

**A sociolinguistic study of a southern Iraqi dialect:
fortition of the variants [j] and [tʃ].**



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Abstract

Although dialect levelling is commonly investigated in research on phonological variation and change, it has been rarely dealt with in the Iraqi context. My research investigates sociolinguistic variation and change in the dialect of the Mišlab tribe in Qal‘at Siker, (a south-Mesopotamian dialect), where the traditional features seem to be superseded by supralocal variants of the mid-Mesopotamian norm, (i.e., the Baghdadi-like dialect), and considers why levelling is (not) happening. Qal‘at Siker is situated in Nāširriyya along the Euphrates River, to the southeast of Baghdad and Kūt. This research illustrates how [dʒ] and [k] vary and change¹. Each variable has two variants. [dʒ] has the local variant [j], e.g., /rajja:l/ ‘man’ and the koineised supralocal mid-Mesopotamian [dʒ], e.g., /radʒdʒa:l/. [k] varies between [k] and the local variant [tʃ] as in /tʃibas/ ~ /kibas/ ‘he packed’. The thesis’s primary goal is to give a quantitative account of variation in the use of [dʒ] and [k]—and to provide an interpretation of the results. This study considers social variables (age, contact and gender) and multiple independent linguistic factor.

Results show that many of the linguistic factors and all of the social factors are significant. The overall rate of usage of innovative [dʒ] is 67% and of innovative [k] is 61%. The community steadily increased its rate of use of the incoming variants over time such that [dʒ] and [k] are most favoured by the young group and least favoured by the old group, with the middle age group falling inbetween. Men lead both changes. Generally, the incoming variants are favoured in the environment of preceding and following consonants and back vowels.

¹ These features have been chosen because (1) at least they have not been analysed sociolinguistically in the Mišlab Arabic and because (2) they have important sociolinguistic functions in Iraq. For example, Blanc (1964) utilises the contrast between [k] vs. [tʃ] to create the communal classification of Baghdadi dialects, whereas Ingham (1982) uses the [dʒ] vs. [j] contrast as an isogloss to establish the regional dialects of southern Iraq. If the study reveals that the traditional variants are being reduced, then regional differences which such scholars found are being eliminated (see 1.3 for the dialectical division in Iraq).

Crosstabulation of gender, age and contact show that old low contact women are the most conservative group, using the local features [j] and [ʃ] at 76% and 72%, respectively; while the young high contact men are the most innovative group. The young high contact male group use incoming [dʒ] consistently, and [k] in 74% of the total number of tokens for this variable. It can be stated, upon the generational differences exhibited in the speakers' use of the two variables, that there is reliable evidence to claim that Mišlab Arabic shows traces of levelling in the traditional features: the weak allophones [j] and [ʃ] are unstable and it has undergone fortition in the dialect. That is, there is a typical pattern of dialect change toward the production of [k] and [dʒ] led by younger, male, higher contact speakers.

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Phonetic transcription

In this thesis, IPA symbols are used in phonetic and phonological transcriptions. Names and toponyms are transcribed using conventions followed in Arabic linguistics in general, e.g. the Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL) (see list below).

Consonants

Arabic	EALL	IPA	
ء	ʾ	ʔ	Voiced glottal stop <i>hamza</i>
ب	b	b	Voiced bilabial stop <i>bāʾ</i>
ت	t	t	Voiceless dento-alveolar <i>tāʾ</i>
ث	<u>t</u>	θ	Voiceless interdental <i>tāʾ</i>
ج	j	dʒ	voiced post-alveolar fricative <i>dʒi:m</i>
ح	ħ	ħ	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative <i>hāʾ</i>
خ	x	x	Voiceless velar fricative <i>xāʾ</i>
د	d	d	Voiced dento-alveolar stop <i>dāl</i>
ذ	<u>d</u>	ð	Voiced interdental fricative <i>dāl</i>
ر	r	r	Voiced velar trill <i>rāʾ</i>
ز	z	z	Voiced alveolar fricative <i>zāy</i>
س	s	s	Voiceless dental fricative <i>sīn</i>
ش	ʃ	ʃ	Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative <i>šīn</i>
ص	ʂ	s ^ʕ	Voiceless velarised alveolar fricative <i>ṣād</i>
ض	ɖ	d ^ʕ	Voiced velarised dento-alveolar stop <i>ḍād</i>
ط	ʈ	t ^ʕ	Voiceless velarised dento-alveolar stop <i>tāʾ</i>
ظ	<u>ɖ</u>	ð ^ʕ	Voiced velarised interdental fricative <i>ḏād</i>
ع	ʕ	ʕ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative <i>ʕayn</i>
غ	g̤	ɣ	Voiced uvular fricative <i>ḡayn</i>
ف	f	f	Voiceless labio-dental fricative <i>fāʾ</i>
ق (Standard)	q	q	Voiceless uvular stop <i>qāf</i>
non-Standard	g	g	
ك	k	k	Voiceless velar stop <i>kāf</i>
ل	l	l	Voiced dental lateral <i>lām</i>
م	m	m	Voiced bilabial nasal <i>mīm</i>
ن	n	n	Voiced alveolar nasal <i>nūn</i>
ه	h	h	Voiceless glottal fricative <i>hāʾ</i>
و	w	w	Voiced labiovelar glide <i>wāw</i>
ي	y	j	Voiced palatal glide <i>yāʾ</i>

Vowels

EALL	IPA
ē	e:
ā	a:
ī	i:
ū	u:
ī	i
u	u
a	a

Abbreviations

CB	Baghdadi Christians
JB	Baghdadi Jews
MB	Baghdadi Muslims
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic

Chapter 1 A sociolinguistic profile of Iraq

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background information about the history and demography of Iraq, focussing on the locality and community under investigation in this thesis, namely the Mišlab tribe in Qal‘at Siker. In particular, I shall cover topics related to population’s ethnicity, education, health services, economic status, and religious affiliations. In each section, I highlight variability in these macro social dimensions since social variability is likely to reflect variation and change in the linguistic structure as the analysis chapters will show. Social dimensions (or problems in the context of Iraq), like migration, economics, de-tribalisation, instability, sedentarisation and education are assumed to be the prime forces behind the process of dialect change in the community under study. The chapter begins with an outline of the aims of the research and the research questions.

1.2 Aims and questions

The southern Iraq dialect is under-researched, and the present study will thus examine the variation and change in a dialect that has not received prior attention. It aims to investigate the dialect spoken by the Al-Mišlab tribe in Qal‘at Siker in Nāširriyya. Given that there are very few previous studies of the linguistic variants used in the Nāširriyya dialect, the major focus of this enquiry is to provide a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the patterns of variations in two consonantal features which I hypothesise to be levelled in favour of other *gilit*-like ones (Baghdadi dialect), viz. [tʃ] > [k], [j] > [dʒ], and their correlations with three independent social variables, namely contact, age and gender of the speakers. In this way, the extent to which Qal‘at Siker speakers have preserved their pronunciations or adopted innovative forms will be tested, and the extent to which social and linguistic constraints affect the realisation of linguistic

variables by these speakers will be explored. More specifically, the process of dialect levelling will be assessed here, and as observable trends in different communities are likely comparable with one another, the findings for the Qal‘at Siker dialect will be compared with those of others in the literature. In addition, this study aims to offer a linguistic description of the dialect as well as to highlight the linguistic features which can be potentially variable in the dialect. The research questions are:

1. Are (dʒ) and (k) variable in the Al-Mišlab Arabic dialect spoken in Qal‘at Siker?
2. How is this variability structured linguistically and socially?
3. Are the changes detected part of a wide-ranging koineisation² process?
4. Why is levelling towards the mid-Mesopotamian norm happening?

1.3 Iraqi Arabic and its dialectical divisions

Since the study deals with dialect levelling³, which targets different linguistic systems, we need to identify the linguistic landscape in Iraq. Iraq is a multilingual country. Arabic is the official language of the state, spoken by 80% of the population and Kurdish is the second most commonly used language (King, et al, 2003: 49). Given that the current study is concerned with the Arabic spoken in Iraq, this section will only deal with the dialectical differences and classifications of Iraqi Arabic. Three basic criteria are used in the literature to classify Iraqi Arabic dialects: geographical, communal and demographic criterion.

1.3.1 Regionally designated dialects

Dialects vary in Mesopotamia, and this may be due to the diversity of its population, which includes different nationalities and minorities. Due to this diversity, the

² Dillard (1972: 302) defined koine as a ‘common’ variety in which the distinctive features of the more traditional varieties are absent, and as the final product of dialect levelling.

³ Levelling is “the reduction or attrition of marked variants” (Trudgill, 1986: 98).

Iraqi people speak several dialects, most notably the Baghdādi, Maṣlāwi and Baṣrāwi dialects. Generally, there is a north-south divide in Iraq in terms of both dialect and religion. Blanc (1964) attempted to describe the dialects of Iraq from a regional and religious perspective. He stated that the ‘Mesopotamian’ dialects of Iraq belong to one of two major groups; the ‘*gilit*’ group and the ‘*qiltu*’ group. In this dichotomy, he used the phoneme /q/ in the verb [qultu] ‘I said’ as the dialect boundary-setter whereby in one group it is realised as [q]⁴ (hence ‘*qiltu*’) and in the other as [g] (hence ‘*gilit*’). This division is regionally based with the *qiltu*, being found in some northern and western dialects, namely Mūṣil, Tikrīt, ‘āna, and Hīt, and the *gilit* by sedentary, bedouanised and nomadic populations in Baghdad and the southern part of Iraq.

Palva (2009) analyses the historical contact between *qiltu* and *gilit* dialects where he believes that a *gilit*-based koine dialect developed, i.e., the present Baghdadi dialect. Like Palva (2009), Versteegh (2001), Abu Haidar (2006) and Holes (2007) see that Baghdadi Arabic has undergone processes of koineisation and levelling owing to bedouinisation.

Similar to Blanc’s division but more detailed, Jastrow (1978) divided the *qiltu* dialects into three groups:

1. The Tigris group that includes the cities of Moṣul, Tikrīt, and Baghdad (Christian Baghdadi and Jewish Baghdadi Arabic).
2. The Euphrates group that includes the cities of ‘āna and Hīt.
3. The Kurdistan group that covers Sendor, ‘Aqra, and Erbil (1978: 415).

Among the main comments, he reported on *qiltu* dialects as retaining [k], [q], and the interdental as well as the shift of [r] to [ɣ] (1978: 416) (See Map 1-1).

⁴ [q] is reflex of Old Arabic *q



Map 1-1 Location of Qal'at Siker (Source: <https://www.google.com/maps>, accessed on 2/7/2019)

Ingham (1997: 13-14) remarked that the southern region is bound to have its own dialects. In his research of Khūzistān and Southern Iraq, Ingham (1976) establishes a more detailed classification of the *gilit* dialects, namely: Southern *gilit* and Central Mesopotamian. Southern dialect is found in area centred around Bašra, 'Amāra and Nāširriyya, extending north to Kūt on the Tigris, and a central dialect is found in area around Baghdad, Musayyab, Ba'gūba and Ḥilla (Ingham, 1982:17). Thus, he added a southern dialect, distinct from Baghdadi or mid-Mesopotamian dialect. His investigation surveyed the speech community of the area stretching around the waterway area, namely the Tigris, Euphrates, Shaṭṭ al-'Arab and Kārūn. It concentrated on phonological variation (1997: 30). Ingham (1976:76) has further divided the Arabic in the region, southern Mesopotamia, into four groups: (1) Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab and lower Kārūn, (2) 'Amāra and surrounding marshlands, (3) the Euphrates (4) Zubair and parts of Fāu. Only the first

three varieties are members of Mesopotamian *gilit* group. The fourth of Zubair and parts of Fāu is considerably similar to dialect of Kuwait and is therefore considered as a member of the eastern Arabian group.

Talay (2011: 909) states that the Mesopotamian dialects include those of Iraq, north-eastern Syria, south-eastern Turkey, and Iranian Khuzestan. He remarks that this group might also comprise some Arabic dialects of Central Asia (predominantly in Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Khorasan). He based this possible classification on the certain characteristics these dialects share with the Mesopotamian dialects. On the basis of the existing material about them, (Talay, 2011:911) subdivided the *gilit* group into three varieties (i) northern Mesopotamian (ii) central Iraqi (iii) southern Iraqi and Khuzestan as follows:

Dialect classification of Mesopotamian Arabic (Jastrow 2006, Ingham 2006)

a) Qaltu dialects

I. Anatolian group

1. Mardin dialects: Mardin town, Mardin villages and plain of Mardin, Kosa and Mħallami (Muslim), Āzəx (Christian), Nusaybin and Cizre (Jews)
2. Siirt dialects: Siirt town, and Siirt villages
3. Diyarbakır dialects: Diyarbakır town (Christians, Jews), Diyarbakır villages (Christians), Siverek, Çermik and Urfa (Jews)
4. Kozluk-Sason-Mus dialects: Kozluk, Sason, Muş (Hasköy)

II. Tigris group

1. Mossul and surrounding villages (Bəhżāni, Ba‘šīqa, ‘Ayn Səfne)

2. Tikrit and surroundings

3. Baghdad and southern Iraq (Jews and Christians only)

III. Euphrates group

1. Khawētna (Syria, Iraq, Turkey)

2. Dēr izZōr

3. 'Āna (Iraq) and 'Albu Kmāl (Syria)

4. Hīt (Iraq)

IV. Kurdistan group (Jews only)

1. Northern Kurdistan: Səndōr, 'Aqra, Arbil, Šōš

2. Southern Kurdistan: Kirkuk, Tūz Khurmātu, Khānaqīn

b) Gilit dialects

I. Northern Mesopotamian group

1. Syrian Šāwi dialects (including cities like Urfa and Raqqa)

2. Rural dialects of northern and central Iraq

II. Central Iraqi group

1. Muslim Baghdadi

2. Sunni area around Baghdad

III. Southern Iraqi and Khuzestan group

1. Urban dialects (ḥaḍar)

2. Rural dialects ('arab)

3. Marshland dialects

1.3.2 Communally designated dialects

There has been a religious-based linguistic split in Baghdad in the past, mostly because Christians and Jews in Baghdad spoke with a more Maṣlawi-type dialect whereas Muslims in Baghdad spoke with what is considered the regular Baghdadi accent. Therefore, the split within Baghdad was religious, not regional. Blanc (1964) investigated the recorded speech of Baghdadi Muslims (henceforth MB), Christians (CB), and Jews (JB) in comparison to speech of informants from the towns in lower and northern Iraq. Blanc's main finding is that in Baghdad, religion represents one of the main social variables, which marks Baghdadis as belonging to different religious groups, namely Muslims, Christians, and Jews. They differ in their consonant and vowel inventories; markedly, the CB dialect lacks interdental. Blanc demonstrates that the CB and JB varieties belong to the *qiltu* dialects in having a [q] reflex of Old Arabic *q, supporting his argument with some examples from 'āna and Hīt (1964: 27). Therefore, the *gilit*–*qiltu* distinction, besides being regional as said above, marks religious affiliation such that the *gilit* dialects are spoken by Muslim populations, whereas the *qiltu* dialects are related to the Jewish and Christian minorities in Baghdad.

Regarding sects, the Sunnī-Šī'i split⁵ in Baghdad or any city in Iraq does not reflect a difference between Šī'i and Sunnī trends of speech, unless they immigrated recently from a place where they spoke differently in the first place. As you head to the south (a predominantly Šī'i area), the dialect sounds distinct, e.g., the Baghdai [agullak], 'I tell you', is realised as [agillak] in the south, which means it is a regional feature used by people following the Šī'i sect that is predominant in the south of Iraq.

⁵ There are two main sects within Islam, Sunnī and Šī'i.

1.3.3 Ecologically designated divisions

The above discussion alone does not give a complete account of the complex linguistic landscape of Iraq. The vernaculars also reflect the peoples' ways of life. Ingham (1973; 1976) drew a life-style-based distinction in the largely Muslim southern Iraq. He correlates the Bedouin-sedentary dichotomy (largely corresponding to rural vs urban) with dialect differences in southern Iraq. Ingham found that the Arabic of ('Arab) Bedouin and (ḥaḍar) settled people tend to coincide with differences in vocabulary, morphology and phonology.

Abu-Haidar remarked that there was a process of levelling in the Bedouin dialect, due to the movement from Bedouin to urban areas. In central Mesopotamia, Abu-Haidar (1988:77) established an urban-rural dichotomy in the speech of Muslim Baghdadis, namely, a xašš-dialect and a ṭabb-dialect. She utilised the two variants [xaʃʃ] 'xašš' and [tʰabb] 'ṭabb', two realisations for the verb [daxala] meaning 'he entered', as a group marker. She reports that the urban dialect is marked by 'the well-established Baghdadi term' 'xašš' and the other variety by the rural variant 'ṭabb'. According to this classification, ṭabb-group does not use the word 'xašš' whereas the xašš-group does not use 'ṭabb', and sometimes they use the higher status form 'dixal', which is analogous to the term in literary Arabic 'daxala'. She added that the urban dialect is spoken by older generations and the conservative younger generation in Baghdad, whereas elements of the other dialect which are originally rural find their way into the Muslim Baghdadis' speech through the speech of the immigrant people from the rural parts of lower Iraq.

In conclusion, scholars split Iraqi Arabic into three dialect groups which are most often classified into three broad geographical regions: northern, southern, and central. The northern group is centred around the city of Mošul (the largest city in the north), and

the southern dialect is centred around the city of Baṣra (the largest city in the south). The central dialect is spoken in the capital city of Baghdad and its surroundings. Each of these groups is then further sub-classified in various ways into sub-groups of dialects. Collin (2009: 251) drew a conclusion, based on a few statements he collected through personal communication with Abu-Haidar that the features of northern dialects are levelling towards the mid-Mesopotamian dialects. My research investigates the levelling process in the dialect of the Mišlab tribe in Qal‘at Siker, (a south-Mesopotamian dialect), where the traditional features seem to be superseded by supralocal variants of the mid-Mesopotamian norm, as is shown later in this thesis.

Dialect levelling is a contact-induced process and contact is caused by social activities like migration. We, thus, need to understand the the motivating factors behind internal migration, which is the main objective of the next section.

1.4 (Internal) migration push factors

Internal migration in Iraq has been motivated by three factors, which can be described as political, economic, and environmental.

1.4.1 Geography (environmental)

Iraq occupies the north-eastern corner of the Arab World with a total area of about 169,234 square miles (Tucker, 2017:109). Its territory extends from the high mountains in the north, moving down to the sea in the south; and from the eastern borders of the Arab world to the western gate of Asia. It has boundaries with six countries; one of which is Saudi Arabia to the south. This is homeland of Najd, the place where the community under study originates).

The country has a diverse geography, falling into four main regions: the desert, Upper Mesopotamia (named Al-Jazeera), Kurdistan, and Lower Mesopotamia. The territory of Iraq is characterised as a triangle of three major geographical features: agricultural in the Tigris-Euphrates fertile valley, the desert to the west area of the Euphrates, and the mountains in the North (King et al, 2003:19-25).

Iraq is referred to as Mesopotamia, which is its ancient name meaning ‘the land between the rivers’. It straddles the Tigris and the Euphrates, which run through most of the country, forming nets of fertile lands before meeting in Baṣra south of Iraq to form Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arab. In addition, Iraq is dotted with lakes and marshes that occupy a large area (ibid). This gives Iraq viable soil to support agriculture, a major component of the economy.

The country has always been agricultural, an environment that has attracted people from neighbouring ranges to travel to it and settle there (Al-Ani and Al-Birazy, 1979). The city under investigation, Qal‘at Siker, is an agricultural southern city. Being agricultural, it attracted Bedouins, namely ‘the Mišlab tribe’, the population investigated in this study, (see 1.5.1). Qal‘at Siker is in Nāširriyya Governorate, 280 kilometres south of Baghdad. It is in the middle of the urban centres of Kūt and Nāširriyya city. Therefore, Mišlab Arabic is influenced by both the upper (Baghdad) and lower urban Iraḡi dialects (see 1.3.3; see also Map 1-1).

1.4.2 Historical background (political)

Present-day Iraq roughly occupies the ancient land of the world’s first known urban civilisation, named Mesopotamia. Its history begins with the Sumerians who flourished in Iraq around 3000 BC. Mesopotamians were not just a single group of people but a whole series of overlapping civilisations such as Akkadians. Researchers described

Mesopotamia as the cradle of civilisation because it was the birth place of agriculture, mathematics, the written word, the world's first cities, government and other simple inventions (King et al, 2003: 43-48).

Mesopotamia's long history reveals that it has witnessed the 'rise and fall' of many governments and rules (King et al, 2003: 3). In the early Middle Ages, Iraq was the heartland of the Islamic Empire. Iraq eventually became the capital of the Islamic empire. Baghdad was built by the Abbasids to become a centre of science, civilisation and political power. The 'House of Wisdom' was established in 830 AD. This reflects the importance of Baghdad since the early history. The rule of the Abbasids in Baghdad lasted for centuries and Baghdad became a very important city in the world, until a brutal Mongol invasion in the 13th century destroyed Baghdad. After the Abbasid Caliph surrendered, the Mongols divided Iraq and continued to govern Baghdad until the Ottoman Turks defeated them in 1534. Under the Ottoman rule, Iraq became a battleground between the Sultanate and Iran, leaving the Ottoman rule weak, until the Sultanate was dissolved in 1920 (King et al, 2003:43-48).

At the outbreak of the First World War, the whole of Iraq came under British control. In 1920, the revolution in Iraq broke out over the British presence, prompting Britain to form a temporary monarchy under the administration of a Council of Iraqi Ministers and overseen by the British Supreme Governor. The British installed monarchy was toppled in 1958. The rule of Iraq was followed by many bloody regimes and a series of dictator military coups between 1963-1968 (Tripp, 2002).

A coup in 1968 brought the Arab Ba'ath (Renaissance) party to power. Oil made the country rich and, when Saddam Hussein became president in 1979, he managed to get Iraq to restore its national sovereignty to the most important source of economic

sustenance. He developed the national security, armaments and a military industry. The number of schools increased, illiteracy declined, hospitals were built, and women's social and economic status improved. In 1980, Iraq appeared to be moving towards the levels of developed countries, but Saddam invaded Iran, plunging Iraq into a series of wars that have not yet ended. The Iraqi-Iranian war ended in the summer of 1988, with a deteriorating economic situation (*ibid*). This war was followed by another invasion of Kuwait in 1991.

Between 1990 and 2003, Iraq was subject to US-led international sanctions. The invasion of Iraq began and ended in 2003 with a full US-British occupation of the country (Tripp, 2002). The 1980-88 war with Iran and the 1991 Gulf War, sparked by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, together with the subsequent imposition of international sanctions, had a devastating effect on its economy and society (King et al, 2003: 43-48).

All of these recent upheavals influenced the social structure in Iraq and led many people from the south to relocate, especially to Baghdad, because of the availability of work. As a result, these events increased dialect contact.

1.4.3 Economy in Iraq and Qal'at Siker

The change in the economic activity in Iraq has had a very significant impact on changing the social structure. In Iraq, agriculture was one of the most important economic activities, as it provided the core job for more than two thirds of the population (Ali, 1967:6). Since the 1950s, the Iraqi government has distributed large tracts of land to farmers' families. Despite massive government investments in agriculture, Iraq had been importing 70% of the food needed before the United Nations trade embargo in August 1990 (Rieff, 2003). While Iraq has huge water resources, problems of water scarcity arose after the 1970s (Al-Ansari *et al.*, 2014). The importance of agriculture started decreasing.

In addition to the small area of arable land which made up only 12% of the country in 2001, the labour force worked in agriculture contributed 6.1% to the economy (Jaradat, 2003:8).

Before the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958, most of Qal‘at Siker’s land was under cultivation. In the community under investigation, the major agricultural products were only cereals, consisting of wheat and barley. If a male agricultural worker were to plant other products like tomatoes, he would not be able to get married – as they would not be given a woman to marry; this lasted until Iraq’s president, Abdul Karīm Qasim, encouraged the planting of products other than wheat and barley. This reflects the nature of the tribal traditions and the status of the tribe as well as the flexibility of the structure to change. In a similar vein, before the migration (see 1.5.2), working as a manual labourer in the urban town had a negative social meaning as this work was considered to be of lesser value to the community than agriculture. The agricultural sector in Iraq has suffered from a significant decline over the years, due to multiple wars, as well as the lack of government support for the sector, and the policy of openness and unregulated import of agricultural products from neighbouring (and other) countries. Previous policies have caused millions of acres of arable land to degrade in the area. Since the 1980s, a great damage was inflicted on the agricultural sector turning the country from a position of an exporter into one of the major importers of foodstuff.

Oil became the most important energy resource in Iraq; Iraq has thus had a single sided economy based on oil. In addition, the industrial sector has been severely damaged during the war with Iran because they have been destroyed more than once and suffered many of the effects of the economic embargo imposed on Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait (Alnasrawi, 1994).

Saddam's regime froze everything in favour of wars and recruited the peasants and workers alongside the engineers and doctors to war effort for at least 8 years, which inevitably resulted in dialect contact. After people of Al-Mišlab lost their lands due to the regimes policies as well as the water shortage, they were forced to seek work other than agriculture, which encouraged migration to towns and cities. Ultimately, attitudes towards working in agriculture became correlated with a low social status. This again reflects the rapid change in traditions and attitudes. People of Al-Mišlab, and of any rural origin for that matter, constituted a disproportionate share, (i.e., jobs), of the army, especially after 2003, as the army presented an opportunity for a lucrative, secure career that also carried high prestige. For example, economically, the army pay was higher than an investment in sheep and could enable a rural family to purchase a car as a substitute for animals such as horses. Thus, army service was an important influence of social change among nomadic tribes because it raised the need for education and increased the levels of contact with all communities in Iraq.

1.4.4 Education

The development in education also affected the linguistic and social structure. As Al-Wer (2002) maintains, education can be considered a proxy factor acting on behalf of contact, i.e., education increases the contact as it may require mobility to other regions. The prominent phenomenon in the educational life of Iraq, which persisted until the first half of the twentieth century, was the spread of the Kuttāb, a type of Islamic schools that provided basic education. They are based on the teaching of verses of the Quran, Islamic texts Hadiths (Prophet's sayings), etc. Education started in Qal'at Siker with the establishment of the city and was led by mullahs. The conditions of education in Iraq

remained stagnant and poor, until the arrival of the governor Medḥat Paša who improved the situation through reformation by building some schools (ʿIlfahad, 2001).

Under the British control, the educational system in Iraq flourished. The British forces were aware of the underdevelopment of knowledge and the stagnation of its activities. The British administration opened several schools in the major cities. The official language Arabic was used instead of Turkish. The first primary school in Qalʿat Siker was in the palace in 1921. The second school was built in 1942 and the first one for girls-only was in 1943 (ibid).

Saddam established the National Campaign for Literacy and the Campaign for Free Compulsory Education in Iraq in the late 1970s after he became president. The state has educated hundreds of thousands over the years since the campaign's inception. Education in Iraq is free at all levels and compulsory at primary level. Education reached high levels in 1978 but fell in 1988 due to the Iran-Iraq war (Roy, 1993; Ranjan and Jain, 2009).

The schools were only situated in the urban part of Qalʿat Siker and were led by urban speakers. All pupils had to go to the urban part for education. For the older generation, education was available only to men and it was considered inappropriate to let a girl go to school. If they want to peruse university education, students have to travel to Baghdad which has more than 20 universities. Only recently, a college was founded in Qalʿat Siker.

In Iraq generally and in Qalʿat Siker particularly, agriculture ceased to be a major component of the economy. When I interviewed the people, parents had a positive attitude toward education and recognised that the best future for their children lay in education and in living and working in a settled society close to the country's urban

centres. Therefore, any government career tended to motivate them to acquire an education. I found, based on the attitudes expressed during the interviews, that all parents wanted a different way of life for their children. They were concerned that the incomplete education of their children would threaten their future. Education was an important influence for social change. The education of a rural person implied the abandonment of the entire rural way of life. An educated child would naturally emigrate to work or pursue further studies in Baghdad or even outside the country. It is clear that those, who have acquired enough education for an ordinary career permanently, rejected the rural style⁶ of life and have abandoned their allegiance to tribal traditions, including dialects. Males increasingly were engaged in full time employment in the public or private sectors. Willingness to settle was contingent upon settlement being more advantageous than the nomadic/rural way of life.

1.5 Internal migration

Having briefly reviewed the causal factors of contact in recent times, we need to know what the migratory waves are and when they happened to estimate when contact started to become a sociolinguistic factor.

1.5.1 Establishment of Qal‘at Siker

In order to shed light on the establishment of Qal‘at Siker we need to refer to the circumstances that forced its founder to reach this area. The founder of the city is shaykh Siker Ya‘gūb Al-Mišlab who was born in 1837 to Bedouin parents. Therefore, the city was named after the tribe’s shaykh and its founder as Qal‘at Siker, meaning ‘Siker’s castle’. It is also important to mention his tribe, the Al-Mišlab, who came to this city under his leadership. The Al-Mišlab tribe (‘ašīra) originally belonged to the ‘Anaza

⁶ See also the informants’ comments in chapter four, 5.7, regarding the social value of the dialect.

federation (qabīla) and were based in Najd before leaving in the 18th century. After leaving Najd, they were divided into two groups; the largest of which went to Syria, while the other settled on one riverbank of the two branches of the Euphrates before entering Samāwa, the modern capital of the Al-Muṭanna Governorate, 280 kilometres southeast of Baghdad. They were Sunnī, and became Šī'i like those in the region, and unlike those who moved into Syria who remained Sunnī ('Ilfahad, 2001).

As Bedouins, they were largely herders of camels rather than small animals such as sheep and goat. They were originally unsettled, travelling between Najd and Iraq, until one of the heads of Sa'dūn tribe, Naṣir Baša, gave them land in Karbala. After that, he allowed them to return back to Samāwa (Ibid).

Thereafter, a battle took place between Al-Mišlab and a neighbouring tribal group (Al-budūr). To put an end to this battle in the Muntafiq Emirate, the head of Sa'dūn gathered the heads of all the tribes of the south. They agreed to give Siker this land (Qal'at Siker) as his tribe had one of the nine flags in the Muntafiq. Subsequently, he came to Qal'at Siker heading a number of tribes during 1869-1873 (i.e. during the reign of the Ottoman Governor Medḥat Paša) (ibid).

He built a castle there to defend the city from invasion, because he realised that there were people who coveted this region. He also encouraged people to travel and live in it under his protection in order to enlarge it. It was therefore a shelter for those who escaped from Baghdad because of the burdens of the compulsory obligatory military service during the Ottoman era. He did this in order not be forced to travel again. Merchants from Baghdad migrated to it because of the trading activity and the low number of inhabitants. After the increase in the number of immigrants, it possessed a

status as a part of the Baṣra Vilayet of the Ottoman Empire. He encouraged the planting of palm trees within the city (ibid).

Regarding its development, Qal‘at Siker territory became, first, part of the Ottoman Empire, before the period of the events around World War I. It was one of the cities of the Muntafiq Eyalet or Emirate, which is a large Arab tribal confederation of southern and central Iraq. The confederation is not homogeneous in terms of sect/religion. It includes most of the regions of southern and central Iraq, Muslims (Sunnīs and Šī‘is) and non-Muslims. Nevertheless, the majority of the Muntafiq members are Iraqi Šī‘is, and represent the largest and most influential Iraqi Šī‘i community (‘Ilfahad, 2001).

In Modern Iraq Qal‘at Siker became a district in Nāširriyya Governorate under the British control. Indeed, Qal‘at Siker predates the city of Nāširriyya by 37 years, which was built by Medḥat Paša in 1869. After they took control of Iraq in 1914, and of Nāširriyya in 1916, the British could not impose full control over the city and the surrounding area. Therefore, Nāširriyya city had the same Ottoman division until 1918. In 1918, Britain set up a civil administration that divided Iraq into districts. As a result, the Muntafiq falls into four districts, one of which is Qal‘at Siker (ibid).

Political officers started ruling Al-Muntafiq, and Qal‘at Siker was under the leadership of a British officer, Barrett. Qal‘at Siker was chosen as a centre from which to rule all of Ġarrāf area due to its position, weather conditions, natural resources. In June 1918, a fence was built around the city with defence castles. The British used to say that Qal‘at Siker controls the crossroads of the caravans. It is located in the middle of four urban centres – Al-Kūt to the north, An- Nāširriyya to the south, ‘Amāra to the east and Al-Diwāniyah to the west. It is located 100km from Nāširriyya, 260km from Baghdad and 80km from Kūt (Kūt is Baghdad’s immediate southern neighbour). It was a resting

place for merchants of these cities. Demographically speaking, Qal‘at Siker had an estimated population of 110,000 in 2017 (compared to just 3450 in 1921). The nearest large city is Nāṣirriyya, with a population of 479,420, followed by Kūt whose estimated population is around 374,000 people.

The city is metaphorically referred to as the bride of Ġarrāf Canal or river by the people of Iraq, because it is located on the left bank of the Ġarrāf. The Ġarrāf is a canal in Iraq that connects the Tigris at Kūt al-‘Amāra with the Euphrates to the east of Nāṣirriyya. It is the first and most ancient river in Iraq that is not naturally found but was dug by the Sumerians some 4000 years ago. It represents the canal that Entemena, the king of Lagash State in Sumer, dug up from the Tigris in about 2400 BC. Some of Iraq’s most significant ancient sites and monuments are to be found in Qal‘at Siker. It is said that the area was a place built for the daughter of the king of Lagash state because she was depressed. It is 6km northeast of the remains of the ancient Sumerian city of Larsa. It is also home to a number of monuments locally called ‘Nīṣān Abu Ṣaxar’ (‘Ilfahad, 2001). The existence of the monuments is an important factor that encouraged the establishment of the city because the existence of these gave an indication that it was suitable for agriculture and living, and also for building on.

There were no water resources in the city until the King Faisal fixed Ġarrāf. A project called Ġarrāf was launched by the royal family in 1939 and was executed by a British company. It had a great importance in sedentarising the tribes and in improving agriculture. The development was very slow. The first palace for the government was built in 1922, a police station in 1930, a clinic in 1937 and a mosque in 1910, and there was one market. It lacked healthcare institutions which were only found in Baghdad, Baṣra and Mūṣul. The lack of hospitals encouraged and forced people to travel to major cities like Baghdad and Kūt for treatment. Only in the year 1930 was a healthcare clinic

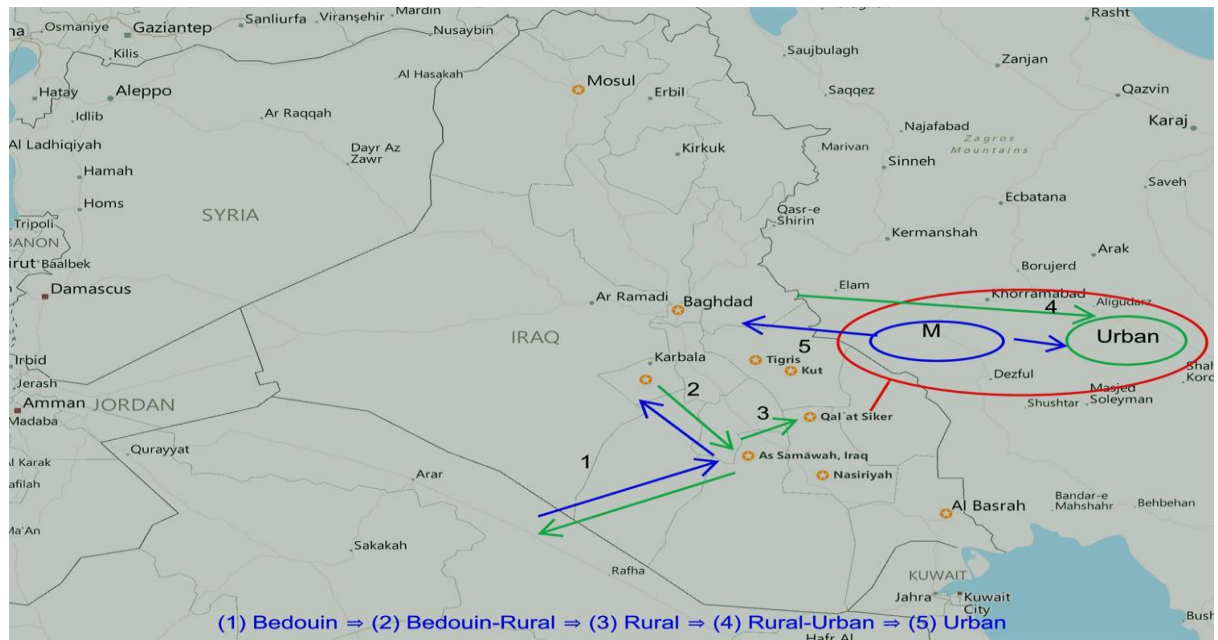
established. An increase in the availability of schools and healthcare began in the 1960s. There were hotels for those who came from Baghdad and the surrounding areas (ibid).

The city kept developing until it obtained a significant role in the political affairs in Iraq. An anti-British revolution started in Qal'at Siker. When the revolution broke out in Al-Rumaiṭa, and others in the villages of the Middle Euphrates, Captain Crawford tried to rule Qal'at Siker. The British governor reported that the city adjacent to Kūt, Qal'at Siker, was undergoing rebellion and that they were still trying to gain a foothold in the city. The British gave a warning to the people in 1920. The governor was asked to give the British some planes to control the city, but the governor ordered the British forces to travel to Nāṣirriyya in order to forestall the situation of the British forces there. When Captain Crawford left Qal'at Siker, people went to the government house and evacuated the local guard. On August 12, 1920, Qal'at Siker was the first city in the Muntafiq to be liberated. The British officer warned that this would have a negative impact on the British and as a result the revolution would reach other cities in the Muntafiq. After that, a group of Iraqi leaders met in the vicinity of Al-Maṣīfi, and signed a charter containing demands such as: to call for the complete independence of Iraq, and to establish a kingdom; and to follow what was commanded by the religious leaders (ibid).

1.5.2 The tribe: urbanisation and inner mobility

Qal'at Siker participated significantly in the social and intellectual changes that swept Iraq during the nineteenth century, due to its flexible social structure that could be expanded and contracted according as need arises. This is evident by the fact that it has gone through the following developmental stages:

(1) Bedouin ⇒ (2) Bedouin-Rural ⇒ (3) Rural ⇒ (4) Rural-Urban ⇒ (5) Urban



Map 1-2 Changes in the ecological system of Mišlab tribe (*Source: <http://www.maphill.com>*)

The Mišlab tribe were a fully nomadic group, travelling between Iraq and Najd, and whose livelihood depended on camel herding. They had specific areas for winter and summer camping, between these two areas. After this first life style, their travelling became restricted to the places in Iraq only between Simāwa and Karbala. The group raised sheep and goats and moved much shorter, well-defined distances. They also practiced some agriculture. The group moved during different seasons, while others in the group remained in permanent abodes. This life style represents the second (Bedouin-rural) phase.

The tribe then moved to live in Qal‘at Siker which they established at a later date (in the 1870s). Through the movement to Qal‘at Siker, they increasingly adopted a sedentary way of life, and here the rural period begins (the third life style phase). As the nomads took up agriculture and as private titles to land were granted, the nomads’ traditional relationship to tribal territory increased. The tribal organisation was reinforced

during the initial process of sedentarisation because the tribe itself was the basis for the allocation of land. Although ringed by the hinterlands of such major cities as Baghdad, Nāṣirriyya and Kūt, Qal‘at Siker has an urban centre of its own, which was formed by people coming from the central cities like Baghdad, e.g., castigated teachers, people escaping from the obligatory military service, from the government, and merchants. The tribe were disconnected from the urban centre by their work (farming).

After this period of sedentarisation, in-migration started in the first half of the twentieth century and began expanding rapidly after the mid-1960s to the urban part of Qal‘at Siker and to the other urban centres to mark the beginning of the fourth (rural-urban) period. In this case, urbanisation was not completely voluntary. Rather, it appeared to be a natural response to changing political and economic circumstances, particularly the formation and consolidation of the Iraqi republic and the end of the ‘Iqtā‘ ‘feudal’⁷ system.

The final social change in the structure of the community is manifested through the fact that its Bedouin/rural nature started to decline gradually. The increasing use of technologies and the development of communication, interaction with other communities has become much more frequent. Their nomadism maintained its continuity for a long period of time before 1950, due to two main factors: isolation and non-interaction with other societies. These two factors are declining now, and the tribe are part of the urban community. As a result of urbanisation, tribal affiliation among younger speakers of Mišlab seems much weaker than in the older speakers. It no longer has the same

⁷ The feudal system “is defined in terms of the social relationships by which its two fundamental social classes constitute and maintain themselves. Specifically, the peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the producing population, maintain themselves by virtue of their possession of their full means of subsistence, land and tools, so require no productive contribution by the lords to survive” (Brenner, 1990: 170). It is a type of socio-economic organisation of society where feudal Lords “lived on the labour of other men” (Dobb, 1973: 145).

noticeable power as in the past. In the past, they valued tribal principles highly. The increased diversity of populations in the urban communities and their openness to others are factors that have undermined the traditional ways, including the traditional linguistic forms as the findings of this thesis will uncover. The change also affected modes of production; for instance, interest in animal husbandry decreased markedly, horses have lost their functions (for example as modes of transportation). The tribe has been forced to change things that do not suit their new social realities, such as marriage customs. They used to drink water directly from the river and live in rooms made of mud; whereas now they live in big brick houses, drink purified water and drive cars.

