli</i>	‘I boil’
/ʃ/	3	<i>ʔaʃlaʃ</i>	‘I pull out’
/ʕ/	9	<i>miʕlaga</i>	‘spoon’
/t̪/	55	<i>jiṭṭlaʃ</i>	‘he goes up’
/b/	22	<i>blukk</i>	‘bricks’
/d/	2	<i>judḷuf</i>	‘it leaks’
/f/	5	<i>ḥaʃle</i>	‘party’
/g/	66	<i>glām</i>	‘pens’
/h/	14	<i>ʔihli</i>	‘my family’
/ḥ/	22	<i>nuḥḷub</i>	‘we milk’
/ɕ/	4	<i>tiɕli</i>	‘she does the dishes’
/k/	8	<i>bōklu</i>	‘they are eating’
/l/	8	<i>ʔilli</i>	‘that’
/m/	16	<i>ʕumle</i>	‘currency’
/n/	7	<i>nlum</i>	‘we collect’
/r/	1	<i>ʔakθar liʕbe</i>	‘most played game’
/s/	16	<i>slāk</i>	‘wires’
/ʃ/	1	<i>munʃaʃlin</i>	‘separated’
/t/	6	<i>bitlāgi</i>	‘you (F) find’
/x/	14	<i>xlāf</i>	‘other than’
/z/	1	<i>nizlat</i>	‘she went down’

Preceding vowels were initially coded individually according to their height, length, and position: ā, ȃ, ē, ī, ō, ū, a, ȁ, e, i, u. Tokens with a preceding /j/ were coded as ‘front vowel /i/’ and those with a preceding /w/ were coded as ‘back vowel /u/’. Table 5.2 illustrates the coded preceding vowels with their occurrence numbers.

Table 5.2: (L) with preceding vowel sounds

Sound	Occurrence	Example	Gloss
/ā/	122	<i>ʔiḥtimāl</i>	‘perhaps’
/ā/	196	<i>gāl</i>	‘he said’
/ē/	16	<i>ʕēle</i>	‘family’
/ī/	86	<i>θagīl</i>	‘heavy’
/ō/	13	<i>nsōlif</i>	‘we talk’
/ū/	119	<i>maḥṣūl</i>	‘harvest’
/a/	387	<i>ʔashal</i>	‘easier’
/a/	156	<i>yaḷaba</i>	‘trouble’
/i/	437	<i>ʔanzil</i>	‘I go down’
/u/	211	<i>guḷt ~ gulit</i>	‘I said’
/w/	2	<i>thāwli</i>	‘you (F) will try’
/j/	4	<i>ʃāyle</i>	‘she is/was carrying’

Then, I grouped preceding vowels as: front, high back and low back. In the final stage of coding and based on Rbrul runs, preceding vowels were coded as ‘front’, and ‘back’. In other words, I conflated high and low back vowels into one category because they had identical factor weights (0.99).

2. Following environment: coding for the following environment followed the same procedure as the preceding environment. I started by coding for all the consonant sounds individually: pause, ʔ, ʕ, ʃ, ʔ, ʔ, b, ʔ, d, f, g, h, ʔ, ʕ, k, l, m, n, r, s, ʃ, t, ʔ, x, z/. Table 5.3 illustrates the coded following consonants and following pause (i.e., word-final) with their occurrence numbers.

Table 5.3: (L) with following consonants and pause

Sound	Occurrence	Example	Gloss
pause	235	<i>buryul</i>	‘bulgur wheat’
/ʁ/	3	<i>dāxil yurfa</i>	‘inside a room’
/ð/	1	<i>ʔinnaḥil ḏaki</i>	‘bees are clever’
/ʃ/	16	<i>ʔawwal jahur</i>	‘the first month’
/ʕ/	65	<i>niʕab</i>	‘we play’
/t̪/	6	<i>yiltat</i>	‘she made a mistake’
/ð̪/	1	<i>ʕamal ḏimin</i>	‘work within’
/b/	108	<i>galbat</i>	‘she turned over’
/t̪ʃ/	2	<i>ḥāltʃin</i>	‘yourselves (F)’
/d/	9	<i>ḡildo</i>	‘his skin’
/f/	36	<i>silfi</i>	‘my brother-in-law’
/g/	11	<i>bḥalgi</i>	‘in my throat’
/h/	77	<i>ʕagilha</i>	‘her mind’
/ḥ/	17	<i>tiḥas</i>	‘she licks’
/ḡ/	10	<i>maʕkalḡi</i>	‘troublemaker’
/k/	25	<i>gabul kunna</i>	‘before, we were’
/l/	34	<i>gāl lawēʃ</i>	‘he said why’
/m/	143	<i>kilme</i>	‘a word’
/n/	24	<i>gbālna</i>	‘facing us’
/r/	4	<i>tyassil rāsha</i>	‘she washes her head’
/s/	11	<i>lsān</i>	‘tongue’
/ʕ̪/	9	<i>banazzil ʕēfi</i>	‘I enroll in the summer term’
/t/	46	<i>baltagi</i>	‘I meet’
/θ/	2	<i>ʃuyul θāni</i>	‘another work’
/x/	9	<i>gāl xallili</i>	‘he said leave some for me’
/z/	4	<i>ʕayyal zētōn</i>	‘he lifted olive (sacks)’

In the final stage and based on Rbrul runs, I grouped following consonants as: labial, dorsal*

(velar + pharyngeal + glottal), coronal, emphatic and pause.

Following vowels were initially coded individually according to their height, length, and position: ā, ȁ, ē, ī, ō, ū, a, ȁ, e, i, u. Tokens with a following /j/ were coded as ‘front vowel /i/’ and those with a following /w/ were coded as ‘back vowel /u/’. Table 5.4 illustrates the coded following vowels with their occurrence numbers.

Table 5.4: (L) with following vowels

Sound	Occurrence	Example	Gloss
/ā/	44	<i>slāk</i>	‘wires’
/ȁ/	79	<i>ṣaylāt</i>	‘stuff’
/ē/	10	<i>lēmūn</i>	‘lemon’
/ī/	63	<i>yalīḏa</i>	‘thick’
/ō/	7	<i>bālōnāt</i>	‘balloons’
/ū/	68	<i>maṭlūb</i>	‘wanted’
/a/	200	<i>ḥalag</i>	‘shaved’
/ȁ/	174	<i>xāla</i>	‘aunt’
/e/	76	<i>muṣkile</i>	‘problem’
/i/	346	<i>ṭliṣit</i>	‘I went out’
/o/	1	<i>blok</i>	‘bricks’
/u/	115	<i>ḍalu</i>	‘bucket’
/w/	47	<i>ḥilwa</i>	‘pretty’
/j/	28	<i>yaljān</i>	‘got more expensive’

In the final stage of coding and based on Rbrul runs, following vowels were coded as ‘front’, and ‘back’.

3. Gemination: I coded for gemination, as in the following examples: *xallafna* ‘we gave birth’ and *bagulllo* ‘I tell him’.
4. Position in syllable: I coded for the occurrence of (L) in the syllable: onset (e.g. *glām* ‘pens’ and *slāk* ‘wires’) or coda (e.g. *gāl* ‘he said’ and *fāl* ‘he carried’).

5. Number of syllables in the word: I coded for the number of syllables in each word with (L), i.e., mono-syllabic (e.g. *ḥōl* ‘year’), bi-syllabic (e.g. *xāla* ‘aunt’), tri-syllabic (e.g. *binsōlif* ‘we talk’) and quadri-syllabic words (e.g. *ibullinha* ‘they (F) soak it’). The longest word coded with (L) in my data was found to contain four syllables.
6. Age: Three factors: young (20-39), middle (40-59) and old (60+).
7. Gender: two factors: male and female.
8. Amount of contact: I initially classified this factor into: high, low and no or very little contact. However, none of my participants scored zero on the scale; therefore, only two values were coded: high and low.

In summary the final coding protocol adopted included eight factor groups: preceding (7 factors), following (7 factors), gemination (2 factors), position in syllable (2 factors), number of syllables (4 factors), age (3 factors), gender (2 factors) and contact (2 factors). The total number of tokens in the data is 2166 (1329 tokens of clear [l] and 837 tokens of dark [ɭ]). The proportion of the usage of [ɭ] is 39%.

5.4.2 Rbrul Results and Discussion

The results of Rbrul runs of the use of the variable (L), with the dark variant [ɭ] as the application value, correlated with linguistic environment (preceding/following/position in syllable), amount of contact, gender and age are displayed in Table 5.5. A factor weight above 0.5 favours the application of the rule (in this case, the use of the dark variant [ɭ]), while a value less than 0.5 disfavors this application. Log-odds values are raw co-efficients for the regression model and they principally convey the same information given by the factor weight: a negative value disfavors the application of the rule and a

positive value favours it. A log-odds value of zero expresses neutrality and is equivalent to a GoldVarb centred factor weight of 0.5 (see Johnson, 2009, p. 361; Clark, 2010 and Guy, 1993). As it is the case in multivariate analyses, Rbrul executes both step-up and step-down analyses. Rbrul runs for both of these two analyses returned: 'step-up and step-down match'. The results displayed in Table 5.5 are those from the step-down analysis. A closer look at Table 5.5 reveals the following descending significance order of the factor groups affecting the use of the dependent variable (L): Preceding ($1.92\text{e-}293$) + Following ($5.46\text{e-}47$) + Age Group ($6.49\text{e-}20$) + Position in Syllable (0.000511) + Gender (0.000663) + amount of contact (0.0357).

