

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL FACTORS, LEXICAL BORROWING AND SPEECH  
ACCOMMODATION IN THE VARIATION OF [q] AND [?] IN THE COLLOQUIAL  
ARABIC OF RURAL MIGRANT FAMILIES IN HIMS, SYRIA

By

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by

Rania Habib

To the light of my life, my mother, Amira Shahem  
To the symbol of glory, honor, and idealism, my father, Ibrahim Habib  
    To the fun person, my sister, Suzi Habib  
    To my road fellow, my brother, Husam Habib  
To the most tender-hearted person, my brother, Faraj Habib  
    I love you all.  
        You have been my support all my life.  
        I hope I will always make you proud of me.

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School  
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The present study explores the variable use of [q] and [?] in the Colloquial Arabic of rural migrant families residing in two neighborhoods of the city of Hims, Syria. Principally, the roles of social factors (sex, age, area of residence, and social class), lexical borrowing and speech accommodation are analyzed. A quantitative study was carried out to examine the frequency of each sound in the naturally occurring speech of a sample of 36 interviewees belonging to families who migrated from rural areas, where [q] is socially dominant, to the city of Hims, where [?] acts as a prestige marker. Speech accommodation seems to be at play in this case of apparent language change among rural-origin speakers. In general, younger speakers appear to accommodate more fully to city norms, using the prestige variant [?] with a significantly higher frequency than older speakers in the Himsi context. Area of residence in the city of Hims also exerts a

significant influence on the use of the prestige variant. Differential patterns of accommodation were explored in a qualitative analysis highlighting the usage of individual speakers. The continued use of [q] is partially attributable to lexical borrowings from Standard Arabic into Colloquial Arabic. The data suggest that cross-generational change may start with particular words and then spread to other words, meaning that the mechanism of change from [q] to [?] in migrant families in Hims could be lexical diffusion. This phenomenon is most apparent in the speech of the older generation.

## CHAPTER 1 THE STUDY

### **1.1. Introduction**

Sound change and the relationship between sound change and social factors has been investigated by many researchers, particularly Labov, who inspired many analysts to carry out studies implementing his techniques. These kinds of studies are usually conducted to discover whether language variation could potentially cause a major change in a language. This interest in knowing the direction and consequences of language variation evokes a very particular phenomenon in Syria: the sound change of the voiceless uvular stop [q] to a glottal stop [?] in colloquial speech. While these two sounds are separate phonemes in Standard Arabic (SA), the written language, they act in colloquial speech as allophones of the same phoneme /q/.

The stigmatization of the use of [q] in the Colloquial Arabic (CA) of Syria, spoken in cities like Hims, Damascus (Daher 1998a, 1998b) and Aleppo, leads the rural people to adopt the speech of the city people, so they can be accepted as part of the urban community. To integrate into the community, they need to be careful in pronouncing [q] as [?], characteristic of most of the large cities in Syria. The use of [?] instead of [q] is considered more ‘civilized’ and ‘city-like’ (Daher 1998a, 1998b). Job opportunities attract villagers to migrate to the cities; jobs are very limited in villages and mostly depend on agriculture. In addition, all those who want to continue their education at the university level have to come to live in one of the large cities where universities are located. The migration and movement to live in the city is followed by a shock; city

people start to make negative comments about the rural people's dialect or imitate their [q] sound. Thus, rural migrants start switching to the use of [?] instead of [q]. This study will show that the only remaining use of [q] is attributed to lexical borrowings from SA (see Chapter 4). These lexical borrowings are also found in the speech of people who are originally from Hims. In the speech of some speakers, the use of the [?] sound only in particular words draws our attention to the theory of lexical diffusion, explained in Chapter 4.

When migrants to the city of Hims go back to their homes or villages, particularly the older generation, they may automatically switch to their original dialect, and thus, the use of [q]; some of them, particularly the younger generation, may maintain their Himsi dialect in speech even with members of their own family and upon their return to the village. This switch first occurs consciously, and then it probably becomes unconscious; the switch is associated with varied interlocutors: strangers or relatives. A quantitative study is performed here to examine how the factors of age, sex, social class, and area of residence influence the use of [?] in place of [q]. The quantitative analysis is followed by a qualitative analysis to study particular cases and variation in speech accommodation (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991) among speakers. The qualitative analysis confirms many of the findings of the quantitative analysis and highlights the importance that adopting a new identity may play in speech accommodation. The aim is to discover whether this type of variation leads to other sound changes and whether there is correlation between various sound changes. The issue of whether overt prestige or covert prestige will prevail in the future requires further longitudinal research and investigation.

It will be helpful to see in fifty years from now if people who live in the village have changed their speech to a great extent, which could be an indicator of change in progress.

Hims or Homs, as some people refer to it as a result of rounding the first vowel that is also a feature of the Himsi dialect, is the third most important city in Syria and it is strategically located in the fertile Orontes River Valley in the center of Syria, between Damascus to the south and Aleppo to the north. Hims is an ancient city dating back to the year 2300 B.C. and was known in Roman times as Emesa. The word “Homs” derives from a Canaanite root that means shyness.<sup>1</sup> Hims governorate is the largest in Syria (43,630 sq.km.). The population of the City of Hims, according to 1994 estimates, is 644,000.<sup>2</sup> Its central location and size made it the third governorate in agriculture, trade and industry. Hims is distinguished from other Syrian governorates in its important strategic location. It is in the middle of Syria, on a hill approximately 508m above sea level. Being a central city in Syria, Hims attracts people from the neighboring countryside. The Himsi people are known for their pride in their dialect, which is characterized by the use of [?]. For this reason, they usually stigmatize other dialects, particularly the ones that contain the [q] sound.

## **1.2. Previous Studies**

Many sociolinguistic studies have dealt with sound change in correlation with social factors (e.g. Labov, 1966, 1972; Haeri, 1991, 1992, 1996; Daher 1998a, 1998b, 1999), such as sex, age, occupation and social class. All of these studies show the degree of influence that each social factor has on the preference of one sound over another. The

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1 <http://www.homsonline.com/Citeis/Homs.htm>. Main References: The Syrian, Britannica, Encarta and Columbia encyclopedias....

2 2002 Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

significance of social stratification in the ranking of the individual's use of a certain sound has been emphasized by Labov (1963, 1966) and adapted by many other scholars, such as Haeri (1991, 1992, 1996) and Daher (1998a, 1998b, 1999). Hurreiz (1978) likewise stresses the influence of social stratification on linguistic variation. For him, age, sex, education, and work setting are the major social factors for change.

In *Principles of Linguistic Change* (1994), Labov shows how social factors integrate with linguistic factors. In this book, Labov stresses the fact that "The separation of 'internal' from 'external,' 'linguistic factors' from 'social factors' may seem practical to those who view language as a unified whole where *tout se tient*, or those who believe that every feature of language has a social aspect" (Labov, 1994: 1). He mentions that even schooling does not necessarily reverse the merger, for example, of the intervocalic flap of /t/ and /d/ in English. This is very much the case with respect to [q] and [?] in Himsi Colloquial Arabic (HCA). Educators who use the /q/ phoneme do not influence the change from [q] to [?] in the spoken language. People also listen to news and television programs in SA, yet they continue to use [?] as a substitute for [q] in their speech.

In *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (1972), Labov also stresses that "the shape of linguistic behavior changes rapidly as the speaker's social position changes" (1972: 111). This is what we encounter when the rural people migrate to Hims and establish a new job, a new social status, and thus, a new linguistic behavior. For him, "isolation leads to linguistic diversity while the mixing of population leads to linguistic uniformity" (1973: 143). This applies in our case of the change of [q] to [?], where rural people mix with Himsi inhabitants and adopt the new form [?] to become part of the urban whole.

According to Labov (1972), “The process of sound change is not an autonomous movement within the confines of a linguistic system, but rather a complex response to many aspects of human behavior” (163). Labov also refers to a number of independent extralinguistic factors, such as education, occupation, geographic location of the speaker, and ethnic group to which the speaker belongs. He points out in his various studies of New York City speech the influence of these factors in the preference for one variable over another. The present study reflects the influence of some of these social factors – age, sex, and social class – in the choice between the two variants [q] and [?].

Labov (1981: 29) indicates that vernacular is the “most systematic data for linguistic analysis” and that vernacular is the most spontaneous style of speech related to the person’s careful and literary forms of speech (Labov 1971). This view influences, explains and supports the choice of the colloquial speech of Himsi people for the study as the most spontaneous speech.

Sound change in Arabic is a feature that has been observed over the years. Many changes have occurred throughout the centuries. One major change in Arabic was the change of interdental fricatives to stops: /θ/ and /ð/ to [t] and [d] respectively (Daher, 1999). Daher (1998a, 1998b) performed a quantitative study on Damascus Colloquial Arabic (DCA), exploring the variation of men’s and women’s use of standard and colloquial variants of three phonological variables: (q),<sup>3</sup> (θ)/(ð) and (aw)/(ay). He also studied the correlation between these variables and the extralinguistic variables of sex, age, occupation and educational level. Daher compared the use of the variant [q] in

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<sup>3</sup> Parentheses are used to refer to the variable (q); brackets are used to refer to the variants [q] and [?]; and / / are used to refer to a phonological unit, /q/ and /?/.

Standard Arabic (SA) to its use in Colloquial Arabic (CA). He pointed out that educated women are more inclined to use the prestigious form [?] than educated men, who tend to be more traditional. Daher pointed out that history has shown that that change took place over centuries. The study indicates that change does not happen overnight. It is the coming generations that have to make the change. Daher's view corresponds with Labov's view of change in progress (Labov 1972). Being a study that deals with a similar variable, (q), leads to the expectation that the change from [q] to [?] in the speech of migrants to Hims may take centuries. However, Daher (1999) points out that the change that involved (θ) and (ð) into [t] and [d] respectively was completed by the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Now the reappearance of (θ) and (ð) or [s] and [z] as substitutes for them in speech is limited to those whose careers involve written language, and thus, does not involve change in progress. It is mostly lexical borrowings from SA which depend on the frequency of the occurrence of these words in the spoken language.

Churchyard (1993) also dealt with the sound change of Arabic siin /s/ that was a “palatal-alveolar sibilant in early forms of Arabic.” It developed into a “dental-alveolar sibilant” during the early Islamic period. It then developed in Hebrew into a “dental-alveolar lateral fricative (and subsequently a sibilant)”. Churchyard's study shows the influence of different dialects on the change from one sound to another, which is one of the issues that influences the change from [q] to [?] in the present study. Davis (1984) deals with two non-standard pharyngeals – the voiceless fricative /ħ/ and the voiced stop /ʕ/ – in the language of two generations of native speakers of Israeli Hebrew. The study is based on the technique developed by Labov (1966). The significance of this study lies in its reference to how the change occurs over generations and the influence of age on

change. The difference in use of [q] and [?] between children and parents is well observed in the data of this study.

The relationship between sex and language has always been the concern of language researchers. In the old ages, men were considered the innovators of language change and introducers of new words to the lexicon (Jespersen 1922); women were marginalized as speakers (Coates 1996). However, most sociolinguistic work has shown that women are more inclined towards the prestige form than men (Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977, 1978; Newbrook 1982; Romaine 1978; Eisikovits 1987, 1988). Sex and social class have also been analyzed as independent variables that influence sound change by Gordon and Heath (1999). That study supports my expected results that females are more attracted to the use of the prestigious form than men are and that women are more aware of the social significance of certain sounds. Walters (1991, 1992) explored sex, age, and education as the main factors influencing linguistic variation in Tunisian Arabic. These two studies also implement a quantitative method. The first study shows that females use the non-stigmatized forms more than males. In the second study, sex, age, and education did not play a major role.

Wolf (1985) addresses the replacement of /k/ with a glottal stop, comparing it to the Arabic development of [q] into either a glottal stop or a velar plosive /g/. This shows that [q] has long been the focus of change into various sounds in some Arabic dialects. Hassan Abdel-Jawad (1981) investigated the use of [q] in a stratified sample of Amman in Jordan. He shows how the [q] has merged with either [k], [g], or [?] through the years: [g] in the Nomad dialect, [k] in the rural dialect, and [?] in the urban dialects. He presents (q) as a sociolinguistic variable related to sex, social class, and urban/rural origins. This

supports my hypothesis that [q] is used more by rural people, whereas [?] is used more by urban people. The influence of social class, sex, age and occupation plays a major role in the distribution of these two sounds. According to him, the “merger of the qaf<sup>4</sup> with the glottal stop has been one of the most sweeping phonemic changes that many dialects of Arabic have undergone” (Haeri, 1996: 122).

Haeri (1996) remarks on the lack of studies that deal with the history of Classical and non-classical Arabic: “To my knowledge, there are no detailed and comprehensive studies of the language habits of Egyptian (or other Arabs) for any given historical period. That is, there are no published social histories of Classical and non-classical Arabic varieties” (1996: 7). Haeri (1996: 10) also points out that “where newer and more recent forms emerge as variants of the older forms – ‘change in progress’ [Labov, 1973] - women use these ‘non-standard’ forms more than men. In such cases their behavior is therefore ‘innovative’”. Her study is carried out in light of Labov’s variationist studies (1966, 1972), and speakers are distributed according to sex, social class, occupation and age. In her comparison of the use of [q] in Classical Arabic and Cairene Arabic, Haeri found that women are more inclined towards the urban forms than men, i.e. they do not use the classical features such as [q] as much as men, though they participate in the public domain. Haeri (1996: 104) speaks of the reappearance of [q] in Egyptian Arabic after its disappearance and merger with the glottal stop: “Thus, on the one hand, the hamza<sup>5</sup> replaced the qaf in all environments, but on the other, the qaf continued to exist, not as a phoneme, but as a sound”. She quotes Garbell (1978) on the co-existence of the

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<sup>4</sup> Qaf is the Arabic name for the sound /q/. It is usually pronounced with a long /aa/; thus, I will use the word qaaf in my analysis of the data.

<sup>5</sup> Hamza is the Arabic name for the glottal stop /?/.

voiceless uvular stop [q] and the glottal stop /ʔ/, who states that: “The presence of the qaf in the urban dialects requires explanation because according to various accounts, sometime between the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, this phoneme merged completely with the glottal stop, i.e. [q] → /ʔ/” (Haeri 1996: 105). Haeri argues that “the qaf has been reintroduced into non-classical dialects through a process of lexical borrowing” (1996: 105). She points out that Garbell (1978: 204) attributes this to the “constant - and in recent times increasing - borrowing of lexemes from the literary language” (107). To confirm that the reappearance of [q] in Cairene Colloquial speech is the result of lexical borrowings from SA, she performed an experiment on a number of children, ages 6-12. Haeri found that it was very difficult to elicit words containing [q] from children, which meant that children acquired [q] later in life through formal education. However, Haeri (1991, 1996) shows that education has not restored the [q] to colloquial speech. She contrasts the [q] with a new change in progress in Cairo, the palatalization of pharyngealized dental stops that is observed to be more dominant in women than men at all ages (Haeri 1992). However, age remains a factor that determines the use of those new phonological variants.

In the light of the new theories, such as Optimality Theory, it is believed that people tend to optimize their speech towards the least marked forms or structures. Haeri states that: “In terms of language change, ‘diglossic variables’ such as the qaf are changes from above the level of social awareness (Labov, 1994). Not only are they initially introduced through conscious linguistic decision, but also their use continues to be commented on by members of the speech community” (1996: 156).

The idea that the prestige form is the form used by the upper class has also been explored by many writers. Bourdieu (1977: 659), for example, points out that “The dominant usage is the usage of the dominant class”. In the present study, I would like to draw attention to the difference between the prestige that SA carries and the prestige that the Himsi dialect and other dialects have. The prestige of SA relates to formal writing, formal speeches and interviews. However, in colloquial speech or naturally occurring speech, prestige is associated with how sounds are expected to be pronounced by the people of those specific dialects. In other words, while [q] is the prestige marker of SA, it is not necessarily the prestige marker of all the spoken dialects.

It would thus be of interest to learn how the voiceless uvular stop [q] changes into [?] based on sex, age, social class, and area of residence. Those two sounds were investigated by Haeri and Abdel-Jawad, yet they were investigated from different approaches. Haeri speaks of the influence of classical Arabic and borrowings on the reappearance of [q] in Colloquial Arabic. Abdel-Jawad deals with the various allophones of [q] and indicates where each one is used, yet he does not speak of it as a social marker. Daher, on the other hand, deals with this change in the city of Damascus, the Syrian Capital, yet he does not extend his research to other cities where the change may be taking place. Daher also deals with Damascene speakers, not migrants who come to live in an urban society. A further reason for the present study is to find out if there are any indications for a change in progress. It is hoped that this study will revive interest in a long-neglected feature of the Colloquial Syrian Arabic and perhaps other Colloquial Arabic varieties.

### **1.3. Hypothesis and Research Questions**

The pride that the Himsi people show towards their dialect and the stigma that they cast on other dialects and on the [q] sound raise the following hypothesis: the two variants, [q] and [?], are sensitive to social and stylistic stratification. The variant [?] is the prestige marker of the city of Hims. The use of [?] is socially stratified.

The questions guiding the present study are the following:

1. How do the factors of age, sex, social class and area of residence condition the use of the variants [q] and [?] in the colloquial Arabic speech of rural migrant families in the city of Hims?
2. What is the role of lexical borrowing from Standard Arabic in the use of [q] in the speech of the present sample?
3. To what extent may speech accommodation to urban norms be implicated in the variation of [q] and [?] among rural migrant speakers in Hims?

## CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. Linguistic Variable

The dependent or linguistic variable of the present study is (q), which appears in the speech of the Himsi community as two variants: [q] and [?]. There is no specific phonological context in which [?] occurs as a replacement for [q]. It can occur in many phonological contexts except in certain lexical borrowings from Standard Arabic (SA), such as [qur?aan] *Qur'an*, [liqaa?] *meeting*, and [θaqaafe] *cultural*. For example, [qalem] *pen*, [raqbi] *neck*, and [wareq] *paper* become [?alam], [ra?bi], and [wara?] respectively. These examples show that the change could occur word-initially, word-internally, and word-finally. One can also observe in the given examples that the change from [q] to [?] is accompanied by other vowel changes, such as the change of [e] to [a].

### 2.2. Social Variables

The independent or extralinguistic variables included in the quantitative analysis are the following:

1. Sex (18 males and 18 females)
2. Age (two age groups: 18-35 and 55+)
3. Social class (two social classes: Lower-middle and Upper-middle, based on family income (breadwinner income), education, occupation and residential area).

The study's participants came from two residential areas in the City of Hims: Al-Hameedieh and Akrama. Al-Hameedieh is a central residential area in Hims and

carries the traditional values of the City of Hims. People who live in Al-Hameeddieh are conceived of by other inhabitants of the City of Hims as upper-class; thus, as a residential area, it is imbued with prestige. On the other hand, Akrama is a newly developing residential area in the suburbs of Hims. It started developing and growing about thirty years ago and is mainly occupied by migrants from rural areas. Therefore, the two areas differ with respect to their history. The tradition and prestige associated with Al-Hameeddieh is expected to have a great influence on the newcomers, especially since the majority of the residents are Himsies. This influence might be minor in Akrama, since the majority of the residents are not originally Himsies and have moved in recently. Education and occupation may also affect the person's social class with time. For example, if one is a medical doctor or an engineer who comes from a poor family, his/her social status may change with time as s/he starts to be more known and to make more money; this might be referred to as social mobility (Haeri 1991, 1996).

### **2.3. Data**

#### **2.3.1. Participants**

Table 1 displays background information for each of the thirty-six speakers who comprise the present data set. A total of 18 males and 18 females were included. Most of the participants are from a village called Oyoun Al-Wadi where [q] is always used in colloquial speech. All participants migrated to the city of Hims from a rural area at one point in their lives or are the sons and daughters of those migrants; they live in the city and occasionally go back to visit the countryside. I was personally acquainted with most of the informants, who were not picked at random. All were family members, relatives, friends and neighbors. My own family is from the village of Oyoun Al-Wadi, and I moved to Hims at the age of two years and two months. At home, my family uses the

village dialect, but with distant friends and acquaintances there is a switch to the Himsi dialect. Speakers # 1, 6, 14 and 19 come from neighboring villages to Oyoun Al-Wadi, which also use the [q] sound in their dialect. Speaker # 1 comes from the village of Hazzoor, but his wife, speaker # 10, is from Oyoun Al-Wadi. Speaker # 6 and his wife, speaker # 19, are from the village of Ain Al-Ajooz. Speaker # 14 comes from the village of Habb Nimra.