The change in the tribe's economic activity from a pastoral nomadism, based on migration to locations of pasture and water, to a sedentarisation that is based on agriculture, and then to an urban mode, centred on jobs other than agriculture, has had a significant role in changing their life styles. In addition to the loss of pastoral nomadism, this materialistic change has accompanied change from the social, religious, and cultural perspectives, as well as linguistic changes.

1.5.3 Immigration to Baghdad

The oldest civilisations in history, as has been mentioned before, have emerged around the rivers of Iraq, mainly due to the convergence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers which produced rich fertile soil and a good supply of water for irrigation. However, as have been said, the peasantry in modern Iraq, and in Qal'at Siker as an Iraqi city, has suffered a lot. Peasants were forced to migrate from the countryside to the cities in search of work (Alnasrawi, 1994). The history of migration from the countryside and cities, especially from those in the south of Iraq, to the capital city Baghdad is an old social problem which began largely in the 1940s (Farouk-Sluglett & Sluglett, 1983) and has

continued to the present day due to the negligence of successive governments to the southern region of Iraq and their failure to find appropriate solutions.

The migration from rural to urban areas presents considerable evidence of the change in the social structure and thereby probably linguistic changes, (which this thesis is trying to test). By 1980, 69% of the total population of Iraq lived in urban areas, while only 31% lived in rural areas. These statistics represent a near direct reversal of the findings of the 1947 census. Rural areas have experienced a low population growth rate which has continued to decrease to 2.9%, in comparison to 6.1% in the urban areas as people have moved to the megacities in search of employment and a higher standard of living (Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, 2001:246). Among the Iraqi areas, the southern region has provided the highest number of migrants to Baghdad (see Phillips, 1959; Hassan, 1966; Nakash, 2003). Nakash (2003:97) stated that “most of the southern provinces showed a net reduction in population.” Further, Nakash added that

“Shi’i tribesmen dreamed of going to Baghdad. In choosing the capital as their main objective, Shi’i migrants demonstrated their conviction that it was in Baghdad where they were likely to improve their life.” Thus, the “[s]hi’is became the majority group in Baghdad under the monarchy”

(Nakash, 2003: 98).

The members of the tribe under investigation (among many others) has migrated to Baghdad.

In the beginning, in the 1940s and 1950s, immigrants lived in different parts of Baghdad. Today, Baghdad is surrounded by cities of immigrants, on the outskirts of Baghdad to accommodate immigrants from Iraq’s provinces, especially from the south, looking for a ‘new life’ before and after the political change in April 2003. They lived in mud huts on the outskirts of Baghdad, which formed into a location nowadays known as

‘Şarāyifs’. These migratory waves may have been affected by the cultural aspects of Baghdad.

The driving force behind the migratory move seems to be largely economic and partly political. Migration from lower to upper Iraq can be traced back to World War I. The establishment of the Iraqi police in 1918, the Iraqi army in 1920, and the economic development in the 1930s represent some of the reasons which drove these people out of their hometowns. By World War II, migration became one of the biggest problems that Iraq faced. The industrial development in the megacities, the British re-occupation of Iraq in 1941, and the concentration of its forces in the cities of Iraq, including Baghdad, led to urgent needs for manpower to establish soldiers’ camps and build roads⁸. This was an encouraging factor for oppressed rural people to migrate to Baghdad in particular. Also, in this period, the 1940s and 1950s – the kingdom era – a major reason for the migration from the rural areas to their centres and then to the centre of Baghdad in later stages was the injustice that the feudal shaykhs of the countryside dealt to the peasants in their cultivation of the feudal land. An enslavement and exploitative relationship existed between the shaykhs and the peasants. The injustice that the feudalists inflicted upon the peasants, along with the conditions of poverty, disease and underdevelopment that affected the countryside and cities of the south acted as forces that expelled the local population. It was this reality that led some of the peasants to emigrate directly to the capital Baghdad. Meanwhile another part of the peasantry migrated initially to the centre of their city to begin a new life with their family – and when they did not find it there, they began to think about immigration to the city of Baghdad. The tribe under investigation established the city and kept possessing most of its lands as it was part of the *iqṭāʿ*. After the revolution of 14 July 1958, their arable lands were taken as gains for

⁸ The source of the information is the community of the study.

peasants, extracted by Law No.30. The philosophy of agrarian reform addresses the poor distribution of rural wealth (see Hashimi and Edwards 1961, also *The tribe: urbanisation and inner*).

Despite the decline of the first reason to migrate to the city after the revolution of July 14, 1958 and the issuance of the law of agrarian reform and land ownership of farmers by the government of the president Abdul Karīm Qasim, the migration of rural people and the people of Iraqi cities, especially the countryside and cities of the south, to the capital Baghdad has continued to the current day.

“[T]he number of rural migrants to Baghdad, as of August, 1963, was 134,906 (almost one-seventh of the population of this capital city). The great majority came from the southern provinces where the land tenure problems were acute” (Baali, 1969: 64).

In the second half of the twentieth century, peasants came face to face against the landowners, shaykhs, merchants, and senior state officials because of the revised laws of the agrarian reform like that of No.35 of 1983 for the lease of agricultural land (cf. Springborg, 1986). These laws enriched the officers, the party and the rich peasants, at a time when the poorer peasants and their children were in the army, fighting on the frontlines. The *Iqtā'* system and government policy impoverished the peasants. There was an increase in floods, land degradation and a drought crisis facing the river, which led to desertification of formerly arable land.

The sanctions against Iraq are another reason for immigration which remained in force until 2003. The agricultural sector after 2003 was deteriorating steadily. These sanctions forced many Iraqis to move to Baghdad and other cities, in search of work and safety.

The final reason for migration has been the future ambitions of young people that could not have been achieved in their birthplace due to lack of work mainly, and lack of recreational facilities in addition to the factors of underdevelopment, poverty and poor health care facilities that continue to prevail in rural areas. The search for a ‘new life’ is a good reason for young people to migrate from their city to the capital. Moving to Baghdad will automatically promote oneself to a higher-status position, for the immigrant who hopes to find higher wages and more job opportunities. As for the simple illiterate peasant, they emigrate in order to escape the injustice, exploitation and enslavement of the feudal shaykhs.

1.6 Indexicality: the social status of the dialect and the political discourse⁹

The people of southern Iraq have always been looked at as second-class citizens in their own country. To reflect this social status, they are very often referred to as ‘Šrūg’. This term indexes different social meanings. Some people occasionally consider it to be derived from the word ‘East’, and to mean ‘Eastern people’. That is, it symbolises the social group living in places other than the Baghdadi regions and is used by the tribes of the Middle Euphrates to name the tribes living near the east of the Tigris River. Those tribes of the Euphrates look upon the tribes east of the Tigris as being somewhat inferior. Other people relate the ‘eastern’ meaning not to the east of the River itself, but to the east of Iraq, to mean ‘people who come from the east’, i.e., from Iran (which is not true, but mistakenly arose because they are Šī‘i and Iranians are mostly Šī‘i, sharing a sect with southern Iraq).

Whatever it means, there is no doubt that this expression, ‘Šrūg’, is so often used in contempt and to degrade the people of the south. It is a sarcastic term that carries an

⁹ The information and analysis in this section are objectively based on my knowledge, observation and understanding of the sociolinguistic situation in Iraq as an insider (see 3.3 for my characteristics as an insider). The other evidence that supports my claims here is the use of terms like ‘Šrūg’ in media discourse. Future studies focusing on attitudes can also test these claims.

elemental meaning of racism or class and cultural distinction. Most people believe that it indexes the meanings of being ‘backward’ and ‘uncivilised’. Many poems have carried the title Šrūg as a defensive response to the sarcastic use of this term, among them the well-known poem by Na’īm Alfurati¹⁰ which is entitled ‘ana Šrūgi ana Šrūgi’ (I am a Šrūgi; I am a Šrūgi).

This word is often used in some areas of Baghdad, and some areas adjacent to them, to look down upon the southern population. This term is believed to have appeared when the increase in poverty led southern Iraqis to migrate into urban cities, especially to Baghdad in the 1940s. Since then, they have always been ridiculed and called ‘Šrūg’.

Southern people have resorted to writing poetry, novels and literature in general because involvement in this area does not require money or any governmental support. They wrote and continued to provide Iraq with a large literary and creative legacy. The southern Iraqi dialect has a special beauty and a great popularity which gave it a vast space in Iraqi literary and artistic life. We find the language of the Iraqi literary dialogue and poetry is based entirely on the style and vocabulary of the southern dialect. Examples of Iraq’s literary and creative people are Sa’ad Muhamad Hasan and ‘Aryān ’Ilsayyid Xalaf.

The former regimes were able to employ the distinctive nature of the dialect for their political purposes. Because of southerner’s rejection of politics and ideas of the Ba’ath Party, Ba’athists followed the method of symbolic sabotage by humour, to remove the sparkle and halo that the southern people have enjoyed throughout history. The system, for political reasons, wanted to spread a public conviction of the guise of this dialect and the naiveté of its users to the extent that it is limited to the design of comic

10 Source: Na’īm Alfurati. [Hussain Ksb]. (Feb 25, 2014). ana Šrūgi ana Šrūgi, Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2qbyHIb5EEg>.

characters only. Therefore, the former regime exploited the dialect through drama and theatre. Media at the time of the former regimes was designed to show the Šī'i class of Iraqi society as a backward class to consolidate the use of the word 'Šrūg', and to instil ignorance and underdevelopment of the southern people in the minds of Iraqis. TV broadcast technical materials, like 'ilmahāfif' and 'bēt ilfīn', focused on the dialect in every point where backwardness, stupidity and barbarity are evident, to the extent that the Iraqi person became either intellectual, well-versed, culturally conscious and urbanised or a 'backward Šrūgi'. This cultural legacy left by the system works as if the citizen of the south is the epitome of backwardness, an agenda that has been pre-installed to draw a particular picture of a group for political purposes. Any person can distinguish the educated intellectual person from the underdeveloped through the dialect; if s/he speaks a southern dialect, s/he is Šrūgi, and therefore s/he is undoubtedly backward. Thus, when a southerner rises to high position professionally, s/he is likely to change his dialect so as not to be thought of negatively; this progressed to the point where people began to deny their own origin, given the power of the propaganda against this class of society. Many intellectuals and innovators deny their origins or feel ashamed of belonging to them.

The use of the word 'Šrūg' has been increasing among the people of Iraq. The use of this word became more boisterous and insulting, especially after the events of the uprising in 1991, when all of the southern provinces rose against the former Ba'athist regime. Its use has increased even more significantly after the entry of the American occupation forces, which resulted in a relatively Šī'i-dominated regime, to become a sectarian expression in addition to contempt and derogation. Šrūg have been linked to Šī'ism, which provokes an increasingly fierce backlash against them. The evidence is that followers of the Sunnī sect who live in the south are not referred to as Šrūg. As a reaction,

the southern Iraqis use the term ‘ilgarbiyya’ (westerners) to refer to Sunnīs. The southern dialect has thus recently become sectarianised.

Despite the fact that the Šī‘is are the majority in Iraq, Baghdad’s urban norms are the prestigious ones in the country, not the southern ones, like Bašra for example, because religious affiliation seems to be a socially weak factor in Iraq; Baghdad is the centre of influence. The previous regime’s policy destroyed the reputation of the southern region as non-prestigious and ‘uneducated’. The south of Iraq hosted rebellions against the Ottomans, the occupations and the Ba‘athists. The result of this is the different regimes’ policies leading to the destruction of the education and economy of the people in the south. Consequently, the southern people started looking at Baghdad as the ‘dream land’, as well as the most prestigious place to live in.

In conclusion, the regional boundaries became sectarian, indexing the social meanings of ‘eastern’ (Šrūg), ‘western’. The Southern people or ‘Šrūg’ can be easily identified via their dialect. Therefore, to avoid all the connotations that this term brings, they avoid using their dialect. Another issue specific to the southern community under investigation is that they share some linguistic features with the (Sunnī) people of west Iraq, and they are also criticised by southern people as ‘imitating’ them. Therefore, they are also forced to drop such features out of their dialect.

1.7 Evidence of change in social aspects

After assuming there is a change in the social characteristics of Qal‘at Siker, this part tries to verify this assumption by shedding the light on changes in aspects other than the linguistic one which the study is trying to explore.

1.7.1 Religion in Iraq and in Qal'at Siker

Iraq is made up of different ethnic components and religions such as Islam, Christianity and Judaism among others. The state guarantees freedom of worship and protection of places. People lived in spite of sectarianism.

Islam is the official and the largest religion in Iraq and is divided into Šī'is and Sunnīs. Šī'is represent the major group in Iraq; ethnically they are mostly Arab, while some are Kurds. The presence of shrines of imams and Šī'i leaders in Iraq demonstrates the depth of the Šī'i influence. Iraq hosts one of the pillars of Islam for Šī'i Muslims, which encourages all Muslims to make the pilgrimage to Karbala. There are four major Šī'i shrines in Iraq, in the central cities of Najaf, Karbala, Baghdad, and Samarra, and numerous lesser ones throughout the southern part of the country. This is also a factor that brings Šī'i people into daily contact from all the parts of Iraq and also outsiders who come to perform pilgrimage.

The majority of people and peasants of southern and central Iraq are of the Šī'i sect of Islam. The percentage of Iraqi Sunnīs is less than half and distributed among Arab, Kurds and some Turkomen, and these are divided into three main doctrines: Ḥanafis, Shaafa'is and Ḥanbalis. Nearly all Iraqi Kurds are Muslim, Sunnīs and Šī'is, Yazidi (King et al, 2003: 49-51). The community under study were originally Sunnīs. However, after their settlement in Iraq, the majority became Šī'i, like the rest in southern Iraq. This religious change can be indicative of the apparatus of social change the tribe has undergone ('Ilfahad, 2001).

1.7.2 Social structure in Qal‘at Siker and detribalisation

Qal‘at Siker has a tribal social structure. Shaykh Siker and his tribe established Qal‘at Siker. This structure is not peculiar to this city as the basic form of social organisation in Iraq is generally tribal (Vinogradov, 1972). The tribe in Iraq forms a small government that is established to fill the gap left by central government, and it is led by a shaykh who is in charge of managing conflicts and issuing rules. Shaykhs have such roles as juries and mediators, to settle disputes, etc (Carroll, 2011). In Qal‘at Siker, people often resort to their tribal leader, and they are expected to show solidarity and support when someone in the tribe is in trouble.

As one of the most important traditional social institutions, tribes have played a prominent role in the Iraqi political life since the establishment of the state to the present day. Its strength varied, depending on the nature of the governments that ruled Iraq. The tribe has been weakened by the occupations (like Ottoman empire) (Shahvar, 2003) until the British occupation. Because of the tribal control over the land, the British assigned some tasks to the shaykhs (Dodge, 2005; Simon, 2008). In many of its behaviors, Iraqi society is based on tribal values and this is what prompted the British to issue a law in 1916 (The Tribal Criminal and Civil Disputes Regulations), which was adopted during the royal era, after the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1921 (Carroll, 2011: 18; Batatu, 1978; see also González, 2009). Thus, the Iraqi state is governed by two laws, namely the general law of the state, and the law of the Tribal Act.

The leaders of the revolution in 1958 abolished the Tribal Disputes Act and adopted a program of society-wide urbanisation (Baram, 1997). However, despite this, the process of modernisation was to a lesser extent interrupted due to the effects of waves

of migration from the countryside to the major cities in the 1940s and 50s that led to the spread of rural and tribal values in the cities.

The tribe did not lose its influential role until the 1970s, when Iraq, as a state, pushed for the completion of the transition to urbanisation, relying on the secular system of the Arab Ba'ath Party which did not allow any other authority to compete with it. In the 1970s, the government prevented citizens from disclosing or using their tribal surnames in a move that was thought would contribute to the decline of the influence of tribal affiliation and loyalty on Iraqi citizens (Isser, 2011). Iraqi tribes suffered heavy blows in the 1970s. Ba'athists took large lands belonging to the Shaykhs and imposed agrarian reform. Masses of Iraqis moved into cities. The tribe became weak, especially in the south where the tribal system was influenced through forced migration from rural areas and shaykhs which eroded tribal ties (Jabar, 2003). In the end, the tribal social structure was weakened; pieces of land were rented or sold to outsiders. Saddam undermined the tribal system in Iraq in the south (Šī'i tribes) and elevated many Sunnī Shaykhs as reward for their cooperation. The Ba'ath Party was principally Sunnī and therefore Sunnīs dominated Iraq under Saddam's government.

The situation that emerged after the Iraqi-Iranian war and the invasion of Kuwait in 1991 as well as the uprising of most Iraqi cities in 1991 against the regime of Saddam led to a situation of weakness in the pillars of the institutions of the former regime. This in turn led to a return to the tribes in order to impose control over society (Jabar, 2000). Ba'ath Party reversed to tribes as regional power-holders, to secure their cooperation and stem the resistance to Saddam's regime (Carroll, 2011: 18). The government appointed new leaders to tribes loyal to it. Unknown tribal leaders appeared which Iraqis sarcastically refer to as 'Šjūx iltis'īn', meaning 'elders/shaykhs of the nineties'. They derived their legitimacy from the Saddam's rule. Consequently, the tribes have regained

their authority in the 1990s not only because of the weakness of the government, filling the vacuum of the state.

In 2003, the Ba'athist regime was overthrown. After the collapse of the Iraqi army, Iraqi society and its members faced difficulty in obtaining safety. People started seeking the security and protection provided by the tribe. Most of the political organisations that exercised political action after the fall of the regime of Saddam have been affected by tribal values. Tribalism has been a basis of selection in the parliamentary system. Tribal shaykhs could guarantee the support of tribal members. Thus, the role of tribes, although transformed, has remained an essential support for both society and politics up the present day. The tribe under study has been weakened over the centuries. It does not play a role in national politics, although it may try to exert some influence domestically. The loyalty to the tribal and dialectical traditions has been thus weakened.

1.7.3 Population

Within a century the population of Iraq has increased from 2 million (Vinogradov, 1972:125) to 32 million (The Home Office, 2016). The composition of the population is complex. The Arab constitute about three quarters of the total population. They are mainly concentrated in the southern and central regions of Iraq. The people of the community under study are all Arab. The Kurds, Turkomans, Turks, Persians, Assyrians, Yezidis and Armenians make up one quarter of the Iraqi population. The population of Iraq is divided into urban dwellers, who account for two thirds of the total population, and rural dwellers who are mainly farmers and represent one third of the population (Tucker, 2017:109). Urbanisation has increased significantly since the 1940s as a result of rural-urban migration in search of work, education or escape from the effects of the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. This led to an increase in the number of cities in Iraq. This

urbanisation has a great impact on the linguistic structure of the Iraqi dialect as will be seen in this thesis (see also 1.5.2).

Chapter 2 Dialect description and variability

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of Mišlab Arabic as well as highlights the features which can be potentially variable in this dialect on the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels¹¹. Then, only two phonological features, namely (dʒ) and (k), will be chosen to test the stability and variability of the traditional features. The linguistic description of the dialect is based on the empirical data which I collected by interviewing informants from the Mišlab tribe¹². The format of this description is generally based on that of the dialect descriptions presented in Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics.

2.1 Phonology

An inventory of the consonants and vowels in Mišlab Arabic is displayed below.

Consonants

The consonant inventory of the dialect under investigation can be considered conservative since it preserves the full set of Classical Arabic interdental phonemes; examples include: /θɔ:b/ ‘dress’, /ði:b/ ‘wolf’, /ka:ðʕim/ ‘kādum/personal name’. Although the dialect has preserved interdentals, the word /θala:θa/ ‘three’, is often heard as in Baghdadi /tla:θa/ especially in the speech of the younger generation. Contrary to this, the lexeme /ista:d/, cf. /ista:ð/, ‘teacher’ is often heard in the speech of old speakers. Other remarks regarding interdentals that was taken notice of, especially in the speech of old speakers, are:

- /θ/ as [ðʕ]: /itrajjaθ/ ~ /itirajjaðʕ/ ‘linger! 2MS’, /θixi:n/ ~ /ðʕixi:n/ ‘thick’

¹¹ Although the analysis of current research is limited to phonology, highlighting potentially variable features on other grammatical levels could inform future research.

¹² See chapter 3 for data collection of the current study.

- /ð/ as [ð^ɕ]: /ðuxri/ ~ /ð^ɕuxri/ ‘munition’, /ðawq/ ~ /ð^ɕɔ:g/ ‘taste’, /ð^ɕra:ʕ/ ‘arm’ (a case of emphasis).
- /d^ɕ/ as [ð]: /maðarra/ ~ /mað^ɕar^ɕa/ ‘harmfulness’ and /ðaru:ri/ ~ /ð^ɕar^ɕu:r^ɕi/ ‘necessary’ (a case of de-emphasis).

Words with etymological /d^ɕ/ are pronounced with [ð^ɕ], e.g., /d^ɕarab/ ~ /ð^ɕir^ɕab^ɕ/ ‘he hit’. Some speakers have [p] and [v] in borrowings which others pronounce with [b] and [f], e.g. /pa:ʕa/ ~ /ba:ʕa/ ‘stew; made of lamb’s head’, /panʕar/ ~ /banʕar/ ‘flat tyre/puncture’, /vi:za/ ~ /fi:za/ ‘visa’, and /va:nilla/ ~ /fa:nilla/ ‘vanilla’. Table 2.1 illustrates the consonant inventory in the dialect.

		Place of articulation											
		Voicing	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Interdental	Alveolar	Post alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
MANNER OF ARTICULATION	Plosives	v- v+	b		t d					k g	q		ʔ
	Emphatic	v-			t ^ɕ					g			
	fricatives	v- v+ v+		f		θ ð ð ^ɕ				x χ		ħ ʕ	h
	emphatic	v+											
	Sibilants	v- v+ v-					s z s ^ɕ	ʃ					
	emphatic	v-											
	Affricate	v- v+						tʃ dʒ					
	Nasal	v+	m		n								
	Flap	v+					r						
	Lateral	v+					l						
	Glides	v+	w						j				

Table 2.1: Consonant inventory in Mišlab Arabic

Emphatic variants

Some of the plain consonants in the table above have emphatic allophones. Phonemes like /t^ɕ/ and /s^ɕ/ are emphatic regardless of environment. Other sounds like /b,

l, ð, r, m, z, n and f/ seem to become emphatic when they are in the vicinity of certain sounds, e.g., /rʕafʕ/ ‘shelf’, /na:sʕi/ ‘low’, /zʕajjir/ ‘small’, /mʕajj/ ‘water’, /walʕa/ ‘by God’, /bʕa:bʕa/ ‘daddy’, /marʕrʕ/ ‘he passed’, /sʕanʕʕa/ ‘quiet’. Below are further details about these consonants.

/r/ is emphatic or retracted, usually in the vicinity of back vowels, as in: /ħarʕubʕ/ ‘war’, /rʕɔ:bʕa/ ‘yogurt’, /rʕumʕmʕa:n/ ‘pomegranate’. /r/ is non-emphatic if it occurs in the vicinity of /i/ as in /biʕfir/ ‘the first-born son’, /ħibir/ ‘ink’, /nisir/ ‘eagle’, /niðir/ ‘vow’, /wiðir/ ‘scatter’. The latter words are often heard with retracted /r/, as in Baghdadi, especially in the speech of young speakers, e.g. /wiðirʕ/. Traditionally, it seems that there is a tendency in the dialect to produce more non-emphatic /r/ than in the Baghdadi dialect, e.g., /ibra/ ‘needle’, /mara/ ‘woman’, /jiʕarribhum/ ‘he provides them with water’, /mitʕarriʕ/ ‘rearmost’, /middaθra/ ‘she is covered’. Currently, /r/ in such words appears to be variable, with the younger generation tending for the Baghdad-like pronunciation (emphatic or retracted /r/).

A similar case is observed with the sound /l/. /l/ is usually emphatic in the vicinity of /a:/ or /a/ and one of such consonants as /tʕ, ðʕ, sʕ, x, ɣ, g/, e.g., /baʕalʕ/ ‘mule’, /ʕatʕmʕa/ ‘punch’; /ðʕalʕmʕa/ ‘dark’; /ʕasʕmʕa/ ‘stun’. Elsewhere /l/ is plain, as in /tiʕtiʕil/ ‘she works’, /liʕab/ ‘he played’, /ðili:l/ ‘he is humiliated’, /balʕu:m/ ‘pharynx’. In Baghdad, some words which come with the emphatic /ʕ/ are realised with a non-emphatic /l/ in Mišlab dialect, e.g., /tiʕtiʕil/ ‘she works’. On the other hand, some words which are realised with the plain /l/ in Baghdadi, they are actually realised with the emphatic /ʕ/ in the Mišlab dialect, e.g., /ga:lʕʕaw/ ‘they said’, /sʕirwa:lʕ/ ‘trousers’, /xalʕʕ/ ‘let’, /tidaxxalʕat/ ‘she intervened’, /tʕalʕʕag/ ‘he divorced’, /jiðʕalʕʕ/ ‘he stays’. Just like the case of /r/, the younger informants often tend to use the Baghdadi variants; /ga:lʕʕaw/ is pronounced as /ga:llaw/ and /tiʕtiʕil/ as /tiʕtiʕilʕ/.

/m/ and /b/ behave similarly, where they are normally emphatic in the Baghdadi dialect, they are sometimes non-emphatic in the Mišlab dialect. Similarly, the younger generation often tends to use the emphatic variant as in /marid/~mʕarʕid/ ‘smash’. /kaba:b/ and /ibra/ are often pronounced as /kabʕa:bʕ/ and /ubʕrʕa/ ‘needle’ by the younger generation. There is thus a spread of velarisation in the speech of young speakers.

/q/ variants

Traditionally, the variant of /q/ is [g], but in front vowel environments is fronted and affricated in many words to [dʒ]. In my data, I found that /q/ has four reflexes [dʒ], [ɣ], [g] and [q]. In this respect, this dialect resembles the Bašra dialect and differs from the Baghdadi dialect –which does not have [dʒ] and [ɣ].

[ɣ] as a reflex of /q/

The reflex [ɣ] often occurs in the vicinity of both front and back vowels. Noticeably, where Baghdad has [q] for /q/, Mišlab Arabic has /ɣ/, as in the following examples: /faɣi:r/ ‘poor’, /ɣinni:na/ ‘gas bottle’, /bitʕa:ɣa/ ‘card’, /bardaɣa:l/ ‘oranges’, /ɣibadʕ/ ‘received’, /taɣa:ʕid/ ‘pension’, /ɣabuðʕ/ ‘arrest’, /be:raɣ/ ‘flag’, /ɣufasʕ/ ‘cage’. Young speakers generally tend to avoid this variant and use [q] instead.

[g] as a reflex of /q/

The following examples show that [g] can occur in the vicinity of both front and back vowels: /ħaqq/ < /ħaqq/ ‘right’, /iʃħa:g<iʃħa:q/ ‘iʃħāq/personal name’, /jaʕqu:b/ ~ /jaʕqu:b/ ‘yaʕqūb/personal name’, /aɣrab/ ~ /aqrab/ ‘closer’, /gabil/ ~ /qabil/ ‘before’, /gisʕi:r/ ~ /qasʕi:r/ ‘short’, /iqtʕa:ʕija/ ‘feudals’, /ʕaɣilʕ/ ~ ʕaqilʕ/ ‘brain’.

While the above examples illustrate that [g] can be replaced by [q], in the speech of younger speakers, the examples below show that /q/ is not variable: /fɔːq/ above, on, /ʃaqq/ ‘he tore’, /jitˤiq/ moving, /ʕga:l/ ‘headband’, /muqasˤ/ ‘scissors’, /riqisˤ/ ‘dance’, /jitˤiq/ ‘he hits’, /qʕad/ ‘he sat down’, /ruqba/ ‘neck’, /alqa:k/ ‘I find you’, /tiʕtaq/ ‘it becomes old’, /qa:l/ ‘he said’, /qa:m/ ‘he stood’, /qahwa:/ ‘coffee’, /qʕdir/ ‘pan’.

[dʒ] as a reflex of /q/

The following examples provide evidence of /q/-affrication to [dʒ] in the dialect and also show that [dʒ] usually occurs the adjacency of front vowels, e.g., /tˤiri:dʒ/ ‘way’, /dʒilʕa/ ‘castle’, /madʒdam/ ‘coming’, /dʒi:r/ ‘tar’, /ħiri:dʒ/ ‘fire’, /sˤidi:dʒ/ ‘friend’. Young speakers often pronounce them now with the Baghdadi [q] instead. They produce /jʕqsim/, cf. /jʕdʒsim/, ‘he divides’; /tawfi:q/ ‘success/fortune’.

While these instances indicate that young speakers often replace [dʒ] with [q], the following examples suggest that young speakers regularly convert it to [g], e.g., /silidʒ/ ‘spinach’ (young speakers say Baghdadi-like /silig/), /siwa:dʒi/ ~ /siwa:gi/ ‘waterwheels’, /dʒidir/ ~ /gidir/ ‘pot’, /ʕati:dʒ/ ~ /ʕati:g/ ‘old’, /ri:dʒ/ ~ /ri:g/ ‘salvia’, /ħaggi/ or /ħaqqi/ ‘my right’ but not /ħadʒdʒi/ as it will be confused with ‘pilgrim’, /ðˤajjidʒ/ ~ /ðˤajjiq/ ‘narrow/tight’, /dʒidda:m/ ~ /gidda:m/ ‘in front/before’, /jʕdʒu:n/ ~ /jʕgu:n/ ‘they water’, /imse:wi:dʒ/ ‘groceries’, /imre:dʒa/ ‘soup’, /dʒu:nijja/ ~ /gu:nijja/, /radʒdʒi/ ~ /raggi/ ‘watermelon’. There are instances, like /ðˤi:dʒ~ðˤi:g~ðˤi:q/ ‘adversity’.

[k] as a reflex of /q/

The occurrence of this realisation is limited to a few lexemes as in Baghdadi and Başra Arabic, as in: /wakʔ/ ~ /waqʔ/ ‘time’, /wakʔħ/ ‘naughty’, /kahkaha/ ‘guffaw’.

[q] as a reflex of /q/

The dialect has [q] in words that are borrowed from the Standard Arabic, e.g., /qitʰa:r/ ‘train’, /nntiqil/ ‘we move’, /qali:la/ ‘little’, /fariq/ ‘difference’, /afriqijja/ ‘African’, /qa:tʰiʃ/ ‘district’, /θaqa:fa/ ‘culture’, /fari:q/ ‘team’, /ʃiqqa/ ‘flat’, /ħaqi:r/ ‘vulgar’, /qarja/ ‘village’, /qa:wamʰ/ ‘he resisted’.

The traditional features, which are not used in Baghdad, seem to be reduced in the speech of younger generation. There is a tendency to reduce the variants [dʒ] and [ɣ] (to a greater extent) and [k] and [g] (to a far lesser extent) and use [q] instead.

/ɣ/ variants

In addition to [ɣ], [q] is also found as a reflex of /ɣ/ usually in the vicinity of front vowels, e.g., /liqita/ ‘his language’, /qada/ ‘lunch’, /qitʰa/ ‘cover’. There is a general tendency to avoid using [q].

/dʒ/ variants

The dialect regularly shows [j] for /dʒ/. The following examples demonstrate that /dʒ/ can be realised as [j] in the vicinity of front and back vowels in all word positions, e.g., /ħajje:t/ ‘I made a pilgrimage’; /ja:b/ ‘he brought’; /jadda/ ‘his grandfather’; /ji:ba/ ‘bring it SM’; /mistaʃjil/ ‘I am in a hurry 1SM’; /niʃi/ ‘we come’; /wiʃaʃ/ pain; /ʃaju:z/ ‘old woman’; /sʰa:j/ ‘circle flat plate’; /jɔ:ʃ/ ‘hunger’, /ħa:ja/ ‘need’, /ʃijil/ ‘young bull’.

[j] is a hallmark of the dialect of Qalʿat Siker as well as in other parts of southern Iraq like Baṣra. However, it is also being reduced (see chapter four). In borrowed words, /dʒ/ is pronounced as [dʒ], e.g., /dʒawa:b/ ‘answer’, /dʒaw/ ‘the weather’, /mudʒrim/ ‘criminal’, /riɖʒaʃit/ ‘I returned back’, /malɖʒaʔ/ ‘refuge’, /naɖʒaf/ ‘Najaf/name of a city’, /rawwadʒ/ ‘he circulated’.

/k/ variants

Like /g/, the dialect also shows the development of a fronted variant of velar /k/, namely [tʃ]. The stop /k/ in the stem alternates in its realisation between [tʃ] and [k]. [tʃ] often occurs in all word positions, more frequently in the vicinity of the front vowels, e.g., /ʃalib/ ‘dog’, /ʃanna/ ‘like’, /ʃatif/ ‘shoulder’, /maʃku:l/ ‘he is not discharged’, /ʃifan/ ‘dress for grave’, /ʃaff/ ‘palm of hand’, /ʃibi:r/ ‘big’, /ʃa:n/ ‘he was’, /ʃilma/ ‘word’, /saʃi:na/ ‘knife’, /biʃa/ ‘he cried’, /simaʃ/ ‘fish’, /ibriʃa/ ‘blessing’, /ʃinna/ ‘we were’, /iʃʕa:b/ ‘tali’, /malla:ʃ/ ‘landlord’, /miʃa:niʃ/ ‘your position’. [tʃ] is not only used by speakers of rural and nomadic dialects of the *gilit*-group but is in fact also a feature of urban cities such as Baghdad. However, there is an increasing tendency towards the use of [k] (see Chapter 5). Like [k], [tʃ] also occurs in loanwords of Persian and Turkish origin, e.g. /ʃa:j/ ‘tea; Persian’, /sʕu:tʃ/ ‘fault, guilt; Turkish’ (Abu-Haidar, 1991: 13). It is worth mentioning here that affrication affected /t/ in a borrowed word which is /tu:ki/ ~ /ʃu:ki/ (game).

In the affix, [tʃ] is used in the pronominal suffix of the feminine second person singular in contrast to [k] in the masculine, e.g. /bi:tak/ vs. /bi:titʃ/ ‘your house’. /k/ is not variable in the affix.

Treatments of /ʔ/

In Mišlab Arabic, the consonant /ʔ/ seems far rarer than in Baghdad as it has typically been elided and/or replaced by another sound in all word positions, the beginning, the middle and the end:

The word-final /ʔ/ typically disappears

- after /a:/ which thereby becomes shortened:

/ʃifa/ ‘recovery’, /ħaja/ ‘shame’, /bala/ ‘disaster/problem’, /ʕaʃa/ ‘dinner’ /wifa/ ‘loyalty’, /ʃita/ ‘winter’, /ħinna/ ‘hair colour’, /dani/ ‘low’, /mʕa:j/ ‘water’, /batʃʃa:j/, cf. personal names, e.g. /ʃajma:ʔ/, and classical borrowings, e.g. /zuʕama:ʔ/ ‘leaders’. However, some of these appear variable among the young group such as in /ʃifa:ʔ/, /ħaja:ʔ/, /bala:ʔ/.

- after /i/, e.g., /da:fi/ < /da:fiʔ/ ‘warm’. The words /biri/ ‘innocent’ and /ridi/ ‘cheap quality’ appear variable now as in /bari:ʔ/ and /radi:ʔ/ respectively.
- /u/, e.g., /kufuʔ/ ~ /kafu/ ‘up to it’.

Word medially /ʔ/ disappears and is replaced by a longer vowel

- /aʔ/ into /a:/, e.g., /faʔs/ ~ /fa:s/ ‘axe’
- /aʔ/ into /e:/, e.g., /batʔtʕaʔta/ ~ /batʔtʕe:ta/ ‘I slowed it down’
- /iʔ/ into /i:/, e.g., /biʔr/ ~ /bi:r/ ‘wall’
- /uʔ/ into /u:/, e.g., /kuʔu:s/ ~ /ku:s/ ‘cups’, /ʃuʔum/ ~ /ʃu:m/ ‘pessimism’, /muʔmin/ ~ /mu:man/ ‘believer’. These words are often variable, with a preference to produce /ʔ/.
- /ʔ/ into /w/, e.g., /tʔassaf/ ~ /tiwassaf/ ‘he regreted’
- /ʔ/ into /j/, e.g., /na:ʔim/ ~ /na:jim/ ‘asleep’, /ʕa:ʔila/ ~ /ʕa:jla/ ‘family’, /ʕaba:ʔa/ ~ /ʕaba:ja/ ‘cloak’, /ya:jid/ ‘leader’, /ya:jma/ ‘a list’. Some of these are variable now like /ʕa:jla/ is often produced as /ʕa:ʔila/.

Word initially

- /ʔ/ into /w/, e.g., /ʔakbar/ ~ /wakbar/ ‘bigger’, /ʔani:n/ ~ /wini:n/ ‘pain’, /ʕakkada/ ~ /waʃʃada/ ‘he was sure’.
- /ʔ/ into /j/, e.g., /jimmatna/ ~ /aʔimmatna/ ‘our Imams’ (the first syllable is deleted and /ʔ/ is realised as /j/).

- /ʔ/ into /a/, e.g., /lawili/ ~ /ilʔawali/ ‘the original’, /lamʕmʕijja/ ~ /lilʔimʕmʕijja/ ‘to the literacy’.
- Unlike in Baghdadi-like Arabic where (ʔ) occurs at the beginning of certain verbal forms, in this dialect /ʔ/ disappeared initially in the speech of old speakers as in: /xaða/ ‘he took’ /kala/ ‘he ate’. These are often heard in the speech of young speakers as /axað/ and /akal/.

In most of the above cases, there is a preference for using /ʔ/, as in Baghdadi.

Other standard like sounds are retained in the dialect, except in certain terms:

- /b/ as [m]: /miʃa:n/ ~ /biʃa:n/ ‘place’.
- /m/ as [n]: /ba:mja/ ~ /ba:nja/ ‘okra’, /mumta:z~munta:z/.
- /θ/ as [f]: /θiram/ ~ /firam/ ‘he minced it’
- /l/ as [n]: as in /isma:ʕi:n/ and /ʕizra:ji:n/ for /isma:ʕi:l/ and /ʕizra:ji:l/ ‘names’, /kabsu:n/ ~ /kabsu:l/ ‘tablets’, /ʃnɔ:n/ ~ /ʃlɔ:n/ ‘how?’

Most of these pronunciations are being reduced.

2.1.1 Inventory of vowels

The vowels of Mišlab Arabic are shown in Table 2.2

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:/i		u:/u
Mid	e:		ɔ:/ɔ
Open	a	a:	

Table 2.2: Inventory of vowels

Long Vowels

1. High front unrounded vowel /i:/, e.g. /ʕi:d/ ‘repeat! (masc.)’.
2. /e:/, e.g. /ʕe:m/ ‘clouds’, is a mid, front and unrounded long vowel. It is another realisation of the etymological diphthong /aj/, i.e. /aj/ is produced as /e:/, e.g. /s^ʕe:f/ ‘sword’. This variant seems to occur only after pharyngealised and pharyngeal consonants, e.g., /xe:t^ʕ/ ‘thread’, /s^ʕe:f/ ‘summer’, /he:l/ ‘strength’, /ʕe:b/ ‘shame’, /ʕe:m/ ‘clouds’, /t^ʕe:r/ ‘bird’. However, there are exceptions, as in the following.

[e:] as a reflex of /i:/

One of the distinctive features of the dialect, which is also shared with some southern varieties, is that [i:] is an allophone of /e:/. This [i:] variant seems to occur in all positions except after pharyngealised or pharyngeal consonants as the following examples show, e.g., /bi:n/ ‘between’, /sa:ʕti:n/ ‘two hours’, /li:l/ ‘night’, /imni:n/ ‘from’, /ʕali:na/ ‘on us’, /bi:ti/ ‘my house’, /ʕi:x/ ‘head of a tribe’, /ki:fak/ ‘your willingness’, /bi:d^ʕ/ ‘eggs’, /bi:f/ ‘how much?’, /li:f/ ‘why?’, /wi:n/ ‘where?’, /zi:n/ ‘good’, /dʒi:f/ ‘army’, /ði:l/ ‘tail’, /wli:da:t/ ‘sons’. However, there is a current tendency towards using [e:] in these words. In certain words, the diphthong [aj] is used, e.g. /si:f/ ~ /se:f/ ~ /sajf/ ‘sword’, /z^ʕyi:ra/ ~ /iz^ʕyajra/ ‘small (2SF)’.

3. /a:/ is an open, front, unrounded long vowel, e.g., /da:x/ ‘he became dizzy’.
4. The high back rounded /u:/ is realised as /u:/, e.g. /ru:ħ/ ‘go! (masc.)’, as in the Baghdadi and Baṣra dialect. The word ‘spider’ is traditionally pronounced as /ʕankubɔ:t/ rather than /ʕankabu:t/ (by younger speakers) where /u:/ is realised as /ɔ:/ and it seems that as a result previous /a/ is realised as /u/.

5. /ɔ:/, e.g. /ʕɔ:n/ ‘a helping hand’, is a mid, back, rounded long vowel. This is another realisation of /aw/, e.g. /mɔ:t/ </mawt/ ‘death’, and /mɔ:ɡad/ ‘bonfire’. /ɔ:/ appears to be variant in some words like in /ɔ:lɑ:dkam/ ‘your sons’, while /aw/ is invariably used in some words like /mawdʒu:d/ ‘available’ (as often pronounced by young speakers; old speakers usually produce it as /ma:ju:d/).