Table 5.5: (L) linguistic environment, amount of contact, age and gender, Rbrul results

R2 0.893				
Preceding	logodds	tokens	[!] mean	centred factor weight
back vowel	5.207	695	0.894	0.995
emphatic	5.182	56	0.821	0.994
dorsal*	3.613	267	0.584	0.974
labial	2.291	43	0.233	0.908
coronal	-2.143	47	0.021	0.105
front vowel	-3.362	1054	0.003	0.033
pause	-10.788	4	0.000	< 0.001
(p < 1.92e-293)				
Following	logodds	tokens	[!] mean	centred factor weight
back vowel	2.913	523	0.805	0.949
pause	-0.160	236	0.292	0.46
emphatic	-0.265	16	0.562	0.434
dorsal*	-0.354	320	0.359	0.412
labial	-0.439	281	0.306	0.392
coronal	-0.630	159	0.283	0.347
front vowel	-1.065	631	0.146	0.256
(p < 5.46e-47)				
Age group	logodds	tokens	[!] mean	centred factor weight
old	1.356	790	0.537	0.795
middle	0.195	760	0.461	0.549
young	-1.550	616	0.102	0.175
(p < 6.49e-20)				
Position in Syllable	logodds	Tokens	[!] mean	centred factor weight
coda	0.708	1296	0.339	0.67
onset	-0.708	870	0.457	0.33
(p < 0.000511)				
Gender	logodds	tokens	[!] mean	centred factor weight
M	0.407	1051	0.421	0.6
F	-0.407	1115	0.354	0.4
(p < 0.000663)				
Contact	logodds	Tokens	[!] mean	centred factor weight
low	0.28	729	0.481	0.57
high	-0.28	1437	0.338	0.43
(p < 0.0357)				
Grand mean (0.386%)				

5.4.2.1 The Effect of the Linguistic Environment

The Linguistic environment is returned as a significant factor (Table 5.5) with the Preceding (1.92e-293) more significant than the Following (5.46e-47) environment. Moreover, the Position in the Syllable (0.000511) returned as a significant factor but less important than preceding and following environments. The application of the rule with [ɰ] as the application value is most favoured (i.e., centred factor weight > 0.5) when it is preceded by a back vowel (factor weight 0.995), emphatic (factor weight 0.994), dorsal* (factor weight 0.974) or labial (factor weight 0.908). Conversely, it is disfavoured (i.e., centred factor weight < 0.5) when preceded by a coronal consonant (factor weight 0.105), front vowel (factor weight 0.033) or a pause (factor weight < 0.001). Pertaining to the following environment, the application of the rule with [ɰ] as the application value is most favoured (i.e., centred factor weight > 0.5) only when it is followed by a back vowel (factor weight 0.949). In contrast, it is disfavoured (i.e., centred factor weight < 0.5) when it is followed by a pause (factor weight 0.46), emphatic (factor weight 0.434), dorsal* (factor weight 0.412), labial (factor weight 0.392), coronal (factor weight 0.347) or front vowel (factor weight 0.256).

The results conform to the general rules of phonology, i.e., the application of the rule with [ɰ] as the application value is most favoured when followed and/or preceded by a back vowel. As an emphatic consonant in Arabic, the dark variant [ɰ] involves a secondary dorsal gesture (back of the tongue) in addition to its primary coronal gesture (front of the tongue). I argue that both emphatic consonants and back vowels in Arabic share the value [+back]. I also argue that the secondary [+back] value in the emphatic/dark [ɰ] is stronger than the primary [+coronal] value. It is not conclusive, however, if the presence of the back vowel before the /l/ triggers its emphaticness (i.e. being realised as dark) or the

presence of the emphatic/dark [ɫ] triggers the backness of the vowel before it! Abdel-Jawad (1986b, p. 55) and Al-Wer (1991, p. 36) point out that speakers in the northern Jordanian varieties realise /l/ as dark [ɫ] in the “environment of back sounds”, i.e., [+back] sounds. In other words, Abdel-Jawad (1986b) and Al-Wer (1991) believe that [+back] sounds including the back vowels trigger the dark variant [ɫ] not the other way round.

An interesting finding displayed in Table 5.5 is that although Rbrul run returned both the following and preceding linguistic environments significant factors, the application of the rule with [ɫ] as the application value is favoured when followed by only a back vowel but favoured when it is preceded by four values: a back vowel, emphatic consonant, dorsal* consonant or labial consonant. In terms of emphatic spread, this means that the dark variant [ɫ] is influenced more by left-to-right than right-to-left emphasis spread. By the same token, it seems that the findings in this thesis support the literature claiming that front vowels block emphasis spread (cf. Davis, 1995; Zawaydeh, 1999; Herin, 2013) and opposes the literature claiming that both front and back long vowels block emphasis spread (cf. Card, 1983; Lehn, 1963). Specifically, Table 5.5 shows that the application of the rule is disfavoured when /l/ is preceded (factor weight 0.072) and/or followed (factor weight 0.295) by a front vowel. In other words, it appears that front vowels block both left-to-right and right-to-left emphasis spread.

Indeed, it seems that the best environment to account for the occurrence of [ɫ] in the dialect of Saḥam is the immediate adjacency to back vowels. One of the advantages of this analysis is that it can account for all occurrences of [ɫ] even the ones in the word *Allah* ‘God’ that is often treated as an exceptional case in other analyses. Finally, our analysis can account for one of the famous examples in

the Ḥōrāni dialects, i.e., the collocation *el-gāl wil gīl* ‘gossiping’ where only the /l/ that is immediately adjacent to a back vowel is rendered [ɭ].

In order to examine whether neighbouring emphatics or dorsals⁺ cause back-vowel occurrence when (L) is darkened, a cross tabulation of preceding and following back vowels, dorsals⁺ and emphatics when (L) is darkened is executed. Because Rbrul conducts cross tabulation between full factor groups not individual factors inside each group, Table 5.6 displays cross tabulation of the following and preceding linguistic factor groups, each of which consists of seven factors, when (L) is darkened.

Table 5.6: Cross tabulation of preceding and following linguistic environment when (L) is darkened

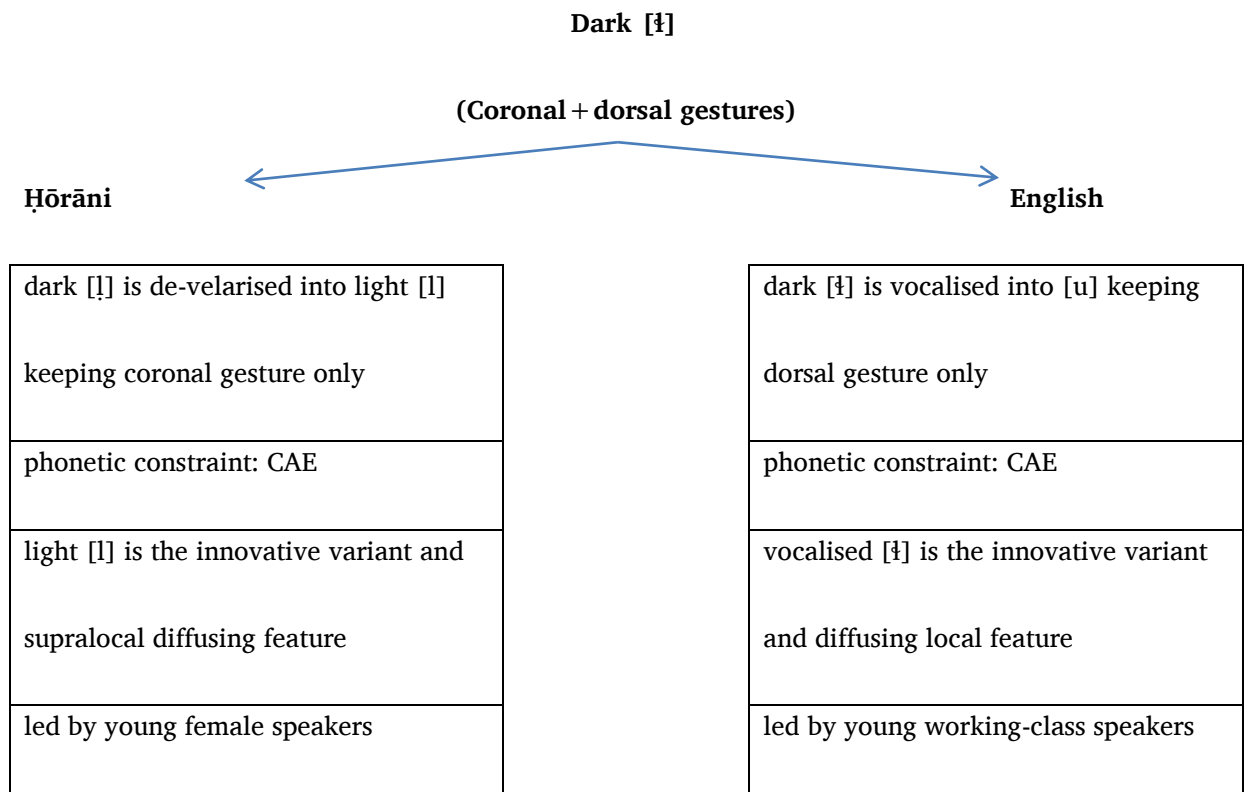
Following	Preceding							Total
	pause	back	emphatic	dorsal ⁺	labial	coronal	f. vowel	
pause		0.896 (77)					0.000	0.292
back		0.978 (232)	1.000 (22)	0.881 (160)	0.500 (46)	0.045 (53)	0.019 (10)	0.805 (523)
emphatic		0.900 (53)					0.000	0.562
dorsal ⁺		0.884 (129)					0.005	0.359
labial		0.878 (10)			0.000		0.000	0.306
coronal		0.830 (96)			0.000		0.010	0.283
f. vowel	0.000	0.750 (98)	0.000	0.140	0.161	0.000	0.000	0.146
Mean	0.000	0.894 (695)	0.821	0.584	0.233	0.021	0.003	0.386

The figures in Table 5.6 show that the emphatics cause the occurrence of back vowels more than the dorsals⁺. Specifically, the figures show that when preceded by a back vowel, the proportion of the dark variant [ɪ] is (90%) when the following consonant is an emphatic, and (88%) when the following consonant is a dorsal⁺. Similarly, the figures show that when followed by a back vowel, the proportion of the dark variant [ɪ] is (100%) when the preceding consonant is an emphatic, and (88%) when the preceding consonant is a dorsal⁺. A tentative conclusion to draw from the cross tabulation is that dark [ɪ] is mainly triggered by back vowels which in turn are triggered by emphatic consonants.