It is worth noting that some of the speakers are related to each other: speakers # 1 and 10 are husband and wife; speakers # 3 and 12 are also married and speaker # 30 is their daughter; speakers # 8 and 18 are husband and wife and speakers 24, 25, 33 & 34 are their children. In addition, speakers # 9 and 17 are married and their children are speakers # 26 and 27. Speakers # 5 and 15 are married. Speakers # 35 and 36 are sisters. Speaker # 28 is the son of speaker # 7. Speakers # 2 and 11 are married and are the parents of speakers # 20, 21 and 22. Speakers # 4 and 13 are husband and wife and the parents of speaker # 23.

### **2.3.2. Speech samples**

Informal, audiotape-recorded conversations in Colloquial Arabic, lasting about 45 minutes with each individual, were transcribed and analyzed. The recordings took place either in my family home in Hims or in the informants' homes, whichever was more convenient at the time. All data were collected during the summer of 2004. In the interviews, I used the [?] sound with all the interviewees, some of whom were open to use their village dialect with me despite my use of [?], knowing that I come from the same hometown. No one was informed of the exact focus of the study.

Table 1: Study participants

<b>Speaker #</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Social class</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Area</b>
1.	M	77	L-M	R. Gov. Employee	Low	Preparatory	Akrama
2.	M	65	L-M	R. Gov. Employee	Low	Preparatory	Akrama
3.	M	64	L-M	Retired Officer	Low	Preparatory	Al-Hameedieh
4.	M	60	L-M	R. Gov. Employee	Low	Preparatory	Al-Hameedieh
5.	M	69	U-M	Unemployed	Mid	Preparatory	Al-Hameedieh
6.	M	70	U-M	R. Director of Customs	High	B.A.	Al-Hameedieh
7.	M	62	U-M	Civil Engineer	High	B.A.	Al-Hameedieh
8.	M	62	U-M	Business Man	High	A.A.	Al-Hameedieh
9.	M	64	U-M	Teacher	Mid	A.A.	Al-Hameedieh
10.	F	75	L-M	Housewife	Low	Preparatory	Akrama
11.	F	59	L-M	Housewife	Low	Elementary	Akrama
12.	F	61	L-M	Teacher	Low	A.A.	Al-Hameedieh
13.	F	58	L-M	Gov. Employee	Low	Preparatory	Al-Hameedieh
14.	F	59	L-M	Teacher	Low	A.A.	Al-Hameedieh
15.	F	58	U-M	Housewife	Mid	Preparatory	Al-Hameedieh
16.	F	57	U-M	Housewife	High	High School	Al-Hameedieh
17.	F	56	U-M	Teacher	High	A.A.	Al-Hameedieh
18.	F	55	U-M	Housewife	High	Preparatory	Al-Hameedieh
19.	F	61	U-M	Housewife	High	High School	Al-Hameedieh
20.	M	31	L-M	Medical Doctor	Low	Professional	Akrama
21.	M	25	L-M	Civil Engineer	Low	B.A.	Akrama
22.	M	33	L-M	Assistant Engineer	Low	A.A.	Akrama
23.	M	30	L-M	Salesman	Low	A.A.	Al-Hameedieh
24.	M	24	U-M	Medical Doctor	High	B.A.	Al-Hameedieh
25.	M	23	U-M	Salesman	High	High school	Al-Hameedieh
26.	M	24	U-M	Dentist	Mid	Professional	Al-Hameedieh
27.	M	34	U-M	Medical Doctor	Mid	Professional	Al-Hameedieh
28.	M	27	U-M	Dentist	High	Professional	Al-Hameedieh
29.	F	35	L-M	Gov. Employee	Low	A.A.	Al-Hameedieh
30.	F	28	L-M	T.A. Architecture	Low	M.A. student	Al-Hameedieh
31.	F	24	L-M	Agricultural Engineer	Low	Professional	Al-Hameedieh
32.	F	26	L-M	Agricultural Engineer	Mid	Professional	Al-Hameedieh
33.	F	31	U-M	Private Sector Employee	high	B.A. E. Lit.	Al-Hameedieh
34.	F	28	U-M	Housewife	High	B.A. Law	Al-Hameedieh
35.	F	23	U-M	Civil Engineer	High	Professional	Al-Hameedieh
36.	F	25	U-M	English Teacher	High	B.A. E. Lit.	Al-Hameedieh

All of the conversations were very natural and did not follow any preconceived format. The interviewees were free to speak about any topic they wanted. The conversation began by asking about family, children and other matters of mutual interest. After some questions and answers, if the conversation slowed down or there was not much to say, informants were asked to tell a happy or sad story, a dream, or an experience that they had gone through. Most of the conversations flowed naturally and stories were uttered spontaneously, without being solicited. Topics varied: speaker # 1 spoke about his illness causing shortness of breath; speaker # 3 spoke about his life-long experience as an officer in the army; speaker # 6 spoke about the historical book that he has written and the details that it contains; speaker # 7 related many funny stories that occurred in reality in his village; speaker # 10 spoke about the time she broke her hip; speaker # 12 spoke about her breast cancer operation and her daughter's marriage; speaker # 16 spoke about her visit to her daughter in the United Arab Emirates; speaker # 17 spoke about family matters that happened in the absence of her daughter; speaker # 20 spoke about the difficulties he encountered in his medical career; speaker # 23 spoke about his work and its demands; speaker # 24 spoke about his work in the hospital and his anticipated travel to Germany; speaker # 25 spoke about the girl he loves and the rejections he faces from her family and about his travel to Saudi Arabia and the new business he is trying to open; speaker # 29 spoke about her husband's accident and her mother-in-law's fall; speaker # 30 spoke about how she met her husband and about the difficulties she faces as a married woman raising a child and pursuing a graduate degree; speaker # 33 spoke about her failed marriage and her divorce; and speaker # 34 spoke

about her frustration because of two miscarriages and her continuous failure in the university despite her diligent studying.

These are just a few examples of the intimate topics discussed during the recorded conversations. Most of the time, the conversations flowed naturally, as I exchanged questions and answers with the interviewees as an in-group member, sometimes about personal and family issues. According to Labov (1966: 43), the effects of the “observer’s paradox” may be partially overcome by obtaining samples from natural social interactions among in-group members, e.g. interacting with family members or “peer group”. All spoke freely and openly, seemingly oblivious of the presence of the tape recorder. During some interviews, other family members were present, which imparted greater naturalness to the situation. Speaker # 17 was recorded in two natural settings: 1) talking to me (her daughter) and 2) talking to a friend who comes from a similar background and who has lived in the city for the same amount of time. These two recordings aim at examining the complete switch from one dialect to another that occurs in the speech of some rural migrants to the city of Hims, in an attempt to accommodate to the speech of their interlocutor.

#### **2.4. Analysis**

I listened to all recordings twice, calculating the number of occurrences of [q] and [?] in the speech of each informant. Raw frequencies were entered into a stepwise linear regression test to determine the effect of all of the extralinguistic variables on the usage of these linguistic variants. Additionally, tests of one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were performed on each independent variable to explore the possible significance of each

of the social factors taken in isolation. The results of these quantitative tests are discussed in the next chapter.

Lexical borrowings were analyzed by selecting speakers who had 25 % or less of the [q] sound in their speech to examine the type of words that contained [q]. All the words that contained the [q] sound were extracted and transcribed (see Appendix C). These words were compared to words uttered with the [q] sound by a native Himsi woman (speaker # 37) who was recorded to observe whether Himsi people do use the [q] sound in their speech and to confirm the existence of lexical borrowings in the speech of Himsies and rural migrants to Hims alike. Comparisons were also done between the extracted words and previous studies to look for similar patterns of borrowings. On the other hand, the speech of speakers which contained less than 25 % [?], was examined and all the words that contained the [?] sound were extracted and transcribed to examine the possibility of lexical diffusion. The findings of these investigations are discussed in Chapter 4.

A qualitative analysis was carried out to investigate the differential patterns of speech accommodation and some views and comments uttered by speakers, reflecting on the reasons for sound change among rural migrants in Hims. Several excerpts were chosen and transcribed to support the quantitative analysis and to highlight the effect of social identity on speech accommodation. A comparison between two speakers who have similar attributes with respect to age, area of residence, education, occupation, and length of stay in Hims was conducted. Discussion of all these issues will be presented in Chapter 5.

## CHAPTER 3

### QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL FACTORS

The distribution of the linguistic variants by speaker is displayed in Table 2 below. This distribution will be discussed point by point in the subsequent sections of this chapter. In linear regression tests, two significant social factors were observed for this distribution: *age* and *area of residence* (results of the tests are displayed in Appendix A & B). These are the two variables which we will discuss first (sections 3.1 and 3.2.). The regression tests discarded sex and social class (and, independently, schooling, income, and occupation) as significant factors. We will consider each of these variables in the remaining sections and reveal the results of one-way ANOVA tests for each.

#### **3.1. Age**

Age plays the most significant role in the change from [q] to [?]; the difference in the use of [q] and [?] between the two age groups is 57 % (Table 3). The younger generation uses the prestige form [?] much more than the older generation and will presumably continue to use it in the future, even when they go to visit their home village. This could be a strong indication that it is a change in progress because if change is carried out by the younger generation and transmitted to people in their home villages and to their future children, the majority of the people in rural areas will only use the [?], with the exception of lexical borrowings from SA. I take up the issue of lexical borrowings in Chapter 4. It is clear that the younger generation is more inclined towards the new form than adults who have used the other form [q] most of their lives. The older

Table 2: Distribution of [q] and [?] for each speaker

Speaker #	Sex	Age	Social class	No. of [q] tokens	No. of [?] tokens	% [q]	% [?]
1.	M	77	Lower-middle	209/221	12/221	95	5
2.	M	65	Lower-middle	137/137	0/137	100	0
3.	M	64	Lower-middle	390/390	0/390	100	0
4.	M	60	Lower-middle	196/196	0/196	100	0
5.	M	69	Upper-middle	240/240	0/240	100	0
6.	M	70	Upper-middle	137/176	39/176	78	22
7.	M	62	Upper-middle	291/315	24/315	92	8
8.	M	62	Upper-middle	261/261	0/261	100	0
9.	M	64	Upper-middle	231/231	0/231	100	0
10.	F	75	Lower-middle	146/146	0/146	100	0
11.	F	59	Lower-middle	376/376	0/376	100	0
12.	F	61	Lower-middle	64/147	83/147	44	56
13.	F	58	Lower-middle	367/367	0/367	100	0
14.	F	59	Lower-middle	0/222	222/222	0	100
15.	F	58	Upper-middle	349/349	0/349	100	0
16.	F	57	Upper-middle	183/228	45/228	81	19
17.	F	56	Upper-middle	194/194	0/194	100	0
18.	F	55	Upper-middle	209/231	22/231	90	10
19.	F	61	Upper-middle	4/120	116/120	3	97
20.	M	31	Lower-middle	276/284	8/284	98	2
21.	M	25	Lower-middle	248/253	5/253	98	2
22.	M	33	Lower-middle	141/141	0/141	100	0
23.	M	30	Lower-middle	55/233	178/233	24	76
24.	M	24	Upper-middle	70/307	237/307	23	77
25.	M	23	Upper-middle	60/294	234/294	20	80
26.	M	24	Upper-middle	34/161	127/161	21	79
27.	M	34	Upper-middle	21/109	88/109	19	81
28.	M	27	Upper-middle	87/258	171/258	34	66
29.	F	35	Lower-middle	15/292	277/292	5	95
30.	F	28	Lower-middle	38/157	119/157	24	76
31.	F	24	Lower-middle	14/198	184/198	7	93
32.	F	26	Lower-middle	30/299	269/299	10	90
33.	F	31	Upper-middle	19/253	234/253	7	93
34.	F	28	Upper-middle	16/156	140/156	10	90
35.	F	23	Upper-middle	10/128	118/128	8	92
36.	F	25	Upper-middle	14/149	135/149	9	91
Total				5132/8219	3087/8219		

generation, particularly men, who do not care so much about their accent (cf. Labov 1972), use the [q] sound more. This could be ascribed to the assumption that men usually tend to express more solidarity and stronger social ties with their rural background and thus their rural vernacular than women do (cf. Milroy 1980; Milroy and Milroy 1985, 1992). However, some speakers display some kind of corrective behavior, especially among women in the older age group. Labov (1972) indicated that correction towards the prestigious form is one of the steps towards change, particularly in women. These speakers try to imitate the younger generation and the city people, but there will be some slips of the tongue where they use [q] instead of [?], as is the case with respect to speaker # 12 (see Chapter 5). It should be noted here, however, that the use of [q] by the younger generation most of the time is due to lexical borrowing rather than to slips of the tongue.

Table 3: Distribution of [q] and [?] according to age groups

<b>Variant</b>	<b>No. of tokens for Age group 18-35</b>	<b>% Age group 18- 35</b>	<b>No. of tokens for Age group 55 +</b>	<b>% Age group 55 +</b>	<b>%Difference</b>
[q]	1148/3672	31	3984/4547	88	57
[?]	2524/3672	69	563/4547	12	57

The strong difference that we observe in the data is confirmed by the stepwise regression tests that were performed (see Appendix A & B) and the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA), in which age emerges as highly significant, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4: Results of one-way ANOVA test for age

		<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
qaaf	Between Groups	181310.548	1	181310.548	17.992	.000
	Within Groups	342622.341	34	10077.128		
	Total	523932.889	35			
hamza	Between Groups	126712.094	1	126712.094	23.622	.000
	Within Groups	182380.656	34	5364.137		
	Total	309092.750	35			

### **3.2. Area of Residence**

According to linear regression tests, area of residence was the second most significant factor conditioning the use of the linguistic variants under study. In the results of the one-way ANOVA test, we can see that differences with respect to the use of *hamza* are highly significant (Table 5). It seems that one's surrounding regional environment greatly affects the way one speaks (the effect of one's social environment was explicitly commented on by speaker # 28, mentioned in Chapter 5). Living in Al-Hameedieh, a more traditional place charged with prestige, imposes certain standards on people.

Akrama is in the suburbs of Hims; most of the people who live there come from villages that use the [q] sound. As a result, speakers # 20, 21, and 22 seem to express solidarity with the inhabitants of that suburb, where they live and socialize, and thus they are exceptions in the age group 18-35 (they use almost 100 % [q] in their recorded speech). I attribute this to social networks (Milroy 1980): the area they were brought up in, the schools they attended, and the friends and relatives with whom they associated. Speaker # 22 is a medical doctor who practices medicine in Akrama. He also did his medical specialization in Latakia, a city that is inhabited mostly by people who use the [q] sound. Such irregularity among some speakers is alluded to by Milroy (1980), when she states that “a sociolinguistic variable is not always evaluated in the same way by the whole speech community, and irregularities may provide evidence of linguistic change in progress” (11-12).

Table 5: Results of one-way ANOVA test for area of residence

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
qaaf	Between Groups	50780.199	1	50780.199	3.649	.065
	Within Groups	473152.690	34	13916.256		
	Total	523932.889	35			
hamza	Between Groups	58684.001	1	58684.001	7.968	.008
	Within Groups	250408.749	34	7364.963		
	Total	309092.750	35			

### 3.3. Social Class

Social class seems to play a minor role in the choice between [q] and [?]. Table 6 shows a difference of 9 % between the upper-middle class and lower-middle class. The upper-middle class shows a slightly higher percentage in the use of [?], which could also be attributed to the social networks with which these two classes are interacting.

Table 6: Distribution of [q] and [?] according to social class

Variant	Total No. of tokens for Middle	Middle %	Total No. of tokens for Upper-middle	Upper-middle %
[q]	2702/4059	67	2430/4160	58
[?]	1357/4059	33	1730/4160	42

According to Milroy (1980) and Milroy and Milroy (1985, 1992), people tend to show solidarity with local people from their own respective class group in the use of the vernacular. The upper-middle class usually has more social relations with the city people and the upper class and, as a result, they are more exposed to the Himsi dialect. They try to compete with the Himsi people and aspire to be equal to them. Lower-middle class people usually continue to socialize with their own class, and thus have less inclination towards the change. The one-way ANOVA test confirms the conclusion that social class is not a significant factor in the change of [q] to [?], as shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Results of one-way ANOVA test for social class

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
qaaf	Between Groups	8648.158	1	8648.158	.571	.455
	Within Groups	515284.731	34	15155.433		
	Total	523932.889	35			
hamza	Between Groups	1131.332	1	1131.332	.125	.726
	Within Groups	307961.418	34	9057.689		
	Total	309092.750	35			

### 3.3.1. Education

In the results of the one-way ANOVA test, education proved to be highly significant in conditioning the use of *qaaf*, but not *hamza* (Table 8). Although this finding apparently gives support to the idea that the reintroduction of [q] into CA is the result of lexical borrowing from SA, it is the most educated who use [?] more frequently.

Although Daher (1998) attributes the reappearance of [q] to “the growth of mass communication and education in the present century”, stating that “the exposure of the average speaker to SA has increased dramatically” (190), we must conclude that schooling, news, and television programs delivered in SA do not seem to enforce the use of [q] in colloquial speech. Indeed, the use of [?] in Hims is characteristic of the higher social standing generally attributed to higher levels of formal schooling.

Table 8: Results of one-way ANOVA test for education

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
qaaf	Between Groups	174680.972	3	58226.991	5.335	.004
	Within Groups	349251.917	32	10914.122		
	Total	523932.889	35			
hamza	Between Groups	65763.038	3	21921.013	2.883	.051
	Within Groups	243329.712	32	7604.054		
	Total	309092.750	35			

### 3.3.2. Occupation

Results of the one-way ANOVA test for occupation (Table 9) reveal significance with respect to the use of *hamza*. This finding is a further indication that social networks influence the speech of individuals in the Himsi community. Associating with people that use [?] all the time in the workplace foments this change, as speaker # 7 points out in his conversation (mentioned in Chapter 5). Speakers of the lower class in Hims usually hold jobs which do not require immediate interaction with upper-class people, such as construction work, army positions, or low-ranking government jobs. Thus, they experience limited interaction with city people. Jobs such as business, medicine, and teaching are usually held by upper-middle-class people and require interaction with people from different backgrounds. This leads us to believe that occupation plays a role in the distribution of [q] and [?]. However, there are exceptions to the rule, as we have seen in the case of speaker # 22 who is a medical doctor but shows solidarity with the lower-middle-class community of which he is a member. This confirms Milroy's (1980) and Milroy and Milroy's (1985, 1992) hypothesis that each class expresses solidarity with its own people and community in accordance with the degree of integration into that community.

Table 9: Results of one-way ANOVA test for occupation

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
qaaf	Between Groups	143810.762	5	28762.152	2.270	.073
	Within Groups	380122.127	30	12670.738		
	Total	523932.889	35			
hamza	Between Groups	107650.635	5	21530.127	3.206	.019
	Within Groups	201442.115	30	6714.737		
	Total	309092.750	35			

### 3.3.3. Income

Taken in isolation, speakers' income does not seem to play an important role in the process of variation under study. The results of the one-way ANOVA test (Table 10) clearly show this.

Table 10: Results of one-way ANOVA test for income

		<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
qaaf	Between Groups	23683.710	2	11841.855	.781	.466
	Within Groups	500249.179	33	15159.066		
	Total	523932.889	35			
hamza	Between Groups	11844.043	2	5922.021	.657	.525
	Within Groups	297248.707	33	9007.537		
	Total	309092.750	35			

### 3.4. Sex

Table 11 shows that men use [q] with a frequency of 22 % more than women do. Statistically, however, this difference did not prove to be significant (Table 12 shows results of one-way ANOVA). Females likely use the prestige form [?] more frequently than men do because, according to previous studies (e.g. Sawaie, 1994; Daher 1998a, 1998b), women are perhaps more aware of the social significance of certain sounds. They are more inclined towards the use of prestigious forms and are more sociolinguistically conscious than men are. Males' preference for [q] might be strengthened by the masculine connotation that [q] bears in comparison to [?], which is perceived as a more feminine sound (Sawaie 1994).