Diphthongs /aw/ is retained in some loan words e.g. /rawð^sa/ ‘kindergarten’. /aj/ is found in words like /ħajwa:n/ ‘animal’ which is in competition with traditional variant like /hi:wa:n/. It is also found in some dialectical words like /ajrɑ:n/ ‘Iran’, and /ʃaj/ ‘something’. It is also common in diminutive forms, e.g., /hwajfɑ:t/ ‘cows’.

Where /aw/ occurs in the first syllable of a word which has a heavy syllable, it is often traditionally shifted to a long vowel, e.g. to /a:/ in /ma:ju:d/ ‘existent’ and /ɔ:/ in /ɔ:lɑ:di/ ‘my sons’. In verb forms, final /aw/ ~ /ɔ:/ when they are suffixed, e.g. /ɡɑ:l^saw/ ‘they said’, /ɡɑ:l^sɔ:l^si/ ‘they told me’; whereas the imperfect form is /jigu:l^su:li^s/ ~ /ijgillu:li/ ‘they tell me’ for old and young speakers respectively.

Short Vowels

The following examples can establish the phonological contrast between short vowels in the dialect:

/a/ vs /i/:

/naxal^s/ ‘palm trees’ vs /nixal^s/ ‘he sieved’

/ʕali/ ‘Ali/ proper name’ vs /ʔili/ ‘for me’,

/ħabb/ ‘seeds’ vs /ħibb/ ‘pottery for water’

/i/ vs /u/:

/ħibb/ ‘pottery for water’ vs /ħub^sb^s/ love

/ðimm/ ‘dispraise’ (imperative) vs /d^summ/ ‘hide’ (imperative)

/mihta:z/ ‘he is in need’ vs /mumta:z/ ‘excellent’

/fixar/ ‘he boasted’ vs /fuxar/ ‘he fired’ (pottery)

/a/ vs /u/:

/m^sarag/ ‘stew’ vs /m^surag/ ‘he passed’

/jamma/ ‘beside him’ vs /jum^sm^sa/ ‘mummy’.

Four short vowels are found in Mišlab Arabic.

1. /ɔ/: is a rare mid back rounded short vowel, e.g., /lɔ/ ‘if’.
2. /i/, e.g. /min/ ‘from’.
3. /a/, e.g. /ʕali/ ‘Ali/personal name’, /sadd/ ‘he closed’. At the end of the word, /a/ can be realised as /a/ especially by younger generations, or realised as /ɑ:/, the traditional form, e.g., /ixra:/ ‘other’, /zaraʕa:/ ‘farming’, /t^samat^sa:/ ‘tomato’, /s^saħi:ħa:/ ‘correct’, /t^saja:ra:/ ‘plane’, /dʒilʕa:/ ‘castle’, /xit^ta:/ ‘plan’, /fat^sra:/ ‘name of a city’, /ʕat^swa:/ ‘awaiting period’. This dialect resembles the Bašra dialect in lengthening short /a/ into long /ɑ:/. There is a general tendency to use /a/ as in the Baghdadi dialect.

The old speakers use /i/ instead of /a/ before /i:/ in non-verbal forms unlike the young speakers who often use /a/. It seems that this behaviour takes place in words that have the pattern /faʕi:l/, e.g., /ðali:l/ ~ /ðili:l/ ‘humiliated’ ; /s^sadi:q/ ~ /s^sidi:dʒ/ ‘friend’; /ʕahi:q/ ~ /ʕihi:dʒ/ ‘breath in’, even with gutturals as in /yili:ð^s/ ‘thick’ and /biʕi:r/ ‘camel’. Similarly words of the pattern /faʕi:la/ as in /ʕari:d^sða/ ~ /ʕiri:d^sða/ ‘wide’, /ʕiri:ka/ ~ /ʕiri:ʕa/ ‘partner 2SF’. These also variable in the dialect with a preference to /a/ rather than /i/ for the young generation.

Contrary to this, the vowel unit of the open non-final syllable is /a/, typically in the context of gutturals or another consonant (usually like /l, r, n/) and a vowel in the next syllable (usually /a/ or /a:): /hawa:ji/ ‘cows’, /ʕanab/ ‘grape’, /bana:lu/ ‘he built for himself’, /ʕatʕa/ ‘thirst’, /fala:li:h/ ‘farmers’, /yasal/ ‘he washed’, /hasab/ ‘he calculated’. The tendency is towards converting /a/ to /i/. In contexts other than this, they use /i/ as in /θiwa:b/ ‘charity’, /fiwa:ti:h/ ‘funerals’, /liman/ ‘till’ and the tendency is towards converting /i/ to /a/, especially in the speech of young speakers. I also noticed that when the vowel in the adjacent syllable is /i/ in words like /alhidi/ ~< /alhadzi/ ‘reservation’ (which is often produced now by young speakers).

[u] as a reflex of /a/

The third (im)person singular possessive pronoun and the (in)direct object suffix is realised as /-u/. The older generation would say /ʔahalu/ ‘his family’, /hala:lu/ ‘his belongings’, /ga:lʕiʕu/ ‘he told him’ whereas the younger generation would usually pronounce these as /ʔahla, hala:la, ga:lla/. Old speaker also use /u/ rather than /a/ or /i/, which young speaker prefer, in some words, for example /hubʕbʕa/ rather than /habʕbʕa/ ‘kiss’; /hubʕbʕ/ rather than /hibʕbʕ/ ‘pottery for water’, and /lubb/ rather than /libb/ ‘pith’.

The second person plural pronoun is traditionally realised as *-kam*, /ʃlɔ:nkam/ ‘how are you’ and /tawkam je:tu/ ‘you already came’. This realisation also varies. It is realised as *-kum* by the younger generation /ʃlɔ:nkum/, and /tawkam/ shifts to /astawkum/.

4. /u/ is a close, back and rounded short vowel, e.g. /nusʕ/ ‘half’.

In the word /xe:wa:ni/ ‘my brothers’, /e:/ is traditionally used whereas /u/ is innovatively introduced by the young speakers. Unlike the Baghdadi dialect, they use /u/ rather than /i/ in (first) closed syllables, usually in the vicinity of /b/ as in /lubna/ ‘cheese’, instead of

/libna/. Unlike the Baghdadi dialect, they traditionally use /liqita/ instead of /luyata/ ‘his language’, /la:bid/ ‘must’, /ħimma:s^s/ ‘chick peas’, /tiffa:ħ/ ‘apple’, /ʃini/ ‘what’ instead of /la:bud, hummus^s, tuffa:ħ, ʃinu/, which are often found in the speech of young speakers.

2.1.2 Syllable structure and consonant clusters

The syllable structure found in Mišlab Arabic are displayed in Table 2.3

syllable type	non-final	final
Cv	/kitab/ ‘he wrote’	/ʃifa/ ‘recovery’
Cvv	/ka:tib/ ‘writer’	/mara:/ ‘woman’
CvC	/kitbat/ ‘she wrote’	/ka:tib/ ‘writer’
CvvC	/na:jma/ /sleeping sg. fem./	/bi:t/ ‘house’
CvCC	/ridziʔt/ ‘I returned’	
CCvC	/ghawa:/	

Table 2.3: Syllable structure and consonant clusters

Initial consonant clusters are found in the dialect, as in /yra:b/ ‘crow’, /zru:r/ ‘thighs’, /ħma:r/ ‘donkey’, /lħa:f/ ‘duvet’, /klaʃ/ ‘clutch’, /kwe:t/ ‘kuwait’, /ħs^sa:n/ ‘horse’, /ħza:m/ ‘belt’. The initial form -CC occurs in verbs, imperatives, and those affected by the gahawa syndrome. The dialect shows words of the form CCvC- as in /ktibat/ ‘she wrote’ (see 2.1.4). Consequently, a prosthetic vowel /i/ is inserted utterance-initially or if a consonant-final word precedes it, i.e., these can also show an anaptyctic vowel before the consonant cluster, /mʃaʃʃaf/ ~ /imʃaʃʃaf/ ‘it is uncovered 3SM’. In the imperfect form usually a vowel is traditionally added and this is deleted by the young speakers, as in /ra:ħ/ ~ /jiru:ħ/ ~ /jru:ħ/ ‘to go’. The typical feature in the dialect is that a vowel is inserted between the two consonants. Young speakers often delete the short vowel, as in /tibaddal/ ~ /tbaddal/ ‘he changed’, /niħat^sla~nħit^sla/ ‘we put to it’, /timurr/ ~ /tmurr/ ‘she passes by’, /turu:ħ/ ~ /tru:ħ/ ‘you go’, /tilu:ħa/ ~ /tlu:ħa/ ‘you touch it’, /tiyadda/ ~ /tyadda/

‘he had lunch’. It is more likely to find verbs of the form /ɪndab^sir^s/ ‘we manage’ in the speech of young speakers.

The dialect thus allows consonant clusters in the onset. However, it typically does not permit clusters in the coda. In general, the form CC- requires a vowel between the two consonants, as in /ʃalib/ ‘dog’ and /galub/ ‘heart’. A cluster of two final consonants CvCC is not common but does occur in words such as /riħt/ ‘I went’. It is allowed as a traditional feature. It occurs for nominal, e.g., /kalb/ ‘dog’ and in the loanword /bang/ ‘bank’, /ʃbint/ ‘dillweed’ and finally in geminate verbs /sadd/ ‘he closed’. CVCC structures seem to appear in pausal form where the epenthetic vowel is deleted. This is variable as in /ʃans^s/ or /ʃanis^s/ ‘chance’.

The traditional dialect trochaic syllable structures, such as /ʃindina/ and shifts toward being non-trochaic. (see Kouloughli, 2006; Henkin, 2006; Broselow, 2006). In the traditional dialect, consonant clusters word-medially are typically absent, e.g., /tiʃajjina/ ‘she got employed’. However, a number of speakers used the innovative forms, in which the epenthetic vowel is deleted, /tʃajnat/. Other examples are: /tika:talaw/ ~ /itka:tlaw/ ‘they fought’, /tala:basaw/ ~ /tla:basaw/ ‘they wore’, /tidaxxal^sat/ ~ /ddaxxlat/ ‘she intervened’, /timarid^saw/ ~ /tmard^saw/ ‘they became sick’, /ʃamiti/ ‘my aunt, /ʃindina/ ‘we have’, /kajjifat/ ‘she became happy’, /ahali/ ~ /ahli/ ‘my family’, /xal^sl^sis^san/ ‘they have gone’.

2.1.3 Word stress

The way Mišlab Arabic stresses words is determined by the syllable structure and position. Stress looks similar to other Sothorn varieties such as Basra (see Mahdi, 1985).

Stress is assigned to:

- the first syllable from the end (the ultimate) if it is the strongest/heaviest syllable. e.g. /gi-'sʕi:r/ 'short man', /radʒ.'dʒa:l/ 'a man' /ma-'hall/ 'shop'.
- the second strongest/heaviest syllable from the end of the word (the penultimate) if the ultimate syllable is weak/light: e.g. /'ja:-ri/ 'my neighbour', /'jih-tʃi/ 'he speaks', /'ʃij-ra/ 'tree'. Stress shifts in gahawa syndrome as in /ijhátʃi/ and /ijʃára/ 'tree'.
- the third strongest/heaviest syllable from the end of the word (the antepenultimate) if the penultimate syllable is weak/light: e.g. /'tʃ-ti-ri/ 'you buy', /'xa:b-rat-ha/ 'she phoned her'.

2.1.4 Phonotactics

Assimilation and dissimilation

- In the dialect, /l/ in the definite article *il-* is usually assimilated to a following sound, e.g., /sijja:ra:t/ 'cars' (without definite article) /is-sijja:ra:t/ 'the cars' (with definite article).
- /t/ in *ti-* verbal prefixes of various kinds is assimilated by to the following consonant as a consequence of the deletion of unstressed /i/ in open syllables by the young speakers, e.g., /tiθaqqaf/ ~ /θθaqqaf/ 'become well-versed'; /tidaxxalʕat/ ~ /ddaxilat/ 'she intervened'; /titʕa:labʕ/ ~ /tʕʕa:labʕ/ 'he made a problem'.
- /dʒ/ is realised as /ʃ/ when it is followed by /t/ in the same syllable, e.g., /ɪdʒtamaʕ/ ~ /ɪʃtamaʕ/ 'assembly', /mudʒtamaʕ/ ~ /muʃtamaʕ/ 'society'.
- /b/ is realised as /n/, as in the MSA /dabbu:s/ 'pin' which is realised as /danbu:s/ or /dambu:s/.
- Where /n/ precedes /t/, /d/, /l/ or /r/, e.g., /binti/ ~ /bitti/ 'my daughter', /ʕindi/ ~ /ʕiddi/ 'I have', /kilna/ ~ /kinna/ 'all of us', /jinra:d/ ~ /jirra:d/ 'wanted, desirable'.

- /n/ as /m/: /ʕanbar/ ~ /ʕambar/ ‘a type of rice’, /sunbul/ ~ /simbil/ ‘proper noun’, /tanbal/ ~ /tambal/ ‘lazy’.
- /s/ as /z/: /alma:s/ ~ /al^sm^sa:z/ ‘diamonds’
- In verbs like /jihʔu:nhin/ ‘they speak them’, /jifirʔu:nhin/ ‘they brush them’, they traditionally tend not to assimilate the ‘n’ of the subject affix with the subsequent consonant, /h/, of the object affix. However, young speakers tend to say /jihʔu:hhin/.
- /gʃ/~/ʔʃ/: /wagʃa/ ~ /waʔʃa/ ‘stand still’. /waʔʃa/ is reduced (where affrication and subsequent de-voicing).
- /tʒ/~/zʒ/: /mitzawwidʒ/ ~ /mizzawwidʒ/ ‘married’.
- /ʁs/ as /xs/: /maysu:l/ ~ /maxsu:l/ ‘washed’
- /ts^s/~/s^ss^s/: /tits^sanaʃ/ ~ /tis^ss^sanaʃ/ ‘attitudinise’.
- /z/ as /s/: /jizħaf/ ~ /jishaf/ ‘to crawl’
- /θt/~/tt/: /θalaθtarba:ʃ/ ~ /tlattarba:ʃ/ ‘three quarters’. /θalaθtarba:ʃ/ is reduced.
- /dt/~/tt/: /ridtak/ ~ /rittak/ ‘I wanted you’.
- /t/ as /d/: /burtuqa:l/ ~ /bardaya:l/ ‘oranges’
- /ʕt^s/~/t^st^s/: /jiʕt^su:ni/ ~ /jit^st^su:ni/ ‘they give me’.
- /ʔ/ as /ʃ/: /qira:ʔa/ ~ /qira:ʃa/ ‘reading book’; /suʔa:l/ ~ /siʃa:l/ ‘question’; /ʔudʒa:s^s/ ~ /ʃindʒa:s^s/ ‘pear’, /laʃ/ ‘no’ (‘an’ana).
- /m/ is realised as /b/ as in /misma:r/ ~ /bisma:r/ ‘nail’.
- /ʃ/ as /ħ/: /miʃtaz/ ~ /miħtaz/ ‘in need’.
- /ʃ/ as /n/: /ʔaʃt^si:k/ ~ /ant^si:k/ ‘to give’ (Al-’istintā’).
- /s/ as /ʃ/: /sadʒʒirat/ ~ /ʃajjirat/ ‘filled with flame’

Metathesis

The dialect contains words like /karhaba:/ ~ /kahraba:ʔ/ ‘electricity’ which are derived by metathesis. Examples: /janzar/ ~ /zanjar/ ‘became rusty’, /naʕal/ ~ /laʕan/ ‘he cursed’, /fa:li:na/ ~ /fa:ni:la/ ‘vest’, /jiwa:z/ ~ /zawa:j/ ‘marriage’, /itnafraz/ ~ /itnarfaz/ ‘outraged’, /xiʃʃa:f/ ~ /xifa:ʃʃ/ ‘bat’, /ʕaʃtʕa:n/ ~ /ʕatʕa:n/ ‘thirsty’. These are being reduced.

Ghawa syndrome

The ghawa-syndrome (gahawa-syndrome), as described by Blanc (1970:125–127), is present in the dialect. It is also named by Ingham (1994:19) as the guttural re-syllabification rule. It involves the insertion of an anaptyctic /a/ after L in the cluster (C)aLC(V) in which (L = x, ɣ, ʕ, ħ, h), e.g. /gahwa~gahawa/ ‘coffee’. As in other sequences of CvCvCv, subsequent elision of the first vowel – /a/ in CaC non-final syllables – leads to an initial consonant cluster as well as the prefixing of a vowel: /ighawa/, /ahalu/ ‘his family’, /infisa/ ‘woman after giving birth’. Abu-Haidar (2006:272) mentions that:

“This phenomenon occurs in Baghdadi Arabic in the form hala ‘welcome’ that is in free variation with ahla (<ahlan wa sahlān). Other similar forms, like ghawa ‘coffee’, nxala ‘palm tree’, can be heard in some peripheral parts of Baghdad, although they are still stigmati[s]ed as being too rural”.

The Mišlab Arabic dialect shows words of the form CCvC- as in /ktibat/ ‘she wrote’, /xʃiba/ ‘piece of wood’, /nxalʕa/ ‘palm tree’, especially by the old speakers, whereas young speakers would say /kitbat, xiʃba, naxlʕa/. This rule is now moribund as an active phonological process especially among young speakers.

In the dialect the effect of the gahawa syndrome also produces adjectives of the (masculine) form CaCa(C) as in /aʕawaj/ ‘crooked’, /aʕama/ ‘blind’, /axadʕar/ ‘green’,

/axaras/ ‘dumb’, /aħamar/ ‘red’. This also happens in diminutive forms /iħe:mir/ ‘reddish’, /ixe:d^ɕir/ ‘greenish’. Short vowels are deleted when morphemes are added to the unmarked base-form and thereby are resyllabified as in /s^ɕaxal–s^ɕxala/ ‘lamb–ewe’, /ij^ɕariħ/ ‘your hair’ /id^ɕhari/ ‘my back’, /ibɣala/ ‘female mule’.

Strong and final weak verbs that are influenced by the gahawa syndrome are of the (i)jfaħil type: /ijħamil/ ‘he carries’. That is, the word becomes subject to epenthesis of a low vowel /a/ in the imperfect of verbs of the form jaXaCiC, and then to elision of the first vowel, jXaCiC, e.g., (imperfect) ij^ɕarif ‘he knows’, /ijħakim/ ‘he rules’, /inxabiz/ ‘we bake’, /aħajin) ‘I knead’, /inħas^ɕid/ ‘we harvested’, /ij^ɕagid/ ‘he ties’, /nħalb/ ‘we milk’, nħaħi ‘we speak’, /iħritu/ ‘she bought it’ (weak verbs). However, the innovative CVC.CVC form is often used by young speakers as in /jiħr^ɕif^ɕ/, /tiktib/ ‘you write’, /nisbaħ/ ‘we swim’.

In gahawah-forms of verbs (i.e. when C2 = L), /a/ of the prefix has been preserved by some speakers, e.g. /jaxat^ɕub/ ‘he proposes’, /jaħálib/ ‘he milks’, /jaɣabaħ/ ‘he wakes up early’, /jaħas^ɕdan/ ‘they harvest (fem.).

Even the imperative form is affected by the syndrome. /iktilu/ ‘kill him!’ is another example of the gahawa-syndrome where the dialect shows resyllabification of CvCCv sequences as CCvC-. Sequences such as /kitbat/ ‘she wrote, /zilma/ ‘man’, /kabro:/ ‘they brought him up’ are resyllabified as /ktibat/, /zlima/ and /akbaro:/, /ihlikat/ ‘she became exhausted’, /it^ɕlaħat/ ‘she went out’, /ws^ɕalatna/ ‘she educated us’, /ikħarat/ ‘it grew’. The plural of /izlima/ is /izla:m/ instead of /zilim/ which is often used by young speakers.

The gahawa-syndrome has also affected other forms (like nouns or passive participle) of the pattern maXCuuC, e.g., /imħafu:ð^ɕ/ ‘Maħfūḍ/personal name’, /imħaru:f/ ‘wellknown’.

2.2 Morphology

2.2.1 Verbs

Generally, the verbal morphology of Mišlab Arabic is not very much different from other Arabic dialects. Verbs in the dialect can be triradicals (i.e., derived from three root radicals {C-C-C}, or quadraradicals (i.e., derived from four consonants {C-C-C-C}). Verbs can be further classified as either weak, for having a weak root that contains weak sounds like hamza, the semivowels /w/ and /j/, or otherwise the verb is strong. If any verb's second and third root letters are alike, then that is classified as a geminated verb. There are three aspects of the verb, the perfective (i.e., complete), the imperfective (i.e., incomplete) and the imperative. Additionally, the voice of the verb can be used to define verbs as either active or passive.

I. Trilateral strong simple verb

Form I:

The morphemic pattern of Form I verbs is usually *fiʕal*. The form *faʕal*, as in /ʕarad/ 'he escaped' and /ħasab/ 'he calculated', still exists in the dialect. Noticeably, it is usually used by old people and thereby it is in variation with *fiʕal*, /ʕirad and ħisab/. Form I articulates the general verbal content of a specific root, and it can be either transitive /kitab/ or intransitive /ʕarad/. The imperfective Form I have the *-CCvC-* pattern, where v is either *ɪ* or *a*, as in /aktɪb/ 'I write' and /andʒaħ/ 'I succeeded' except in the plural form and 2SF, it has the *-CɪCC-*. The imperative variant of this form is made from the imperfective base. The active and passive participles are made from the patterns *Ca:Cil* and *maCCu:C* respectively.

Table 2.4 below illustrates the patterns of Form I verbs and the affixes that convey the declension type (perfect, imperfect etc.) as well as gender, number and person:

	Perfective	Imperfective	Imperative	Active	Passive
1 st sing.	lɪʃab-it	a-lɪʃab		la:ʃib	ma-lɪʃu:b
1 st plur.	lɪʃab/	nɪ-lɪʃab		la:ʃb-i:n	ma-lɪʃu:b-i:n
2 nd sing. masc.	lɪʃab-it	tɪ-lɪʃab	(ɪ)-lɪʃab	la:ʃib	ma-lɪʃu:b
2 nd sing. fem.	lɪʃab-ti	(i)t(ɪ)-lɪʃb-i:n	(ɪ)-lɪʃb-i	la:ʃb-a	ma-lɪʃu:b-a
2 nd plur. masc.	lɪʃab-tu/- taw	(i)t(ɪ)-lɪʃb-u:n	(ɪ)-lɪʃb- aw	la:ʃb-i:n	ma-lɪʃu:b-i:n
2 nd plur. fem.	lɪʃab-tan	(i)t(ɪ)-lɪʃb-an	(ɪ)-lɪʃb-an	la:ʃb-a:t	ma-lɪʃu:b-a:t
3 rd sing. masc.	lɪʃab-Ø	jɪ-lɪʃab		la:ʃb-	ma-lɪʃu:b
3 rd sing. fem.	lɪʃb-at	tɪ-lɪʃab		la:ʃb-a	ma-lɪʃu:b-a
3 rd plur. masc.	lɪʃb-aw	(i)j(ɪ)-lɪʃb-u:n		la:ʃb-i:n	ma-lɪʃu:b-i:n
3 rd plur. fem.	lɪʃb-an	(i)j(ɪ)-lɪʃb-an		la:ʃb-a:t	ma-lɪʃu:b-a:t

Table 2.4: Form I pattern and affixation

Noticeably, the ghawa syndrome affected Form I, especially in the speech of old speakers, e.g., /ħmalu/ ‘he carried it (perfect)’ /ijħamil/ ‘he carries (imperfect)’ (see ghawa syndrome), which younger speakers avoid; there are traces of like /ijʃarif/ ~/jiʃr^sif/ (imperfect) ‘he knows’ alternation. Some speakers use the secondary form -e: as in /lɪʃb-e:t/ ‘I played’ for the second and first person which young speakers generally avoid.

Its derived patterns

Table 2.5 shows the derived patterns of the simple trilateral strong verb:

Form	Morphemic Pattern	Root	verb	Meaning
I	C ₁ CaC	k-t-b	kɪtab	to write
	CaCaC	ʃ-r-d	ʃarad	to escape
	CuCaC	m-r-g	murag	to pass
II	CaCCaC	k-t-b	kattab	to make someone write
III	Ca:CaC	k-t-b	ka:tab	to correspond with someone
IV	?aCCaC	k-r-m	akram	to honour
V	(ɪ)t(ɪ)-II (CaCCaC)	t-r-b	(ɪ)t(ɪ)rattab	to become tidy
VI	(ɪ)t(ɪ)-III (Ca:CaC)	k-t-b	(ɪ)t(ɪ)ka:tab	to exchange letters with someone
VII	(ɪ)n-I (C ₁ CaC)	k-t-b	(ɪ)nkɪtab	to be written
VIII	(ɪ)C ₁ CaC	ʃ-ʃ-l	(ɪ)ʃɪʃal	to burn
IX	(ɪ)CCaCC	s ^s -f-r ^s	(ɪ)s ^s far ^s r ^s	to grow pale
X	(ɪ)sta	ħ-q-q	(ɪ)stiħaqq	to deserve

Table 2.5: Derived patterns of the simple trilateral strong verb

Form II Verbs:

This form has the morphemic pattern CaCCaC, which is derived by doubling the medial radical of C₁CaC and using *a-* as the vowel of the first syllable. It usually conveys a transitive or intensive meaning, as in:

/kɪtab/ (I)	‘to write’	/kattab/ (II)	‘to make someone write’
/kɪsar/ (I)	‘to break’	/kassar/ (II)	‘to break to pieces’

The perfective form is affixed to the same subject markers as those for Form I Verbs as in /kabbire:thin/ ‘to grow them up’. The imperfective form has the -CvCCiC pattern, as in /ɪjkattɪb/. The imperfective form has the same affix subject markers as those of Form I strong verbs, with the exception that the second person and third person plural lose their characteristic vowel *i-* and one of their geminate consonants, as in /ɪj-katb-an/ ‘they made someone write’. The elision of these sounds also takes place in the formulation of the imperative form.

Form III Verbs:

Form III verbs are formed by using the long vowel *a:* in the first syllable of Form I verbs, as in:

kɪtab (I) ‘to write’, /ka:tab/ (III) ‘to correspond with someone’. Another example is /ʕa:rak/ ‘to fight with someone’ which is in variation with form VI /tʕa:rak/.

As indicated by the example above, this form typically introduces the subject as doing an action to/with the object. The same morphemic pattern but with /ɔ:/ as the long vowel is found in the dialect as in /sɔ:dan/ ‘he drove someone mad’.

The same subject markers of Form I strong verbs are suffixed to perfective stem III verbs. The imperfective form is of the morphemic pattern (-Ca:C₁C), as in /-ka:t₁b/, whose affix subject markers are the same as those of geminate verbs.

Form IV: as in /aflas/ ‘he goes bankrupt’, /as^ʰbaħ/ ‘he wakes up’ and /arkab/ ‘he rode on’. This form is variable in that the above words are often realised as /fallas/, /s^ʰabbaħ/ and /rakkab/ by young speakers. This means that this form is often being replaced by form II verbs that has the morphemic pattern CaCCaC.

Form V and VI Verbs:

V and VI verbs are formed by adding of the prefix the t(ɪ)- or innovatively (ɪ)t- to the morphemic pattern II and III respectively to communicate a repetitive and a reciprocal action respectively. The V verb, which has the form (ɪ)t(ɪ)CvCCvC, can give verbs like /timarjal/ ‘he became a man’ and /taxabbal/ ‘he became crazy’. There are some verbs which can have the form VI (ɪ)t(ɪ)-Ca:CaC but with /ɔ:/ as the long vowel in the dialect as in /tiso:dan/ ‘he became crazy’.

The formulation of imperfective V and VI is parallel to those of II and III, except that /a/ rather than /ɪ/ is their characteristic vowel, as in:

/j(ɪ)ʃajjɪn/ ‘to employ’ (II) /j(ɪ)tʃajjan/ ‘to be employed’ (V)

/j(ɪ)ka:t₁b/ (III) /j(ɪ)tka:tab/ (IV)

Some speakers use ɪ before and after t (i.e. ɪtɪCvCCvC) to produce the imperfective as in /jtinaħħa/ ‘to fall out’.

The formulation of imperative V and VI is parallel to those of II and III, except that *a* rather than *ɪ* is their characteristic vowel in the second person masculine singular, as in:

/ʕajjɪn/ ‘to employ’ (II) /tʕajjan/ ‘to be employed’ (V)

/ka:tɪb/ (III) /tka:tab/ (VI)

	Form II	Form V	Form III	Form VI	Meaning
2 nd sing. masc.	ʕajjɪn	tʕajjan	ka:tɪb	tka:tab	
2 nd sing. fem.	ʕaj(jɪ)ni	tʕaj(jɪ)ni	ka:tɪbi	tka:tɪbi	
2 nd plur. masc.	ʕaj(jɪ)nu	tʕaj(jɪ)nu	ka:tɪbu	tka:tɪbu	correspond!
2 nd plur. fem.	ʕaj(jɪ)nan	tʕaj(jɪ)nan	ka:tɪban	tka:tɪban	correspond with each other!

Table 2.6: Form II, V, III, VI second person affixes

Some speakers prefix the imperative with /ɪ/, /ɪtʕajjan/.

Form VII Verbs:

Form VI is the passive of form I and it is formed by adding the prefix (ɪ)n- to the pattern C₁C₂C. The imperfective form has the pattern -nC₁C₂C, as in /jɪ-nkɪtɪb/. The affix subject markers of the perfective and the imperfective forms are the same as those of Form I verbs.

Form VIII

This form is constructed by infixing -t after the first radical of the I pattern, as in /ʃɪʕal/ ‘to light’ (tr.) /ɪʃtɪʕal/ ‘to burn’ (tr.). This form is typically reflexive where someone performs an action on themselves.

The imperfective and the imperative forms have the base -C₁C₂C, /jɪʃtɪʕɪl and ɪʃtɪʕɪl/.

Form IX

This form has the pattern (ɪ)CCaCC, which is finally geminated, and which usually conveys a meaning of obtaining a colour or a defect, as in /ɪsʕfarʕrʕ/ (perfective) and /jɪsʕfarʕrʕ/ (imperfective).

Form X

The formulation of this verb form is characterised by the use of the prefix '(ɪ)sta-', with a final syllable /a/ and /ɪ/ in the perfect and imperfect aspect respectively, as in /ɪstiħaqq-jistiħiqq/ 'to deserve'. It usually describes someone as having the quality of a particular action.

The examples below can demonstrate that the dialect has used the unit /ʃ/ with trilateral verbs and turned them into a /ʃafʕal/ pattern with a meaning relatable to the original meaning of the trilateral verb as in /xatʕtʕ~ʃaxatʕtʕ/ 'to scratch', /nitar~ʃantar/ 'to show off', /gilab~ʃaglab/ 'to turn upside down'.

II. Trilateral strong geminate verbs

Geminate verbs are of the morphemic pattern CaCC in the perfect, for example, /sadd/ 'to shut', and of the pattern -CɪCC in the imperfect as in, for example, /asidd/ 'I close'. The imperative is derived from the imperfective base. The imperfect and imperative subject suffix is the same as that of the strong verb, except that the first person singular of the imperfect of final geminated and hollow verbs is suffixed to /-an/ as in /asiddan/ and /axa:fan/ 'I fear'. However, this affix is variable and is often being reduced. Some speakers prefix the imperfective geminate form with /ɪ/, /ɪn-sidd/ 'we close'. The active and passive participle forms in geminate verbs are /Ca:CC/ and /maCCu:d/ 3rd sing. masc., e.g., /sa:dd- and ma-sdu:d/. The final CC seems to be reduced when there is no attached affix as in /jisid/ 'he closes'.

	Perfective	Imperfective
1 st sing.	sadd-e:t	a-sidd(-an)
1 st plur.	sadd-e:na	n(i)-sidd
2 nd sing. masc.	sadd-e:t	t(i)-sidd
2 nd sing. fem.	sadd-e:ti	t(i)-sidd-i:n
2 nd plur. masc.	sadd-e:tu/- e:tum	t(i)-sidd-u:n
2 nd plur. fem.	sadd-e:tan	t(i)-sidd-an
3 rd sing. masc.	sadd-Ø	j(i)-sidd
3 rd sing. fem.	sadd-at	t(i)-sidd
3 rd plur. masc.	sadd-aw	j(i)-sidd-u:n
3 rd plur. fem.	sadd-an	j(i)-sidd-an

Table 2.7: Geminate verbs patterns and affixation

Trilateral weak verb

III. Trilateral weak hamzated verbs

In initially hamzated perfective verbs, the hamza is traditionally elided, where it behaves as the defective verb as in /kala/ ‘he ate’, /xaða/ ‘he took’, /fara/ ‘he bought’ (transitive verb). This linguistic element seems variable. In the speech of young speakers, these verbs usually adopt the morphemic pattern aCaC, as in /axað/ ‘to take and /akal/ ‘to eat’; as well as the same affix markers as those of the strong Form I. The verb has the imperative form /ixða/ for the young group whereas it is /xu:ðu/ ‘take 2MS’ for the old group (like the defective verb). The active and passive participles are ma:CiC, ma:Cu:C: /ma:kil, ma:ku:l/.

IV. Trilateral weak initial /w/ and /j/ verbs

There are some initial /w/ and /j/ verbs, having the strong verbal base pattern CvCvC, e.g. /wizan/ ‘to weigh’ and, /jibas/ ‘to become dry’. The subject markers that are suffixed to this perfective form are the same as those of the strong Form I verbs. The dialect does not have final /w/ and /j/ verbs.

The imperfective of initial hamza and initial /w/ and /j/ verbs is of the pattern -CvC-gaf; /wigaf/ ‘to stop’ /ji-bas/ ‘to become dry’, whereas the prefix vowel is a long one. In the perfect, initial Hamza, /j/, and /w/ verbs show a parallel construction except that their prefix vowels are /a:, te:, ɔ:/ respectively. Thus, the root-initial semivowel in the imperfect base is deleted and there is a monophthong in that position, e.g. /jɔ:gaf/. However, in some words like /wazin/ this replacement is variable, thereby we have /jwazzin/ jɔ:zin/ ‘he (m) weights’, with the semivowel retained.

The imperative is formed from the first person singular imperfective, viz. /ɔ:gaf/ ‘stop!’ and /e:-bas/.

	imPerfective	imPerfective
1 st sing.	a:-kɪl	e:-bas; ʔɔ:gaf
1 st plur.	na:-kɪl	ne:-bas; nɔ:gaf
2 nd sing. masc.	ta:-kɪl	te:-bas; tɔ:gaf
2 nd sing. fem.	ta:-kl-i:n	te:-bs-i:n; tɔ:gf-i:n
2 nd plur. masc.	ta:-kl-u:n	te:-bs-u:n; tɔ:gf-u:n
2 nd plur. fem.	ta:-kl-an	te:-bs-an; tɔ:gf-an
3 rd sing. masc.	ja:-kɪl	je:-bas; jɔ:gaf
3 rd sing. fem.	ta:-kɪl	te:-bas; tɔ:gaf
3 rd plur. masc.	ja:-kl-u:n	je:-bs-u:n; jɔ:gf-u:n
3 rd plur. fem.	ja:-kl-an	je:-bs-an; jɔ:gf-an

Table 2.8: Weak initial /w/ and /j/ verbs affixation

V. Trilateral weak hollow verb

The verbal base pattern of the hollow verb is CvC as in, for example, /na:m/ ‘to sleep’ and /ga:l/ ‘he said’. The distinctive feature in the dialect (as Southern one) is that the imperfective form has the vowel /ɪ/ rather than /u/ that is prevalent in the Baghdadi dialect, as in /agɪllak/ rather than /agullak/ ‘I tell you’. With third person subjects only, the v of the perfect CvC is a long /a:/, for example, /na:m/ ‘he slept’. The perfect form has the same subject markers as that of the strong Form I. The imperfective has the form CvC where v can be either /a:, u:, i:/. The affix subject markers of the imperfective are the

same as that of the imperfect geminate verb. The prefix /Cɪ/ is less common than /ɪC/ and /C/, as in /jma:m; ijna:m and jna:m/. The imperative is formed from the imperfective /na:m/ ‘you slept’, /ba:jiʃ/ ~ /mabju:ʃ/ ‘sold’.

VI. Trilateral weak defective verb

The defective verb has a base form of CvCv with /i/ as its vowel, as in /bɪʃa/ ‘he cried’. The perfective form has the same conjugation as that of the geminate verb after the deletion of final /a/. The table below gives the imperfect conjugation of the verb. Generally, in the speech of young speakers, the imperative form has the form -CC- and the same affix subject markers as those of imperative form I strong verbs, as in /iħʃi/ ‘speak! (2MS)’. Old speaker often say /imiʃ/ (2MS)’. The suffix markers of the doubly weak verb /ja/ ‘to come’ are similar to those of geminate verbs in perfect form and to the defective in imperfect form. Some speakers prefix the perfective form with ɪ(j), /ɪjja/. There is no imperative form of this verb, thereby it is formed by another verb /taʃa:l/. The 2nd person masculine plural morpheme varies between /aw/ and /u/ as in /je:taw and je:tu/.

	bɪʃa ‘3ms’
1 st sing.	a-bʃi
1 st plur.	ni-bʃi
2 nd sing. Masc.	tɪ-bʃi
2 nd sing. Fem.	tɪ-bʃi:n
2 nd plur. Masc.	tɪ-bʃu:n
2 nd plur. Fem.	tɪ-bʃan
3 rd sing. Masc.	ji-bʃi
3 rd sing. Fem.	tɪ-bʃi
3 rd plur. Masc.	ji-bʃu:n
3 rd plur. Fem.	ji-bʃan

Table 2.9: Defective verb affixation

VII. Quadriradical verbs

The dialect has a number of quadriradical verbs whose perfective base pattern can be CaCCaC, as in, for example, /bahðal/ ‘to rebuke’; or has a reduplicated root, as in /ʃabʃab/ ‘spill’. The imperfective is of the morphemic pattern -CaCCvC, /jʃabʃib/ ‘3MS’. The perfective and imperfective affix subject markers are the same as those of Stem I triradical strong verbs. The imperative is formed from the imperfective. It has derived themes as in /tɪ-baʃbaʃ/ ‘to cry’. Quadrilaterals with weak radicals are found with /w/ as in /θaʃwal/ ‘to make smoke’.

In addition to the above description of the verb morphology, the data reveals the following important final remarks about verbs in the dialect:

- Some verbs have a guttural in C1 position and that are affected by the syndrome. Verbs with C1=guttural, such as /jiʃrʕifʕ/ ‘he knows’, traditionally have resyllabified forms of the /ʕiʃʕarif/ ‘he knows’ (see 2.1.4). Ingham (1976) remarked that, in sothern Iraq, the imperfective forms of strong I and final weak verbs which have one of the guttural group /ħ, ʕ, h, x, or ɣ/ as the initial radical show two types of syllabification. The ‘nomadic’ type involves a stem of the structure -faʕil- while the ‘sedentary’ type involved a stem of the type -fʕal- or -fiʕl- when followed by a V-beginning suffix, e.g., /jʕarif~jiʃrʕifʕ/ ‘he knows’, /tʰasʕid~tihsʕid/ ‘she harvests’, /nħaʃi~niħʃi/ ‘we speak’. The nomadic form seems to be replaced by the sedentary form that is often introduced by the young generation.
- Ingham (1976: 73) also remarked that some verbal and nominal units that contain only “the unaugmented triradical root followed by a V-beginning suffix” have two types of syllabification, a ‘nomadic’ type with a stem /ʕil-/ or /ʕal/ and a ‘sedentary’ type with a stem /fiʕl-/.

‘nomadic’ ‘sedentary’ suffix

/nʃidat/ ~ /niʃdat/ /-at/ ‘she asked’

/fyidaw/ ~ /fiqdaw/ /-aw/ ‘they (masc.) searched’

The normadic form is often used by older speakers, which seems to be levelled out to the sedentary form that is often introduced by the young generation.

- For the first prefix of certain verbs, the speech of the young speakers shows a morphological restructuring, i.e. the order of consonant/vowel is reversed for words with two prefixes, e.g., /ntarajjag/ ~ nitrajjag/ ‘we will have breakfast’, /ntarajjaθ/ ~ /nitrajjaθ/ ‘we will temporize’.
- The dialect has imperfect bases with the vowel /a/ or /i/: /jiru:ħ/, tiru:ħ/ ‘to go’, /jirid/ ‘to want’, /jismaʕ/ ‘to hear’. In some of these form, /i/ is being reduced by some speakers, e.g., /jru:ħ/. Ingham (1976) distinguished between two different types of syllabication for the prefix sequence that precede verbal forms of a stem that has an initial syllable CvC or Cv: nomadic (C)Cv and sedentary (C)C which typically assimilates to the following consonant. In the data, old speakers often use /ɪ/, e.g., /titʕi:h/ ~ /tʕi:h/ ‘she falls’, /tiso:dan/ ~ /ssɔ:dan/ ‘he went mad’, /taɣajar/ ~ /tɣajar/ ‘he changed’, /jaɣabaj/ ~ /jɣabiʃ/ ‘he wakes up early’. The verbs in the speech of young speakers often shows no /i/ or /a/.
- In verbs, anaptyxis is sometimes traditionally not applied. That is, the final CC in first person singular verbal forms is not a resolved cluster (such as /riħt/ rather than /rihit/, /kitabt/ ~ /kitabit/ ‘I wrote’, /ʕaraft/ ~ /ʕirʕafʕit/), but both types of form can be also found within the verbal paradigm of one dialect as in (Baghdad dialect: /kitbaw/ ‘they wrote’ vs. /kitabna/ ‘we wrote’). In the speech of young generation, variants like /riħt/ is usually replaced by /rihit/.