The position in syllable is returned as a significant linguistic factor ($p < 0.000511$). It is not as influential as the preceding and following linguistic environments as can be seen from the difference in their p-values (Table 5.5). The application of the rule with the dark variant [ɪ] as the application value is most favoured when it is part of the coda (FW = 0.67), e.g. *ṭall* 'showed up' and *xāl* 'uncle'. It is disfavoured when the dark variant is part of the onset (FW = 0.33), e.g. *lid* 'look' and *lamm* 'gathered'. This behaviour is slightly similar to the dark variant in Standard English where it is favoured post-vocally (see Sproat & Fujumura, 1993; Johnson & Britain, 2003). However, while in Standard English, the light and dark allophones are in complementary distribution, in Ḥorāni Arabic, the light and dark variants are not. In other words, in Ḥorāni Arabic light [ɪ] can occur in onsets but not as frequently as when in codas.

An interesting point that needs to be addressed is the general direction of change for (L) in English and Ḥorāni Arabic. In English dark [ɫ] is in the increase and in some varieties is being vocalised, whereas the results of this study show that dark [ɪ] is disappearing in the Ḥorāni dialect of Saḥam. Wells (1982) points out that the vocalisation of [ɫ] in English is in the increase and expects it to become

standard in the near future. Interestingly, the motivation for change appears to be the same in both English and Ḥōrāni Arabic. Sociolinguistically, the vocalisation of [ɫ] in English is overtly stigmatized and associated with young working-class speakers (Wells, 1982). Nevertheless, it has been diffusing to more and more varieties for the last few decades. Similarly, in Ḥōrāni Arabic (the dialect of Saḥam), the velarisation of /l/ is overtly stigmatised and associated with old-fashioned traditional local speech, but unlike English, it has been diminishing for the last few decades as a result of the sociolinguistic stigma attached to it. In English, dark [ɫ] is the innovative variant, whereas in Ḥōrāni Arabic, it is the local traditional variant. As far as phonetics is concerned, the vocalisation of dark [ɫ] in English is on the rise as a result of a phonetic constraint called CAE (Conservative Articulatory Effort); that is, it is easier (i.e., phonetically more economical) to start and end with only the dorsal gesture instead of articulating both the dorsal and coronal gestures involved in the pronunciation of dark [ɫ]. Thus, the vocalisation of dark [ɫ] in English is a natural articulatory process to preserve articulatory efforts. In Ḥōrāni Arabic, the velarisation of /l/ is taking the same phonetic behaviour but in the other direction. In Ḥōrāni Arabic, velarised [ɫ] is being reduced to non-velarised [l], I argue, as a result of the same phonetic constraint, i.e., CAE. By de-velarising dark [ɫ] into light [l], Ḥōrāni speakers articulate only the primary coronal gesture and leave out the secondary dorsal gesture, thus saving articulatory efforts. In other words, dark [ɫ] is vocalised in English and de-velarised in Ḥōrāni Arabic as illustrated in the following simplified figure.

Figure 5.1: Velarisation vs. vocalisation of the dark variant [ɣ]

To conclude, what appear to be two different linguistic behaviours for dark [ɣ] in English and Ḥorāni Arabic are, in fact, not different. Both English and Ḥorāni are witnessing change with regard to (L): vocalisation and de-velarisation, respectively. Both changes concern conserving articulatory efforts by sacrificing one of the two articulatory gestures involved in the pronunciation of dark [ɣ]. In English, dark [ɣ] is vocalised, thus sacrificing the coronal gesture and keeping the dorsal gesture. In Ḥorāni Arabic, dark [ɣ] is de-velarised, thus sacrificing the dorsal gesture and keeping the coronal gesture (in Arabic, light [l] only involves a coronal gesture, see Khattab, 2011).

5.4.2.2 Age Patterns in the Use of (L)

With respect to age as a social factor, the results in Table 5.5 show that the older generation use the dark variant [ɣ] (FW = 0.795 and M = 54%) more frequently than both the middle (FW = 0.549 and M = 46%)

and young (FW = 0.175 and M = 10%) age groups. The difference in the percentages of the usage of the dependent variable between the first two age groups may not appear large, precisely 0.527 vs. 0.461, respectively. However, if we compare the centred factor weights for both of them, i.e., 0.795 vs. 0.549, respectively, we will see that the older generation uses the dark variant [ɫ] more frequently. However, they both favour the application value of the rule, i.e., the use of the traditional Ḥōrāni dark variant [ɫ] as the centred factor weight for each one of them is above (0.5). Clearly, the younger generation shows a tendency to disfavour the use of the dark variant [ɫ]. These figures can be interpreted as indications of on-going change in progress away from the traditional Ḥōrāni variant [ɫ] and towards the light variant [l]. This change in progress is not surprising as dark [ɫ] is marked and has an old-fashioned social meaning in Saḥam. In fact, some of my young participants criticised the pronunciation of dark [ɫ] by their elder relatives and mentioned that it was a marker of rurality as opposed to the urban pronunciation with light [l]. Additionally, this change in progress has been hinted for by a number of researchers working on Ḥōrāni varieties. For example, Abdel-Jawad (1986b, p. 55) discusses the use of the dark variant [ɫ] as one of the “changing phonological variables typical of the [g] speakers” in Jordan, i.e., Bedouin and rural varieties. Although he does not support his discussion with empirical data or any fieldwork, he claims that “all speakers tend to avoid using the dark [ɫ] and to use light [l] instead.” Al-Khatib (1988, p. 341) notes that “the use of the Horani dark /L/ and the velarized /G/ have begun to diminish in the speech of Horaniis to the extent that they are hardly detected” in the city of Irbid in Jordan. He ascribes this diminishing status of the dark variant [ɫ] in the speech of the Ḥōrāniis in the city of Irbid to the long exposure to the Palestinian Fellahi and Urban dialects, especially after the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars that resulted in mass immigration from the west to the east bank of River

Jordan. Like Abdel-Jawad (1986b), he does not support his observation with any experimental data or fieldwork. Similarly, Al-Wer (1991) excludes the variable (L) from her final analysis because it is a peculiar feature to “the northern varieties only” and because it “occurs few times in the speech of the middle and young age groups” (p. 36). However, she observes that the dark variant [ɫ] is undergoing a linguistic change in progress in the northern varieties. To my knowledge, Al-Hawamdeh (2016) is the first apparent-time study to use empirical data to investigate dark [ɫ] in Sūf, a Ḥōrāni village in northern Jordan. Her data is analysed via the multiple logistic regression programme Rbrul. Her results show that dark [ɫ] is used by the whole sample at a low rate of 12% by, i.e., it is in the final stages of change. This study, therefore, presents more empirical data on the variable (L) in Jordanian Ḥōrāni Arabic. With 2166 tokens extracted from the speech of 60 speakers from Saḥam, these results lend support to the previous observational literature on the variable (L). Considering the crucially low frequency of the use of the dark variant [ɫ] in the speech of the young group in this study (i.e., 10%), it seems that the change towards the light variant [l] is in its final stages.

5.4.2.3 Gender Differentiation and Age

While gender is not as crucial as other factor groups (i.e., preceding, following, age and position in syllable), it is returned as a significant factor by Rbrul with a p-value ($p < 0.000663$). The figures in Table 5.5 show that men use the traditional dark variant [ɫ] (FW = 0.6 and M = 42%) more frequently than women (FW = 0.4 and M = 35%), with men favouring the application value (with a factor weight above 0.5) while women disfavouring it (with a factor weight below 0.5).

Although gender is not one of the most influential factor groups, the pattern of change demonstrates that the female speakers lead this change. Abdel-Jawad (1986b) notes a similar pattern in

the rural and Bedouin Jordanian dialects where traditional dark [ɫ] is changed into light [l] by females more than males. Similarly, Al-Wer (1991) reports that in the northern Jordanian varieties dark [ɫ] is losing ground to the light variant [l], a change that “involves divergence from the local stigmatized variant [ɫ] by female speakers” (p. 36). This pattern conforms to the general pattern of gender differentiation with respect to language variation and change attested in a number of empirical studies in different speech communities all over the world (see Labov, 1966, 1990, 1994; Fasold, 1968; Wolfram, 1969; Roux, 1925; Abu Haidar, 1989; Abdel-Jawad & Awwad, 1989; Al-Wer & Al-Qahtani, 2016, amongst others). However, this linguistic behaviour is reversed in Sūf, a Ḥōrānī village in northern Jordan. Al-Hawamdeh (2016) reveals that women in Sūf use dark [ɫ] more than men because they have less contact with outside communities and because they are expected (more than men) to act as custodians of the local culture and traditional linguistic features.