Table 11: Distribution of [q] and [?] according to sex

<b>Variant</b>	<b>Total No. of tokens for Males</b>	<b>Male %</b>	<b>Total No. of tokens for Females</b>	<b>Female %</b>
[q]	3084/4207	73	2048/4012	51
[?]	1123/4207	27	1964/4012	49

Table12: Results of one-way ANOVA test for sex

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
qaaf	Between Groups	29813.778	1	29813.778	2.051	.161
	Within Groups	494119.111	34	14532.915		
	Total	523932.889	35			
hamza	Between Groups	19646.694	1	19646.694	2.308	.138
	Within Groups	289446.056	34	8513.119		
	Total	309092.750	35			

Women probably compensate for their general social inferiority in Syrian society by presenting themselves as more linguistically capable and prestigious. As Ayres-Bennett (2004: 112) pointed out in her study of seventeenth century French women, women seemed “not to accept their inferior status, but to use linguistic differentiation as a way of showing solidarity with each other and difference from others.” They may be more inclined towards the prestigious forms because of the social pressure that is imposed on them: sounding pleasant and aspiring to appear more educated and urban, so that they can attract a good husband from a good social status and prosperous economic position. Despite the conflicting views about whether men or women are the initiator of language change, Coates (1996) had pointed out that because women are less powerful than men, they do usually use more prestige forms than men. As an additional consideration, women are the main agents in raising children in the Syrian society in general and in the Himsi community in particular. Since women talk to children more than men do, they influence the linguistic development of their children, and hence, the adoption of the prestigious forms. As a result, linguistic change owes a great deal to the women’s sensitivity to new forms (Labov 1972: 303).

The present findings complement Labov’s (1966: 288) conclusion that women tend to use the prestigious form more than men do in New York City. Labov asserts that

“women are more sensitive than men to overt sociolinguistic values” (1972: 243), and they are usually initiators of linguistic change. Other studies (e.g. Fischer 1958; Trudgill 1974; Milroy and Milroy 1985, 1992) have also argued that women are more likely to adopt innovative forms than men, and thus lead a change from above (Labov 1972).

Considering age and sex of speakers by groups, we note that both males and females from the older age group show more use of [q] than [?] in comparison with the younger generation. Table 13 reflects that in the older age group (55+), males tend to use [q] more than females, but the difference in the use of [q] and [?] (17.5 %) among older speakers is not very substantial compared to the difference (39 %) between males and females in the younger age group (18-35). However, this result indicates that men in general are more inclined towards the use of [q] than women are. This also corresponds with the view that [?] has more social prestige than [q] among women (Sawaie 1994; Daher 1998a, 1998b).

Table 13: The difference in use of [q] and [?] between males and females within the same age groups

	# of [q] tokens	% of [q]	# of [?] tokens	% of [?]
Males (55 +)	2092/2167	97	75/2167	3
Females (55 +)	1892/2380	79.5	488/2380	20.5
Difference		17.5		17.5
Males (18-35)	992/2040	49	1048/2040	51
Females (18-35)	156/1632	10	1476/1632	90
Difference		39		39

## CHAPTER 4

### LEXICAL BORROWING AND LEXICAL DIFFUSION

#### **4.1. Lexical Borrowing**

Boyd, Andersson and Thornell (1996) adopt Poplack, Weeler and Westwood's (1987) definition of borrowing:

Borrowing is ideally incorporation of EL [embedded language (the former language or mother language)] material in ML [matrix language (the latter language or learned language)] discourse such that the EL material is (a) phonologically, (b) morphologically, and (c) syntactically integrated into the ML; and (d) use of the same material, integrated in similar ways, and occurring in similar contexts is widespread in the ML speech community, including among ML monolinguals, who may be unaware of its origins in EL. Furthermore, (e) borrowing is often limited to one lexeme. (260)

Boyd et al. (1996) found in accordance with previous research by Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) that morphological integration is the most prominent. This morphological integration seems to be common in my data (see discussion below). Boyd et al. (1996) also found that nouns are more borrowed than verbs and adjectives from French and Swedish in the speech of the Finns and Americans but not in the speech of the Sango-French bilinguals. They concluded that “borrowing becomes a norm when the language contact becomes more established and older.” (278) Boyd et al.’s (1996) findings correspond with my findings that nouns are more borrowed than adjectives or verbs.

Poplack (1996: 305) defines borrowing as the “incorporation of foreign features into a group’s *native* language by speakers of that language. The native language is maintained, but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features.” Poplack (1996)

asserts that this incorporation is the result of language contact and this contact has to last for a few centuries for a shift to take place.

Mesthrie and Leap (2000) also define borrowing as “a technical term for the incorporation of an item from one language into another. These items could be (in terms of decreasing order of frequency) words, grammatical elements or sounds” (245). They give an example of how African languages have assimilated a great number of terms from English; these terms are associated with “Christianity, technology and modernity” (250). They indicate that borrowing, to some extent, “can instead be seen as an adaptive strategy undertaken by speakers to enrich certain registers of a language, rather than having to switch to the new language for that register.” Thus, borrowing from SA is a kind of enrichment to CA without switching completely to SA.

Lexical borrowings in Arabic have been studied by many researchers and were referred to by different terms, such as “borrowing” (Garbell 1978), “classicism” (Ferguson 1959; Blanc 1960, 1964), and “literary borrowing” (Al-Ani 1976). Blanc (1964) attributes this phenomenon to “lexical suppletion”, which implies the use or borrowing of a term from Classical Arabic because it does not exist in Colloquial Arabic (CA), e.g. /taqaddom/ “progress” where there is no \*/taqaddom/ in CA. Of the same view is Palva (1969: 40), who states that “A great majority of the classicism in the ‘elevated’ colloquial are lexical, or at least indirectly due to lexical loans. This is only natural, because modern concepts usually have no equivalents in the dialect but must be borrowed from literary language.” Mol (2003), in his discussion of the influence of MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) on spoken dialects, also points out the interference of “classical words and expressions” in the speech of educated speakers: “This interference, sometimes,

consists of classical pronunciation, which can be no more than a stylistic device, but more in particular it consists of borrowings from the MSA lexicon” (78). Mol believes that “MSA is propagated more and more in the Arab world through education and the media” and also indicates that “because of the inadequacy of the dialect, an educated speaker, may, in certain circumstances, have to resort to higher language varieties, thereby using a non-normated mixed language” (2003: 78). Furthermore, Diem (1974: 26) indicates that borrowings occur out of necessity: certain vocabulary might be lacking in the dialect and are borrowed from SA. Owens’s (1991: 25) findings in Jordan support the view that borrowings from SA are “motivated to a great extent by need.” Owens provides examples that started to be used with the opening of the Yarmouk University in Jordan in 1976, e.g. *masāq* ‘course’ and *qā‘a* ‘classroom’. Diem (1974) indicates that these borrowings can become part of the dialect with frequent use. Wilmsen (1995) also asserts that such borrowed words are completely assimilated into the dialect. Abu-Haidar (1992: 104) emphasizes this point in Baghdad, where words such as *muθaqqaqaf* ‘educated’ and *taqaddom* ‘progress’ have been assimilated into the everyday speech of Baghdaidis.

For Al-Ani (1976), the reintroduction of /q/ into the speech of those who use the /g/, which is the most common reflex of /q/ in Iraq, was the result of: 1) the huge influx of people to the city of Baghdad and their assimilation with the dialect spoken there; and 2) “the spread of schooling and compulsory education at the elementary and high school levels throughout Iraq” (106). Al-Ani divides lexical borrowings into two groups (107-108):

- 1) Items that are borrowed with their literary unchanged morphological form, e.g. verses from the Qur’an, sayings, etc: e.g. *qiyaama* “resurrection.”

- 2) Items in which the morphological form changed to fit the morphology of the dialect: e.g. *šooq* “longing” [In SA, this word is pronounced *šauuq*]. However, Al-Ani points out that some items are pronounced interchangeably as /q/ or /g/: e.g. *šaqq/šagg* “tear, split off”.

He concludes that /q/ is not a replacement for /g/, but it is used as a result of the literary influence on the dialect. The /g/ remains the dominant phonetic feature and it occurs in high frequency words.

Haeri (1991) points out that the existence of /q/ in Cairene Arabic is due to “lexical borrowing” from “Classical Arabic” after the merger of /q/ into /ʔ/ between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Garbell 1978). Garbell (1978) offers an explanation of this phenomenon: “A special difficulty with regard to the dating of phonetical and/or phonological changes in Arabic dialects in general is caused by the constant – and in recent times increasing – borrowings of lexemes from the literary language” (204). Haeri (1991, 1996) indicates that in order to avoid words containing the [q] sound in SA, people tend to use other words that have similar meaning but do not contain the [q] sound, e.g. [muSHaf] “copy of the Qur'an” for [qurʔaan] “Qur'an” and [maSr] “Egypt or Cairo” for [qaahira] “Cairo”. I have noticed similar use in my data; many speakers use, for example, the word [yiHki] “he speaks” for the word [yaquul] “he says”. Haeri's study confirms Haugan's (1950) and Weinreich's (1974) hypotheses that nouns are the most borrowed among grammatical categories. Haeri concludes that education is a crucial factor in determining the reoccurrence of [q] as lexical borrowings. She affirmed her hypothesis regarding lexical borrowing by an experiment performed on children between the ages of 6-12.

Abdel-Jawad (1981) states that /q/ and /ʔ/ are in free variation in Ammani Arabic, except for some terms that maintained their [q] sound, such as /qurʔaan/. He also attributes the presence of [q] in some colloquial words to the “lexical status” of those words: the closer the word is to SA, the more likely it will be realized with a [q]. Abdel-Jawad explains this phenomenon in the light of a “reversal” of the merger due to “lexical borrowing” or “dialect borrowing or standardization processes” (216). This view is problematic because of the use of two theories – reversal of merger and lexical borrowing – to explain the co-existence of the two phonemes: /q/ and /ʔ/, because according to Al-Ani (1976), the /q/ is not replacing the /g/. In Abdel-Jawad’s case and our case here, the /q/ is not and will not be replacing the /ʔ/ either.

Holes (1987) rejects a phonological analysis of the existence of /q/ in some lexical items in CA; he emphasizes that it is a lexical matter in the sense that people, due to exposure to SA, “internalize” some of its lexical items (103). Blanc (1960) also points out that most of the learned lexical items that contain the qaaf do not have an equivalent with the glottal stop in CA. Haeri (1991) supports this view, stating that “speakers use lexical items with a [q] which often lack dialectal equivalent” (147). This leads to the belief that the process of the reappearance of qaaf is lexical rather than phonological.

Early on Ferguson (1959) pointed out that the use of borrowing in CA is a common phenomenon in a diglossic society. For him, this leads to the existence of an intermediate Arabic variety:

The communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation may be resolved by the use of relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (... Arabic al-lugah al-wuSTā ‘the intermediate language’ ...) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H [SA] into L [CA]. (332)

Ferguson asserts that these borrowings are used in CA with the colloquial morphology and syntax, unlike when they are used in “semiformal or cross-dialectal situations” (332). Many other studies have dealt with this middle variety. Al-Toma (1969, 1974), for example, calls this phenomenon “Inter-Arabic”, describing a variety that is mainly colloquial but is enriched by SA. Many researchers agree that there are different levels of Arabic or that Arabic can be viewed as a continuum of speech varieties (Ferguson 1959; Blanc 1960; Badawi 1973; Al-Toma 1974; El-Hassan 1978; Zughoul 1980; Sallam 1980; Meiseles 1980; Hussein 1981; Mitchell 1978, 1980, 1986; Elgibali 1988; Abdel-Jawad 1981, 1987; Al-Batal 1992; Holes 1995; Hary 1996).

Daher (1998a) denotes that “borrowing between SA and CA is a one-way process: CA is constantly adopting new words and phrases from SA but SA does not borrow from CA” (75-76). He points out that the existence of cognate pairs is not only an indication of a common ancestor (Abdel-Jawad 1981: 132) but also may reflect the borrowing that is taking place from SA into CA (Daher 1998a: 76). He gives examples from SA that have been integrated into the DA (Damascus Arabic) system (e.g. *kaθīr* became *ktīr* “many/much”; *bilād* became *blād* “countries”; *lawn* became *lōn* “color”, etc.) (77). Daher (1998a) goes on to emphasize that “more technical or erudite domains, however, such as politics, science and economics tend to include more identical items than non-identical ones, which suggests relatively recent borrowing” (78). Identical items refer to cognate pairs in contrast to non-identical items that suggest non-cognate pairs.

Daher uses the term “hybridization” (106) to describe the integration phenomenon that most borrowed words from SA undergo in DA, such as the use of the DA mood marker *b(i)-* as a prefix to SA verbs. He explains that, first, “many such items have by

now been incorporated into DA to the point where speakers have begun to replace the [q] with [?]” and, secondly, “as speakers have become accustomed to hearing and using [q], [q] has begun to be generalized to other lexical items that were long used in DA with only the [?]” (1998a: 184).

Daher excluded from his quantitative data place names, such *Dimašq* “Damascus”, lexical items, such as *θaqāfa* “education, culture”, and lexical doublets, such as *qānūn* “law, statute” and *ʔānūn* (SA *qānūn*) “musical instrument” (1998a: 148-149). This exclusion was based on Walters (1989) and was intended to avoid skewing the data because of the high occurrence of these words. Despite Daher’s admittance that borrowing from SA is a major factor in the reappearance of [q] in DA, he does not exclude completely phonological factors or variation. Daher mentions some linguistic factors that might be the reason that [q] is used in some words, such as the existence of /?/ in a word that must be realized as [?]. However, from my observations of my data, words such as /ʔaqall/ ‘less’ are realized as both [ʔaqall] and [ʔaʔall]. This example eliminates the possibility that existence of /?/ leads to the pronunciation of /q/ as [q]. He also indicates that frequency plays a role in the use of [q] and existence of [?]; the more frequent the word, the more use of [?] and the least frequent, the more use of [q]. This frequency factor plays a role in my data with regards to lexical diffusion (see section 4.2. below). The more frequent the word, the more likely it is to be adopted by the older generation with the [?] sound. However, it is known that the least frequent words are technical and specialized words (Holes 1995) used to convey particular ideas. Daher

(1998a) concludes that the major factor for the reappearance of [q] in DA is “direct borrowing of many SA lexical items” (191). He points out that:

Recent borrowings from SA into DA retain their specialized meanings and their SA phonology: /q/ remains /q/. As these lexical borrowings lose their novelty, they gain wider acceptance and begin to be used more frequently in different contexts, with a corresponding expansion of meaning. As the meaning is broadened, and the word is integrated more and more into DA, it becomes subject to phonological variation: (q) begins to be realized as both [q] and [?]. (1998a: 191)

In order to analyze lexical borrowings in the present data, speakers who had 25 % or less of the [q] sound in their speech were investigated to see if the words that the [q] occurred in were borrowed words and if there were similarities among the various speakers with regards to the type of words that are borrowed from SA. Sixteen speakers had 25 % or less of [q] in their speech. All the words that contained a [q] sound were extracted and transcribed (see Appendix C). A total of 476 tokens with the [q] sound occurred in the speech of the 16 informants. 423 tokens, i.e. 89 % of the total number of tokens, occurred more than once, and 53 tokens, i.e. 11 %, occurred only once. Words that come from the same root are grouped together, e.g. *muθa[q]/q]aff* ‘educated (M)’, *muθa[q]/q]affi* ‘educated (F)’, *θa[q]aaftu* ‘his education’, *θa[q]aafte* ‘my education’, *θa[q]aafe* ‘cultural’, and *θa[q]aafi* ‘education’. They could be verbs, nouns, adjectives, or adverbs, and they could be inflected for gender, number, person, and tense. The twenty-eight most frequent words in the data are presented in Table 14 below.

Table 14: The most frequently occurring words with the [q] sound

Word #	Word in Arabic	Translation in English	# of tokens	% of tokens
1.	mi[q]tiniγ	‘convinced’	35	7
2.	[q]arrar	‘decision/decree’	24	5
3.	[q]ism	‘department’	20	4
4.	[q]aaf	‘the Arabic name for the sound [q]’	19	4
5.	ta[q]riibān	‘approximately’	15	3
6.	θa[q]aafi	‘education/culture’	15	3
7.	[q]arD	‘bank loan’	14	3
8.	ʃa[q]d	‘contract’	13	3
9.	[q]aānuun	‘law/legislation’	12	3
10.	ra[q]am	‘number’	11	2
11.	[q]ubuul	‘admission’	11	2
12.	taw[q]iiγ	‘signing’	10	2
13.	mu[q]iimiin	‘(medical) resident’	9	2
14.	mla[q]aH	‘vaccinated (M)’	9	2
15.	Taba[q]a	‘social class’	8	2
16.	Hu[q]uu[q]	‘Law school’	8	2
17.	taʃ[q]iim	‘sterilization’	8	2
18.	Huruu[q]	‘burns’	8	2
19.	ʃalaa[q]a	‘relation’	7	1
20.	manTe[q]	‘logic’	7	1
21.	na[q]aabī	syndicate	7	1
22.	mitwa[q][q]eγ	‘expecting (M)’	6	1
23.	?afrii[q]ya	‘Africa’	6	1
24.	θi[q]a	‘trust’	6	1
25.	yista[q]ir	‘settle (M)’	6	1
26.	l[q]aDaa?	‘judiciary’	6	1
27.	muraa[q]abi	‘proctoring’	6	1
28.	?a[q]all	‘less’	6	1
Total			312	66 %

One exception to the 25 % [q] rule is speaker # 28, who had 34 % of [q] in his speech; however, that is due to his frequent repetition of the word *qaaf* ‘the Arabic name of the sound [q]’, i.e. 16 tokens out of 86 tokens (see Appendix C) The word [q]aānuun ‘legislation/law’ also occurred 10 times, including plural, that is, about 12 % of the total number of tokens with the [q] sound. Another frequently occurring word in his speech is

*mla[q]aH* ‘vaccinated (M)’ with its various inflections with regards to gender, number, person and part of speech; it constitutes 9 tokens out of the 86 tokens. These three frequently occurring words constitute 14 % out of the 34 % of [q] in his speech, which makes him equal to other speakers that have 25 % or less [q] in their speech. There are other frequently occurring words in his speech, such as *ta[q]wiim* ‘orthodontia/orthodontics’, *ta ɬ[q]iim* ‘sterilization’, and *ɻafrii[q]iya* ‘Africa’, which are mostly technical terms, used usually in dentistry and medicine.

In a further step to determine whether these migrants really use lexical borrowing, a native Himsi woman (speaker # 37) was recorded and her speech was analyzed to see if her speech contains any lexical borrowings. She is about 40 years of age, of Himsi origin, and has no ties to the countryside. The number of tokens of [q] and [?] in her speech were not included in the quantitative study in Chapter 3 since she is not a migrant from the countryside to the city. The purpose of recording her was to make comparisons between her speech as a Himsi informant with those who are not originally from Hims. Her speech contained 211 tokens in all: 202 tokens of [?] and 9 tokens of [q], i.e. 96 % of [?] and 4 % of [q]. Examining her speech closely, I was able to extract the following words that contain the [q] sound and transcribe them; these words are borrowed from SA, and some of them represent the names of events as in example (6) below or the name of a union as in example (8) below. The words are as follows:

1. muraa[q]eb dawaam ‘proctor of attendance (M)’
2. ta[q]liidiyi ‘traditional (F)’
3. bhalli[q]aa? ‘in this meeting’
4. m[q]arriiin ‘we had a decision’

- |                                      |                                |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 5. sta[q]all                         | 'became independent (M)'       |
| 6. l?usbuu? ssa[q]aafe lfaranse      | 'the French Cultural Week'     |
| 7. na[q]aabit                        | 'syndicate'                    |
| 8. raabiTit ?aSdi[q]aa? lmuytaribiin | 'the Immigrants Friends Union' |
| 9. nna[q]aabi                        | 'the syndicate'                |

Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the second word *ta[q]liidiyi* ‘traditional (F.)’ was corrected by her immediately after saying it the first time with the [q] sound, pronouncing it as *ta[?]liidiyi*. This might be a case of trying to phonologically assimilate borrowed words (Diem 1974; Wilmsen 1995; Abu-Haidar 1992; Al-Ani 1976; Daher 1998) to the Himsi dialect, using the [?] sound in place of the [q] sound. This example of correction is a further indication of the prestige that [?] is endowed with in the Himsi community. Some of these [q]-sounding words that are found in the speech of speaker #37 are also found in the speech of the migrants to the city of Hims and their children, who seem to accommodate to the speech of the Himsi people; however, due to the lack of certain terminology in CA, they resort to terms from SA to complete their meaning, in a way similar to the one observed in the speech of speaker #37. The word *muraa[q]eb* ‘proctor’ occurred in the speech of other speakers three times, though in different inflections or parts of speech. In addition, the word *m[q]arrirriin* ‘we had a decision’ occurred in the speech of many migrants in different forms. Furthermore, *sta[q]all* ‘became independent (M)’ occurred three times in the speech of other migrant speakers, in various forms. *ssa[q]aafe* ‘Cultural’ is another frequently occurring word in the speech of non-Himsi people. *na[q]aabi* ‘syndicate’ and *?aSdi[q]aa?* ‘Friends’ do also appear in

the speech of migrants. Consequently, we may conclude that 1) the appearance of some words with the [q] sound is due to lexical borrowings from SA and that 2) non-Himsi and native Himsi people behave similarly with respect to lexical borrowings from SA.