- In certain verbs, usually in the past form, a non-final open syllable will show /a/ in the form in the traditional dialect and /i/ in the alternative form that the younger generation adopt from the Baghdadi-like Arabic. This may involve syllables where the following vowel is an open vowel and either the following consonant is an approximant /r/ or the preceding or following consonant is one of /h, x/, e.g, /ʃarad/ ‘escaped’, /daras/ ‘studied’, /ħama/ ‘he protected it’, /ha:dʒarat/ ‘migrated’, /tɪdaxxalʕat/ ‘she intervened’. The tendency is towards using: /ʃirad/, /diras/, /ħima/, /ha:dʒirat/, /ɪdaxlat/. The word /jaħasʕdan/ ~ /jħisʕdan/ ‘harvesting’ indicates that the syllable is not necessarily open.
- The frequent suffixation of the verb ‘to be’ for 3rd plur. masc. is /ʃa:naw/ ‘they were’ and for 2nd sing. fem. is /ʃa:nat/ ‘she was’. However, equivalent distinctive suffixation, /ʃa:jni:n/ and /ʃa:jna/ respectively, was observed in the speech of low contact speakers where there is internal modification.
- The third masculine plural form in some words varies between /ɔ:/ (traditional) and /u:/ (innovative) as in /(ji)tfaliħɔ:n/ ~ /(ji)tfaliħu:n/ ‘they plant’.
- The masculine singular imperative of defective verbs shows a ‘sedentary’ form with a vowel /i/ which is lacking in the ‘nomadic’ form (Ingham, 1976), e.g., /diħtʃi/ ~ /diħitʃ/ ‘speak’. The nomadic form is mainly used by older speakers. The speakers typically add an object pronoun that refers to the subject as in /iʃribi:-litʃ/ ‘drink’.
- There are verbs which have a certain traditional verbal form and are being levelled out to a different form. The verb ‘to lie’ is traditionally realised using Form I, /aʃðib/ ‘I lie’, and innovatively Form II /aʃaððib/ of the triliteral strong verb; /tiħaʃʃa/ V ~ /ħiʃa/ form I of the defective verb ‘to speak’, active participle /xa:mra/ ~ passive participle /mixtamʕra/ ‘yeast raised’.

2.2.2 Nouns

Productive patterns

Like other dialects in the *gilit* group, nouns in the dialect are commonly derived from verbs, adjectives, and other nouns, e.g., /la:tʃ/ ~ /lɔ:tʃ/ ‘to chew~chewing’ respectively. For instruments, the patterns miCCa:C, CiCCa:Ca, miCCiC, muCaCC CiCCa:Ca are used, e.g., /minxilʕ/ ‘sieve’, /mugasʕsʕ/ ‘scissors’; /missa:ħa/ ‘rubber’. For location, maCCaC(a) and maCCiC produce /madrasa/ ‘school’, /masjid/ ‘mosque’. Nouns denoting professionals can be formed using CaCCa:C: /bagga:lʕ/ ‘grocer’. For this category, noun + ʃi is productive, e.g., /gahwaʃi/ ‘coffee seller’, /kabʕabʕʃi/ ‘kabab-seller’. The nisba suffix *-i* and *-a:wi* are also used: /kahraba:ʔi/ ‘electrician’, /baɣda:di/ Baghdadi. The *-jja* suffix is relatively productive, e.g. /ahlijja/ ‘family’, /jɔ:mijja/ ‘daily wage’. The pseudo-dual is sustained in: /i:de:n/ ‘hands; arms’. When these units are suffixed the *-n* is dropped: /i:de:ha/ ‘her hands; her arms’. Some patterns are reduplicative, e.g. /miʃmiʃ/ ‘apricot’.

In adjectives, CaCCa:n is particularly common. In the reflexes of verbs that had CaCiC- stems in Old Arabic, CaCCa:n sometimes replaces the active participle e.g. /samʕa:n/ ‘having heard’ which some speakers realise as /sa:miʕ/ Ca:CiC. Colors use verbal Form IX /iħmarr/ ~ /jihmarr/ without a final geminate /aħmar/. Unlike Baghdadi speakers, old speakers insert a vowel as in /aħamar/ (see the *gahawa* syndrome Phonotactics for such forms as /aʕawaj/). For relatives, the aCCaC pattern is productive, /ajdad/ ‘newer’, /aɣna/ ‘richer’.

Gender, dual and plural forms of Nouns

A feminine noun is formed by the suffixation of the feminine marker */-a/* to the masculine noun, thus, for example, /muʕallim-a/ ‘teacher’. A masculine form ending in *-i*

can also be made feminine with the feminine singular suffix *-jja*, as in /mas^sri~mas^srijja/ ‘Egyptian’.

Color and deficiency adjectives have colour-adjectives of the pattern /afʕal/ which are formed as feminine by the pattern /faʕla/, /fɔːla/, (the aCCaC masc. and the CaCCa fem.), e.g., /aħmar~ħamra/ ‘red’ /aswad/ ‘masc.’ /sɔːda/ ‘fem’ ‘black’. Certain nouns are inherently female like duplicate parts of the body /iːd/ ‘hand, arm’ and others like /naːr/ ‘fire’ /bitt/ ‘daughter’ /ʃijra/ ‘tree’.

The dual is formed by adding the suffix /-iːn/ (variable now with *-eːn*) to the singular /θniːn/ ‘two’, e.g., /bint~bintiːn/. Regular plurals are formed with *-iːn* /masc. pl./, *-aːt* /fem. pl./, /mudarris/ teacher /mudarrisiːn/ teachers; ‘feminine Singular Feminine’ /tʕaːliba/ ‘plural’ /tʕaːlibaːt/ ‘students’. A broken plural is formed by making internal vowel changes within the word. Irregular plurals are formed by an alteration of the segmental pattern of the singular, e.g. /biːð^sa/ (sg.) /biːð/. Interestingly, the diminutive variant of irregular plural forms is formed by the addition of *-aːt* /fem. pl./ as in /biːð^s~biːð^saːt/. Unlike the Baghdadi dialect, the dialect uses the singular /milħaː, zibdaː, tʕhiːnaː, dʒibnaː/ as a plural form, not the plural form /miliħ/ and therefore this is variable in the speech of the young group. The plural of color and deficiency adjectives is CuCC or, CuCCaːn, e.g. /sumur/simraːn/ ‘brown-skinned’. A distinctive pluralisation has been found as in the noun /ħirmaːn/ ‘CuCCaːn’ which the young formulate as /ħaraːmijja/ ‘thieves’.

Diminutive

This feature is common in the speech of old speakers. The *-uːn-* affix is productive in making diminutive forms: as in /ð^siʕiːf ~ið^sʕajjif~ið^sʕajjifuːn/ ‘he is slim’, /gs^siːr~gs^sajruːni/ ‘short’. Among the patterns that are productive in the dialect are *fʕeːl(a)*

/simʃa/ ~ /sm^se:ʃa/ ‘fish’, ʃe:ʃi:l /mas^sraf/ ~ /ims^se:rif/ ‘expenditure’, ʃe:la /fa:t^sma/ ~ /ft^se:ma/ ‘f^tēma/personal name’.

Finally, diminutive variants of irregular plural forms can be formed by the addition of *-a:t* /fem. pl./ as in Table 2.10:

Word	Diminutive
ʃa:j ‘tea’	ʃwajj/ʃwajja:t
timman ‘rice’	twe:mna:t/timmana:t
dija:j ‘chicken’	idjaja/idjaja:t
ʃakar ‘sugar’	ʃke:ra:t
ðahab ‘gold’	ðhi:ba:t
m ^s ajj ‘water’	im ^s ajja/im ^s ajja:t

Table 2.10: Diminutive variants of irregular plural forms

Cardinal Numerals also take a diminutive form as in /wa:hid/ ~ /whajjid/ ‘One’

/iθni:n/ ~ /iθni:wi:n/ ‘Two’ .

2.2.3 Pronoun

I. Subject pronouns

The following are the independent personal subject pronouns:

Person		Singular	Plural
1 st		ʔa:na/ʔanna (traditional) ʔa:ni (innovative)	ħinna (traditional)/ ʔihna (innovative)
2 nd	Masculine	ʔinta	ʔintam/(traditional) ʔintu (innovative)
	Feminine	ʔinti	ʔintan
3 rd	Masculine	hiwwa:	him ^s m ^s a:
	Feminine	hijja	ħinna

Table 2.11: Independent personal subject pronouns

II. Possessive pronouns

Person		male
		mudarris ‘teacher’
1st	Masculine	-i (-j post-vocalic [ʔabuj]) -na (plural)
	Feminine	-i (-j post-vocalic) -na (plural)
2nd	Masculine	-ak (-k post-vocalic [ɣada:k/ʔ]) -kam (plural) (traditional)
	Feminine	-iʔ (-ʔ post-vocalic) -ʔan (plural)
3rd	Masculine	-u (-final vowel lengthened post-vocalic, [ɣada:]) -hum
	Feminine	-ha -hin

Table 2.12: Possessive pronouns

This suffix is dependent on whether the word ends with vowel or consonant including (CC).

III. Direct object suffixes

The possessive pronouns are the same as the direct object pronouns with verbs, the only exception being that 1st sg *-ni* (rather than *-i*) represents 1st singular affix. Although *-ni* is typically only used in verbs, e.g., /ʃa:f-ni/ (saw-me 3MS) ‘he saw me’, a word like /isim-ni/ (*name-my*) ‘my name’ indicates it can also be used as a possessive pronoun in the dialect. This form is used by old speakers predominantly.

IV. Suffixed indirect object pronouns

These are made by the addition of *-l-* to singular and *-il-* to plural direct object pronouns, with the exception of 1st sg, which uses *-li-*. Thus /ja:bli/ ‘he brought to me’, /ja:bla/ ‘he brought to him’.

V. Double object pronouns

The indirect object is suffixed to the verb and the direct object (ja- + the pronominal suffix) follows independently, e.g., /ja:bli ja:ha/ ‘he brought it to me’.

VI. Demonstrative Pronouns

The dialect makes a two-way distinction between demonstratives, those indicating objects near and far to the speaker. The demonstrative pronouns change depending on the gender and the number.

		Near	Far
Singular	Masculine	ha:ð(a)	(ha)ða:k(a)
	Feminine	ha:j(a); ha:ði	(ha)ði:ʃ(i/a)
Plural	Masculine	(ha)ðɔ:l(a)	(ha)ðɔ:lak
	Feminine	(ha)ðan, (ha)ðanni	(ha)ðanni:ʃ

Table 2.13: Demonstrative pronouns

VII. Relative pronouns

There is only one relative pronoun in the dialect, and it has two variants. It is either l or (i)lli. The latter has also two variants:

1. After a consonant: /illi/
2. After a vowel /lli/

VIII. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in the dialect are:

/ʃinhu/ (/finu/ young)	‘What?’
/minhu/ (/minu/ young)	Who?
/(ʃ)ʃam?/	‘How many/many?’
/mni:n?/	‘From where?’
/wi:n?/ (/jamta?/ traditional)	‘When?’
/li:mata/ (traditional)	‘till when’
/ja:-/ (/ʔajj-wa:ħid/ innovative); /ja:hu/(traditional)	‘which one?’

Table 2.14: Interrogative pronouns

All of these are variable now. The use of /ʃ-/ ‘what?’ as a prefix and suffix is widespread in the dialect. /ʃ-/ is a prefix with words such as: /ʃlɔ:nak/ ‘how are you’ /ʃaku ma:ku/ ‘what is up’ /ʃitri:d/ ‘what do you want’ /ʃkiθir/ ‘how much’. The /ʃ-/ seems to be a short form of the word ʃaj? ‘something’. Very distinctively, it can be added word-finally in negation /ma:miʃ/ ‘there is nothing’ (see 2.2.5).

preposed ʃ-	gloss	postposed -i:ʃ	gloss
ʃ-wakit	‘when?’	l-i:ʃ/ liwe:ʃ	why
ʃ-gadd ʃ-kiθir	‘how much/ many’	ʃal-i:ʃ	what
ʃ-lɔ:n	how	b-i:ʃ	‘how much’
ʃ-aku	what’s wrong?	miθl-i:ʃ	‘like what’
ʃ-ismak	What’s your name?		
ʃ-akalit	what did you eat?		
ʃ-bi:; ʃ-ʃidda	What’s wrong with him?		

Table 2.15: Preposed and postposed /ʃ-/

Like /ʃ-/ the preposed element /ja:/ ‘which?’ occurs in combination with a noun such as /ja: walad/ ‘which boy?’, /ja:hu/hi/ ‘who is s/he? (young say /ja:hiwwa/hijja/). Like /-i:ʃ/, the form -man ‘who?’ ‘which?’ occur, denoting the object of verbs and prepositions and the possessors of nouns, /ʃifit-man/ ‘who, which did you see?’ (or /ilman-ʃifit/), /tri:d-man/ ‘which, who do you want?’, /kta:b-man/ ‘whose book?’, /ʃale:-man/ ‘on, about whom, what?’, /il-man/ ‘belonging to whom; what for’, /min-man/ ‘from whom; what?’.

2.2.4 Adverbs

The following are the common adverbs of place, manner, and time:

I. Place

/fɔ:g/ ‘above’, /dʒawwaħadir/ ‘under’, /hna:/ ‘here’, /hna:k(a)/ya:d/ ‘there’, /gubalʕ/ʕadil/ ‘straight on’, /li:dʒidda:m/ ‘forwards’, /li-wara/ ‘backwards’, /minna:/ ‘this way’, /minna:k/ ‘that way’, /bʕarʕra/ ‘outside’, /hasʕsʕafħa/ ‘this side’, /ði:ʕiʕsʕafħa/ ‘that side’.

II. Manner

/hi:ʕi/ ‘thus’, /killiʕ/ ‘very’, /fadd/ very; /hwa:ja/ ‘much, a lot’, /ha:/ ‘very’, /ha: ħala:tha/ ‘very beautiful’, /ʕwajja/ ‘a little’, /zi:n/ ‘well’, /ħi:l/ ‘strongly, loudly’, /bil-ʕadʒal/bsa:ʕ/ ‘without delay, quickly’, /ʕala-ki:f/ ‘slowly’.

III. Time

/baʕdi:n/ta:li/ ‘later’; /l-jɔ:mʕ/ ‘today’, /l-li:la/ ‘tonight’, /l-ba:rħa/ʔamis/ ‘yesterday’, /ʔawwal ʔamis/ ‘the day before yesterday’, /ba:ʕir/ ‘tomorrow’, /ʕugub ba:ʕir/ or /ʕugba/ ‘the day after tomorrow’, /min zam:n/ ‘a long time ago’, /dɔ:m/da:jman/ ‘always’, /dɔ:ra:t/ ‘sometimes’, /mʕa:tʕu:l/ ‘as long as’, /fad-dɔ:ra/ ‘directly’, /minʕibʕa/ ‘early morning’, /xla:f/ ‘after’, /nɔ:b/ ‘sometimes’, /tawwa/ ‘already’, /hassa:ʕa/ʔalsa:ʕa/ ‘now’.

2.2.5 Particles

I. Definite article

The prefix *l-* is typically the definite article, which can either be realised if preceding the non-assimilative lunar letters, namely ‘non-coronal consonants’ or assimilated with the following assimilative solar, ‘coronal consonants’, e.g., /l-ħarr/ ‘the heat’; /s-simaʕf/ (/is-simaʕf/) ‘the fish’. The definite article is not used in an invariant form, as it is sometimes formed by /ɪl-/ or /li-/, e.g., /ɪl-mudarrisa/ ‘the female teacher’; /li-bnajja/ ‘the girl’.

II. Indefinite particle

The traditional particle /farid/ ‘one, some’ and its variant innovative syncopated form /fadd/ (used by young) represent the common indetermination markers, as in /farid/fadd mudarrisa/ ‘a female teacher’.

III. Possession particle

In addition to the simple possession that is formed by the suffixation of the possessive pronouns to nouns, there is a compound genitive that is marked by the use of particle /ma:l/ (m.s./p.), /ma:lat/ (f.s./p.), /ma:la:t/ (p.) ‘of, belonging to’ between two nominal elements. The forms /abu/ ‘father of; he of’ and /umm/ ‘mother of; she of’ precede a defined noun. The construct denotes a person’s occupation or some other characteristic, usually physical, e.g., /abu libwa:ri/ ‘the plumber’; /umm ilbi:t/ ‘the house owner’; /abu fwa:rib/ ~ /abu fwa:r^hub^s/ ‘the man with the moustache’.

IV. Negative particles

In the dialect, negation is expressed by either /mu:f/ (in variation with short Baghdadi-like form /mu:/ that is used by young speakers) or /ma:/ (/a:/ in /ma:/ are in variation with the short Baghdadi-like form that is used by young speakers):

/mu:f/ is typically prenominal, as in /a:na mu:(j) bnaja/ ‘I am not a girl’.

/ma:/ is typically preverbal, as in /ma: fa:faw faj/ ‘they did not see anything’. It can also occur preminally as in /ma:ni zy:r/ ‘I am not a child’; /ma:jxa:lif/ ‘never mind’.

/ma:/mu:f/ negate prepositions /ma:/mu:f/ /ʕindi/ ‘I do not have’.

Negators also include /la:/, which precedes imperatives and wishes, as in /la: tijji/ ‘do not come!’. /ma:/ with an independent pronoun expresses a complaint /ma:hi ʕi:ʕa/ ‘it is not a way of living’, /ma:hu ʕada/ ‘it is not a lunch’.

Compound negative particles /mamiʃ/ (the young use /ma:ku/) ‘there is not’ /mamiʃ aħad/ rather than /ma:ku wa:ħid/, /majsi:r/ ‘do not’, /mala:zi:m/ ‘must not’. /la:/, a short form of *ila:*, ‘if’ in the data has been used instead of /iða:/ as a conditional particle /la: je:t, gilli/ ‘if you come, tell me’.

V. Prepositions

The basic prepositions in the dialect under investigation are:

/b/ ‘in’, /mm/ ‘from’, /bi:n/ ‘between’, /jamm/ ‘near’, /g/dʒidda:m/ ‘in front of’, /da:jir/ ‘around’, /ħadir/dʒawwa/ ‘under’, /ʕala/ ‘on’, /wajja/ ‘with’, /mıθil/ ‘like’, /wara/ ‘behind’, /fə:g/ ‘above’ ‘to’, /l(a/i)l/ ‘to’.

VI. Conjunctions

The following are the main conjunctions in the dialect:

/w-/ ‘and’; /bass/ ‘but’; /lə ... lə .../ ‘either ... or ...; /ʕala-mu:d/ ‘so that’; /illa/ ‘except’; /baʕde:n/ ‘then’; /aww/ or; /ħatta/ ‘in order to’; /xalʕi/ ‘let’s’; /ma:tʕu:l/ ‘since’; /balki/balkat/ ‘please; (probably) ‘perhaps’; /jə:m/min/ ‘when’; /liʔann/ ‘because’; /kill ma:/ ‘every time’; /laʕad/ ‘then’; /ħamm/ ‘also’; /xə:ʃ/ ‘then’; /ma:da:m/ ‘as long as’; /lamma/ or /lamʕmʕan/ ‘until’, /kə:dan/ ‘because’.

VII. Vocative particles

The vocative particles /ja:/, as in /ja: rabb-i/, ‘(my) Lord!’. Some kinship terms and caritative occur as vocative particles, the most common being /jibʕa/ ‘father’ (in variation with /ja:ba and ba:ba/) and /jumʕmʕa/ ‘mother, /xajti/xaja/ ‘sister’ (in variation with /uxti/), /xu:j/ ‘brother’ (in variation with /axu:ja/). These can be contextually used to

mean ‘my daughter’ or ‘son’. Other vocative particles include the terms of endearment /ʕe:ni/ ‘my eye’, /galʕbi/ ‘my heart’, meaning ‘my dear’ and /fidwa:/ ‘may I be a sacrifice to you’. Endearment forms for some nouns use a possessive suffix, e.g. /binnti/ ‘(dear) girl’, /ibnn-i/ ‘my (dear) boy’.

VIII. Auxiliary

The auxiliary verb /ʕa:n/ (to be), /ʕanna/ ‘speculative, polite inquiry’ ‘it seems’, /aku/ ‘there is (existential particle)’, /la:zim/ ‘must’ /illa/ ‘must’, /ijja/ (be about to), /ha:wil/ (to try), /bida/ (to begin), /gidar/ (to be able), /dʕalʕʕ/ and /buga/ (indicate the progressive aspect), /ra:d/ (to want), /ʕiri:d/ (to want) future intent/imminent future ‘will’, /ga:m/ (a complete action), /ra:h/ (will) future action, /ga:ʕid/ (progressive aspect), optatives like /ku:n, balki and ʕasa-/ ‘I hope’, /xall-, xal-/ jussive ‘let’.

IX. Clitics

There are a number of clitics:

- deictic /ha/ prefixed to the definite article, e.g. /halbi:t/ ‘this house’
- /da-/di-/ prefix ordinarily introduces the imperfective verb to express a command; prefix with imperatives as an exhortative, e.g., /da-/di-gʕid/ ‘come down’ ‘be quiet’, e.g. /dihitʕ/ ‘speak’.
- /ʕ-/ ‘what?’
- /taw(w)/ ‘just’ (= ‘recently’) is a clitic element, as it only occurs with pronoun suffixes, e.g., /taw-kam/ which is variable now with /(h)astawkum/.
- /ma:/, inserted between the repetition of a word to indicate ‘and suchlike’, e.g. /ʕ-aku ma:-ku/ ‘what’s up’ and /ʕga:l ma:-ga:l/ ‘what did he say’.
- Presentative /ha:j-/ attached to the independent pronouns, e.g. /ha:j-hijja marti/ ‘this is my wife’.

2.3 Syntax

The syntax of the dialect is not different from the Bagdadi and Basrawi Arabic (see Mahdi, 1985).

2.3.1 Noun phrase

The noun phrase in the dialect is often a noun or a pronoun or a modifier and a noun. One of the modifiers is the definite article. It makes the noun that it precedes definite, unlike the indefinite noun which is often not marked, e.g., /walad/ 'a boy' (indefinite), /il-walad/ 'the boy' (definite). Besides, the numeral /wa:ħid/wiħda/ is used to specify animate nouns. The quantifiers are also used to modify the noun, as in: /kill/ 'every', e.g., /kill walad/ 'every boy'; /kill/ 'all'; /kam/ƣam/ 'a few/some', e.g., /ƣam walad/ 'a few boys'; /ƣwajja/ 'a little'. There are other modifiers like adjectives, prepositional phrases, genitive/possessive complements and adverbs. They use /wild/ rather than /ibin/ as in /qa:sim wild ƣali/ rather than /qa:sim ibin ƣali/ 'Qasim, the son of Ali'. Young speakers use /ibin/ instead. Particles like /mu:ƣ/ are used to negate the noun phrase, e.g., /mu:ƣ walad/ 'not a boy'.

2.3.2 Verb phrase (tense and aspect)

The present tense is expressed by the imperfect form, e.g., /jiktib/ 'he is writing'. Iraqi Arabic has expressions to convey the continuation of the action. It has the particle /da:/ in the Baghdadi dialect and the active participle like /dʒa:j/ or /ga:ħid/ in the current dialect of southern Iraq, which precedes the imperfect form and expresses its continuation. I heard few instances of using the Baghdadi /da:/ instead of /dʒa:j/ or /ga:ħid/, e.g.,

/dʒa:j/ /agra/ ‘I am reading’. Some (conservative) speakers say /dʒa:ʕid/ rather than /ga:ʕid/.

/ʃ-/ in question is used to express the present continuous, e.g. /ʃis-sawwi?/ ‘what are you doing?’. The active participle can be used to mark that an action is in process for some verbs, e.g. /na:jim/ ‘he is sleeping’. The auxiliary /ra:ħ/ and the particle /hassa/ is used with the imperfect to convey a future action, e.g.,

/ʃra:ħ tsawwi?/ ‘what are you going to do?’,

/ra:ħ adris/ ‘I am going to study’.

The past tense, on the other hand, is conveyed by the perfect form, e.g., /ʃifta lba:rħa/ ‘I saw him yesterday’. The use of /xalas^s/ ‘done’, or /wxalas^s/ ‘and done’ can emphasise the completion of the action, e.g., /daras wxalas^s/ ‘he has (done) studied’. The perfect form can combine with auxiliaries like /ʃa:n/ ‘was’. For some verbs, the active participle expresses perfect tense, e.g. /ma:kil/ ‘I have eaten’.

Finally, both the imperfect and perfect form in some optative expressions are used to indicate future action, e.g.,

/alʕʕa jrizqak/ ‘may God provide you’,

/ħifad^sak alʕʕa/ ‘may God keep you safe’.

2.3.3 Lexical variation

The lexicon of the dialect has a main core of Arabic items and borrowings from other languages. English and the Turkish language mainly left their traces in the lexicon of Mišlab Arabic.

I. English loanwords

/ba:s/ 'bus', /ba:lqɔ:na/ 'balcony', /barlama:n/ 'parliament', /ba:ke:t/ 'packet', /biskit/ 'biscuits', /tiwa:le:t/ 'toilet', /daʃbu:l/ 'dashboard', /baqla:j(i)t/ 'backlight', /gɔ:lfɪ/ 'goalkeeper', /sikalla/ 'scale', /lu:ti/ 'looting', /ʃu:b/ 'tube', /sʰa:lʰansʰa/ 'silencer', /ta:nki/ 'tank', /ste:rin/ 'steering-wheel', /bre:k/ 'brake', /hɔ:rin/ 'horn', /klaʃ/ 'clutch', /lɔ:ri/ 'truck', /ba:jsikil/ 'bicycle', /tilifɔ:n/ 'telephone', /tilfizjɔ:n/ 'television', /kimbiju:tar/ 'computer', /antarne:t/ 'internet' etc.

II. Turkish loanwords

/kaba:b/, /sıra/ 'que', /aɣa:ti/ 'sir', /dʒintʰa/ 'suit case', /sara:j/ 'palace', /bu:rag/ 'sambusa', /baqla:wa/ 'baklava', /ʃa:ra/ 'cure, remedy' etc.

There is a number of lexical items that characterise Mišlab Arabic speech. Some characteristic lexical items are shown here: /arid/ 'I come back', /fiʃal/ 'shame', /anʃid/ 'I ask', /asajjir/ 'I visit', /wadda/ 'send people to ask (for a visit)', /ʃa:/ 'particle'; /xilla/ rather than /xalal/ 'disorder', /ʃarasit/ 'I got married', /faraxit/ 'I gave birth', /fru:x/ 'kids', /makaw/ 'they spent time anguishing about ..', /ħadir/ 'under', /inhamʰakit/ 'I fatigued', /qa:risʰ/ 'bugs', /awalim/ 'to feed', /ʃija:h/ 'sheep', /bza:r/ 'spices', /da:r/ 'area', /bitʰe:t/ 'to slow down' etc. Lexical variation in Mišlab Arabic is quite considerable (all of the above examples seem variable).

Chapter 3 Methodology and data collection

3.1 Introduction

The current study draws on data which are collected from different groups stratified by age, gender, and level of contact. Since the present study aims at answering the question of whether there is change in progress in the dialect, two selected variables, (k) and (dʒ), will be analysed in data from freely occurring dialogues. The data are retrieved from audio-recorded interviews. About 4000 tokens have been marked for analysis in the data for each variable. In the subsequent sections, I will offer a more detailed outline of the database employed, the procedures of data elicitation which were used, the coding protocol which has been applied, and the statistical treatment of the data.

3.2 Sampling method

The data analysed in this study come from sociolinguistic interviews, completed by fifty-three native speakers from the Mišlab tribe. Those informants have lived all or most of their life, since childhood, in Qal'at Siker. I based my selection of the speakers on my judgement. Judgement or quota sampling allows the researcher to select participants at his/her own discretion (Milroy and Gordon, 2003:30). It is unlike the random sampling method, which is based on the principle of giving all members of the community an equal opportunity to be selected. Random selection does not happen arbitrarily, but according to a particular system, usually by preparing lists containing the names of the original community and the choice is made by a computer. Labov (1966) chose a random sample in the study of New York's Lower East Side. It is also used in Sali Tagliamonte's Toronto English Project (2003–7). However, it has its own drawbacks. Random sampling can be time-consuming and impractical on a large scale (Bailey and Dyer, 1992). It can also result in a biased and non-representative sample (Schilling, 2013). For example, in Labov's (1966:168) study, the random sample was not

‘bias-free’ because he disregarded some informants who did not meet the characteristics of selection.

Variationist sociolinguists have had a long-standing interest in the systematic distribution of variants across different social variables (e.g. age, social class or social networks, gender) – which displays how each group of speakers show markedly different patterns in their speech. It cannot be ensured that a random sample will generate data from a comparable number of speakers in all of the relevant groups (Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Hoffman, 2013: 31; Schilling, 2013: 33). Hence random sampling is often replaced by judgement sampling, which “has become the standard operating procedure not only in dialectology but also in sociolinguistics” (Hoffman, 2013: 3). This technique is less time consuming as a large number of interviewees is not needed, and it can aim directly at a target population. Accordingly, my selection of the sample was based on this procedure.

Judgement sampling requires prior knowledge of the community in terms of the composition of the groups within it, which I had as an insider (see 3.3). To apply this technique, I developed quotas or categories in order to decide on the social groupings relevant to the Mišlab tribe, though such a sampling technique does not have statistical representativity. I hypothesised¹³ that variation in the dialect is influenced by the role of age, gender, and level of contact as social factors or categories, and the sample was stratified accordingly. After this categorisation, I followed the technique of snowball sampling. I initially identified potential participants from the original community as the point at which the sampling began and the selection of other participants ‘snowballed’ from there. I asked the initial speakers to recruit other people who are in turn asked to recruit others and this process is repeated until the target sample size is obtained (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). The selection of the sample, fifty-three speakers, was thus based (1)

¹³ For a justification to my hypothesis, see 3.4.

on my knowledge of the community, and (2) on the recruitment of the community speakers to others, i.e., the snowball method.

After I developed quotas or categories of the population, I selected at least four participants from each category to fill the required cells, except one cell with three informants. Meyerhoff and Schlee (2010) argue that an adequate sample size is five or six speakers per specific social category cell. However, Tagliamonte (2006: 31) suggests that the use of any number above one per cell is theoretically needed for the purpose of variationist statistical analysis. The sample size in the current study is calculated by the cells, made up by the three social categories. The categories of gender and contact are binary (male and female; high contact and low contact respectively), while age has three variants (old, middle-aged, young)¹⁴, ending up with 7 factors across the three social categories and 12 cells in total. The minimum number of participants in each of these 12 cells identified previously is at least 4 informants. The actual number of participants from which data were collected was 53, meaning that some cells exceed the four-participant minimum. The distribution of the fifty-three speakers who comprise my sample is shown below, Table 3.1.

Contact	Gender	Female	Male	total
	Age			
High	Old	4	4	8
	Middle	4	7	11
	Young	4	3	7
	total	12	14	26
Low	Old	4	4	8
	Middle	5	6	11
	Young	4	4	8
	total	13	14	27

Table 3.1: Distribution of the sample of speakers

¹⁴ See 3.4 for defining the social categories in the current study.

3.3 Accessing the community

Milroy studied English as it was spoken in three working class communities in Belfast, by investigating the correlation between the individual's social network and his/her use of certain phonological variables. A main concern in Milroy's work was finding a way of accessing the target community and its dialect in their natural state. Due to certain socio-political issues in Belfast, community-outsiders were often regarded with a cautious distrust. Milroy could get access to the target environments by asserting that she had social network ties with students from the region, i.e., as a 'friend of a friend'. By doing so, she became a part of the community under investigation. Being a semi-insider (neither an insider nor a real outsider to the social group), created the likelihood for Milroy to elicit speech in its natural form in a variety of settings without breaking any interactive norms of community (1980: 56), and thereby avoiding the possibility of recording formal interviews. Like Milroy, I consider myself to be at least a semi-insider, if not an insider. I am not a member of the tribe under investigation. However, I am a member of an eminent tribe that shares the same region. My family and I lived most of our life in the southern part of Iraq. We have solid lifelong friendship ties with the tribe in Qal'at Siker. This offered me accreditation among the southern locals. Both I and the female interviewer were university lecturers and had extensive contacts within the community. Given this availability of prior knowledge, we decided that the sample should utilise the strategy of snowballing (as discussed above). The introduction of the researcher by the initial contact in the community, a person well-known to the other members, could help to smooth out the outsider relation. I and the female assistant were perceived as a "friend of a friend". We wanted them to introduce us as students, not as lecturers, as this has the advantage of reducing social distance. I faced no difficulties and I had no concerns regarding the acceptance of the female locals and their possible

reluctance to take part in my study, despite the fact that the community is tribal and thus conservative in this respect. In Middle Eastern sociolinguistic studies like Abdel-Jawad (1981) and Al-khatib (1988) when the interviewer is a male researcher, a female assistant is recruited in order to interview female participants. In this project, the female assistant happened to be my sister, who is also a PhD student studying language as well as a lecturer at the university where some students from the tribe study. She has the same social and academic experience as me and she is aware of the methodology of my study.

To bridge this gap of being a semi-outsider (if any such gap existed), we engaged with participants in a more personal manner. Being university lecturers, we had already established relatively prominent social relations with several members of the speech community. In addition, during fieldwork, we spent many hours taking part in various social activities, like making food, tea, offering help, or just walking in the city. This helped in communicating authenticity, as it was felt by many informants that we were not just takers but also contributors to the society. The fact that we contributed to the community and met with people in various places enlarged the possibility that informants would agree to further partaking in the research. As such, a rapport was built before and throughout the recruitment activity. In addition, the event of seeing me in the city not only facilitated recruiting more informants but also provided opportunities to chat with a diverse range of people and to gain insights into the way in which the dialect is valued. These approaches enabled us to obtain a good amount of respect, access, trust, and credibility within the community. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 24) recommend that the researcher develops a close rapport with the informants in order to elicit a less formal style of speech. I also dressed like them and wore the traditional costumes. The relational interaction between the researcher and the people, their social background and the experiences of the community participants, southern identities, the knowledge of the

values, attitudes, and experiences helped to create an insider knowledge and foster cooperation. According to Milroy (1987: 80), "...the closer the fieldworker is matched to subjects in terms of various social attributes, the more successful he or she is likely to be". Hence, the linguistic and social ties between us and the informants might have reduced formality.

I also have an excellent control over the use of the dialect which serves the aim of this research. Labov suggests that "the study of language in its social context can only be done when the language is 'known' in the sense that the investigator can understand rapid conversation" (Labov, 1972b: 215). The dialect was completely comprehensible to me. I am like any young speaker from the community. I am well acquainted with the sub-dialects of southern Iraqis. I can also claim excellent knowledge of the Baghdadi dialect since I have spent a part of my life in Baghdad.

On the other hand, I, being more of an outsider, stimulated informants to reveal personal accounts about their lives, because they recognised that I was not likely to reveal such personal encounters within the local community. This helped to increase their participation in the production of narratives during interviews, which is critical for the research.

3.4 Social variables determining variation and change

In this section, I will consider the variables, age, gender and contact, that are assumed to be operative on the variation in the dialect under investigation from two perspectives: (1) the general relation between these factors and the variation and change uncovered in the previous studies, listed below; and (2) the specific mechanisms of these variables in the community. I hypothesise that all three dimensions below contribute to the variation in the dialect, and thus to a determination of the level of change.

3.4.1 Age

Age is used in sociolinguistic investigations of linguistic variation and change in apparent time as a substitute for 'time'. According to Al-Wer (2006: 630), "[i]n sociolinguistic research, age is used to give the investigation a depth in time" (see also Labov, 1963, 1966, 1972a; Tagliamonte, 2012).

There are two main methodological approaches to explore the impact of the age factor, following either the real-time or the apparent-time approach (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). The real time method tracks the change over a specific span of time. That is, linguistic variation and change is longitudinally observed by obtaining data from a group of speakers at a number of points in time. This method, consequently, offers empirical evidence for either linguistic stability or variability (Labov, 1994; Turell, 2003). An example of this is the linguistic variation in Martha's Vineyard, a speech community investigated by Labov in 1962 which was then reinvestigated in a new study undertaken 40 years later by Josey in 2003 (Eckert, 1997). In the Arab World, Al-Wer (2004) re-examined the dialect of the town of Şulţ in Jordan that she had originally investigated in 1991. Al-Qouz's study (2009) re-investigated Manama (Bahrain), which was originally studied by Holes (1987). There are no real-time data available in my study. Real-time data are relatively rare (Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Al-Wer, 2006). Therefore, the current project is an apparent-time investigation. It is based on data collected from different age groups of a speech community at one point in time to detect the distribution of the linguistic variables across generations (Labov, 1994; Turell, 2003). Thus, "apparent time functions as a surrogate for chronicle (or real) time" (Tagliamonte, 2012: 43). One benefit of the apparent time method as outlined by Trudgill (1988: 34) is that the results can be obtained immediately, rather than wait for a period of time to elapse before one can

obtain results. If the apparent-time premise shows age-stratified differences in the speech of older (likely to be more conservative) and younger (likely to be more innovative) speakers of a speech community, this generally suggests a dialect change is in progress (Tagliamonte, 2012: 43).

Al-Wer (2013) states that age is an important factor in variation in Arabic dialects. Usually, the younger speakers are likely to lead the change and are more innovative than old groups. Many Arabic studies have shown that age has an influence on the realisation of linguistic variables, for example, Ismail, (2008); Al-Qouz, (2009), Al-Qahtani, (2015), Hussain, (2017), and Al-Ammar, (2017). Although it is an indicator of variation, Milroy and Gordon see that:

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

Milroy and Gordon (2003: 39)

Variationist literature does not suggest a specific manner of dividing communities up into age groups. The fieldworker who has a somewhat in-depth knowledge of his/her community has to think locally for a way to divide the age groups (Macaulay, 2009). Eckert (1997:151) defines age as “a person’s place at a given time in relation to the social order: a stage, a condition, a place in history”. She proposes that age can be divided “etically”, i.e. chronologically; by the specific age of the speakers or “emically”, i.e. socially, correlated to events in the speaker’s life (ibid). However, Eckert (1997: 167), like Milroy and Gordon (2003: 39), recommends “directing our focus away from chronological age and towards the life experiences that give age meaning”. Accordingly, in the context of my community, each age group is associated with different events that could have affected the linguistic structure by, for example, the increase in the amount of interaction between the dialects in Iraq, which may lead to levelling. For the distribution

of age groups in the current study, the speakers were categorised in three groups, as displayed in Table 3.2.

Age group	Age	Number of informants
Old	60+	16
Middle	37-56	22
Young	20-34	15
total		53

Table 3.2: Distribution of the sample by age.

These divisions are based on the relevant social events related to each group in the community, namely:

- ❑ 1958: the revolution and the agrarian reform. Speakers born in or before the revolution would have grown up in the rural part of Qal‘at Siker.
- ❑ 1980: The Iraq-Iran War and Saddam’s de-tribalisation of the southern tribes. Speakers born between 1958-1980, namely the middle-aged group, constitute a transitional group who experienced both phases, rural and urban lifestyles. In this regard, Alnasrawi (1994: 34) states:

“Urbanization, accelerated by the oil boom, resulted in indigenous agricultural labor declining by one half million workers from 1973 to 1977, causing agriculture’s share of the total labor force to slide from 50 per cent to 30 per cent.”

- ❑ 1991: the economic situation, and the revolution against Saddam, US-led sanctions and Saddam’s re-tribalisation of the southern tribes, urbanisation. Speakers born between 1980 and 1997 represent the young age group.

The young group grew up through the worst period, that of war and sanctions. The middle-aged group (37+; born in or before 1980+) have been affected by the period before the war and that after the agrarian reform, of the increase in migration, and a

fairly stable economic situation. The old speakers (60+; born in or before 1958) are those who were born before the agrarian reform and lived a completely rural life for at least 15 years. All of the age group classifications are also based on lifestyle and are indicative of the development and urbanisation level of the speaker (see also 1.5.2).

3.4.2 Gender

There has been a great deal of research into areas of language that show differences between men's and women's speech. Numerous sociolinguistic studies have reported that gender is one of the most significant factors that influence linguistic variation and change (Cheshire, 2002: 439), and it has been considered of universal importance in variationist sociolinguistics (Milroy and Milroy, 1997).

Generally, during the 1960s and 1970s sociolinguists believed that the western and Arab Worlds had different gender related linguistic patterns. On the one hand, researchers of dialects in the western world, (e.g., Labov, 1966; Fasold, 1968 and Wolfram, 1969), recorded gender differences in language use, which helped to popularise the argument that languages could be gendered, that is, there is gender-based variation. Women were generally widely found to use more of the standard variant and fewer stigmatised forms than men (Trudgill, 1972; Labov, 1990: 210-15, 2001; Milroy et al. 1994). On the other hand, early Arabic sociolinguistic studies also reported that there were gender specific linguistic patterns, but the trend was reversed, with men accentuating a standard pronunciation that was less common in the speech of their female counterparts (Al-Wer, 2014: 396). An example is the women in Bakir's study (1986) in Baṣra, as well as others like Abdel-Jawad (1981) in Amman and Kojak (1983) in Syria.