The importance given in the discussion above to the influence of gender may be exaggerated, as its p-value is far lower than the p-value for age and other linguistic factors. However, I believe that the change from the traditional dark [ɫ] to the innovative light [l] is best explained in relation to all three social groups, i.e., age, gender and contact. These social factors interact with each other and do not direct change separately. Table 5.7 displays the cross tabulation of ‘age’ and ‘gender’ with regards to the variant [l].

Table 5.7: Cross tabulation of ‘age’ and ‘gender’ in the use of [ɪ]

Gender	Age			
	Old	Middle	Young	Total
Female	0.514 (420)	0.423 (385)	0.052 (310)	0.354 (1115)
Male	0.562 (370)	0.499 (375)	0.154 (306)	0.421 (1051)
Total	0.537 (790)	0.461 (760)	0.102 (616)	0.386 (2166)

The figures in the table show a typical linguistic change in progress, i.e., there is a gradual decline in the use of the traditional Ḥōrāni dark variant [ɪ] in both male and female age groups. Put differently, the old female group (51%) uses the dark variant more frequently than the middle-aged female group (42%) who in turn uses it more than the young female group (5%). By the same token, the old male group (56%) uses the dark variant more frequently than the middle-aged male group (50%) who in turn uses it more than the young male group (15%). As stated above, this detected change in progress seems to be in its final stages as the young generation appears to rarely use the traditional dark variant. Clearly, like most gender-related linguistic studies in the west (see Labov 2001, pp. 280-283) this change in progress is led by females as they seem to be more innovative in every age group compared to males. This is in conformity to the general pattern that female speakers all over the world show preference to prestige norms and supra-local variants (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). Also, it conforms to the general pattern in the Arab World reported in Al-Wer (1997, p. 261) where “data from various parts of the Arab world show overwhelmingly that Arab men opt for the localized and older features (which in most cases happen to be stigmatized at some level) while Arab women favor features which have a wider regional acceptance and usage”.

The figures in Table 5.7 show that the difference between the young female and male groups in the use of the dark variant is the steepest. In fact, the young female group seems to hardly use it (0.052). The pattern of age differentiation in a typical apparent-time change in progress model is reported in a number of sociolinguistic studies. Trudgill (1974, p. 79) investigates the variation in the pronunciation of the vowel in words such as ‘top’, ‘dog’ and ‘hot’ in Norwich. This vowel has two pronunciations: an RP-like rounded vowel [ɒ] and a local unrounded one [ɑ]. The results across four age groups reveal a change in progress as the percentages of the unrounded vowels constantly increase from the youngest to the oldest age groups. Chambers (2002) investigates the pronunciation of the initial sound in words such as ‘which’ and ‘whine’ in central Canada across eight age groups. This sound has two pronunciations in central Canadian English: [hw] and [w]. The former is a traditional conservative pronunciation while the latter is an innovative one. The results show a consistent ascending usage of the innovative feature as we go down from the oldest to the youngest groups. Chambers argues that this incremental increase of the use of the innovative feature across all eight age groups, “illustrates a well-behaved change in progress” (p. 360).

Rbrul runs returned contact as a significant social factor with the least p-value ($p < 0.0357$). It is not as influential as the other social factors, but the figures show that speakers with low contact use the dark variant [ɫ] more (FW = 0.57 and M = 48%) than those with high contact (FW = 0.43 and M = 34%). The contact index explained in § 3.5.1.3 shows that 84% of the male participants in this thesis have ‘high’ contact compared to 53% of the female participants.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, the results for the second variable (L) have been presented and discussed. The results show that the use of the traditional Ḥōrāni variant [ɫ] is most favoured when followed and/or preceded by back vowels. However, the results show that the preceding linguistic environment is more influential ($p < 1.92e-293$) than the following environment ($p < 5.46e-47$). Also, the results show that the dark variant [ɫ] is favoured when it is part of the coda. With respect to the social factors, Rbrul shows that the most important social factor affecting the use of [ɫ] is age. In my data, the older generation used the traditional variable [ɫ] more than the other age groups. Gender is returned a less significant factor where men have been found to use the traditional variant [ɫ] the most. The cross tabulation of age and gender shows a gradual decline in the use of the traditional Ḥōrāni dark variant [ɫ] in both male and female age groups. Finally, the least influential factor group is contact ($p < 0.0357$). The results show that speakers with low contact use the dark variant [ɫ] more than those with high contact.

Chapter Six

6 Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the main conclusions related to the two variables under investigation, i.e., (U) and (L). Further, I discuss the limitations of the methodological choices that might affect the validity, reliability and representativeness of the findings. It ends with some recommendations for future research.

6.1 Conclusion

The focal point of this thesis is to investigate the variation in the use of two Ḥorānī traditional features in the dialect of Ṣaham, a village in the northern part of Jordan. The framework of analysis adopted is the ‘Variationist Paradigm’, as outlined in Labov’s trilogy (1994, 2001, 2010). Rbrul software was used for the quantitative analysis of the spoken data obtained through audio-recorded informal sociolinguistic interviews of sixty speakers. The variables under investigation are (U) and (L). Both variables show considerable variation and the quantitative analysis shows that they are in change in progress. The trajectory of the change is in the direction of the urban koineised features [i] (of (U)) and [ɪ] (of (L)). The overall findings are summarised below.

- With respect to the first variable (U), the results of Rbrul runs with the short high front variant [i] as the application value reveals the following descending significance order of the factor groups: Age Group (1.84e-19) + Following (6.09e-12) + Gender (0.000228) + Amount of Contact (0.0171) + Preceding (0.0323). The front vowel realisation [i] was found to be

favoured in the environment of preceding and following coronals, thus supporting Flemming (2003) that coronal sounds often trigger fronting. The age patterning strongly indicates that the younger generation are leading the change. The results reveal that females use the innovative variant [i] significantly more frequently than males. Cross tabulations show that it is the younger female speakers from the high contact group who lead all other groups in the use of [i]. The results show that the dialect of Saḥam is converging towards the supralocal form [i], used in large cities such as Irbid and Amman. Moreover, these results can be interpreted in relation to the traditional customs and social roles in the village. The community had different roles for women and men in the past compared to the present. Men had more opportunities to come into contact with other speech communities, but in recent years, the roles of women have expanded. Females, especially the young female generation, are not content with the traditional rural life in the village and aspire to a better life; their divergence from the local dialect can be interpreted as a symbol of this aspiration.

- With respect to the second variable (L), the results of Rbrul runs with the dark variant [ɫ] as the application value reveal the following descending significance order of the factor groups: Preceding (1.92e-293) + Following (5.46e-47) + Age Group (6.49e-20) + Position in Syllable (0.000511) + Gender (0.000663) + Amount of Contact (0.0357). The dark realisation was found to be favoured in the environment of preceding and following back vowels. The current analysis shows that dark [ɫ] is additionally favoured in coda position (as opposed to onset where it is disfavoured). These results conform to the general rules of phonology. As an emphatic consonant in Arabic, the dark variant [ɫ] involves a secondary dorsal gesture (back of the

tongue) in addition to its primary coronal gesture (front of the tongue). I argue that both emphatic consonants and back vowels in Arabic share the value [+ back]. I also argue that the secondary [+ back] value in the emphatic/dark [ɓ] is stronger than the primary [+ coronal] value. It is not conclusive, however, if the presence of the back vowel before /l/ triggers its emphatic quality (i.e. being realised as dark) or the presence of the emphatic/dark [ɓ] triggers the backness of the vowel before it! Abdel-Jawad (1986b) and Al-Wer (1991) believe that [+ back] sounds including the back vowels trigger the dark variant [ɓ] not the other way round. Moreover, cross tabulation of preceding and following linguistic factors when (L) is darkened reveals that the emphatics cause the occurrence of back vowels more than the dorsals⁺. The age patterning strongly indicates that the younger generation are leading the change away from the traditional dark variant [ɓ]. As for gender, the results reveal that males use the traditional dark variant [ɓ] significantly more frequently than females. Cross tabulations of age and gender show that there is a gradual decline in the use of the traditional Ḥōrāni dark variant [ɓ] in both male and female age groups. It appears that this change is in its final stages as the young generation rarely use the traditional dark variant, especially the young female generation (5%). In addition, the results show that the traditional variant [ɓ] is used more by speakers with less contact with the outside speech communities. The results reveal that the dialect of Saḥam is converging towards the supralocal form of [l]. Similar to the results of (U), these results can be interpreted in relation to men's and women's roles in the village. I argue that because men have more active roles in the rural Ḥōrāni life of Saḥam, they seem to be content with what they have. Moreover, they seem to have more pride in the traditional features of the village and behave as custodians

of the traditional social and linguistic customs. Indeed, this is in line with Al-Wer's (1997) argument that men in most of the Arab speech communities tend to use localised (traditional) older linguistic features while women opt for widely accepted regional features.