If we compare the lexemes that occur with the [q] sound in the speech of those migrants to previous studies that advocate the theory of lexical borrowing from SA, we find that there are many words in common. For example, Haeri (1991, 1996) found a list of ten words that are most frequently borrowed in Cairene Arabic (115):

1. [mooqif/mawquif] “position, opinion”
2. [Tilaqa] “relation, relationship”
3. [qiSSa] “story, tale”
4. [qaahira] “Cairo”
5. [Sadiiq] “friend”
6. [musiiqa] “music”
7. [qism] “department/ section”
8. [qur?aan] “Qur’an”
9. [qiima] “value, worth”
10. [qowwa] “power, strength”

Haeri arranged the ten words in the order of frequency they occurred. Most of these words are found in my data with the [q] sound with the exception of [qiSSa] ‘story, tale’, [qaahira] ‘Cairo’, and [musiiqa] ‘music’, further confirming that the existence of [q] in CA is the result of lexical borrowing. *Qaahira* might not have occurred in my data because speakers did not come across the topic of Egypt, its geography, or its capital. The other two words might have already been assimilated to the phonological system of the

Himsi dialect, i.e. the [q] started to be pronounced as [?]. It is no coincidence that the words that occur in Cairene Arabic and in Himsi Arabic with the [q] sound are the same. This is an indication that lexical borrowing is the main reason that some words are pronounced with the [q] sound, and that this phenomenon is the result of “mass-education” in CA, which was introduced in Egypt in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Haeri 1991: 116, 146). Such is the case in Syria, where SA is used as the medium of instruction in many subjects, particularly in teaching Arabic Language Courses at schools.

In her study of Cairene Arabic, Haeri (1991, 1996) found that the lexical borrowings extracted from her data belonged to one of the following categories:

1. Place name
2. Proper name
3. institution name
4. job title
5. Literary, political or religious terms.

This is also confirmed in my data. However, in addition to these categories, the data warrants the addition of the following two categories:

6. Technical terms or jargon that is specific to certain fields, such as medicine, dentistry, etc.
7. Idioms and some sayings.

Table 15 below presents some examples of each of the above-mentioned categories.

Table 15: Examples of the seven borrowing categories

	<b>Example</b>	<b>English translation</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>English translation</b>
Place name	?afrii[q]ya	Africa	lFiraa[q]	Iraq
	bil[q]uSuur	In the ‘name of an area in Damascus’	l[q]aamisli	‘the name of a city in the north-east of Syria’
Proper name	l[q]diis yuHanna	John the Baptist	yaF[q]uub	Jacob
Job title	lmulHa[q] ΘΘa[q]aafe	‘Cultural Attaché’	lra[q]iib	‘ the sergeant’
institution name	lmarkaz ΘΘa[q]aafe lbriiTane	The British Council	lmarkaz lsa[q]aafe	The Cultural Center
Literary, political or religious terms	Hal[q]it BaHΘ	‘seminar’	munaa[q]aSa	tender
	?i[q]TaaFiiyi	‘Feudal (F Adj)’	l[q]ur?aan	‘the Qur’an’
Technical terms or jargon or disease names	ta[q]wiim	‘orthodontia/orthodontics’	taxTiiT lmawaa[q]eF	Site planning
	blyiddi ldara[q][q]iyi	‘in the thyroid gland’	Taba[q]e miHware	‘sonogram’
Idioms	ra?san Fala Fa[q]eb	‘upside down’	[q]irre Ffirfe	‘confess confess’

The use of qaaf in lexical borrowings from SA does not require extensive knowledge of SA because the educated and non-educated also use lexical borrowings from English and French, for example, though they do not know these languages (Haeri 1991, 1996). Words seem to transfer from one speaker to another through conversation, particularly technical terms or jargon and idioms or sayings.

In this study, I also examined the number of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs that are borrowed from SA. The results confirm the findings of previous studies (Haugan 1950; Weinreich 1974; Haeri 1991, 1996; Boyd et al. 1996) that nouns are the most borrowed lexical items. Among the 476 tokens, 284 tokens are nouns; 88 tokens are

verbs; 82 tokens are adjectives; 21 tokens are adverbs; and there was one determiner. It is clear that the lexical category ‘noun’ is the most borrowed. This might be due to the great number of proper nouns that could include names of people, places, diseases, technical terms, jargon, and so on. Later on these nouns may assimilate into the spoken dialect and verbs and other parts of speech may emerge from the same borrowed items, as has already happened with some words, e.g. *θa[q]aafi* ‘education’, *muθθa[q][q]af* ‘educated (M)’, etc. MacNeil and Cran (2005), for example, estimated that one-fifth of all English verbs began life as nouns (3).

#### **4.2. Lexical Diffusion**

The essence of lexical diffusion theory is that “sound changes occur word by word” (Deumert and Mesthrie 2000: 118). The theory thus implies that sound change does not occur in all words at the same time and that change may occur in some words before others. Chen (1972, cited in Deumert and Mesthrie 2000: 119) proposed the S-curve pattern, suggesting that:

1. Initially the new pronunciation is to be found in a few common words. These are often words or groups of words important to a subgroup or subculture within the community.
2. The change then spreads to other words at a relatively rapid rate.
3. At the final stage, the rate of the change slows down with the few last words to undergo the change.

Chen’s theory seems to apply in my data. Looking at speakers (See Appendix D) who had very low percentages of [?] in their speech, I was able to extract and transcribe the words that are used by those speakers with the [?] sound; some of the speakers were

not even aware that they were using the [?] sound. Speaker # 7, for example, who spoke at length about how people who migrate from the village try to imitate the speech of the Himsi community, indicated that he is one of those people who did not change his speech at all and that he is proud of his accent. Nonetheless, by examining his speech, I found a number of words used by him with the [?] sound. This indicates that sometimes people are unaware of what they say (Labov 1966, 1972). Wolfson (1989), based on evidence from various studies (Wolfson and Judd 1983; Labov 1966; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Brouwer, Gerritsen and DeHaan 1979; Pica 1983), asserted that native speakers' intuition is inadequate and "notoriously unreliable" (44), since it does not reflect "actual patterns of speech behavior" (43). This case of speaker # 7 could also be an indication that it is a change from below the level of consciousness (Labov 1972, 2001), which characterize men as the innovators of linguistic change. Women of the older generation did not seem to have particular terms with the [?] sound in their speech, as is the case with speakers # 10, 11, 13, 15, and 17. In the case of speakers # 16 and 18, the phenomenon goes beyond lexical diffusion; it is attributed to speech accommodation. Women accommodate their speech to the interlocutor to show prestige, as is the case with speakers # 12, 14, 17 (See discussion about speaker # 17 in Chapter 4) and 19.

Seven speakers had less than 25 % pronunciation of (q) as [?] (see Table 2). The total tokens of [?] in their speech is 155. The word *halla?* that occurs in free variation with *halle?*<sup>1</sup> 'now' constitutes 57 tokens of the total 155 tokens, that is, 37 % of the total

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<sup>1</sup> The variation occurs in pronouncing the vowel [e] (part of the vowel system of the migrants' original dialect) as [a] (part of the vowel system of the Himsi dialect). It is worth noting here that some speakers switch completely between the two dialects; others only change the [q] into [?]; and others have an intermediate dialect in which the change of [q] into [?] is half way as one can see in speaker # 12 who corrects herself sometimes and pronounces the same words with either a [q] sound or an [?] sound in the

number of tokens. This is a clear indication that lexical diffusion is at work here. The second most frequent occurring word is *yi[ɻ]uul* “he says” with its different inflections according to gender, person, number and tense; this word occurs 34 times, that is, 22 % of the total number of tokens. This constitutes further evidence that change may occur word by word rather than all at the same time. However, this word by word change seems to be more common among speakers of the older generation, particularly men, than those among the younger generation, who seem to accommodate to the speech of their interlocutors. Nonetheless, their speech tends to be aided, as is the speech of native Himsies (speaker #37), with lexical borrowings from SA rather than lexical diffusion.

The third most frequent word is *[ɻ]aam*, a kind of filler that literally means ‘he stood’ or ‘he did’, along with its various inflections according to number, gender, person, and tense. This word constitutes 13 tokens, that is, almost 8 % of the total number of tokens. The fourth most common word to occur with the [?] sound is *[ɻ]aaf* ‘the glottal stop’.<sup>2</sup> This word constitutes 9 tokens of the total number of tokens, that is, about 6 %. The fifth and sixth most common words are *wa[ɻ]t* ‘time’ and *ni[ɻ]sod* ‘we sit down’ with their other inflections as well; they occurred 6 times each, i.e. about 4 % of the total number of tokens for each and 8 % for both. Finally, *ba[ɻ]a*, a filler that literally means ‘stayed’ but in discourse means ‘so/such that’, occurred 5 times, i.e. about 3 %. *ma[ɻ]ibra* “cemetery”

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same conversation (see discussion in Chapter 5). The intermediate dialect also applies in the case of vowel change where in the same conversation some speakers can either change the vowels or maintain the ones of their original vowel system.

<sup>2</sup> One can notice here that people transform [q]aaf (the name of the sound [q] in Arabic) to [?]aaf to talk about the glottal stop, though the name of the glottal stop in Arabic is hamza.

and *sal[?] “boil”* occurred 3 times each in the speech of speakers # 18 and 16 respectively; they constitute together about 4 % of the total tokens.

As a result, these seven words constitute about 88 % of the total tokens pronounced with [?]. There are 20 miscellaneous words which form 12 % of the total number of tokens; these words occur once each with the exception of *[?]addeeh “how much”* that occurs with another word that comes from the same root: *hall[?]addiini “this much”*. It seems that these words are very common in everyday use. They may have to do with asking or talking about prices, such as the two previously mentioned words or the word *Ha[?]aa “its price (F)”*; they could refer to directions, such as *m[?]aabel “opposite/facing”* and *lafoo[?] “upstairs”*; others may be idioms that might be more common with the [?] sound, such as *zalla yiwaaff[?]uu “God provides for him”*; and there is a word pronounced with [?] as an imitation to a person who uses the [?] sound, i.e. *zar[?]a “more advanced”*. This word occurred in the speech of speaker # 7 (see Appendix D).

We can conclude that the frequency of certain words in everyday life can affect the acquisition of these words and the assimilation of them into one’s speech, as is the case in the speech of the older generation. This finding confirms Chen’s (1972) first suggestion above: change begins with “a few common words” and then spreads to other words. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to confirm the second and third proposals of lexical diffusion theory because this requires longitudinal studies to see how rapid the spread is and whether there is a spread to other words.

## CHAPTER 5

### QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: DIFFERENTIAL PATTERNS OF ACCOMMODATION

#### **5.1. Speech Accommodation and Social Identity**

The concept of social identity may cast light on some of the differences among individual speakers whom we will highlight in this chapter. Even though two speakers share a series of social characteristics – level of education, age group, occupation, etc. – they may differ in their linguistic behavior. As a participant in the interaction and from my personal knowledge of the participants (as previously explained), I was able to locate a great number of phonological variables in the informants' speech. Usage of the variants differed from one speaker to the next, bringing to mind Giles, Coupland and Coupland's (1991) idea that not all speakers can simply imitate in the same way any variety they encounter. According to Giles et. al's (1991) theory of speech accommodation, people tend either to converge when they wish to decrease the social distance among each other, i.e. use the same style of speaking, or to diverge when they wish to increase that social distance and distinguish themselves from other speakers, i.e. use a different style of speaking.

Social identity may be fluid, and is shaped by personal choices made with respect to one's linguistic repertoire. For example, James and Lesley Milroy (1985, 1992), in a study done in Belfast, found that among the working class, workers tend to use the vernacular norms, and thus "covert prestige", to show solidarity. On the other hand, Labov (1966, 1972) showed that some people in New York City tended to adopt the

prestigious form of /r/ to show affiliation with the upper class. Furthermore, Gal (1979) found in her study of Oberwart that people made language choices between German and Hungarian according to the social circumstances, that is, domain and social networks. German was associated with modernity and economic prosperity; Hungarian was associated with peasantness. Women in Oberwart adopted the German language because they wanted to get married to German-speaking wage laborers. These women “do not want to be peasants; they do not present themselves as peasants in speech” (Gal 1978: 13). To quote Norton (1997: 410), “identity relates to desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety.” However, if one does not have the necessary motivation or desire to accommodate a different form in speech, social integration may be greatly hindered. Such tendencies are evident among migrant speakers in Hims: some live for years in the city and never adopt the new form since they do not have the desire to adopt a new identity. On the other hand, some people choose to be identified as urban, and strive to adapt their speech to Himsi norms.

### **5.2. Differential Patterns of Accommodation among Himsi Migrants**

It has been observed that speakers vary in their use of [q] and [?]; this variation could be among speakers from the same sex and age group, level of education, occupation and length of stay in the city of Hims. For example, Speakers # 17 and #12 reflect different degrees of adaptation to the urban variety. Speaker # 17 was recorded in two different natural settings. The first recording was a conversation with me, her daughter, with whom one would expect that she will freely use her original rural dialect characterized by [q]; indeed, she uses [q] 100 % (see table 2). The second recording was with a personal friend (Speaker # 14) who herself is from a village that uses the [q]

sound. Living in the city for a long period of time, speaker # 14 also came to the realization that [?] is the prestigious form and should be used with people from outside the family circle. Though speaker # 17 knows all these facts about her friend, she reverts to the Himsi dialect and uses 100% [?]. In her speech, she only had three lexical borrowings with [q] (see Appendix C). Below is an extract from the speech of speaker # 17 with her friend (speaker # 14), where one can see her constant use of [?]:

**Excerpt 1: Complete switch to the [?] sound by speaker # 17:**

In this conversation, not only can one see the complete switch from [q] to [?], but also the naturalness of the conversation. Basically, the two women are gossiping:

1. Speaker # 17: bhadaak lwa[?], maa kaanoo yaʃirfoo, yimken, maa kaan fii dakaatra ktiir, wa laa kaan Hadaa, masallan, maa yaʃirfoo. faʒ?a, ha-haffabb, wxaTbiillu, maa [?]illik, baddon yiʒauuzu. faʒ?a bimuut, ?ee Dallet DDaiʃa killa ziʃlaani, aktar min sini, maa Hadaa yiʃmol kibbi bbaituu.
2. Speaker # 14: ?ee kaanoo yidi[?][?]oo ʃaliblaTa ( )<sup>1</sup>, halla[?], ʃaraas TTauuli
3. Speaker # 17: halla[?], ween? ʃaraas TTauuli! halla[?], bikuun lmaiyet hoon, issa maa ſaaluu, wiʃirs, wiTTabl ma yid[?][?] bbait ʒiiraanon; bbait lʒiiraan llili ʒanbon TTabil ma yid[?][?], ſuu ra?iyik?

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<sup>1</sup> Empty parentheses indicate that a word or more were not understood during transcription.

4. Speaker # 14: halla[?], maa ba[?]a tifro[?] mañ Hadaa.
5. Speaker # 17: yoom llii tʒauuzet bint (name), haai ?axdet waaHed [?]raayibnaa, muu [?]raayibnaa, waaHed mnDDaiʃa, min ʃinna, whalla[?], hiyyi bissʃuudiyyi, hiyyi wiyyaah, duktoor huwwi. Kaan maiyyet ʒooz bint ʃammuu, ʃifte kiif? wʃabb, wʒaarna huwwi bilHaara, ʒaarna, yiʃnii, maa fii ɣeer TTarii[?] been beetna wheet, wheetna wheet lmaiyyet.
6. Speaker # 14: ?ee.
7. Speaker # 17: ?ee, yiʃnii, whuwwi [?]raayibon. Awall ſee, l?imm, tSauuwre, ?immuu, ?immuu, muu l?imm, baddee [?]uul, martuu, martuu, bint ʃamm baiyyuu, whiyyi bint ʃamm, wlmaraa, wlmaraa bint ʃammuu laʃʃabb, tSauuwre, yiʃnii, kiif l[?]irbi, ntabahte kiif? yiʃnii, martuu laʃʃabb. (to her daughter) maa badee ?iʃrab, ?immee. (To her friend) martuu laʃʃabb, martlmaiyyet, bitkuun, bint ʃammit ?immuu, ʃafwan, ?immuu bint ʃammit ?immuu laʃʃabb, whiyyi btiHkom bint ʃammuu laʃʃabb bnafs lwa[?]t, ntabahte? biyʒoo, biʒiiboo TTabl. maa kaan issa, maa kaan (name), ſuu kaan ?iluu, ſuu kaan ?iluu maiyyet? maa kaan ?iluu ſee ſahr ſahreen, heek ſee
8. Daughter of Speaker # 17: (      )?

9. Speaker # 17: (to her daughter) yoom Ɂirs (name), maa badee see, ?immee. (To her friend) lmuhimm, biɁiiboo TTabl wbiballʃoo dda[?][?], [?]al, bitruuH, hiyyi muu bint Ɂammtaa, l?imm, [?]al, bitruuH, laɁind bint xaala, [?]al, taaxod bil?izin. [?]aletla, Ɂainee, alla yihanniikon. Ɂmiloo llili badkon yeeh. Wween ma yid[?][?]oo TTabl, yiɁnii, that daaruu lalmaiyyet, tSauuwree?

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 17: At that time, they did not know, maybe, there weren't many doctors, and no one, for example, they didn't know. Suddenly, the young man, and they had engaged for him, I am telling you, they want to make him marry. Suddenly, he dies. So, the whole village remained sad, more than one year; no one makes kibbi in his house.
2. Speaker # 14: Yes, they used to hammer on the stone, ( ) now, on the head of the table.
3. Speaker # 17: where now? On the head of the table! Now, the dead will be here; they have not yet removed him, and the wedding, and the drum is beating in his neighbors' house; in the neighbors' house that is next to them the drum is beating, what is your opinion?
4. Speaker # 14: Now, no one cares.
5. Speaker # 17: the day (name) got married. She took one who is our relative, not our relative, one that is from the village, from our place, and now she is in Saudi, she and he. He is a doctor. The husband of his cousin's daughter (from father side) was dead,

you see how? And a young man, and our neighbor in the area, our neighbor, this means, there is only the street between our house and the house-our house and the house of the dead.

6. Speaker # 14: Yes.
7. Speaker # 17: Yes, this means, and he is their relative. The first thing, the mother, imagine! His mother, his mother, not the mother, I want to say, his wife, his wife is the cousin of his father (from the father side), and she is the cousin (from the father side), the wife, and the wife is the cousin of the young man (from the father side), imagine! This means, how the relation is! Did you pay attention to (how related)? This means, the wife of the young man – (to her daughter) I don't want to drink, mother – (To her friend) the wife of the young man, the wife of the dead is the cousin of his mother, sorry, the cousin of the mother of the young man, and she is the cousin of the young man at the same time, did you pay attention? So, they come, they bring the drum, he was not yet, he was not (name), how long was he, how long was he dead? He was not yet a month, two month, around this.
8. Daughter of Speaker # 17: (      )?
9. Speaker # 17: the day of the wedding of (name) – (To her daughter) I do not want anything, mother – The important thing, they bring the drum, and they start beating. So, she goes, she, she is her cousin, the mother, so, she goes to her cousin from (her mother side), so, to take permission. She told her, my eyes, God bring joy to your hearts, do whatever you want. And where they are beating the drum, this means, under the dead house, imagine!