However, Ibrahim (1986) re-analysed these results, pointing out a major misconception in the interpretation of data from spoken Arabic, namely that literary Arabic (the Standard form) is the only prestigious form, and the status of this system in sociolinguistic stratification is analogous to that of the standard varieties of modern (non-diglossic) European languages. Instead, Ibrahim suggested that spoken Arabic has its own hierarchy of 'prestige' independently of the formal written Standard language, and that there are local standardised varieties, normally dialects of metropolitan areas, that act as target dialects in processes of linguistic change; it is these dialects, rather than Standard Arabic, that are analogous to, say, Standard English. Ibrahim (1986), therefore, differentiates between 'standard' and 'prestige' varieties in Arabic. Al-Wer (1997:255) maintained that the function of Classical Arabic should not be mistaken for that of modern western dialects. Haeri (1987) draws a close parallel between urban modern prestigious varieties of Arabic rather than the Classical Arabic and the 'Western standard variety'. Consequently, this reportedly reversed pattern has been reanalysed in the light of these concepts, and the gender pattern in Arabic has been found to be parallel to that of the western world.

With respect to gender-differentiated patterns, previous studies reported that either men or women can lead in innovation in Arabic, similarly to other languages. For instance, Al-Wer (2007) and Haeri (1994) found women ahead of most innovations in Amman and Cairo, respectively. Similarly, in Saudi Arabia, a number of studies found women to be innovative (e.g Al-Essa 2008 of Najdi speakers in Jeddah, Al-Ghamdi's (2013) of Ghamdi speakers in Mecca, Al-Qahtani (2015) in Tihamat Qahtan (as spoken in two isolated villages). All of these studies reported that there were significant gender-based differences. On the basis of such findings, Chambers (1995) sees that although the Western and Eastern cultures are distinctive, they converge in terms of the gender-based

linguistic behaviour, as women are innovators and the leaders of linguistic innovations. However, Milroy and Gordon (2003) warn against such cross-cultural generalisation. Walters (1991) also cautions against this generalisation because he found that Tunisian women in Korba show reversed behaviour to the generally expected pattern. More recent studies like Al-Hawamdeh (2016) in Jordan and Alaodini (2019) in eastern Saudi Arabia have reported men to be ahead of women in linguistic innovation (cf. Al-Wer, 2014). Milroy and Gordon (2003:108) warn that

“gender affects language differently in different generations because of various life experiences and gendered language differences index salient intra-community social categories which need to be uncovered by researchers rather than treated as previously given”.

Inside one country like Iraq, gender has had different effects on language use. Bakir detected that men had a tendency towards greater use of literary Arabic variants than women in Baṣra (1986: 4), including the use of [k] as a variant of (k). Whereas Abu-Haidar (1989), working with Baghdad data, observed exactly the opposite, that women made use of more literary Arabic forms than men (1989: 476).

To conclude, Walters (1991: 219) sees that the gender-based differences “make sense in the context of these speakers’ lives, the varieties of language to which they have access, and the social options available to them”. In a similar vein, Milroy and Gordon (2003: 108) maintain that arriving at the interpretation of gender-based variation requires a local knowledge of the macro factors related to the community, such as its history.

In the community of my study, the common social roles that are assigned to women is that of housewives and mothers. Mišlab women are under a social pressure to conform to outdated customs and traditions. Mentioning women, especially their names, in public councils is considered a departure from politeness and decency. The cultural environment in Qal‘at Siker is relatively conservative; the city adheres to a strict

interpretation of tribal, and to a lesser extent, Islamic religious rules. Men and women are not permitted to attend public events together. Women could go out only with a man, normally the head of the family. There has been gender segregation even in schools. The mixing of the sexes in places of study or work or even in daily life was an idea that was and still is rejected and denied by the majority of southern people. Therefore, the separation of girls from boys starts at primary school, and this in turn promotes the concept of separation between the sexes and emphasises the existence of a difference between them. Adolescents have no contact with the opposite sex outside of the family, and girls especially are watched very closely. A girl's primary protector is her older brother, who continues to watch over his sister even after she is married. Mišlab young boys are given adult responsibilities and are exposed to gender-specific socialisation early in life.

As for marriage, until relatively recently (1980s) Mišlab women were allowed no say about their marriages during the rural time period. Marriages were arranged by parents. Marriages between cousins in the tribe were not an uncommon custom before urbanisation. It has been highly endogamous within one's kin group. Bride and groom often met for the first time on the day of the wedding, when the dowry (Arabic *mahar*) was agreed upon and a marriage ritual were performed. However, these restrictions have been eased off nowadays, and it is not uncommon for younger people to choose their spouses.

The issue of education was no less burdensome than marriage. The real education opportunities were restricted to men, and the meagre opportunities for women's education were subject to strict traditions since the community at large used to believe that education corrupted women. This remained so until the late 19th century, when the first school for women was established in Qal'at Siker ('Ilfahad, 2001). There were many

obstacles for the parents who allowed their children to be educated. They were subjected to condemnations of various sorts. Mišlab women were subjugated to many domestic chores, more than men. They had to raise children, cook, organise and clean the house, as well as contribute to manual work on farms. They were not economically independent from men but are subordinate to the patriarch's social and economic dominance as well as to the influence of feudalism and its financial instability, and total dominance.

There is no doubt that the situation of Mišlab women in the city changed somewhat after leaving the rural area. Although there is a good proportion of educated women, many of them suffer chronic unemployment, ending up confined to their homes. Even employed women who receive adequate income, may not enjoy any economic independence or freedom because of the restrictions of the traditions and customs.

The Mišlab males represent the face of the community and are expected to speak in a way that shows this status. The younger uneducated women do not have a different situation to older women as they will usually marry cousins, who usually have a similar lifestyle, restricted to the domestic environment and mostly to contact with insiders. The educated younger males and females are highly expected to speak in a manner similar to the urban people, in a way to hide their rural roots. Given this, I hypothesise that the gender difference in the dialect might be highly triggered in the speech of older speakers.

The twentieth century witnessed many developments and changes in the roles of women. Baghdadi women emerged as a model that inspired women in the Iraqi provinces to obtain higher education and a greater share in social, political and economic life. Education has been the main vehicle through which women aspired for upward social mobility (see also 4.7.2). This study includes 25 male and 28 female participants (see Table 3.1 for the speakers' distribution by gender).

3.4.3 Contact

Trudgill (1986) observed that face-to-face interaction between users of regionally different but mutually intelligible dialects stimulates linguistic accommodation, and possibly long-term linguistic changes. He (ibid) used Howard Giles's (1973) speech accommodation theory to explain this phenomenon. Chambers (1995) reports that geographical closeness is not on its own a sufficient condition for a linguistic effect to take place. The likelihood of a linguistic effect taking place is greater in informal interactive environments, for example between friends, i.e., speakers will accommodate to their peers' dialect. Whereas in formal interactions, say, between teachers and students, a lower likelihood of accommodation is expected.

An example of change through face-to-face interaction and accommodation is documented in Al-Qouz's (2009) study of primary school children in Bahrain, where increasing convergence was reported to be taking place among the Šī'i speaking group towards the Sunnī [j], reducing the differences between the dialects by moving away from their variant [dʒ]. Trudgill (1986) considered that long-term accommodation is a valuable tool to understand dialect change in contact situations. Many studies have established contact as a trigger of linguistic change (e.g., Jabeur, 1987; Al-Wer, 2007; Al-Essa, 2008; Horesh, 2014). In the community of Mišlab, I hypothesise that there may be convergence as a result of long-term contact, as discussed in chapter one. Among the many events that occurred in the lifetime of the tribe under investigation is migration, which inevitably led to contact and thereby to the introduction of supralocal variants to the dialect. My informants are aware that contact with outsiders has a significant role in divergence from the local dialect. An informant, MKA, who is a 28 male high contact speaker says:

il iħtika:k ila dɔ:r liʔan waʔilla: ʃinu ilmuʕi:b blahidʒti iða: ba:qi:n bass
ilmiʃlab be:na:tna ijdʒu:z min jitmaddan ijħissha ʕe:b

Contact has a role (in dialect change); if it didn't, there would be no reason to change the way one speaks if members of the tribe only interact among themselves. It is possible that when one is exposed to urbanites (or becomes 'urban' outsiders) one is embarrassed to use the traditional dialect.

This speaker, in other words, sees that change is mediated through interaction with outsiders; the locals, he implies, are under pressure to diverge from the localised features in this context. His comment is also indicative of the low social value of the local pronunciations.

The outcome of contact is contingent upon several social factors. Winford (2003) remarks that accommodation to new features can be influenced by a number of factors such as attitudes toward the target dialects, linguistic ideologies, power relations among the interacting parties, the frequency, length and intensity of contact, cultural pressures (e.g., social development, and advanced educational or employment prospects), social values (the prestige of and loyalty to the dialects), and social identity. Trudgill (1986: 40–41) sees that everyday contact has a more vital impact than the mass media in diffusing innovative variants, otherwise the media should have triggered a whole region to accommodate to specific linguistic elements.

Jespersen (1954) sees that factors like universities, military service, urbanisation trigger variation and change in dialects – and all of these encompass mobility of some kind. In addition, contact in the workplace, military service, studying at university and urbanisation are some of the forces which unify the linguistic systems (Weinreich, 1953, cited in Chambers, 1995: 74), while a lack of these factors results in divergence (Trudgill, 1986: 98).

To measure contact for the purpose of the quantitative model adopted in this thesis, a contact index has been devised. Its division is globally and locally based, as it is

a community-specific modification of Al-Essa's (2008) index (utilising my local knowledge and ethnography). The contact index consists of the following five values:

1. Friend and social activities (close relationships with non-Mišlab friends).
2. Family (a member of the family, e.g., mother or wife, is non-Mišlab, i.e., outsider who speaks a mid-Mesopotamian dialect).
3. Education or workplace (education or work in a government office increases the exposure to the mid-Mesopotamian-like dialect, because teachers and office workers normally speak this dialect).
4. Geographical mobility (living or regular travel outside the city increases exposure)
- 5- Neighbourhood.

Each value has two possibilities; of increasing exposure to the mid-Mesopotamian-like, which gives the speaker a score of 1 point, and of decreasing exposure, which gives a mark of 0 points. For example, the family criterion would be applied as follows:

Q/ Are either of your parents and partner from the tribe?

- Both of the informant's parents or his partner are from the tribe. (Score = 0)
- Mother of the informant or his partner is not from the tribe. (Score = 1)

All of the informants have some degree of contact with speakers from other communities. Therefore, none of them scored 0. The most frequent scores are two and four. Based on the scores, as some cells were empty, I worked with a two-level scale presented below which Rbrul reports as showing significant difference in speech of low and high contact informants:

Contact	High	Low	total
Index	3–5 points	1–2 points	
Number of informants	26	27	53

Table 3.3: Sample: social contact index

Information about the participants' level of contact was obtained by directly or indirectly raising certain questions during the interview. Examples of the questions are listed below:

Q/ Have you or a member of your family lived in a mid-*gilit*-speaking area? For how long?

- S/he never lived in a mid-*gilit*-speaking area.
- S/he has lived in a mid-*gilit*-speaking area for more than six months.

Q/ Do you have friends from outside the community? How often do you socialise with them?

- S/he spends lot of time with Mišlab relatives.
- S/he spends lot of time with non-Mišlab friends.

Q/ where did/do you study?

- S/he studied in Qal'at Siker.
- S/he studied outside Qal'at Siker.

Q. Do you have non-Mišlab neighbours?

- Most of the informant's neighbours are from the tribe.
- Most of the informant's neighbours are not from the tribe.

3.5 Linguistic Variables

The research is centred on the analysis of two of the salient variables of the southern Iraqi dialect; namely (dʒ) and (k).

In the speech of the community under investigation, (dʒ) has two variants: (1) the supra local variant which is the alveopalatal affricate [dʒ]; and (2) the semivowel or glide

[j], the traditional south Mesopotamian reflex. Below are some examples:

/rajja:l/ ~ /radʒdʒa:l/ ‘man’

/jo:ʕ/ ~ /dʒo:ʕ/ ‘hunger’

/niʕjaz/ ~ /niʕdʒaz/ ‘we give up’

/miʕja:na/ ~ /miʕdʒa:na/ ‘mixing bowl’

The second variable is (k), which concerns deaffrication of /k/ in the stem of the word (but not in the feminine suffix as it is not variable in this morpheme). The data shows that for (k) there are two variants: (1) the affricated or lenited [tʃ], which is the traditional feature of the dialect; and (2) the velar variant [k] which is considered to be the incoming feature. Below are some examples:

/kiðib/ ~ /tʃiðib/ ‘lying’,

/kilma/ ~ /tʃilma/ ‘word’,

/akil/ ~ /atʃil/ ‘food’

/arakib/ ~ /aratʃib/ ‘I cook’

/maʕʃu:l/ ~ /matʃku:l/ ‘you are not discharged’

/jiʕbitʃ/ ~ /jiʕbik/ ‘he stapled’

/tʃammalta/ ~ /kammalta/ ‘I added to it’

/matʃbu:s/ ~ /makbu:s/ ‘pickled’

/tʃabsa/ ~ /kabsa/ ‘meal rice’

/miʕʔa:n/ ~ /mika:n/ ‘place’

/tʃam/ ~ /kam/ ‘some’

/biʃir/ ~ /bikir/ ‘the oldest son’

/hja:ʃa/ ~ /hja:ka/ ‘sewing’

/ðiʃir/ ~ /ðikir/ ‘mention’

/ʃaʃab/ ~ /kaʃab/ ‘ankle’

/ʃibda/ ~ /kibda/ ‘liver’

/ʃatif/ ~ /katif/ ‘shoulder’

/θaʃla/ ~ /θakla/ ‘she is bereaved’.

Our investigation focuses on what the use of these sounds in Qal‘at Siker reveals about changes taking place in the speech of southerners in the city as a result of both the influence of mid-areas like Baghdad and the impact of regional differences brought into Qal‘at Siker through immigration and mobility. More specifically, Baghdadi-like Arabic, in which /dʒ/ is always [dʒ], is assumed to affect linguistic developments in Qal‘at Siker towards a preference for the presence of [dʒ] that would eliminate the regional difference between the city and the more central area. That is, a process of levelling has taken place in that Southern speech forms were abandoned in favour of others from the central communities. Speakers also vary between two versions of (k) in the stem, which is affricated to [ʃ], the localised feature, e.g., /niʃi:l/ ‘we weigh/measure’, but is maintained as [k] in the koineised mid-Mesopotamian norm, e.g. /niki:l/ ‘we weigh/measure’. Baghdadi Arabic, in which [k] is prevalent, is also assumed to trigger a preference for [k] in the southern-*gilit* dialect. In the absence of studies of this feature in Baghdad, it cannot be stated with any certainty when [ʃ], which is the original Baghdadi form, was deaffricated or to what extent. However, since the realisation of /k/ is variable in Baghdad, and the target is [k], the variation in the locality investigated in the current

research which has the same target variant is assumed to be a case of convergence towards Baghdad (see 5.4). I hypothesised that a more advanced deaffrication processes of /k/ is undergoing in Baghdad, that triggers the deaffrication in other gilit dialects¹⁵. The motive behind reducing [tʃ] could be the social stigma attached to this variant as it may define its user as rural and uncivilised speaker (see 1.6¹⁶). Other possibility could be the influence of qiltu dialect (as a part of probably on-going gilit-dominated Koneisation) or even of neighbouring Arabic dialects like the Jordanian where many Iraqis especially from Baghdad worked in Amman during the US sanctions. Borrowed lexical items are not regarded as an instance of the (dʒ) or (k) variables in my study and are therefore excluded from the data, i.e. they fall outside the envelope of variation.

3.6 Data collection

This section describes how data were obtained and how the process of data collection was conducted.

3.6.1 Sociolinguistic interview

Linguistic data can be generally obtained by questionnaires, interviews or observation. These sociolinguistic methods can be more or less viewed as a methodological continuum, occurring between two opposing poles: elicited controlled data versus uncontrolled observational data. At one end, a method like the questionnaire prompts the data from a choice among a closed group of probable answers. Thus, a method at this end constrains an informant to select one of several potential responses. At the other end, the uncontrolled pole, we find the method of collecting freely occurring interaction data like the sociolinguistic interview. In interviews, the researcher observes

¹⁵ A study is still needed to verify this hypothesis.

¹⁶ This section states that in TV materials like series, the person who usually uses gilit variants like [tʃ] is rural and uneducated and is usually ridiculed for this.

instances of real-life language use. There is no constraint on what the informants say in the interview. In contrast to the first pole, it is apparent that the interview observation scores high for authenticity (Milroy and Gordon: 2003). It is known to researchers that the nature of the phenomenon to be studied governs the choice of methodology to be used, and then controls the choice of the data collection tool. And the nature of the variation requires variationist researchers to use this tool of the sociolinguistic interview because it elicits casual speech, the vernacular (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Labov (1972b: 209) states that “the only way to obtain sufficient good data on the speech of any person is through an individual, tape-recorded interview”. Accordingly, this method was chosen as the means of collecting data for the current study.

Milroy and Gordon (2003) suggest that a successful interview is conditioned by pre-planning, to ensure the continuity of the interview as well as spontaneity of the speech. The interview in this study was planned, based on prior identification of topics of discussion, as well as of the interviewees (persons with adequate characteristics identified for the community, as discussed above).

In the design, I set a number of questions to maintain control over the course of the interview. Labov (1984) called these sets of questions about particular topics a “conversational network”. For me to identify all the questions that could help in the interview, I based the conversational network on previous studies (universal topics as well as those which were community-specific). The topics which were covered were things like the history of the tribe and its city, memories of childhood, personal experiences, job experience, education, travelling, occasions, and so on. Interview topics varied according to the speakers and their interests. During the interviews topics of conversation were partly left to occur spontaneously. The topics which elicited narratives were especially useful in generating spontaneous speech (Becker, 2013).

In the design, I considered the logical sequence of questions and precise wording as well as clarity. This was done, say, by asking the respondent to review his life history, beginning with the past and ending with the present (or vice versa). I also tried to give special importance to the initial phase of the interview. I usually began with a welcome and general discussion, for example talking about the well-being of the participant. I doing so, I generally followed Tagliamonte's (2006) advice that it is the best that the researcher begins by asking general questions about the community, neighbourhood, and so on, and then gradually focuses attention on narrowing the scope of the questions to personal and more involved ones, by reviewing the circumstances of the social development of the respondent, and his/her hopes and desires.

Usually interviews started after giving the participants the consent forms and assuring them that these interviews are for research purposes only. At the beginning of the interview, the objectives of the research were fully explained. Although the speakers had been informed of the study's purpose, the nature and variety of the topics discussed in the interview helped largely to divert their attention to it. The informants were encouraged to elaborate on the different questions, and the prolonged narratives they provided in a way has ensured a spontaneous flow of information and speech.

Time and place of the interview were also taken into consideration. Labov (1984) recommended that an hour is the optimal length of an interview, whereas Milroy and Gordon (2003) suggested that valuable phonological data can be obtained even with shorter interviews, e.g., 20-30 minutes. I allowed sufficient time for the interviewee to talk about the subject of the interview and to express his/her views. The average length of the interview was 45 minutes. The location was usually a quiet room in the house of the informants. I selected a Sony digital recorder (ICD-UX200F) to record the interviews.

This device is small, can be placed quite close to the informants without distracting them, and it does not necessitate the use of an external microphone.

The main problem facing linguists who deal with data from ordinary life is the observer's paradox. As Labov (1972b) states, the goal of linguists is to discover how people speak when they are not being observed. However, methodologically, this cannot be achieved unless they are observed, which would therefore affect their behaviour. Chambers and Trudgill (1980) believe that when a speaker is being observed s/he will be inclined to produce his/her 'best' speech. This problem is not fully resolved in sociolinguistic research. To overcome the observer's paradox, it is advised that the interview starts with general questions about them (Trudgill, 2004: 49). Labov (1972b) also remarked that interviewing a group rather than an individual can help reduce the effect of the observer's paradox. In addition, the case of my research and given the turbulent political situation that has plagued the country over the past decades, I steered away from topics that could distress the informants, e.g., politics and religion. In other words, I tried to overcome the problem of the observer's paradox by actually not addressing emotional and distressing topics, but simply by making my informants' experience of being interviewed feel like a pleasant and relaxed social event, similar to an ordinary gathering between friends and family over a cup of tea. I dealt with the interviewing process as a social event (cf. Labov, 1984; Milroy, 1997). In some cases, I invited the person who introduced me to the speakers in the first place to sit in the interviews. This has two advantages, firstly, it would yield the effect of a group recording but with the focus remaining on the individual informant. In the present study, the interviews were frequently conducted in groups made up of one actual participant (interviewer) with three other people present, contingent upon the individuals available, as interviewing in a group has the advantage of reducing the formality level (Russell,

1982). Milroy and Gordon (2003: 66) remark that “changing the dynamics of the interview away from the one-on-one format can also facilitate the production of casual speech”. The interview was, therefore, conducted not individually but in a group, interviewing the informant in the presence of his friend. They felt more comfortable with their friends who usually encouraged them to speak by reminding them of certain events. However, I agreed in advance with the accompanying people to reduce their level of intervention. I tried to ensure to the best of my ability that the intended informant remained the heart of the interaction. Sometimes the interview was broken up by a telephone call or a third person entering the room to speak to the interviewee or bring tea. This interruption increased the spontaneity of the speech.

3.6.2 Pilot study

It is always advisable to test the various strategies that the researcher intends to apply in his/her research in a pilot study first, in order to make sure that everything planned by the researcher is workable and there are no unforeseen problems. The pilot study is aimed to test the interview in the field (in practice) in order to ascertain that the method is valid and to measure the extent to which members of the research community understand and respond well to the questions. In this study, this was achieved by interviewing five informants from the speech community who met the specifications of the sample to be interviewed. I also aimed to ensure that the identified linguistic features were variable and that the social factors were operative for the sample of the study. The pilot study confirmed that both the linguistic and social variables selected were viable. That is, based on descriptive numbers (not statistical analysis), their speech shows that each of (dʒ) and (k) among others has two variants. In addition, the data shows that there a difference in the usage of the variants of these two variables by men and women, high

and contact speakers, but this difference still needs to be confirmed statistically which is the target of the study. Accordingly, the pilot study served as an initial confirmatory observation of hypothesised patterns of variability in these selected phonological variables.

3.6.3 Ethics

The ethics of scientific research requires respect for the rights, opinions and dignity of the participants. The principles of research ethics generally adopt the values of benefit and avoidance of harm. These values were the focal ethical considerations during the research process. Ethical approval was obtained through the University of Essex prior to data collection. I tried to build a relationship of trust with those I worked with, in order to facilitate greater cooperation and more accurate results. I always ensured that I had prior approval through a consent form, the content of which was explained to the participants. I also considered the feelings of others and their right to anonymity. To ensure their anonymity, the participants in this research are referred to by codes and numbers.

3.7 Treatment of the data

In a pre-analysis stage, I aimed to prepare the data for the main analysis. To achieve this, I used ELAN (Version 5.0.0) to process the data in the recordings directly. I created a template that could be used with all the recordings. I only needed to listen to the recording and segment the data that contains the dependent variable. Then I transcribe the tokens and extract the field values needed. In ELAN, the segment can be checked and heard immediately, and we can return to the sound whenever required. I got data from several informants, each in a separate ELAN file, but then I put all the extracted data into one worksheet in Excel.

With ELAN, I was able to finalise all that is related to both dependent and independent linguistic variables as the following two steps will show: the first step in running ELAN is to find and label tokens of the dependent variable. The file is segmented by highlighting a portion of the waveform that appears to contain the token to create an annotation field to code that token; the word that contains the (dependent variable) is written. Second, after determining what tokens will be included in the analysis, the independent linguistic variables are coded. Once this had been done, I checked the coding for accuracy and consistency. Figure shows a screenshot of a sample file in which coding for (dʒ) is done. Below the tier for the transcription of the token, which contains the words of the dependent variable I added eight tiers:

- Token: /ʔɪjɔ:/ ‘they came to him’.
- (dʒ): the tier on which the dependent variable is coded – [j] indicates that it is the weak variant.
- Preceding sound: this tier shows a code for the first independent variable considered, the sound before [j] which is /i/.
- Following sound: this tier shows a code for the second independent variable, the sound that comes after [j] which is /ɔ:/.
- Geminate: singleton
- Stress: stressed
- Syllable number: disyllabic
- Syllable structure: heavy
- Syllable position: onset

The screenshot displays the ELAN 5.0.0-beta interface for the file '170414_001 Mutra 2.wav'. The top menu bar includes 'File', 'Edit', 'Annotation', 'Tier', 'Type', 'Search', 'View', 'Options', 'Window', and 'Help'. Below the menu is a toolbar with various playback and editing icons. The main window is divided into two sections: a waveform at the top and a tiered annotation table below. The waveform shows the audio signal with a selection box from 00:14:57.483 to 00:14:58.727. The annotation table has a 'Token' tier with the value 'tjɔ:' and other tiers such as 'Preceding Sound', 'Following sound', 'Geminate', 'Stress', 'Syllable number', 'Syllable structure', and 'Syllable position'.

3-1 ELAN sample¹⁷

Although Meyerhoff (2009: 4) proposes that “...the most commonly-used quantitative tests generally require at least 20 tokens to produce reliable results”, I worked with data from 53 speakers and marked at least 60 tokens of each variable in ELAN for each speaker. It is noteworthy to mention that a maximum of three repeated tokens for each word was allowed per speaker, because having a greater number, greater than three, of lexical items may skew the outcomes of the statistical analysis (see Tagliamonte, 2012). The final step in ELAN is to export the coded tokens to a text file and then to an Excel file for statistical analysis. At this stage, the social predictors (age, gender, level of contact) are coded for in Excel so that both linguistic and social factors are included in the same sheet. This phase is important because it allows us to obtain a visual view of the data.

¹⁷ See also, 4.5, 5.5, Table 4.1 and Table 5.1 for further details and examples

I move now to the analysis phase. The main objective of this stage is to describe and summarise the basic characteristics of the data (dialect) so that we have an idea of how the variables are distributed and we can observe correlations between the variables and thus build conclusions on how the data are formed. It should be noted here that descriptive analysis does not allow us to make conclusions or to assert the validity of certain theories beyond the statistical description of the data. Most variationist studies now are based on quantitative statistics to study the data as it relates to certain independent variables, such as gender or age. This subsequent stage involves using Rbrul, a package that runs in R, to carry out logistic regression analysis (developed by Johnson 2009). Two processes were applied with this software after uploading the data from the Excel file, (1) cross-tabulation to look for interaction between two independent variables, and (2) multivariate analysis to show which factors have a significant effect on the dependent variable.

In this study, multiple independent variables were selected, both linguistic and social, therefore, running multiple chi-square tests is not the best choice in the study. This study considers the use of the variables (dʒ) and (k) in their social context, e.g., speaker age, and their linguistic environment, e.g., the preceding sounds. In this study it was hypothesised that, for example, younger speakers would mostly use [dʒ], and older speakers mostly [j], and a chi-square test could find a significant difference between the ages, with older people using more of the [j] variant. This could be indicative of age-based variation for (dʒ) but could also be traceable to the well-known preceding sound effect on (dʒ), whereby front vowels favour the [j] variant. Because social factors and phonological environment

“were confounded – tied up with each other – in our data collection, we can’t tease their effects apart [and therefore a chi-square test is unsuitable].

Multivariate analysis is a statistical test that can tease apart independent variables when they are tied up with one another”.

(Meyerhoff, et al. 2015:155)

Although the analysis is primarily quantitative, interpretation is also given to the systematic patterns it reveals. This is based on my knowledge of the community, as well as the informants’ comments, thus increasing the objectivity of my interpretations.

Chapter 4 The variable (ḍ)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a guide to how (ḍ) varies and changes in the dialect of the Al-Mišlab tribe in Qal‘at Siker. In this dialect, (ḍ) has two variants: the traditional form [j] and the koineised¹⁸ supralocal mid-Mesopotamian [ḍ], e.g., [rajja:l] ~ [radḍʒa:l] ‘man’.

The chapter is organised into two parts. Part I firstly covers the history and development of Arabic /ḍ/, relying mainly on hypotheses put forward by two scholars, Anīs (1999) and Owens (2013). In this part I also present an overview of descriptive studies that deal with the distribution of the variants of (ḍ) in modern dialects and review the results of previous studies that analysed variation in the use of this variable in several Arabic-speaking communities. The second part of the chapter presents my findings and analysis.

4.2 History and development of Arabic /ḍ/

Although some details about the Arabic phoneme /ḍ/ are debated among scholars, there is a broad agreement about its distinctive features as described by Sībawayh and Ibn Jinnī (1993). Regarding its place of articulation, Sībawayh mentions that the normative ‘correct’¹⁹ articulation of /ḍ/ is midway between that of šīn, /ʃ/, and kāf, /k/:

... wamin wasʿatʿ ʔal-lisa:n bajnahu wa bajna wasʿatʿ ʔal-ḥanak ʔal-ʔaʿla

from the centre of the tongue, between it and the centre of the palate

(Sībawayh, 1988: 433, translation by Blanc, 1969: 17; Al-Nassir, 1993:15)

¹⁸ Koinisation is “the levelling of variant forms of the same linguistic items (especially phonemes and morphemes)” (Kerswill, 2013: 231). In such a process, less frequently occurring forms will be abandoned in favour of more widely used variants in the dialects that are common in the region (Kerswill, 2002). Accordingly, in the context of current study, [j] is the less frequent variant in Iraq that is being reduced in favour of the commonly used koineised variant [ḍ].

¹⁹ ‘Correct’ refers to a sound accepted in the recitation of the Quran.

al-Xalīl (1980) adds to this that /dʒ/ is *šajriyya*, which means ‘arched consonant’ (Embarki, 2013). This led Blanc (1969) among others to infer that it is a palatal stop. Sībawayh groups jīm, /dʒ/, with šīn, /ʃ/, and yā’, /j/, for having the same place of articulation. This indicates that /dʒ/ was palatal in normative standard Arabic in the 8th century.

As regards the distinctive features, Sībawayh (1988: 431) remarks that an important phonological feature that distinguishes sounds from each other is voicing. Accordingly, he considers /dʒ/ to be a ‘majhūr’ sound, ostensibly “voiced” (or, in the words of Blanc (1969), “voiced or having a voiced variant”).

The third characteristic of /dʒ/ that Sībawayh noted is fortition. Sībawayh maintained that there are some Arabic sounds which are *šadīd* ‘fortis’ and others which are *raxu* ‘lenis’, and others which are midway-between. He considered /dʒ/ to be a fortis, ‘non-continuant’ sound.

In addition to the description of the place of articulation and its distinctive features, Sībawayh mentions variability in the pronunciation of /dʒ/. He mentioned the number of original Arabic sounds, stating that there are twenty-nine characters including /dʒ/. He then increased this to thirty-five and then forty-two characters by respectively adding the normative *mustahsana* ‘preferred’ sounds, which are the fundamental ones accepted in the recitation of the Quran and poetry, and the non-normative reflexes to the original twenty-nine characters. (This classification indeed may indicate a sociolinguistic consideration of the different variants). In the latter group, he added the two reflexes of /dʒ/, ‘incorrect’ pronunciations, (1) jīm l-lātī kal kāf (/k/-like /dʒ/) which is possibly as in Cairene [g]) and (2) jīm l-lātī kal aš-šīn (/ʃ/-like /dʒ/) which is highly likely to be the fricative variant (possibly as in Levantine [ʒ]). So, Sībawayh mentioned three variants for

this sound, and thus, it could also be inferred that the original Semitic reflex was still found in medieval Arabic.

The oldest account of /dʒ/ after Sībawayh's is that provided by Ibn Sīna in the 11th century (Kaye, 1972). In his description, Ibn Sīna only mentions “the contemporary normative pronunciation” of /dʒ/ “which is unambiguously a postalveolar voiced affricated [dʒ]” (Freeman, 2016: 178). This may suggest a change in the frequency of occurrence of the variants mentioned by Sībawayh in the 8th century, such that by Ibn Sīna's time, the affricate realisation may have become dominant.

In the Medieval descriptions, the variant [j] – the traditional variant in Qal‘at Siker – is not mentioned, although this does not prove that it did not exist at all. The contemporary realisation of standard Arabic /dʒ/ is considered to be the voiced alveo-palatal affricate [dʒ]. However, as will be shown in the following discussion, the voiced alveo-palatal fricative variant [ʒ], or simply a voiced palatalised velar occlusive [gʲ], are best considered as historical antecedents of contemporary standard Arabic /dʒ/ as maintained by both Kaye (1972) and Cantineau (1960) respectively.

Moscatti (1980) and Mitchell (1993), among many other modern linguists, see that the palatoalveolar affricate [dʒ] represents the general pronunciation of Classical Arabic /dʒ/. However, Cantineau (1960) has a different view that is based on his perception of Sībawayh's description, that it was articulated between the middle of both the tongue and the hard palate in the eighth century normative Arabic. Accordingly, Cantineau (1960: 58) considers that Classical Arabic /dʒ/ was [gʲ]: a ‘palatalised dorso-palatal plosive’, as deduced from Sībawayh's description.

According to Cantineau's (1960) historical analysis of the development of the phoneme /dʒ/, /dʒ/ was possibly inherited from Proto-Semitic *g. He believes that [g] is

the oldest common articulation among other Semitic languages like Hebrew and Aramaic, e.g., [gamal] ‘camel’, and it is still used in some Arab varieties as in Egypt, Yemen and Oman. According to Cantineau, Proto-Semitic had a post-palatal (velar) stop triad system, comprising the *q*, *g* and *k*. Only in Arabic, he contends further, this triad broke up because of the fronting of *g*. Consequently, Cantineau, proposed the following schematic view for the development of Arabic /dʒ/:

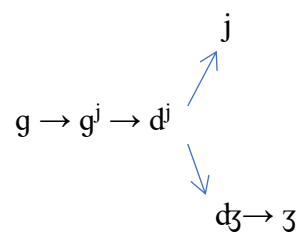


Figure 4-1 development of /dʒ/ (based on Cantineau 1960: 57)

In his analysis, he assumes that in the initial stage [g] weakened and evolved to [g^j], i.e., a cognate palatalised dorsal-palatal plosive, which later palatalised to [d^j]. These three different pronunciations continue to exist in some modern dialects. [g] is recognised as the most frequent dialectical realisation and is still commonly heard in a number of Egyptian dialects and the palatalised consonant, [d^j], is also observed as a possible realisation of /dʒ/ in Sudan, Upper Egypt (Al-Wer, 1991) and Arabia (see Al-Nassir, 1993). [g^j] is used in Oman (Al-Nassir 1993). In the subsequent changes: [d^j] lenited to [j], or affricated to [dʒ], which later deaffricated to [ʒ] in many dialects in the Levant, North Africa as well as in some dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. As for the reflex [dʒ] and the palatal glide [j], there is common variation between them in the modern dialects of some localities in southern Iraq and the Gulf States (e.g. in Kuwait and Basra; see Mitchell, 1993). One argument that supports Cantineau’s hypothesis that Classical Arabic jīm was not [dʒ] but in fact [g^j], is that jīm did not behave as a šamsī (or coronal) letter,

which might mean that the velar variant was inherited from Semitic *g and did not trigger assimilation.

Kaye (1970) introduced the hypothesis that the fricative [ʒ] is historically the original antecedent that gave birth to the modern reflexes. Kaye bases this hypothesis on his understanding of Ferguson's theory (1959) which suggests that the modern vernaculars of Arabic originate from a single koine. To support his theory, Kaye refers to the pronunciation of the Cairene Arabic word /wiʃf/ 'face' instead of the expected /wigh/. He believes that the lexeme /wiʃf/ in Cairo Arabic is a word borrowed from another dialect. On this basis Kaye suggests the possibility that the articulation of the word /wiʃf/ 'face' could have diachronically evolved in the following order: /waʒh/ > /wiʒh/ > /wiʒʒ/ > /wiʃf/, where /-ʒh/ was regressively assimilated to [-ʒʒ], and then [ʃ] was internally generated via historical devoicing of [ʒ]. Thus, Kaye's contention is that Cairene [g] is possibly not a relic feature but a reflex developed from [ʒ].

Anīs (1999) supports the velar-hypothesis proposed by scholars like Cantineau. He bases his conclusion on two arguments. Firstly, the development from [g] to [dʒ] and then to [ʒ] is natural, as predicted by the 'palatal law', a universal tendency of sound change, which stipulates that guttural sounds palatalise in the vicinity of front vowels (cf. English 're[dʒ]ent' but re[g]al both from Latin 'rego').

The second argument is based on the observation that Arabic lexemes are regularly not composed of homorganic sounds. This means that if the phoneme /dʒ/ had an original palatal articulation, it should have been the voiced counterpart of /ʃ/ and the palatal counterpart of /z/. Consequently, /dʒ/ would not likely occur adjacent to /ʃ/ or /z/, which is not the case, e.g. [ʃaʒara] 'tree', [ʒazara] 'carrot', etc. If, on the other hand, the antecedent of /dʒ/ is assumed to have had no palatal articulation, it would be the voiced

counterpart of /k/, and therefore would have been unlikely to occur adjacent to /k/, which is indeed the case as lexemes that comprise both /k/ and /g/ are rare. This is supported by the claims of Ibn Jinnī, as cited in Anīs (1999: 73):

[...ħuru:f ʔaqsʕa ʔal-lisa:n ʔal-qa:f wal-ka:f wal-dʒi:m waha:ðihi la:
taʒtamiʕ al-batta...]

the letters of the back of the tongue /q, k, g/ never co-exist.

The categorisation of /dʒ/ as a qammàri (‘moon’) letter served to some scholars like Woidich and Zack (2009: 44) as a clue to the possibility that the affrication of /dʒ/ might have been applied after the formulation of the basic rules of Arabic. Present-day /dʒ/ is potentially traceable back to a Proto-Semitic and pre-Classical Arabic voiced velar plosive /g/, which did not assimilate to the segment /l/ of the definite article. That is, in Classical Arabic /dʒ/ is not regarded as being among the ‘Sun Letters’, namely ‘coronal consonants’, which assimilate to the definite article; the fact that implies being velar. Woidich and Zack (ibid) argued that /l/ not assimilating to /dʒ/ designates that the affrication of /g/ must have happened after the assimilation rules for the article had emerged.

Owens (2013: 189) demonstrates that whatever the antecedent of modern /dʒ/ might be, [ʒ] as a variant of Arabic jīm is old as it dates back to Sībawayh’s time in the 8th century. He maintained in his argument that the perception of the sanctioned reflex would constantly yield the realisation [ʒ] which was found in the 8th century. Owens (2013) rebuilt Sībawayh’s taxonomy of sanctioned sounds (of which [ʒ] is one) and non-sanctioned sounds. He used this model to deduce variants. Owens (2013: 184) argues that ‘Sibawaih’s designation shiyn like a jiyim’ is a single variant composed of the place and manner feature from the first sound (šīn) and the voicing feature of the second sound (jīm). This description yields the variant [ʒ].

4.3 Distribution of the variants of (dʒ)

Johnstone (1965 and 1967), in his dialect descriptions of the eastern Arabian Coast, tried to capture the linguistic reality of a very wide area in the Arab World, namely Kuwait, Baḥrain, Qatar, the UAE, and Al-Ḥasa' (east coast of Saudi Arabia). In this work, he reported that one of the characteristics of the phonological systems of Eastern Arabic dialects is the lenition of the affricate [dʒ] to the glide [j] (Johnstone, 1967:2, 11). The variation between [j] and [dʒ] is found in each of these varieties of Eastern Arabia, and in Basra as well.

Although it is a characteristic feature of the Eastern Arabic group's phonological systems, Johnstone (1967) reports that the use of [j] does not occur evenly across its dialects. That is, the use of [j] is more prevalent and has an effect on more lexemes in the UAE than any other dialect in the Eastern Arabic group (Johnstone, 1965: 240). Further, the use of [j] is not equally preferable across each dialect. Across Qatar, the [j] realisation is more predominant in the northerners' speech than in the southerners' (Johnstone, 1965: 239-240). He reported that in Qatari Arabic, this variable has been realised differently by the two groups distinguished: (1) the dominant one of which is the Hājiri and 2) the northern indigenous settled and semi-settled group. Unlike the first group which predominantly uses [j], the second group utilises [dʒ] as the favoured variant. Whereas he reported only a preference for [j] in Baḥrain, Holes later limits this preference to the Sunni Baḥrainis because, for the Šī'i Baḥārna, regardless of their lifestyle, [dʒ] is the main variant (Holes, 1980, 1987), which is similar to the case of the second group in Qatar.

Furthermore, these dialects are also distinguished by Johnstone (1967) as to whether the variation occurs optionally or obligatorily. Johnstone (1967) reported that in the varieties of Kuwait, the UAE, and Qatar the use of [j] is not linguistically constrained,

i.e., [j] can occur with front and back vowels. However, not all [dʒ]-lexemes may surface as [j]. Johnstone reports that in Kuwaiti Arabic, [j] is not typically used in foreign words such as [dʒu:ti] ‘shoes’.

Further, he observed a tendency among the speakers of Kuwaiti to abandon the local features of the dialect. That is, the users of Kuwaiti Arabic moved from a preference for [j] to [dʒ], particularly in koineised Arabic lexemes, such as /ʕa:ladʒ/ ‘to treat (medically)’. Whereas, Qatari Arabic represents the Eastern Arabian dialect which is notably most conservative in its phonology, morphology and lexicon. He claimed a resemblance between these dialects and the ‘Anazi dialect group, particularly Qatari Arabic. According to the few distinct features he identified, he thought of it as typical of the more ‘Anazi-like grammatical systems. Further, he adds that it is not only a highly conservative Eastern Arabian dialect, but it also has more retainable features from ‘Anazi in terms of phonology, grammar and lexicon, than the other dialects in the linguistic territory.

Among the regional studies that draw a map for the variation in (dʒ) is that by Ingham (1982). In his dialectological study, Ingham (1982) investigated the Gulf dialects, and his collection of data comprises different regions in the north-eastern Arabian Peninsula including Khuzistan in southern Persia, Basra and Zubair in Southern Iraq, northern Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. He studied these dialects with regard to the geographic distribution of some of their linguistic variables, to draw the dialect geography of this area which he divided into three communication-zones:

- 1) Najd: Jabal Shammar, Qaṣīm and central Najd
- 2) Gulf Coast: Dammam, Hofuf, Dhahrān and Qaṭīf in Al-Ḥasa
- 3) Southern Iraq and Khuzistan

One of Ingham's (ibid) targets was the differential distribution of the variants of (dʒ). In his framework, he attributes social and geographical relevance to certain linguistic contrasts. One of the important contrasts is [dʒ] vs. [j] as a reflex of Old Arabic /dʒ/ in Iraq which he attempts to use as an isogloss. Using this contrast, he notes that an isogloss can be drawn between two main Iraqi dialect groups. It runs between the town of Baṭḥa on the Euphrates and Kūt on the Tigris. Accordingly, [dʒ] vs. [j] conventionally distinguishes two major dialects in Iraq, a northern and a southern dialect respectively, to the north and south of the line. This definite distinctive geographical feature became religious, one marking generally the speech of Šī'i and Sunni people respectively.

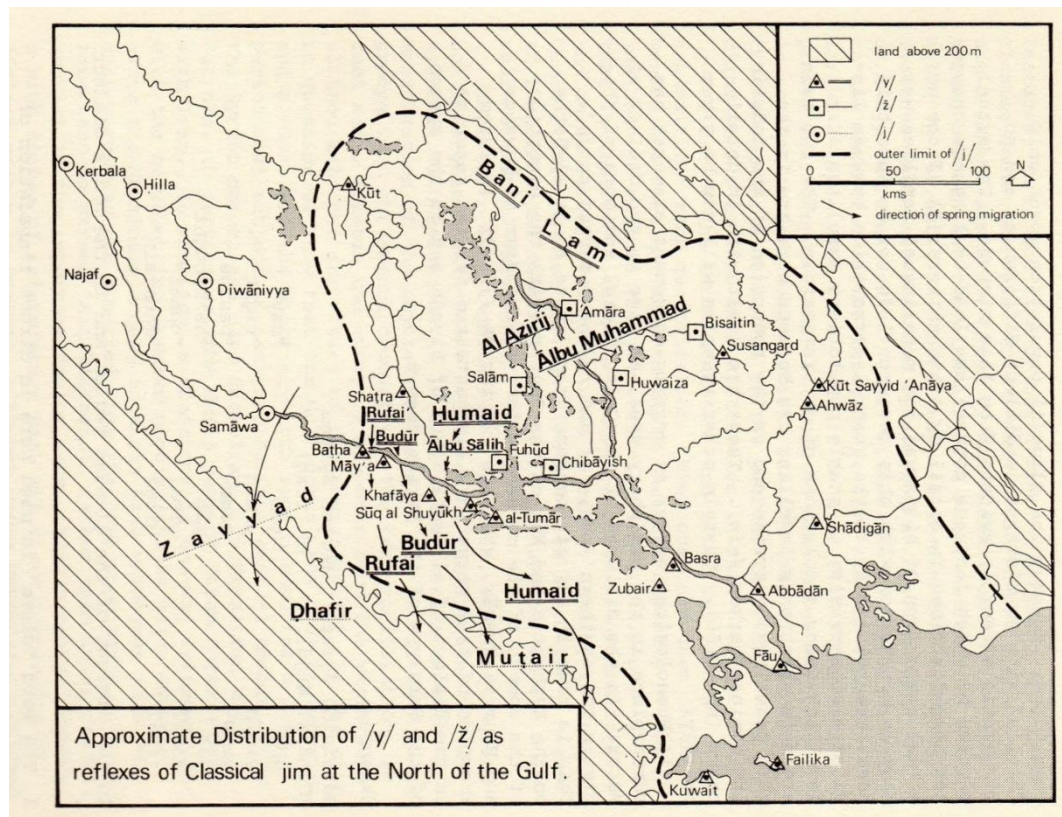
[radʒdʒa:l], 'man' (non-southern Sunni)

[rajja:l] (southern Šī'i)

An exception to this is the speech of the southern marshlands of the Haur al-Ḥuwaiza and Haur al-Ḥammār, where (dʒ) surfaces as [ʒ], [raʒʒa:l].

Ingham (1982) remarked that the relevance of a linguistic contrast may vary in different places. That is, whereas [j] is considered a southern feature in Iraq, it is seen as a sedentary feature in Kuwait. Thus, [j] is the main variant and a marker of the sedentary population in Kuwait and in the other Gulf territories while [dʒ] is a "Bedouin" characteristic regardless of whether people are nomadic or settled.

He went on to distinguish between the dialects of inner Arabia and those of Mesopotamia and the Gulf as being the most conservative and the least conservative respectively. The following map from Ingham (ibid: 36) shows the distribution of the reflexes of (dʒ) in the north of the Gulf.



Map 4-1 Distribution of the reflexes of (ḍ) in the north of the Gulf (source: Ingham 1982:36)²⁰

Adding to these areas is Holes' geographic distribution of (ḍ). Holes (1989) envisages a taxonomic analysis of the Omani spoken varieties. He demonstrates the diverse nature of Omani Arabic by offering the distribution of many morphological and phonological variables, including (ḍ), across Oman. He classifies Omani areas and the dominant phonological and morphological speech variants in terms of social and geographical distinctions to characterise the speech of Omani Arabic. He sees that Oman fundamentally has four dialectal groups which differ in lifestyles within fifteen areas. He recognises a core division between Ḥaḍari (Ḥ) dialects and Bedouin (B) dialects and a secondary division between each of these primary divisions Ḥ1, Ḥ2 and B1 and B2. This division associates the Ḥ and B dialects with the coastal and interior areas respectively.

²⁰ Bold names in the map refer to tribes of the region like **Humaid** and other names refer to place like Kut in Iraq which is to the north of the city under investigation. The phonetic symbols, /y/ and /z/ in the map represent /j/ and /z/ respectively.

[dʒ] and [j] are also the main variants of (dʒ) in Oman – the variant [dʒ] is a main reflex in Ḥaḍari speech, while the variant [j] is a marker of Bedouin speech.

In conclusion, these dialectological works suggest that (dʒ) can have a range of linguistic realisations in the Peninsula and Mesopotamian dialects and its reflexes can index dialectal division, among others like religious and ecological ones. Therefore, the correlation between the linguistic and social dimensions of the variable (dʒ) has been a subject of interest to many sociolinguists. The subsequent section will shed light on a number of variationist studies of (dʒ).

4.4 Previous studies of (dʒ) as a sociolinguistic variable

In the Arabian Peninsula, Al-Shehri (1993) examined the impact of urbanisation on the speech of rural immigrants in Ḥijāz (Western Saudi Arabia). He (1993: 42) studied in particular patterns of variation and change in the use of (dʒ) among a rural community (the Al-Šehri tribe) as a case of migration-induced contact in Jeddah, the most urbanised and cosmopolitan Saudi Arabian area. The group, southern Ḥijāz, is not only socially distinct from the people in Jeddah in that it is tribal and rural, but also linguistically marked by the preference for [j], unlike [dʒ]. He collected his data from 84 speakers, through sociolinguistic interviews and group conversations. The sample analysed consists of 22 women and 62 men between the ages of 15 and 60, with four educational levels ranging from uneducated to college education. The sample design was also constructed according to length of time in Jeddah, (1-5 years), (6-10 years) and (11+ years). In his study, there were no determinable internal constraints.

The findings show emerging linguistic changes linked with the urbanisation process. Al-Shehri (1993) gave explicit recognition to the existence of variation for (dʒ) between the rural variant [j] and the urban one [dʒ]. Since the variants of (dʒ) reveal a

pattern of communally based linguistic variation in both Eastern and Western Arabia, Al-Shehri (1993: 78-79) drew a picture of the differential structures of (dʒ) in both areas as the social meaning associated with this variable is contextually differently defined. That is, the variant [j] enjoys prestige in Eastern Arabia (Baḥrain) while [dʒ] is prestigious in Western Arabia. Trends in the preferences of variants gave each dialect its own distinctive profile. He reports that the prestigious variant [j] is a marker of the speech of the Sunni Arab of Bedouin descent and members of the royal family in Baḥrain, while the stigmatised variant [dʒ] characterises the speech of the Šīʿis. The Western Arabian speakers, by contrast, reverse the positions of the (dʒ)-variants, giving no prestige to the local [j], and thus directing the change towards [dʒ], the prestigious urbanised variant in the speech community.

The findings of Al-Shehri's research suggest that speakers' use of the [dʒ] variant is primarily influenced by education and age—and the younger and more educated the informants are, the more advanced the change towards the standardised urban variant [dʒ] is deemed to be. But overall age played a much more important role than education. There was little difference based on gender. As for the 'length of stay' social variable, the data showed a negative correlation, namely an increase in the rural immigrants use of the urbanised [dʒ] variant was associated with a shorter period of stay in the city. Al-Shehri (1993: 97) remarked that the rural variant [j] is not locally prestigious and the urbanised rural immigrants have an awareness that the use of the rural variant [j] is a highly stigmatised way of realising /dʒ/. Accordingly, he maintained that "this variant is undergoing a genuine linguistic change and may one day become obsolete in the rural variety" (Al-Shehri 1993:97-98).

Another study that shows a change from [j] to [dʒ] in eastern Saudi Arabia, (also as a case of migration-induced contact), is Alaodini's research (2019) in Dammam. She

quantitatively investigated two salient processes of which fortition is one in the dialect of the immigrant Dawāsir, who historically moved between Baḥrain and Saudi Arabia. Fortition was studied in relation to certain linguistic environments along with three social factors: age, gender and social networks. She reported that there was a change in progress led by young speakers towards [dʒ]. Her old women speakers on the other hand were more conservative in retaining [j].

An example of ethnically-based variation is attested in the two variants of (dʒ) in Baḥrain. As in the case of Iraq, in Arabia there has been cases of long-term persistence of community-specific dialects. In the small Arabian Gulf island of Baḥrain, the Baḥārnah and Arabs use different dialects. Baḥraini dialect variation is, among other things, socially conditioned by sectarian differences, unlike Iraq. In this social setting, Holes (1980, 1983, 1986, 1995) has undertaken a good amount of research in sociolinguistics that is relevant to variation in the use of (dʒ). His research concentrated on sectarian linguistic differentiation among the two communities, the Sunni Arab and the Šīʿi Baḥārnah in Baḥrain. He remarked that there were many systematic linguistic differences that reflect sectarian differences between the two varieties (Holes 1983, 1987). The contrasts between [dʒ] and [j] represent one of the important dialectal differences between the Arabs and three different Baḥārnah groups. This dialectal division is traceable back to a difference in the life-style—historically the Šīʿi are farming sedentary community while the Sunnis are descendants of Bedouin tribes (Holes 1983; 1987; 2001, xxii-xxix). He chose three varieties in Baḥrain as the locus for the introduction of the changes to (dʒ), namely, the Arab, Baḥārna A and Baḥārna B dialects. Despite the fact that they are numerically a minority, the Arab Sunnis' dialect in Bahrain, which also happens to have [j] as the main variant of (dʒ), is more powerful. On the other hand, the dialects spoken by Šīʿi Baḥārna A and Baḥārna B groups represent the less influential

dialects in the area. It is noteworthy that the [dʒ] variant is the common realisation of (dʒ) in the Baḥārna A, whereas the variant [j] is the more commonly used in B.

Holes studied the correlation between the degrees of the use of these variants and a number of social variables other than sect affiliation, including literacy, urbanisation and gender as well as a linguistic constraint, namely the type of lexical item. The findings revealed that all of these constraints were significant. The data also reflect some social integration in that the three dialects converge to some norms, resulting in inter-communal speech. For instance, in informal speech, on the one hand the Arab Sunni speakers consistently use [j] in contrast to a temporary shift in Baḥārna A speakers' [dʒ] to the power and prestige-related variant-[j]. On the other, there is a tendency for Baḥārna B to move toward Baḥārna A norms, namely the use of [dʒ], to establish solidarity within the Šī'i communities. In formal speech on the other hand, educated informants of all dialects converge to the use of [dʒ] the variant of the Pan-Arabic koine and of MSA.

Holes' work shows two tendencies. First, the Baḥārna's [dʒ] was shifted towards the Arab's [j] with far less tendency on the part of the Arab group to reverse this trend (particularly in the core dialectal words) (Holes 1986, 1987: 57ff.). This tendency represents an asymmetric power relation between the communities where the Arabs have a dominant political social role, and thus their dialect has higher local prestige. The Sunni dialect is a locally prestigious dialect of Baḥraini Arabic due to the authority of the Sunnis who govern the country and its resources (Holes, 1983). Secondly, this is not free variation; it is constrained and not only by sectarian norms, but also by literacy in Standard Arabic. In this respect both the educated Arabs and Baḥārnas tend to utilise far more standard forms than those who are illiterate. This pattern implies that the Arabs feel linguistically more secure because they have a smaller tendency to deviate from their local norms than the Baḥārna. If they deviate, they do it in one way, to approximate SA,

whereas the Baḥārna B, when diverging from their native norms, on the other hand, converge in two ways – either towards the Arabs or towards Standard Arabic.

Al-Qouz (2009) examined the effect of contact between Šī'i and Sunni pupils in Manama schools. She conducted the most recent examination of lenition in Baḥrain to offer data from Manama 30 years after Holes' original study in the 1970s (Holes, 1987). Al-Qouz thus utilises real time data, and thereby compares the trends detected in her work with those recognised in Holes' (1987) work on the same community. The findings reveal how the Baḥraini dialects have developed since the original work in the 1970s.

As far as the (dʒ) variable is concerned, the Sunni variant [j] and the Šī'i variant [dʒ] were studied by using a list of lexical items that had been proposed by Holes (1987). This list contains mainly lexical items with MSA equivalents but also included a few frequently-used dialectal words that do not exist in MSA; this was her linguistic factor.

After 30 years, literacy has highly increased and segregation in most major spheres and domains has been demolished. To fill the gap between the two groups, the regime has built new mixed settlements, and provided free schooling, etc. The two sects can live in the same area and their children can learn in the same schools, breaking down previous social barriers, as well as resulting in increasing interaction between the two communities. The historical communal division has started to lose its weight, and hence a process of levelling out of ethnically-based variation appeared among the present younger age group (Holes, 1995: 272–276), as the study of Al-Qouz (2009) shows. She found that students' exposure to Sunni peers in the school context triggers convergence (ibid: 83–94). Al-Qouz discovers that [j] has become the main variant in the younger Baḥārna's dialect and that the [dʒ] variant is rarely used, and when it is, it is used largely in fossilised words. The statistical analysis shows that all factors are significant. The use of

[j] is categorically favoured by the Sunni speakers of all age groups. This implies that Šī'i schoolchildren had no impact on their Sunni classmates' use of [dʒ]. But the collected data attests to a shift in the Šī'i female upper-class private school children's speech in the oldest age group (15-17), to the Sunni [j] variant instead of [dʒ].

Another study which took ethnicity differences as an important independent variable, motivating a change, but from a perspective other than sect is that by Al-Amadidhi (1985) on Qatari Arabic. The work of Al-Amadidhi examined the behaviour of (dʒ) within four categories of people: 1) Badu (Bedouins), 2) Qabā'il (Tribes), 3) Ḥowala (Returnees), and 4) 'Ajam (Persians). Al-Amadidhi (1985) reported that the lenition of [dʒ] to [j] is variable in Qatari Arabic and is assumed to be phonetically unconditioned, although is occasionally blocked in some lexical items.

Al-Amadidhi (1985) depicts two processes as accelerating the use of [dʒ] in Qatar, which he calls "colloquialisation and standardisation". They both represent tendencies toward opposite poles, in that colloquialisation will result in greater use of [j], while standardisation will lead to more [dʒ]. He studied the variation between these two processes in relation to a number of linguistic and social variables, including (dʒ). Linguistically, four sets of categories were distinguished according to which he divides the tokens along a continuum, with the opposing ends of the scale described in terms of two contrasts: the pure dialectal (vernacular) at one end, and the most standard Arabic and loan words at the other.

In his data, ethnicity is one parameter explaining deferential language behaviour. Therefore, forty-eight male speakers were divided into four social groups: 1) Badu (Bedouins), 2) Qabā'il (Tribes), 3) Ḥowala (Returnees), and 4) 'Ajam (Persians). With the exception of the Bedouin group, the others are sedentary. They were also sorted into

two age groups socially associated with the periods: old (over 50 years old) representing the era before the discovery of oil and young (between 20 to 35 years old) the era after oil. Also included as a social factor was education, grouped into elementary, secondary, and university-level (the latter only among the young age group). Further, in order to utilise register as an external variable, the interviews were designed to elicit three styles of speech: formal, casual and reading. He documented the finding that [j], unlike [dʒ], is found at the dialectical end of the above-mentioned continuum. With regard to ethnicity, [dʒ] is realised as [j] more often in the speech of the sedentary groups (Howala and ‘Ajam) in Qatar.

It is worth mentioning that the ‘Ajam group, who mainly used [dʒ], accommodated their linguistic behaviour to that of the other two prestigious sedentary groups, for whom [j] had become the norm. As for age, Qatari younger speakers increasingly tend to avoid lenition. On the scale of formality, Al-Amadidhi concluded that register had a significant impact in that the relationship was always positive between the formal styles and the increase in the application of the standardisation rule, (i.e. use of [dʒ]), and accordingly there was a positive correlation between the informal speech styles and use of [j]. [j] is favoured in faster and more casual speech rather than slower and more formal speech. Measuring education and its effects on the use of (dʒ), he found that there was a positive effect on the application of the standardisation rule, [dʒ], from speakers with higher educational levels.

In Kuwait, another empirical research that supports the prediction that variation and trajectory of change in Arabic is often in the direction of nonstandard prestigious features, is conducted by Taqi (2010). The (dʒ) of Kuwaiti Arabic also varies among the Najdi group, originally from central Saudi Arabia, and the ‘Ajami, originally from Iran. Taqi (2010) used different techniques such as picture-naming, interviews, map tasks and

language questionnaires. The ‘Ajami Kuwaitis pronounce (دڙ) as [dʒ] whereas Najdi Kuwaitis realise it as [j]. In addition to ethnicity, the variable factors of age, gender were also investigated in this study. As for ethnicity, the difference in the use of (دڙ) was significant in that [dʒ] and [j] were dominant in ‘Ajami and Najdi informants respectively. Among the different groups, gender and age were significant variables affecting only the ‘Ajami speech, showing that [j] is a more favourable variant to young females than their male counterparts. Above all, she reports a similar change to the one found in Bahrain; young Ajam speakers tend to use [j] rather than their traditional reflex [dʒ].

The researcher employed a sociolinguistic questionnaire to provide meta-linguistic evidence, where the respondent judges the use of different variants of (دڙ). The informants show a positive social attitude to the use of the Najdi variant [j] in that it is perceived as an important indicator of identity for Kuwaitis and continues to be a marker of Najdi’s social prestige.

It is not only in many of the traditional Gulf dialects that [dʒ] is lenited to [j], but also in the Levant, the lenited [ʒ] is used as a variant of (دڙ). Studies in the Levant show different observations on the use of (دڙ). The lenition of (دڙ) in Jordanian Arabic has been the focus of a number of linguistic studies (e.g. Al-Wer, 1991; Al-Tamimi, 2001; Al-Khatib, 1988). Al-Wer (1991) investigated the sociolinguistic variation and change with regard to the use of four phonological variables including (دڙ) in the dialects of three towns in Jordan which shows considerable variation in these sounds between the local [dʒ] and the non-local urban [ʒ]. On the basis of this research, with age and education as social parameters, she reported that this sound was undergoing a linguistic change. The men did not produce any part of this dialectal variation; they did not utilise the supralocal variants at all, and hence they were excluded in her research. Al-Wer also

found that women lean towards the adoption of the locally prestigious variants. In a follow up to this research in the city of Salt, Al-Wer found that men were beginning to participate in this variation but that women were ahead of men by a whole generation, and that gender, age and education were all variables that have an impact on variation in the use of (dʒ) variants. The more highly educated speakers not only used [ʒ] more frequently than the lower educational groups, but they also led all other groups in using the innovative variants. This important finding led Al-Wer to suggest that education is a ‘proxy variable’ that acts on behalf of contact (see Al-Wer, 2002)

The literature on (dʒ), reviewed above, largely unearth four observations:

(1) In modern Arabic dialects, the variable (dʒ) functions as a sociolinguistic marker of people’s membership in different social groups. These groups may reflect communal differentiation, as in Bahrain, or life-style division, as in Southern Iraq. Holes (1983) reveals that the prestigious reflex [j] is a marker of the dialect of the Sunnis in Bahrain, while the stigmatised variant [dʒ] symbolises the dialect of the Šī‘is. In Iraq, the prestigious variant [dʒ] is a marker of urban speech, while the stigmatised variant [j] is a marker of the rural or semi-nomadic communities. Ingham (1982) reports that the communal dialects of Baghdad are marked by the prestigious variant [dʒ] and the southern dialects by use of the stigmatised [j].

(2) The prestigious or stigmatised value placed on the variable (dʒ) is not only socially designated but also community-specific. Accordingly, whereas [j] has high prestige in Bahraini society, it does not in the Iraqi society.

(3) Every time change in (dʒ) is established, it leans towards the prestigious reflex in a society rather than the standard-like variant.

(4) The effect of gender on the change is contextually defined: while women use prestigious speech forms more than men and they lead the change in the Levant, men are the innovators in the Gulf.

4.5 Coding protocol of (dʒ)

In this section, I will detail the procedures for setting up the coding system, to test for both the social and linguistic constraints. For the linguistic variables, I looked at all instances of [dʒ] and [j] and I code for the following types of factors:

1) Preceding sound

In the codification of this factor group, I had access to the sounds preceding (dʒ). In the initial coding, the extracted values of this factor were all individual sounds in the data that were detected before (dʒ), which were /i, i:, e:, j, aj, a, a:, m, b, f, t, d, tʰ, n, ð, s, r, l, z, ʃ, ʒ, dʒ, k, x, ɣ, q, ʕ, h, ʔ, h, ɔ:, u, u:, w, aw/.

As documented in the literature (e.g., Lass, 1984; Kirchner, 1998, 2004; Mustafawi, 2006; Hart, 2010 and Choi, 2014), a linguistic value like that of a front vowel can be a triggering environment for the lenited variant of (dʒ). Hence, in a later coding, each of these individual sounds in the data file were grouped by the different places of articulation. At this stage, only [aw] and the semi vowel [j] but not [w] (because of the small number of tokens), were treated as separate linguistic codes. After a third reshuffle, on the basis of the results of the statistical test in different Rbrul runs and the number of tokens of individual segments, the final coding schema consists of the following re-grouped linguistic values:

- I. Front high vowels (including glide /j/): /i, i:, e:, j, aj/,
- II. Front low vowels /a, a:/,
- III. Pause,

IV. Front consonants: labials and coronals and

V. Back sounds: dorsal, pharyngeal, laryngeal, back vowels /aw, w, u, u:, o:/.

2) Following sound

At the first stage, I entered the following sounds individually. These were /i:, i, e:, j, a, aj, aw, a:, f, b, m, t, d, n, ð, s, z, r, l, ʃ, tʃ, dʒ, k, x, ʎ, ħ, ʔ, h, o:, u, u:, w, o/. I then re-coded them with respect to their place of articulation into labial, coronal, dorsal, high front, mid front, low front, high back, mid back, and pause. The semi-vowel /j/ was coded for separately. In the last run, based on Rbrul statistics presented in 4.6 below, the behaviour of some sounds showed similarities. Therefore, I reorganised the sounds into the following groups:

I. Front high vowels (including /j/): /i, i:, e:, j/,

II. Front low vowels /a, a:, aj, aw/,

III. Pause,

IV. Front Consonants: labials and coronals and

V. Back sounds: dorsal, pharyngeal, laryngeal, back vowels /w, u, u:, o:/.

The difference in the occurrence of individual sounds between the following and preceding environments is that there is no [q] [y], [tʰ] among the preceding sounds, but following environment has [z] that is not found among preceding sounds.

In the final Rbrul run, the pause tokens have been excluded from the analysis in both the preceding and following environments because the low number of occurrences of pause may have skewed the results. It is very small in number (77 tokens) in comparison with the number of tokens of other categories like 'high front' (1593 tokens).

3) Gemination

/dʒ/, as is the case for most consonants, can be geminated. There are different theories on how to treat geminated sounds. The first view is by Delattre (1971) who understands a geminated consonant as comprising twinning sounds where the first and second consonant function as the coda and onset of two syllables respectively. The second theory is by Ladefoged (1971) who sees the geminated consonant as a sound of an audibly longer period of time than that of a short consonant. The phonology of the geminated tokens in my data obliges me to base the segmentation on both of these views for the following reasons:

- i. [hədʒdʒ] ‘pilgrimage’ – in such a token the geminated /dʒ/ would have to be treated as a separate single long segment in the data file since it forms only the coda of the syllable.
 - ii. [rɪdʒ.dʒa:l] ‘man’ in a token like this, the geminated /dʒ/ was treated as two identical consonantal tokens in the file data, as it occurs in two different syllables. The first /dʒ/ functions as the coda of one syllable and the second /dʒ/ as the onset of the following one.
- 4) The number of syllables in a token: monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic or polysyllabic words.
 - 5) Stress: this was coded as to whether the variable was found in a stressed or unstressed syllable.
 - 6) Syllable structure: (dʒ) was coded as to whether it falls in a light syllable (CV), heavy syllable (CVV, CVC) or superheavy syllable (CVVC, CVCC).

- 7) Position in the syllable: (dʒ) was coded as to whether it functions as the syllable onset or coda (see Table 4.1).

Tokens	dʒ	Preceding sound	Following sound	Geminate	Stress	Syllable number	Syllable structure	Syllable position
ri:dʒ.dʒa:l 'man'	dʒ	Front high (1 st syllable)	Front low (2nd)	Geminate	Stressed (2nd)	di	Super heavy (2nd)	onset (2nd)
di:ja:j 'chicken'	j	Front low	Pause	N	stressed	di	Super heavy	Coda (2nd)
ɦi:dʒra:t 'rooms'	dʒ	Front high	Front consonants	N	unstressed	di	heavy	Coda
imja:wirtha 'she neighbours her'	j	Front consonants	Front low	N	stressed	Poly/multi	heavy	onset
to:jaʃ 'it hurts'	j	Backsound	Front low	N	Unstressed	di	heavy	onset
dʒo:ʃ 'hunger'	dʒ	Pause	Back sound	N	stressed	mono	super-heavy	onset
s'a:dʒ 'iron plate'	dʒ	Front low	Pause	N	stressed	mono	super-heavy	Coda
jisɪr 'bridge'	j	Pause	Front high	N	unstressed	di	light	onset
ilwidʒaʃ 'the pain'	dʒ	Front high	Front low	N	stressed	Tri	heavy	onset

Table 4.1: Sample of the coded linguistic environments of tokens taken from my (dʒ) data

The social aspects of each individual speaker in the data were coded according to the following social variables:

- 8) Gender: male and female.
- 9) Age: young, middle-aged, old.
- 10) Contact: high and low.

4.6 Results of (dʒ)

The multivariate analysis in Rbrul considered all the independent variables at once, with the application value in this case set to fortition, [dʒ], the innovative variant. Table 4.2 below displays the Rbrul results of (dʒ).

Sociolinguistic constraints on [dʒ]-fortition						
Application value [dʒ], R²= 0.354, overall use=67%						
Group factor	Factor	Logodds	Tokens	% [dʒ]	Factor weight	p-value
Syllable Number	Polysyllabic	0.50	425	78%	0.62	1.3e-07
	Trisyllabic	0.07	1812	69%	0.52	
	Disyllabic	-0.26	1968	64%	0.44	
	Monosyllabic	-0.31	173	61%	0.42	
Syllable type	Light	0.22	1134	71%	0.55	0.00147
	Super-heavy	-0.11	1166	65%	0.47	
	Heavy	-0.11	2078	67%	0.47	
Preceding sound	Front consonant	0.21	889	70%	0.55	0.000398
	Back sound	0.04	572	72%	0.51	
	Front Low	-0.02	1334	67%	0.50	
	Front High	-0.22	1583	65%	0.44	
Gemination	Ungeminated	0.19	4097	69%	0.55	0.0117
	Geminated	-0.19	281	54%	0.45	
Following sound	Front consonant	0.46	538	76%	0.61	5.24e-18
	Back sound	0.38	595	77%	0.60	
	Front low	-0.35	1815	67%	0.41	
	Front high	-0.49	1430	62%	0.38	
Age	Young	0.61	1042	77%	0.65	2.09e-40
	Middle	0.11	1853	70%	0.53	
	Old	-0.72	1483	58%	0.33	
Gender	Male	0.44	2209	74%	0.61	9.19e-31
	Female	-0.44	2169	61%	0.39	
Contact	High	1.15	1963	90%	0.76	1.19e-188
	Low	-1.15	2415	50%	0.24	

Table 4.2: Rbrul results of the correlation between [dʒ] and the independent variables

The first thing to note in the results is that the overall use of [dʒ] is twice the use of [j] at 67% [3018 out of 4503 total tokens; 53 speakers]. This obviously demonstrates that the local feature is being levelled out.

With the application value set to fortition, [dʒ], Rbrul (Table 4.2) returned that all three social variables had a significant effect on the variation, as shown through the p-values which were each below the threshold of 0.05. The test also tells us, through **p-value**, that contact has the most significant effect on my dependent variable (P<1.19e-188) out of all of the considered internal and external variables, followed by age

($P < 2.09e-40$) which in turn precedes that of gender ($P < 9.19e-31$). Rbrul also demonstrates that out of 7 linguistic factor groups, five groups had a significant effect on the variation, while the remaining two others (syllable position and stress) did not. The test also tells us that the effect of the linguistic constraints comes second to the significant effect of the social variables.

As far as the immediately adjacent sound to [dʒ] is concerned, the test reveals the following results. Front consonants favour [dʒ], in both preceding (FW: 0.55) and following environments (FW:0.61). [dʒ] is fortified, [dʒ], 70% of the time in the preceding environment and 76% in the following one. Similarly, back sounds favour [dʒ] in preceding (FW:0.51) and following environments (FW: 0.60). With back sounds [dʒ] is used 72% preceding environment and 77% in following environment.

Contrary to this, front high vowels disfavour [dʒ] in both preceding environment (FW: 0.44) and following environment (FW: 0.38) where [dʒ] occurs in 65% of 1583 tokens and 62% of 1430 tokens respectively. It is important to note that even though [dʒ] is statistically disfavoured in this environment, it still occurs more than the variant [j] in it, in about two thirds of the whole above number of tokens in each environment. [j] occurs in all environments up to about one third of the total number of tokens. Similarly, front low vowels disfavour [dʒ] in both the preceding context (FW: 0.50) and in the following context (FW:0.41). [dʒ] is used in 67% of the 1334 tokens in the preceding context and in 67% of the 1815 tokens in the following context. The Rbrul test thus reported that the lenited variant of [j] is most favoured when the preceding environment is occupied by high front vowels. This finding supports the generalisation that lenition is most strongly favoured in this environment, and thus comparatively lenition should be disfavoured with consonants and back vowels (see Bhat, 1978: 49). This is indicated by the results stated above; the more fronted the environment is, the more often the lenited

variant occurs, and the more backed the environment the more (dʒ) is fortified. Therefore, front sounds represent a more lenition promoting environment.

Regarding the variants of the remaining linguistic variables, Rbrul reports the following results:

1. Unlike mono- and disyllabic words, tri- and polysyllabic words favour [dʒ].
2. Unlike geminated words, ungeminated ones favour [dʒ].
3. Unlike heavy and super heavy syllables, light syllables favour [dʒ].

The variation between [dʒ] and [j] is generally phonologically constrained. All of the phonological factors (with the exception of syllable position and stress) were found to be statistically significant: following environment, syllable number, preceding environment, syllable type, gemination. All sounds except the front vowels favour [dʒ] in both preceding and following environments.

Shifting emphasis to the social constraints, the statistics reveal that the variable (dʒ) is highly socially constrained as it is realised as [dʒ] in all contexts by the young high contact male speakers, which means that the linguistic constraints are no longer operative as we reach the right-side pole of the spectrum (of young speakers). In other words, lenition is no longer triggered by its phonological environment but is now governed by social variables that favour fortition.

All the social variables were ahead of the linguistic ones in terms of their significance on the variation and fortition. High contact speakers favour the fortified form [dʒ] at FW 0.76 with 90% usage, while the low contact speakers use it 50% of the time, disfavouring this variant at FW 0.24. With regards to the independent variable of age, the first remark is that the tribe decreased steadily its rate of /dʒ/-lenition (i.e. use of the

traditional [j] variant) in all contexts over time. Old, middle and young speakers have a 58%, 70%, 77% ratio of [dʒ] respectively. Fortition was most favoured in the young group. This is communicated by a factor weight of greater than 0.5 (0.65), (see Table 4.2) and least favoured in the old group who have a factor weight of less than 0.5 (0.33), with the middle-aged group in between in favouring the fortition (FW: 0.53). Thus, both the young and middle groups are found to have a significant effect on fortition; the younger the speaker is, the more often the newer variant is used.

For the independent variable of gender, which was found to be significant, the factor weight associated with males, (0.61), tells us that they favour the application value [dʒ]. The females' factor weight being less than 0.5 (0.39) indicates that the application value is less likely to be used in their speech. Females use [dʒ] 61% of the time, whereas males increased the use of [dʒ] to 74% of the time.

For the reader, this finding may be difficult to comprehend, because while females do, statistically speaking, disfavour [dʒ] according to Rbrul, they still use it nearly as often as male speakers. That is, ultimately there's a little difference between 74% of 2209 tokens, and 61% of 2169 tokens. To understand what's going on here, we may need to look at the following (which will show us that the difference stems mainly from older men and women while convergence is brought about by younger men and women).

To demonstrate this point and the point that there is a change in progress, we need to look at the three social variables at once. In other words, a cross-tabulation is necessary to summarise the behaviour of the dependent variable (dʒ) with regard to the three independent variables at once:

Contact	Gender	Female	Male	Total
	Age			
High	Old	62%	95%	77%
	Middle	89%	93%	92%
	Young	99%	100%	100%
	total	80%	95%	88%
Low	Old	24%	51%	38%
	Middle	48%	58%	54%
	Young	57%	64%	61%
	total	43%	56%	51%

Table 4.3: Crosstabulation of [d₃] with all social variables

Contact	Age			
	Old	Middle	Young	Total
High	77%	92%	100%	88%
Low	38%	54%	61%	51%
total	57%	70%	76%	67%

Table 4.4: Crosstabulation of [d₃] by age and contact.

Contact	Gender		
	Female	Male	total
High	80%	95%	88%
Low	43%	58%	51%
total	60%	74%	67%

Table 4.5: Crosstabulation of [d₃] by contact and gender

Age	Gender		
	Female	Male	total
Old	44%	72%	57%
Middle	66%	73%	70%
Young	75%	78%	76%
total	60%	74%	67%

Table 4.6: Crosstabulation of [d₃] by age and gender

The crosstabulation could demonstrate that there is a change in progress and that the variable is highly socialised. Table 4.3 reveals that the community has decreased its

rate of /dʒ/-lenition (i.e. use of traditional [j]) over time, (this effect is statistically significant based on the Rbrul test; see Table 4.2 for significance for this data). That is, the use of [dʒ] by both males and females decreases in the speech of older speakers; and the use of the traditional [j] decreases among the younger groups until it disappears completely among the high-contact young male group, who use [dʒ] 100% of the time. A very similar behaviour is also observed in their female counterparts who use [dʒ] 99% of the time. The high contact old, middle, and young groups respectively use [dʒ] 95%, 93% and 100% of the time. This prevalent use suggests that there is a change in progress toward the koineised linguistic feature (which is [dʒ]). In addition, it reveals that the speakers' level of contact directs the change (see Table 4.4 below for a cross tabulation of contact with age).

High contact speakers in each age-group tend to use [dʒ] around 40 percentage points more than their low-contact counterparts; the middle-aged speakers in each low and high contact group use [dʒ] about 20 percentage points more than the old, and the young speakers use it about 10 percentage points more than the middle-aged (see Table 4.4 above). This means that there is an increase as we move from the old to the young groups. This indicates that (1) the high contact speakers favour [dʒ] and (2) the younger speakers favour [dʒ]. A similar behaviour is observed when contact and gender are cross-tabulated in Table 4.5.

Again, Table 4.5 reveals that high contact speakers favour the use of [dʒ] – among both sexes. The high contact speakers use [dʒ] about 40 percentage points more than their low contact counterparts. And the gap in the use of [dʒ] in the two sexes is the same. That is, females use [dʒ] about 15 percentage points less than men in both the high and low contact groups. This indicates, (3), that males favour [dʒ].

Although the level of contact has an effect – and it is significant as indicated by Rbrul – the detailed cross-tabulation above apparently reveals that it does not affect both sexes to the same extent. It seems that contact motivates the change more strongly in males than in females given that there is a bigger gap between the different ages in the high contact female group, unlike the high contact males. The range of the use of [dʒ] among the three-male age-groups varies between 93% and 100% of the time (as shown in Table 4.3). In the female community, on the other hand, the old generation uses [dʒ] around 25 percentage points less often than the middle-aged group, which in turn uses it around 10 percentage points less than the young speakers (high contact old, middle-aged and young females respectively use [dʒ] 62%, 89% and 99% of the time; as shown in Table 4.3). This can also be indicated when we exclude contact from the crosstabulation as in Table 4.6.

This means that the access to the mid-dialect (Baghdadi-like) is not the only crucial factor, but also the role of gender in the community. Females play a far less active role in the society (see the interpretation below for a further discussion). These percentages also reveal that the gap reduces (i.e., convergence to [dʒ] increases) as we move towards the higher contact, younger end of the spectrum among both sexes, and then increases further as we move towards the males' end. The range between the old and middle-aged females is about 20 percentage points, and between the middle-aged and young females the difference is about 10 percentage points. The gap between males and females is reduced among the young speakers: from around 30 percentage points between the male and female old speakers to just 2.5 percentage points in the young speakers.

In the low contact groups, the differences among the male age-groups in the use of [dʒ] are much bigger than in the high contact male age-groups. However, among the low contact speakers, the use of [dʒ] by both males and females increases as we move

from the old to the young speakers. The least use of [dʒ] is by the low contact old age group. The gap between the use of [dʒ] in low contact female age groups is relatively smaller than between their high contact counterparts. Also, the gap further reduces in the low contact young age group in both sexes, which indicates a convergence in behaviour towards the use of [dʒ] among the young speakers in general (see Table 4.6).

In conclusion, the female speakers tend to be more conservative than their male counterparts, with the old female low contact speakers being the most conservative, using [dʒ] just 24%. On the other hand, the male groups are more innovative, culminating the high contact young male group which are the most innovative and completely categorical (i.e. 100%) in using [dʒ]. This means that males are ahead of their female counterparts in using the new variant. The trend which has been uncovered between gender, contact and age shows the path of a change in progress. The categorical use by the high contact young male group also suggests that they are aware of the status of the variants of (dʒ) and that the linguistic constraints are no longer operative for them unlike among the more traditional and conservative groups. It could be inferred that the variation is more socially than linguistically oriented.

4.7 Discussion

This section provides an explanation for the varying linguistic behaviour of (dʒ) among the members of the tribe, i.e., in relation to the social factors. It was anticipated that the traditional features of the Qal'at Siker dialect (a south-Mesopotamian dialect) are being superseded by supralocal variants (of the mid-Mesopotamian norm, i.e., the Baghdadi-like dialect). As mentioned above, the statistical test validates this hypothesis (the general trend in the dialect). That is, the trends of behaviour in the Rbrul analysis reflect a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is taking place in the linguistic landscape of Iraq, namely levelling, in which centralised linguistic features of a certain dialect are

replaced by equivalents of a wider local orientation (Trudgill, 1986:98; Hinskens, 1993:11; Williams and Kerswill, 1999:149). The following section investigates why levelling is happening.

4.7.1 Interpretation of contact-related differences

Contact induces a process of levelling and the results above have revealed that contact has a very significant correlation with the linguistic variable. Migration, economic factors, the instability of safety, detribalisation, sedentarisation and education were proxy factors for contact and thus prime forces that drive the variation. Holes (1995) remarked that social changes like urbanisation, industrialisation and literacy among many factors can reflect and force linguistic changes, focusing on three Arabic cities, Baghdad, ‘Ammān and Manama.

Migration

To understand why this levelling of variables like (dʒ) towards mid-*gilit* dialect has taken place it is important to understand the demographics and social dynamics of Qal‘at Siker (see also chapter one for details). Levelling takes place in environments of increasing geographical and social mobility and migration. Qal‘at Siker is assumed to provide such an environment where speakers of different varieties come into daily contact with each other. It is an established city, and as Miller (2004) states, new cities will have mixed inhabitants who communicate through a koine (in this case the Baghdadi-like dialect).

Qal‘at Siker is agricultural with good soil and weather conditions, an environment that tempted people from surrounding areas to migrate to it and settle there, especially those from Baghdad (it has a street which was the first street in the urban part named ‘Šāri‘ ilbaġādda’ [ʃa:riʕ ilbaɣa:dda] ‘the Baghdadis’ street’). The tribe resides in the rural

part of Qal‘at Siker and there was a physical and social segregation with urban people. After losing their arable lands through the agrarian reform, the tribe moved to the urban part of the city and other cities. Baghdad has been principally an area that tempted southern people to migrate to it (see 1.5). Face-to-face contact with the urban community is significant for embracing the new reflex (see Trudgill 1986). Mid-Mesopotamian immigrants’ dialect may have diffused into southern forms and some elements may have been incorporated into the dialect.

Even if youngsters do not come into contact with the Baghdadi speakers, they do take over some Baghdadi vowel and consonantal variants. This may be explained by people who moved out of the area for a while such as students, people working in the military who then returned, bringing their altered accents with them. They become like ‘language missionaries’, transporters of linguistic innovations to their speech community (see Payne 1980; Llamas cited in Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Also, academic institutions and higher education in Nāṣiriyya has been and still is polarising large numbers of students from different regions.

Economy

It seems that people’s speech approximates the Baghdadi dialect, the socially more prestigious dialect of Iraqi Arabic, because Baghdad has been a major economic site for employment and services and a centre of “modernisation” in Iraq (Patai, 1971:13). After agriculture, Iraq became a single-sided economy based on oil. Throughout the history of modern Iraq, a gap has been growing between the south and the rest of the country. Unlike the other parts of Iraq, the south has not experienced economic growth. The industrialisation caused an increase in work opportunities in Baghdad, which resulted in southern people moving and evoking a general willingness to adopt certain features

that are typical to the Baghdadi dialect. For some features, especially vowels and consonants, e.g., (dʒ), the levelling leans more towards a general, Baghdadi form. Thus, we notice more dialect levelling towards Iraqi Arabic spoken by non-southerners encouraged by the high employment rates.

Historical and social inconsistencies

Recent wars and social inconsistencies in Iraq have caused remarkable political and social-demographic changes which consequently have had major effects on some of the dialects spoken in Iraq at the linguistic level (e.g. dialect levelling). The agrarian reform and the migration that started in 1940s, the coups and the Iraq-Iran war in the 1980s and the US-led international sanctions in the 1990s increased the amount of contact between speakers of different dialects especially from the 1970s (if not the 1960s) up to the present day. All of this has an effect on the social structure of Iraq and led many people from the south to travel to Baghdad to work, or to some neighbouring cities, even countries like Jordan (see 1.4.2). Under Saddam Hussein's regime, a large group of soldiers moved to Qal'at Siker, away from their home town in Baghdad and the north and vice versa. During the obligatory army service, southerners served in the north and vice versa. After the war and Saddam's removal in 2003, educated people (workers, academics and army officers) from different parts of Iraq, especially Baghdad, travelled to Qal'at Siker and other southern cities and vice versa. That has put Qal'at Siker's people in frequent contact with *gilit* Baghdadi-coloured varieties. Therefore, some phonological variations have begun to take place.

Indexicality

Labov (1972a: 3) records that before the spread of any 'phoneme' or variant "it is necessary that one of the two rivals shall acquire some sort of prestige". The

sociolinguistic variable that has been identified, (dʒ), has a rural traditional variant [j] receding in the face of the supralocal koineised mid-Mesopotamian [dʒ], e.g [rajja:l] vs. [radʒdʒa:l] ‘man’. Unlike in Gulf Arabic, [j] is a receding linguistic feature in Iraq. Such variation and change towards the prestigious dialect is a general tendency in language, reported by scholars such as Abdel-Jawad (1986) and Al-Wer (1991).

The increased contact triggers people’s attitudes towards their linguistic differences, which in turn triggers variation and change. The social meaning or indexicality were found important in triggering different patterns of dialect use. The study suggests that the social meaning attached to Qal’at Siker’s people as well as other southerners and their status within the community seems to inform its reduction in the use of [j], since this particular sound defines the speaker as ‘rural’. It is well-known that people can speak in a certain way using linguistic features that show they belong to a particular group, and they are aware of the differences between speech uttered within different social groups (Hudson, 1980). The speakers in my data are motivated to reduce their linguistic differences because of their awareness of the social status of the local feature, the rural variant.

Research has shown that cultural differences can give rise to different patterns of variation (Bynon, 1977). Since Qal’at Siker is known as being culturally different and having a strikingly distinctive traditional dialect, we would expect a change in their speech patterns. The dialect shows signs of levelling, because it lacks social strength; in other words, it is more susceptible to being levelled out. The change has drawn public attention to the ongoing disappearance of their locally distinguished features.

Urbanisation

One important phenomenon that caused social change in the Arab sphere is the urbanisation (Miller, 2004:177). Urbanisation took place during the period of oil discovery, which eventually contributed to language change (Holes, 1995: 273). There are vast and growing changes to Qal'at Siker's ecological system in the current period, due to expansion and urbanisation of the tribe as a rural settlement and its migration to urban areas (see 1.5). Urbanisation has increased significantly since the 1940s as a result of rural-urban migration in search of work, education or escape from the effects of the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. During the period of urbanisation, the Mišlab people experienced a social conflict, and were exposed to contradictory social values. This urbanisation of the community, in its several facets, and the related prestige factor has a great impact on the dialect, which reflects the Bedouin or rural identity. That is, this Bedouin or rural dialect has reduced the phonological features that mark it as typically rural, especially in the speech of the younger group. As a result of increased exposure, the change in (dʒ) is in favour of the reflex that is characteristically more urban, socially more prestigious and this reflex is [dʒ]. The urban group has always had a higher social status than the rural group. Throughout the change in lifestyle, they have abandoned some other traditions than the dialect itself. They have, for example, become Šī'i. This reflects how flexible the social structure is, not being very conservative towards their values (see 1.7). This social flexibility probably also feeds into linguistic flexibility.

Media and its social influence

Levelling may also be caused by prevalent media such as TV broadcast predominantly Baghdad-based, causing traces of the Baghdadi accent to be found all over the south. The media has also been regarded as a trigger in the levelling process (Gibson,

2002:25). The role of media in Iraq has been expanding its influence over the decades, particularly after 2003. However, even though it may have a significant impact, its effect is less salient than face-to-face contact, otherwise all of the people would have changed their speech. I believe that media in my context has another type of effect in that TV represented the power of propaganda against this class of society and their dialect (see 1.6). Therefore, the media may represent not only a source of exposure to the Baghdadi dialect in which [dʒ] are prevalent, but also, certainly, a source of negative attitudes towards the traditional features.

All of these reasons cause Qal'at Siker speakers, especially those who moved to the city, a disposition towards levelling.

4.7.2 Interpretation of gender-related differences

In Qal'at Siker, men use the prestigious form [dʒ] more than women due to several factors. First, there is an economic and professional difference between them which certainly has consequences on how the genders use (dʒ). Households were headed by men, the main breadwinners, increasing their chances of contact with other dialects. They interact with speakers of Baghdadi-like varieties far more than their wives, because of the job they hold, the time they spend outside the community and the military service. The male had to work in the city. This means that if he wants to get a job and to avoid criticism and social stigma, he has to reduce his dialect's traditional features.

Second, there are linguistic differences in the community that are related to one's gender because there is a variation across gender in terms of the literacy level. Old females were commonly illiterate while many of the old males were literate. Expectedly, old males normally use more of the prestigious [dʒ], as shown in the data. For the older generation, education was available mainly to men and it was commonly considered

inappropriate to let a girl go to school. Up to the 1970s education was not free and there was no conscious appetite for education. However, over the last decades things have been changing rapidly for women. Since the 1980s, due to economic and social change, there has been a leap in the literacy level. Education, thus, became an important factor for social change. The tribe sees the best future of their children can be attained through education and living in the urban centres. Any government career motivated them to acquire an education. I found that all parents wanted a different way of life for their children (see 1.4.4). They were concerned that the incomplete education their children received would threaten their future. Males increasingly were engaged in sedentary occupations in the government, e.g., in the army.

Subsequently, interaction turned out to be more diverse as contact among communities enlarged and became a routine both in school and at work. Therefore, we find a comparatively closer linguistic behaviour between young speakers (see percentages in 4.6). Literacy in itself is thus not important, but its increase reflects an increase in contact between speakers of different varieties. The education of a rural person entails the abandonment of the entire rural life. An educated child would need to emigrate to work or to pursue further studies in mid-cities like Baghdad or even outside of the country. If people want to pursue higher education, they should travel to Baghdad and recently Kūt and other nearby cities. If one sex is exposed more to the prestigious variant because of their social circumstances, they will eventually adopt prestigious norms.

The gender related differences disappear among my younger speakers; while the gender distinction increases as they get older. The contact factor explained the differences between the two sexes. Young men and young women differ less in their type of social contact; and therefore, converge more in the use of [dʒ]. There is gender separation between the sexes until they go to the university. In Iraqi universities, to marry or to have

a relationship, to be accepted by the opposite sex, you need to leave the southern dialect and ‘baghdadise’, and this is why the sexes converge. That is, it is not only the contact but the motivation to change. Thus, thirdly, contact triggers the motivation of avoiding stigma.

The data revealed that older women were found to be the ones who made the greatest use of the local variant of (dʒ). Nonetheless, although the older men and women have the same type of contact, men still use the prestigious variant far more than women. There are other factors that trigger gender differentiation than access, namely the roles of men and women in society. That is, the women do not have a significant role in society in comparison to men, especially within the older generation. This argument is often used to explain why women use more prestige variants. That is, western studies (cf. Labov, 1982; Trudgill, 1972; Paulston and Tucker, 2003) showed that women have a tendency to use more prestige variants as a compensation for their social insecurity. In the current community under study, where women are exhausted by wars and the dire economic situation, doing this would not secure a social position for them. On the contrary, this might put them subject to criticism by their peers unless their exposure to outsiders is increased where social pressure triggers them to reduce the traditional features as it is the case with high contact younger speakers. For older males, especially prominent figures, i.e. the public representatives of the tribe, the fact that they come in contact with other dialect speakers due to the nature of the tribe’s system means that there is a higher social pressure to reduce the variants that would otherwise identify them as ‘rural’ and ‘uneducated’. The same pressure does not apply to women, especially to the older ones. The tribe in Iraq forms a small government (see 1.7.2). Tribe leaders have such roles as juries and mediators, etc. The use of the prestigious forms indirectly enhances their status. While the domain of men is the tribal affairs, women’s domain is largely limited to

family. In fact, the same tribal traditions that give men freedom of movement actually restricted women's mobility due to values like honour and modesty.

While Qal'at Siker is increasingly urban now, as mentioned above, the effect of urbanisation is more accentuated among males than females. This is because women in general and old low contact in particular remain in the domestic environment. Although urbanisation may be well-established for men, it is a relatively new phenomenon for women.

4.7.3 Interpretation of age-related differences

There are age-related differences because, first, the three age groups lead three different life-styles, resulting in different amounts of exposure to the supra-local dialect. The rural life style led by the older speakers means that they have the greatest isolation and least frequency of interaction with other communities among the three age groups because they spent almost half of their lives in the rural part of Qal'at Siker. In the opposite pole, the young group were born and raised in the city, have lived only the urban lifestyle, and have had comparatively the greatest exposure to the other communities. Regarding the middle-age group, the members migrated during childhood and therefore have had experience of both lifestyles. Thus, experience of three different styles of living led the three age groups to have different amounts of exposure to the supra-local dialect. The speakers with the rural mode life-style drank water from the river, lived in a mud house and made a living from agriculture. Now, they live in a house with bricks, drink purified water and have jobs and this definitely forces the use of different ways of speaking. The traditional dialect is associated with the rural style of life and thus is not suitable for the urban lifestyle, as it reflects all the negative connotations of the less

developed society. The following comments by the informant, MKA, who is a 28 male high contact speaker:

jaʕni akθar asʕdiqa:ʔi min ye:r ilmiʕlab. ijɔzu:z ilmiʕlaba:wi altiɔi bi bas bilmuna:saba biltasju:ra la:kin dira:sti liʕbi tʕaliʕti waj ilbaɔija liʔan ihna ilʕaba:b ma:niltiɔi bas bilmuʕlab

I mean that most of my friends are from the other tribes. I may meet with Al-Maʕlabawi only on social occasions or for a visit, but my study, my play, my hanging out is with others because we, the young people, do not meet only Miʕlab people.

ilikba:r la: akθarhum ilmiʕlab be:na:thum ijgiʕdu:n bilgaha:wi siwa liʔan tiʕruf ilikba:r jiltiɔu:n siwa ʕalamu:d ilmaʕa:kil ilʕaʕi:ra, ilʕaʕa:, ilmuna:saba:t jru:hu:lha siwa

The old people are unlike the young people. Most of them only meet each other and sit in coffee shops together (the tribe has its own coffee shop) because, you know, old people meet for the sake of the tribal problems and the social event which they go together to.

This means that both old and young speakers have contact with the other speakers but not to the same extent with the insiders; young speakers have far less contact with the Miʕlab people.

The tribal affiliation is generally what binds the tribe (current community) together rather than their religious affiliation. The tribe, as one of the most important traditional social institutions, has been strengthened and weakened. It has been weakened since the start of the agrarian reform. And it is noted that tribal relations among those who took means of urbanisation, is much weaker than in the past, especially with the emergence of the State that has extended its control over every geographical area within its borders. The tribe has no direct authority over its members or opponents except to the extent permitted by the authority within the framework of the law of the State. Any change in this tribal social structure, as a result of weakening, would probably result in weakening its linguistic structure (see 1.7.2). That is, the members, especially young people, are less loyal to the tribal tradition and thereby the dialect.

For the old generation, even those who lived in central Iraq, they long for Qal‘at Siker and the rural areas. In the interviews, they were very happy whenever they mentioned their childhood and the rural life. They said that they no longer feel as comfortable as they did in the past, despite its difficulties, whereas the younger generation want to leave Qal‘at Siker as an indicator of development.

Therefore, age-related differences in the use of (dʒ) are partly related to people’s loyalty. The young speakers are less conservative and more preoccupied with the urban norms because they do not want to fit the stereotype of the traditional rural person. It is the way peers evaluate the linguistic behaviour of each other. Older speakers use more of the traditional forms because this is less shameful for them than for young people because this gives them the connotation of being tough and manly (as the old remaining people of the powerful tribe, inheriting the tribal features like braveness) (cf. Trudgill, 1974; Abdel Jawad 1986; Sawaie, 1994; Cheshire, 1998: 413). Among the old generation there is a struggle between moving away from the local dialect in order to sound urbanised (language is used as a means of securing a status) and maintaining it and sounding ‘manly’, whereas for young speakers, there is no such struggle. The youngsters’ use of the innovative feature hides their origin. Therefore, we see a difference between young and old males. Their use of the prestigious [dʒ] variant reflects the negative attitude towards being ‘Šrūg’. They in fact choose not to be identified as rural, and this is symbolised by the variant’s choice.

4.8 Summary of the results

The Rbrul results show that the linguistic variable (dʒ) is undergoing change from a lenited glide [j] to an affricate [dʒ]. (dʒ) is constrained by both linguistic and social factors. The findings of the study can be usefully represented in the following schematic diagram (Figure 4-2) which shows how the selected groups of speakers—defined by

gender, age, and social contact—differ in the way they use the variants. This diagram shows what can be more or less be regarded as a continuum, where the opposed left and right sides of the diagram can be described in terms of two contrasts; old and young; female and male; low and high contact. At the leftmost position, we find speakers like lower contact older females, who use [j] most. Moving towards the opposite pole represents tendencies toward greater use of [dʒ].

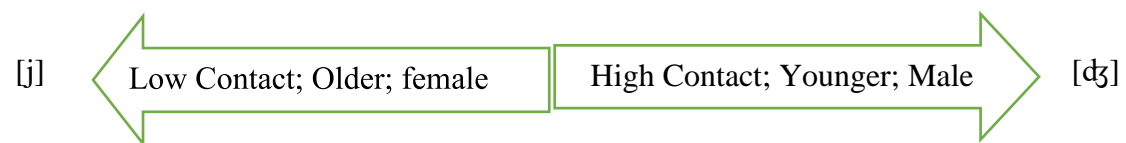


Figure 4-2 continuum of [j] and [dʒ] use

The replacement of [j] with [dʒ] is constant. In my data, there are no words that surfaced with [j] only at the rightmost position of the continuum.

Chapter 5 The variable (k)

5.1 Introduction

The first section of the chapter, (5.2), provides a historical consideration of the potential phonological process that has affected Arabic /k/ as attested by medieval grammarians and its development. This is followed by a survey of previous studies, (5.3), on (k)-variation as indicative of social and linguistic differences in different Arabic-speaking communities, i.e. the social and linguistic determinants of (k)-variants. This section will also provide the basis for a comparison with the results of the current study.

Before presenting the result of (k)-fortition in the present study in section (5.6), (5.4) is concerned with the processes that (k) has undergone in the supralocal dialect of Baghdad (mid-dialect) and whether they remain active or not, in order to understand the levelling of this feature in the current local southern dialect.

5.2 History and development of Arabic /k/

Variation in /k/ was noted as early as the 8th century. A process of affrication was attested by medieval grammarians but was mainly restricted to the second person affix as a singular feminine pronoun. Medieval grammarians referred to affrication in this linguistic entity as *kaškašah*. Sībawayh, in the eighth-century, described the process of *kaškašah*. He “clearly indicated three variants beyond -ki, namely -ši, -kiš and -kis” to the second person affix (Owens, 2013: 177). He explained that the trigger of affrication is the need for gender distinction, where the affricated sound was used as the only variant of the second person feminine suffix. Although Sībawayh noted reflexes of *-ik*, the designation of this process as *kaškašah* was used by later medieval linguists (*ibid*). However, what Medieval grammarians exactly meant by the outcome of the *kaškašah* is still not clear-cut. That is, the variants of the suffix *-ik* are not clear. Contemporary scholars have

different interpretation of *kaškašah* (for arguments in this regard, see Cantineau, 1960: 65, Al-Maṭlabī, 1978:109 and Anīs, 2003: 108). This is mainly because, as Al-Maṭlabī (1978:109) argued, Medieval grammarians documented the process using Arabic orthography, which is a written representation that lacks the symbol that precisely reflects the different reflexes, e.g., [ʃ]. The orthography of the time did not enable Medieval grammarians to document clearly what *kaškašah* refers to. Given this, the potential reflexes that the process might refer to can be suggested by the reflexes attested in the modern dialects. For example, according to Holes (1991: 653–654), on the basis of synchronic variation of (k) in modern dialects, the term *kaškašah* may denote the realisation of suffix *-ik* as *-if*, *-iʃ* (cf. Holes, 1991: 653–654).

Besides affrication of /k/ in the suffix, Owens (2013) sees a different medieval treatment of /k/. He believes that Sībawayh gave the affricated variant two treatments; one as a morphophonological function and the other as having a pure phonological function. The first treatment has already been mentioned above, i.e., the feminine enclitic. With regard to the second treatment, Owens mentioned that among the set of the prohibited sounds are ‘*jiym* like a *shiyn*’. He proposes the idea that these *jiym*-like sounds are understandable if the terms are perceived as follows: the segment analogised to ‘*like a*’ embodies the voicing parameter, and the sound itself encompasses the place and manner parameters. A ‘*jiym* like a *shiyn*’ is thus a voiceless *jiym*. He assumes that Sībawayh’s *jiym* is identified as [dʒ]; therefore, the outcome is [ʃ]. Thus, [ʃ] is historically not only a fronted (non-)pausal reflex of *-ki* but also among the non-canonical sounds. This argument about the existence of the variant is supported by its presence in modern varieties. Given what Owens argued, it can be said that /k/-affrication has been a natural sound phenomenon triggered by front vowels and advanced by the morphosyntactic function.

In the Medieval descriptions, the variant [tʃ] – the traditional variant in Qal‘at Siker – was thus mentioned, and probably already existed in both the suffix and stem since Sībawayh’s time, as Owens demonstrates. [tʃ] is still found in modern Arabic dialects as it is the case in the current dialect where affrication affects both the stem and suffix. Therefore, there are important linguistic links between the historical and contemporary Arabic dialects. However, a reverse process, deaffrication is taking place in the current dialect.

In his investigation of affrication of the velar stops in modern Arabic dialects, Holes (1991) attempts to propose the different stages in the historical development of /k/. He attempts to explain the developments by using the synchronic geographical distribution of (k) variants in the Arabic dialects, which echo the migration of Arabic communities from Najd to the peripheries of the Arabian Peninsula. Holes (1991: 666–667) states that the diachronic development of /k/ represents a long fronting process that took place over many centuries. He assumes that the affrication of /k/ to [tʃ] started around the mid-13th century, when Bedouins began to move from Najd to the northern and eastern fringes of the peninsula, i.e. Jordan, Syria, Baghdad and lower Mesopotamia. In the last stage of the process, the alveolar affricated variant [tʃ] was subject to a further fronting process to yield the dental variant [ts], which represents the present linguistic situation in modern day Najd. Guion (1998) tried to give a linguistic explanation for the development of /k/. Before [i], the velar stop [k] fronts to the palatalised variant [k^j] due to the coarticulation of [k] with [i], i.e., a change in the articulation from post-palatal to pre-palatal. Then, the fronted velar [k^j] develops to the affricate [tʃ] because of the auditory similarity between these two reflexes. That is, this leap is thought to be mediated by [ki] being simply confusable with [tʃi] rather than the reverse. Guion believes that affrication results from this single-sided misperception. Eventually, [tʃ] is further fronted

to [ts]. With this concept, the phonological change would follow the path: [k]>[kʲ]>[tʃ]>[ts]. Guión's analysis can show how phonological processes come about historically, by comparing the phonetic realisations that give rise to synchronic phonological patterns.

Regarding the variation of (k) in southern Iraq, Holes (1991) shows that affrication started in Central Arabia and spread outwards from there. He states that the alveolar affricated variant is found in the dialects of descendants of Najdi migrants of the early 18th century. That is, it is found in Bedouin dialects used in Kuwait, Baḥrain, northern Qatar and the UAE, the Syrian Desert and the western desert of Mesopotamia, southern Iraq (ibid: 557–568). It is worth mentioning again that Al-Mišlab tribe originally belonged to the tribe of 'Anaza and were based in Najd before settling in Qal'at Siker in the 18th century (see Chapter 1).

5.3 Arabic studies on (k)-variation in the stem

In this section, I will review a number of studies that explored the variation of (k) in the stem, relative to linguistic and social factors in the Arab World.

5.3.1 (k)-variation as a socially stratified phenomenon

This section reviews the main social parameters which have been shown to correlate with contemporary variation of Arabic (k) in different Arabic-speaking communities.

Religion is one of these parameters. An important study in this respect is Blanc's work on Iraqi dialects. The work of Blanc (1964) on Baghdadi Arabic took religious differences as an important independent variable. In his data, (k), among other variables, was one parameter signifying deferential communities. He (1964:25–28) found that

Arabic-speaking Christian and Jewish communities in Baghdad were marked invariably by [k] whereas Muslims were marked by the variable use of [ʃ] and [k] as variants of (k).

A second example of sectarian/ethnically-based variation is attested in Baḥrain. As has been mentioned, the division in the linguistic and social systems in Baḥrain is largely created by the sect-based division between the Sunnī and Šī'i social groups. Holes (1987) examined, among other sounds, the process of standardisation, that is the conversion of [ʃ] to [k]. Although all the social groups in Baḥrain use [ʃ] as a reflex of (k), it is still one of the phonological features that differentiates between the local speech of the dominant Arab community and the Baḥārna community. The unconditional affrication marks the Baḥārna dialect, whereas conditioned affrication is characteristic of the Arab community (Holes, 1995: 274). Additionally, the words which host this process are not mutually shared. e.g. the lexical item [ʃʕammal] 'he completed' (< [ʔakmala]) is a marker of Sunnī speech, since it is affricated in their speech only in this lexical item, whereas the word [ʔaʃʕal] 'he ate' is only affricated by Šī'i people. In the levelling process caused by urbanisation and social proximity in Baḥrain, the Šī'i dialect is the main loser. In other words, Holes (1987) summarised the situation in Baḥrain, by saying that the Šī'i speakers have a tendency to substitute [ʃ] for the Sunnī and "areal standard" [k] (Holes, 1983:13; Holes 1987:40-41).

Among the Arabic variationist studies that focused on the use of the variants of (k) in different ecological niches is Abdel-Jawad's (1981). He correlates the urban-Bedouin dichotomy with certain variants of (k) among different groups in 'Ammān and Irbid. He investigated the mechanisms of variation in these two cities which both represent hosting environments for urban and rural Palestinians and rural and Bedouin Jordanians. Traditionally the [ʃ] variant is referred to as a rural and Bedouin feature, whereas [k] attests to the normative value of urban speech. He found that the rural and

Bedouin speakers converge towards urban speech by dropping their [tʃ] form, due to the prestige of the urban variant.

(k)-variants have also been found to be indicative of ecological differences in Saudi dialects. Many localised Saudi varieties affricate /k/. Al-Essa (2008) conducted research investigating the contact-induced linguistic levelling process in the dialect of Najdi migrants in the Hijazi city of Jeddah. She examined the phonological feature of (k) alongside nine other phonological and morphophonemic variables. Al-Essa's community speak a rural and Bedouin dialect of Arabic that contains the affricated variant. The Najdi speakers accommodated to the Urban Hijazi speakers, through deaffrication. That is, the migrants were reported to deaffricate [ts] to [k]. So, the marked "localised" reflex [ts] lost ground to the prestigious [k] variant due to the speakers' awareness of the stigmatisation attached to [ts], as a variant known to be used by rural or Bedouin speakers. The affricated reflexes were largely attested in the dialect of old low contact speakers, demonstrating the recessive state of the affricated variant.

Another study that reports the same behaviour in KSA is Al-Rojaie (2013). He studied the affrication in the stem and the affix of Najdi Arabic as spoken in the Saudi province of the Qasim. In the dialect examined by Al-Rojaie, /k/ varies between [ts] and [k] (e.g., [atsil] 'food'). The envelope of variation was non-borrowed words that have /k/. The variation was examined in relation to independent variables including linguistic constraints like phonological environment (adjacent vowel), and social factors such as age, gender, and level of education. The regression analysis reported that front vowels are the context which most promotes the use of [ts]. Gender, education and age all have an effect on the use of the variable. Older, less educated males often affricate /k/ which shows that there is a change toward deaffrication (i.e., production of [k]) which is led by younger, female, and educated speakers.

The factor of style has been reported as another predictor for the variation of (k) in the Arabic dialects. In Jordan, for example, Abdel-Jawad (1981: 277–324) finds, in relation to style, that the affrication of /k/ is one method of differentiating ways of speaking, with the [k] variant typical of standardised speech. Unlike in informal speech, speakers in formal style are categorically said to be opting for the standardised variant, the prestigious variant used by the high-status speakers who are usually educated. Thus, the change in the allophonic realisation of (k) is constrained by style. He found deaffrication of /k/ started affecting the [tʃ] variant, as one characteristic of the standardisation in the dialect of ‘Ammān. Consequently, educated speakers show preference for [k], in comparison to old uneducated speakers who are the main users of [tʃ]. Abdel-Jawad (1981) states that education is one of the significant factors contributing to variation in present-day (k). Johnstone also (1967) provides similar information about the importance of the educational level and states that (k) in Kuwait varied along these lines. Educated speakers show a preference for [k], whereas [tʃ] becomes extinct because of the increase in education. In addition to the increase in education levels, the increase in the foreign population in the Kuwaiti society decreases the rate of the affrication process. Once again, in the context of Jordan, Herin and Al-Wer (2013) analysed a feature of a local Jordanian dialect of Salt, [tʃ]. Unlike younger speakers, they report that older speakers of Salti, being uninfluenced by contact with the dialect(s) of the capital city ‘Ammān, do not replace [tʃ] with [k].

In conclusion, we see a general pattern of dialect change in the reviewed studies in that for many varieties of Arabic, namely there is a change toward deaffrication influenced by different social factors like, age, gender, and education. However, the extent to which this variation is tied to actual linguistic differences between older and younger Iraqi speakers remains unknown. There is no evidence of Iraqis following the

pattern of moving away from the traditional stigmatised target, which is the subject of the study.

5.3.2 (k)-variation as a linguistically stratified phenomenon

There have been different studies that sought to identify the linguistic factors that conditioned the use of the variants of (k). Previous research reported that the linguistic context exhibits different effects on the affrication of the Arabic /k/ in the stem from one dialect to another. In some varieties, it can be found to be exercising no power and thereby the affrication is not constrained in that it can be hosted in any word, regardless of its phonological environment. However, this kind of linguistic affrication is found in the dialects of very few communities. The literature has reported this unconditional affrication in the dialects spoken in Jabal 'Axḍar villages in Oman and in some Šī'i villages in east Baḥrain (Holes, 1991:656). Another dialect which contains this unconditioned affrication is documented by Abdel-Jawad (1981:295), which is spoken by the rural community (originally from Palestinian villages) in 'Ammān. El-Salman (2003: 52-54) also noted this kind of variation among rural Palestinians. Unconditioned affrication is attested in southern Syrian villages, such as that of Sukhne, and others like some Central Palestine villages, southern Turkey, south-west Yemen and most of the sedentary population of Oman (Cantineau, 1939; 1956: 126; cited in Blanc, 1964; Holes, 1991: 668). This is also proven in the Kabyle and in Jijel, northern Moroccan (Jebli) dialects and among Jewish speakers in Tlemcen (Cantineau, 1960: 66, Heath 2002: 139, Vicente, 2007: 131).

In other dialects, linguistic conditioning of the variation is in place. This is more common than the unconditional affrication. The linguistic context of front vowels represents the commonly reported host environment for affrication. For example, in

Jordan, Herin (2013: 101-103) and Al-Wer (cited in Owens, 2015) found that the affrication in Horāni dialects and in Salt occurs almost exclusively in the environment of front vowels.

Cantineau (1936) investigated Bedouin dialects in southern Iraq along with those of the Syro-Mesopotamian area and Najd, as well as the sedentary dialects in Syria and Palestine. He reports the occurrence of affrication in these areas. Regarding the linguistic context, he found it occurs in the vicinity of /l, r/ consonants and the front vowels /i, e, a, a:/ and is blocked by emphatic consonants and back vowels. He (1936:39) also remarks that affrication can take place in the vicinity of back vowels in plural forms of singular words that have the affrication promoting environment. However, this happens only among the sedentary population, whereas Bedouins tend to use the affricate only in the singular forms: singular [di:tʃ]; plural (sedentary) [dju:tʃ]; plural (Bedouins) [dju:k] ‘cock’.

In his description of the Eastern Arabian dialects, Johnstone (1967:2) reports that the phonological change or process of affrication affected the velar stop /k/ of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Buraimi, fronting it to the alveolar affricate [tʃ]. Similar to Cantineau’s (1936) observation, the common context that triggers the process is that of front vowels (Johnstone, 1967:2), as shown in [fa:tʃ] ‘to open’. Not only this, an example like [ʃilʃ] ‘chewing gum’ demonstrates the effect of this context on /k/ even if it is not the immediately adjacent sound to /k/. The affricated reflex does not occur only in native words but also in borrowed ones, as in [ʃarix] wheel, from Persian. In this type, words are given the same treatment as the affricate native items because the variant occurs in the vicinity of front vowels. However, in this category of word some items are undergoing a reverse process, deaffrication, while others remain affricated as in [ʃu:la] ‘stove’. The affricated variant is also found in the context of back vowels as in [ʃɔ:tʃ]

‘thorns; scorpion stings’ (Johnstone, 1967). He adds that affrication may sometimes occur near back vowels, apparently to avoid homophony between pairs of words that have distinct meanings but a single etymological source, e.g. [kfu:f] ‘palms’ and [ʃfu:f] ‘gloves’ (cf. Johnstone, 1967:222).

Maṭar (1985:157) reported that affrication in Baḥrain, Qatar, and Kuwait is allowed in the environment of [i, i:, a, a:], and is prohibited in the vicinity of mufaxxama (retracted and emphatic) sounds. Tokens with [e:] were not considered, although the vowel inventory of Arabic dialects has the front long vowel [e:]; he did not consider it because he targeted the affrication-promoting context in the Standard Arabic cognates of the Kuwaiti variants, and [e:] is not one of the Standard Arabic vowels. Maṭar sees that if the vowel of the Standard Arabic cognates of the Kuwaiti word blocks affrication, then the latter also blocks it as in Kuwaiti [dikka:n] having no affrication because the vowel in its Standard Arabic cognate [duka:n] ‘shop’ blocks it. He adds that loan words do not undergo deaffrication, as in [kalaʃ] ‘Eng. clutch’.

Affrication of the velar phoneme /k/ in Arabic is famously thus applied in the context of front vowels [i, i:, e:, a, a:]. The conditioning of this variant that is based on these linguistic factors, however, is not absolute but relative to the dialect in that they are not always applicable in the front vowel context. There are exceptions. For instance, the triggering environment of front vowels might not work in some words in Qatari Arabic, as in [ʃibba:k~ʃiba:bi:k] ‘window’ (Mustafawi, 2006:73). /k/ in [ʃibba:k~ʃiba:bi:k] is affricated in the current Iraqi dialect, [ʃibba:ʃ~ʃiba:bi:ʃ]. Instead of the front segments, the context is sometimes extended to other vowels, i.e. back ones. Further, for example, plural forms of the CiCūC pattern lean towards maintaining the affrication of their singular forms, e.g. [di:ʃ~d(i)ju:ʃ] ‘cockerel’ (Blanc, 1964:25–28; Johnstone, 1967:220–221). Furthermore, lexemes that host affrication can be dialect specific, and thereby they

can create divisions among dialects. This was first remarked on by Cantineau (1936) where [ʃatab], for the verb ‘to write’, is for example used by the Hadidin tribe and [katab] by the Amour tribe. Johnstone reported that affrication applied to Kuwaiti [fakk], but not Abu Dhabi [fatʃf] ‘open’. With this comparison, Johnstone (1963:218) identified subtle cross dialectal differences. Similarly, Holes found that the lexical differences in the realisations of affrication has extended to the sectarian level. For example, he found that certain lexemes, such as [ʃiθir] ‘amount’, are affricated by Sunnīs only. Therefore, affrication can reveal communal differences (Holes, 1987: 57–62). Further, he found that affrication can help identify different ecologies. For example, [miʃa:n], ‘place’, is affricated only by Šī‘i village-dwellers. By finding differences in affrication as a phonological process across words, the research has constructed dialectal, ecological and religious boundaries among dialects. In the light of such findings, it is clear that a thorough investigation of affrication cross-dialectally requires finer analysis. Affrication as a general process does not always apply where it is theoretically predictable to occur, and this goes for other languages. In old English, for example, /k/ is affricated before front vowels as in *kin* > *ʃin* ‘chin’ (cf. modern German Kinn); however, no affrication has occurred in ‘kill’.

Further, in regard to the factors that introduced affrication, a similar hypothesis like the one proposed in Old English is imagined to be hold true in the Arabic context. That is, the affrication spread through lexicon borrowed from other languages. In their study of palatalisation of /k/ in the dialect of Salt, Herin and Al-Wer (2013: 59) conclude that general affrication in Hōrāni dialects is best considered as an outcome of “transfer of lexical items”, rather than “systematic sound change”. In this Jordanian vernacular of as-Salt, they assumed that the system borrowed words from Bedouin dialects of North Arabian territory which has the affricated variant. Then, affrication spread as a process of

redistribution to the affricated variant through vocabulary. Among the instances that support their hypothesis is /di:tʃ/ ‘cockerel’ and its derivation /dju:tʃ/ ‘cockerels’ that are found in as-Salṭi dialect, while the north Arabian dialects lean towards keeping a phonetic distinction these words are realised as /di:tʃ/ and /dju:tʃ/ (Herin & al-Wer, 2013: 59). This distinctive use in as-Salṭi dialect indicates that they borrowed this word and overgeneralise the affrication to occur not only in the original singular form but also in its derivations and in the inflections, which were not originally affricated.

In conclusion, there are two types of affrication, one conditioned, the other unconditioned. Typically, conditioned affrication takes place with front vowels. The front vowel constraint is not always respected (e.g. one has [abu:tʃ] ‘your father SF’ after back /u:/), but it works as a general promoting environment. Many dialects of Arabic have been subject to a reverse process, namely deaffrication. However, affrication has not become extinct in the dialects. Even in dialects that show advanced stages of the change back to velar, the affricate variant can still be found in items which are regarded as fossilised. This has been, for example, mentioned by Holes (1987:35–58) in Baḥrain as in [ʃilma] ‘word’.

5.4 Diachronic vs. synchronic processes in Baghdad

This section is concerned with the processes that /k/ has undergone in *gilit* Iraqi Arabic, as represented by the supralocal dialect of Baghdad, and with showing their current statuses, as to whether they remain active or not. Youssef (2014) tackles this topic in the Baghdadi dialect in his investigation of /k/ affrication. He refers to the existence of two effects associated with Baghdadi /k/: diachronic lenition and synchronic fortition.

To start with the diachronic process, the inventory of consonant phonemes in the Iraqi *gilit* dialects, as in many Arabic Bedouin dialects, encompasses [ʃ]. As has been

discussed, a common belief is that [tʃ] originates from a process of velar affrication. Affrication is a process led by front vocoids (vowels and glides) to target and change the phonetic status of the adjacent voiceless velar stop [k] to an affricate [tʃ]. Youssef (2014) argues that this process of affrication is probably now a historical shift. Therefore, he discusses the linear progression of this process. It developed through three stages: it was initiated in the phonetic phase, continued through the active phonological phase, and ran its course in the post-active phonemic phase, as follows.

According to Youssef, the need to preserve and emphasise gender distinction between masculine and feminine led to the emergence of a new variant for /k/. Phonetically speaking, [tʃ] as a variant was not confined to the feminine enclitic: it was systematically phonologicalised in all palatal environments and developed into a synchronic variant of /k/.

After the emergence of the affricated feminine enclitic, there is assumed to have been a phase of systematic phonologisation of [k] to [tʃ] in all contexts, to mark the beginning of the second phase. Phonologically, it is a process perceived as assimilation in the place of articulation of two neighbouring sounds (the use of the palatal element instead of the original velar). This phonological rule triggered a [k]-to-[tʃ] variation in a very large number of words.

However, this process has now become a diachronic change that affected /k/. It is diachronic because the relevant phonological rules are not productive anymore. That is, [tʃ] is no longer found in the front sound context. There is a good number of words which are expected to have an affricated realisation, but they don't. So, while the phonological context was once a predictable criterion, the use of [tʃ] ended up being lexicalised. This led to [tʃ] being no longer an allophone of /k/, but a separate phoneme. As a consequence,

the distinction between [k] and [tʃ] becomes phonemic, as the two phones can occur in the same environment. A similar process has occurred in other languages (cf. Cercignani 1983: 314, 317), e.g. English ‘keel’ (see also Owens, 2015).

There are three reasons that led Youssef (2014) to believe that /tʃ/ is a synchronically distinct phoneme from /k/. First is the existence of minimal pairs. An example that he gave for these Iraqi consonants is the minimal pair of [tʃuwa] ‘he scorched’ and [kuwa] ‘he ironed’. Another example he gave is the pair [tʃaraz] ‘mixed seeds’ and [karaz] ‘cherries’²¹.

The second piece of evidence is from the final state of variation between conditioned affrication and the deaffrication in words of the same semantic scope that are derived from the same root as in [tʃilma] ‘word’, [tʃilam] ‘words’, [kallam] ‘he spoke with’, and [kala:m] ‘speech’. Youssef sees that the frequency of the use of [tʃ] and the stable variation might have restricted affrication to certain lexical items which makes affrication no longer applicable in Baghdadi.

A third piece of evidence comes from the fact that the dialect encompasses a number of (non-)foreign words that are always affricated and others that are always deaffricated. From among the non-varying /tʃ/ and /k/ paradigms, he gave the following examples:

[tatʃtʃa] ‘he leaned’, [tatʃwa] ‘prop, support’; [tʃa:dir, tʃwa:dir] ‘name’; [sikan] ‘he resident’, [sa:kin] ‘resident’.

To summarise his stance, in the first stage, [tʃ] emerged as a variant of /k/ in specific phonological environments. In time, the two reflexes [tʃ] and [k] became independent phonological units distinguishing between random minimal pairs. The

²¹ However, my personal experience is that speakers do not say [tʃaraz] for ‘mixed seeds’, but instead they say [karaz(a:t)].

affrication rule has been blocked fully in loanwords that include this segment and by unvarying instances of /k/ and /tʃ/ within paradigms. In modern times, the diachronic change from [k] to [tʃ] is subject to a reversal, of [tʃ] to [k]. However, not all instances of lexemes containing [tʃ] become [k]. The variation in affrication is lexicalised now; the sound change that has run its course gave rise to lexical forms that are a likely source of diachronic variation. There are a few relic variations. Many words have lost the affricated variants as a result of the process of deaffrication that has taken place. And the synchronic variation in the form of deaffrication is “fairly stable”.

Youssef seems to be right in arguing that the process of affrication is diachronic, but the evidence may not be adequate to make a sound claim that /tʃ/ is an independent phoneme in Baghdadi. All three pieces of evidence and their examples given by Youssef can be questionable. In the first evidence, the words that are given, which include lexical items that have cognates in Standard/Classical Arabic, are variable now in Baghdad, based on my knowledge of Baghdadi Arabic. For example, [tʃuwa] ‘he scorched’ can be [kuwa] ‘he scorched’ and [kuwa] ‘he ironed’. Further, this hypothesis is weakened by being based on data extracted from a dictionary. We need empirical data to verify this point. That is, the minimal pairs are more common among foreign words like [tʃu:b] ‘tube’ and [ku:b] ‘cup’, and far less, if any, in those that have cognates in Standard Arabic. Therefore, /tʃ/ may not represent a phoneme distinct from /k/ except in foreign words.

The second evidence might also be no longer valid as the lexicalisation is violated, for example no one now says [tʃilam] ‘words’. That is the affricated variant is still undergoing a slow process of deaffrication. A relevant issue here is the frequency of the affricated forms. Frequent occurrences of certain affricated words may lead ultimately to the conventionalised association of their affricated realisation with a normal social

use—the forms frequently encoding normal use. They have often become highly conventionalised and thereby can come to have a weakened social stigma associated with [tʃ]. In the process of diachronic change, the frequency and the degree of conventionalisation associated with certain affricated forms has similarities with grammaticalisation (Hopper and Traugott, 1993/2003; Watts, 2003: 176). During deaffrication, the frequently occurring words with the affricated variant became routinised, conventionalised forms of normal linguistic behaviour, and thus only occur with [tʃ]. However, even these items are undergoing deaffrication. Forms that were thought to be fossilised by Youssef are now variable in Baghdad and in the dialect under investigation, such as [tʃinit] ‘I was’ which is now variable in my dialect. This variability indicates that /k/ is still variable in Baghdad, the supralocal dialect, in addition to my attestation. Importantly, the change in the dialect under investigation is motivated by the change in Baghdad.

The third piece of evidence is not an adequate indicator. That is, in the first non-affricated paradigms many of the examples are now in variation, although he assumes that there is a process of fossilisation. In the second non-affricated paradigms, the literature has mentioned that [tʃ] does not always occur in its predictable context (Johnstone, 1967).

Although I do agree that affrication is diachronic, the synchronic productivity of its phonetic conditioning factors has disappeared. Simultaneously variation in the form of deaffrication in Baghdad is still in progress, (not stable) but slow in the words that Youssef thinks are lexicalised. It seems that they are fossilised because the change is slow. The frequent use of [tʃ] in certain items is unmarked, and perhaps therefore not subject to social stigmatisation. On the other hand, the non-frequent words when rendered with [tʃ] are indeed stigmatised.

Although Youssef says that there is variation, he assumes that it is stable. This claim can be determined only by empirical data. His data is taken from a dictionary – not freely occurring data – and is based on his judgement. The process of deaffrication may be at an advanced level and therefore the alternation is weak and the evidence for this is the variation in the so-called fossilised items now used in Baghdad. Deaffrication has probably started to occur in what is thought to be fossilised cognates, but the progress of this is very slow.

In conclusion, whether the mid-Mesopotamian [tʃ] is a phoneme, as Youssef contends, or an allophone subject to an advanced on-going deaffrication, [tʃ] is very recessive in the central dialect. At the stage represented by conversion [k] to [tʃ], [k] and [tʃ] were in complementary distribution: the dialect has a single phoneme /k/, allophonically realised as [tʃ] in the context of a predictable environment. Generally, affrication seems to have continued as an active process in Arabic since Sībawayh's time, spread by population movements. At some point, deaffrication was triggered. The variation attested nowadays represents a synchronic tendency to reverse the diachronic process of affrication.

5.5 Coding protocol of (k)

I coded (k) for the following linguistic factors:

1) Preceding and following sound:

The initial coding included all the individual sounds which immediately preceded and followed (k). In the current data, the preceding sounds were /f, b, m, t, d, n, ð, s, r, l, z, s^ʕ, ʃ, tʃ, k, x, g, q, ʕ, ħ, ʔ, h, i, i:, e:, j, aj, a, a:, ɔ:, u, u:, w, ɔ, aw/. The following sounds were /f, b, m, t, d, n, ð, θ, s, z, r, l, ʃ, k, x, g, ħ, ʕ, ʔ, h, i:, e:, i, j, a, aj, aw, a:/. The frequency of occurrence in each environment varied quite widely. To achieve some balance in the

number of tokens in each environment, individual sounds were re-coded on the basis of their place of articulation, motivated by the literature that confirms that affrication is triggered in vicinity of front vowels. The final coding schema settled on the following linguistic values:

- i. Front high vowels
- ii. Front low vowels
- iii. Pause
- iv. Front consonants: labials and coronals
- v. Back sounds: dorsal, pharyngeal, laryngeal, back vowels

Tokens with a preceding or following /j/ were considered as ‘high front vowels’ and those with a preceding or following /w/ as ‘high back vowels’.

- 2) Number of syllables in the token: this was coded as to whether (k) occurred in monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic or polysyllabic words.
- 3) Gemination: (k) can be geminated, as in [sɪʃʃa] ‘railway’. However, eventually, gemination and pause had to be excluded from the analysis, because the data did not produce enough tokens for the statistical analysis.
- 4) Stress: (k) was coded as to whether it occurred in a stressed or unstressed syllable.
- 5) Syllable structure: (k) was coded as to whether it represents a unit in a light (CV), heavy (CVV, CVC) or superheavy (CVVC, CVCC) syllable.
- 6) Position in the syllable: in this factor group (k) is coded as either:
 - a) onset: (k) at the beginning of a syllable, before the nucleus, as in [ʃanna] ‘daughter in law’; or

b) coda, (k) that follows the nucleus of a syllable, as in [hi:tʃ] ‘like this’.

The following table comprises examples of the coded linguistic environments of tokens extracted from my data:

Tokens	(k)	Preceding sound	Following sound	Geminate	Stress	Syllable number	Syllable structure	Syllable Position
sik-ka ‘rail’	k	high front (1 st syllable)	low front (2nd)	Geminate	Stressed (1st)	Di	heavy (1st)	onset (2nd)
ijraʃbu:nu ‘they cook it’	tʃ	low front	FC	N	unstressed	Poly/multi	heavy	Coda
da:lu:tʃa ‘dough’	tʃ	Back sound	low front	N	unstressed	Tri	light	Onset
ʃɔ:k ‘thorns’	k	Back sound	Pause	N	stressed	Mono	super- heavy	Coda
tʃinit ‘I was’	tʃ	Pause	high front	N	unstressed	Di	light	Onset
ilmalla:k ‘landlord’	k	low front	low front	N	stressed	Tri	super- heavy	Onset

Table 5.1: Sample of the coded linguistic environments

Borrowed lexical items were excluded from the analysis altogether, such as [fʊrba:ja] ‘bed’ (from Persian), [ku:b] ‘cup’, [fʊ:b] ‘tube’. There were also a small set of native items in which affrication never occurred, such as [dikka:n] ‘shop’. This lexical set has been given two treatments in the analysis. In one run they were eliminated from the analysis because they are invariant (Table 5.2), and in a second run (Table 5.3) they were included because the choice to eliminate them is subjective to the researcher’s judgement.

Sociolinguistic constraints on (k)-fortition							
Application value [k], R²= 0.253							
Factor group	Factor	Logodds	Tokens	% [k]	Factor weight	vif	p-value
Syllable number	Multi	0.33	1868	66%	0.58		8.89e-19
	Mono	-0.33	2051	52%	0.42		
Preceding sound	Front consonant	0.68	902	62%	0.67		1.42e-38
	Front Low	0.53	1600	67%	0.63		
	Back sound	-0.24	357	46%	0.44		
	Pause	-0.44	92	36%	0.39		
	Front High	-0.54	968	48%	0.37		
Following sound	Front consonant	1.22	532	81%	0.77	>2.5	4.43e-44
	Back sound	0.49	568	69%	0.62	>2.5	
	Pause	-0.15	40	45%	0.46	>2.5	
	Front low	-0.55	1342	57%	0.37	>2.5	
	Front high	-1.01	1437	48%	0.27	>2.5	
Syllable position	Onset	0.27	3144	56%	0.57	>2.5	0.000828
	Coda	-0.27	775	71%	0.43	>2.5	
Syllable type	Heavy	0.61	1977	68%	0.65	>2.5	1.37e-27
	Superheavy	-0.10	655	48%	0.48	>2.5	
	Light	-0.51	1287	50%	0.38	>2.5	
Stress	Unstressed	0.26	1791	58%	0.57	>2.5	5.22e-06
	Stressed	-0.26	2128	59%	0.43	>2.5	
Age	Young	0.31	1042	64%	0.58		9.03e-12
	Middle	0.03	1468	61%	0.51		
	Old	-0.34	1409	52%	0.42		
Gender	Male	0.19	1984	62%	0.55		1.55e-07
	Female	-0.19	1935	55%	0.45		
Contact	High	0.44	1747	68%	0.61		3.49e-32
	Low	-0.44	2172	51%	0.39		

Table 5.2: Rbrul results of (k) (invariant words deleted)

Sociolinguistic constraints on (k)-fortition							
Application value [k], R ² = 0.224							
Factor group	Factor	Logodds	Tokens	% [k]	Factor weight	vif	p-value
Syllable number	Multi	0.26	2178	70%	0.57		7.82e-14
	Mono	-0.26	2492	60%	0.44		
Preceding sound	Front consonant	0.71	1145	70%	0.67		4.98e-42
	Front Low	0.45	1877	71%	0.61		
	Back sound	-0.25	424	53%	0.44		
	Pause	-0.40	106	43%	0.40		
	Front High	-0.51	1118	53%	0.38		
Following sound	Front consonant	1.23	600	84%	0.78	>2.5	5.72e-45
	Back sound	0.43	717	73%	0.61	>2.5	
	Pause	-0.08	43	51%	0.48	>2.5	
	Front low	-0.67	1529	61%	0.34	>2.5	
	Front high	-0.91	1781	58%	0.29	>2.5	
Syllable position	Onset	0.38	3828	62%	0.59	>2.5	6.88e-07
	Coda	-0.38	842	73%	0.41	>2.5	
Syllable type	Heavy	0.61	2400	72%	0.65	>2.5	1.1e-31
	Superheavy	-0.19	747	52%	0.45	>2.5	
	Light	-0.42	1523	57%	0.40	>2.5	
Stress	Unstressed	0.20	2137	64%	0.55	>2.5	0.000266
	Stressed	-0.20	2533	64%	0.45	>2.5	
Age	Middle	0.19	1942	68%	0.55		1.61e-13
	Young	0.17	1140	67%	0.54		
	Old	-0.36	1588	57%	0.41		
Gender	Male	0.21	2427	68%	0.55		3.73e-10
	Female	-0.21	2243	60%	0.45		
Contact	High	0.41	2073	72%	0.6		1.92e-32
	Low	-0.41	2597	58%	0.4		

Table 5.3: Rbrul results of (k) (including invariant words)

However, VIF (Variance Inflation Factor) values indicate that all the runs including the second might have a risk of collinearity, i.e., several independent variables correlate. In these runs, the four factor groups that had a VIF>2.5 might have too many values that overlap amongst them. This makes one or more of these variables redundant in our analysis because its influence on the test is already captured by some of the other variables and therefore can be removed (cf. Szmrecsanyi, 2005; Gorman, 2010; Sessarego and Tejedo-Herrero, 2016). Given that collinearity could negatively impact the regression model, I tried running the data several times again, excluding one factor group at a time. The final run (Table 5.4:) indicated no obvious collinearity problem, only after I

excluded the 'syllable type'. In this run two other correlated predictors, 'syllable position' and 'stress', were automatically excluded by the software, as they showed no significance. Out of these four, only the 'following context' factor is thus chosen by Rbrul to be a significant constraint. It should be recalled that in the final run I excluded the pause and the geminate tokens. I excluded them even in the previous runs that had collinearity, but this did not solve this problem. These are potentially important factors but since I do not have enough tokens they were excluded from the current analysis. Since including or excluding [k]-invariant words did not affect the significant of the independent variables, as shown in the tables above, this set of invariant words were excluded from the final run (see Table 5.4: below in the result section).

And finally, the social information of each informant in the community was coded according to the following social variables:

- 7) Age: old, middle aged, and young.
- 8) Gender: females and males.
- 9) Contact: high and low contact speakers.

5.6 Results of (k)

This section presents the final results, overall distributional and regression analysis. The total number of 3901 tokens.

Sociolinguistic constraints on (k)-fortition						
Application value [k], R²= 0.229, overall use=61%						
Factor group	Factor	Logodds	Tokens	% [k]	Factor weight	p-value
Syllable number	Multisyllabic	0.36	1908	67%	0.59	1.97e-23
	Monosyllabic	-0.36	1993	54%	0.41	
Preceding sound	Front consonant	0.53	942	64%	0.63	9.66e-42
	Front low	0.50	1633	68%	0.62	
	Back sound	-0.41	361	47%	0.40	
	Front high	-0.61	965	49%	0.35	
Following sound	Front consonant	1.08	546	82%	0.75	3.26e-65
	Back sound	0.33	577	69%	0.58	
	Front low	-0.53	1321	59%	0.37	
	Front high	-0.88	1457	50%	0.30	
Age	Young	0.34	1055	66%	0.58	4.26e-13
	Middle	0.02	1445	62%	0.51	
	Old	-0.35	1401	54%	0.41	
Gender	Male	0.2	1947	64%	0.55	3.93e-08
	Female	-0.2	1954	57%	0.45	
Contact	High	0.45	1759	70%	0.61	4.09e-34
	Low	-0.45	2142	53%	0.39	

Table 5.4: Rbrul results of the correlation between [k] and the independent variables

With the [k] variant as the application value, Rbrul analysis shows that the informants used the innovative variant [k] with greater frequency; 61% of the tokens realised with [k]. Rbrul also tells us that deaffrication is linguistically and socially stratified; all three social factors and both preceding and following linguistic environments as well as syllable number were returned as significant.

With respect to the factor of number of syllables, Rbrul reports that multisyllabic words favour [k], unlike monosyllabic words. Rbrul shows that the linguistic factor of front consonants favours the use of [k] in both preceding (FW: 0.63) and following environment (FW:0.75). (k) is pronounced as [k] 64% of the time in preceding

environment and 82% of the time in following environment when in the vicinity of a front consonant. The factor of back sounds acts differently in the two environments, in that it disfavors [k] in the preceding environment (FW: 0.40) and favors it in the following environment (FW: 0.58). [k] is used 47% and 69% of the time in preceding and following environment respectively when in the vicinity of a back sound. The odd behaviour of this factor in preceding environment may be due to the small number of tokens, (361 tokens), relative to the number of other factors like front low vowels, (1633 tokens). We see that it behaves according to theory with a larger number, (577), of tokens in the following environment.

Front high vowels disfavor [k] in both preceding (FW:0.35) and following environment (FW:0.30), with [k] used in 49% and 50% of the tokens respectively. Front low vowels favor [k], (FW 0.62), in preceding environment where the variant is used in 68% of tokens but disfavor it in the following environment. Although in the latter, following environment, the FW for [k] is 0.37, it is still used 59% of the time, i.e. more than the traditional variant.

As far as the social variables are concerned, the factor of contact can be reliably said to have a main effect on the realisation of (k), as illustrated in Table 5.4 above. High contact speakers use [k] in 70% of the total occurrence of this variable and favor it at FW 0.61 whereas low contact speakers use [k] 53% of the time and disfavor it at FW 0.39. High contact speakers are thus found to be modifying their rate of usage in line with the new mid-Mesopotamian norm much faster than low contact speakers. The latter group is more conservative in the sense of using a higher rate of the local southern variant [ʃ]. We can therefore conclude that contact with speakers of the Baghdadi-like dialect in particular is an important channel through which the velar variant [k] is introduced into local speech. It is noticeable that even in the speech of the low contact speakers, the

incoming variant occurs predominantly (53%), which indicates that the trend of levelling out the affricate variant has diffused in the community.

The realisation of (k) is also found to be significantly dependent on the factor of age, as seen in Table 5.4. These results suggest that there is a change in progress, since the youngest speakers are found to be most innovative and the older speakers to be most conservative. [k] was used most often by the young group (66%), followed closely by the middle age group speakers (62%), while the old age group lag behind (54%) and disfavour [k] (FW 0.41). The young group favour the incoming variant but only slightly (FW 0.58), and the middle age group are ambivalent (FW 0.50). The younger speakers are modifying their speech patterns to match the new supralocal variant [k], (associated with urban and educated people), faster than older speakers, who are more conservative. Age-related differences could be attributed to an informant's loyalty and attachment to a local identity. This is not to say that the younger speakers dissociate themselves totally; rather, they are more likely to be influenced by supralocal norms and social prestige as a reflection of ambition for a better social prospect. Further, the differences in the behaviour of these groups may be attributed to the different lifestyles which the three age groups have experienced. The change in lifestyles increased the younger group's exposure to the supralocal dialect (see 5.7 below).

Another social factor selected as having a measurable impact on how speakers produce the variable (k) is gender. In this study, the two gender groups differ according to the ratios of usage of the two variants. The female group has a 57% ratio of [k] and disfavours the incoming variant (FW: 0.45). The males fortify (k) more than the females, with 64% use of [k] and slightly favour its usage (FW: 0.55). At this point, a cross-tabulation is needed between the three social variables, to understand the different

linguistic behaviour among men and women in detail (see Table 5.5 and Table 5.6 below).

Contact	Gender	Female	Male	total
	Age			
High	Old	68%	66%	67%
	Middle	63%	76%	71%
	Young	70%	74%	71%
	total	67%	72%	70%
Low	Old	28%	51%	40%
	Middle	51%	60%	57%
	Young	64%	62%	63%
	total	48%	58%	53%

Table 5.5: Crosstabulation of the use of [k] by contact, gender and age

Age	Gender		
	Female	Male	total
Old	51%	58%	54%
Middle	56%	67%	62%
Young	67%	66%	66%
total	57%	64%	61%

Table 5.6: Crosstabulation of [k] by age and gender

As in the case of (dʒ), women overall tend to be more conservative users of the local variant of (k) than men. The cross-tabulation, Table 5.5, reveals that old low contact women are the most conservative group. They use [k] 28% of the time, in comparison to the most innovative speakers of high contact middle and young male group who use [k] about 75% of the time as well as young female group with a 70% ratio. Table 5.5 shows that both high old contact women and men favour the use of [k], with rates of 68% and 66% respectively. And the gap in the use of [k] increases between the two sexes as the level of contact decreases; low contact old women used [k] 28% of the time and men used it 51%. Old men thus use [k] about 20 percentage points more than old women. This means that males are ahead of their female counterparts in using the new variant. This

gap though narrows in the low contact young age group, which indicates a convergence in behaviour towards the use of [k] among the young speakers, from around 20 percentage points between the male and female old speakers to just 2 percentage points, higher among the young female speakers (young women's ratio is 64%, young men's is 62%).

Table 5.6 shows that the gender-based differences decrease among younger informants. Young women and men use [k] 67% and 66% of the time respectively, in comparison to the ratio of old women 51% and men 58% or middle women 56% and men 67%. The gender-related divergence is thus primarily caused by the older groups. It is also found in the middle low contact women, 51%, and men, 60%. That is, females use [k] about 10 percentage points less than men in the low contact group. This behaviour is also observed with high contact middle age women, 63% use of [k], and men, 76%. There is about 13% gap; the difference disappears in the young group (see Table 5.6). These percentages also reveal that the gap reduces as we move towards the higher contact, younger men and women, where the use of [k] increases further as we move towards the males. The table shows that there is an increase in the rate of [k] over time in both males and females as the speaker gets younger. Given this, the increase in the rate of [k] suggests that there is a change in progress toward the innovative variant. However, at this point in time, the local variant [tʃ] does not disappear completely like [j] of (dʒ) in the high-contact young group, who uses [dʒ] 100% of the time.

5.7 Discussion

The findings from this research with respect to (k) are similar to those reported in Al-Hawamdeh's study (2016) in Jordan. She found that for the Jordanian dialect of Sūf, males appeared to be leading a change in the direction of deaffrication of (k), the koineised or supralocal feature, whereas women were more conservative. She explained

her women's linguistic behaviour as being due to women's local orientation in terms of places of employment (they work locally), and their role as custodians of the local traditions, including ways of speaking. She explained the innovation of the younger male speakers as a result of the higher level of contact with speakers from other dialects, facilitated through their work opportunities.

Al-Essa (2008) provides another example of a study in which the speech of old-aged women tended to be much more conservative than that of older male speakers among the Najdi group due to their lack of contact with outsiders. In Korba, Tunisia, Walters (1991) informs us of a similar behaviour where elderly females sustain the use of stigmatised raised reflexes of (ε:) because of their low contact levels. Jabeur (1987) reports a similar finding in Rades, Tunisia where old women maintain the use of the traditional pronunciation (a diphthong) more often than men.

Among my speakers, [tʃ] is being reduced in favour of [k]. And, people's use depends significantly on their levels of contact via both gradual linguistic and social integration into an urban context and its speech community from childhood. Young speakers socialise with people outside their tribe and adopt the supralocal variant [k] to a greater degree. In chapter four, I mentioned two sayings by my informants that support this claim. Contact can explain the observed differences between the two gender groups in that the women's lower contact reduced the opportunities to adopt the new variant and thereby triggered the gender differentiation. The greater economic opportunities offered to males led to a greater amount of exposure to Baghdadi-like varieties. They are exposed more because of their social circumstances, like having a greater chance of working outside the community and in education. Baghdad has been a major economic site for employment and services. However, it is not only the amount of contact but also the roles of men and women that also affect their language use. The women's role is limited to the

domestic environment. Men are the tribe leaders and this high status is associated with a higher use of [k], which is linked to education, rather than [tʃ] which is associated with being rural. They use language as a symbolic means to show themselves as educated. Old males, thus, were likely to use more prestigious norms. As illustrated in the crosstabulation above, the gender-based differences decrease among younger informants, and even young women's speech show slightly higher frequency of [k].

Regarding the age related-differences, it is not only exposure and social contact but also social impetus and willingness that has an effect on the change towards the use of [k]. The struggle of the old speakers' dual lifestyles is reflected linguistically, resulting in greater use of [tʃ], and more resistance to [k]. The older the speaker is, the more they rely on their traditional system of values and linguistic features (i.e., [tʃ]), and the more they are resistant to any change (i.e., [k]). Reduction of [tʃ] might have resulted in the emergence of a conscious awareness of how the urban system is different from their traditional system. The age differences are partly related to the person's loyalty to its tradition. The young males feel far less loyal to the tradition and tribe than old men do. The younger the speaker is, the less resistant they are to any change that is not in line with the traditional/rural-related value system and norms. The old and young speakers do not operate under the same values and norms, based on their cultural values and beliefs. The following is a relevant comment made by the informant MKA:

hijja illahdʒa ʔatta bda:xil ilqalʒa biliwla:ja ʔisha ʒe:b bilnisba ldʒi:lna

The dialect even inside Qal'at Siker in the city centre, you feel it is a defect, from the perspective of/for our generation.

bsabab iltat'awir ili dʒa:j js'i:r ithis inu lhadʒatna qadi:ma wbi:ha mistaʔa
wmathisha munasiba bakʔar ilʔama:kin ili nit'laʒilha wnimʒi:lha laj

makan miθil iljidris dʒa:miʕa ili jiftiyil iltʕa:mal bi:ha nħisa sʕa:r miθil
ilmuʕi:b ʔakθar ʕi huwa gitlak ilmistaħa

Because of the development that is taking place, you feel that our dialect is ancient/ traditional/old and it is associated with shame, and you do not feel it suitable to use in most places that we go to, in any place for example for someone who studies in a University, for he who works. Communicating with it, you feel it has become like a defect. The greater factor is that, I told you, embarrassment. The young already found it embarrassing to speak the dialect.

jaʕni hassa a:nna bildʒa:miʕa maθalan bas xə:ma bildʒa:miʕa ʔaħʕi:ha
naʕa:z ʔaħħisha

This means that now I am in a university, for example, shall I speak it in the university! Odd, I feel it.

ma:jbadlu:nha liʔan kilhum nafis ilħaʕi bilnisba lilmislab akθarhum
jiltiqu:n siwa be:na:thum w hata ʔiða: min ʕashi:ra iʕʕi:bi:r ma:jʔibhum
min jihʕu:n jiʕtabru ma:liħ ye:r ilʕaba:b ham jsamu:hum ma:jʔi:n ma:six
kala:mhum jaʔni mirtubut⁶ bilridʒu:la. ʕlu:n ihʕa:ja:t aħalna ʕidhum
wijħisu:nha arzan min jihʕu:n bi:ha.

They do not change it because they all speak the same, with regard to Mišlab Arabic speakers, most of them meet together among themselves and even if with another tribe, he is an old man, this does not embarrass him when he speaks (the traditional dialect), they consider him māliħ (literally meaning ‘salty’, figuratively meaning that the talk is tasty like a salty food, that he is the son of the salty land Iraq, that he is strong as he is the son of this land that has witnessed difficulties). Unlike the young, they (old) call them melted bonbons and their speech (their levelled dialect) is māʕix (the opposite of māliħ in the literal and figurative meaning). The old speech is associated with the manlyhood. They consider it the speech of our fathers and feel weightier when using it.

From the above statements, we see the feeling of embarrassment that is associated with the use of the traditional features of the dialect. I mentioned earlier that people in the southern part of Iraq are referred to as Šrūg (see1.6). The people of the tribe as southerners changed their dialect so that others would not think badly of them, given the power of propaganda against this class of society and their dialect. The southerners changed their dialect as a result of the stigma that is conveyed by titles like Šrūg, which

made people feel ashamed of speaking the dialect as it is associated with inferior social status. This led people to change and speak in the Baghdadi-like dialect on the assumption that doing so is a compliment to society and that one wants to be integrated in this community or wants to be urbanised, i.e. ‘baghdadises’. The Šrūg or southern people can be easily identified via their dialect. Therefore, to avoid all the connotations of this term, they suppress the features that signpost their dialect. The term Šrūg is used by outsiders to refer to any southerner. Inside Qal‘at Siker, the southerners themselves use equivalent terms to distinguish themselves. They use the term ‘`ibin madīna/ `iwlāja’, (the inhabitant of the urban centre; having a high social value) who speaks a Baghdadi-like dialect and ‘`ibin ilrīf/`urbi’ (rural) to distinguish those who use the traditional southern dialect. Consider the following statement given by MKA:

jaglu:la jitmaddan liʔan hassa sʻa:rat hijja ilma:ʃja wði:ʃ jsa:mu:nha
 ʃurbi iljiħʃi:ha

They say about him (the one who uses a mid-dialect) that he is being urbanised, and the other dialect (the traditional) they refer to him as ‘`urbi’ which literally means Arabic and locally means ‘ruralite’.

Even though they have migrated to the urban community, where they consider themselves having become ‘`ibin madīna/ `iwlāja ‘urbanite (lit. the son of the city)’, they are still considered by the original urban centre of Qal‘at Siker as ‘`ibin ilrīf ‘ruralite’ (lit. the son of the countryside). In Iraq, particularly in central areas like Baghdad, [ʃ] is stigmatised because of its associations with the rural speakers as well as for reflecting the rural lifestyle lack of education. Connotations like being rural and uneducated are not only attached to [ʃ] by Iraqis but also by some Arab groups of speakers, such as Jordanians. [ʃ] is the overtly rural form in Jordan (see for example Abdel Jawad, 1981; Al-Khatib, 1988; Al-Zu‘bi, 2001; and El-Salman, 2003). These contradictory perceptions of two variants of (k), prestige and stigma, set the condition required for the systemic

change from one (stigmatised) variant to the other (prestigious) variant (Sturevant, 1947; cited in Labov, 2001). My study reveals that there is evidence of Iraqis following the pattern of moving away from the traditional stigmatised target. They are abandoning the traditional variant [ʃ] in favour of the supralocal variant [k] in southern Iraq, under pressure of levelling from mid-Mesopotamia. Similar processes of accommodation involving southern Iraqis and Baghdadis are reported in Bakir's study (1986). Thus, like [dʒ], speakers have a strong preference for [k] and are converging on this realisation in Qal'at Siker.

In Iraq, there is a social behaviour which I refer to as 'baghdadisation'. Baghdadisation is the tendency to behave or become Baghdadi-like. This social phenomenon is not separable from the indexicality phenomenon. It encompasses the positive social value attached to the Baghdadi linguistic forms and the opposite of Šrūg in all respects. That is, it is the behaviours that the Šrūg should adopt to get rid of the humiliation and put an end to the communal differentiation. My claim can be supported by the fact that this social behaviour of Iraqis is captured in a well-known song by the famous Iraqi singer Kāḏum Alsāhir, addressing a girl, entitled 'titbaḡdad 'alēna wi ḡna min baḡdād' (lit. 'you're baghdadising, but *we're* Baghdadis'). He means that a girl, in the song, 'pretends' to be Baghdadi but little she knows that he himself is from Baghdad. In this song, he says "min nabrat kalāmak 'a'rufak min wēn, Karāda...etc" (lit. your tone of speech reveals where you are from, Karāda...etc) and he starts listing names of Iraqi localities. Then he says 'lā baḡdādi 'inta w lā 'ibin baḡdād' (you are not Baghdadi nor are you the son of Baghdad). This indicates that non-Baghdadis tend to baghdadise in Iraq. He mentions the word 'nabra' and how it can help to identify places in Iraq. This type of discourse is quite informative to our linguistic study. Duri (1978) states that there is a feeling of love or strong connection to everything that is Baghdadi. Linguistically

speaking, this involves a tendency to convergence toward the Baghdadi dialect, or divergence from a behaviour that is regarded as traditional especially among the young generation. The mid-dialect has social prestige because Baghdad is the Iraqi regional standard and the most important commercial city. Baghdad is not only Iraq's capital of culture but was also the Arab one. It was the best place for modernisation, education, healthcare, etc. Its people are thought of as well-versed, educated, civilised and so on. Therefore, people of Iraq consider Baghdad as a symbol of modernity.

Baghdadi features appear to be spreading throughout the whole country, i.e., innovative features diffuse from Baghdad outwards. This phenomenon of diffusion of linguistic innovations from a regional standard to other linguistic zones has been documented in many sociolinguistic works, e.g. From Jeddah to other Saudi areas (Hussain, 2017), from 'Ammān to other Jordanian cities (Al-Wer, 1991); linguistic features originating from the southeast and London to other UK areas (see for instance, Trudgill 1983 and 1986; Kerswill and Williams 2005, 2000). One finds a generally positive attitude towards approaching the Baghdadi accent. In addition, the need for better communication with a wider group of people may encourage people to adapt their dialect and adopt a more commonly known dialect instead (cf. Williams and Kerswill, 1999).

5.8 Summary

The chapter has been devoted to demonstrating variation in (k) in Mišlab Arabic. The research has explored both linguistic and social constraints that influence speaker choices of (k) variants. High contact speakers are found to be using the innovative variant [k] at higher rates than low contact speakers and men are said to lead the change. There is also less use of the stigmatised variant [ʃ] by younger speakers overall, and this strongly suggests that this is a case of change in progress.

Not only is there a connection between social variables and the change in progress, the path of current state of variation is also connected to linguistic variables. For example, [k] is generally characterised by greater frequency of use in the vicinity of consonants. The above stated results of the Rbrul run conveyed that the weak reflex of [tʃ] is most prevalent when the preceding sound is a high front vowel. This result supports the affrication rule that [tʃ] is most strongly used in this vicinity, in that the more fronted the sound is, the more fortition, [k], is disfavoured.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Although the levelling of dialectical features in some Iraqi Arabic varieties has been remarked upon, studies of such a process are still lacking in number. Given this, the current research project targeted the levelling of the properties of one of the linguistic systems in Iraq, seeking to ascertain whether it exists, which system wins out, and why it is happening. Levelling is like a clash between systems, where one loses ground to the other. To specify the linguistic systems in Iraq, a division in the linguistic landscape therein is needed. There have been three different classifications of the dialects of Iraq. What concerns the discussion here is the region-based division in which the dialects of Iraq are classified into northern, southern and central. It was mentioned earlier in the thesis that several northern *qiltu*-type dialects in northern Iraq are assumed to be currently undergoing change because of the levelling of different linguistic features towards the mid-dialect. In the current research, it is hypothesised that a similar process is happening in the dialect under investigation (*gilit*-type), where the southern features are levelling towards the mid (Baghdadi) dialect. Qal'at Siker, as a southern *gilit* dialect area, which has been at the centre of several social upheavals, constitutes an ideal southern location for levelling to occur.

This project investigated the variation and change in the use of two traditional linguistic features (k) and (ḳ) found in the dialect of a city in the southern part of Iraq. These two variables had not previously been examined sociolinguistically in Mišlab Arabic. The results show that fortition, viz. [tʃ] > [k], [j] > [ḳ], is in progress. In defining the status of the variants of each variable, the study has established that the variants [tʃ] and [j] are stigmatised.

The variables have been analysed within the framework of the Labovian variationist sociolinguistics. This study thus examined the influence of three social factors

(gender, level of contact and age) on such variation. In addition to the social variables, variation was examined in relation to several linguistic constraints.

The results show the following patterns:

(*dʒ*)

The overall rate of usage of this variable in the case shows that the use of innovative supralocal [dʒ] (67%) is double than that of [j] (33%). This clearly shows that the local feature is increasingly being levelled out. Rbrul identified several linguistic constraints on the use of the two variants of (dʒ). The variant [j] was most frequent when preceded and followed by high and low front vowels, whereas [dʒ] was most favoured when it occurred in the environment of consonants and back vowels. Other significant linguistic factors are: syllable number, syllable type and gemination, such that [dʒ] was found to be favoured when not geminated (singleton), in light syllables, tri- and polysyllabic words, while germination, heavy and super heavy syllable, mono- and disyllabic words strongly disfavour the occurrence of [dʒ]. With respect to the social variables, all three factors, age, gender and level of contact, were returned significant. The youngest speakers are the most advanced users of the innovative incoming feature, men are ahead of women, and the speakers with high level of contact lead in the use of [dʒ].

(*k*)

The overall rate of occurrence of [k] is 61%. All three social variables were returned as significant. Again, high contact younger speakers lead the change toward [k]; again, generally speaking, in the overall sample, men were found to lead women in the use of the innovative feature [k]. Regarding the linguistic constraints, Rbrul shows that multisyllabic words favour [k], unlike monosyllabic words. Both preceding and following

environments were found to be significant, such that [k] was favoured when preceded and followed by consonants and back vowels. Generally, [tʃ] is most prevalent when the preceding sound is a high front vowel, unlike [k]. The more fronted the sound is, the more [k] is disfavoured.

This typical pattern of dialect change in the results is being introduced by younger, male, higher contact speakers. High-contact young speakers are the most innovative, and the group in which the change becomes evident. On the other hand, the data revealed that low-contact older women were the ones who made use of more local variants because they had the lowest contact levels. The analysis of the variables has revealed that there are not any variants which are used by one group of speakers exclusively.

The demographic disruption in Qal‘at Siker, which brought the community to close contact with speakers of other varieties is probably the prime factor for the levelling out of the local linguistic features. The migration waves of the members of the tribe to the urban part of Qal‘at Siker and to other cities like Baghdad as a result of land redistribution was the main driving force behind this migration (see chapter 1).

Long contact, as Versteegh (1997) remarks, leads to a spread of innovative forms. Periods of contact in Iraq were established, for example, the Iraq-Iran war lasted for about ten years (of contact on the battlefield) and the US-led sanctions lasted about 13 years (of contact in Baghdad in search for work). Further, improvements in transportation has made travel more easily possible in Iraq. This resulted in people working at various locations and meeting people from central Iraq at work, then returning, bringing with them features of the central dialect, and thus the impetus to dialect levelling towards Baghdadi (cf. Williams, and Kerswill, 1999). In short, the changes in the dialect have

originated through contact with two sources of migration: access to these two innovative features has increased through contact with those (1) inside and (2) outside the city, starting largely in the 1970s. As a result of mobility, the city's dialect currently appears to be closer to the Baghdadi-like, as exemplified through the changes that have affected (dʒ) and (k). Overall, the Mišlab Arabic seems to be retreating wholesale; distinctive features of this dialect seem likely to be replaced by supralocal equivalents. This is evidenced by the prevalent realisation of (dʒ) as [dʒ] by all high contact young speakers in the study. The two variables behave differently. Unlike [j], [tʃ] is not completely being levelled out in the speech of the high contact young group where [tʃ] is used about 30%. On the other hand, the realisation of (dʒ) as [dʒ] in the same group was 100%. These distinct behaviours indicate that the Baghdadi dialect not only has triggered the current levelling of these features, but also the extent to which variation in the two variables of this study has progressed. This is because [tʃ] is still used and is variable in Baghdad, whereas [j] does not exist there.

The effect of contact was found more significant on men's language use, especially in the older generation where the gap between men and women in the low contact group is as high as 23% for (k) and 25% for (dʒ); in the overall results, the male speakers favour the incoming variants while the female speakers disfavour them. The difference between the two gender groups is probably due to the greater amount of access that men have to the Baghdadi features. Additionally, the role that men play in their community is more significant than women, and therefore their linguistic behaviour is likely to be emulated. In this way, men become agents through whom innovative linguistic features are disseminated in the local community. Nonetheless, the gap between men and women decreases considerably in the young age group –where the numbers are close to identical.

Quite expectedly, speakers who have a lower level of contact preserve the local features of the dialect. The oldest people devote all their days to working in the fields, totally isolated from any contact with outsiders for almost the first half of their lives. Women, especially from the older age groups, are mostly workers and housewives with little or no formal education. The middle-aged group members grew up for the first few years in the same rural place and moved inside the city walls and enjoyed more contact with other groups. In contrast, the young were born and lived in the city. They go to state schools in their areas and to universities in Baghdad and, thus, communicate with a wider community. Most of the youngsters are educated and hold white-collar jobs, and usually have studied or worked in Baghdad.

The shift from the southern variant of [dʒ] or [k], to the Mid-Mesopotamian [dʒ] and [k] is the norm, which implies what Chambers and Trudgill (1980) refer to as the tendency to adopt the higher status variant. Such a trend is common in the dialects of Arabic, as remarked by Miller (2004) that dialects recede in the face of the dialect of the capital city (in my case Baghdad). The use of [dʒ] or [k] is a use of the koineised feature of the dialect of Baghdad, the capital city of Iraq. Holes (1986) maintains that every community adopting some variants has a social worth that motivates convergence. [j] is a rural variant in Iraq and it is used by the Šī'ī community, the dominant one in Iraq. However, it is not religious affiliation, which directs the phonological change in Iraq, rather the prestige of the Baghdadi dialect. Thus, the social situation in Iraq creates pressure in the southern region to use the dominant variant [dʒ] and [k], and convergence toward the Baghdadi features that carry a social value.

Recommendations for further research

1. The general assumption made is that the speakers are abandoning their dialect in favour of the Baghdadi-like dialect, and this is clearly evidenced by the loss of [j] and the use of [dʒ] that is prevalent in Baghdad. However, one of the features that the dialect is reducing the affrication of (k) that is also known to be a characteristic feature of the Baghdadi dialect. Therefore, a sociolinguistic analysis of (k) in Baghdad is needed to determine the status of affrication there to enable comparisons.
2. On the other hand, an investigation of (dʒ) in other southern dialects like ‘Amāra where the variants are [dʒ] and [ʒ] rather than [j] would be very interesting. This also helps assess the validity of the suggestion that the southern dialects are in general changing in the direction of Baghdad.
3. A study of these two features in the speech of the other tribes in the region is also needed to understand whether the social variables affect all of the tribes equally.
4. It would be interesting to study variation among the rural communities as stratified by the social factors like the level of contact (as it is measured by proxy factors like education), who have not migrated to urban centres to show how strong the impact of the Baghdadi dialect is on the rural communities rather than just in the urban parts.
5. This study is the first variationist study to be conducted in Qal‘at Siker. Based on the results from my research, dedialectalisation in Qal‘at Siker is progressing (cf. Trudgill 2002). It would be vital in future research to investigate more features whose variability has been documented through this research (see chapter 2). For instance, the data shows that linguistic features like the following appear to be variable:

Phonology

- Vowels:
 - (e:): the loss of its variant /i:/ as in /bi:t/ ~ /be:t/ ‘house’
 - Word-final (a): the loss of /a:/ as in /dʒilʕa:/ ~ /qalʕa/ ‘castle’
- Consonants:
 - Variation between four variants of (q) as in /dʒilʕa:/ ~ /qalʕa/ ‘castle’.
 - The use of (?): /ʃifa/ ~ /ʃifa:ʔ/ recovery.
 - Velarisation: as in (l) /jɪʃtiɣil/ ~ /jɪʃtiɣilʕ/ ‘he works’.
 - Metathesis: /krhaba:ʔ/ ~ /kahraba:ʔ/ ‘electricity’.
 - The vowel insertion and deletion in the first syllables of verbs, /tiθaqaf/ ~ /itθaqaf/ ‘He became well-versed’.
 - The loss of Ghawa syndrome and its feeding rule.

Morphology

- Pronouns like the use of the third person singular /u/
- Verb forms as in /tiħaʃʃa/ ~ /iħʃi/ ‘to speak’
- The progressive particle (dʒa:j):

These among many others mentioned in chapter two are now variable in the dialect.

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