- A common finding for both variables in this study concerns the linguistic behaviour of young female speakers who have been found to lead the change via adopting the innovative koineised urban linguistic features. The results of the present study can additionally be interpreted in relation to women's marginalisation in the local community. Eckert (1989) argues that in order to understand gendered linguistic behaviour, one needs to consider women's marginalisation in their communities. The general premise is that because women positions are generally marginalised, they tend to adopt symbolic means to "assert" their status and authority within their group. The analysis and discussion regarding gender in this thesis lend support to Eckert's suggestions (see also Al-Qahtani, 2015, and Al-Wer & Herin, 2011).
- The two variables (L) and (U) are at different stages in their life-course of change. Dark [ɫ] is almost in its final stages of change nearing completion. It is rarely used by the young generation, especially the young female speakers. The variable (U) is in a different stage of change as the traditional variant [u] is still being relatively used more frequently by the young generation than dark [ɫ]. This difference might explain their contrasts in age/gender profile. The variable (L) exhibits a typical change in progress behaviour where there is a gradual decline in the use of the traditional variant in both male and female age groups. The variant (U), on the other hand, shows a relatively different behaviour where the middle-aged male group show more resistance to change than the other male groups. It has been explained (see Chapter 4) that this group

might have different motivations, namely feelings of pride towards the traditional way of life (however, further attitudinal research is needed). In fact, this particular group of speakers expressed their disapproval of the linguistic behaviour of the younger generation of both genders (see Chapter 4). Moreover, older women were found to be more conservative than their male counterparts in the use of the innovative variant [i]. I argue that this conservativeness reflects the nature of women's daily pursuits in olden times (confined to the village), and the tight social networks they kept within the local community. Moreover, it could be that old women in Saḥam feel that the traditional linguistic features are part of the traditional heritage they need to protect. Perhaps such conservatism is not apparent in the use of the second variable (L) because the dark variant [ɪ] is in its last stages of change nearing completion.

- An important point that should not be overlooked is that dark /ɪ/ can be discussed within a broader context of velarisation in Ḥōrānī dialects. In §5.1.2, it was shown that velarisation, which involves both primary and secondary articulation, is not confined to (L) in Arabic. In Standard Arabic reference is made to the so-called emphatic consonants /ṣ, ṭ, ḍ, ḏ/. These four sounds are emphatic irrespective of the phonetic neighbourhood; therefore, they are often referred to as primary emphatics. They are treated as separate phonemes, and they have their own orthographic symbols. In the dialect of Saḥam, as is the case in most Ḥōrānī dialects (see Chapter 2), /ḍ/ and /ḏ/ merged into /ḏ/. In addition, there are other velarised (emphatic) sounds whose distribution depends on the presence of other velarised (emphatic) sounds in the phonetic neighbourhood. These sounds are not often considered as separate phonemes but as allophones of other non-velarised sounds and they do not have separate orthographic symbols.

Cantineau (1964) calls them ‘velarised by position’ because they involve the dorsal gesture only in the neighbourhood of other velarised sounds (whether primary or secondary). Other linguists call them ‘secondary emphatics’ for the same afore-mentioned reason (see Sakarna, 1999). As explained in §5.1.2, membership of this set of velarised sounds differs from one variety to another and linguists studying the same varieties sometimes disagree in this regard (see Jakobson, 1957; Herzallah, 1990; Hoffiz, 1995). Similarly, the nature of the so-called emphatic neighbourhood that is said to trigger the velarisation of these sounds varies from one variety to another and from one linguist to another (see Anani, 1985; Abdel-Jawad, 1986b; Al-Khatib, 1988; Herin, 2013; Al-Wer, et al.; 2015). However, most of the linguists seem to agree that /l/ is a member of the secondary velarised sounds. Herin (2013) discusses secondary velarisation (emphasis) in Ḥorān, Ṣalt and Ġalbūn. He demonstrates that traditional Ḥorāni dialects show secondary emphasis more than the other two. He illustrates that consonants as /k/, /g/, /r/, /b/, /l/, and /ʕ/ in traditional Ḥorāni are often velarised, i.e., pronounced as /ḳ/, /g̣/, /ṛ/, /ḅ/, /ḷ/, and /ʕ̣/, when there are other velarised (emphatic) sounds (primary and secondary) in the vicinity, e.g. *ḡaḡur* ‘grave’ and *raḡuṣ* ‘dancing’. Perhaps, studying dark /ḷ/ within the broader context of the so-called secondary emphatics would yield more insightful results and help future researcher to get a wider perspective on the issue in question.

Diachronically, the status of both primary and secondary emphatic consonants seems to be waning over the years in different varieties of Arabic. As stated above, Herin (2013) shows that the occurrence of the secondary emphatic consonants is decreasing in the Ḥorāni dialect of Ṣalt compared to traditional Ḥorāni dialects. In other words, the dialect of Ṣalt is changing some

of its traditional features (secondary emphasis) in favour of innovative non-emphatic features.

Al-Hawamdeh (2016) demonstrates that the emphatic dark (L) is decreasing in the Ḥōrānī dialect of Sūf, especially by the young generation. Moreover, the present thesis shows similar decreasing occurrence of dark (L) in the Ḥōrānī dialect of Saḥam. Since the occurrence of dark (L) is often triggered by emphatic neighbourhood (back vowels and other emphatic consonants), I can safely argue that other secondary emphatics and back vowels are being less used compared to front vowels and plain non-emphatic consonants. As for the four primary emphatic Arabic consonants, the traditional Ḥōrānī dialects merged /ḍ/ and /ḏ/ into /ḏ/, i.e., they lost one emphatic phoneme. The status of the remaining three emphatic consonants in Ḥōrānī is stable, but in other Jordanian varieties, especially in urban centres, it is waning. For example, a recent phonological innovation by the young generation in Amman is to de-emphasise the primary emphatic consonants. In other words, they pronounce /ṣ/ as /s/, e.g. *sar* for *ṣar* ‘happened’, /ṭ/ as /t/, e.g. *tajjib* for *ṭajjib* ‘ok’, /ḍ/ for /ḍ/ and /ḏ/, e.g. *ṣadd* for *ṣaḍḍ* ‘biting’. Khattab (2002) reports similar de-emphasis by Lebanese speakers. Dyson and Amayreh (2000) report similar linguistic behaviour by children. They argue that Arabic-speaking Jordanian children face difficulties in acquiring emphatic consonants and tend to de-emphasise before they master them due to the articulatory difficulties involved in their production. To sum up, although more empirical evidence is needed, it is safe to say that the occurrence of emphatic consonants in Arabic is decreasing in favour of their plain counterparts due to the articulatory difficulties involved in producing them (see §5.4.2.1).

- As explained in Chapter 2, this study is one of the few Arabic sociolinguistic studies that investigate contact in its own right as a social variable (see Al-Wer, 1997; Alessa, 2008; Chambers, 2009). Most of Arabic sociolinguistic studies investigate contact in disguise. The most frequent guises are education and length of stay. Following Horesh (2014), I placed the 60 participants in this study in a three-scale contact index: no or little contact; occasional contact; and extensive contact. It emerged that all of the speakers have some sort of contact (either occasional or extensive) with speakers of urban varieties, namely the varieties in Irbid and Amman. As explaining the nature of these varieties is important in explaining their effects on the variables under investigation, a brief description of the linguistic situation in Amman and Irbid is in order. Al-Khatib (1988) asserts that the inhabitants of the city of Irbid can be divided into three main categories: 1) Ḥōrāniis (i.e., Irbid dwellers prior to the Palestinian immigration), Fellāḥiins (i.e., Irbid dwellers who have come from Palestinian central areas) and Urbanites (i.e., Irbid dwellers who have come from the surrounding urban centres, such as Nablus, Haifa, and Damascus). Noteworthy is the fact that before the formation of the dialect of Amman, Jordan lacked a linguistic metropolis similar to those in the surrounding urban centres. In fact, prior to becoming the capital city of Jordan, Amman was a “mere village with less than 10,000 migrant inhabitants” (Al-Wer, 2007, p. 74). It did not have a distinct dialect because it lacked a stable native population (Al-Wer, 2007). The current dialect of Amman is the outcome of contact between Palestinian and Jordanian dialects. It was not copied from any neighbouring linguistic metropolises; it was rather constructed to become the linguistic metropolis of Jordan. During the formation process, it “underwent rudimentary levelling, as part of koineization process” (Al-Wer,

2007, p. 73). This relatively new Jordanian linguistic metropolis originated in Amman and was transferred to other big cities in Jordan including Irbid. Of great concern to this study is the fact that the current urban varieties in both Irbid and Amman are characterised by the innovative linguistic variants under investigation, i.e., [i] and light [l]. In other words, the 60 participants of this study, who have been born and raised in Saḥam, have various levels of contact with speakers using the two innovative features as part of their urban koineized speech. The findings of this study show that contact is a significant factor in the use of the innovative variants but not as influential as other linguistic and social factors. Perhaps the results are best explained within a broader scope where age, gender and contact interact with each other. For example, when it is said that the young female generation in a certain speech community have more contact with other speech communities, what is often referred to is not one social factor but all three, i.e., age (young), gender (female) and contact.

- Determining the nature of change concerning the two innovative variants [i] and light [l] in Saḥam is a complicated issue. I argue that these two innovative variants may have originated in other neighbouring urban centres, such as Nablus (Palestine) and Damascus (Syria), and at one stage, they might have been initially introduced as two prestigious variants associated with modern urban speech of high-class city dwellers in Syria and Palestine. However, after the formation of the dialect of Amman as the linguistic metropolis of Jordan, they became two supralocal features that have prevailed over other competing ones through a process of koineization in Amman and then spread to other regions of Jordan, especially big cities like Irbid. In other words, these two innovative features under investigation might have undergone

two types of change: an initial change from above motivated by prestige and a later supralocalisation motivated by mobility and language contact. The formation of the dialect of Amman is indeed a milestone in the linguistics of Jordan. Put differently, the two traditional features under investigation are amongst the most salient features of the dialects of Ḥōrān (see Al-Wer et al., 2015). The possible change in progress away from those features detected in this thesis may be interpreted in terms of alignment with the so-called ‘national supra-local Jordanian norms’ (see Al-Hawamdeh, 2016) where the local linguistic flavour is sacrificed in favour of a more supralocal flavour found in big cities such as Irbid and Amman. In other words, these two salient features are probably being dedialectalised (see Trudgill, 2002). This means that koineisation has reached isolated speech communities. Although Saḥam is not totally isolated, it is the northmost village in Jordan- located right at the borders of three countries- and it has kept its indigenous community for centuries. The results show that even close-knit communities in the heart of Ḥōrān are being affected by supralocal features that originated in big cities.