On the other hand, speaker # 12 uses 44 % [q] and 54 % [?], which indicates that this speaker has not adopted the new dialect completely, though she is about the same age as speaker # 17 and has lived in Hims for the same amount of time (35 years). Both speakers are elementary school teachers with the same level of education. The only difference between these two women is that speaker # 17 comes from an upper-middle class, and speaker # 12 comes from a lower-middle class. However, as was shown in Chapter Three, social class is not a major factor conditioning this variable process. The difference between these two speakers could be attributed either to their social networks (Milroy 1980; Milroy & Milroy 1985, 1992), which might have influenced their degree of acquisition of the new dialect, or to the possibility suggested by Giles et. al. (1991) that not all speakers possess equal ability or desire to accommodate fully to a different linguistic variety.

It is important to note that speaker # 12 corrects herself sometimes, replacing the [q] sound with the [?] sound in some words, repeating these same words immediately after they have been pronounced with the [q] sound or pronouncing them differently on different occasions within the same conversation. This occurrence reflects a kind of self-correction towards the prestigious form, rather than self-correction towards a more grammatical or more comprehensible form. This is best explained by applying a Labovian framework here. Labov (1972: 178) points out, in his summary of the mechanism of sound change, that “stigmatization initiate[s] *change from above*, a sporadic and irregular correction of the changed forms towards the model of the highest status group – that is, the *prestige model*.<sup>12</sup>” The correction implemented by speaker # 12

might be due to her knowledge of which form is prestigious but the inability to apply this knowledge all the time. The result is, thus, 44 % pronunciation of [q] and 56 % pronunciation of [?] . This situation perhaps reflects what Labov (2001) has termed ‘linguistic insecurity’, an indication that the speaker recognizes “an exterior standard of correctness” (Labov 2001: 277) and tries to adopt that standard.

Correction towards the prestigious form is evident in speaker # 12’s response to my question about her daughter’s marriage and her life with her husband. One can notice in Excerpt 2 below the variation between *[q]aalitluu* and *[?]aalitluu* ‘she told him’ in lines 1 and 5 respectively and the variation between *[q]alla* ‘he told her’ and *bi[?]illaa* ‘he tells her’ in line 5:

**Excerpt 2:**

1. Speaker # 12: ktiir, niʃkor ?alla, ktiir. [q]aalitluu maa ſaad ( ). huuwwi maa ſaalla ktiir ſaaTer biʒʒiraHa. ?ee. kaan ſaTuul yiʃref ſlaiyye. ſaafoo baʃDon wtʃarrfoo ſabaʃDon.
2. Researcher: wallah!
3. Speaker # 12: ?ee. Saar naSiib. ſa[?]baal ſindik yaa rabb.
4. Researcher: ?allah yisallmik. Killik zoo[?].
5. Speaker # 12: ſa[?]baal llii yistaahelik yaa rabb, yaa raanyaa. ?ee. wallah wheek Saar naSiib wilHamdilla ktiir mabsuuTiin, wfihem waDʃaa. [?]aalitluu ?anaa bade kammel diraastee. [q]alla ?allah maʃik, mitil maa baddik. ?ee. halla[?] bi[?]illaa ?izaa baddik truuHee .....

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 12: a lot, thanks be to God, a lot! She told him there isn't no more ( ).  
He, God protects him, very good in surgery. Yes. He was always checking on me.  
They saw each other and got to know each other.
2. Researcher: By God!
3. Speaker # 12: yes. Fortune happened (idiom meaning they got married). (Idiom meaning she wishes the same to happen to me: to get married) by God's will.
4. Researcher: God protect you. You are all manners.
5. Speaker # 12: (idiom meaning she wishes the same to happen to me: to get married to some one who deserves me) by God's will. Yes. By God, and so, they got married (idiom, lit. Fortune happened), and thanks be to god they are very happy, and he understood her situation. She told him, I want to continue my education. He said God be with you, as you want. Yes. Now, he tells her if you want to go

Vartiation in the use of [q] and [?] is also apparent in speaker # 12's reply to my inquiry about the possibility of dividing the middle class into different levels and whom she would consider to belong to what level. I gave her the names of some people that we both knew and asked how she would classify them. One can obviously see in Excerpt 3 her use of Taba/q/a as both Taba[?]a and Taba[q]a "class":

**Excerpt 3:**

1. Speaker # 12: Tabfan, hadool badde [?]illik muu Taba[?]a wwuSTaa, leeſ? l?annuu ſam ySirrlon ?iſaanat. yuſtabaroo ?ayniiyaa, Taba[q]a yaniyyi.

After a few turns she continued to say:

2. Speaker # 12: ?ee, ?ee, ?ayniiyaa. ?amma TTaba[q]a lwwusTaa, ?anaa ma[?]illik,

mitil lmfallmiin maa byiHsinooyistiroo saiyyaraat. Maa fiiyon, l?annuu ssiyyaara badda m?aaʃ waaHed, xaSSatan ?izaa kaan m?aaʃ waaHed yiñnii m?allem waaHed bilbeet. ?ee. l?annuu duubuu yiñnii yaakol wyiʃrab. Maa fiih yiñnii. ?innuu maanuu fa[?]iir yiñnii biiHaawel ?innuu, heek.

### **Translation:**

1. Speaker # 12: of course, those, I want to tell you, are not middle class, why? Because they get (financial) assistance. They are considered rich, upper (lit. rich) class.

After a few turns she continued to say:

2. Speaker # 12: yes, yes, rich. On the other hand, the middle class, I am telling you, like teachers who cannot afford to buy cars. They cannot because the car requires one salary, especially if there was one salary, this means, one teacher in the house. Yes. Because barely, this means, he can eat and drink, He cannot, this means. That is, he is not poor, this means, he tries, that is, so.

The differential patterns of accommodation and variation in some rural migrants' speech are clear, when one compares the word *fa[?]iir* "poor (M)" that occurred in excerpt 3 with the [?] sound with the words *fa[?]iira* "poor (F)" and *fi[q]raa* "poor (Pl)" that occurred in excerpt 4 with both an [?] sound and a [q] sound:

### **Excerpt 4:**

1. Researcher: Tabñan, Tab, halla[?], bira?yik ?innuu fii nnaas ?ayniyaa, bass muu Sirfaaniin yiñijoo biHayaaton. hal btibriyon ?ayniyaa walla mniñtibiron wwusTaa. halla[?], fii naas biDDaiña ktiir, ?inte btañirfee!
2. Speaker # 12: ?ee.

3. Researcher: wmaanon ſirfaaniin yiñijoo
4. Speaker # 12: hadool nafsiiton fa[?]iira
5. Researcher: ſuu btiñtibriyon, hadool, ſuu btiñtibriyon, masalan
6. Speaker # 12: bxil
7. Researcher: ?ee, ſuu btiñtibriyon, Taba[q]a yaniiyi walla Taba[q]a wwusTaa. ſaaſiin mitlik mitlee, yiñnii maanon ſaaſiin ?aHsan minninnaa, maDbuuT walla la??
8. Speaker # 12: yuñtabaroo wwusTaa, mañnaahaa, [?]add maykuun mañon maSaaree wbyityaddoo xibz wñinib. ?aiſuu mañnaahaa? fi[q]raa, fi[q]raa, ?aiwaa

**Translation:**

1. Researcher: Of course, ok, now, in your opinion, that is, there are rich people, but they do not know how to live in their life. Do you consider them rich or we consider them middle. Now, there are a lot people in the village, you know,
2. Speaker # 12: yes.
3. Researcher: and they don't know how to live
4. Speaker # 12: those have a poor soul.
5. Researcher: what do you consider those, what do you consider them, for example?
6. Speaker # 12: meanness
7. Researcher: yes, what do you consider them, rich class or middle class. They live like you and me, that means, they do not live better than us, right or wrong?
8. Speaker # 12: they are considered middle, that means, no matter how much money they have, they eat bread and grapes for lunch. What does that mean? Poor, poor, yes.

Consequently, one could say that individual speakers differ in their degree of acquisition of the Himsi dialect. Some people accommodate fully to the new dialect; others vary their speech. In the case of speaker # 12, it is not a matter of stylistic variation; it is more the lack of a firm grip on the new dialect. This kind of variation can be observed in the speech of many others. For example, speaker # 19 uses the word /maqbra/ ‘cemetery’ at the beginning of the conversation three times with the [?] sound, *maʔbra*, and much later in the conversation with the [q] sound, *maqbra*. In general terms, one may start to use some features of the Himsi dialect, and then later on produce the same word with village dialect features. In the course of the recorded conversations, some speakers volunteered their personal thoughts on language use and migrant identity in Hims. These details are presented in section 5.3 below.

### **5.3. Personal Observations on Language Accommodation**

Some participants in the study expressed curiosity about the topic of my research. When asked what I was looking for in their speech, I would respond that I could not tell them. If they insisted, I would say that I was observing the social influence on people’s dialects and the difference between children and their parents. As a result, they offered some interesting comments about why this sort of accommodation occurs and some of them even referred explicitly to the change of [q] into [?], without any sort of indication from me that this particular phenomenon was my focus. Many topics and themes were raised and discussed in the conversations and which support many of the findings and ideas expressed earlier on in the study.

First, occupation, social networks, and appearing more civilized emerged as important factors for the change of [q] into [?] in the speech of the rural migrants, based

on comments uttered by some participants in the study. For example, Speaker # 7 started his conversation with a comment on how people who come from the village to the city change their accent. He gave a few possible reasons for this change, pointing out in Excerpt 5 that occupation, social networks, and appearing more city-like forces rural migrants to accommodate to the speech of the city people. These perspectives presented by speaker # 7 give support to some of the theoretical notions that have been expressed in this study and in previous studies:

**Excerpt 5:**

In this excerpt, the speaker begins answering my question about how long he has been living outside the village. He points out how some people changed their dialect as soon as they left the village. He is a little critical of those people because later on he indicates that those who have a strong personality, like his, do not change their dialect and do not care about what other people say. For him, people change their dialect as a kind of adjustment, adaptation or what we call accommodation to the speech of their surroundings: school,<sup>2</sup> friends, neighbors, etc., or to “show off” and appear more “civilized”:

1. Speaker # 7: biHduud ſee arbñiin, ma bañref, tlaatau arbñiin sini, ?issa nafs l[q]aaf wnafs lhada maa yaiyyartu. (Name) Tileñ mniDDeeña. ?awal yoom raaH ñaÑaamñña. bañd isbuuñ rižiñ ñaDDeeña ma yiHke bil[?]aaf, ñrifte kiif? yiñnii, fii ñaalem mubaÑaratan yaiyiret.

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2 ‘School’ here refers to the fact that the person he mentions in line 5 is a school teacher. Thus, here ‘school’ does not refer to education; it refers to the influence that a person’s occupation and surroundings could have on him/her, and how a person tries to accommodate to her/his interlocutors. It is an indication that integration in the community requires changes in the person’s linguistic behavior.

2. Researcher: hiyyi, hiyyi, haaii, haaii hadafe, ?ee.
3. Speaker # 7: ?immik bil?axiir nfaraD ɻlaiyya, nfaraD ɻlaiyya, bass maana mabsuTa, yiñnii, maa bitkuun mirtaaHa, badda tiHke bil[?]aaf been rif[q]aata. Saaret tixɻal ....<sup>3</sup>
- kilsee Tilñoo mafruuD ɻlaiyon ɻauu mñaiyyen, suu ismuu? Bass eh, fii ɻaalem maa htammet. ?anaa biTri[q]a, biñmilaa bilmaTr[q]a, wxalle waHed yistarɻe yiHke, yiñnii maa bñuu ismuu.
4. Researcher: ?ee. huwwi, haada hadafe, hadafe, ?innuu ʃuuf tta?Thetaiir l?iñtmañe ɻalahñit l?insaan.
5. Speaker # 7: tta?Thetaiir l?iñtmañe, ?innuu ?immik nfaraD ɻlaiyya; farDet lmadersi, farDet ɻlaiyya rif[?]aata, ɻiiraana byiHkoo bil[?]aaf, la[q]et Haala ɻariibi, badda tit?a[q]lam mañ ɻauu musaayarat, badda tsaayer. fii nauñiyi badda tsaayer, fii nauñiyi badda ʃuuf Haala ʃwayi. ?innuu matiHke bil[?]aaf, tuñtabar ?innuu l[?]aaf ʃayli HaDaariyyi. fii nauñ min lmusaayara; fii nauñ jaufit Haal, ?ee, fii ɻiddit, fii ɻiddit, ʃaylaat, muu?aThetaat bit?aThetaer ɻal.

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<sup>3</sup> Dots indicate that some speech is not transcribed because it does not add any new or relevant information to the discussion.

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 7: about forty, I don't know, forty-three years, still the same qaaf and the same accent; I did not change it. (Name) left the village. The first day he went to the university. After one week, he came back to the village speaking with [?]aaf, do you know how? this means, there are people who changed right away.
2. R: it-it, this-this is my goal, yes.
3. Speaker # 7: your mother at the end it was imposed on her, it was imposed on her, but she is not happy. It means, she will not be comfortable, she wants to speak with the [?]aaf among her friends. She became embarrassed, but she is not comfortable, (to my mother) is this right or not? ..... All those who left, it was imposed on them a particular atmosphere, what is it called? But, eh, there are people who did not care. I hammer, I do it with the hammer, and let anyone dare to talk, it means, not what it is called.
4. R: yes, it, this is my goal. My goal is, that is, to see the social influence on the accent of Man.
5. Speaker # 7: the social influence, that is, your mother it was imposed on her; the school imposed on her; her friends imposed on her, her neighbors; they speak with the [?]aaf. She found herself a stranger; she wants to adapt to the atmosphere for adjustment; she wants to adjust. There is a kind that wants to adjust; there is a kind that wants to appear arrogant a little. That is, she is speaking with the [?]aaf, she is considered, that is, the [?]aaf a civilized thing. There is a kind of adjustment; there is a kind of arrogance, yes, there are a number- there are a number of things, factors that have an influence on the-

Second, possessing a strong personality and clinging to one's original identity are some of the reasons behind the maintenance of one's mother dialect. On the other hand, the past superiority of the city people with regards to technology, construction and electricity led the migrant rural people in the past to imitate city people in many aspects of life, including language, out of fear of appearing backward and awkward. These multiple topics were stated clearly by speaker # 7 in Excerpt 6 below:

**Excerpt 6:**

1. Speaker # 7: willii ſinduu-willii ſinduu min, bitSwwar ?anaa haddi, llili ſinduu min ſaxSiituu l[q]awiyyi: “laa ta[q]ol aSle wa faSle, ?innamaa aSlu lfata maa (      )” ?innuu maa bitfro[q] mañoo; lahiȝtuu maa biȝaiyyera l?innuu haai lahiȝtuu. (To my mother) walla ſayli kbiiri. ſam niHkiila [q]iSSitnaa. ?ee. fii. maa bitfro[q] mañoo lahiȝtuu, biyitamm yiHkiiyya lahiȝtuu l?aSliyyi- l?aSliyyi- l?aSliyyi biiHaafeD ſlaiyyaa, bass aHyaanan ſawaamel ktiiri, zaman Tawiil, mñaaſirtuu mañ rif[q]aattuu bitxalliih (      ) li?annuu lHaDaara, leeſ lHaDaara halle[q] li?annuu minȝee niHina min DDaiñā. DDaiñā halle[q] Saaret HaDaariyyi aktar min lmadiini, bass binȝee, ibn DDaiñā bitamm xaaiyef minnaa. ſa?iiyaamnaa, ?anaa w?immik, wil[q]abil minna llili kaanuu yinziloo ſalmadiini, yiñtibroo lmadiini HaDaara wDDaiñā fallaH.
2. Researcher: Tabñan.

3. Speaker # 7: mitxallef, fii taxallof, lizaalek ?aii Jayli, masalan, biyistaxdimaa ?ibn lmaddini ?auu biyiHkiyyaa ?induu halbeet smiintoo ( ) traab, wkazaa ?induu halbeet smiintoo, ?induu halfern, ?induu halzift, maa kaan ?innaa zift. ?induu kahrabaa, maa kaan ?innaa kahrabaa, ?innuu haadaa HaDaare. biyi?ee b[q]alb xaaiyef minnuu, lizaalik badduu yi[q]alduu, ?aa? .....

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 7: and that who has-who has, I imagine this, that who has a strong personality: “Do not say my origin and my story, the origin of a person is what ( )”. That is, he does not care; his accent does not change because this is his accent. (To my mother) by God, this is a big thing (issue). We are telling her our story. (To me) yes, there is. He does not care about his accent; he continues to talk it, his original-original accent, he protects it, but sometimes many factors: long time, integration with his friends lets him ( ) because civilization. Why civilization? Now, because we come, we, from the village. The village, now, became more civilized than the city, but we come, the village person remains afraid of it. In our days, your mother and I and those before us, those who used to come to the city consider the city civilization and the village peasant.

2. R: Of course.
3. Speaker # 7: backward. There is backwardness. Because of that any thing, for example, the city person uses or says it. He has this house from cement ( ) soil, and so; he has this house from cement; he has this stove; he has this tar; we did not

have tar; he has electricity; we did not have electricity. That is, this is civilization. He comes with a frightened heart. For that reason, he wants to imitate it, right?

Third, the pride of the Himsi people in their own dialect and their negative attitude towards other dialects and people from the countryside was one of the themes that speaker # 7 touched on in Excerpt 7 below:

**Excerpt 7:**

1. Speaker # 7: ?ee. tſe la[q]illik, leeſ. la?innuu miſtaddiin blahžiton min naaHiyi ſaSabiyyi. lHimSe min naaHiyi ſaSabiyyi, wa laisa min naaHiyi (     ). lHimSe biyiftiber Haaluu ?ibn madiini wa biyiftiber ( name & name) filleeHiin (     ).

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 7: yes. Come, let me tell you why. Because they are proud of their dialect from one side. The Himsi, from a fanatic side and not from a (     ) side. The Himsi considers himself a city person and considers (name and name) peasants (     ).

Fourth, education, striving to integrate into the Himsi community, embarrassment of one's own dialect, and the influence of the parents's dialects on their children's dialect emerged as important factors in determining the choice between [q] and [?], as Excerpt 8 below illustrates:

**Excerpt 8:**

In this excerpt, speaker # 28 indicates that school<sup>4</sup> is a major factor in influencing change in people's speech. This change results either from integration into the community, and thus, a speaker will naturally use the language used by the whole community, or from being embarrassed among one's friends and classmates that s/he has

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<sup>4</sup> Here, 'school' does refer to education and where a person does receive his/her education.

to accommodate to their speech. In line 8, he refers to the influence of the parents' dialect on the children's dialect and that it plays a factor in shaping the children's dialect:

1. Researcher: ?anaa muu lmafruuD [?]uul suu mauDuu?e, huwwi tta?Ooir l?i?timaa?e ?allah?i, lfar[?] been luulaad w?ahlon.
2. Speaker # 28: leeke, yimken llii bikuun bilmadrasi, bi[?]ee biDDai?a ( ). llii biyib[?]a lassaanawee biDDai?a, ween maa raaH maraH tit?aiyyar lahi?tuu. llii bi[?]ee lassaanawee. llii biyiTla? mnii?i?daadee byit?aiyyar. ?anaa haaii ?am bi?Tiike ( ). llii biyiTla? mnii?i?daadee wmin l?ibtidaa?ee, huwwi wwalad, daxal l?i?daadee, ssaanawee bHimS btit?aiyyar lahi?tuu. fii sababeen lata?yir llah?i, heek ?anaa bHiss,
3. Researcher: Juu ra?yak?
4. Speaker # 28: ?innuu, ?innuu, ?awall see, ?innuu huwwi, mitil maa [q]iltee, l?ixtilaaT bilmu?tama?, yi?nii, ?innuu lwaaHed b?akil Tabii?ee, badduu yiSiir yiHkee mitil rif[?]aatuu, w?ee taanee, huwwi lxa?al, fii xa?al min llah?i, yi?nii, biyiSiir lwaaHed bi[q]arrer ?innuu yi?aiyyira, muu ?innuu btit?aiyyar til[q]aa?iyan, ?innuu, ?anaa baddee ?iHkee, haadaa kiif-haadaa kiif bbbaiyen? bbbaiyen mu?zarrad maa faat ?abaituu, byir?a? ?allah?i l[?]adiimi. Fhimtee ?laiyyee kiif?
5. Researcher: biDDabT.
6. Speaker # 28: fii xa?al wfii see biSiir til[q]aa?ee, ?amma ?anaa xil[?]aan bHimS, lahi?te himSSiyyi; ?inte, ma?alan, xil[?]aani bHimS
7. Researcher: halla[?], ?anaa xili[?]t, [?]uul ?iit ?imree sinteen ?aHimS.