6.2 Limitations of Methodological Choices

In this section I provide a self-critical discussion of the limitations of my methodological choices in terms of reliability, validity and representativeness.

- a. As stated in §3.1, I used judgment sampling to draw the sample of this study. While this method is perhaps more common than the other sampling methods for both “methodological and pragmatic reasons” (Hoffman, 2014, p. 31), it is not without flaws. For one thing, it is not

random which might affect the reliability of the study. Moreover, because judgment sampling is not random, it does not give equal opportunities to all members of the speech community (population) to participate and there is a “danger that bias might creep into the selection of the sample” (McNeil & Chapman, 2005, p. 49). This possible bias might also influence the representativeness of the sample. Although, I tried my best to be objective in the selection of my sample and although I utilised my knowledge of the speech community to choose a representative sample, I have to admit that due to the nature of judgment sampling, i.e., its being prone to bias through convenience of selection, the sample of this study might not be as representative as I wish it to be and thus might have limited generalizability.

- b. The size of my sample is sixty speakers distributed across three social factors: age, gender and contact. Although this number is an adequate number in sociolinguistic research (see Schilling, 2013), including more participants would have enhanced the representativeness of the sample. Similarly, each sociolinguistic interview lasted between 30-60 minutes. Perhaps conducting longer interviews would have been better.
- c. With regard to age, I distributed the participants into three age groups: Young (20-39), Middle-aged (40-59) and Old (60 +) and excluded teenagers following Bailey (2002). The exclusion of adolescents was justified in §3.5.1.1 on the grounds that their speech often involves sociolectal adjustments because of pressures of society, marketplace, peers, etc. (see Bailey, 2002, Cukor-Avila, 2000). Nevertheless, not all sociolinguists would agree on the exclusion of teenagers; therefore, their exclusion might influence the representativeness of my sample and might consequently limit its generalizability. In addition, my choice in the distribution of the age

boundaries in each age group might be problematic due to the nature of the problems associated with continuous ages. For example, including a 39 year-old participant in one age group and a 40 year-old one in another is not without flaws. My choices of the age groups were based on my knowledge and experience with the speech community under question, but perhaps I should have used more objective criteria and should not have used ‘two decades’ as age boundaries to separate the first two age groups. Had I done that, I might have arrived at different findings. Hence, my choices should be considered as limitations to the reliability and validity of the study.

- d. Although I tried my best to avoid the observer’s paradox, I cannot claim that I have completely overcome it. This can be attributed to the very nature of the audio-recorded sociolinguistic interviews. Moreover, my dialect is at core a Ḥōrāni one but with some madani ‘urban’ traits. Although I did not notice any effects of my dialect on the linguistic behaviour of the participants, it should be considered as another possible limitation. As I mentioned in §3.3, I utilised the ‘childhood question’ in my interviews. This question was a module, i.e., a series of linked questions depending on the participants’ responses. One might consider this procedure as another limitation affecting the reliability of the findings, but as the goal was not the information itself but to make the participants speak naturally and spontaneously to get tokens of the linguistic features in question, I might claim that its negative effects, if any, were minimal. Also, I did not ask all the questions to all the participants depending on the situation and the length of the interview. Although this procedure was intended to make the interviews as natural and spontaneous as possible, it might have affected the reliability of the findings.

- e. The amount of contact with the outside speech community was based on questions within the interviews that inquired about education (level, place), work (nature, place), friends and relatives who live outside the village, and the frequency of travelling outside the village, etc. (see §3.5.1.3). This informal measure can be considered as a limitation to the reliability of the contact scale.
- f. The coding for preceding and following linguistic environment in Rbrul is binary. For instance, I did not code for position in word (initial, medial and final) while coding for (L). I only coded for position in syllable (onset and coda).

These are some methodological limitations that might have affected the findings of this study and should be avoided in future research.

6.3 Further Research

The overall results of the two examined variables show a possible change in progress away from the traditional variants led by the young generation, especially the young female generation. However, cross tabulations show that two groups display a rather interesting linguistic behaviour. Old women were found more conservative than old men in the use of [u]. Similarly, middle-aged men were found less innovative than both the young and the old male groups. The behaviour of the old women was interpreted on the basis of the nature of their daily pursuits in olden times (confined to the village), and the tight social networks they kept within the local community, while the behaviour of the middle-aged men was linked to strong feelings of pride in the traditional way of life in the village. It would be useful to conduct further research specifically designed to investigate those two particular groups. Additionally,

it is recommended to further investigate other salient phonological, morphological and syntactic features

in the village, such as:

- The variation in the use of the negative particle -ʃ, e.g. *baʃrif* → *mā baʃrif* ~ *mā baʃirfif* ~ *baʃirfif* ‘I don’t know’ (see § 2.1.2.3.3)
- The distribution of the affricate /tʃ/ as a reflex of etymological /k/, e.g. *kēf* ~ *tʃēf* ‘how?’
- The nominal pattern CaCi:C, e.g. *kabīr* ~ *kbīr* ‘big’

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample of Speech

Speaker 1: male, middle-age

1. darast ana w Ibrāhīm maʿ baʿḏ. ana mā kammaltij; mā šār našīb; mā nḏjiḥit laʿinni. drāsti bittawḏiḥi kānat **šuʿba**.
2. fa ʿaxaḏit dawra funduqiyye ḡalaḡ iḡhūr, mā tʿammaltij u daʿḡarit. ʿirḏiʿit laḡōn.
3. jū biddi ʿaḡtayil, ḡāwalit ʿasaḏḏiḡil fiḏḏiḡē ʿiḡḡannafit daraḏe xāmse ʿalā **ilḡarug** illi bwiḏḡhi.
4. min baʿḏiyyu mā **ngabaḡtij** bʿarikāt xāḡḡa, ʿarikāt ḡukūmiyye, mahū inte maʿak ʿiḡfāʿ.
5. ʿai **kasur** bilʿid, fi ʿalaḡ biʿḡtū daraḏe xāmse, xalaḡ mamnūʿ tudxul iḏḏiḡē nihāʿiyyan.
6. yā sidi ana miḡ sāʿil ʿanhum **guḡna** alḡamdu lillāḡ.
7. ʿaxaḏit ruxḡit swāḡit taraktur zirāʿi wiḡtayalit ʿawwal ji filbalad muddit xams sanawāt ʿind wāḡad bilʿuḏḡra, baʿḏēn ilḡamdu lillāḡ ʿiḡtarēt taraktur laḡāli.
8. ḡabʿan **gabul** ittaraktar baḡēt aḡtayil ʿal girbe, azammir bil ʿaḡrās wa **dug** ʿūd.
9. ḡabʿan ani bil **aḡul** baḡabbīb ʿaḡubbābit innāi, ana iddarabit laḡāli wana zyīr.
10. baʿid juḡl ilgirbe ilḡamdu lillāḡ, u miḡtarāt ittaraktar kunit adfaʿ ʿaḡḡāt ittaraktur min **juḡlu** u min **juḡul** ilgirbe.
11. baḡēt asawwi **biffahur** mītēn dinār aḡal iḡi dāxil Saḡam hōn, baḡēt mabḡūt ladaraḏe.

Translation:

1. Ibrahim and I studied together. I did not graduate from high school; I was not lucky for I did not pass my exams and high school was hard for me.
2. So, I enrolled in a three-month course in Hostelry but I did not finish it and came back to Saḥam.
3. What should I do? I tried to join the army but I was classified class-five (i.e. not fit) because of the burn on my face and they refused to accept me.
4. After that neither the state nor the private companies hired me.
5. If one has a broken hand or any other disability, they classify him/her as class-five (i.e., not fit); then you are not allowed to join the army.
6. I did not care about their refusal and thanked Allah.
7. I got a driving license for a tractor and I worked in the village for five years as an employee (tractor driver) before I managed to buy my own tractor.
8. Of course, before buying my own tractor, I used to play the wind bagpipe. I would play it and play the lute as well in weddings.
9. Originally, I play the flute. I taught myself when I was young.
10. Playing the wind bagpipe and working on the tractor paid for the tractor's instalments.
11. I used to make at least 200 JD inside Saḥam; all inside Saḥam. I was really happy.

Speaker 2: female, middle-age

1. ?ana ?indi walad mari? ma?lul hē? min **Allah** mu?āq. na? uksi?in, ?arrū iddakātre, hummo illi **tgalladū**. law ?milit ?amaliyye bi?irif fi hē?.
2. ?ibni bōkli? yēr **maglūba**, ba?buxlo ?āsit **maglūba** lasbū?.
3. ?ā **wallah**, kul yōm biddo **zubdiyyit** laban u ?ahin **maglūba** yadā. **wi?subuh** baskōt ma? ?alib bi?ibha. fihū? **?agul**, **?aglo** myallibni m?awwifni ?āli biddi arud afga? min warā.
4. ?ōzi fata? ?arika ?i?ib. ?irkit **na?ub** wi?tiyāl, ?a? fiha ?alaθ **sukirtērāt**. yifa?tirhin wi?addihin wi?af?ihin, wani wiwlādi kātılna ??ū?.
5. xa?tabit binti lawāhad ?irāqi, **xalha** t?ūf b?yātha yōmēn. ?i??al zayyi ?al **fagur winnagur**.
6. yig?a? ayyām il?ēn sabbabatli mara? id?rēn.
7. ?abūy бага ?indo bagar, halbagar kullo biddo yisgī mni ddār wi?na nmalli. ?a?la? a?u? ?a li?māra arba? ?antāt mayy **wiglāne** min ha?ōl i?şufur giyyāt izzēt.
8. mā yimdāt? t?abbi ilbarmil illa hū misgī kullo lalbagar.
9. hāy dara? il?ēn law t?ūfi t?ēf inno.
10. hā? **xāla** dara? il?ēn, a?u? ?ante ?adīd, **ga?an** ?adīd, min hōn, бага fiyye mruwwa. wirr ma? iddara? taba? il?ēn. t?ēf **agū!** bi?fante hē?, al?ugha bīd wa?ade ?alā **?ahur** li?māra, wi?la?i ma? haddara?. hassa wala bagdar a?il **ga?an** i?far.

Translation:

1. I have a handicapped son. It is from God- lack of Oxygen. The doctors caused this. Had they performed a caesarean on me, it would not have happened!
2. He won't eat anything but Maglūba 'a traditional Jordanian dish that consists of rice, meat and vegetables'. I often cook a large portion for a whole week.
3. Every day he needs a plate of Maglūba with a bowl of yoghurt for lunch, milk and biscuit for breakfast. He likes it. He does not have a brain. His brain is driving me crazy.
4. My husband established a scam company. He hired three female secretaries whom he fed day and night and left me and my children without any food.
5. My daughter got engaged to an Iraqi. Let her enjoy some good days and not be like me suffering from poverty.

(When asking her about life in the past):
6. I hate those days when we used to fetch water from the spring; they caused me a chronic disease in my legs.
7. My father used to have a herd of cows and we had to water them at home by fetching water from the spring; that is, to go all the way to the spring with four containers on the donkey's back and fill them with water for the cows to drink.
8. Shortly after finishing filling the water barrels at home, we would discover that my father had consumed them all for the cows and then we had to start over again.
9. The stairs leading to the spring were really hard to take.

10. These spring stairs darling, I would put a heavy steel container here- when I had strength- and go quickly down. How? I would swing the container by one hand on the donkey's back and go up the stairs. Now I cannot carry a small yellow oil bottle.

Speaker 3: male, old

1. ruḥit ʕa Libnān, Sūriyya, il ʕirāq, liKwēt, kullo maʕān **iʕʕuyul**, maʕān **inlum** giriʕ u mā fiʕ fāyde.
2. **gabul** ʕafar, mōt, **gamul**, waʕax, kul ʕi kul ʕi.
3. **walla** ruḥit ʕa liKwēt maʕāy xamse u ʕamānīn lēra, raʕʕaʕit balāhin.
4. gaʕadit sit tuʕʕur. xamse u ʕamānīn lēra biʕʕūz wazīr yālla kān maʕā.
5. **ruḥut** ʕa liKwēt sant ilʕarbaʕa wsittīn, mā ʕtayaltiʕ, izzāʕalit ani u Raḏwān bas futit.
6. gāʕid ani u wāḥad min Saḥam miḥil hēʕ, yaʕni biddi ʕagūlliʕ bissāʕtēn ʕaw biḥalaḥ sāʕāt illi ani
 ʕāy fihin ʕa liKwēt, fāt Raḏwān hēʕ, lad ʕāfni, **gāl** ha, ʕū ʕayyabak.
7. **walla** ana ḥaʕḥat ʕindi, gutlo ani ʕāy tanni ʕaʕḥad minnak. hū ḥaʕḥat ʕindo wani ḥaʕḥat ʕindi,
 mā ʕayyannīʕ willa bigdar yiʕayyinni baḥsan **ʕayla**.
8. ʕilmara bagat tiʕtayil gad izzalame xamis marrāt, sit marrāt.
9. ʕilmara bagat **tiglaʕ**, bagat **tuḥʕud**, bagat itrūḥ **tuḥlub** u bagat itrūḥ tmalli lmayy, tʕil ʕala
 ʕahirha ʕaʕlēn. **iʕʕaʕul** gaddēʕ fi, ʕiʕrīn, aribīn litir.
10. ʕadiḡ labūy ismo Mḥammad **iʕʕaruʕ** bigūl lamarato hāʕ iʕsili hassirwāl u бага yīʕʕi ʕala abūy tā
yuhluglo liḥito.
11. ḥarām ilwāḥad, iddayā ḥarām, hū **buxul**, hū mā biʕirfiʕ **yuhlug** liḥito, mā badrīʕ.
12. ʕumʕa min iliʕmaʕ tʕaxxar ʕan ʕalāt iʕʕumʕa, **gālatlo** mart abūy tʕēf inte marbūʕ fī, hassaʕ
 bitrūḥ ʕalēk ʕalāt iʕʕumʕa, rūḥ.
13. ʕalaʕ winno hāḏa hū miltagi hū wabūy ibbāb iddār u bagā samaʕo galil ʕway.
14. gallo yā zalame tʕaxxart amēt biddo yimdāni hassaʕiyyāt **aḥluglak** liḥitak wirrūḥ ʕa ʕalāt
 iʕʕumʕa.

15. **gallo** tā řāfe yaslat issirwāl.

16. gallo int wēn **ruhut**. mahū mā fī yēr sirwāl wāḥad, gallo ani yaṭṭēt ḥāli bilxēfe.

17. ři ilxēfe, ilxēfe ṯalāṯ arbař iřwālāt bixayṭūhin mař **bařuḍhin** u **bunuglu** fihin tibiñ min ilbēdar laddār.

Translation:

1. I went to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Kuwait to work and collect some money but to no avail.
2. Those old days were days of poverty, days of lice and dirtiness- everything, everything.
3. I went to Kuwait and I had 85 Dinars on me. I came back empty-handed.
4. I stayed for six months. Eighty-five Dinars was a lot of money on those days, perhaps a minister did not have that sum at that time.
5. I went to Kuwait in 1964 but did not find a job. I had a fight with Radwan soon after I arrived there.
6. I was sitting with someone from Saḥam like this. I mean, I want to tell you after two or three hours of my arrival, Radwan entered the room and saw me and said, "Why did you come here?"
7. In fact, I was offended and told him, "What? Did I come to beg you?" He and I were both offended. So, he did not find me a job, but he could have found me the best one!
8. The woman used to work as the man times five or six.
9. The woman used to harvest, milk the cows and fetch water from springs. She used to carry two buckets of water on her back. Each bucket had at least 20-40 litres of water.
10. A friend of my father's whose name was Mohammad Al-Shariḥ said to his wife: "Take my Sherwal (baggy trousers) and wash it." He used to come to my father to have his beard shaved.
11. I do not want to speculate and accuse him of stinginess. Maybe he could not shave his beard by himself, I do not know.
12. One Friday, my father was late for the Friday Prayer. My step mother told him that he should not wait for Mohammad lest he would miss the prayer. Go!

13. On the doorstep, he met Mohammad whose hearing was not good.
14. He told Mohammad that they did not have time for shaving the beard and catch the prayer.
15. He explained that he was late because he had to wait for his wife to wash the Sherwal.
16. He asked him where he had waited because he only had a single Sherwal. He told him that he stayed in a xēje.
17. What is a xēje? It is made of three to four Hessian sacks sewn together. They used to carry hay in them from the threshing floor to the house.

Speaker 4: female, old

1. ʔummi ʃū biddiʃ tǵūli ʃan ʔummi. ʔummi min ʃamūle, wabūy min ʃamūle.
2. bāgye ʃāṭṭa ʃēnha ʃalē. ʔilmihim, iḏḏawwazato.
3. **gabul** ʃū bāgyin mā yiʃigdu lʃagid ʔēr tā tūḏi ʃalā dāro. mōḏittum hēʃ, **tgul** ḏābūni hōn ʃabēto.
4. bitgūl u ḏābu lʃaggād u ʃagadu lʃagid u hī maʃmūde bitgūl u ʃāru hannās yinagṭūni, ʃār ṭālīʃ
ilwarag iddanānīr.
5. **gālat** ʃurit **aʃzughin** laʔinno **ilʃumle** kāyne ḏahab u **fuḏḏa**.
6. ani lʃigitta **lfuḏḏa**.
7. ʔilwarag mā binfaʃ tǵūl lawēʃ biddi iyyā. hāḏa bigūlūlha ʃār **ʃumlitna** hāḏ, wiḏḏahab xalaʃ, mā
bitruddiʃ.
8. ʔilmihim, miḏḏawze u gāʃde hōn.
9. ʃūfi ʃayyām **gabul** yaʃni, hī kāyne mart ilkabīr hī lmāyne u hī lgāyle.
10. ʔilmihim, hāy ilgiṭʃa bāgye **ḥuʃṣit** abūy. laʔinhum bubyuḏu ummi mā xallūhūʃ yiʃammir fiha
ʔaxwato. hī kāyne gawiyye ummi xāmma.
11. ʔilmihim, baʔaḏūha u baʔaḏū.
12. ḥāṭ fiha, bagu **gabul** yiḏḏibu ʃalēʃ liḥḏār, lā fi taraktar lā fi siyyāra. ʃal ḥamīr **yunuglu** liḥḏār.
13. bāgi biddo yiʃammir, iḏḏū kāʃu liḥḏār ʃaʃʃārīʃ.
14. kāyʃīnhin axwato u rāḥu ʃtarūlo iʃʃigga hāy illi hassaʃiyyāt fiha dār abūy badal hāy u hāy
ʔaxaḏūha. rūḥ uskun baʃid ʃanna.
15. laffēt iʃwayyit ilsān ʔiθθōr, u ragbati bitwaḏḏiʃni, bagul fiha hēʃ biṭtagtig.
16. ʔawwal mbārīḥ winno ḏāyibhin miʃtarīhin, bigul **walla** yumma iʃtarēttin barbaʃ lērāt.

17. **ṣaylāt** ṭṭmīn hēṭṭ biḏḏāyigni u zamān warrēṭta labin Mḥammad il **ṣabdalḷah**, mahū hāḏ mixṭaṣ **bilṣaḏum** gālli mālha dawā.
18. mādāmni ani mā ṣṭayalit **ṣayla**, bas ṭay **ṣayla** mā biddy aṭammin fiha u haliṭṭāf min hōn u min hōn bas laffēṭtin.
19. yaṣni izzalame miṣṭarihin u ḏḏāy yurkuḏ fihin ṣalay, sāwēṭtin **ibburyul**.
20. ani byōm biddi asāwihin laḥāli ṣwayye hēṭṭ. ṭasāwihin **ibburyul** maṣ naṣnaṣ u baṣal u **fulful** u zēt u **balufhin** biṭlaṣin aṭyab min irruz.
21. zamān mā bagu yiṣirfu zahra wala malfōf. bagāṣ awwal ani mā bagēt zaṣire, akilhum akṭarīto laban u **zubde** u samne u laḥim baṣdēn ṭiliṣ irruz.

Translation

1. My mother! What would you say about my mother? My mother is from a tribe and my father is from another.
2. She had her eyes on him. Anyway, she married him.
3. In the past, they were not used to tie the knot before she moved to his house. It was their custom. She said, "They brought her to his house."
4. She said that they brought the Sheikh and officially tied the knot while she was sitting on the dais. The guests gave her money gifts. The paper currency was new at that time.
5. She said she threw them away because she was only familiar with gold and silver currency.
6. The silver currency was still used when I was a child.
7. She used to say that the paper currency was useless and that she did not want it. They tried to convince her that the paper currency was useful but to no avail.
8. Anyway, she got married and settled here.
9. Look! In that past time, she was the bride of a powerful man and used to have a say in everything.
10. Anyway, this land was my father's inheritance. Because his brothers hated her, they did not let him build a house on it. My mother was strong and harmful.
11. Anyway, they hated her and him.
12. How were they used to bring the building stones? There were neither tractors nor cars. They carried the stones on the donkeys' backs.
13. He wanted to build but they threw the stones on the street.

14. His brothers threw the stones and bought him a house instead. Go and live away from us.
15. I rolled some ilsān iθθōr ‘green leaves similar to vine leaves’ and my neck hurts. When I move it,
it cracks.
16. The day before yesterday he (my son) brought them. He bought them. He said I bought them for
4 JDs.
17. Such errands that need bending the head down hurt me. In the past, I showed it to the son of
Mohammad Al- Abdallah (a doctor). He is an orthopaedic specialist and he said it had no cure.
18. As long as I don’t do anything that needs bending the head down, I am fine. My shoulders also
hurt after I rolled the leaves.
19. The man (my son) bought them and brought them to me, so I rolled them with burghul.
20. I often roll them with burghul, mint, onion, black pepper and oil and they taste better than
when rolled with rice.
21. In the past, when I was young, people did not know cauliflower, and cabbage. They used to eat
yoghurt, butter, ghee and meat, and then rice was known.

Appendix 2: Research Ethics Documents



University of Essex

FORM OF CONSENT TO TAKE PART IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

CONFIDENTIAL

Name of principal investigator: Noora Abu Ain

Title of the project: Variation and Change in Saḥam, Jordan

Aim of the project: The study aims to investigate some socio-phonological variables in Saḥam, a Ḥōrānī village in the northern parts of Jordan. This village is located at the crossroads of the Jordanian, Syrian and Israeli (Palestinian) borders.

How do informants participate in this project?

The participation will involve audio recording of casual conversations, using a digital recorder, while participants speak to a friend or a member of their family using their own dialect with their normal speech voice. The length of the recording will last for approximately 30 minutes.

The researcher promises that:

- Any information given in this research will be confidential and will not be revealed to anyone. This will include names and any other personal data.
- Pseudonyms will be used to refer to the participants in writing the project.
- Participation is voluntary and participants can withdraw their consent at any point in the course of the research without giving any reason.
- All the recordings will be saved on digital discs and will be used for the purpose of this research only.
- Nothing participants will say in the recording will affect them in any way in the future.
- Each participant will be handed a copy of full information about the study in the form of participant information sheet and contact details of the researcher and the supervisor.
- The participants 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:** Noora Abu Ain**Tel:** + 44 (0) 1206 872240**Tel:** + 447574143610**Email:** enama@essex.ac.uk**Email:** nqmabu@essex.ac.uk**Signature:****Signature:**



Participant's Consent

Please circle the appropriate:

- I have read and understood the information given about the project, (Yes/No).
- I agree to participate in this research, (Yes/No).
- I am aware that all parts of the interview will be treated with extreme confidentiality, (Yes/No).
- I am aware that the researcher will refer to the participants in pseudonyms in her research writing, (Yes/No).
- I know and agree that recorded interviews will be saved on the digital discs of the researcher's personal computer, protected with password, (Yes/No).
- I know and agree that the recorded interview will be used for the purpose of this research only, (Yes/No).
- The researcher informed me that nothing of what I (the participant) say in the recordings will affect me in any way in the future, (Yes/No).
- The researcher handed me a copy of a statement containing full information about this study in the form of 'participant information sheet' and contact details of the researcher and the supervisor, (Yes/No).
- I agree that the anonymity and confidentiality of the information I provide are explained to me by the researcher, (Yes/No).
- I have had the opportunity to ask questions, (Yes/No).

Participant's full name:.....

Signature:..... **Date:**.....

Participant's contact details:

Minor guardian's 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 withdraw from the current study at anytime without giving any explanations.

Signature.....

Date.....

In Arabic



قسم علم اللغة و اللغويات/جامعة أسكس/ بريطانيا

ورقة معلومات البحث للمشاركين مرفقة بنموذج الموافقة

عنوان البحث: دراسة الاختلافات و التغيرات في لهجة قرية سحم في الأردن.

الهدف من البحث: تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى اكتشاف الاختلافات والتغيرات في اللهجة التقليدية لقرية سحم، وهي قرية في منطقة حوران في الأجزاء الشمالية للأردن. تقع هذه القرية على مفترق الطرق على الحدود الأردنية والسورية والاسرائيلية (الفلسطينية).

كيفية تطبيق الدراسة على المشاركين بالبحث:

ستقوم الباحثة بتسجيل جزء من أحاديث المشاركين اليومية مع أصدقائهم أو أحد أفراد عائلتهم عن طريق مسجل الكتروني لمدة زمنية تتراوح بين ١٥ - ٣٠ دقيقة.

الأمور المترتبة على الباحث تجاه المشاركين:

أولاً: المعلومات المسجلة ستعامل بسرية تامة بما فيها الأسماء وأي نوع من المعلومات الشخصية الأخرى ولن يتم كشفها لأي أحد. ثانياً: سيتم استعمال رموز و أسماء مستعارة للإشارة عن المشاركين بالبحث. ثالثاً: ستكون المشاركة تطوعية ويحق 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. 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 مرفقة بنسخة من ورقة اقرارهم بالمشاركة مع المعلومات للتواصل بالباحثة و المشرفة عن البحث. سابعاً: ستقوم الباحثة بالاجابة عن أي استفسار يطرحه المشاركين حول ما يتعلق بالبحث.

جهة الاتصال:

قسم علم اللغة و اللغويات في جامعة أسكس/بريطانيا

المشرفة على البحث:

د.إنعام الور هاتف رقم: 00441206872240 البريد الالكتروني

enama@essex.ac.uk

التوقيع:

الباحثة:نورا أبو عين هاتف رقم 00447574143610 البريد الالكتروني

ammalh@essex.ac.uk

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:

No Criminal Record

In the Name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Ministry of Justice Irbid Court of First Instance

Certificate No.: 2013-63903

Ministry of Justice Date: 28/1/2013

Certificate of No Criminal Record

Name: Noora Qassim Mohammad Abu Ain

National No.: 9752009080

Nationality: Jordanian

Purpose of Certificate: Study

The above-mentioned is not convicted by a felony or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude or public morality, and at her request was given this certificate duly.

Sincerely,

Osama Hawamdeh Chief Clerk at Irbid Court of First Instance

I hereby certify that the signature of the chief clerk is authentic President of Irbid Court of First Instance
Falah al-Mousa

Number of Copies: 0

487667

In Arabic

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية

وزارة العدل

محكمة بداية اربد

رقم الشهادة : 63903 / 2013

التاريخ : 28/01/2013

شهادة عدم محكومية



الاسم : نوره فاسم محمد ابو عين

الجنسية : اردني

الرقم الوطني/ رقم الوثيقة : 9752009080

الغاية من طلب شهادة عدم محكومية : للدراسة

المذكور أعلاه غير محكوم بجناية أو جنحة مخلة بالشرف و الأخلاق العامة و بناء
على طلبه أعطي هذه الشهادة حسب الأصول .

و اقبلوا الإحترام ،،،

خالد محمود .
كسب

اسامة حوامدة

رئيس كتاب محكمة بداية اربد

اصحاب علي راحة توقيع رئيس الكتاب

رئيس محكمة بداية اربد

الموسى

خالد الصبيح

عدد النسخ : 0

487667