8. Speaker # 28: ?ee, halla[?],?inte xil[?]aani bHimS, bass maa ſiftee biDDaiſa. yimken  
 ?inte kamaan la?innuu ?abuuke w?ummik. ?ee, ?anaa lbaaba byiHkee DaiſaZee, bass  
 lmaama la?. lmaama ribyaani bſſaam, fhimtee ſloon? ?inte yimken l?abb wl?imm  
 ?aΘOarroo ſleeke. halla[?], maΘalan, ?anaa l?abb wl?imm. ?anaa lbaaba byiHkee  
 DaiſaZee wlmaama btiHkee ſaamee. ?anaa Tilſet lahiȝte maanaa ſaamiyyi wmaanaa  
 DaiſaZiyyi, Tilſet, yiñnii, HimSe ſaDaiſaZee....
9. Researcher: ?ee, w?anaa.

**Translation:**

1. Researcher: I am not supposed to say what is the topic; it is the social influence on the dialect, the difference between the children and their parents.....
2. Speaker # 28: look! It might be that those who are in school, stayed in the village ( ). Those who stayed up to high school in the village, wherever they go, they will not change their dialect. Those who stayed up to high school. Those who left from preparatory school change. I will give you ( ). That who left from preparatory school and elementary school, as a child, entered preparatory school, high school in Hims, his dialect changes. There are two reasons for dialect change, that is how I feel,
3. Researcher: what is your opinion?
4. Speaker # 28: that is, that is, the first thing, that is it is, as you said, the integration with society, this means, that is, one in a natural way wants to start talking like his friends, and a second thing, it is embarrassment. There is embarrassment from the dialect, this means, one starts to want to, that is, change, not that it changes spontaneously, that is, I want to talk, that is how-that is how it shows. It shows once he enters his house; he goes back to his old dialect. Did you understand me, how?

5. Researcher: exactly!
6. Speaker # 28: there is embarrassment and there is something that happens spontaneously. On the other hand, I am born in Hims; my accent is Himsi; you are, for example, born in Hims.
7. Researcher: now, I was born. Say, I came, my age was two years, to Hims.
8. Speaker # 28: yes, now, you were not born in Hims, but you are not living in the village. Maybe, you are also, because your father and your mother. Yes, I, my father speaks with the village accent, but my mother, no. my mother was brought up in Damascus, do you understand how? You, maybe, the father and the mother influenced you. Now, for example, I, the father and the mother. I, my father speaks with the village accent and my mother speaks Damascene. I, my accent came out not Damascene nor from the village; it came out, it means, Himsi mixed with village accents
9. Researcher: yes, and I too.

Furthermore, schooling or education seems to be the main force behind adopting or accommodating to a new form, as Excerpt 9 below demonstrates. The influence of schooling on one's dialect is due to the amount of time that students spend with their friends at school. This was confirmed by the one-way ANOVA test that showed that school is highly significant in determining the use of the [q] (see Chapter 3).

**Excerpt 9:**

1. Speaker # 28: ?innuu lmadrasi hiyyi l?asaas

After a few turns, he asserts:

2. Speaker # 28: yi?nii niSS lwa[?]t

**Translation:**

1. F: that is, school is the base.
2. F: it means, half the time

Fifth, accommodation to the speech of the interlocutor is also confirmed by speaker # 28 who presents examples of relatives who change the [q] into [?], when they converse with people outside the family circle. Excerpt 10 illustrates how rural migrants do accommodate their speech to the speech of the city people:

**Excerpt 10:**

1. Speaker # 28: l?innuu, ?anaa baʃref min mart ſammee, min hadool llii byiHkoo  
Daiʃaʒee, biʒallsoo Hakyon, bass badda tinzol kilmaat, yiʃnii, kilmaat

He continues to say after a few turns:

2. Speaker # 28: ?umm. mart ſammee (name) btihkee bil[q]aaf. btihkee bil[?]aaf heek  
been lʃaalam, Tabiiʃa, ?innuu lwaaHed biHaawel, badduu yyaiyyer.
3. Researcher: bʃakel laa ?iraadee

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 28: because, I know from my uncle's wife, from those who speak the village accent; they straighten their talk, but words want to come down, it mean words

He continues to say after a few turns:

2. Speaker # 28: The mother. My uncle's (name) wife speaks with the qaaf. She speaks with the [?]aaf, so, among people. That is normal, that is, one wants to change
3. Researcher: in an automatic way

Sixth, the surrounding environment, society, and embarrassment constitute the main reasons for the linguistic change that rural people undergo, as speaker # 28 puts it. The Himsies' ridiculing of rural people dialects also appears to be a factor influencing the change of [q] into [?], as excerpt 11 below shows:

**Excerpt 11:**

1. Speaker # 28: maa ribyaan biDDaiſa, lbii?a btixtilef ktiir, fii xuſuuni, ſam [?]illik fii xuſuuni hiniik fii [?]asaawi bilkalaam
2. Researcher: maſak Ha[?][?]
3. Speaker # 28: hoonee biDall lwaaHed ( ), yiſnii, ?auwallan, lbii?a, ſala fikra lbii?a btixtilef ktiir, lbii?a, baſdeen lmužtamaſ, baſdeen min naaHiyit lxažal. hadool killon ſaglaat biDDarbboo ſabaſDon.
4. Researcher: hoonee lHamaaSni byitmahzoo ſleena
5. Speaker # 28: ?ee, fauran byil[?]iTuulik kilimtik.

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 28: He was not brought up in the village. The environment differs a great deal. There is vulgarity, I am telling you, there is vulgarity there. There is harshness in speech
2. Researcher: you are right!
3. Speaker # 28: here, one remains ( ), this means, first, the environment, as an idea, the environment differs a lot. The environment, then the society, then from the side of embarrassment. These are all things that affect each other.
4. Researcher: here, the Himsies make fun of us

5. Speaker # 28: yes, right away, they catch your words.

Finally, political issues appear to be one further factor, affecting a sound change and influencing the choice between [q] and [?], as speaker # 28 states in excerpt 12 below:

**Excerpt 12:**

1. Speaker # 28: ..... ſam ?illik l?umuur ssiyaasiyyi bit?asser

**Translation:**

1. Speaker # 28: ..... I am telling you political matters have an influence

One can clearly see that the observations of this study are confirmed by ordinary people who have lived in Hims for a long period of time and know a great deal about the attitude of the Himsi speech community towards other speech communities. In conclusion, accommodation to the speech of the Himsi community occurs among rural people to different degrees. Some people accommodate fully; others accommodate half-way, resulting in an intermediate dialect; still there are others who do not accommodate at all because they are not concerned with urban prestige. Nonetheless, some of these speakers appear to be changing some words from [q] to [?] without consciously realizing they are doing so, as in the case of speaker # 7. In his speech, I spotted a number of words pronounced with the [?] sound (cited in Chapter 4 and in Appendix D). This fact tells us that people might be changing their speech towards the prestigious form without even realizing the change.

## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

It has been demonstrated that age plays the major role in the change from [q] to [?] in the city of Hims, followed in importance by residential area. Sex and social class play minor roles in the change. It was noted that women use the prestigious form slightly more than men do. This study cannot confirm that the change of [q] into [?] is a change in progress; this requires further investigation and recordings of more people who live in the village to see if this change is spreading to the rural areas. There are indications of a change in progress, but only a longitudinal study can confirm this.

What the present study does seem to confirm is that speech accommodation is the mechanism by which migrant groups change their dialect; they want to appear more prestigious by taking on a new dialect and thus an urban identity. Though Haeri (1991, 1996) and Daher (1998a, 1998b) think that education is the reason for the increasing use of [q] in the speech of Cairene and Damascene Colloquial Arabic respectively, this study shows that education plays two polar roles. First, it has a reverse effect on people who migrate from villages and use the [q] variant. Being highly educated, these migrants get jobs that lead them to interaction with the city people, reducing their use of [q] and increasing their use of [?]. Second, education has been shown to exert an influence on the occurrence of [q] as lexical borrowings from SA. However, these lexical borrowings are not only present in the speech of the educated speaker; they are also observed in the speech of those who received less education, e.g. speaker # 25. It has also been noticed

with regards to some speakers in whose speech the [q] is dominant that some words are adopted with the [?] sound due to their frequent use. This phenomenon was explained in light of the theory of lexical diffusion.

This study has tried to avoid the “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1972: 43) in every possible way, but one can never make a conclusive claim that speakers did not monitor their speech to some degree. The awareness of being recorded may have provoked some people to use the prestige form more frequently, but this awareness would perhaps have been attenuated by the fact that the interviewer is part of their community and comes from the same village. It seems likely to me that if the same people were recorded with different interlocutors in different situations, the prestige form [?] would be more frequent, as one recorded conversation between speaker # 17 and a friend of hers shows. In this conversation, speaker # 17 used [?] 100 %, whereas she used 100 % [q] in another recorded conversation with me, her daughter. This is a complete switch from one dialect to another to accommodate to the speech of the interlocutor who comes from a different background and to fulfill the need to sound prestigious.

In order to confirm the results of this study one would have to examine methodically the issue of covert prestige in the countryside. Upon return to the village, one is expected to use his/her original dialect. Otherwise, the village community may stigmatize the use of a different dialect or the softening of [q]. The stigmatization is usually directed at the older generation more than it is directed at the younger generation who has been born and raised in the city or has moved to the city at a very young age. The older generation would be perceived by the village people as haughty, presumptuous, or pretentious, if they try to use the city dialect with them. Thus, this conflict between

two identities and two kinds of prestige may create a problem to individuals who have undergone the change.

This sound change cannot be interpreted fully without reference to or extensive knowledge of the history of such change or the history of the area where the change is taking place, which is unfortunately lacking (Haeri 1991, 1996). The emphasis on the Arabic roots and the *Quran* as a basis for the Arabic language may prevent the occurrence of complete merger of [q] and [?] or the extension of this merger to SA. The great stylistic and social variation that prevails in the city of Hims reflects a consistent pattern. Speakers # 20, 21, and 22 are exceptions; living in one of the suburb areas of Hims where most of the community uses the [q] sound, they continue to use the [q] sound in their speech in contrast to all the younger generation who show greater use of the [?] sound.

Though this study only deals with the change of [q] to [?], it is worth mentioning that many other sound changes accompany this change, such as the change of the vowel [e] to [a] between consonants, [ee] to [aa], and the epenthesis of [a] between initial consonant clusters. There are other vowel changes involved as well, all beyond the scope of this study. It is my hope that the present study will open the way for further research in other Syrian cities as well as in other countries, such as Lebanon, where a similar change may be taking place. In these other places, it would be interesting to discover which sound is favored more: [q] or [?].

**APPENDIX A**  
**THE RESULTS OF THE STEPWISE LINEAR REGRESSION TEST PERFORMED  
 ON THE CONTINUOUS DEPENDENT VARIABLE [Q]**

Table 16: Model summary of the dependent variable [q]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1. Age	.588 <sup>a</sup>	.346	.327	100.385
2. Area	.654 <sup>b</sup>	.428	.393	95.294

a. Predictors: (Constant), Age group

b. Predictors: (Constant), Age group, Area

Table 17: ANOVA<sup>c</sup> of the stepwise linear regression test performed on the continuous dependent variable [q]

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	181310.548	1	181310.548	17.992 .000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	342622.341	34	10077.128	
	Total	523932.889	35		
2	Regression	224260.706	2	112130.353	12.348 .000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	299672.183	33	9080.975	
	Total	523932.889	35		

a. Predictors: (Constant), Age group

b. Predictors: (Constant), Age group, Area

c. Dependent Variable: qaaaf

Table 18: Coefficients<sup>a</sup> of the stepwise linear regression test performed on the continuous dependent variable [q]

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-74.625	53.865	-1.385	.175
	age group	142.155	33.513		
2	(Constant)	-174.421	68.705	-2.539	.016
	age group	139.180	31.843		
	area	87.355	40.167		

a. Dependent Variable: qaaaf

Table 19: Excluded variables<sup>c</sup> by the stepwise linear regression test performed on the continuous dependent variable [q]

<b>Model</b>	<b>Beta In</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>Sig.</b>	<b>Partial Correlation</b>	<b>Collinearity Statistics</b>
					<b>Tolerance</b>
1	sex	.272 <sup>a</sup>	2.049	.048	.336
	class	-.127 <sup>a</sup>	-.911	.369	-.157
	area	.287 <sup>a</sup>	2.175	.037	.354
	school	-.199 <sup>a</sup>	-1.061	.296	-.182
	income	-.206 <sup>a</sup>	-1.515	.139	-.255
	occupation	-.274 <sup>a</sup>	-1.889	.068	-.312
2	sex	.221 <sup>b</sup>	1.682	.102	.285
	class	.030 <sup>b</sup>	.194	.847	.034
	school	-.118 <sup>b</sup>	-.638	.528	-.112
	income	-.088 <sup>b</sup>	-.578	.567	-.102
	occupation	-.174 <sup>b</sup>	-1.108	.276	-.192

a. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Age group

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Age group, Area

c. Dependent Variable: qaaaf

**APPENDIX B**  
**THE RESULTS OF THE STEPWISE LINEAR REGRESSION TEST PERFORMED  
 ON THE CONTINUOUS DEPENDENT VARIABLE [?]**

Table 20: Model summary of the dependent variable [?]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1. Age	.640 <sup>a</sup>	.410	.393	73.240
2. Area	.760 <sup>b</sup>	.577	.551	62.952

a. Predictors: (Constant), Age group

b. Predictors: (Constant), Age group, Area

Table 21: ANOVA<sup>c</sup> of the stepwise linear regression test performed on the continuous dependent variable [?]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	126712.094	1	126712.094	23.622	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	182380.656	34	5364.137		
	Total	309092.750	35			
2	Regression	178316.452	2	89158.226	22.498	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	130776.298	33	3962.918		
	Total	309092.750	35			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Age group

b. Predictors: (Constant), Age group, Area

c. Dependent Variable: hamza

Table 22: Coefficients<sup>a</sup> of the stepwise linear regression test performed on the continuous dependent variable [?]

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	267.310	39.300	6.802	.000
	age group	-118.839	24.451		
2	(Constant)	376.698	45.386	8.300	.000
	age group	-115.578	21.036		
	area	-95.752	26.535		

a. Dependent Variable: hamza

Table 23: Excluded variables<sup>c</sup> by the stepwise linear regression test performed on the continuous dependent variable [?]

<b>Model</b>		<b>Beta In</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>Sig.</b>	<b>Partial Correlation</b>	<b>Collinearity Statistics</b>
						<b>Tolerance</b>
1	sex	-.289 <sup>a</sup>	-2.325	.026	-.375	.997
	class	.202 <sup>a</sup>	1.535	.134	.258	.966
	area	-.409 <sup>a</sup>	-3.609	.001	-.532	.998
	school	.026 <sup>a</sup>	.142	.888	.025	.546
	income	.192 <sup>a</sup>	1.484	.147	.250	1.000
	occupation	.256 <sup>a</sup>	1.858	.072	.308	.851
2	sex	-.211 <sup>b</sup>	-1.886	.068	-.316	.951
	class	-.090 <sup>b</sup>	-.608	.547	-.107	.596
	school	-.104 <sup>b</sup>	-.654	.518	-.115	.519
	income	-.008 <sup>b</sup>	-.061	.952	-.011	.764
	occupation	.084 <sup>b</sup>	.618	.541	.109	.700

a. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Age group

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Age group, Area

c. Dependent Variable: hamza

## APPENDIX C

### LEXICAL BORROWINGS

1) Speaker # 17:

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. bit[q]ayyem (V) | 'she evaluates'   |
| 2. Ha[q]iir (N)    | 'despicable, scorned, wretched, despised, mean, abject' |
| 3. Ha[q]iir (N)    | 'despicable, scorned, wretched, despised, mean, abject' |

2) Speaker # 19:

- |                      |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. [q]arrat (V)      | 'I decided'    |
| 2. [q]aaDe (N)       | 'judge'        |
| 3. [q]arrar (V)      | 'he decided'   |
| 4. sta[q][q]arro (V) | 'they settled' |

3) Speaker # 23:

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. ta[q]riiban (Adv)         | 'approximately'                                      |
| 2. ɻalaa[q]aate (N)          | 'my relations'                                       |
| 3. ta[q]riiban (Adv)         | 'approximately'                                      |
| 4. ?ar[q]a (Adj)             | 'more advanced'                                      |
| 5. ta[q]riiban (Adv)         | 'approximately'                                      |
| 6. bitla[q][q]en (V)         | 'dictates orally'                                    |
| 7. ta[q]riiban (Adv)         | 'approximately'                                      |
| 8. bit[q]inaa (V)            | 'I excel in/ am skillful in'                         |
| 9. bit[q]inaa (V)            | 'I excel in/ am skillful in'                         |
| 10. Taba[q]aat wusTa (N)     | 'middle classes'                                     |
| 11. ta[q]riiban (Adv)        | 'approximately'                                      |
| 12. TTaba[q]a lwusTa (N)     | 'the middle class'                                   |
| 13. TTaba[q]a lwusTa (N)     | 'the middle class'                                   |
| 14. TTaba[q]a lwusTa (N)     | 'the middle class'                                   |
| 15. TTaba[q]a lwusTa (N)     | 'the middle class'                                   |
| 16. TTaba[q]a lwusTa (N)     | 'the middle class'                                   |
| 17. TTaba[q]a lmuxmaliyi (N) | Lit. 'the velvet class', meaning 'the wealthy class' |
| 18. munaa[q]aSa (N)          | 'tender'   |
| 19. munaa[q]aSa (N)          | 'tender'   |
| 20. ninti[q]Don (V)          | 'we criticize them'                                  |
| 21. ?i[q]Taaɻiiyi (Adj)      | 'feudal (F)'   |
| 22. [q]ruuDa (N)             | '(bank) Loans'                                       |

23. [q]ruuDa (N)	‘(bank) Loans’
24. [q]ruuDa (N)	‘(bank) Loans’
25. [q]ruuDa (N)	‘(bank) Loans’
26. [q]ruuDit (N)	‘(bank) Loans’
27. [q]arD (N)	‘(bank) loan’
28. [q]arD (N)	‘(bank) loan’
29. [q]arD zeraaʕe (N)	‘(bank) agricultural loan’
30. [q]ruuDa (N)	‘(bank) Loans’
31. l[q]arD (N)	‘the (bank) loan’
32. l[q]arD zeraaʕe (N)	‘(bank) agricultural loan’
33. l[q]arD zeraaʕe (N)	‘(bank) agricultural loan’
34. l[q]arD zeraaʕe (N)	‘(bank) agricultural loan’
35. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
36. mud[q]eʕ (Adj)	‘abject/wretched/degrading/debasing’
37. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
38. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
39. fu[q]araaʔ lbaduu (N)	‘the poor of the Bedouin’
40. fasaad ʔaxlaa[q]e (Adj)	‘moral corruption/depravation/pervertedness’
41. l[q]aDaaya (N)	‘court cases’
42. muntha lru[q][q]ii (N)	‘ultimate advancement/rise’
43. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
44. l[q]urʔaan (N)	‘the Qur'an’
45. l[q]diis yuHanna (N)	Lit Saint John, meaning ‘John the Baptist’
46. l[q]diis yuHanna (N)	Lit Saint John, meaning ‘John the Baptist’
47. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
48. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
49. TTaba[q]a lyanniyi (N)	Lit. ‘the rich class’, meaning ‘the upper class’
50. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
51. ʔa[q]alla (Adj)	‘the least’
52. ta[q]riiban (Adv)	‘approximately’
53. [q]aaDe (N)	‘judge’
54. mitwa[q][q]eʕ (Adj)	‘expecting’
55. nSaʕa[q]t (V)	‘shocked’

4) Speaker # 24:

1. musta[q][q]il (Adj)	‘independent (M)’
2. musta[q][q]ili (Adj)	‘independent (F)’
3. [q]ubuul (N)	‘admission’
4. min [q]ibal (Adv)	‘from (e.g. a source)’
5. manTi[q]iyi (Adj)	‘logical (F)’
6. l[q]ubuul (N)	‘the admission’

7. l[q]ubuuul (N)	‘the admission’
8. l[q]ubuuul (N)	‘the admission’
9. l[q]ubuuul (N)	‘the admission’
10. lra[q]am (N)	‘number (phone)’
11. [q]ism lviiza (N)	‘visa department/section’
12. l[q]ubuuul (N)	‘the admission’
13. l[q]ubuuul (N)	‘the admission’
14. [q]tanaſt (V)	‘I became convinced’
15. lmu[q]iimiin (Adj)	‘the residents’
16. mu[q]iimiin (Adj)	‘residents’
17. nit?a[q]lam (V)	‘we adapt’
18. lmu[q]iimiin (Adj)	‘the residents’
19. ?it?a[q]lam (V)	‘we adapt’
20. ?it?a[q]lam (V)	‘we adapt’
21. lmu[q]iimiin (Adj)	‘the residents’
22. [q]ism l3iraaHa (N)	‘the surgery department’
23. [q]ism (N)	‘department’
24. [q]ism (N)	‘department’
25. [q]ism lruDuuD (N)	‘the contusions department’
26. l[q]ism (N)	‘the department’
27. lHuruu[q] (N)	‘the Burns’ (referring to department)
28. lHuruu[q] (N)	‘the Burns’
29. [q]ism l3iraaHa (N)	‘the surgery department’
30. [q]ism lruDuuD (N)	‘the contusions department’
31. mitmazze[q][q] (Adj)	‘torn’
32. b[q]ism l3iraaHa (N)	‘in the surgery department’
33. dara[q] (N)	‘thyroid’
34. ſi[q]di (N)	‘growth’
35. blyiddi ldara[q][q]iyi (Adj)	‘the thyroid gland’
36. b[q]ism lruDuuD (N)	‘in the contusions department’
37. bhal[q]ism (N)	‘in this department’
38. lmu[q]iimiin (Adj)	‘the residents’
39. lmu[q]iimiin (Adj)	‘the residents’
40. [q]arrart (V)	‘I decided’
41. littaſ[q]iim (N)	‘for sterilization’
42. biſa[q][q]em (V)	‘he sterilizes’
43. lmſa[q][q]ami (Adj)	‘the sterilized (F)’
44. lHuruu[q] (N)	‘the Burns’
45. [q]ism (N)	‘department’
46. lHuruu[q] (N)	‘the Burns’
47. lHuruu[q] (N)	‘the Burns’
48. lHuruu[q] (N)	‘the Burns’

49. [q]ism lruDuuD (N)	'the contusions department'
50. lHuruu[q] (N)	'the Burns'
51. [q]ism lruDuuD (N)	'the contusions department'
52. [q]ism l3iraaHa (N)	'the surgery department'
53. ma[q]ruun (Adj)	'accompanied'
54. bil[q]iraa?a (N)	'with reading'
55. blHuruu[q] (N)	'in the Burns'
56. lmu[q]iimiin (Adj)	'the residents'
57. lmu[q]iimiin (Adj)	'the residents'
58. ɻa[q]d (N)	'contract'
59. ɻa[q]d (N)	'contract'
60. taɻaa[q]od (N)	'contracting'
61. mitɻaa[q]diin (Adj)	'those who signed a contract'
62. lmitɻaa[q]ed (Adj)	'he who signed a contract'
63. mitɻaa[q]diin (Adj)	'those who signed a contract'
64. mitɻaa[q]diin (Adj)	'those who signed a contract'
65. lmitɻaa[q]ed (Adj)	'he who signed a contract'
66. mitɻaa[q]diin (Adj)	'those who signed a contract'
67. lmitɻaa[q]diin (Adj)	'those who signed a contract'
68. [q]anɻiton (N)	'she convinced them'
69. ?aSdi[q]aa? (N)	'friends'
70. ɻaa?e[q] (N)	'obstacle'

5) Speaker # 25:

1. sti[q]laaliyi (N)	'independence'
2. yi[q]ayyidu (V)	'confines (M) him'
3. yi[q]ayyidne (V)	'confines (M) me'
4. ɻa[q]d (N)	'contract'
5. lɻa[q]d (N)	'the contract'
6. ɻasi[q]a (N)	'based on trust'
7. twa[q][q]eɻle (V)	'you sign for me'
8. ssaa?e[q] (N)	'driver'
9. yaɻ[q]uub (N)	'Jacob: proper noun'
10. l?i[q]aami (N)	'residence'
11. b[q]ism ɻjakkaat (N)	'in the checks' department'

12. b[q]ism <i>ʃakkaat</i> (N)	'in the checks' department'
13. l[q]ism (N)	'department'
14. mi[q]tiniʃ (Adj)	'convinced'
15. na[q]S tarwiyi bddmaay (N)	'blood deficiency in the brain'
16. ra[q]am (N)	'number'
17. ʃi[q]aaratu (N)	'his properties'
18. titnaa[q]aʃ (V)	'she discusses'
19. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)	'Law school'
20. m[q]ayyadi (Adj)	'confined'
21. ta[q]riir maSiir (N)	'self-determination'
22. [q]tanaʃt (V)	'I became convinced'
23. [q]tanaʃt (V)	'I became convinced'
24. [q]tanaʃt (V)	'I became convinced'
25. ni[q]aaʃaat (N)	'discussions'
26. maw[q]ef (N)	'stand'
27. bilmu[q]aabel (Adj)	'in return'
28. maw[q]ef (N)	'stand'
29. hal[q]anaaʃaat (N)	'these convictions'
30. lmanTe[q] (N)	'the logic'
31. biyi[q]tiniʃ (V)	'he becomes convinced'
32. [q]anaaʃaat (N)	'convictions'
33. [q]anaaʃaat (N)	'convictions'
34. lwaa[q]eʃ (N)	'the reality'
35. [q]anaaʃaaton (N)	'their convictions'
36. [q]tanaʃt (V)	'I became convinced'
37. ti[q]tinʃe (V)	'you become convinced'
38. ti[q]tinʃe (V)	'you become convinced'
39. ti[q]tinʃe (V)	'you become convinced'
40. [q]tanaʃt (V)	'I became convinced'
41. mi[q]tinʃa (Adj)	'she is convinced'
42. ti[q]tinʃ (V)	'you become convinced'
43. mi[q]tinʃa (Adj)	'she is convinced'
44. ti[q]tinʃe (V)	'you become convinced'
45. ti[q]tinʃe (V)	'you become convinced'

46. yi[q]tiniʃ (V)	‘he becomes convinced’
47. yi[q]naʃ (V)	‘he becomes content’
48. yi[q]tiniʃ (V)	‘he becomes convinced’
49. yi[q]tiniʃ (V)	‘he becomes convinced’
50. yi[q]tiniʃ (V)	‘he becomes convinced’
51. yi[q]naʃ (V)	‘he becomes content’
52. ra[q]am (N)	‘number’
53. ?a[q]all (Adj)	‘less’
54. [q]tanaʃt (V)	‘I became convinced’
55. [q]tanaʃt (V)	‘I became convinced’
56. mi[q]tineʃ (Adj)	‘he is convinced’
57. ra[q]am (N)	‘number’
58. lra[q]am (N)	‘the number’
59. ra[q]am (N)	‘number’

## 6) Speaker # 26:

1. mitwa[q][q]ʃiin (Adj)	‘anticipating (pl.)’
2. twa[q]aʃaw (V)	‘they expected/anticipated’
3. tanaa[q]oD (N)	‘ambivalence/contradiction’
4. ʃu[q]uubaat (N)	‘punishments’
5. ʃu[q]uubaat (N)	‘punishments’
6. ʃu[q]uubaat (N)	‘punishments’
7. ʃalaa[q]a (N)	‘relation’
8. biʃaa[q]eb (V)	‘punishes’
9. twa[q][q]aʃna (V)	‘we anticipated’
10. m[q]arrarra (Adj)	‘decided upon/ provisioned’
11. laa ta[q][q]ul (V)	‘not less than’
12. [q]asaa?em (N)	‘coupons’
13. ſa[q]ii[q]a (N)	‘migraine’
14. lra[q]iib (N)	‘the sergeant’
15. lʃiraa[q] (N)	‘the Iraq’
16. lʃiraa[q] (N)	‘the Iraq’
17. l[q]aamiʃli (N)	‘the name of a city in the north-east of Syria’
18. l[q]anawaat (N)	‘TV channels’

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|--|------------------------|
| 19. l[q]anawaat (N)  | 'TV channels'          |
| 20. [q]aDo (V)   | 'they destroyed'       |
| 21. l <small>i</small> raa[q] (N)                                    | 'the Iraq'             |
| 22. ttaH[q]ii[q] (N)   | 'investigation'        |
| 23. ttaH[q]ii[q]aat (N)  | 'investigations'       |
| 24. nna[q]aab <i>i</i> (N)   | 'the syndicate'        |
| 25. nna[q]aab <i>i</i> (N)   | 'the syndicate'        |
| 26. nna[q]aab <i>i</i> (N)   | 'the syndicate'        |
| 27. nna[q]aab <i>i</i> (N)   | 'the syndicate'        |
| 28. nna[q]aab <i>i</i> (N)   | 'the syndicate'        |
| 29. wa[q][q]a <small>f</small> (V)                                   | 'he signed'            |
| 30. mitwa[q][q]a <small>f</small> u (Adj)                            | 'I (M) expect him'     |
| 31. l <small>i</small> alaa[q]aat l?i3timaa <small>f</small> iyi (N) | 'social relationships' |

7) Speaker # 27:

- |                                     |                                       |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. mu[q]aarani (N)                  | 'comparison'                          |
| 2. yi <small>f</small> [q]od (V)    | 'holds (a meeting for example)'       |
| 3. yi <small>f</small> [q]od (V)    | 'holds (M) (a meeting for example)'   |
| 4. ti <small>f</small> [q]od (V)    | 'holds (F) (a meeting for example)'   |
| 5. taa3er lbundu[q][q]iyi (N)       | 'the Merchant of Venice'              |
| 6. lma[q]aa <small>f</small> ed (N) | 'university seats'                    |
| 7. [q]aanuune (Adj)                 | 'legal'                               |
| 8. [q]aanuune (Adj)                 | 'legal'                               |
| 9. ʃa[q]lliyi (N)                   | 'mentality'                           |
| 10. ʃa[q]lliyi (N)                  | 'mentality'                           |
| 11. ʃa[q]lliyi (N)                  | 'mentality'                           |
| 12. manTe[q] (N)                    | 'logic'                               |
| 13. lxanda[q] (N)                   | 'trench/ditch/sap'                    |
| 14. faa[q]di kayaanik (Adj)         | 'you (F) have lost your essence/soul' |
| 15. [q]an <small>f</small> ita (V)  | 'she convinced her'                   |
| 16. ti[q]na <small>f</small> ni (V) | 'she convince me'                     |
| 17. yi[q]tini <small>f</small> (V)  | 'he becomes convinced'                |
| 18. [q]tana <small>f</small> (V)    | 'he became convinced'                 |
| 19. ʃadiim sa[q]aaf <i>i</i> (N)    | 'lacks education'                     |
| 20. bi?a[q]all (Adj)                | 'with less'                           |
| 21. waa[q]e <small>f</small> (N)    | 'reality'                             |

## 8) Speaker # 28:

- |                                 |                                |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ta[q]wiim (N)                | ‘orthodontia/orthodontics’     |
| 2. ta[q]wiim (N)                | ‘orthodontia/orthodontics’     |
| 3. ta[q]wiim (N)                | ‘orthodontia/orthodontics’     |
| 4. fa[q]aT (Adv)                | ‘only’                         |
| 5. tta[q]wiim (N)               | ‘the orthodontia/orthodontics’ |
| 6. tuusa[q]e (V)                | ‘you (F) trust’                |
| 7. billu[q]aaH (N)              | ‘with the vaccination’         |
| 8. mla[q]aH (Adj)               | ‘vaccinated’                   |
| 9. byitla[q][q]aHo (V)          | ‘they are vaccinated’          |
| 10. ta[q]arruHaat (N)           | ‘canker sores’                 |
| 11. ?a[q]all (Adj)              | ‘less’                         |
| 12. binʃa[q][q]em (V)           | ‘we sterilize’                 |
| 13. taʃ[q]iim (N)               | ‘sterilization’                |
| 14. ?afrii[q]ya (N)             | ‘Africa’                       |
| 15. taʃ[q]iim (N)               | ‘sterilization’                |
| 16. ?aʃ[q]am (Adj)              | ‘more sterilized’              |
| 17. ?afrii[q]ya (N)             | ‘Africa’                       |
| 18. ?afrii[q]ya (N)             | ‘Africa’                       |
| 19. ?afrii[q]ya (N)             | ‘Africa’                       |
| 20. ?afrii[q]ya (N)             | ‘Africa’                       |
| 21. ?afrii[q]ya (N)             | ‘Africa’                       |
| 22. yenti[q]el (V)              | ‘it is transmitted’            |
| 23. ?inti[q]aalu (N)            | ‘its transmission’             |
| 24. bilʃalaa[q]aat ɬinssiyi (N) | ‘sexual relations’             |
| 25. lʃalaa[q]a (N)              | ‘relation’                     |
| 26. lʃalaa[q]a (N)              | ‘relation’                     |
| 27. l[q]aanuun (N)              | ‘legislation/law’              |
| 28. l[q]aanuun (N)              | ‘legislation/law’              |
| 29. mla[q][q]aHa (Adj)          | ‘vaccinated (F)’               |
| 30. llu[q]aaH (N)               | ‘vaccination’                  |
| 31. mla[q]aH (Adj)              | ‘vaccinated (m)’               |
| 32. mla[q]aH (Adj)              | ‘vaccinated (m)’               |
| 33. lu[q]aHu (N)                | ‘its vaccine’                  |
| 34. mla[q]aH (Adj)              | ‘vaccinated (m)’               |
| 35. ?awraa[q] Tibbiyi (N)       | ‘medical papers’               |
| 36. ʃalaa[q]aat ɬinssiyi (N)    | ‘sexual relations’             |
| 37. mu?a[q][q]at (Adj)          | ‘temporary’                    |
| 38. lmu?a[q][q]at (Adj)         | ‘the temporary’                |

39. l[q]aanuun (N)	'legislation/law'
40. Tabiib l[q]albiyi (Adj)	'Cardiologist'
41. waase[q] (Adj)	'trustful/convinced/sure'
42. l[q]awaaniin (N)	'legislations/laws'
43. ttaH[q]ii[q]aat (N)	'investigations'
44. l[q]awaaniin (N)	'legislations/laws'
45. [q]aanuun (N)	'legislation/law'
46. [q]aanuun (N)	'legislation/law'
47. sahaadit ta[q]diir (N)	'certificate of achievement'
48. binna[q]aab (N)	'in the syndicate'
49. binna[q]aab (N)	'in the syndicate'
50. [q]aanuun (N)	'legislation/law'
51. [q]aanuun (N)	'legislation/law'
52. [q]aanuun (N)	'legislation/law'
53. [q]aabel (Adj)	'prone to/ susceptible to'
54. l[q]aDaa? (N)	'judiciary'
55. l[q]aDaa? (N)	'judiciary'
56. l[q]aDaa? (N)	'judiciary'
57. t[q]aarmee (V)	'you (F) compare'
58. bi[q]arrer (V)	'decides (M)'
59. til[q]aa?iyan (Adv)	'spontaneously'
60. til[q]aa?e (Adj)	'spontaneous'
61. [q]adar l?imkaan(N)	'as much as possible'
62. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
63. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
64. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
65. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
66. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
67. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
68. billqaaf (N)	'with the name of the sound /q/'
69. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
70. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
71. billqaaf (N)	'with the name of the sound /q/'
72. qaad (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
73. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
74. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
75. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
76. [q]arreb (V)	'come closer (M)'
77. [q]arreb (V)	'come closer (M)'
78. qaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
79. lqaaf (N)	'the name of the sound /q/'
80. bimanTi[q]u (N)	'in his logic'
81. manTi[q]iyan (Adv)	'logically'
82. manTi[q]iyan (Adv)	'logically'
83. lanni[q]aaʃ (N)	'for discussion'

- |                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 84. ?iTla[q]an (Adv) | 'never/ever'          |
| 85. nni[q]aaʃ (N)    | 'the discussion'      |
| 86. ŋa[q]iim (Adj)   | 'ineffectual/useless' |

9) Speaker # 29:

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. taw[q]iiʃ (N)          | 'signing'                |
| 2. ywa[q][q]eʃ (V)        | ' He signs'              |
| 3. ywa[q][q]eʃ (V)        | 'He signs'               |
| 4. Taba[q]e miHware (Adj) | 'sonogram'               |
| 5. Taba[q]e miHware (Adj) | 'sonogram'               |
| 6. fa[q]ara xaamsi (N)    | 'fifth vertebra'         |
| 7. bil[q]uSuur (N)        | 'in the name of a place' |
| 8. m[q]arrerriin (Adj)    | 'they had the decision'  |
| 9. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)         | 'Law school'             |
| 10. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)        | 'Law school'             |
| 11. wa[q][q]aʃnaaha (V)   | 'we signed it'           |
| 12. [q]arrart (V)         | 'I decided'              |
| 13. twa[q][q]aʃt (V)      | 'I excepted'             |

10) Speaker # 30:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. ta[q]riiban (Adv)                   | 'approximately'                               |
| 2. l?a[q]wa (Adj)                      | 'the strongest'                               |
| 3. l?a[q]wa (Adj)                      | 'the strongest'                               |
| 4. ?itifa[q]yaat (N)                   | 'treaties'                                    |
| 5. da[q]ii[q]iin (Adj)                 | 'accurate (pl.)'                              |
| 6. ?a[q]all (adj)                      | 'less'  |
| 7. la[q]ubuule (N)                     | 'for my admission'                            |
| 8. yiraa[q]eb (V)                      | 'observe (M)'                                 |
| 9. yiraa[q]eb (V)                      | 'observe (M)'                                 |
| 10. ra[q]amu (N)                       | 'his [phone] number'                          |
| 11. ra[q]amkon (N)                     | 'your (pl.) [phone] number'                   |
| 12. [q]ubuul (N)                       | 'admission'                                   |
| 13. lm̥ulHa[q] (N)                     | 'Attaché'                                     |
| 14. Θθa[q]aafe (Adj)                   | 'Cultural'                                    |
| 15. lm̥ulHa[q] (N)                     | 'Attaché'                                     |
| 16. Θθa[q]aafe (Adj)                   | 'Cultural'                                    |
| 17. lm̥ulHa[q] (N)                     | 'Attaché'                                     |
| 18. Θθa[q]aafe (Adj)                   | 'Cultural'                                    |
| 19. lmarkaz Θθa[q]aafe lbriiTane (Adj) | 'British Cultural Center' = 'British Council' |

20. lm̥arkaz ΘΘa[q]aafe lbriiTane (Adj) Lit. ‘British Cultural Center’ = ‘British Council’	
21. ta[q]riibān (Adv)	‘approximately’
22. [q]udra fala (N)	‘capability to’
23. ttixaaz l[q]raar (N)	‘take the decision’
24. muʒtamaʃna lʃar[q]e (Adj)	‘our Oriental society’
25. bilwa[q]t lraahen (N)	‘in our present day’
26. ?aSdi[q]aa?na (N)	‘our friends’
27. mahaaratū lʃa[q]llyi (Adj)	‘the mental skills’
28. [q]udraat (N)	‘capabilities’
29. [q]ad yakuun (det)	‘might be’
30. ma nta[q]Set min ruʒuultu (V)	‘did not depreciate his masculinity’
31. ma [q]illak (V)	‘I am telling you’
32. [q]aadira (Adj)	‘capable (F)’
33. l[q]ubuul (N)	‘the admission’
34. kint m[q]arrira (Adj)	‘I had decided’
35. taxTiiT lmawaa[q]eʃ (N)	‘the site planning’
36. maw[q]eʃ (N)	‘site’
37. lmawaa[q]eʃ ssakanniyi (N)	‘residential sites’

11) Speaker # 31:

1. ?irhaa[q] (N)	‘exhaustion’
2. lmu[q]aabali (N)	‘interview’
3. lmuraa[q]abaat (N)	‘proctoring (pl.)’
4. [q]aaf (N)	‘the name of the sound [q]’
5. muraa[q]abi (N)	‘proctoring’
6. l[q]aaʃaat (N)	‘halls’
7. [q]aa?ed (N)	‘leader’
8. [q]araar waziir (N)	‘a minister’s decree’
9. [q]araar waziir (N)	‘a minister’s decree’
10. [q]araar (N)	‘decree’
11. l[q]araar (N)	‘the decree’
12. l[q]araar (N)	‘the decree’
13. ta[q]riir Tibbi (N)	‘medical report’
14. [q]arrart (V)	‘I decided’

12) Speaker # 32:

1. Hal[q]it BaHΘ (N) ‘Seminar’
2. dibloom ?[q]tiSaad (N) ‘higher studies diploma in Commerce’

3. Hal[q]it BaHΘ (N)	‘Seminar’
4. Hal[q]it BaHΘ (N)	‘Seminar’
5. Hal[q]aat BaHΘ (N)	‘Seminars’
6. Ha[q]iira (N)	‘despicable, scorned, wretched, despised, mean, abject’
7. [q]irre ŋtirfe (V)	‘confess confess’
8. Ha[q]iira (N)	‘despicable, scorned, wretched, despised, mean, abject’
9. l[q]iraa?a (N)	‘reading’
10. [q]iraa?aate (V)	‘my readings’
11. muΘa[q][q]affi (Adj)	‘educated (F)’
12. muta[q]aañid (Adj)	‘retired’
13. t[q]aañdo (V)	‘they retired’
14. sta[q]aalo (V)	‘they resigned’
15. yista[q]iilo (V)	‘they resign’
16. yista[q][q]irro (V)	‘they settle’
17. yista[q][q]irro (V)	‘they settle’
18. Hal[q]it BaHΘ (N)	‘Seminar’
19. bil[q]aaf (N)	‘with the name of the sound /q/’
20. bil[q]aaf (N)	‘with the name of the sound /q/’
21. ra?san ŋala ŋa[q]eb (N)	‘upside down’ (idiom)
22. Ha[q]iir (N)	‘despicable, scorned, wretched, despised, mean, abject’
23. ra[q]am (N)	‘number’
24. Θa[q]aftu (N)	‘his education’
25. Θa[q]aafte (N)	‘my education’
26. Θa[q]aftu (N)	‘his education’
27. yitnaa[q]aʃ (V)	‘he discusses’
28. lΘa[q]aafe (N)	‘the culture’
29. btit ŋa[q][q]ad (V)	‘She gets a complex (F)’
30. Θa[q]aftu (N)	‘his education’

## 13) Speaker # 33:

1. ?i[q]tiniñ (V)	‘I was convinced’
2. lŋa[q]d (N)	‘the contract’
3. muΘa[q][q]aff (Adj)	‘educated’
4. ta[q]riir Tibbe (N)	‘medical report’
5. ta[q]riir TTabiib (N)	‘medical doctor report’
6. tta[q]aaliid (N)	‘the traditions’
7. ta[q]riir (N)	‘report’
8. ta[q]riir (N)	‘report’
9. tta[q]riir (N)	‘the report’
10. [q]aader (Adj)	‘capable’
11. ŋu[q]uul kbiire (N)	Literally ‘big minds’, meaning ‘clever minds’

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 12. btint[q]id (V)      | 'she criticizes'   |
| 13. muTla[q] Haal (N)   | 'a paper given to a person to prove s/he is not married' |
| 14. si[q]a (N)          | 'trust'  |
| 15. was[q]iin (Adj)     | 'they are trustful'                                      |
| 16. ?uusa[q] (V)        | 'I trust'  |
| 17. ra[q]am mobayle (N) | 'number of my cell phone'                                |
| 18. ra[q]ame (N)        | 'my [phone] number'                                      |

14) Speaker # 34:

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. muraha[q]a (N)               | 'adolescence'           |
| 2. t?a[q]lamna (V)              | 'we adjusted'           |
| 3. ?ar[q]a (Adj)                | 'more advanced/ risen'  |
| 4. [q]arD (N)                   | 'loan'                  |
| 5. maw[q]ef (N)                 | 'stand'                 |
| 6. ?Sdi[q]aa? (N)               | 'friends'               |
| 7. Sadii[q] (N)                 | 'friend (M)'            |
| 8. [q]ulaaf (N)                 | 'ulcerative stomatitis' |
| 9. [q]araar (N)                 | 'decision'              |
| 10. ?ista[q][q]ir ?ala ra?i (V) | 'settle on one opinion' |
| 11. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)              | 'Law'                   |
| 12. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)              | 'Law'                   |
| 13. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)              | 'Law'                   |

15) Speaker # 35:

- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. yista[q]ir (V)           | 'settle (M)'          |
| 2. lmarkaz lsa[q]aafe (Adj) | 'the Cultural Center' |
| 3. bilmunaa[q]aSaat (N)     | 'in the biddings'     |
| 4. munaa[q]aSaat (N)        | 'tender'              |
| 5. l[q]isim (N)             | 'department'          |
| 6. twa[q][q]e? (V)          | 'she signs'           |
| 7. ra[q]aab (N)             | 'proctoring'          |
| 8. taw[q]ii? (N)            | 'signing'             |
| 9. bwa[q][q]e? (V)          | 'I sign'              |
| 10. taw[q]ii? (N)           | 'signing'             |

16) Speaker # 36:

- |                               |                            |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. m[q]arrirra (Adj)          | 'I had made a decision'    |
| 2. tsta[q][q]arr (V)          | 'settle (F)'               |
| 3. ltaHaliil lmanTi[q]e (Adj) | 'the logical analysis'     |
| 4. [q]ism IriyaDiyaat (N)     | 'the mathematical section' |

- |                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 5. lal[q]ubuul (N)      | ‘for admission’ |
| 6. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)       | ‘Law school’    |
| 7. Hu[q]uu[q] (N)       | ‘Law school’    |
| 8. [q]aa?imi (N)        | ‘a list’        |
| 9. lmu[q]abali (N)      | ‘the interview’ |
| 10. lmu[q]abali (N)     | ‘the interview’ |
| 11. musa[q][q]aff (Adj) | ‘educated (M)’  |
| 12. mu[q]abali (N)      | ‘interview’     |

## APPENDIX D

### LEXICAL DIFFUSION

1) Speaker # 1:

- |                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. ?alla yiwaff[?]uu | 'God provides for him' |
| 2. halle[?]          | 'now'                  |
| 3. lafoo[?]          | 'upstairs'             |
| 4. halle[?]          | 'now'                  |
| 5. xil[?]et          | 'she was born'         |
| 6. halle[?]          | 'now'                  |
| 7. halle[?]          | 'now'                  |
| 8. wi[?]fet          | 'she fell'             |
| 9. halle[?]          | 'now'                  |
| 10. halle[?]         | 'now'                  |
| 11. halle[?]         | 'now'                  |
| 12. halle[?]         | 'now'                  |

2) Speaker # 5:

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. [?]aamet     | 'Lit. 'she stood'; it is a kind of filler that means 'she did')    |
| 2. liHi[?]a     | 'he followed her'  |
| 3. [?]allon     | ' he told them'  |
| 4. [?]aamoo     | 'Lit. 'they stood'; (it is a kind of filler that means 'they did') |
| 5. [?]aTTaÑuuuh | 'They cut it up'   |
| 6. bit[?]juul   | 'It says'  |
| 7. [?]aamet     | 'Lit. 'she stood'; it is a kind of filler that means 'she did')    |
| 8. bhalwa[?]t   | 'in this time'   |
| 9. halla[?]     | 'now'  |
| 10. halla[?]    | 'now'  |
| 11. m[?]aabbel  | 'opposite/facing'  |
| 12. ba[?]a      | 'Lit. 'stayed'; (it is a kind of filler that means 'so')           |
| 13. [?]aamoo    | 'Lit. 'they stood'; (it is a kind of filler that means 'they did') |
| 14. bwa[?]ta    | 'at that time'   |
| 15. [?]alluu    | ' he told him'   |
| 16. [?]alluu    | ' he told him'   |
| 17. [?]aamoo    | 'Lit. 'they stood'; (it is a kind of filler that means 'they did') |

18. [?]aamoo ‘Lit. ‘they stood’; (it is a kind of filler that means ‘they did’)
19. [?]aam ‘Lit. ‘he stood’; (it is a kind of filler that means ‘he did’)
20. la[?]a ‘he found’
21. [?]aam ‘Lit. ‘he stood’; (it is a kind of filler that means ‘he did’)
22. bit[?]juul ‘It says’
23. [?]aamoo ‘Lit. ‘they stood’; (it is a kind of filler that means ‘they did’)
24. bi[?]juulo ‘They say’
25. [?]aalitluu ‘she told him’
26. [?]imt ‘Lit. ‘I stood’; it is a kind of filler that means ‘I did’)
27. halla[?] ‘now’
28. ɻassuu[?] ‘to the market’
29. l[?]ablon ‘those before them’
30. t[?]uule ‘you say’
31. wa[?]t ‘time’
32. halle[?] ‘now’
33. lwa[?]t ‘the time’
34. [?]aam ‘Lit. ‘he stood’; (it is a kind of filler that means ‘he did’)
35. bi[?]juulo ‘They say’
36. halle[?] ‘now’
37. ba[?]a ‘Lit. ‘stayed’; (it is a kind of filler that means ‘so’)
38. wa[?]ta ‘at that time’
39. [?]aal ‘he said’

### 3) Speaker # 7:

1. bil[?]jaaf ‘with the glottal stop (this name is given to the glottal stop taking tha name of the sound [q] and *qaaf* and changing it to ?aaf; the name of the glottal stop is supposed to be the *hamza*)’
2. bil[?]jaaf ‘with the glottal stop’
3. bil[?]jaaf ‘with the glottal stop’
4. bil[?]jaaf ‘with the glottal stop’
5. bil[?]jaaf ‘with the glottal stop’
6. bil[?]jaaf ‘with the glottal stop’
7. l[?]jaaf ‘the glottal stop’
8. halla[?] ‘now’
9. yi[?]ɻadoo ‘they sit down’
10. yi[?]ɻadoo ‘they sit down’
11. halla[?] ‘now’
12. halla[?] ‘now’
13. halla[?] ‘now’
14. bil[?]jaaf ‘with the glottal stop’

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 15. bil[?]jaaf        | 'with the glottal stop'                                 |
| 16. ?ar[?]a           | 'more advanced'   |
| 17. ba[?]a            | 'thus/ so that'   |
| 18. byin[?]ifoo TTeer | 'Idiom: Lit. they carve the bird (they are very smart)' |
| 19. halla[?]          | 'now'   |
| 20. halla[?]          | 'now'   |
| 21. halla[?]          | 'now'   |
| 22. halla[?]          | 'now'   |
| 23. halla[?]          | 'now'   |
| 24. halla[?]          | 'now'   |

4) Speaker # 16:

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| 1. slaa[?]a    | 'boiled'   |
| 2. sal[?]      | 'boil'   |
| 3. sal[?]      | 'boil'   |
| 4. [?]al       | 'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/it was said''         |
| 5. ni[?]fod    | 'we sit down'  |
| 6. ni[?]fod    | 'we sit down'  |
| 7. ni[?]fod    | 'we sit down'  |
| 8. l[?]aʃdi    | 'the sitting'  |
| 9. bit[?]illa  | 'she tells her'  |
| 10. [?]al      | 'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/ it was said''        |
| 11. halle[?]   | 'now'  |
| 12. [?]aam     | 'Lit. 'he stood'; (it is a kind of filler that means 'he did') |
| 13. halle[?]   | 'now'  |
| 14. [?]al      | 'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/ it was said''        |
| 15. ba[?]a     | 'Lit. 'stayed'; (it is a kind of filler that means 'so')       |
| 16. [?]al      | 'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/ it was said''        |
| 17. [?]aalet   | 'she said'   |
| 18. [?]al      | 'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/ it was said''        |
| 19. halle[?]   | 'now'  |
| 20. halle[?]   | 'now'  |
| 21. halle[?]   | 'now'  |
| 22. ba[?]a     | 'Lit. 'stayed'; (it is a kind of filler that means 'so')       |
| 23. [?]aal     | 'he said'  |
| 24. [?]aaletle | 'she told me'  |
| 25. [?]aaletle | 'she told me'  |
| 26. wa[?]t     | 'time'   |
| 27. halle[?]   | 'now'  |

28. halle[?]	'now'
29. halle[?]	'now'
30. t[?]illa	'she tells her'
31. t[?]illa	'she tells her'
32. [?]aaletla	'she told her'
33. [?]aaletla	'she told her'
34. [?]al	'it is a kind of filler that means 'such/it was said''
35. [?]aaletla	'she told her'
36. [?]aalet	'she said'
37. bit[?]illa	'she tells her'
38. [?]al	'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/ it was said''
39. [?]aal	'he said'
40. halle[?]	'now'
41. [?]al	'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/ it was said''
42. [?]al	'It is a kind of filler that means 'such/ it was said''
43. ma[?]uul	'is it possible'
44. halle[?]	'now'
45. halle[?]	'now'

## 5) Speaker # 18:

1. halle[?]	'now'
2. ma[?]bra	'cemetary'
3. [?]iltillu	'I told him'
4. ma[?]bra	'cemetary'
5. ma[?]ibra	'cemetary'
6. lhalle[?]	'up to now'
7. halle[?]	'now'
8. halle[?]	'now'
9. [?]iltillu	'I told him'
10. ŋaa[?]el	'quiet'
11. lhalle[?]	'up to now'
12. halle[?]	'now'
13. [?]alilili	'little (F)'
14. halle[?]	'now'
15. halle[?]	'now'
16. halle[?]	'now'
17. zar[?]aa	'blue (F)'
18. [?]addeeh	'how much'
19. ŋaam[?]a	'dark'
20. hall[?]addiini	'this much'

- |              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| 21. halle[?] | 'now' |
| 22. halle[?] | 'now' |

6) Speaker # 20:

- |               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1. halle[?]   | 'now'       |
| 2. halle[?]   | 'now'       |
| 3. halle[?]   | 'now'       |
| 4. halle[?]   | 'now'       |
| 5. Ha[?][?]aa | 'its price' |
| 6. halle[?]   | 'now'       |
| 7. halle[?]   | 'now'       |
| 8. halle[?]   | 'now'       |

7) Speaker # 21:

- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1. lhalle[?] | 'up to now' |
| 2. halle[?]  | 'now'       |
| 3. halle[?]  | 'now'       |
| 4. halle[?]  | 'now'       |
| 5. halle[?]  | 'now'       |

**APPENDIX E**  
**CHART OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS**

Table 24: Chart of the phonetic symbols<sup>1</sup> used in transcription; it is mostly based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	b			t d T <sup>2</sup> D <sup>3</sup>			k	q	?
Nasal	m			n					
Trill				r					
Fricative		f	θ ð Ð <sup>4</sup>	s z S <sup>5</sup>	ʃ ʒ		x ɣ H <sup>6</sup> ʕ		h
Approximants	w <sup>7</sup>			l		y <sup>8</sup>			

---

<sup>1</sup> Symbols that appear on the right are voiced; the ones on the left are voiceless. The footnoted symbols are not IPA symbols.

<sup>2</sup> /T/ is a voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative.

<sup>3</sup> /D/ is a voiced alveolar emphatic fricative.

<sup>4</sup> /Ð/ is a voiced interdental emphatic fricative.

<sup>5</sup> /S/ is a voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative.

<sup>6</sup> /H/ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative.

<sup>7</sup> /w/ is a voiced labio-velar semivowel.

<sup>8</sup> /y/ is a voiced palatal semivowel.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Rania Habib was born on August 9, 1971, in Oyoun Al-Wadi, Syria. She moved to Hims, Syria, at the age of two, where she attended primary, preparatory, and high school. At the age of sixteen, Rania left Syria to live in the island of St. Lucia, West Indies, where she stayed for 7 years. While in the Caribbean, Rania attained a Diploma in Starting Your Own Business in 1991 from the International Correspondence School, Scranton, PA, USA. After finishing her diploma, Rania worked as a store manager in Castries, St. Lucia, W.I., for three years. Upon her return to Syria in 1994, she worked as a receptionist in Al-Safir Hotel, Hims, Syria, for a few months. Then, she decided to complete her education at the university level and pursue a career as an academic professor, teaching English as a Foreign Language and other English related subjects.

She attained her bachelor's degree in English literature in 1999 from the Department of English, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria. In each of her undergraduate academic years, she received the Al-Basil Certificate of Achievement and a prize for outstanding scholarship. Her ambition encouraged her to continue her education; thus, she attained a Higher Studies Diploma in English Literary Studies in 2000 from the Department of English, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria, as a requirement for completing a master's degree. During her diploma year, Rania started teaching English as a Foreign Language at The Institute of Languages, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria, in January 2000. She continued to teach English as a Foreign Language at The Institute of Languages, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria until August 2003. While she was teaching

at the Institute, she started teaching English for Specific Purposes to third- and fourth-year chemical engineering students and to fourth- and fifth-year food and nutrition Engineering students at The Faculty of Petroleum and Chemical Engineering, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria.

Rania taught English for Specific Purposes for only one year because early in 2001, she was officially appointed at The Institute of Languages, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria. Shortly after her appointment, she became the Vice Director of The Institute. Her teaching experience at the Institute includes teaching English courses of different levels and TOEFL to M.A. students, assistant lecturers, teaching assistants, and university professors from all different academic departments. The courses involve the development of all kinds of skills like reading, listening, vocabulary, writing and speaking. Her duties also involved the construction of placement tests and the evaluation of tests for M.A. and Ph.D. candidates. Those tests included instantaneous translation and oral and written comprehension. Due to her commitment and dedication to her work at The Institute, she received Employee of the Year (2002) award and prize from Al-Baath University. During this time, Rania also taught at private institutes various English courses of different levels including TOEFL, Translation, Reading Comprehension and Writing to undergraduate students who are pursuing a major in translation or English literature. She also privately tutored many English literature students in various subjects, such as phonetics and phonology, drama, translation, prose, poetry, and other fields. Her private tutoring included students who were interested in English as a foreign language and who were from various levels: beginners, intermediate, advanced and TOFEL, including helping a SAT student in the verbal section. Furthermore, Rania did many translation jobs

including research papers from English into Arabic and from Arabic into English. This is not to mention her great contribution to the translation of the major part of the website of Al-Baath University and the revision of the translation of others.

In 2003, Rania received the Fulbright Scholarship to complete a master's degree in linguistics at the University of Florida for the academic years 2003 to 2005. As she was completing her master's degree, Rania received two Certificates of Academic Achievement from the University of Florida for outstanding academic accomplishment for the academic years 2003-2004 and 2004-2005. Within her major in linguistics, Rania decided to attain a minor in Teaching English as a Second Language. Rania will pursue a Ph.D. degree at the Linguistics Program at the University of Florida, supported by a research assistantship offered by the University of Florida. As a graduate student at the University of Florida, Rania taught several courses: Scholarly Writing at the Linguistic Program in the academic year 2003-2004 and Arabic language (ARA 1120 & ARA 1121) at the Arabic Program in the academic year 2004-2005.

Rania received training in teaching English as a second language through a teacher's training course in 2001 at The Institute of Languages, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria. She also received training in teaching Arabic as a second language through an Arabic Instructor Training Seminar in 2004 at Middlebury College, Arabic School, Middlebury, Vermont. Rania presented three posters and a summary in June 2001 at the 1<sup>st</sup> International English Teaching Conference, Institute of Languages, Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria. The work entitled "Developing Materials for the English Class" was published in 2001 in The Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> International English Teaching Conference, Hims: Al-Baath University Press, pp 32-36. Rania also presented in a panel

session a paper entitled “Is It Left-Dislocation or Copy Raising in Arabic?” at the Graduate Student Council Forum, April 2005. The abstract is published in the 2005 publications in the University of Florida’s Libraries. Rania’s love to help others rendered many professional services and volunteer work to the University of Florida and Al-Baath University. She participated in many cultural enrichment seminars and presentations through the Fulbright Program and the International Center at the University of Florida. Rania was a member of the Higher Education Committee at Al-Baath University, Hims, Syria. She is currently a member of the Linguistics Society, the Arab Cultural Association, Graduate Assistants United, and the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL).