

LEXICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN QATARI ARABIC

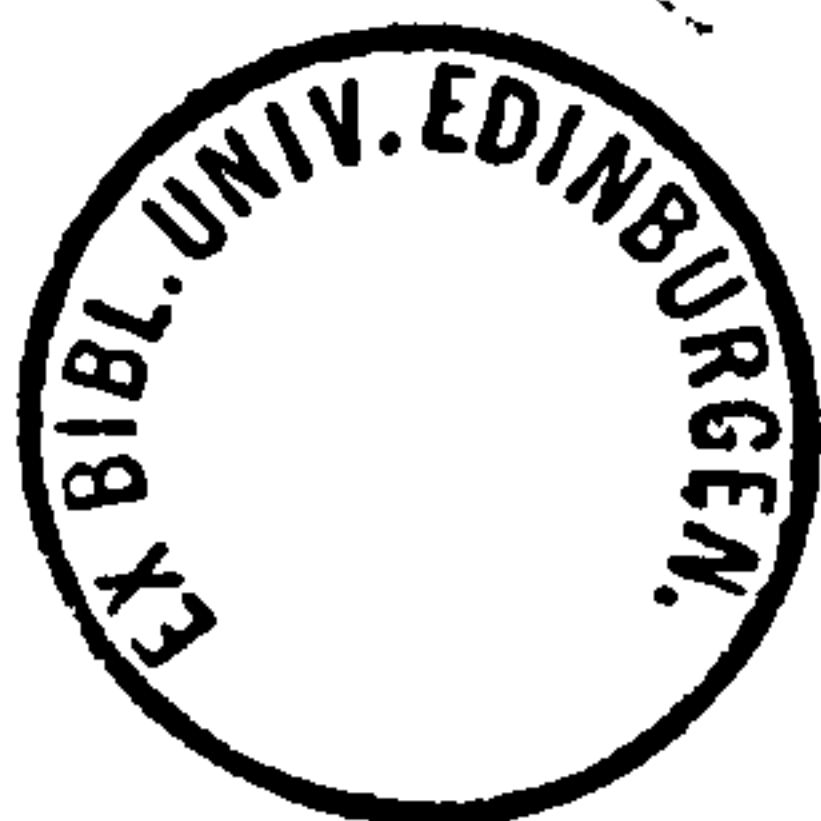
by

Darwish Ghuloom Hussein Yousef Al-amadidhi

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## Dedication

To my parents and my wife  
with love and gratitude

## Abstract

This thesis embodies the result of an investigation into two linguistic variables: the ( $d_3$ ) and the (Q) in QD. The basic issue tackled is this: are variations observed in these variables rule governed? If so, are they linguistic or non-linguistic?

A close examination of the data has shown that the variables are governed to a great extent by the class of lexical item containing the variables. Moreover they have demonstrated co-variation with paralinguistic factors such as social group membership, age, level of education and style.

The social motivation for change and variation are highlighted. Such processes occur as a result of status-ranking of local social dialects and as a result of the tendency of the younger people to modify their speech in the direction of the superimposed variety, which is learnt at school. The impact of the process of modernization on linguistic change is also examined.

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## Declaration

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

Darwish Ghuloom Hussein Yousef Al-Amadidhi



## Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	
Acknowledgement	
Table of contents	
Abbreviations	
Chapter I	1
Theoretical and social perspectives	
1.1	Introduction
1.1.1	Theoretical background
1.1.2	Shift of emphasis
1.1.2.1	Variable rules
1.2	Aim and scope
1.3	The problem
1.3.1	The (d <sub>3</sub> ) variable
1.3.2	The (Q) variable
1.4	The locale of the research
1.4.1	Main towns
1.5	The process of modernization
1.5.1	Population
1.5.2	Family
1.6	Extralinguistic factors
1.6.1	Tribal membership
1.6.1.1	Qaba:yil
1.6.1.2	The Howala
1.6.1.3	Badu
1.6.1.4	The 'Ajam
1.6.2	Age
1.6.3	Education
1.6.4	Style
Chapter II	41
Methodology	
2.1	Introduction
2.2	Selection of the informants
2.2.1	The procedures in selecting informants
2.2.1.1	Random selection from a list
2.2.1.2	Random selection from residential areas
2.2.2	Limitation of the data
2.3	Obtaining the data
2.3.1	Face-to-face interview
2.3.2	Group recordings

2.3.3	Social network
2.4	The present study
2.4.1	The interview procedure
2.4.2	Equipment and how it was introduced
2.5	Identifying the various styles
2.6	The present study
2.6.1	The questionnaire
2.7	Difficulties
2.8	Linguistic variables
2.9	Isolating the variables
2.10	Isolating the variants
2.10.1	The (d <sub>3</sub> ) variable
2.10.2	The (Q) variable
2.11	Calculating the scores

Chapter III	90
Classes of lexical items	

3.1	Introduction
3.2	Dividing the lexicon
3.3	Classes of lexical items
3.3.1	Class 1
3.3.2	Class 2
3.3.3	Class 3
3.3.4	Class 4
3.4	Conclusions

Chapter IV	120
Variability and class of lexical item	

4.1	Introduction
4.1.1	Sallam (1980)
4.1.2	Holes (1980, 1981)
4.1.3	Abdel-Jawad (1981)
4.2	The present study
4.2.1	Description of the data
4.2.1.1	The (d <sub>3</sub> ) variable
4.2.1.2	The (Q) variable
4.2.2	Similarity and differences between the two variables
4.3	Discussion
4.4	Variation and modernization
4.5	Class IV as a borrowing phenomenon
4.6	The effect of frequency
4.7	Co-occurrence constraints
4.8	Phonological versus lexical variation
4.8.2	Phonological hypothesis
4.9	Summary and conclusion

Chapter V  
Variability and social groups

171

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.1.1 New York City study (Labov 1966)
- 5.1.2 Norwich City (Trudgill 1974)
- 5.2 Arabic studies
- 5.2.1 Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981)
- 5.2.2 Amman dialect (Jordan) (Abdel-Jawad 1981)
- 5.3 The present study
- 5.4 Bedouin versus hadhar
- 5.4.1 The description of the data
- 5.4.1.1 The (Q) variable
- 5.4.1.2 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable
- 5.4.2 Discussion
- 5.5 Is [y] prestigious or stigmatized?
- 5.6 Variation among the four social groups
- 5.6.1 The description of the data
- 5.6.1.1 The (Q) variable
- 5.6.1.2 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable
- 5.6.2 Discussion
- 5.6.2.1 The behaviour of the Qaba:yil and Howala groups
- 5.6.2.2 The behaviour of the sedentary groups
- 5.7 Acts of identity
- 5.8 Individual deviations
- 5.9 Linguistic awareness as an indicator of social insecurity
- 5.10 Summary and conclusion

Chapter VI  
Variability sound change, age and education

227

- 6-A Age and variation
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.1.1 The neogrammarian view
- 6.1.2 Variationist's view
- 6.1.3 Lexical diffusion
- 6.2 The present study
- 6.3 Description of the data
- 6.3.1 The (Q) variable
- 6.3.2 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable
- 6.4 Discussion
- 6.5 Change in progress
- 6.6.1 Are the (Q) and the (d<sub>3</sub>) variables examples of sound change in progress?
- 6.6.1.1 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable
- 6.6.1.2 The (Q) variable
- 6.7 The intersection of age and social factors
- 6.8 The behaviour of the Bedouin group



6.9	The role of frequency in linguistic change	
6.10	Change from above or from below	
6.11	Speech community as defined by Labov	
6-B	Variability and education	
6.12	The distribution of the lexical items in the educational groups	
6.13	The distribution of the two variables in the educational groups	
6.13.1	Description of the data	
6.13.1.1	The (Q) variable	
6.13.1.2	The (d <sub>3</sub> ) variable	
6.14	Summary and conclusion	
Chapter VII		292
Variation and style shifting in reading and conversational styles		
7.1	Introduction	
7.1.1	Style shifting in Arabic	
7.1.2	Quantitative studies	
7.1.2.1	Schmidt (1974)	
7.1.2.2	Shorrab (1981)	
7.2	The present study	
7.3	Limitations of the obtained data	
7.4	Description of the data	
7.4.1	Lexical shift in formal and informal styles (Conversational styles)	
7.4.2	Stylistic shift in four styles	
7.4.2.1	The (Q) variable	
7.4.2.2	The (d <sub>3</sub> ) variable	
7.4.2.3	The (aw) and (ay) variables	
7.5	Discussion	
7.6	The intersection of style with other factors	
7.6.1	Age	
7.6.2	Social groups	
7.6.2.1	Reading styles	
7.6.2.2	Conversational styles	
7.7	Summary and conclusions	
Chapter VIII		341
Conclusions		
Appendix A Questionnaire		347
Appendix A <sub>1</sub> Colloquial poetry		
Appendix A <sub>2</sub> Standard poetry		
Appendix B <sup>2</sup> Reliability test		
Bibliography		360

## Abbreviations

- QD: Qatari dialect.  
SA: Standard Arabic.  
S-rule: Standardization rule.  
C-rule: Colloquialization rule.  
Emphatic sounds are represented by capital letters.
- [d<sub>3</sub>]: voiced post alveolar affricate.  
[d̥<sub>3</sub>]: similar to [d<sub>3</sub>] except that the initial [d] is longer and firmer.
- [d̥<sub>3</sub>]: devoiced counterpart of [d<sub>3</sub>].  
[ɟ]: voiced palatal stop.  
[g]: voiced velar stop.  
[j]: voiced palatal fricative.  
[ʒ]: voiced palato-alveolar fricative.  
[ʒ̥]: devoiced counterpart of [ʒ].  
[ʃ]: voiceless palato-alveolar fricative.  
[s]: voiceless alveolar fricative.  
[z]: voiced alveolar fricative.  
[Q]: zero.  
[y]: voiced palatal approximant.  
[d]: voiced alveolar stop.  
[d̟]: palatalized [d].  
[l]: voiced alveolar lateral.  
[k]: voiceless velar stop.  
[ʁ]: voiced velar fricative.  
[x]: voiceless velar fricative.  
[q]: voiceless uvular stop.  
[G]: voiced uvular stop.  
[ʁ̥]: voiced uvular stop.  
[χ]: voiceless uvular fricative.  
[ʁ̥]: zero.  
[:]: length  
[ʁ]: voiced pharyngeal fricative

## Chapter I

### Theoretical and social perspectives

#### 1.1 Introduction

Arab linguists were traditionally interested in describing and writing about the grammar of classical or written Arabic. This was more related to the domain of prescriptive work. Different forms of colloquial Arabic were neglected on the ground that they do not have the status of 'proper' languages. Most of the work on colloquial Arabic, however, was done by Arabists. They, as well as Arab linguists, were mainly interested in describing phonological and grammatical systems of Arabic whether classical or colloquial: in other words variation was not of great importance to them.

Variational studies on Arabic, however, do exist. These follow Ferguson's classic article "Diglossia" in 1959. The majority of works on variation in Arabic, following Ferguson, dealt with the subject in terms of two discrete varieties i.e. classical Arabic vs colloquial Arabic (e.g. Al-Toma 1969; Kaye 1969-70). Others have referred to such variation in terms of three distinct varieties i.e. classical Arabic, modern standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic (e.g. Mitchell 1978) or more varieties (e.g. Blanc 1960; Palva 1971). Colloquial Arabic in these studies, generally speaking, is nothing but the language spoken by citizens of the capital of the country under investigation: for instance, what is normally referred to as Egyptian Arabic is a form of Cairene Arabic. In other words, they have generally left out the differences that might occur among various forms of any colloquial Arabic.

This thesis is concerned with the study of language in its social context. It is taken as axiomatic that social and linguistic

factors of various kinds are responsible for much of the variability in language use. We also look at variability as an act of identity: namely, it could provide us with clues as to which group or groups the speaker identifies himself with. The general view of this work is that language not only deals with referential information, but is also designed and employed to convey other social information through the use of particular features of the linguistic system.

Therefore

"any full account of language behaviour ... must of necessity be concerned with the way in which language behaviour is integrated with other kinds of social behaviour and interaction"

(Lyons 1978: xviii)

The research paradigm of this study falls within the domain of what Trudgill (1978) called "secular linguistics" or "sociolinguistics proper". In a study like this, one is more interested in how variation is patterned in the linguistic performance of a group of speakers rather than the variation that occurs in the speech of individuals. The aggregated linguistic performance of a group of speakers is more likely to follow set norms whereas examining such performance in individuals may exhibit chaotic distribution in which no systematic pattern is arrived at (Labov 1966). A great number of studies have shown that systematic patterns have been discovered through analysing linguistic performances of groups of speakers where such patterns would have been impossible to arrive at through analyzing the speech of individuals (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974). Again, one should bear in mind that individuals in each group may vary from the set of norms laid down by the group, but the overall pattern of each group would be systematically different from others. But whenever the need

arises, the linguistic behaviour of individual speakers will be considered too. Generally speaking, this work can be considered as a contribution to sociolinguistics, and in particular to the quantitative paradigm developed by William Labov and his associates. It will also be noticed that the work we present here is greatly influenced by Labov's approach in handling variation, but whenever the data contradicts the accepted dogma, a new modification to the approach is presented.

#### 1.1.1 Theoretical background

Approaches to the study of language have changed several times in the past few decades, a result of changes in the aims of linguistic investigations. Until relatively recently variation was left out of serious consideration, partly because no methodology was available to handle such cases, and partly (and also more importantly) because variation was seen as an unimportant aspect of a linguistic system, without the study of which a proper linguistic theory may develop. For example the Chomskyan approach focussed primarily on static systems because the purpose of the theory was to describe an ideal speaker-listener competence in a linguistically self-contained and completely homogeneous speech community (Chomsky 1965). This meant that all non-homogeneous linguistic behaviour i.e. variation, was considered to be a part of the realm of performance, which the theory could do without. Such an approach, of course, had its advantages. As Martinet (1963) puts it

"by making investigators blind to a large number of actual complexities, it has enabled scholars ... to abstract a number of fundamental problems, to present for them solutions perfectly valid in the frame of the hypothesis, and generally to achieve, perhaps for the first time, some rigour in a research involving man's psychic activity"

(quoted in Macaulay 1978:132-3)

Thus for the first time Chomsky was able to show that the syntax of natural languages could be brought within the scope of rigorous formalization. The cost of this was a very high level of idealization. For instance, dialectal and stylistic variations were excluded from the investigations and were considered as peripheral to the central concerns of linguistics.

But with all the merits and contributions of such an idealized approach, it remains a fact that speech is never completely homogeneous. On the contrary, heterogeneity is a natural feature of any speech community.

### 1.1.2 Shift of emphasis

The alarm concerning such static approaches was first raised in a small study in 1958 by Fischer, who studied the realization of the present continuous participle ending (ing), which could be realized as [n] or [ŋ], in the speech of 24 children of New England. He found that what hitherto has been described as "free variation" was in fact governed by extralinguistic factors such as sex, social class, personality, mood and the stylistic level of the speech event. For instance, he found that children with a higher socio-economic status were more likely to use the [ŋ] variant than were the children from the lower social class; the use of the variant was also more evident in formal contexts than in informal ones. He proposed to call these variants "socially conditioned" or

"socio-symbolic" variants.

It was Labov's work, however, in the 1960s, that laid the foundation of investigations into structural heterogeneity in the speech community. He was able to show that a large part of the neglected aspects of linguistic variation was highly systematic, provided one knew where to look to find the rules that govern such variability. His efforts provided the major impetus for many of the current quantitative sociolinguistic studies into social dialects. He not only directed attention to the neglected aspect of social context in language studies, but also revolutionized the methodology, namely the data on which such studies should be based. He called for a new look at the kinds of data and the sources of that data so that

"the basis of intersubjective knowledge in linguistics must be found in speech-language as it is used in everyday life by members of the social order, that vehicle of communication in which they argue with their wives, joke with their friends and deceive their enemies",  
(Labov 1972a: xix)

rather than one's intuition, especially in a situation in which language is undergoing changes or is subject to variation of one kind or another (Trudgill 1978). Labov brought together sophisticated sociological concepts and techniques and careful and controlled observation of actual language behaviour.

However, it is equally true that the call for such approaches to the study of language began (although neither fully appreciated nor recognized) much earlier in British linguistics - more precisely within the Firthian tradition. Kachru (1981) cites Firth (1957) as saying that the goal of linguistics is not an attempt to establish universals for general linguistic description, but rather to provide

a full account of the roles of the participants in the context of the situation. Lyons (1978) also shows the similarities between Labov's and Firth's approaches to the study of language by saying

"for Firth as for Labov, the most important fact about language is its social function: the fact that it serves to establish and maintain socially prescribed patterns of behaviour"  
(ibid: xvii)

The other similarity between the two is their insistence upon the social meaning and function of systematic variation coupled with their rejection of terms like "free variation" as an explanation.

Although Firth's work emerged in the 1930s and 1950s, socially realistic investigations did not start to emerge until the mid 1960s, following Labov's work (1963, 1966). The reasons for neglecting Firth's views were (a) that the linguistic scene in the 1950s was not conducive to such an approach, and (b) that the obscure style of Firth himself resulted in the vagueness of his concepts and consequent misunderstanding by his readers (Kachru 1981). Thus it was not until the 1960s, in the United States, that there was a genuine interest in incorporating the social elements in language investigations as basic relevant factors, if the global picture of language was to emerge.

The main thrust of Labov's attack on the conventional idealized approach to language study lay in realizing the importance of language use in its social context and the recognition of the significant role which variation can play for linguistic theory and for understanding language behaviour. Thus he writes

"the analysis of variation and boundary conditions is a powerful tool for resolving long-standing issues of linguistic theory"  
(Labov 1980 b: xiv)



Theories of language variation, generally speaking, regard the very process of idealization in the kind of data obtained i.e. intuitions, as excluding from grammatical theories one of the major characteristics of human language, namely its variability. Every human society expects its members to speak differently, according to their sex, age etc., despite the fact that they do not absolutely insist on it, and most of the linguistic variation could hardly be called unsystematic variation and irregular, if we take extralinguistic factors into consideration. It only becomes random if we fictionalize the speech community as completely homogeneous (Kendal and Bird 1982). Variationists claim, and rightly so, that although variation may at first appear unsystematic, incoherent and ad hoc, a structure will emerge if the variation is investigated socially. This is because language is essentially a social phenomenon. Therefore variation could only be properly explained by taking full account of the interaction of historical and social factors, as well as factors within the linguistic system. In fact although sociolinguistics has only relatively recently been granted recognition as a field of scientific inquiry, the numerous investigations carried out within the last two decades or so have increased the belief that such studies can throw light on the nature of society as well as on the nature of language. Moreover, it is now widely accepted that language and society constitute one whole unit, and neither may exist and develop without the other. To put it in Halliday's terminology:

"there can be no social man without language and  
no language without social man"

(Halliday 1978:12)

Such approaches spring from the fact that

"speech has a social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups, and to study speech without reference to the society which uses it is to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for the structures that are used"  
 (Hudson 1980:4)

The past two decades have seen a great interest in exploring the systematic relationships between sociocultural organization and language use. The basic assumption behind such a paradigm has been that members of a speech community have acquired not only rules of grammar but also rules of appropriate speech usage that are widely shared and employed by other speakers from the speech community (Sankoff 1980; Hymes 1970). This means that in the process of socialization and enculturation speakers acquire competence in the use of certain rules which are closely developed and associated with social context. The general belief nowadays is that language reflects social structure and that the pattern of variation is no more than a reflection of the diversity which characterizes human cultures (Halliday 1978).

The development of quantitative studies of speech has coincided with such socially realistic approaches in studying language in general and language variation in particular. One of the findings of the quantitative paradigm, which has broadened our understanding of language, has been the demonstration of numerous examples of co-variation between linguistic and extralinguistic factors within a single speech community. Earlier explanations of variation fell into two categories, dialect mixture or free variation. But

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

(Fischer 1958:48)

Therefore one must not be content with such labels, but instead should search for the far-reaching significance of such variation. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of the existence of genuine free-variation cases. But one can postulate free variation only when one has considered both linguistic and non-linguistic elements, that would be expected to be responsible for such variation. In fact what at first glance appears to be a random fluctuation with no pattern, turns out to be highly systematic and structured when factors like age and sex are considered.

"Subjective impressions of random structuring turn out to be a function of our inadequate or preconceived perceptions rather than empirically based fact"

(Wolfram and Fasold 1974:12)

The literature is full of such examples; see, for example the realization of (r) in New York City (Labov 1966), the copula omission in Detroit (Wolfram 1969), the voiced alveolar affricate ( $d_3$ ) in Bahrain (Holes 1981).

Sociolinguists dealing with variation firmly believe that variability in primary data cannot be dismissed entirely as belonging to the realm of performance, but must, in one way or another, reflect what the speaker knows about his language, without dismissing the fact that some variability inevitably occurs as a result of idiosyncratic usages of the linguistic system. They also agree that an adequate linguistic theory must account for such cases

of rule-governed variation.

Such agreements have led to various attempts to incorporate variation into the grammar, and to write rules that generate, at least, part of the observed variation. One such attempt was the introduction of variable rules.

#### 1.1.2.1 Variable rules

Linguistic rules in generative grammar are conceived as being either obligatory or optional. An obligatory rule is of the form:

$$A \rightarrow B/Y - Z$$

which reads A is ALWAYS rewritten as B in the stated environment. This type of rule, which forms the majority of rules in the grammar of a language, is inadequate to provide a complete grammar of a language, because there are cases in which the rule is SOMETIMES applied and sometimes not applied. To capture this, generative grammar has optional rules of the following form:

$$A \rightarrow (B)/X - Z$$

This rule says that A is rewritten as B OPTIONALLY in the above stated environment.

Variable rules (Labov 1969a, '72 b, c) are related to the latter type of rules, i.e. optional rules, and were first developed in connection with the contraction and deletion of the copula in Black English Vernacular (BEV). Generative linguists like their predecessors had been regarding the contraction and deletion of the copula as an optional rule. But Labov noted a great statistical regularity between the frequency of contracted/deleted forms and the phonological environment. For instance, he noticed that the contraction is almost obligatory when the preceding subject NP is a pronoun; if the subject NP is not a pronoun then contraction is more

likely to occur when the NP ends in a vowel than when it ends in a consonant; a following future verb (e.g. gonna) favours the contraction more than another. More importantly, he realized that

"these observations regarding the relative weight of the phonological environment hold up reliably across four black preteenage and teenage groups, one group of negro adults and one group of white teenagers"

(Kay and McDaniel 1979)

The above two factors, i.e. the relative regularity of the contracted forms of is/are and the following phonological environment as well as the fact that the same phonological environments are at work for all the sub-groups, have led Labov (1969) to introduce the variable rules to replace optional rules in cases such as contraction of copula in BEV. For it is obvious that the

"degree of optionality in such optional rules as the contraction of copula in BEV is governed by the same types of environmental constraints as are categorical rules"

(Fasold 1970:556)

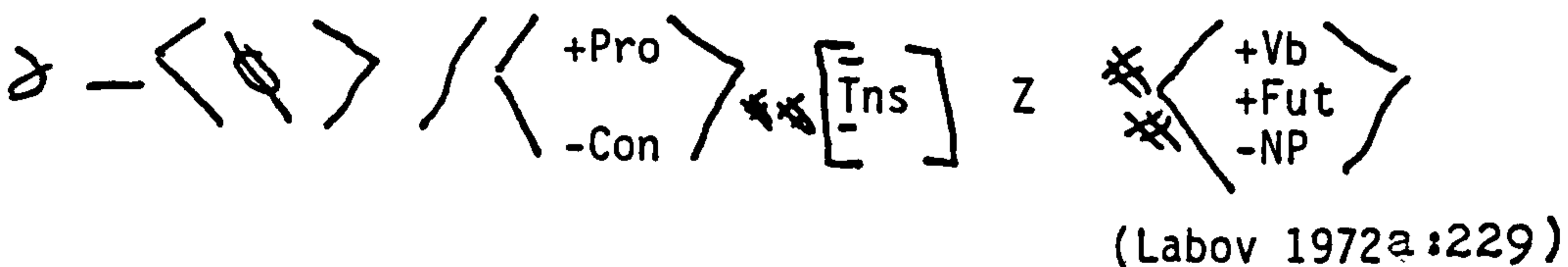
In other words, optional rules were replaced by variable ones, because,

"the notion of optionality fails to capture the nature of the systematic variation in such rules as contraction of copula ... and furthermore, the label 'optional' fails to convey any information as to how the elements of the structural description of a rule favour or constrain its operation. Rather, use of this label implies that all such information is foreign to the COMPETENCE of the native speaker"

(Cedergren and Sankoff 1974:333)

Variable rules, however, are intended to replace most of the optional rules, particularly the ones which seem to be constrained by linguistic and non-linguistic elements. Variable rules are really a sociolinguistic attempt to state and incorporate

sociological generalization in generative grammar. They indicate a set of "more-or-less-relations" and can be seen as an extension of the orthodox optional rules. Instead of writing rule X, say contraction or deletion of copula, as an optional rule and leaving it at that, variable rules go one step further and specify the probability, in terms of a "more-or-less-relation", that the form defined by the rule will be used by speakers or a group of speakers (Cedergren 1973; Labov 196 , 72a, b; Fasold 1973). Thus the variable rule for contraction of copula is



This rule reads that the copula is contracted variably; and that the application of this rule i.e. contraction, is favoured by a preceding NP pronoun and to a lesser extent if the preceding NP is not a pronoun but ends in a vowel or a glide. As for the following constituents, the following VP with the feature (+ future) favours the contraction; when the following constituent is not VP, the rule is favoured if it is not an NP.

Ideally speaking, a variable rule captures simultaneously homogeneity and heterogeneity within a speech community; the former is reflected by the linguistic constraints and the latter by the input probability (extralinguistic elements). But although the same linguistic constraints (i.e. environment) may be at work for the whole speech community,

"the relative strength or influence of these constraints may not be ... necessarily be the same for all members of the speech community"  
(Labov '72b:99)

In fact, Labov et al (1968) reported that the constraints for -t/d deletion for two social groups were reversed, although the two groups were living a few blocks apart.

To compute the probability of the application of a variable rule, the following models have been suggested,

- (a) the additive model (Labov 1969a, '72a, b)
- (b) the multiplicative model (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974)
- (c) the logistic model (Rousseau and Sankoff 1978)

The main merit in the variable rule concept seems to be the claim that it provides an adequate reflection of the systematic variation found in a large corpus of data. The advocates of the variable rule have repeatedly suggested, and rightly so, that if a grammar is a set of internalized rules applied by a native speaker in producing utterances, and furthermore, if our aim is to describe those rules, then the description must include variable rules as well as categorical and optional rules. In other words, the competence of native speakers includes variable rules as well as categorical ones (Fasold 1973, '78; Trudgill 1973; Labov 1969, '71, '72a, b, '78; Labov et al '68; Dittmar 1976; Cedergren and Sankoff 1974), since

"the degree of optionality is governed by the same types of environmental constraints as in categorical occurrences".

(Fasold 1970:556)

Moreover, labels such as "optional rule" and "free variation" imply that the variation is random, whereas in fact many investigations have shown that they are not random at all, on the contrary they are highly systematic (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Milroy 1980; Macaulay 1977, to name a few).

The advocates of the variable rule claim also that it could be used as an indicator of the direction of linguistic change in progress (Labov '72c, '71, '78). This is not surprising because the variable rule sprang from the quantitative approach which started initially with a profound interest in linguistic change in progress (Labov '63, '66). Optional rules such as

$$A \rightarrow (B)/Y - Z$$

include no information about the direction of linguistic change. All such a rule says is that a speaker may have at his disposal the choice of using the form defined by the rule or not. No more, no less. Variable rules, on the other hand, provide us with information about the relative weight of the linguistic environment as well as the weight of non-linguistic factors. The former is achieved by the ordering of the linguistic environment and the latter through the ordering of the extralinguistic factors. So if a variable rule, say contraction of the copula, is to become categorical, it will become so first in the most favoured environment i.e. when the preceding NP is a pronoun and the following VP is gonna. Later on, the change will spread to the less favoured environment. Of course, it is possible that a variable rule becomes categorical first in the least favoured environment, say when the preceding NP is not a pronoun and ends in a consonant in the case of contraction of the copula. But for that to happen a reweighting of the variable constraints must occur first i.e. preceding a pronoun ceases to be the most favoured environment, and instead, the preceding noun phrase which ends in a consonant acquires preference.

Lastly being the result of the quantitative approach, the



variable rule enjoys the advantages of the principle of accountability:

"any variable form should be reported with the proportion of cases in which the form did occur in the relevant environment, compared to the total number of cases in which it might have occurred"

(Labov 72b:94)

Many heavy criticisms have been launched at the notion of the variable rule. The very first one was related to the frequency or the variability aspect of the competence of a native speaker (Bailey 73; Romaine 81; Bickerton 71; Macaulay 76). These arguments are concerned with the acquisition side of the variable rule i.e. how does a native speaker internalize such rules? More importantly how does he produce the right frequency/probability in a particular situation. Perhaps no one expressed this idea more clearly and more satirically than did Bickerton (1971):

"An obligatory rule says: when you recognize environment X use feature Y - a straightforward enough operation. A variable rule, however, says: when you recognize environment X use feature Y Z% of the time. Z does not, of course, represent a precise figure. Labov does not envisage that the behaviour of a member of a rule-sharing group will necessarily be isomorphic with that of all or even any of the other members, though it is true that he does not expect it to vary much ... However, in order that the average for his - speaker's - group should remain constant, the variation for the individual must be confined within a relatively narrow range. What keeps his percentages within ... limits? And how can it keep within them unless something, somewhere is COUNTING ENVIRONMENTS and keeping a running score of percentages? Nor is it merely tokens of a few environments per variable item that will have to be counted ... (and) since the group figure is the crucial one, and since individual scores will vary around it, each individual must - if the group figure is to be maintained - keep track, not merely of his own environments and percentages, but also of those produced by all

other members of his group; in other words, speaker B must continuously be saying to himself things like: Good Lord! A's NP has fallen to 77. I'll have to step up mine to - let's see; A's production of this environment-type stands to mine in the ratio 65:35 over the last 100 token-occurrences, so I'd better compensate by shooting up to ... what? about 86%? And to crown it all, he must not only be able to perform all these highly sophisticated calculations - he must also ... somehow continue to do so EVEN IN THE PHYSICAL ABSENCE OF ALL OTHER GROUP-MEMBERS"

(1971:460-1)

Others have criticized the notion of variable rule on the ground that it departs from generative grammar, contrary to claims made by Labov 1969. Some (Bickerton 1971; Romaine 1981) see that variable rules and generative grammar are incompatible because the former describes rules used by a group of speakers whereas the latter represent rules internalized by only ONE individual. Others (Kay and McDaniel 1979) relate such departures to the fact that generative rules deal with sentence type and hence the frequency of the occurrence of each type is irrelevant, whereas such frequency is the pillar of the variable rule.

The argument about the departure from generative grammar per se does not invalidate the notion of the variable rule. Although

"the methodology of variable rules was motivated by and developed in conjunction with the project to incorporate variability in generative grammar, it would be a mistake to think that this methodology is logically tied to a particular grammatical formalism"

(Sankoff and Labov 1979:217)

But a more serious point in that argument is whether variable rules are part of a grammar used by a group of speakers, or by individuals. Sankoff and Labov (1979) argue that the variable rule is not part of group grammar, but Weinreich et al, however, clearly

state that

"variable rules are rules of the grammar of a  
speech community, not of a dialect"

(1968:173)

If the variable rule is a part of the competence of a community group, and indeed it seems so because all of the variable rules presented so far are based on data collected from a group of speakers, then it will lose a lot of its credibility as to how much it reflects the competence of an individual, particularly if we take into consideration the fact that competence in the Chomskyan sense belongs to an individual, not to a group.

A third argument against the variable rule is that it is too powerful, it is not falsifiable and therefore it has no predictive power (Romaine 1981). It is, however, not true that variable rules are not falsifiable, but it is true that falsification of such rules requires different data as evidence from the kind we need in rejecting or altering a categorical rule. In the latter case all we need for its falsification is ONE instance in which the utterance does not follow the rule. But in the case of a variable rule the matter is different. The deviation of any one individual from the rule does not entail a change in the rule. So in order to falsify a variable rule, we require data which disconfirms the rule, and more importantly, the data must be collected from a group of speakers to which the rule was said to apply. To put it simply, non variable rules can be falsified on non-statistical evidence, whereas statistical evidence is required to justify rejection or acceptance of a variable rule.

A fourth argument against the variable rule is that it suggests that the direction of change is the same for all the groups within

the speech community. There is no priori reason why this should be the case. The only feasible reason seems to be that it allows us to state one variable rule for the whole community instead of two or more rules. In other words

"the idea that a speech community can move as a whole like a physical body in a certain direction appears to be too simplistic and unconvincing"

(Romaine 1980:25)

In fact, we will present data which demonstrate that a change can move in different directions in respect to different groups of speakers within a single speech community.

Finally, the variable rule as presented by Labov contradicts itself, when we examine it in relation to sound change in progress. The basic idea behind the variable rule is its uniformity throughout the speech community; but for a change to take place, the speech community must go through a stage in which different groups do not share the same phonological constraints. At this stage the grammar of such community cannot be described in terms of a single variable rule i.e. different groups of speakers would have different rules with different levels of ordering of the constraints. Thus groups do not share the same variable rule (Romaine 1980). If the shift in the order of the constraints entails change, then the variable rule may also give an indication of change in progress when in fact the sound in question is not undergoing any change. For example, Guy (1977) reports a case in which speakers within the same group did not share the same order of constraints in the case of t/d omission. According to the above argument, we expect it to be a case of sound change in progress where in effect it is a stable sound.

On the whole I agree with Milroy (1983) that much of the observed variability is in fact highly structured but whether variable rules provide the solution to capture such variation appropriately is another matter.

However, in discussing the data of this study I will not be using variable rules, partly because of the theoretical shortcomings of such rules as stated above, and partly because the prime aim of the study is descriptive, which could be achieved without getting involved in the theoretical argument about variable rules.

## 1.2 Aim and scope

The aim and scope of my study is to investigate variation in QD in the light of current sociolinguistic theories and methods of analysis of language variation. Using current advances in sociolinguistic theory and methods of analysis, especially the quantitative approach initiated by Labov (1963), (1966) and developed by Labov (1972), Trudgill (1974), Milroy (1980) and others, I wish to further the understanding of variation in QD beyond the level it has reached at the present time. It is needless to emphasize the fact that at the present time the work on the description of variation in QD is quite insignificant and at best can be described as impressionistic. All in all very little work has been done on ~~the~~ QD, in general, and even less work on variation. To the best of my knowledge, only two scholars have written about QD in any significant detail. They are Johnstone (1967) and Qafishi: (1977). The former discusses phonology and syntax of the Gulf region, including Qatar, and the latter has produced an introductory language course for foreigners.

Therefore the importance and significance of this study lies in it being a description of a variety of Arabic which has received limited attention from scholars in the past.

Among the main objectives of my study is to find correlation or systematic relationship, if there exists any, between the linguistic variables and a set of intra- or extralinguistic factors or both. The former includes elements such as class of lexical items i.e. whether being an item from the core lexicon of colloquial or of standard Arabic affects the realization of the variable under investigation or not. Intralinguistic factors involve semantic consideration as well. This means trying to find a satisfying answer to such questions as: does the sense in which the word is being used determine realization of the linguistic variable, say ( $d_3$ )? For example, if a word like /mad<sub>3</sub>lis/ "sitting room" or "council" has two referential meanings A and B, is the phonetic realization of the variable ( $d_3$ ) affected by which referential meaning, A or B, the word /mad<sub>3</sub>lis/ denotes? In other words, do people use one variant when referring to A but use another variant when referring to B? or not?

Extralinguistic factors includes elements such as age, ethnic group, education, etc. The aim of including these factors is to find a systematic relationship between these extralinguistic elements and the variables under investigation. This is not surprising at all, since a great deal of what has traditionally been referred to as free variation phonologically, was proved to be highly systematic when social elements were considered (see Labov 1972 a)

I suggest that variation in linguistic variables (1.3) in Qatari

dialect (QD) is not random. On the contrary, it is highly systematic provided appropriate intra and/or extralinguistic factors are taken into account. In other words, I am putting forward the hypothesis that these variables are governed by a set of probabilistic rules some of which may be intralinguistic. Moreover, I want to find out whether these linguistic variable belong to the domain of Micro-variation or of Macro-variation (Thelander 1982) or both. (The former is often influenced by extra- and intralinguistic context whereas the latter can be affected only by nonlinguistic elements such as sex, age, class, occupation etc.)

The study is also an effort to show how social and linguistic factors influence and shape linguistic variation in QD. Thus this study contrasts with the majority of the studies on Arabic, in that it is not interested in dealing with Arabic as discrete varieties but rather is concerned with the sociolinguistic patterns of variation in a single dialect.

Previous studies on Arabic, for example Blanc (1960), have shown a certain amount of confusion in regard to stylistic shifting. The present study aims to demonstrate the way out of such confusion. On the more theoretical aspect, the study will present data, which, to my knowledge, is first of its kind, which unequivocally shows that reading styles and conversational styles are qualitatively different and therefore cannot be placed on the same linear continuum as Labov (1966, 72a) suggests. In chapter VII on the stylistic variation we will discuss the realization of the diphthongs (aw) and (ay) as well as the (d<sub>3</sub>) and (Q) variables.

The study will also try to throw some light on the question of sound change in progress. We shall see how far the lexical

diffusion theory (Wang 1969) is correct in capturing the sound change that is taking place in QD. A more interesting question which the investigation attempts to answer is whether sound change is unidirectional or not. To put it differently, can various subgroups within the same speech community move in different directions in regard to a particular sound change or not?

On the whole this study can be of interest to both Arabists and variationists. The former may regard it as a contribution to Arabic dialectology, or more precisely Arabic social dialectology. The latter may look upon this investigation as a new challenge to current theories and methods of analyzing variation in language. The majority of variational studies deal with varieties of English, and if we are to make progress towards a more sociolinguistic theory, we need to test the present theories and methods on new and different kinds of data.

### 1.3 The Problem

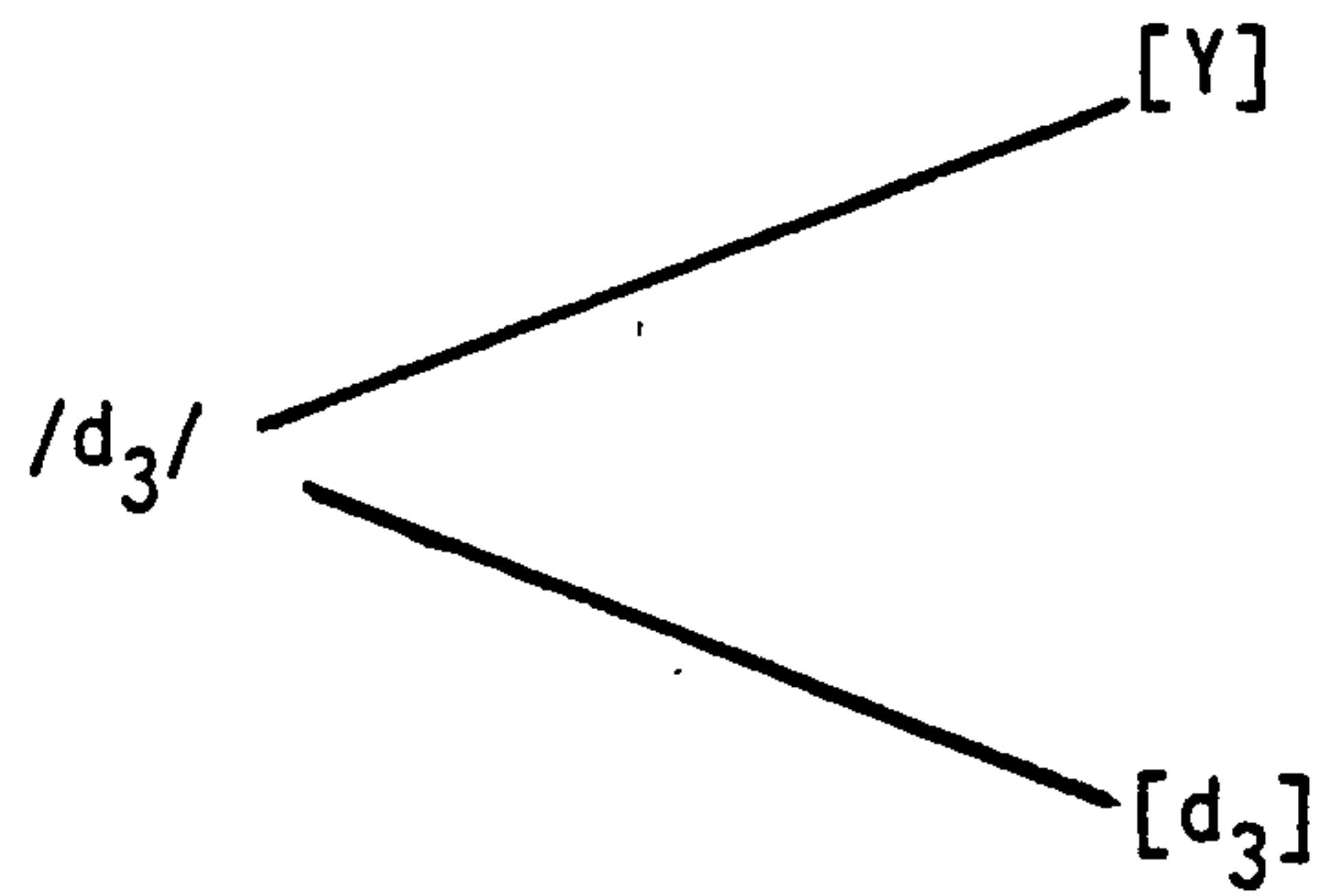
We shall try to achieve those aims by investigating more closely the following linguistic variables.

#### 1.3.1 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable

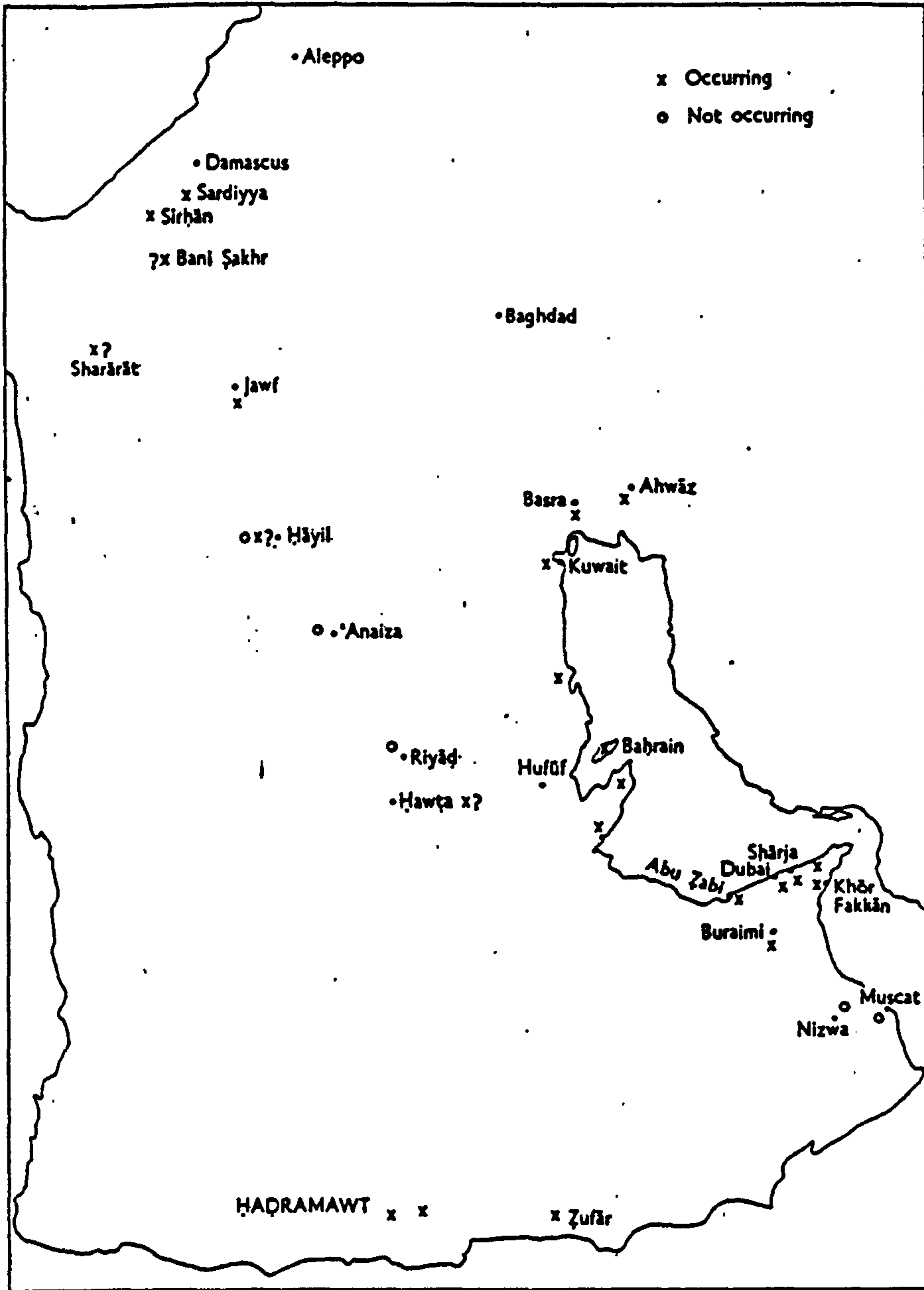
The reflexes of the standard Arabic voiced affricate stop /d<sub>3</sub>/ show considerable synchronic variation in modern Arabic dialects. /d<sub>3</sub>/ is realized as [ʒ] and [d<sub>3</sub>] in Jordanian, Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian dialects (Abdel-Jawal 1981, Shorrab 1981). In Egypt /d<sub>3</sub>/ is realized as [g] (Schmidt 1974). In many parts of the Arabian Peninsula the reflexes of /d<sub>3</sub>/ are [Y] or [d<sub>3</sub>].



This can be presented schematically as:



which means that /d<sub>3</sub>/ is sometimes realized as [Y], and sometimes as [d<sub>3</sub>]. The map on the following page shows the geographical distribution of the /d<sub>3</sub>/ → [Y] phenomenon in the Arabian Peninsula.



Distribution of the *y* variant of *jīm*.

The sound change  $d \rightarrow y$  in the Arabic dialect of peninsular Arabia (Johnstone 1965:235) (map 1)

The object of this study is to investigate the distribution of the realizations corresponding to /d<sub>3</sub>/ (Standard Arabic) in the QD. In QD this segment, in a great number of lexical items, is realized, apparently optionally and without any change in meaning as either [d<sub>3</sub>] or [Y] e.g. [radd<sub>3</sub>a] [rayya] "man".

The occurrence of [Y] as a variant of /d<sub>3</sub>/ is an old phenomenon, and has been reported in early books on Arabic (see Howell 1911 IV pp. 1374-9 and Ibn Jinni 1954 ed. by Saqqa et al) . This linguistic phenomenon is normally referred to as /9ad<sub>3</sub>9ad<sub>3</sub>atqoDa9 a/ by Arab grammarians. Some of them report that substitution of /d<sub>3</sub>/ with [Y] occurred in the dialect of the Tameem tribe.<sup>2</sup>

In modern times, the first mention of the alternation /d<sub>3</sub>/ -> [Y] is by Wetzstein (1868) in the dialect of the tribes at the North West of the Arabian Peninsula. Rhodokanakis (1911) noted the same thing in the dialect of Zufar in the Southern part of the Peninsula. Lanberg reports numerous examples of such a phenomenon in the dialect of Hadramawt. Cantineau (1973) confirms some observations made by Wetzstein and refutes others (for a full list of these references see Johnstone 1965). Johnstone reports the same phenomenon in the Eastern Arabian dialects of Ahwaz, Basra, Kuwait, Haḡa, Bahrain, Qatar, Charak and Trucial coast. Ingham (1973) validates Johnstone's observations for Ahwaz and Basra; Al-Tajir (1981) and Holes (1980, '81) confirm this for Bahrain; and Matar (1969, 1980) reports the same thing in the dialects of Kuwait and Bahrain respectively.

Most of the above studies convey the following:

(a) [d<sub>3</sub>] and [Y] are in free variation phonologically.

(b) No mention of other variants is made.

(c) Not all /d<sub>3</sub>/s are realized as [Y] i.e. implying that there are lexical peculiarities without discussing this at any depth.

The majority of these works were concerned with specifying the phonological environment in which /d<sub>3</sub>/ is realized as [Y]. Some, however, do take account of extralinguistic elements as well. For instance, Matar (1980), writing about this phenomenon in Bahrain, reports that [d<sub>3</sub>] and [Y] are in free variation phonologically speaking, but are geographically conditioned - i.e. in some parts of Bahrain people use [d<sub>3</sub>], while in others [Y] occurs. Holes, on the other hand, claims that the /d<sub>3</sub>/ -> [Y] alternation in Bahrain is governed by religious factors - i.e. people from the Shi'ite section have [d<sub>3</sub>] whereas the Sunni sector use both [d<sub>3</sub>] and [Y]. He also reports that the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable in the dialect of Bahrain co-varies with extralinguistic elements such as sex, age, education, etc.

From the literature, I can claim that no systematic study of this linguistic phenomenon (i.e. the /d<sub>3</sub>/ -> [Y] alternation) in QD has been made. Although Matar (1980) generalizes his statement to cover the whole Gulf region, his conclusion is not applicable to QD or to the dialect of the United Arab Emirates, because the sample on which the conclusions are based come from Bahrain only. In other words, his sample included Bahraini speakers only and therefore the results are applicable to the Bahraini dialect only.

Johnstone's (1965) remarks about the /d<sub>3</sub>/ -> [Y] alternation in QD do not tell us much about what is going on. He writes only that [d<sub>3</sub>] and [Y] are in free variation. This is not surprising if we take into consideration the fact that his prime objective was to

find shared features among the Eastern Arabian dialects; it so happened that the /d<sub>3</sub>/ -> [Y] phenomenon was one such feature. To put it differently, he was not interested in this phenomenon per se, but only as a way of relating or grouping the Eastern Arabian dialects together. Variation received no attention. The few instances of such variation i.e. /d<sub>3</sub>/ -> [Y] that occurs in Johnstone's article is not based on any empirical data. To be fair, linguists like Johnstone, working within the orthodox framework, had different perspectives from mine. He was interested in describing phonological and grammatical systems of the Gulf Arabic in general, including QD. Hence his interest in linguistic variation did not exceed linguistic boundaries. He was interested in delimiting the phonological context which governs such variation because he had the view that linguistic phenomena are self-contained and to be explained solely in terms of linguistic influence. Therefore no account was taken of extralinguistic factors which could influence such variation such as ethnic group, age, education, etc.

### 1.3.2 The (Q) variable

The classical Arabic unaspirated voiceless uvular plosive /q/ shows various manifestations in modern Arabic dialects. The main reflexes of this sound are [ʔ], [q], [g], [k] and [d<sub>3</sub>]. Due to the geographical and social distribution of this sound, Blanc (1964) has taken it as a criterion for establishing isoglosses among the Arabian dialects and as a differentiating factor between the Bedouins and the other groups. On the social significance of this sound he writes that

"the present-day distribution of reflexes of OA<sup>3</sup> - old Arabic - /q/ throughout the Arabic-speaking world presents a striking dichotomy: most sedentary populations have a voiceless reflex and all non-sedentary populations have a voiced reflex"

(ibid 28-9)

This remark, by and large, is true if one looks at the synchronic distribution of /q/ across Arabic dialects. For instance, the following reflexes have been reported for different dialects: [ʔ] for the Egyptian (Schmidt 1974), [ʔ]. [k] and [g] for urban, rural and Bedouin dialects of Palestine and Jordan (Shorrab 1981, Abdel-Jawad 1981, Rosenhouse 1982). Lebanese dialects have [ʔ] and [k] variants (Obrecht 1970). In the dialect of upper Iraq the reflex of /q/ is [q] (Blanc 1964), whereas in lower Iraq and the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, where the populations are of Bedouin stock, the reflex is [g] (Blanc 1959, 64; Johnstone 1963, 1967; Ingham 1971; Matar 1980; Holes 1982).

Geographically, Blanc (1964) distinguishes between two dialect groups i.e. 'qeltu' and 'gelet' dialects (from the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect of the verb "to say"), within the Mesopotamian dialect area stretching from the Arabian Gulf along and between the Tigris and the Euphrates up to the very source of the two rivers on the Anatolian plateau. The gelet dialect, generally speaking, is spoken by the non-sedentary populations of the area, while the qeltu dialect is spoken by the sedentary populations. The former is dominant both numerically and in prestige (Blanc 1959). Many linguists have utilized this distinction in describing the dialects of the area, for example Ingham (1973).

The /q/ sound in the sedentary dialects has undergone two basic changes:

/q/ -> [ʔ]

/q/ -> [k]

(for more details see Garbell 1958; Blanc 1964 and Abdel-Jawad 1981).

In the nomadic dialects, the development of the /q/ sound had taken a completely different course. /q/ was first voiced and fronted to produce the voice velar stop [g]. The exact timing of this change is uncertain, but Blanc (1964) suggests that it occurred somewhere around the 8th or 9th centuries. This change is interesting since Arabic as described by Si:bawayh in the 8th century had no voiced stop corresponding to /k/. The gap for a possible /g/ was filled in different ways in different Arabic dialects. In nomadic Arabic the gap was filled by the reflex of the /q/ sound (Ferguson 1969). At some later stages this /g/ was fronted to yield the affricated [d<sub>3</sub>]. These changes may be represented as the following:

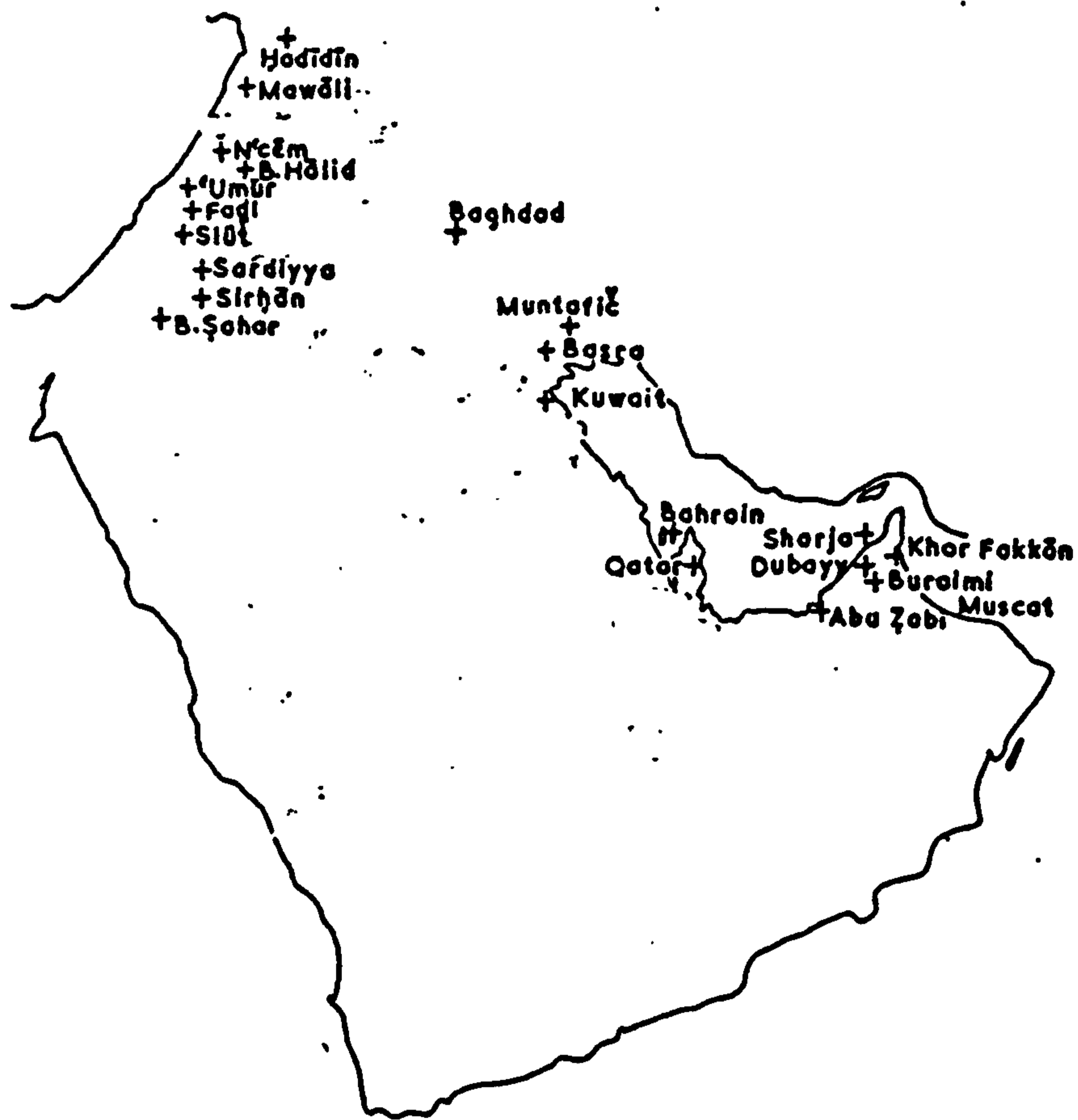
/q/ -> [g] -> [d<sub>3</sub>] -> [dz]<sup>4</sup>

The affrication of /q/ has received a great deal of attention from many linguists (Al-Ani 1976; Blanc 1964; Johnstone 1963, 1967; Ingham 1976; Matar 1969, 1980; Holés 1980, 1981). The map on the following page indicates the dialects in which the affrication process occurs.

Most of these works were primarily interested in affrication as a phonological phenomenon i.e. their main concern was to determine the phonological environment conditioning the affrication. They agree that it could only occur in the contiguity with the front vowels (see Johnstone 1963 and Matar 1980).

Undoubtedly linguists such as Johnstone (1965) and Matar (1980)

## AFFRICATION OF "KAF" AND "GAF" IN ARABIC DIALECTS



Approximate tribal areas of distribution  
of the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant of the ʕ phoneme  
(Johnstone 1963:214) (map 2)



are pioneers in studying the Gulf dialect. In fact they have laid the foundations for its study. But they have idealized the enormous amount of variation that occurs in everyday interaction. Such idealization is, however, relatively harmless in Johnstone's study, as he was mainly interested in the broad features of the dialect of the Gulf region - whether the  $d_3 \rightarrow Y$  phenomenon occurred in a particular dialect or not. He was not interested in the details of such a phenomenon. Such idealization is, however, not justifiable in the studies of Matar (1980), whose prime aim was to handle variation phenomena - one of which was the /q/ sound. The point is that both studies neglect the effect of extralinguistic factors which could be responsible for such variation.

Again I can claim that no investigation of the /q/ sound in the QD has been carried out, except for a few remarks which appear in Johnstone (1967) and which are not helpful if one's main interest lies in variation. For the criteria for choosing these variables see (2.8).

#### 1.4 The locale of the research

Qatar is situated halfway along the western coast of the Arabian Gulf, projecting into the Gulf from the Mainland, is approximately 160 kilometres long, has a maximum width of 90 kilometres and a total area of 11.437 square kilometres (Qatar 1982-3). The peninsula is flat except for a range of low hills. Its highest altitude is 40 metres above sea level (ibid).

Most of the country is stony, sandy and barren, divided into salt flats, dune desert and arid plains. The country is very dry,

with little fresh water for agriculture. Much of the drinking water is provided by desalination processes. The north contrasts with the south containing as it does areas of vegetation. Green areas have been increasing in the past few years due to agricultural activities and landscaping sponsored by the government, and to people's interest in agricultural investments.

There are numerous small islands and coral reefs off the coast, and a few larger ones, belonging to Qatar, such as Halul which is an oil storage terminal 100 kilometres east of Doha, the capital, Hawar, Alashat, Janan etc.

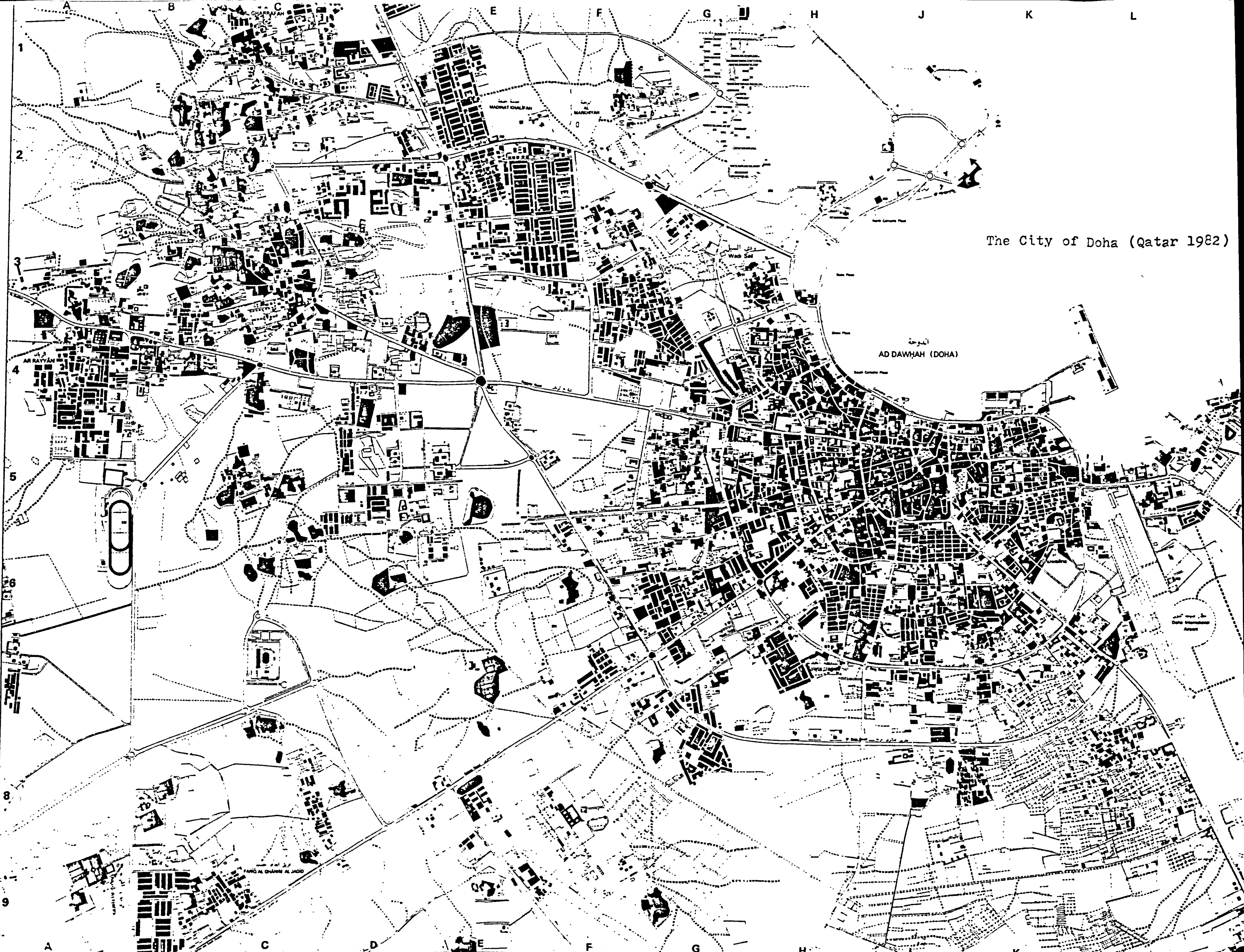
#### 1.4.1 Main towns

Doha<sup>1</sup> is the capital and administrative centre where Government ministries and departments, together with financial and business firms, are located. It is situated on the edge of the Gulf, half way along the eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula. It is an important cultural and commercial centre with a main port and an international airport which link the country with other parts of the world.

Within a few years, Doha has been transformed from a sleepy fishing village into a spacious well-planned modern city which has nonetheless kept its links with the past (The Gulf handbook 1979). The new city is built around a series of ring roads which spread out in a half circle from the centre (See map 3).

The main suburbs of Doha are AlRayyan, 7 kilometres from the centre and a residential area, and Khalifa town, 6 kilometres from the centre and containing many houses built under the State Housing Scheme and given to the residents.

Other towns are Umm Said, Qatar's industrial centre whose growth



The City of Doha (Qatar 1982)

الدوحة  
AD DAWHAH (DOHA)

فَرْغُ الْقَنَامِ الْجَادِ  
FARGH AL QANAM AL JADO

مَدِينَةُ دَخْلَخْ  
MADINAT DHALEKH

مَدِينَةُ الْخَيْرِ  
MADINAT AL KHAYR

أَرْضُ الرَّيَّانِ  
AR RAYYAN

results directly from the oil production in Dukhan, Alkhor, which is the third largest conurbation after Doha and Umm Said, Dukhan which is the main on-shore oil producing centre of Qatar, and AlRuweis, an old town in the north of Qatar (see map 1).

### 1.5 The process of modernization

People of Qatar, as well as the Eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula had a relatively stable way of life prior to the discovery of oil in the area. In the past, the pearl industry was the main stay of the economic and social structure of Qatar. The historical importance of the pearl industry in those days is reflected in the following statement made by the ruler of Qatar in 1863 to the English traveller Palgrave:

"we are all from the highest to the lowest slaves to one master, Pearl, said to me one evening Mohammed aben Thani chief of Bedaa nor was the expression out of place. All thought, all conversation, all employment, turns on one subject (Pearl), everything else is more by game and below secondary consideration"

(Moorhead 1977:45, quoted in Melikian and Al-Easa 1978:5)

Another traveller who went to Qatar about 100 years ago said, describing the role of the sea in people's life:

"people depend for their life on the sea. They spend half of a year diving for pearls, and the other half they spend in fishing and trading (via sea). Therefore their real homes are the innumerable boats which occupy the quiet part and which form a long dark line along the coast"

(al-Dowaik 1975:49)

From these quotations it is quite clear that the sea and the pearl industry were the most influential and important elements in the life of the people of Qatar in the pre-oil era.

The fifties brought a new era to the Gulf states, including Qatar. The discovery of oil in these countries set in motion a

rapid transition, both economically and socially. Slow changes (in Qatar) were associated with the exploitation of on-shore oil-fields. These were then accelerated in the sixties by exporting oil from the large off-shore fields and the price increase of crude oil. The rapidity of change undermined and cut through the frame of society's value system (Riad 1981 ). The acceptance of oil as a new basis for the economy gave a strong impetus towards a change in the traditional socio-economic set-up of the society in the life span of just one generation.

With the discovery of oil and the huge increase in revenues, the pearl industry, which was very important before the oil-era, disappeared completely. People abandoned it in favour of the developing oil industry, where they could find a stable and secure source of income without being subject to any real danger. The increase in oil revenues, however, helped the country to start a period of industrial expansion which entailed a change in the value system of the society as well.

#### 1.5.1 Population

One of the consequences of the booming economy was a sharp increase in population, as the following statistics show:

1905 30,000 (inhabitants)

1959 40,000 (inhabitants)

1971 111,000 (inhabitants)

1978 220,000 (inhabitants)

The population at the present time is equally divided between the indigenous population and foreign expatriates from other Arab countries, as well as from Iran, India and Pakistan (Melikian and al-Easa 1978). A government survey has shown that in 1975/76 about

70 per cent of the work force were foreigners. In the private sector Qataris are estimated to make up only 5 per cent of the work force.

Another result of such changes was the unprecedented growth rate of the capital city of Doha due to migration from within and without the area and the rise of the phenomenon which may be referred to as "petro-urban cities" (Riad 1981). The statistics demonstrating this increase are as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Pop. of Qatar</u>	<u>Pop. of Doha</u>	<u>Doha perc.</u>
1905	30,000	12,000	40%
1959	40,000	15,000	37.5%
1971	111,000	83,000	74.5%
1978	220,000	190,000	86.3%

(Riad 1981:21)

### 1.5.2 Family

Oil, together with the industrialization and the modernization which followed, had a great impact on the structure of the family in Qatar society. The extended family system, which was so predominant before the fifties, is being gradually replaced by the nuclear family system (al-Easa 1979, 1980); Melikian and al-Easa 1978; Kazem and Melikian 1981; El Adly 1982).

At the present time, the younger people are less conservative in their attitudes and behaviour when compared to the older generation.

"The less traditional attitudes which young people possess have been triggered off ... by the oil industry, ... urbanization, and by education. They are also being reinforced by the mass media and the increasing contact with foreigners and exposure to different ways of life"

(Melikian and al-Easa 1978:42)

There is no doubt that the mass media play an important role in the changes that are taking place, by facilitating cultural contact. This element, however, was very much absent before the oil-era.

## 1.6 Extralinguistic factors

### 1.6.1 Tribal membership

The majority of modern sociolinguistic studies within the quantitative paradigm have taken the concept of class hierarchy as the starting point. Such notions may be applicable to Western communities but in a tribally based society of Qatar such a concept is irrelevant. Therefore it is more realistic, and more rewarding, to examine linguistic variation in the Qatar speech community in the light of tribal affiliation, because notions like "tribe" play an important role in the society. The social structure in this country is based on what could be termed Tribalism. This is hardly surprising if we take into consideration the fact that 150 years ago the area was not made up states in any sense of the word, but rather land occupied by a number of tribes, each with its own territorial zone. In these societies, unlike class-based ones, social status depends upon tribe rather than wealth, upon piety rather than education and upon age rather than profession (Malikian 1981). Therefore, in this study, different speakers are grouped together according to the tribes to which they belong.

The Qataris can be grouped and attached to one of the following according to their origin:

1. Badu (Bedouins)
2. Qaba:yil (Tribes)
3. Howala (Returnees)
4. 'Ajam (Persians)

Furthermore, the last three groups are collectively referred to as /haDar/ "town settlers".

#### 1.6.1.1 Badu

Badu are of Arab origin whose roots are somewhere in the Arabian peninsula. They have moved to Qatar from Najd in Saudi Arabia, the coastal area of al-Hasa, and the coasts of Oman at the beginning of the 18th century, for economic and political reasons. These migrations continued well into the 19th century during the first Saudi government and Wahabi regime (Melikian 1981).

Until very recently they were living in the interior of Qatar, depending mainly on sheep and camel breeding, but came regularly to Doha to purchase goods. I asked one of my informants, who is 67 years old, whether there were any Bedouins in Doha 60 years ago. He said that there were, but they came only to sell goods and purchase whatever they needed before returning to the interior again.

Today, the Bedouin are moving to the cities in increasing numbers, since these cities provide an easier and more comfortable life and, more importantly, they are centres for economic and administrative organizations.

#### 1.6.1.2 Qaba:yil

Qaba:yil (tribes) are of Arab origin very much like the Badu. They have emigrated to Qatar from the Arabian Peninsula, and many of these tribes still have tribal or blood relations with tribes in Saudi Arabia. They arrived in Qatar almost at the same time as the Badu. Whereas the Badu settled in the interior, Qaba:yil settled on the coasts and eventually gave up their traditional Bedouin style of life and became seafarers, fishermen and pearl-traders or divers. The Qaba:yil represent the bulk of the indigenous population of



Qatar. This group includes many different tribes, but they all share one common feature i.e. they are sedentary. This is very important, because throughout the history the sedentary/Bedouin distinction has dominated the whole society of the Arabian peninsula.

#### 1.6.1.3 The Howala

The Howala's (returnees') origin is a controversial matter. They themselves claim to come originally from the Arabian Peninsula, and also that their ancestors had migrated to the Southern parts of Iran during a hard economic period which hit the Arabian Peninsula some time ago - but had returned to the Gulf States prior to the discovery of oil. When they trace their origins they see themselves as belonging to one of the following tribes: the Bani Tameem, whose ancestral home is in Saudi Arabia, or the al-Mazaveeq and Bani Kab, who live on the west coast of Iran. The Qaba:yil and Badu, however, do not accept these accounts of origin given by the Howala (Melikian 1980).

#### 1.6.1.4 The 'Ajam

The 'Ajam are really the stigmatized group in Qatar. They came to Qatar from the Southern parts of Iran after the discovery of oil and at the start of the period of prosperity in the region. All members of this group, or their fathers before them, have undergone the nationalization process before acquiring Qatari citizenship. They are seen by other groups, especially the Qaba:yil and Badu, as aliens or foreigners. In fact members of the 'Ajam group feel this very much i.e. the fact that they have been treated as inferiors and discriminated against by other groups. One of my informants, reflecting on this issue, said that they (the Qaba:yil and Badu),

think the 'Ajam have come to their land to take away their wealth.

The first three groups i.e. the Badu, Qaba:yil and Howala, are not rated equally. The Badu are looked upon as the embodiment of Arab purity on the one hand, while on the other they are discriminated against by the more sophisticated town Arabs, who consider them ignorant and unskilled rustics. It is quite common to find that the name "Badu" is attached to a person showing any sign of stupidity. I myself have quite frequently heard people saying "Are you a Bedouin"!! (meaning "Do you not understand?!!!")

The Qaba:yil and Badu consider themselves to be superior to the Howala. Their feelings of superiority, especially the Qaba:yil, are based on:

- (a) their solid belief that they had not been contaminated by contact with the Persians, whereas the Howala had;
- (b) the fact that they are able to trace their origins to the main tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, whereas the Howala cannot do so with any degree of certainty;
- (c) the fact that the Howala have a less rigid tribal structure and have, at least among the older generation, some knowledge of the Persian language (Farsi) (Melekian 1981).

Until very recently the wealthiest group of all were the Howala (returnees). In fact even at the present time some of the wealthiest merchants not only in Qatar but also in other Gulf States, are Howala. However they, unlike the 'Ajam group, do not encounter any discrimination or social pressure, for two reasons. Firstly, they are very wealthy compared to other groups. Secondly, they have been living in Qatar for such a long time that they are accepted as true Qataris by the Qaba:yil and Badu groups.

Though the Qaba:yil and Howala have lived in Doha and other coastal cities for more than 120 years, there are signs of segregation between the two groups. Each group traditionally lived in one part of the city. For instance, old Doha was divided into areas /Fariq/, each occupied by a tribe. Furthermore, the Qaba:yil were living in the east part of the town and the Howala in the centre. Another sign of separation was found in marriage. The Qaba:yil traditionally did not marry Howala because they thought, and some still do, that the Howala race is impure i.e. contaminated by continuous contact with the Persians. Besides endogamy (i.e. marrying cousins or relatives) was, and still is to a lesser degree, the preferred form of marriage. But there are signs that this segregation is beginning to weaken; for instance, more instances of cross-marriage between the two groups are now taking place.

#### 1.6.2 Age

This factor is of considerable importance especially if the investigation deals with sound change in progress. Moreover, the rapid change and modernization which Qatar has witnessed in the past thirty years have effectively created two distinct generations: one belongs to the before-oil era and the other to the after-oil era. However, I expect the effect of such changes to be more prominent in the life of the latter group than in the life of the former one.

#### 1.6.3 Education

This extralinguistic factor was found to have a great impact on variation in all the studies carried out on monolingual as well as diglossic speech communities. In the former, and especially in Western societies, this factor is closely related to the class hierarchy (for example see Macaulay 1977; Trudgill 1974).

Education, however, plays even a more important role in the diglossic speech communities. This is hardly surprising if we take into consideration the fact that the H variety, in such communities, is only accessible through education.

Qatar is a diglossic speech community in which the everyday language is QD and the superposed variety is SA. Formal education was introduced in 1951/2 which means that it has created two generations: one which had no chance of such education and the other one with every opportunity of such education. The two groups correspond more-or-less with the two age groups mentioned above. Therefore, it is very difficult to distinguish the effect of the age factor from the influence of the educational one.

#### 1.6.4 Style

Perhaps it is a universal phenomenon that people speak differently according to the various contexts they find themselves in. In fact, Labov (1970b) and Hymes (1971) say that there is no single-style speaker. It is well documented in many sociolinguistic studies that one of the elements which conditions variability in speech is the style: more of the prestigious variants occur as the style becomes more formal, and more of the stigmatized variants occur as the speech develops informally. From my personal observations this is generally true of QD, and I included this factor to gauge its impact on the manifestation of the linguistic variables in this dialect.

Notes

1. The literal meaning of Doha in Arabic is a tall tree with many branches.
2. This could be important since many tribes in the east side of the peninsula are descendant from the Tameem tribe.
3. The term Old Arabic (OA) is used by Blanc (1964) as a cover term for the general ancestor of the present Arabic dialects.
4. These changes are believed to be concomitant with a similar fronting affecting /k/ producing [tʃ] and [ts] in the environment of front vowels. This is called "kashkasha" in Arabic. For more details on this see Johnstone (1963), Matar (1969 and 1980) and Abdel-Jawad (1981).

## Chapter II

### Methodology

#### 2.1 Introduction

The traditional structuralist approach to the study of language began with the a priori assumption that a single carefully chosen informant was capable of providing sufficient and adequate data for the description of the language (Bell, 1976). This can be seen as due to the influence of Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole*.

"If everyone possesses a knowledge of language structure (*langue*) ... one should be able to obtain the data from the testimony of any one person - even oneself. On the other hand, data on *parole*, on speech, can only be obtained by examining the behaviour of individuals as they use the language"

(Labov 1972<sub>a</sub>:185-6)

The study of abstract knowledge of language has been reinforced through the work of transformational generative linguists. One of the aims of this school of linguists is to arrive at a regular pattern, or, more precisely, to describe "ideal speaker-listener" competence in a homogeneous speech community (Chomsky 1965). Therefore variation was much neglected. Chomsky insisted that the basis for linguistic study should (in most cases) be the investigator's own intuition rather than the utterances of any one individual, as competence shows no variation, or total homogeneity, whereas performance is full of variation (Labov 1972 <sub>a</sub>).

Dialectologists, on the other hand, were primarily interested in the study of geographically varying linguistic forms. They concentrated mainly on the speech habits of rural areas.

"The usual procedure in traditional dialectology was to select NORMS (in rural areas), informants, who were not only elderly but also uneducated and untravelled, because it was felt that this method would produce examples of the 'most genuine' dialect"

(Trudgill 1980:56)

Sociolinguists, like the dialectologists, are mainly interested in variation, but the difference between the two groups can be summarized in the following two points:

- a. the focus of attention.
- b. the methodology in data collection.

Sociolinguists concentrate on urban as well as rural speech communities and describe the variation that occurs in any speech community, whereas the dialectologist's attention tends to be directed solely to the geographically significant variations whereby isoglosses can be established.

The difference in methodology is even greater. The quantitative approach in sociolinguistics started with the work of William Labov in the 1960's. He introduced a new technique in data collection by combining the structural analysis of spoken forms with modern sociological sampling method. Sociolinguists following this approach start by recording randomly selected informants. Their selection is based on criteria of sociological sampling, so that each group of speakers will be representative of a particular section of society (i.e. socio-economic class, age, sex, etc.) (Francis 1983).

The elicitation procedures in the new field of sociolinguistics are also different from the conventional dialect questionnaire method used by dialectologists, in which the informant is asked directly to produce certain samples of speech. In sociolinguistic

studies, on the other hand, data is normally obtained in interview sessions, in which the speaker is deliberately encouraged, or directed to change his style, without being aware of it. In this respect, sociolinguistics is commonly regarded as a new field of inquiry which utilizes different data from those employed by other linguists. It is different in the sense that a sociolinguist normally relies on data collected from a representative sample, whereas for other linguists, for example generative grammarians, the input is usually an individual's intuition, and in most cases it is the linguist's.

Sociolinguists working in quantitative paradigms have paid a great deal of attention to methodology. Methodology, as Hudson (1980) has pointed out, is regarded as

"both important and problematic at all stages  
in a sociolinguistic ... study"

(ibid 144)

The stages can be divided into:

1. Selection of informants and linguistic variables.
2. Collecting the data.
3. Identifying the linguistic variables and their various variants.
4. Processing the figures.
5. Interpreting the results.

(for more detail, see Hudson 1980:144-7)

## 2.2 Selection of the informants:

The research paradigm for this study is that of a quantitative sociolinguistic study of linguistic variation. The sample is probably best described as a judgement sample rather than a random one. A random sample is a sample where every member of the



population has the same chance of being selected (the population in question being a large one) and therefore the sample has to be drawn from some kind of pre-arranged list. However, it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to draw a random sample as such for this study, because of the lack of an appropriate census in Qatar. This is a general problem that would face any investigator seeking a random sample in Qatar. The available statistical figures are estimated ones; and to make the situation even worse, none of the officially published statistical abstracts gives any indication of how the Qataris are divided into the various sub-groups.<sup>1</sup> Any statistical abstract, at best, divides the population in Qatar into Qataris and non-Qataris. Such a classification is of no help to this study, which is concerned about the linguistic variation in the various social groups of Qataris in Doha (the capital of Qatar).

As we saw in (1.6.1) the informants were divided into four social groups:

- (1) Qaba:yil (tribes)
- (2) Howala (returnees)
- (3) Badu (Bedouins)
- (4) 'Ajam (Persians)

In each group the speakers were divided into two age groups as follows:

- (1) Speakers over 50 years old (old)
- (2) Speakers from 20 to 35 years old (young)

The young group was again divided into three groups, according to the level of education of the informants, as follows:

- (1) Up to 9th grade (elementary level)
- (2) From 10th to 12th grade (secondary level)

## (3) University graduates (university level)

It was, however, impossible to obtain a similar sub-classification according to the level of education for the older speakers, because formal education was introduced in Qatar in 1952 for males, and in 1955 for females (Qatar 1983). In fact the distinction between the two age groups is based on the approximate date of the introduction of formal education in Qatar, so that the younger group includes speakers who had the opportunity of such an education, whereas the other group of informants did not have such an opportunity.

The sub-classification of the informants gives a sixteen cell matrix as follows:

Qaba:yil				
Howala			X	
Badu	X			X
'Ajam				
	Old		Young	
		El.	Sec.	Univ

The target number for informants in each cell was three, thus giving a total number of 48 informants in all. The final number sample of informants who gave an interview was 51. Of those 6 were ruled out, because their recordings were unclear; of these 6 three recordings were carried out in the Qatar T.V. station in the informant's own office. It was subsequently discovered that these interviews were affected by the FM transmission from a nearby radio station. The interference of the FM broadcast was considerable, and therefore it

was decided to rule out these interviews. It is relevant at this point to mention that other recordings which were also done at the T.V. station were not affected by the transmission, because they were conducted in recording studios. The other three unclear recordings were due to the uncleanness of the head of the tape-recorder. No attempt was made to re-interview these 6 informants since it was felt that the context of the interview would not be the same; and moreover the questionnaire would be of a repetitive nature to them.

The defects of these 6 interviews meant that some cells will only have two informants. These cells are marked by an X in the matrix.

The sample for this study is comparatively smaller than the sample used by Labov in his New York study. But it is much closer to the sample used by Trudgill in 1974 in his Norwich study (he used 60 informants). On the whole, Labov has reported that even a smaller sample than this may serve the purpose of a linguistic study. He writes

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

(Labov 1970<sub>a</sub>:285)

This is, however, not in conflict with the number of informants in each cell, since in each sub-group the number of informants is more than five as follows:

(1) According to the four social groups:

Qaba:yil = 12

Howala = 11

Badu = 10

'Ajam = 12

(2) According to the age level:

Old speakers = 11

Young speakers = 34

(3) According to the level of education:

Elementary level = 12

Secondary level = 11

University level = 11

Now we come to an important question: how can one decide to which social group an informant belongs, and by what criteria can one decide if he belongs to the Qaba:yil, Howala, Badu or 'Ajam groups, especially since no such classification is available from any official sources (i.e. lists, census, government publication etc.)?

The criterion on the basis of which I have decided to attach the informant to any group was the family name of the informant. The family name of a person in Qatar would ultimately give enough information on his ethnic background. In other words, it is possible, on the basis of information in the name of each speaker, to decide to which group he belongs. This is unsurprising, because every Qatari bears the name of the tribe (origin) to which he belongs. For instance, Kobaisi, Ka'bi, Manna'i, Mohannadi etc. refer to Qataris of the Qaba:yil group; names such as Marri, Shahwani, Mansouri refer to Qataris of the Badu group; names like

Fakhro, Obaidan, alBakir, al-Darwish refer to the Howala group. Members of the 'Ajam group either have tribal prototype names of their own, such as Lari, Imadi, Amadadhi etc. or lack any specific tribal names.

Equally important is the fact that certain first names refer to members of the 'Ajam group. Here are some examples: Ghuloom, Ghulam, Abbas, Haidar, etc. These names are not used by the other three groups. This of course does not conceal the fact that the majority of first names are used by all four groups.

The field work investigation and data collection were carried out by the author during the summers of 1983 and 1984. In August-September 1983, 10 informants were recorded in face-to-face interviews. They provided the data for the pilot study, and since it was good data it was taken as a part of the corpus for the main research. The other informants were recorded in June-September 1984.

### 2.2.1 The procedures in selecting informants

Two approaches were adopted in the selection of informants:

1. a random selection from a list.
2. a random selection from residential areas.

#### 2.2.1.1 Random selection from a list

Since no official list of the Qatari population is available, I tried to create one in order to remove any bias from the sample. I collected a list of Qataris employed at

1. Ministry of Information
2. Ministry of Municipality
3. Ministry of Work and Social Welfare
4. Ministry of Education

A request was made for each Ministry to provide the following:

- a. Full name of employee
- b. Age
- c. Level of education

A similar list was also obtained for Qatari students enrolled for the summer course at the University of Qatar.

The only condition was that the person must have been living in Doha for the past 15 years. The phrase Qataris living in Doha was used for two reasons: to avoid any confusion with non-Qataris because this study is concerned with certain linguistic characteristics of Qataris only, and to ensure that only Qataris resident in Doha are selected as this investigation is about variation among various Qatari groups living in Doha. This ensured that any effect of geographical factors that may be involved was ruled out.

The task of obtaining such a list was not equally difficult at all the above mentioned places. At the University I encountered no difficulties at all. This was due to the fact that I studied at the University and hence was acquainted with people in charge there. The whole process at the University did not take more than a week.

At the T.V. station, however, the matter was quite different. The registration office refused to prepare the required list without an official letter from the director of the station. Fortunately, however, he was more than willing to help me in any possible way and showed great interest and enthusiasm in the study. Of course, neither the people I contacted to obtain the lists nor the informants were told the precise purpose of the investigation. They were told that the study is about the attitude of Qataris to

specific modernisation elements.

Having obtained all the required lists, I compiled four further lists i.e. a list for each social group. Certain difficulties were met in the process, since not all the names could reasonably be attached to any of the four social groups. Some names were written as first and second names only, and no mention was made of family names. It was therefore extremely difficult, if not impossible in such cases, to decide which group the person in question belonged to. The safeguard in these cases was to rule out such names altogether. The remaining names produced four lists representing the four social groups. 30 informants were randomly chosen from the lists. Some young informants chosen in this way were asked to arrange another meeting with an older member of their families in addition to their own ones. This request was always made at the end of the interview and the majority of them did not object to it.

#### 2.2.1.2 Random selection from residential areas

The city of Doha is divided into areas called 'firjan'. The name of each area normally refers to the tribe that live in it or that used to live there. Islita aljidida, for instance, is predominantly populated by the Slaiti tribe, the Khalaifat by the Kholaiifi tribe, and so on. Names of other areas, however, do not refer to any particular tribe; nevertheless the natives know that the population of these areas consists of a certain social group. For instance, Madinat alkhalifa (Khalifa city) does not refer to a particular tribe, but the natives know that it is inhabited by the Qaba:yil group. Usually when the word alqadim ("the old") occurs in conjunction with the name of an area which refers to a particular tribe it means that the tribe is no longer living there. For



instance, alGhanim alqadim ('The old Ghanim') refers to a part of the city of Doha where the alGhanim tribe used to live before moving to other areas. On the whole the name of an area reflects the origin of its inhabitants, although this is not always the case, and one needs native knowledge on these issues as well.

The procedures for choosing any particular informant from the residential areas were as follows:

For each social group specific areas were selected. Thus, for the Qaba:yil group the areas were alislita aljidida, alkholaifat, Madinat Khalifa and Ghazza. For the Badu group the areas were Firig alMurra alShimalyya and Firij alMurra aljanubiyya. And for the 'Ajam group the areas were Firij alasmakh, Firij allangawi and Firij alnajma. But it has to be said at this point that while the residential area feature is quite true of the Qaba:yil, Badu and 'Ajam groups, it is less so of the Howala group who are scattered in various parts of the city of Doha; it was very difficult to apply the residential area method to this group of speakers. Therefore, all the informants of the Howala group were selected from a pre-arranged list.

Having established the areas for each social group, the next step was to select informants from each area. The procedure was relatively simple. At about 4 p.m. I entered the area and approached the first adult coming out of a house, explained to him the purpose of my coming and tried to arrange an interview with him. If the person happened to be a visitor to that house, but was living in the same area, an interview was arranged - otherwise he was ruled out. Not more than one interview was carried out in each residential area on any single day. Care was taken to enter the



area from different routes on successive visits to minimize the bias of the data. If the person was unwilling to give an interview or was not the right informant for the cell in question, for instance if I was looking for a university graduate and the person was of a secondary level of education, he was asked to direct me to such an informant, or to arrange a meeting between that person and myself. Obviously this question was irrelevant at the start of the data collection. But as the process went on this matter became more apparent. In other words, at the beginning of the data collection all types of informants were required regardless of their level of education, age etc. provided they were of the right social category. But as time passed some cells were full while others were still incomplete. At this stage the procedure was rather selective i.e. the emphasis was on filling the incomplete cells. Of course, some selected people had to be ruled out for various reasons (for senility, speech defects etc.). In these cases replacements were selected in a similar way.

The majority of people approached were quite willing to give an interview; some were reluctant at first; some were more cooperative than others. To be more precise, only 5 people refused to give an interview. One of the refusals thought that I was brain-washed in one way or another and that the study was of no good to anybody. The other four gave no specific reason, but it was clear to me that somehow it was caused by fear of the interview situation, together with a fear that what they said might be used as an evidence against them. In other words they could not trust me.

The standard approach is to follow up a refusal with more than one trail in order to secure an interview. This was done with one

of the refusals but with no positive response. However, it is unlikely that the linguistic behaviour of this group of speakers would show a significant difference in their linguistic characteristics from other speakers who agreed to give an interview.

Indeed

"Labov 1966 has shown ... that those informants who refused him interviews and could not be contacted, and whose linguistic behaviour was later studied by other means, were in no way different from the other informants (who gave interviews) in their language characteristics."  
(Trudgill 1974:26)

### 2.2.2 Limitations of the data

One of the main drawbacks of the present data is the exclusion of female speakers. In other words, all the informants are of male sex. This is a serious handicap especially since many studies have reported sex to be one of the key factors which influences variation, (for example see Fischer (1958), Trudgill (1972), Smith (1985). But, however, the decision to include male informants only was taken on the basis of the norms of the society. Culturally as well as religiously great restrictions are imposed on women regarding their contacts with strangers, let alone being recorded. Therefore, it was decided to leave out female speakers, since it was thought that it would be impossible to obtain data from them.

The other less serious restriction of the data is that more data is available from the younger generation than from the older one i.e. the informants of the former group were three times as many as the latter. This was due to the fact that educational sub-classification could only be applied to the younger group.

During my field work I have noticed that the older speakers were very keen to speak about the pearl-fishing industry and other

related activities of the pre-oil era, whereas the young people were more willing to talk about the present day issues. In fact some of the older people were reluctant to change the topics. Informants were not pressed to talk about subjects they did not like. This was good in providing chances for spontaneous speech to emerge, but on the other hand, this reduced the chances to talk about the same topics.

### 2.3 Obtaining the data:

Having selected the informants and secured their cooperation the next step is to obtain the required data. It is not enough merely to have a representative sample of speakers for we also need to have a representative sample of speech for each speaker. To achieve that end three main approaches have been used:

- a. Face-to-face interview.
- b. Group recording.
- c. Social network.

#### 2.3.1 Face-to-face interview:

Generally speaking this sort of context is a relatively formal style in which the informant is isolated from his usual environment (i.e. peer group, friends, family, etc.). In such a situation it is natural that the speaker pays more attention to what he says and how he says it than he does when he interacts outside the interview context. This is, however, one of the consequences of this method which Labov has termed the "observer's paradox":

"The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation."

(Labov 1972<sub>a</sub>:209)

One must take into consideration that even the most carefully tape-managed interviews fail to produce speech behaviour similar to that which the informant would produce in genuine casual interactions (speaking to a friend, a member of the family etc.). One example of this is Macaulay's 1977 study in Glasgow. He used the face-to-face interview method and reports that the data he managed to obtain is

"no guide to the kind of speech used in other situations (outside the interview context). It is well known that style of speech varies with the situation in which the speaker finds himself, and one has only to walk around Glasgow for a few minutes to overhear examples of styles of speech that are unrepresented in the interview materials. The reason for the absence of such style in the interview situation is that they are not considered appropriate for such a situation."

(Macaulay 1977:4)

A similar criticism of data collected in an interview situation is evident in Gumperz 1970, who writes

"the very artificiality of settings where linguists interview a single informant, and where speech samples must be produced in isolation from the customary circle of friends and family is hardly likely to bring forth the subtleties in selection of speech forms, shifts in formality and in informality, which characterize everyday interaction."

(Gumperz 1970:208).

Similar remarks are also being made in Milroy (1980:25).

Equally important is the fact that an informant's linguistic behaviour is influenced to a great extent by his interlocutor - in this case the person conducting the interview. This means that if an educated person conducts the interview, he may obtain different data from another interview of the same subject carried out by somebody educated to a greater or lesser extent than he. It has

been reported that informants, and particularly the less educated ones, attempt to raise the level of their linguistic behaviour to approximate to the level of the interviewer (Abdel-Jawad 1981). He reports that once the informants were aware that the data being collected was for a Ph.D. study, they raised their linguistic behaviour markedly and were trying to speak in a similar manner to himself.

### 2.3.2 Group recordings:

One way of overcoming the observer's paradox is by the pressures of face-to-face interaction in primary groups in natural situations. The most outstanding study which utilized this method was that of Labov et al (1968), in which they studied the vernacular of black adolescent peer groups in Harlem. They studied three groups: the Thunderbirds, the Jets and the Cobras. They describe the setting in which the data was recorded as

"essentially that of a party rather than an interview, with card games, eating and drinking, singing and sounding. The effect of observation and recording was, of course, present but the natural interaction of the group overrode all other effects."

(quoted in Downes 1984:95)

Blom and Gumperz (1972) report a similar result in their study in the Norwegian village of Hennesberget. They write that

"methodologically self-recruitment of the group is important (because the) ... participants have pre-existing obligations towards each other ... (and therefore) they are likely to respond to such obligations in spite of the presence of a stranger."

(Blom and Gumperz 1972:426-7)

(See also Milroy and Milroy 1978; Reid 1978; Cheshire 1978; Milroy 1980 for similar remarks.)

Another example of utilizing this method in recording

naturalistic speech in a relatively unobserved context is the work of Soskin and John (1963) (reported in Gumperz 1970). The subjects were given a two week holiday at a resort, and at their arrival they were each equipped with a small microphone which was hidden in part of their clothing. They were told that they could turn the microphone off when privacy was needed, but were encouraged to keep it on all the time. Their speech was recorded through a transmitter station a few miles from the centre of activity of the subjects. In this way a large body of valuable data was gathered.

There is no doubt that the strength of this method of collecting the data is that it makes it possible to obtain and study genuinely casual speech as used among friends, since the presence of interviewer, tape-recorder and a microphone have a minimal effect on the linguistic performance of the informants. But in a face-to-face interview situation this is not the case. On the contrary, in such situations the effect of the interview constraint is very high; and there is no guarantee that the informant will speak in the same way as he does with his friends or with a member of his family no matter how much of a genius the person conducting the interview is (Hudson 1980).

### 2.3.3 Social network:

Milroy and Milroy (1978) have found that it is possible to elicit more natural (i.e. casual) speech of informants in a relatively different way from either A or B. They suggest that it is possible to arrive at the vernacular of an individual speaker though not necessarily in group interactions. The main principle behind their approach is that by gradually building up a relationship with a particular group of speakers one gains the

status of 'friend' if not that equivalent to that of a member of the family. Consequently, one may gain easy access to the vernacular as it occurs in a family atmosphere, because in these circumstances the investigator will be looked upon by the informants as 'one of us', and members of the network will feel obliged to help him.

Milroy (1980) has used this method in her study in Belfast. She reports that once she was introduced to a family as 'a friend of a friend' and, as her ties with the family grew stronger, she had no difficulty in recording the speech of members of the family whether in the house or outside it.

Using face-to-face interview, group recording or social network the role of an insider in data collection is an important one. An insider is more likely to gain access to the vernacular than an outsider. There are many examples in the literature which confirm this. Douglas-Cowie (1978) found that the presence of the English outsider very often initiates a switch to more standard speech codes (the study was carried out in the village of Articlave in Northern Ireland).

Another example is the work of Labov (1969b). He found that when a negro child is interviewed by a white person, the verbal behaviour of the child was very much the same as described by 'deficit theory'. But when the interviewer was black, the situation changed dramatically. In this situation the child showed a richness both in volume and in style of speech. The notion of insider was also used in Labov et al (1968).

#### 2.4 The present study

The data for this study was collected in structured interviews following the model of Labov 1966 and Trudgill 1974, i.e. Method A.

There were several reasons that encouraged me to adopt this approach rather than that of methods B or C. Firstly, as Gumperz (1970) and Milroy (1980) have noted

"although group studies (recordings) allow a  
gain in depth, they lack representativeness"  
(Milroy 1980:38)

In other words, the speech samples collected in types B and C cannot claim to be representative of the speech of a whole community. Secondly, the approach adopted by Soskin and John (1963) can only adequately be applied to subjects of a certain age i.e. children. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find adults who will agree to those procedures. Thirdly, again in the approach adopted by Soskin and John (1963), the body of data required to cover all the stylistic variation is huge, and the accurate transcription of such data requires a great deal of time (Gumperz 1970). Fourthly, the approach introduced by Milroy and Milroy, albeit a sound one, requires a reasonable knowledge of background information on all the subjects, and the social network systems they are involved in, before attempting to interpret the results. Finally, the time needed for obtaining the data using the face-to-face interview technique is comparatively short when compared to the time needed for similar tasks utilizing methods B or C. This is due to the fact that in method A the interview is normally arranged from the first or second meeting, and the work is finished quickly. But in Milroy's case, for instance, she had to spend some time getting herself acquainted with the informants, to the extent that she was no longer regarded as a stranger, before attempting any tape-recordings.

While one has to admit that methods B and C produce better data



for analysis, at the same time it must be remembered that each method has its advantages and disadvantages. In the end it is up to the individual investigator to weigh each approach and select the one that is most suitable for his research. Being limited by time and financial resources (scholarship), I have decided that it was more practicable to adopt the individual face-to-face interview method. In other words, given the time available, I have sacrificed 'in depth' quality for the sake of 'representativeness'.

#### 2.4.1 The interview procedure

Having secured the informants' cooperation, the next step was to arrange the interviews. The majority of informants were willing to have the interviews conducted at the very same meeting. Some informants, of course, were less willing or more suspicious than others, and it was at this point that their reluctance and hesitation had to be overcome. For instance, I went to meet one of the selected informants from the Ministry of Municipality. He was not there, but his colleagues were. They asked me to wait for him, saying he would be returning soon. When he arrived, and I explained to him the purpose of my coming, he was extremely reluctant. At this point his colleagues supported me and tried to persuade him. They had considerable influence over him, with the result that he changed his position and gave me an interview. The majority of people, however, were willing to help and showed considerable interest and enthusiasm in taking part in an investigation.

The most frequent question that I was asked by informants was "Why me particularly, why do you not record anyone else?". It did not take me long to convince the informants that there was no personal aim behind their selection. Most of them were convinced

once the procedure of selecting informants was explained to them. Many informants were suspicious of the presence of the tape-recorder, which often had to be justified as a piece of time-saving equipment. Three informants wanted to remain anonymous. One of them mentioned only his initials and the name of his tribe, which was all important, whereas the other two mentioned their names before the proper interview took place, but refused to mention their names once the tape-recorder was turned on.

The majority of the informants asked for full assurances of confidentiality and of the usefulness and the seriousness of the research conducted. They were given assurances of confidentiality, which was the starting point for the interview. These assurances, however, were reinforced by the types of questions asked during the interview. In fact many informants wanted to know whether I was going to ask about politics or not. The reply was simple: "No politics is involved, and, moreover, if you do not want to answer any questions, you are not obliged to do so". A few, however, insisted that they would like to have examples of the questions asked before the interview started.

All the interviews were carried out by myself, and all except three were conducted in the informant's own office or in his house. Of those three one was conducted in my car, one in my house and one at the sea side.

Usually at the time of the interview no other people were present except the informant and myself. Occasionally when the interview was held at the informant's house, other members of the family were also present. This provided a good opportunity for less formal speech to emerge. This was effective in raising some

favourite topics with the speakers, because the relatives kept reminding the informant of the exciting events in his life. The interviewer is often not aware of the subject's background, while a friend or a brother is well aware of these facts, and can help the informant to remember and thus to narrate the events. Here is an example. In one of the interviews, in which the informant's brother was also present, I asked the informant to tell me if he knew of any incidents involving people walking while they were asleep. His answer was negative. At this point his brother stepped in and reminded him of an incident that happened to one of their neighbours some years ago. He said

"[gu:l le 9an illi daxal be:t 9abd ɔ razza:g]

tell him about the man who went into Abdul-Razak's (their neighbour) house."

Then the informant told the story. These examples are valuable in promoting occurrences of the less formal style on two dimensions:

- a. by talking to a third person.
- b. by reliving the incident.

Due to the limited number of cases where friends were present at the time of the interview, effect of such factors were not considered separately.

The ostensible purpose of the interview mentioned to the informants was to collect information on attitudes towards the changes that are taking place in Qatari society as a consequence of modernization, such as sex and education, segregation vs mixing, the foreign labour force etc. The informants were not told in any way that the primary objective of the interview was to collect a sample of their speech.

#### 2.4.2 Equipment and how it was introduced

For my recordings I used a UHER 4000 portable tape-recorder with an eagle microphone which proved to be reasonably effective in making good recordings. The equipment was provided by the Linguistics Department of the University of Edinburgh. The microphone was placed on the informant's chest, about 20 cm. from his mouth. Since many recordings were conducted at the first visit and, moreover the interviews were carried out in the informants' houses, it was impossible to hide the tape-recorder. Therefore, the policy which I followed in all the interviews was to leave the tape-recorder fully visible to the informants. They were well aware of the fact that they were being recorded.

During the course of the field work, I had only minor problems with the tape-recorder. At the start of the second phase of data collection I recorded three informants but realized that the quality of recording was relatively poor. On investigation, and after consulting the technicians at the English Department of the University of Qatar, the reason was found to be the unclean head of the tape-recorder. These tapes were ruled out, and care was taken from then onwards to clean the head regularly.

#### 2.5 Identifying the various styles

Labov has utilized the observer's paradox itself to define the various styles within the formal context of the interview. He referred to any utterance in reply to the interviewer's formal questions during the course of the interview as careful speech. Thus the formal style is that part of the interview in which the informant is answering a question directed at him. Another definition of this style is the term "consultative" introduced by

Joos (1961). The degree of spontaneity and warmth in the replies of individuals may vary greatly but the relative relationship between the formal speech to the less formal one is generally constant. (Labov 1972<sub>a</sub>).

Labov has also regarded formal speech as a point of reference to define other styles of speech. The assumption underlying this is that there are both more and less formal speech styles than the careful speech. The cornerstone of Labov's technique in distinguishing more or less formal speech is the amount of attention which the informant pays to the way he speaks in any given style. More formal styles entail paying more attention to his speech and hence monitoring it more carefully than he does in the case of informal speech. The spectrum of contexts can easily be extended towards the formal end i.e. to increase formality. Labov (1966) in his pioneering study in New York City has demonstrated various ways of achieving this. Thus the context of reading style, which itself involves more self-awareness than careful speech, is more formal than careful speech. A word list is more formal again, because the informant's attention is constantly drawn to the pronunciation of isolated items. Minimal pairs is the most formal style, because the speaker's attention is deliberately drawn to the variables under investigation. Casual speech, on the other hand, is the speech in which the amount of attention paid to the speech decreases from that in careful speech.

However there has been considerable reservation expressed regarding such style distinctions. Macaulay 1977 writes

"Labov may have been mistaken in claiming that his five contextual styles were on a single continuum. It is reasonable to claim that styles A and B (casual and careful speech respectively) are on a single dimension, namely that of impromptu speech, and that styles C, D and D' (reading a passage, word list and minimal pairs respectively) are on another dimension, namely that of reading aloud. However, there is a gap between the first two and the last three that may be more than a single step."

(Macaulay 1977:21)

Regardless of the above remarks, Labov did not consider all the styles he arranged along a linear scale to be of equal importance in sociolinguistic research. Thus he comments:

"not every style or point on the stylistic continuum is of equal interest to linguists. Some styles show irregular phonological and grammatical patterns with a great deal of hypercorrection. In other styles we find more systematic speech ... This is the vernacular - the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech. Observation of the vernacular gives us the most systematic data for our analysis of linguistic structure."

(Labov 1972:208)

Other sociolinguists, for instance Trudgill and Milroy, agree with Labov that the best data for sociolinguistic study is obtained when the speaker pays least attention to his speech.

Labov considers casual style as the style nearest to the vernacular. Casual style is that part of the interview in which the formal constraints of the interview are momentarily overridden. He suggests, and rightly so, that within the boundary of the formal interview one must seek a means of eliciting the everyday speech which the informant will use once the interview is over. But the real challenge lies in obtaining such data, in encouraging the informant to override the formal constraints of the interview and to speak as he normally does in unobserved situations.

Labov (1966) has identified five contexts in which casual speech may emerge. They are:

1. Speech outside the formal interview.
2. Speech with a third person.
3. Speech not in direct response to questions.
4. Childhood rhymes and customs.
5. Speech about danger of death.

Whenever one of these contexts occurred in combination with any of the various channel cues (tempo, volume, pitch, laughter etc.) the style was classified as casual. A similar method, with slight modifications, was used by Trudgill (1974) in his Norwich City study. He replaced the question of 'danger of death' with

"Have you ever been in a situation recently or sometime ago, where you had a good laugh, or something funny or humorous happened to you, or you saw it happen to someone else?"

(Trudgill 1974:5)

One of the consequences of Labov's identification of casual speech in a formal interview is that

"style B (formal speech) formally defined overlaps casual speech intuitively observed (this, however means) ... that some examples of casual speech will occur outside the five contexts given ... and these will be lost by formal definition (of styles).

(Labov 1972<sub>a</sub>:96)

The above quotation shows that Labov himself acknowledges the fact that such a definition of casual style is not a definite solution to the question of identifying such a style of speech in an interview situation.

If, however, one decides to rely solely on the channel cues without reference to the contexts, the outcome would be even less reliable because the channel cues vary continuously, and to

determine where contrast occurred and where it did not would often be very difficult (Labov 1972<sub>a</sub>). In fact Wolfram and Fasold (1974) criticized Labov's channel cues as being unreliable 100% i.e. many instances could well be interpreted biasly.

An alternative method of isolating casual style from the rest is to treat certain sections of the interview (questionnaire) as casual speech without paying any attention to the channel cues. Many studies have reported that topics can determine styles. Douglas Cowie (1978) in his study in the Northern Irish village of Articlave found that certain topics such as the discussion of occupation, education etc. can trigger off more standard linguistic codes. Similar findings are also reported in Blom and Gumperz (1972); Gumperz (1970), (1971); Milroy (1980) and Labov (1969b).

## 2.6 The present study

This study incorporates the latter approach. Questions in section A of the questionnaire (appendix A) are regarded as formal style, those in section B as casual style and those in section C as reading style. The only modification is that I have considered speaking to a third person as a part of casual speech whether it occurs in section A or B. The reason for this is my personal observation during the course of the pilot study. I have noticed that talking to a third person often produced speech data markedly different from that of formal speech. To put it differently, informants, when talking to a third person, become less formal, even in discussing formal topics, than if they are talking directly to the interviewer. This may be due to the fact that the pre-existing relations impose certain obligations on the speaker which they respond to in spite of the presence of a tape-recorder (Blom and



Gumperz 1972).

### 2.6.1 The questionnaire

The structure of the interview itself is designed to put the speaker at ease. In fact the questions were not read exactly as they appear on the questionnaire, but they were in any case only a guideline to the kind of information I should obtain from the informants. The questionnaire starts with routine questions designed to keep the informants on home ground. These are followed by more serious questions on topics such as female education, predestination etc. designed to raise the level of formality. One of the questions in section A was about a T.V. series called Fayiz attoosh. This daily programme was shown on Qatar T.V. during June 1984. It was a comedy which discussed and criticized certain aspects of life in Qatar. The impact of this programme on the public was controversial. Some people considered it to be truly an accurate reflection of Qatari society and therefore admired the programme for its realistic approach. Others, on the other hand, considered it a failure. The question of its success or failure had become hotly debated in the society ever since it was first screened. The inclusion of this question in the questionnaire proved to be a success, because it was a lively issue at the time and because most of the informants were really interested in discussing it. Of course, this question was not part of the questionnaire used in the pilot study in 1983.

Section B of the interview was relatively relaxing for most of the informants. It included questions on hobbies (falconry and fishing). Falconry is a very popular sport in Qatar and particularly among the Bedouin section of the community, whereas

fishing is quite common among the sedentary population.

The question of 'danger of death' was replaced by a set of questions on funny, humorous and embarrassing incidents that had occurred to the informant himself, or to someone else in his presence. In my pilot study, I used the question of 'danger of death' as used by Labov (1966), but with no success. It seems that such questions are culturally bound (Trudgill 1974). Informants were often emotionally involved when they were talking about funny or embarrassing incidents which had occurred in their life. Informants in these circumstances are under some compulsion to make the story sound humorous or embarrassing, and often become engaged in the narration and the comical aspects of the incidents to the extent that they override the formal constraints of the interview. Trudgill (1974) also found that the question of humorous and embarrassing events was far more successful in producing casual speech than was the question of 'danger of death'.

The questions on the specific linguistic variables under investigation were placed at the end of the interview and just before the reading section. This was done to avoid drawing the informant's attention to these particular aspects of his speech. The questions were also designed to shed light on his awareness of the variables. In other words, the purpose of these questions was to find out how far each informant was aware of the linguistic phenomenon under investigation. On the whole, priority was given to obtaining a representative sample of the speech of each informant, rather than to going through all the questions on the questionnaire. In other words, I did not try to force the speaker to adopt any particular topic, but my main interest was to obtain an adequate

amount of data in each section of each interview.

Section C involves reading two pieces of poetry: 12 lines of standard poetry and 12 lines of colloquial poetry were given to the literate, i.e. young, informants to read. The purpose of this section was to determine the following:

a. how far the spelling affects the informants' linguistic behaviour, in other words, how far do people have a choice in showing variation in reading as they do in speech.

b. how far the genre plays a part in the realization of the variable in reading style. That is to say, would the pronunciation of the letter qaf ق for instance, be different, or the same, when reading the two poems?

c. to find out the stylistic shifting in reading styles.

## 2.7 Difficulties

An interview with a tape-recorder and a microphone is seen as a big event in Qatar. Such an activity is generally connected with television, radio or newspaper interviews. Many informants, especially the older ones, asked me at the start of our interaction whether the interview was for television or for the radio. A few informants were suspicious that I was a government agent trying to trap them in one way or another. And as mentioned earlier, the majority of those refusing interviews gave no specific reason, but I felt that this was the only reason for withdrawing. On the whole an interview with a tape-recorder in Qatar usually alerts the speaker to closely monitor their linguistic performance.

As I mentioned earlier, the perception of an interview as a speech event is subject to formal rules which persist no matter how carefully the investigator tries to keep the level of the interview

informal. On the whole, the university graduates were more alert and hence more formal than others. This may be because their level of education directs them to adopt such strategies, whereas other speakers, being less well educated, are less sensitive to the interview situation. Even if these speakers are as sensitive as the university graduates to the interview situation, their active command of the language does not enable them to level their linguistic output to the same extent as the university graduates. All in all, the younger informants were more formal than the older ones. This is evident in:

1. Divergence of older speakers.
2. Hesitation of younger informants.
3. Choice of standard lexical item and standard proverbs by the younger speakers.

This finding is, however, in conflict to what Abdel-Jawad (1981) reports in his study on the speech of Amman (Jordan). He reports that older, educated speakers show a greater tendency to shift towards the formal style than do the younger informants. Perhaps the reason behind such a conflict in the two studies is that formal education had commenced in Jordan long before it did so in Qatar. Therefore it is possible in Amman to find informants of both age grades with a university level of education, which is not the case in Qatar.

Various techniques have been used throughout the field work investigation to reduce the formal effect created by the presence of a tape-recorder. One of the methods was to change the topics and pick up topics which relaxed the informants and triggered off more spontaneous speech. Another way of minimizing the influence of the

speaker's awareness of the situation was occasionally achieved by the presence of other members of the family when conducting the interview. This had the effect that the speaker did not feel isolated completely from his normal surroundings, although the presence of interview constraints was felt nevertheless. A third method which I utilized was that of joking and laughter, which sometimes had the effect of easing the tension and formality accompanying the informant's response in such formal situations. Finally care was taken not to interrupt the speaker as far as possible, and to 'give him the floor' in order that the more natural speech could emerge. My role most of the time in these interviews was that of a listener.

## 2.8 Linguistic variables

The majority of studies following the quantitative approach concentrated on phonological variables. The rationale behind this is expressed by Macaulay (1977) who says that

"pronunciation is, however, literally superficial, it is the most easily observable aspect of linguistic behaviour, and this fact has significance both for the investigator of linguistic situations and for the member of a speech community. It is significant for the investigator because it is much simpler to collect evidence of variation in pronunciation than it is to investigate grammatical or lexical differences. However it is also important for the ordinary member of the community because snap judgements about an individual's ability or personality may be made on the basis of such superficial characteristics of language."

(Macaulay 1977:5)

The approach of defining the linguistic variables was basically that of Labov (1966) in his New York City study, in which a linguistic variable is defined as a class of variants that are ordered along a continuous dimension, and whose position on that

dimension is determined by independent or extra-linguistic factors.

The rationale behind the choice of the linguistic variables in the present study was similar to that given by Labov (1972<sub>a</sub>:6-7). Firstly, a variable should be frequent i.e. it should occur so often in the conversation that its realization may be charted from an unstructured context and a brief interview. The results of the pilot study have shown that the (Q) and (d<sub>3</sub>) variables are of this quality. The same study, however, has shown that the (k) variable which initially was included in the study, is not frequent. Therefore the (k) variable was ruled out from the main study. Secondly, the variable should be structured i.e. it should form an integral part of a larger unit. Again the (Q) and (d<sub>3</sub>) variables meet such a condition. One cannot neglect the structural parallelism of (d<sub>3</sub>) standardization and of (Q) standardization which is taking place in QD. Although the rate of the process in each variable is relatively different from the other, the essence of the process in both variables remains the same. Thirdly, the variable should be immune from consciousness. This criterion, however, has raised certain problems in a number of previous studies (for example see Macaulay 1977). Therefore I did not press this point, but instead made certain that the variables fulfilled the other two conditions. Finally, the variable should easily be quantified on a linear scale.

### 2.9 Isolating the variables:

In a study in which one is dealing with variation and, moreover, expects a great deal of variation to occur, a fundamental and crucial question is on what criteria one says that segment X belongs to variable (Y). How can one decide if segment X comes under the

variable being investigated? In other words, on what basis would one know what to count and what to discount when analysing data?

Unfortunately all of the studies on variation in Arabic dialects, based on the Labovian quantitative approach, have neglected this point (Abdel-Jawad 1981, Shorrab 1981, Schmidt 1974 and Holes 1982). They have started as though everything is clear and have drawn their conclusions about linguistic variables without reporting how they have decided what to look for in the first place. It seems from their work that they have taken it for granted that the existence of a linguistic variable, such as the voiceless uvular plosive (Q), is indisputable, and moreover it is always easy to identify it when it occurs, regardless of its phonetic realization (be it [q], [k], [g], [x] or anything else). It is important that one should state the criteria on which decisions are based - no matter how trivial those criteria may appear.

Obviously, one cannot rely on phonetic clues when dealing with variation of this kind. To put it another way, one cannot say beforehand that all segments realized as [x<sub>1</sub>], [x<sub>2</sub>], [x<sub>3</sub>] etc. will be considered as various manifestations of the (X) variable. This method would be wrong for various reasons. Firstly, it is a case of circularity; one sets off to find variation in the variable, but the range of such variation is decided beforehand. In the example mentioned above the range of variation in the (X) variable cannot be more than [x<sub>1</sub>], [x<sub>2</sub>] and [x<sub>3</sub>]. This in itself entails that the analysis of the variable counted in this way would be incomplete. Secondly, this approach is inadequate because the analysis of any variable may include instances that are not a genuine part of that variable, but are included simply because the

phonetic realization of these segments are in accordance with the phonetic manifestation outlined by the method. For instance, if one decides to treat every [d<sub>3</sub>] segment as a part of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable, one would wrongly include under the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable cases which are a part of qaf-affrication such as /sidq/ -> [sidd<sub>3</sub>] "true".

It is clear that the [d<sub>3</sub>] segment in this word is not part of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable, even though its phonetic realization may suggest this. In fact it is part of the (Q) variable. Therefore such a method could be incorrect and misleading. For all these reasons I have adopted a more subjective method in deciding what to look for when analysing my data.

The criterion I have used is the Arabic orthographic system. It may seem questionable to use the orthographic system as a criterion when one is dealing with recorded speech; but with exceptions which will be mentioned later, this method is applicable.

The Arabic alphabet consists of 28 letters. They are all consonants but 3 of them i.e. و /w/, ي /y/ and alif 1 /a:/. و /w/ and ي /y/ serve a double purpose i.e. both are used as consonants as well as long vowels.

In Arabic orthography the distinction is drawn between short and long vowels. SA has three long vowels /o:/, /i:/ and /a:/ corresponding to three short ones /o/ "dhamma", /i/ "kasra" and /a/ "fatHa", which together form six separate phonemes. The short vowels are sometimes represented by the appropriate vowel sign which is placed above or beneath the consonant. The signs are as follows:  
 /a/ "fatHa": a short diagonal stroke above the consonant as in قَ.  
 /i/ "kasrah": a short diagonal stroke beneath the consonant as in قِ



/o/ "dhamma": a small <sup>o</sup> placed above the consonant as in قُ.

The indefinite case-endings "on/1 /an/ and /in/ of SA are denoted by doubling the short vowel marks except for /an/, which is placed above an alif as in

/qita:l/ "fight"

قِتَال

/qita:lon/

قِتَالٌ

/qita:lin/

قِتَالِ

/qita:lan/

قِتَالًا

Geminated consonants are indicated by the "tashdeed" sign (س) placed above the consonants. For example

/daqqaqa/ "he checked"

دَقَّقَ

But if "kasrah" on the termination /in/ follows a geminated consonant the tashdeed sign is placed above the consonant but beneath the sign as in

/daqqiq/ "you check" (command)

دَقِّقِ

The diacritic (o) "sukun" is used to indicate no-vowel or zero-vowel. The 1̣ sign represents a glottal stop followed by an /a:/.

The idea of using the orthographic system as a criterion rests on a question such as this: if one was to write words such as [d<sub>3</sub>a:b], [ja:b], [ya:b] etc. "he brought", how would one write the first segment of each token? If one decides to write the first segment in each word with the orthographic (d<sub>3</sub>) ج, then all three words will be treated as instances of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable. Similarly the first segments in [d<sub>3</sub>iri:b], [giri:b] and [qiri:b] are regarded as instances of the (Q) variable, because all three segments are written with the letter ق of Arabic orthography.

As a general rule, any segment in the data that is written with the letter **ج** is included under the ( $d_3$ ) variable; likewise any segment in the data that is a potential candidate for the letter **ق** is treated as an instance of the (Q) variable. Therefore, [go:l] "goal" and [sid<sub>3</sub>d<sub>3</sub>] "true" are regarded as part of the ( $d_3$ ) and the (Q) variables respectively, because the former is always written with the **ج** although always pronounced [g], and the latter is always written with the letter **ق**, although it is normally realized as [d<sub>3</sub>], [g] or [q].

There are, however, a certain number of difficulties involved when applying such a criterion based solely on the Arabic orthography. Firstly, short vowels are rarely, if indicated at all, represented in Arabic writing. Similarly, the diacritic "o" "suku:n" is hardly used in writing. Arabic written texts are rarely marked with short vowels and "suku:n" except for teaching purposes. Therefore, one can say that to some extent the Arabic script is syllabic and not alphabetic (Mitchell 1953, Beeston 1968).

"The Arabic letter has syllabic value, that is to say it has inherent implication as to vowelings. The Arabic letter should be interpreted (consonant + sonant), but since the sonant term has a twofold potential, a positive (a, i, 0) and a zero (soko:n), the formula is better amended to (consonant + sonant)"

(Mitchell 1953:14)

Secondly, the sign for doubled consonant is very often omitted from Arabic texts except where any misunderstanding may occur. For example

/waqqa 9 a/ "he signed"

وَقَّعَ

/waqa 9 a/ "he fell"

وَقَعَ

Finally, Arabic script is not a completely faithful

representation of language. Very often the phonetic realization of long vowels in certain phonological environments does not match the phonemic value of the vowels. For instance, in **أنا** /ana:/ "I" the final vowel is long phonemically speaking, but in the actual speech it is realized as a short vowel. If, therefore, one was interested in analysing long vowels, and was adopting my criterion, one's analysis would have been erroneous, because of the mismatch between the orthographic representation of the long vowel and its phonetic realization. Overall, short vowels and "soko:n" are omitted and the readers are left to guess from the texts what the actual pronunciation of the word is. In other words, the readers have to supply short vowels and the "soko:n" when reading the texts. This process, of course, depends on the reader's knowledge of Arabic phonological and grammatical systems.

The shortcomings of this method demonstrates clearly that it cannot be adopted when one is dealing with vowels in general and short vowels in particular. My study, however, is about **ق** (q) and the **ج** (d<sub>3</sub>) consonants, and it seems plausible to employ this method in analysing these two variables. For although the letters **ق** (qa:f) and **ج** (d<sub>3</sub>) may show great variation in the speech form, but nevertheless they are written with the same consonant. For instance /sadi:q/ "friend" may be realized as [sadi:g], [sadi:d<sub>3</sub>] or [sadi:q], but when it is written it is always written with the letter **ق** and hence **صديق** "friend".

In my lexical classification (Chapter III) there is a class of lexical items which has the [-writing] feature. These items pose no real problem, because the feature does not mean that the items in this class are not written at all and hence one cannot judge with

which letters they are written, but the feature indicates that the items of this class are not used in writing formal articles, letters etc. But in principle every item is capable of being written, be it [-writing] or [-entry]. But only items with [+writing] features are used in formal writings.

Ideally speaking, one would wish to see a situation in which all the items are checked against the criterion mentioned above. But there are two exceptional cases. The first one is the proper noun قاسم /qa:sim/ and the second one is the item فريق /firi:q/ "area".

قاسم /qa:sim/, judging from the criterion outlined above, should be classified and listed under the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable, because it is written with the letter ج (d<sub>3</sub>) i.e. جاسم. To do so is, however, erroneous, for various reasons. Firstly, the proper noun

/qa:sim/ is pronounced [d<sub>3</sub>a:sim] by the sedentary population as well as younger speakers from the Bedouin section. The older speakers from the Bedouin population would normally pronounce this name as [ga:sim]. Secondly, although the sedentary population writes this name with the letter (d<sub>3</sub>), there is less agreement to do so among the Bedouin population. Thirdly, how the bearer of the name pronounces and writes his name influences how others would write his name. For instance, a couple of Iranian footballers playing in the Qatari league were called /qa:sim/. They pronounced their names [qa:sim] and their names were written with the letter ق (Q). Everyone was calling them [qa:sim] and not [d<sub>3</sub>a:sim]; and, moreover, their names were written قاسم in the sports section of the newspaper. Finally, the speakers from other dialects which do not have the affrication phenomenon, find it very strange to write the name قاسم as جاسم. e. using the letter ج (d<sub>3</sub>) instead of ق (Q).

جاسم [d<sub>3</sub>a:sim], in fact, represents a case of complete stage of qaf-affrication.

The last consonant of the item /firi:q/ فريقي "area", is written as ج (d<sub>3</sub>) by some speakers and as ق (Q) by others. This item also represents a semi-completed case of qaf-affrication.

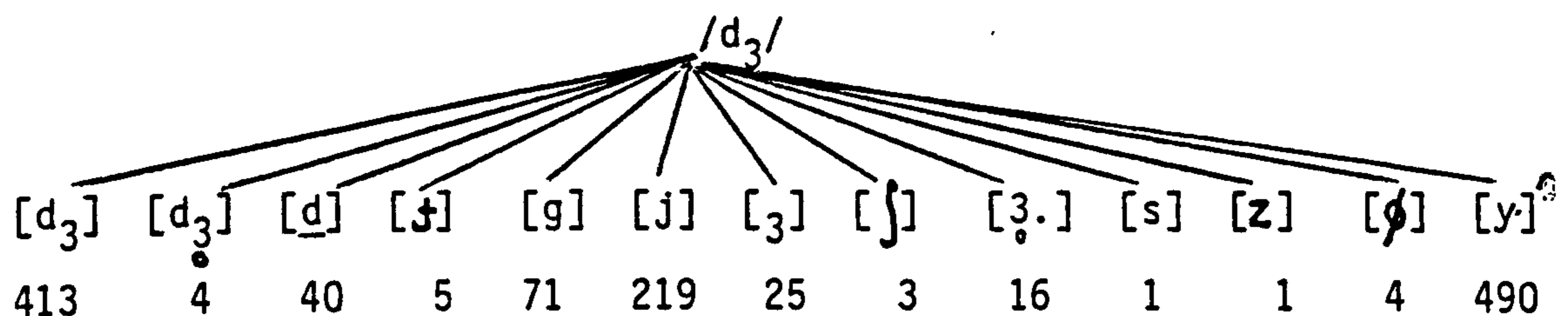
This simple criterion for deciding which segment belongs to which variable is both adequate and advantageous. Firstly, it completely avoids the circularity of the previous method. Secondly, in this approach the range of each variable is not known until all of the data are analysed. Thirdly, all instances of such a variable will be counted. No instance of any variable will be missed, nor will it be included under the variable which it is not really part of. Finally, it is quite a convenient way for distinguishing cases of the /q/ affrication from instances of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable except for /qa:sim/ and /firi:q/.

#### 2.10 Isolating the variants:

The speech data from ten informants, who provided the corpus of the pilot study, were recorded and transcribed. The transcription included all items containing the (d<sub>3</sub>) or the (Q) variable, as well as all instances of repetitions of such items. The transcription was done phonetically for the variables and phonemically for the other segments in the word. For instance, the segment /d<sub>3</sub>/ in the word /masd<sub>3</sub>id/ "mosque" was transcribed phonetically as [d<sub>3</sub>], [j] or [y] where relevant, but other segments in the word were transcribed phonemically as /m/, /a/, /s/, /i/ and /d/. Therefore my approach in the data analysis is a mixture of phonetic and phonemic transcription. <sup>3</sup>

### 2.10.1 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable:

The results of the analysis of my data show clearly that the two-variant account i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] vs. [y] presented in earlier studies, is an idealization. In everyday interaction the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable is not so neatly divided into [y] and [d<sub>3</sub>], but instead there are a host of other variants as well. The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable in my data was realized on occasions as all of the following:



Looking at this figure with so many variants a number of questions come to mind. What is the relationship among these variants? Do they have the same frequency distribution i.e. does each variant occur with the same frequency as any other variant in the data? Are they conditioned in any way? Do native speakers perceive all these variants equally?

Checking percentages of the variants as they have actually occurred in the data of the pilot study, we find that these variants do not show the same frequency. For instance the [s] and [z] variants occurred 0.07% of the time each, whereas [y], [j] and [d<sub>3</sub>] occurred 38%, 17% and 32% of the time respectively. These figures clearly show that all variants DO NOT have the same frequency distribution in the data.

The question of what is significant and what is insignificant is a controversial one and varies from one experiment to the other.

What looks significant in one test is not necessarily significant in another. However, in my study the question of what is significant will be based on the following statistical criterion. Any variant which shows a frequency of less than 1% will be treated as insignificant and hence will be excluded. On such a statistical criterion the following variants [s] 0.07%, [z] 0.07%, [ϕ] 0.3%, [ɟ] 0.3%, were deemed to be insignificant. In fact, the total percentage of [s], [z] and [ϕ] is so low (0.4%) that to leave them out would not result in distortion of the data.

[ɟ] is also one of the rare variants. It occurs only five times with a percentage of 0.3%. All the occurrences of this variant appear in the speech of one informant, and moreover in one single lexical item - namely /d<sub>3</sub>iddan/ "very much". I therefore treated this variant as idiosyncratic to that speaker in that word. The combined percentages of [s], [z], [ϕ] and [ɟ] is 0.8% of the pilot study.

The variant [g] occurs in loan words, in segments which have a /g/ pronunciation in the source language. For instance /zigara/ comes from "cigarette" or "cigar" and could mean either. This is a well assimilated loan /zagayir/ "cigarettes". We see that many phonological changes have occurred, as in the stress, lengthening of the vowels etc. but the /g/ segment retains its pronunciation. Therefore the [g] segment was also excluded from any further consideration on the grounds that it is only orthographically part of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable. In other words, the instances of such a variant were included under the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable as an artifact of the formal definition, which states that any segment which is written with the letter ج will be considered as part of the (d<sub>3</sub>)

variable. Therefore the [g] variant was dropped because it did not resemble the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable except orthographically. The remaining variants were all significant.

The variants [d<sub>3</sub>], [ɰ] and [ɲ] form a neat group of variants in QD. They occur as variants of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable whenever /t/ follows. In other words the following phonological rule seems to operate for these variants:

$$/d_3/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [d_3] \\ [ɰ] * \\ [ɲ] \end{array} \right\} / /t/$$

This rule reads that /d<sub>3</sub>/ is realized as [d<sub>3</sub>], [ɰ] or [ɲ] whenever a voiceless alveolar stop /t/ follows, with a higher probability that /d<sub>3</sub>/ is realized as [ɰ]. In my corpus of the pilot study above the phonological context occurs 23 times, 16 of which were realized as [ɰ].

The other remaining variants [d<sub>3</sub>], [j], [ɰ], [ɲ] and [y] are in free variation, phonologically speaking, but do not have the same frequency in the data: [d<sub>3</sub>] occurs 32% of the time; [j] 17%; [ɰ] 3.1%; [ɲ] 2% and [y] 38%. These figures demonstrate quite clearly that the [d<sub>3</sub>] and [y] variants have the lion's share in the realization of the /d<sub>3</sub>/ segment in QD. Together they comprise 70% of the total tokens in the data. Of the remaining 30%, more than half i.e. 17%, is realized as [j]. So [d<sub>3</sub>], [y] and [j] account for more than 87% of the (d<sub>3</sub>) segment in the data.

Due to the high frequency of the [d<sub>3</sub>], [j] and [y] variants in the data, they were taken as points of intersection to which other variants were attached for the purpose of comparing the distribution



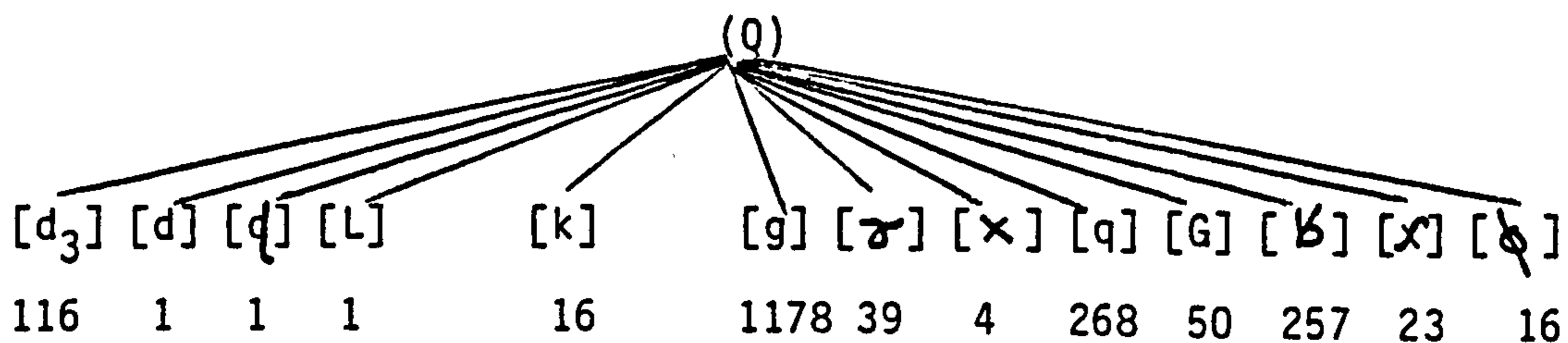
of the ( $d_3$ ) variable among various groups. In other words the ( $d_3$ ) variable was reduced, on the basis of phonetic criteria, to three classes of variant only.

The [ $d_3$ ], and [ $\underline{d}$ ] variants were counted together with [ $d_3$ ] for articulatory reasons i.e. both are affricates like [ $d_3$ ]. However, the variants [ $d_3$ ] and [ $\underline{d}$ ] had such low frequency that their grouping with [ $d_3$ ] would scarcely affect the outcome of the comparison process. The [ $\int$ ], [ $\int_3$ ] and [ $\int$ ] variants were counted together with [ $j$ ], again on frequency and articulatory grounds. The four segments share one feature i.e. +[affricative]. The frequency of the former three variants is very small (1.8%) in relation to the percentage of [ $j$ ], which is 17%. Thus we have distinguished the following three variants for the ( $d_3$ ) variable:

1. ( $d_3$ ) -> [ $d_3$ ]
2. ( $d_3$ ) -> [ $j$ ]
3. ( $d_3$ ) -> [ $y$ ]

#### 2.10.2 The (Q) variable:

The transcription of the data on this variable in the pilot study showed a great deal of variation. The (Q) variable in my data was realized on separate occasions as all of the following:



This figure demonstrates that this variable is realized as a number of variants; some with low frequency and others with a high

frequency. To determine which of these variants are significant we will continue utilizing the same procedures that we used when discussing the ( $d_3$ ) variable i.e. any variant that is realized less than 1% of the time in the data in the pilot study will be regarded as insignificant. The variants [ʔ], [d], [j], [k], [x] and [ɣ] are therefore insignificant and are excluded.

Among these variants [k] deserves special mention. This variant occurs as a categorical reflex of the (Q) variable in the language of the older generation in /masqaT/ "Maskat". The younger generation pronounces this word as [maSqaT]. The difference between the pronunciation of this word in the two generations seem to be one of velarization. That is to say, /masqaT/ in the language of the older generation shows no sign of velarization, and so we have [maskat], whereas the velarization is present throughout the word in the language of younger people, and so we have [maSqaT].

Due to the relatively high frequency of [g], [ʕ] and [q] (59%, 13% and 13.5% respectively), they were taken as central points. Other variants which show frequency of 1% or more were attached to these variants on phonetic grounds. [ʕ] and [x] were calculated together with [ʕ], because they share one common feature i.e. +fricative. [G] and [q] were grouped together as [q], for both are uvular plosives.

The [ $d_3$ ] variant was calculated separately to account for the process of affrication. The low frequency of this variant is due to the fact that affrication becomes possible only in the environment of front vowels i.e. when it is either preceded or followed by a front vowel. Thus we have reduced the (Q) variable to the following four variants;

1. (Q) -> [q]
2. (Q) -> [k]
3. (Q) -> [g]
4. (Q) -> [d<sub>3</sub>]

### 2.11 Calculating the scores

The classical Labovian quantitative method is relatively simple in assigning scores to texts, to compare the performance of the various groups of informants' usage of linguistic variables. To calculate the text score for any variable a score is assigned to each of its variants. The score is then averaged for all the variants of that variable in that text. The average is then multiplied by 100 to give an index figure. To illustrate this we will take the following example, which is taken from Macaulay (1977). He has distinguished five variants for variable (i). Each variant has a value ranging from 1 to 5 as follows:

- (i - 1) [I]
- (i - 2) [ɛ] and [ɪ]
- (i - 3) [ɛ̃] and [ĩ]
- (i - 4) [ɔ̃]
- (i - 5) [ʌ]

giving an index figure between 100 and 500. For instance, if an informant had 20 of variant 1, 10 of 2, 5 of 3, 15 of 4 and none of 5, his score will be

$$\begin{aligned}
 20 \times 1 &= 20 \\
 10 \times 2 &= 20 \\
 5 \times 3 &= 15 \\
 15 \times 4 &= 60 \\
 0 \times 5 &= 0
 \end{aligned}$$

The total score for this informant will be 115. The average will be  $115 \div 50 = 2.3$ . The index figure will be  $2.3 \times 100 = 230$ .

But this method of comparing the scores of individuals, or of groups, suffers from serious drawbacks. While it is quite effective in dealing with discrete variables, such as the presence or absence of post-vocalic r, it is not so effective in describing continuous variables i.e. variables with more than two variants. For instance,

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

(J. Milroy 1982:36)

This means that the index figure introduced by Labov gives no indication of the relative contribution made by individual variants.

On the other hand, the index score system is related very much to the ranking of variants (Hudson 1980). The particular number assigned to any variant in fact reflects its position on the scale. In other words, the two variants that are maximally different are at opposite ends of the scale, and other variants occupy intermediate positions and values between the two extremes.

"This can be done in many cases on the basis of the phonetic relations among the variants ... such as vowel height" (in the case of vowels)

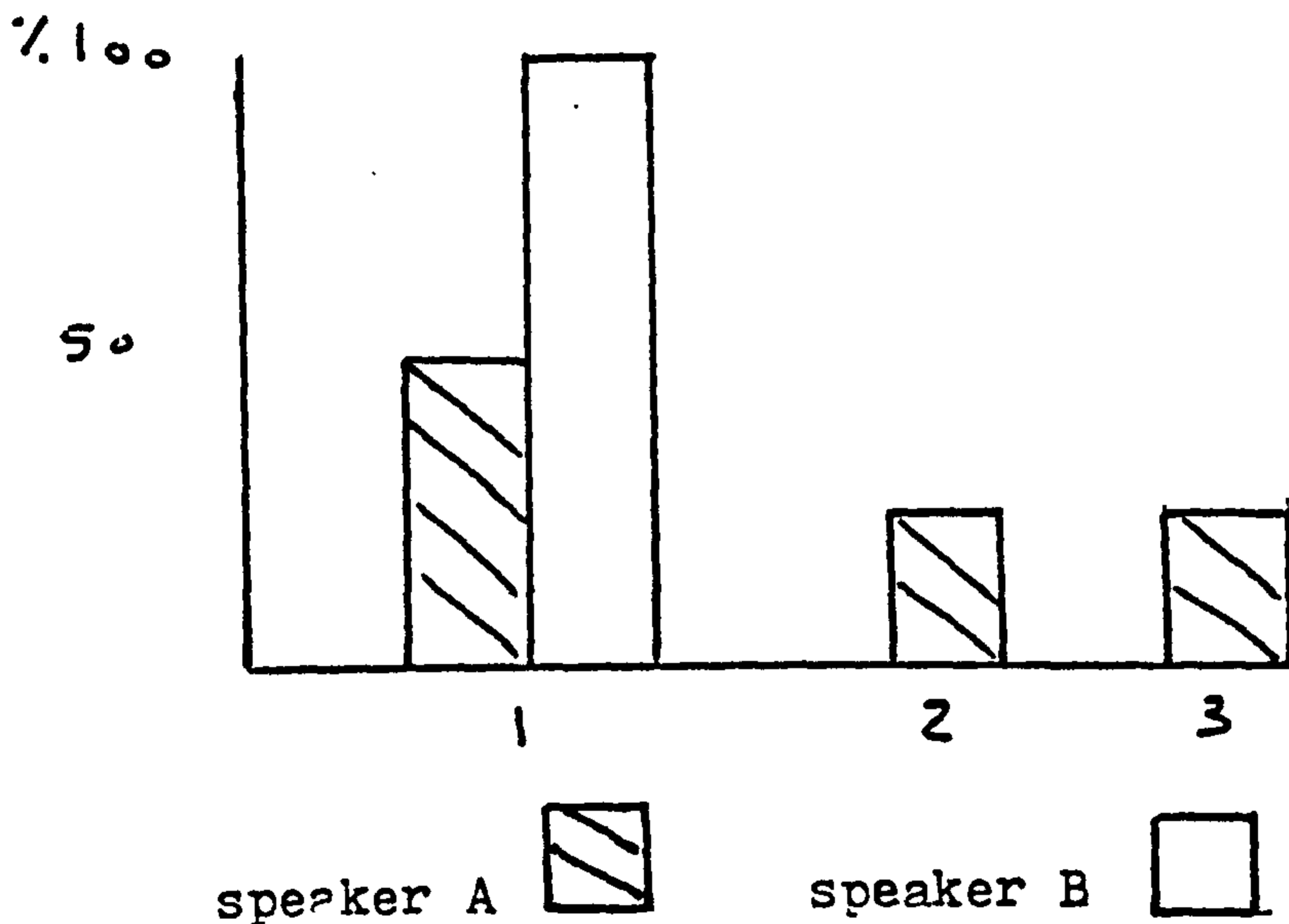
(Hudson 1980:161)

But there could well be more than one dimension involved. An example of this is the (a) variable in Belfast (Milroy and Milroy 1978; Milroy 1980). The phonetic contrasts involved are front vs back, low vs raised, with vs without off glide. It is obvious that in these cases one cannot arrange the variants on a single scale in such a way that the two maximally different variants are

placed at opposite ends.

Because of these shortcomings of the index score system I have decided not to use it. Instead I present the percentage of each variant separately in the form of histograms. The following example will illustrate this:

Suppose variable (F) has three variants (1, 2 and 3). And suppose that speaker A has 100 instances of 1, 50 of 2 and 50 of 3, whereas speaker B had 100 of 1 and none of the other two. The distribution of this variable in the speech of these two speakers will be represented as follows:



In this way no information will be lost, and moreover the relative contribution of each variant in the speech of each informant, or each group of informants, is apparent.<sup>4</sup>

Notes:

- (1) The government's policy, in general, is to avoid any such classification as it is assumed to undermine social stability and create unnecessary divisions within society.
- (2) Many studies have reported the names of a person giving a reasonable hint as to his social and religious background. (see Mehrotra 1977 and Suseendivavajah 1980, for examples).
- (3) This idea was suggested to me by Mr. A. Kemp from the phonetic department, and I am very grateful for his advice.
- (4) To find out the level of significance of the data Anova test was applied. Later on Scheffe test was applied to the results of the Anova test. The significance, where relevant, is mentioned below the histograms.

## Chapter III

Classes of lexical items:3.1 Introduction

The lexicon in Arabic, whether standard or colloquial, is structured by various patterns for word formation from existing roots. All dictionaries are organized around these roots (Beeston 1967). The lexicon is one of the areas in which great differentiation between standard Arabic (SA hereafter) and colloquial Arabic is found. There exist a large number of paired items, one for SA and the other for the vernacular, referring to common concepts frequently used in both varieties (Ferguson 1959a). A classical example of such cases is /ʃa:f/ and /raʔa:/: "to see" 3rd per. sing. masc. perfect, in which the former is exclusively used in speech and in informal situations, whereas the latter is only used in formal situations (whether in written form or speech).

It is not a situation where one can identify every word either as belonging to the realm of the vernacular or as a part of the lexicon of SA. It is quite impossible to identify every word used in daily interaction as definitely belonging to SA or to the vernacular. And the fact is that the lexicon of Arabic displays a considerable amount of variation. This variation is so great that to consider it only in terms of High and Low varieties (Ferguson 1959<sub>a</sub>) would be an extremely unrealistic approach. There seems to be a lexical continuum in which each speaker has at his disposal a wide choice of lexical items, ranging between High and Low, through the various intermediate varieties (Abdel-Jawad 1981).

To investigate variation in the lexicon in Arabic one has to acknowledge, at the start, several problems. Firstly, as noted by Blanc (1960)

"It is difficult to draw the line between classicizing via phonemic modification and lexical suppletion of a dialectal item by a phonemically similar classical one"

(ibid:110)

For instance, when a word such as /imraʔa/ "woman" occurs, it immediately tells the interlocutor that the speaker is moving towards SA norms, whereas when /mara/ "woman" occurs, it is a sign of keeping within the norms and rules of the vernacular. An interesting and challenging question is this - when such a speaker utters /imraʔa/ "woman", what exactly is he doing? Is he applying various phonemic modification rules and hence /mara/ -> /imraʔa/, or is he substituting a SA word for a colloquial one i.e. dropping /mara/ altogether and adopting /imraʔa/ instead?

Secondly, a great number of lexical items are used quite frequently in everyday life situations which are semantically, phonemically and phonetically identical to items used in SA. How should we classify these words? Are we to regard them as originally a part of SA which has been borrowed by the colloquial variety, or as just the opposite - i.e. a genuine part of the lexicon component of the vernacular, but borrowed by SA? Another solution is to treat them as shared items i.e. parts of the lexicon of SA and of the vernacular varieties. Here again there will remain some difficulties. Are we to consider all the shared words as being the same distance from SA and the vernacular i.e. occupying the midpoint



between the two varieties? Or are we to reclassify these items in such a way that some words will be close to the SA end, and others to the vernacular end, while some will genuinely occupy the midpoint between the two extremes?

Finally, there is a challenging question concerning the underlying forms for High and Low varieties of Arabic.

"The question is the percentage of the total lexicon for which the linguist may posit identical underlying forms for High and Low varieties in Arabic"

(Schmidt 1975:53)

(His study is based on Egyptian Arabic).

In other words, do items which are undoubtedly related but have different phonemic realizations in SA from their vernacular realizations, have one underlying form or two? For instance, [bait] and [be:t] "house" are the same except for the diphthong /ai/, which is replaced by a monophthong /e:/. The former is a clear sign of a classicizing tendency, whereas the latter is seen as a genuine part of the phonology of the vernacular. But the question is whether these two words have one and the same underlying form, say /be:t/. So in informal situations the speaker chooses the colloquial form /e:/ and hence [be:t] but in formal situations his choice would be /ai/ and hence [bait]. Or do [be:t] and [bait] have two distinct underlying forms in which one is labelled "+vernacular" "-formal" and the other "+SA" "+formal"?

One of my objectives in this study is to assess and characterize, through using a quantitative technique and methodology, the relation between the lexical items and the

linguistic variables under observation. In other words, I would like to examine the lexical items which contain these linguistic variables, say ( $d_3$ ) or (Q), in order to find answers for the following questions:

1. Is the realization of any linguistic variable such as ( $d_3$ ) or (Q) influenced by the category or class of lexical item (see below) to which the word containing the variable belongs?
2. Is the lexical item in itself a conditioning factor in such variables? That is, do individual items per se affect the realization of linguistic variables such as ( $d_3$ ) and (Q)?

### 3.2 Dividing the lexicon:

We come now to a fundamental question, the cornerstone of a large part of this study, which is how and by what criteria we group lexical items containing a linguistic variable, such as ( $d_3$ ). A first approximation to an answer might be the following. We could rely on any adequate standard Arabic dictionary to settle the matter, and furthermore, since there are two extreme varieties i.e. SA and the vernacular, which is Qatari Dialect ~~Qatari Dialect~~, we could use a standard dictionary for each to check each lexical item. Regardless of its phonetic realization, if the item was listed in the SA dictionary alone it would be treated as group (1) i.e. SA, but if it occurred only in the QD dictionary, it would be classified as group (2) i.e. a dialectal item. If the item happened to occur in both dictionaries it would be referred to as group (3) i.e. a shared item, and any words which did not occur in either dictionary would be classed as group (4) e.g. loan words. To apply such

criteria rigidly it is essential to have at least one adequate dictionary for SA and a similar one for QD. There are abundant dictionaries for SA, but for QD unfortunately no dictionary exists, let alone an adequate one. Furthermore, had there been an adequate dictionary for QD, this rather simple procedure alone would have been misleading. Since all Arabic dictionaries are organized around certain root patterns, it is very likely that both dictionaries would have the same entry without referring to the same lexical item. Let us take an example: suppose the word we were interested in was /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/ i.e. "very much/many". If we checked the two dictionaries to the above view one would have to classify the word /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/ as group (3) i.e. as a shared item. This would be incorrect, for although both dictionaries would list this word, it would have a different sense in each. In the SA dictionary the word means "finder" but in the QD dictionary, had there been one, the same word would mean "very much/many". Therefore, when the dictionary is used for a word entry it is important to take into consideration the semantic facts as well.

My first criterion, since no dictionary for QD is available, is to rely on SA dictionaries. For this purpose I am using the following two dictionaries:

(a) Lisa:n al-9arab by Ibn Manzu:r 1369 A.D.

(b) Muhi:t-ul-Muhi:t by Butrus-il-Bustani 1977 A.D.

and at the same time taking full account of the sense in which the word is being used. When an item has an entry, in the sense outlined above, in either of the two dictionaries, it will be given

a "+entry" label; if not, a "-entry" label will be attached to that item.

When an item is used in a different sense in the QD from that given in the dictionary, the item will receive the "-entry" feature. Such differences take on various forms. An item in QD may refer to something totally different from the meaning given in the SA dictionaries. An example of this would be the word /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/ "much/many" (see above). This is an example of homonymy. Homonymy is being defined as

"lexemes all of whose forms have the same form  
... and identical grammatical function."  
(Lyons 1977:22)

but the senses of these lexemes are unrelated. It is clear that these two items, although having similar orthographic representation, refer to two distinct lexemes, because their meanings are not only different but unrelated. (For more on homonymy see Lyons 1977:550-69). To put it more clearly, /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/<sup>1</sup> and /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/<sup>2</sup> "much/many" are said to be two different lexemes because of unrelatedness of meanings of the two words.

A different form of nonconformity between the senses of the lexemes in QD and in SA is when the item in the former means the same as in the latter plus something more i.e. "semantic generalization". An example of "semantic generalization" is the word /d<sub>3</sub>a:hi:l/ which means "ignorant" in SA whereas in QD it could mean either "ignorant" or "child". In fact "child" is more often the meaning of /d<sub>3</sub>a:hi:l/ in QD. An example of "semantic

specialization" is the word /ra:H/ which means "went and returned in the evening" in SA whereas in QD it only means "went". /d<sub>3</sub>a:hi/ and /ra:H/ are clear examples of polysemy. Polysemy is a case when lexemes have the same form or grammatical function and the senses of these lexemes are related (see Lyons 1977:550-69).

It might be objected that the homonymy/polysemy distinction is an important one and therefore this group could in turn be divided into two groups i.e. one for homonyms and the other for polysemous forms. No-one denies the importance of this distinction, but practically speaking, there are not enough cases of polysemy involved to split this group of words in my data into two. On the other hand,

"the difference between homonymy and polysemy is easier to explain in general terms than it is to define in terms of objective and operationally satisfactory criteria. Tests of the kind that have been carried out by Lehrer (1974) suggest that native speakers are in agreement over a fair range of examples of homonymy and polysemy, but that there is a considerable residue of borderline cases"

(Lyons 1977:550)

(for more details on this point see Lyons 1977:550-69).

All such cases, whether homonymy or polysemy, in which there is a disagreement between the meaning of the words given in SA dictionaries and the sense in which they are used in QD will be labelled "-entry". In other words I treat such items as if they had no entry in the (SA) dictionary. Once an item is labelled "-entry" it follows that all instances of that word in my data will be assigned the same label if they are used in the same sense. This

means that the same item may have two different labels if it is used, on different occasions in the data, to convey two different senses of the word i.e. each sense of the word is regarded as a separate lexeme. For instance, any occurrence of the word /d<sub>3</sub>a:hi:l/ is assigned a "-entry" feature if it is used to mean "child". On the other hand, if /d<sub>3</sub>a:hi:l/ is used to mean "ignorant" it will be labelled "+entry".

The ( $\pm$ ) entry criterion would allow us to distinguish two groups of words. Incidentally, recent loan words which also have the "-entry" label pose no real problem for two reasons: they are very limited in numbers and they can always be checked in etymological books (such as Hanafi 1964) which give a list of such loan words.

The second criterion for classifying lexical items is that of the tendency to be written, by which I mean being used in newspapers, articles and books. Since "-entry" implies either that the word is a loan word, or that it is part of the colloquial repertoire which is unrepresented in the dictionaries, any item with such a label will also be labelled "-writing". In other words the "+writing" label is applicable only to words that have already been given the "+entry" feature.

Words listed in the dictionaries do not have the same tendency to be used in writing. Some lexical items are used more regularly in writing than others. Let us ignore archaic lexical items for a moment and concentrate on the following issue. There are numerous examples of pairs of items (synonyms), which both share the "+entry"

feature, in which one item is used more regularly in formal situations, although it occurs in informal situations as well. But when it comes to writing, the latter is employed almost to the exclusion of the former. For example /na:ma/ and /raqada/ "to sleep" 3rd per. sing. mas. perfect are both listed in SA dictionaries i.e. both have the "+entry" feature and moreover both occur quite frequently in casual speech. But in writing, the former is used exclusively. If we ignore this point i.e. a tendency to be used in writing, and treat both lexical items as enjoying equal status in Arabic, the outcome of our lexical item grouping will be incorrect and incomplete, since these two items are not equivalent in status when it comes to writing. Writing cannot be ignored when dealing with any language situation in a literate society, and this is especially true when one is dealing with a diglossic situation in which writing is so clearly marked as a part of the realm of the High variety. On such grounds I find it justifiable to include a tendency to be used in writing as one of the criteria for arranging words containing linguistic variables into groups.

As I have mentioned earlier, the "+writing" feature is only applicable to the lexical items with the "+entry" feature. When an item is given the "+entry" feature I checked to see if it has any close synonyms. This was mostly done by relying on my intuition except for items which I feel uncertain about. In these items I checked the dictionaries. If an item does not have a synonym, it will be assigned "+writing" instantly. If, however, it has a synonym, which is the case for the great number of lexical items, a

simple intuitive test will be carried out. For any such paired items, the "+writing" feature will be attached to the item that is more liable to be used in writing, and the "-writing" feature to the other lexical item. When both items seem to have the same tendency to be written, both will be assigned the "+writing" feature. Here are some examples:

1. A /raqada/ "He slept"  
B /na:ma/
2. A /qa9ada/ "He sat"  
B /d<sub>3</sub>alasa/
3. A /fawq/ "on"  
B /9ala/

Both members of each pair are used quite frequently in everyday interaction in QD. But in newspapers and similar formal writings, it is only the B member of each pair that is employed.

It might be objected that this test is based on a shaky foundation: intuition. Whenever intuition is involved one has to be on one's guard. One has to make certain, as far as possible, that one's intuition is in agreement with the intuition of those to whom the results are applicable.

To test the reliability of my own intuition in this area I prepared a list of 20 paired items (i.e. synonyms), mainly found in pilot data, and presented them to 12 native speakers of QD attending a summer course at Qatar University in 1984. I took reasonable precautions to ensure the random selection of these informants. They were chosen from various parts of the University such as the



sports centre, library, classrooms and refectory etc. Moreover, the distribution of the questionnaire was carried out in the space of a week, in order to give an equal chance to all students attending the summer course at the University. The only condition for including an informant was that he should be attending the course at the University and that he be a QD speaker. The reason for selecting university students for this test lies in the fact that the test is concerned with writing and hence the informant's writing ability should be at a certain level.

They were presented with the following 20 pairs of items (in Arabic) (appendix B)

- |    |                        |               |
|----|------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | "nawm"                 | "sleep"       |
|    | "riqa:d"               |               |
| 2. | "9aqib"                | "after"       |
|    | "ba9ad"                |               |
| 3. | "aqdar"                | "I can"       |
|    | "?astaTi:9"            |               |
| 4. | "wad <sub>3</sub> adt" | "I found"     |
|    | "laqayt"               |               |
| 5. | "?arṣidu:ni"           | "guide me"    |
|    | "dillu:ni"             |               |
| 6. | "d <sub>3</sub> ayyid" | "good"        |
|    | "zayn"                 |               |
| 7. | "d <sub>3</sub> arat"  | "flown"       |
|    | "sa:lat"               |               |
| 8. | "TiHt"                 | "I fell down" |

- "waqa9t"
9. "haSalt" "I got hold of"  
"9ayyant"
10. "Ta:li9" "look"  
"?onZor"
11. "waqqif" "stop"  
"qif"
12. "yord<sub>3</sub>i9" "to return"  
"yorad<sub>3</sub>d<sub>3</sub>i9"
13. "raqadt" "I slept"  
"nomt"
14. "xarad<sub>3</sub>a" "went out"  
"Tala9a"
15. "?istayqaZa" "got up"  
"qa:ma"
16. "?ola:qi" "I find"  
"?ad<sub>3</sub>id"
17. "raddayt" "I returned"  
"rad<sub>3</sub>a9t"
18. "rafi:q" "a friend"  
"Sadi:q"
19. "bi?r" "a well of water"  
"qali:b"
20. "qaSS" "cut"  
"qaTa9a"

Each pair of items includes a word which is used very frequently

in colloquial speech, while the other item is used in writing. The instructions on the questionnaire for the informant were in the following terms: You are required to write down the number of items in each pair (A or B) which you would be more likely to use if you were writing an article in a newspaper. If, however, you think that both members of the paired items are of the same degree of suitability, and both can be used in writing, please write A+B. If, on the other hand, you decide that neither A nor B could be used in writing DO NOT write anything i.e. leave a blank space.

The informant has four choices:

1. A
2. B
3. A+B
4. Neither A nor B

and hence all possibilities were included.

The phrase "if you were writing an article in a newspaper" was included to ensure that the informants observed a certain level of formality in their judgements, since the test attempts to measure the reliability of my intuition as far as formal writing is concerned. Moreover, leaving the level of writing unqualified could result in misleading the informants, since it would not be clear what level of writing the questionnaire is concerned with. Obviously, in casual writings, such as letters, jokes etc., people may include words that are not listed in the dictionary (i.e. have a "-entry" label in my classification).

The result of the questionnaire was as follows:

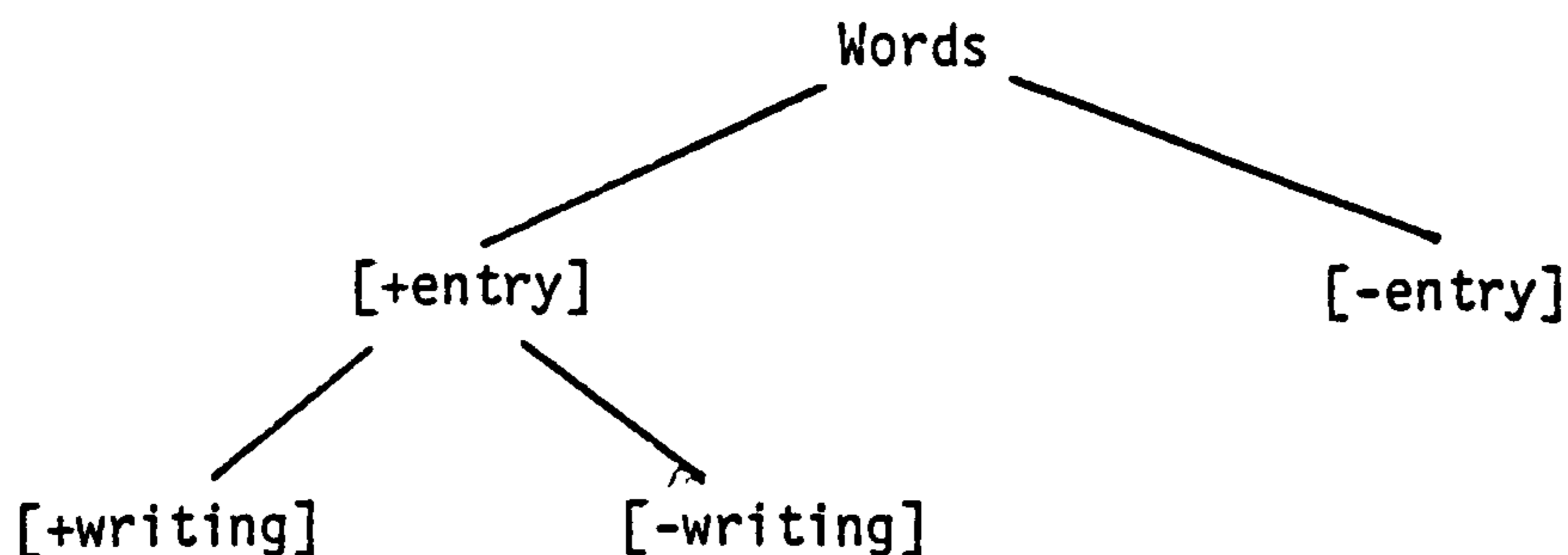
Item no.	Agreement with my intuition out of 12	Percentages
1	12	100%
2	10	83%
3	11	92%
4	9	75%
5	12	100%
6	12	100%
7	9	75%
8	11	92%
9	12	100%
10	12	100%
11	10	83%
12	9	75%
13	11	92%
14	12	100%
15	11	92%
16	9	75%
17	11	92%
18	9	75%
19	12	100%
20	10	83%

In an ideal situation, one would hope for unanimous agreement i.e. 100% conformity for every pair of lexical items. This is, however, not the case, and a certain amount of disagreement is inevitable, although among items where disagreement occurs, the majority of informants correspond with my intuition.

Examining the results more closely, it is quite clear that pairs 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14 and 19 exhibit unanimous agreement. In other words, the choice of all the 12 informants in these pairs was like mine. Pairs 3, 8, 13, 15 and 17 show a 92% conformity i.e. in each pair one of the 12 informants disagreed with my intuition. Pairs 2, 11 and 20 indicate a further disagreement. In this case, in each

pair two informants disagreed with my judgement. The lowest degree of conformity occurs in pairs 4, 7, 16 and 18. Here 3 informants contradicted my intuition in each pair of lexical items. Overall, the results are quite satisfactory and indicate that my intuition in this respect is reliable at 89.6%. This figure is the average agreement across the 20 pairs of lexical items. And this indicates that I can rely on my intuition with a certain degree of confidence in distinguishing class 2 and 3 for items which have the "+entry" label.

So far I have the following distinctions:



This tree includes the following three groups of lexical items:

Group 1 - [-entry]

Group 2 - [+entry  
[-writing]

Group 3 - [+entry  
[+writing]

The third and the last criterion used in dividing the lexical

items into various groups is the question whether the item is a recent borrowing into the QD system or whether it is a genuine part of the QD system. It is important to distinguish between items borrowed recently from SA and items that have been a part of the QD lexicon for some time.

Prior to the oil era, Qatar and indeed the whole Gulf region was relatively stable. But with the discovery of oil everything suddenly burst: the previously stable life-style changed into a dynamic one, and the era of modernization began. Consequently, formal education and mass media were introduced into daily life. I have mentioned these two institutions only because they are factors that proved to have the utmost influence on the linguistic outputs of the younger generations.

Formal education and mass media have resulted in a constant flow of standard words into the lexical component of the educated people, who are mainly young (under 35 years old). They are in daily contact with standard words, acquiring and using them when the circumstances are appropriate. At the opposite end, the older people who did not have any chance of a formal education cannot use these lexical items as a part of their active competence, although the older generation understand what they mean. Due to this large split between the language of older and of younger generations, it is quite important to distinguish between lexical items that are considered recent borrowings and others that are not so, especially as the former predominantly occur in the language of the younger generation. This of course does not mean that the two generations

have distinct vocabulary sets.

When an item is considered to be of recent borrowing it will be given "+recent" feature, otherwise it will have "-recent" label. The feature "+recent" is applicable only to lexical items that have the following two features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{entry} \\ +\text{writing} \end{bmatrix}$$

because these items represent borrowings from SA. And by definition every item borrowed from SA has a  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{entry} \\ +\text{writing} \end{bmatrix}$  features.

In other words, lexical items with

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{entry} \\ +\text{entry} \\ -\text{writing} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{or}$$

features are part of the core vocabulary of QD in that they occur mainly in informal situations.

Items with "+entry" and "+writing" features can in turn be divided into two different sets. Some of these items are genuinely shared items which formed a part of the lexicon of QD for a long time, and they are also part of the lexicon of SA. An example of this is /qolt/ "to say" 3rd pers. sing. perfect. Others are a genuine part of the lexicon of SA e.g. /barna:mad<sub>3</sub>/ "programme". These words flowed into QD as a result of formal education and the

mass media. They are not difficult to identify because most of them are technical and cultural items or words denoting new concepts (such as /d<sub>3</sub>a:mi9a/ "university").

A practical and easy way to examine whether an item is of recent borrowing from SA or not is to compare the entry for the word in the two above mentioned dictionaries. If the item occurs in the modern dictionary only it will be treated as a new item and will be given a "+recent" feature. And the bulk of items in class IV are of this type.

It should, however, be realised that not all items listed in the earlier dictionary are recognised as being part of QD lexicon. In other words, although such items are listed in the old SA dictionaries, nonetheless they may be recent borrowings in QD. Most of these items, however, have their equivalents in QD. Here are some examples:

SA	QD	
/ʔaSdiqa:ʔ/	/rabi9/	"friends"
/9iqa:b/	/d <sub>3</sub> aza:/	"punishment"
/qaDiyya/	/sa:lfa/	"a case"
/d <sub>3</sub> iddan/	/wa:d <sub>3</sub> i d/	"many/much"
/d <sub>3</sub> ayyid/	/ze:n/	"good"

These SA items occur predominantly or exclusively in the language of the younger speakers. The older ones, although they might use these items occasionally, are more likely to use their equivalents in QD.

To divide the items listed in the earlier dictionary into



[+recent] and [-recent] categories requires two steps. Firstly, the intuitive judgment of such items. One has to decide, relying on one's intuition whether an item of  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +\text{entry} \\ +\text{writing} \end{array} \right]$  features is of recent borrowing into QD or not. This intuitive judgement is, however, either confirmed or disproved by the second step. Secondly, the relative frequency of such items in the speech of the two generations is taken to give support to one's intuitive judgement. For instance, when an item is intuitively judged to be of recent borrowing and more importantly, the frequency of the item in the data from younger speakers supports the intuition i.e. it occurs predominantly in the language of the younger generation, one can confidently classify such items as [+recent]. But if, on the other hand, the frequency of the item contradicts the intuitive judgement, for instance the item occurs frequently in the linguistic output of both generations, the item will be classified as [-recent]. In other words, the frequency of the item in the data overrules the intuition.

Admittedly, there are a certain number of difficulties when applying this technique. On one hand, the choice of topic determines the linguistic output of any informant. If one speaks about the pearl fishing industry one is bound to have more items of QD lexicon than when one is talking about satellites, for instance. The older speakers are interested and love to talk about their past experience in the sea. By accepting this one is actually decreasing the chances of producing items which the younger speakers would

utilize when talking about new inventions such as satellites (see 2.2.2). In these situations one has to weigh the two sides of the matter, and to consider which side is more beneficial to his ultimate aim, which is to classify the vocabulary along objective lines likely to correlate interestingly with variation data.

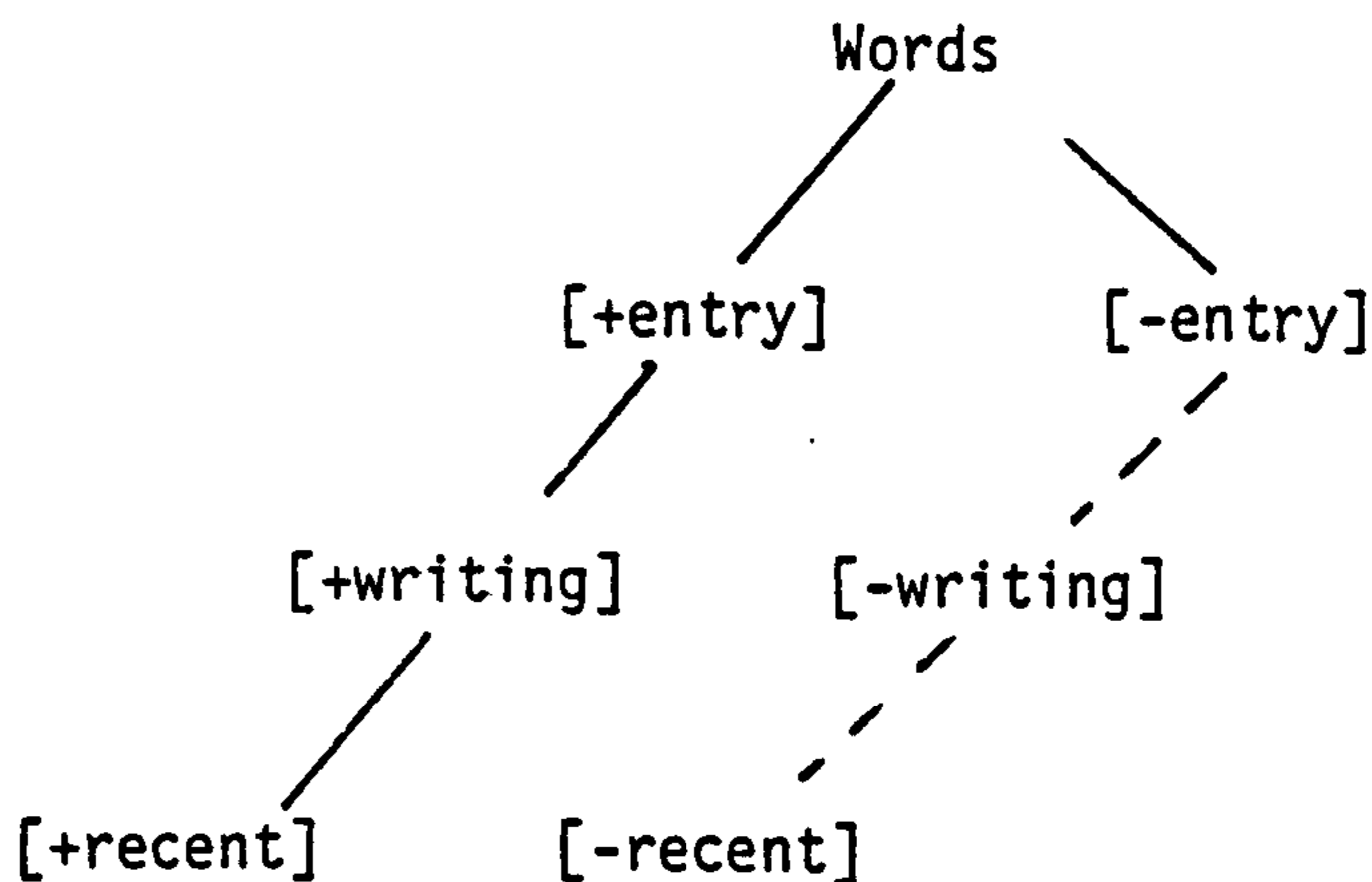
The second difficulty is the question of "how frequent is frequent?" To put it differently, what is the cut-off frequency below which one can say that an item would have a [-recent] feature or vice versa? In this study no cut-off frequency figure was decided. Practically speaking, it is difficult to decide such figures, because there are items which are very rare and occur as few as 3 times in the whole data. For instance, if one decides that the cut-off frequency is 70% i.e. if 70% of any such items occur in the language of the younger generation, that item will be labelled [+recent]. If, on that basis, an item occurred twice in the language of the younger generation and once in the linguistic output of the older ones, how should one classify it? Should one classify it as [-recent] or as [+recent]? According to the cut-off frequency it must be listed as [-recent] because it fails to reach the 70% frequency required. But on the other hand, it is unreasonable to trust the frequency figure of such items since they are of very low occurrence in the data.

Generally speaking, there are only a few cases which come under this category i.e. of low occurrence in the data. For the bulk of the data the frequency is well marked i.e. there is a big difference between the frequency of the items in the speech of the older and

younger speakers. However, in the cases of the few items of low occurrence in the data I have relied on my intuition in deciding whether they will be assigned a [+recent] or a [-recent] feature.

Thus,  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{entry} \\ +\text{writing} \end{bmatrix}$  features will in turn be divided into two sets: one with "+recent" feature, the other with "-recent" feature.

The procedures outlined in this section could be presented schematically as:



\* a minus on the right hand side branch at any level entails also all minuses below that level. For instance [-entry] will entail also [-writing] and [-recent].

Any word in QD can be attached to any of the following groups:

1.  $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{entry} \\ -\text{writing} \\ -\text{recent} \end{bmatrix}$
2.  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{entry} \\ -\text{writing} \\ -\text{recent} \end{bmatrix}$
3.  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{entry} \\ +\text{writing} \\ -\text{recent} \end{bmatrix}$

4. 

+entry +writing +recent loan words
---

I will illustrate more closely the sort of words that each group may contain.

### 3.3 Classes of lexical items:

3.3.1 Class 1: Contains items which are considered pure or plain colloquial. They are least related to standard Arabic. Under this class comes:

A. Items that are not listed in the standard Arabic dictionary, or if listed have different meanings. An example of the former is /d<sub>3</sub>awwad/ "to hold" 3rd pers. sing. masc. perfect, and an example of the latter is /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/ "much/many" (mentioned earlier). These words have their equivalents in SA but they are derived from other roots. The equivalent for /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/ "very much/many" in SA is /kaθi:r/, derived from the kθr root. And the equivalent of /d<sub>3</sub>awwad/ in SA is /amsaka/ derived from the msk root. Here are some more examples:

QD (i.e. Group 1)	SA	
/d <sub>3</sub> ard <sub>3</sub> u:r/	/samakilqir /	"shark"
/fari:q/	/manTiqa/	"area"
/hida:g/	/Saydissamak/	"fishing"
/yiqiT/	/yarmi/	"to throw"
/inbu:q/	/nasriq/	"we steal"
/9ad <sub>3</sub> al/	/?aw/	"or"

B. Words that occur frequently in QD and most importantly have resulted from various processes of phonological modification of larger units to a single item. For instance:

/d<sub>3</sub>a:b/ is a phonological modification of /d<sub>3</sub>a:ʔabi/ "he brought"

/we:n/ is a phonological modification of /ʔila ʔayn/ "to where"

/e:ʃ/ is a phonological modification of /ʔayyo ʃayʔ/ "what"

Most of these words have their equivalents in SA, of course, apart from the full form they are derived from. Look at the following:

QD	SA	
/da <sub>3</sub> a:b/	/ʔahDara/	"he brought"
/e:ʃ/	/ma:ʃa:/	"what"
/we:n/	/ʔi   a:ʔayn/, /ʔayn/	"to where"

C. Items which have undergone semantic evolution (polysemy). They therefore come to mean the same as in SA plus something more i.e. are cases of "semantic generalization"; or they mean just part of the meaning of the word in SA. For instance:

	QD	SA
/d <sub>3</sub> a:hi/	"child" or "ignorant"	"child"
/ra:h/	"went"	"went and returned in the evening"

Usually when such items are used in QD it is with that part of the meaning which is not shared by the standard variety. Hence, /d<sub>3</sub>a:hi/ in QD means "child", in the most frequent usage. Standard Arabic, however, has other items to convey these meanings. For instance, the word "child" is /Tifi/ and for "went" the word is /ʔahaba/.

D. Items which undergo colloquial morphophonemic and morphological rules such as:

1. Passivization:

This process is carried out in standard Arabic in triconsonantal root words as following:

CaCaCa (active-perfect) -> CoCiCa (passive-perfect)

Hence /d<sub>3</sub>araHa/ became /d<sub>3</sub>oriHa/. The same process takes different morphophonemic rules in QD. In the same triconsonantal words the passivization is as following:

CiCaC (active) -> inCiCaC (passive)

/d<sub>3</sub>iraH/ "he hurt someone" -> /ind<sub>3</sub>iraH/ "he was hurt"

/gita/ "he killed someone" -> /ingita/ "he was killed"

2. Colloquial possessive particles such as /ma/ /Ha/ "belongs to".

3. Items which are derived from the same consonantal root as the word in standard Arabic, with the same meaning, but the derived form in QD is unacceptable in the standard variety. For example:

QD	Standard Arabic	the root	
/rad <sub>3</sub> d <sub>3</sub> a:l/	/rad <sub>3</sub> o:l/	rd <sub>3</sub> l	"man"
/rad <sub>3</sub> ad <sub>3</sub> i:l/	/rid <sub>3</sub> a:l/	rd <sub>3</sub> l	"men"
/rd <sub>3</sub> u:l/	/ʔard <sub>3</sub> o:l/	rd <sub>3</sub> l	"feet"

Items that occur in QD and which are derived in this way have an equivalent in SA derived from the same root as illustrated in the example.

3.3.2 Class 2: Contains items that are not used in writing.

In other words items of this class are considered inappropriate for formal writings such as newspaper articles. These items have equivalents either from class 3 or class 4 which are used in formal writings. Here are some examples:

/yad <sub>3</sub> i:ʔ/	/yaʔti/	"He (will) come"
/qi:ma/	/si9r/	"price"
/d <sub>3</sub> ama:9a/	/ʔaqa:rib/	"relatives"
/qad/	/hasab/	"according to"
/Had <sub>3</sub> i:d <sub>3</sub> /	/Hod <sub>3</sub> a:d <sub>3</sub> /	"Mecca pilgrims."
/qadart/	/ʔiStaTa9t/	"I could"

3.3.3 Class 3: This category contains items which are cognate and identical in semantic and phonemic form with the standard items i.e. the same word occurs in both varieties with similar realization and meaning. This category is the closest to SA. Examples of this category would be:

/mad <sub>3</sub> lis/	"sitting room"
/Hadd <sub>3</sub> /	"pilgrimage"
/wa:d <sub>3</sub> ib/	"duty"
/d <sub>3</sub> add/	"grandfather"
/rid <sub>3</sub> a:l/	"men"
/qa:l/	"He said"
/qali:l/	"few"
/qabalt/	"I met"

Proper nouns are also included in this category.

3.3.4 Class 4: Contains non-dialectal items. These could be divided into:

A. Standard items which do not have any equivalent in QD and which flow continuously from the standard variety to QD as an automatic outcome of education, mass media, etc. The items normally denote new concepts, inventions, institutions etc. such as:

/?iqtiSa:d/	"economy"
/d <sub>3</sub> a:mi9a/	"university"
/θalla:d <sub>3</sub> a/	"fridge"
/θaqa:fa/	"culture"
/barna:mad <sub>3</sub> /	"programme"
/d <sub>3</sub> iha:z/	"equipment"

B. Items which are standard and equivalent to items in group 1 "colloquial items" such as /kaθi:r/ "very much/too many" which is equivalent to /wa:d<sub>3</sub>i d/ in QD. Here are some more examples:



SA	QD	
/samakilqirʃ /	/d <sub>3</sub> ard <sub>3</sub> u:r/	"shark"
/yamsik/	/yid <sub>3</sub> awwid/	"he holds"
/yarmi/	/yiqiT/	"he throws"

C. Items which undergo standard morphophonemic and morphological rules such as:

1. Passivation of verbs, perfect and imperfect as in /yodmad<sub>3</sub>/ "(It was) assimilated or merged" (imperfect) and /qotil/ "he was killed" (perfect).
2. Participles, both active and passive e.g. /mora:q í b/ "observer" and /maDru:b/ "beaten up".
3. SA particles such as /qad/ (with following perfect indicates the termination of action) "already".

D. Items in this group are divided into:

1. Items that are introduced into the language as a replacement for other words or phrases. These new items are mainly used by the younger speakers whereas the old ones are used by younger and older people. For instance

QD	SA	
/ʔahlqatar/	/qatariyydi:n/	"Qataris"
/ʔahlilxali:d <sub>3</sub> /	/xali:d <sub>3</sub> iyyi:n/	"people from the Gulf"
/yida:wi/	/y9a:lid <sub>3</sub> /	"to have medical treatment"

2. Foreign proper nouns are included under this as well as names such as John, James, Jimmy etc.
3. Loan words which have been borrowed into the QD system as a

consequence of constant contact with other languages. There are numerous examples of borrowed items which occur quite frequently in everyday speech. Most of these items are unintelligible to speakers of other Arabic vernaculars outside the Gulf region, since most of these words come mainly from Persian and Urdu, and to a lesser degree from Turkish and English. As an example of this category:

QD		Source
/d <sub>3</sub> u:ti/	"shoe"	Persian/Urdu
/bass/	"only"	Persian
/hast/	"exist"	Persian
/d <sub>3</sub> a:lbu:t/	"jolly boat"	English
/land <sub>3</sub> /	"launch"	English

Ideally speaking, one would wish to treat loan words as a separate class of lexical item. But the results of a pilot study done in summer 1983, demonstrated quite clearly that SA items and loan words would be better if amalgamated into one group of lexical item. This was for two main reasons. On the one hand, loan words are very limited in numbers compared to the number of lexical in other groups of lexical items. This is very evident when we look at the following table:

TABLE 3.1  
The distribution of five classes of lexical items  
and the ( $d_3$ ) variable in the pilot study

Class	[ $d_3$ ]	[j]	[y]	N=
I colloquial	34 — 10%	39 — 12%	265 — 78%	338 — 28%
II cognate not-identical	17 — 15%	32 — 29%	61 — 56%	110 — 9%
III cognate identical	122 — 34%	88 — 24%	151 — 42%	361 — 29%
IV standard	264 — 68%	114 — 29%	10 — 3%	388 — 32%
V loan words	20 — 67%	10 — 33%	— — —	30 — 2%
	457 — 37%	283 — 22%	487 — 40%	1227

Secondly, loan words and SA items had a very similar realization of the ( $d_3$ ) variable which was examined in the pilot study as is clear from the above table.

The table indicates quite clearly that SA words (IV) and loan

words (V) behave similarly. Unlike other classes of lexical items these two show an increase in the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant and simultaneous decrease of the [Y] variant. Therefore loan items and SA words are combined into group IV of lexical items and referred to as "non-dialectal" items.

### 3.4 Conclusion

We set out to find a way of formally dividing the lexical items into various classes. Through numerous criteria we have succeeded in distinguishing four classes of lexical items. They are:

Class I: pure dialectal words,

Class II: cognate items which are not used in writing,

Class III: shared items,

Class IV: standard and loan words.

## Chapter IV

Variability and class of lexical item4.1 Introduction

Before discussing the data of the present study we will look at some of the previous studies that have attempted to account for the (Q) and/or the (d<sub>3</sub>) variation in Arabic.

4.1.1 Sallam (1980):

This study examined closely the realization of a voiceless uvular plosive /q/ in the speech of educated Arabs. The study was concerned with the language of educated speakers of Egypt and the Levant. The (Q) variable shows the following variants in these countries:

[q]	[g]	[ʔ]	[k]	Palestine/Jordan
[q]	---	[ʔ]	[k]	Lebanon
[q]	[g]	[ʔ]	---	Egypt
[q]	---	[ʔ]		Syria

The study attempts to arrive at the phonological rules which control the realization of the (Q) variable in the speech of educated speakers of these countries. The study arrives at seven different rules which are copied here:

1. /Q/ -> [q] / (a) \_\_ aʔiC [qaʔim] "standing"
- (b) Caʔi\_\_ [laʔiq] "suitable"
- (c) \_\_ aCaʔic [qaSaʔid] "poems"
- (d) ʔil\_\_aʔ [ʔilqa:ʔ] "delivery"
- (e) Ca\_\_aʔ [raqa:ʔig] "loafs of bread"

2. /Q/ -> [q] / \_\_ x \_\_ an [qita:lan] "fight"  
 (x indicates that /Q/ may occur anywhere in the word)
3. /Q/ -> [q] / mu(sta) \_\_ [mustaqil] "independent"  
 (passive participle) [muqtani9] "convinced"
4. /Q/ -> { (a) [q]  
 (b) [q] [ʔ] [k] } /
- |                                   |                               |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| __ a:C iC<br>Ca __ iC<br>CaC i __ | /qa9id/<br>/9aqil/<br>/ʔaʔiq/ | "sitting"<br>"wise"<br>"to taste" |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
- active participle

(a) applies in formal styles.

(b) applies in informal styles.

5. Comparative adjectives:

- /Q/ -> { (a) [q]  
 (b) [ʔ] [q] [k] } /
- |        |          |                 |
|--------|----------|-----------------|
| ?aCCa_ | /?aSdaq/ | "more truthful" |
| ?aC_a  | /?arqa/  | "more advanced" |
| ?a_aCC | /?aqa11/ | "less"          |

(a) applies in formal styles.

(b) applies in informal styles.

6. Passive verbs:

- (a) /Q/ -> [q] [ \_u\_ ] /qutil/ "was killed"
- (b) /Q/ -> { [ʔ]  
 [g]  
 [k] } /
- |            |            |              |
|------------|------------|--------------|
| *(?i)t _ * | /?itqatal/ | "was killed" |
| *(?i)n _   | /?inqatal/ |              |

## 7. Verbal Nouns (VN):

/Q/ ->		(a) [q] / [(mu) _____ ]VN	[moqawama]	"resistance"
		(b) [q] / [ _____ ]VN	[ʃuruq]	"sunrise"
		(c) [?] / [ _____ ]VN	[ʃuruq]	"sunrise"

(a) applies in [ $\pm$  formal styles]

(b) applies in [+ formal styles]

(c) applies in [- formal styles]

While there is no doubt that this study successfully specifies the various phonological environments conditioning the (q) variable in the speech of educated Arabs of the Levant and Egypt, it suffers from two serious shortcomings. Firstly, it overlooks an obvious generalization. If one looks more closely at rules 2, 3, 6 and 7 one realizes that the [q] variant mostly occurs in items which undergo standard morphophonemic rules, whereas other dialectal variants ([g], [ʔ] and [k]) occur mainly in words that undergo dialectal morphophonemic rules. For example in rule 6, (a) is the standard passive rule, while (b) is the dialectal passive rule. Secondly, the effect of the formality axis as represented in these rules is very absolute. In other words, in rules such as 4 in which any variant may occur, the [q] variant occurs exclusively in the formal style. Such an absolute conclusion is not reported elsewhere; on the contrary Schmidt (1974) and Abdel-Jawad (1981) report probabilistic conclusions in this respect. Similarly Labov

(1966, '72a), Trudgill (1974) and others report a probabilistic effect of formality factors i.e. the standard variant is more often realized in formal styles than in informal styles. One has to add, however, that in reading minimal pairs one reaches a semi-categorical use of the standard variant (Labov 1966). But Sallam's study did not use reading at all, let alone reading minimal pairs.

It will become clear in discussing the data of the present study that most of the rules presented in Sallam's study may be replaced by a single rule.

#### 4.1.2 Holes (1980, 1981):

These studies deal with different aspects of phonological variation, including the (d<sub>3</sub>) and the (Q) variable in Bahrain. As for the relationship between variation and the lexicon, the author divides the lexicon of the Bahraini dialect into "core" and "non-core" vocabulary. The former group is loosely defined as containing words which denote artifacts and activities specific to Bahraini life, in addition to a number of extremely frequent words denoting certain cultural universals (e.g. 'foot', 'face', 'to come', 'to bring' etc.) (Holes 1980, 1981). He concludes that variation of the kind discussed here, may only occur in items which are a part of the core vocabulary.

The results of Holes' studies are, however, questionable on two grounds. On the one hand, the definition of 'core' vocabulary in these studies is vague and does not rest on clear criteria. On the other hand the conclusion suggests that variations are equally



plausible in all items which are defined as 'core' vocabulary. In other words, once the word is defined as a part of the 'core' vocabulary, it behaves in exactly the same way to other 'core' items in its tendency to undergo variation.

#### 4.1.3 Abdel-Jawad (1981):

Abdel-Jawad studied the (Q) and the (k) variables in the dialect of Amman (Jordan). This study is by far the closest to the present one. He divided the lexicon of the Amman dialect into four groups:

1. Pure colloquial
2. Cognate non-identical
3. Cognate and identical
4. Pure standard

Although this classification is very similar to the classification in the present study there are certain differences between the two. Firstly, he considers loan words from other languages in the same category as "pure colloquial" words, whereas in the present study loan words are grouped together with standard items as 'non-dialectal' items. Secondly, he relies entirely on his intuition in deciding to which group an item belongs, whereas in the present study intuition plays a role only in distinguishing classes II and III. Finally, in the present study the phonetic realization of the word would not influence its classification in the four groups. That is to say that all occurrences of the same lexical item would always be listed in the same class of lexical item, regardless of the phonetic changes that may occur in the various tokens of the item. But in Abdel-Jawad's study the phonetic shape

of the item would play a major role in determining whether it would be classified as cognate non-identical (class II), or cognate and identical (class III). For example, the word /qabl/ "before", which occurs equally frequently in the standard and local dialects of Arabic, will be judged as cognate and identical (class III), if it is realized as [qabl] or [gabl], but it will be grouped as cognate non-identical (class II) if it is realized as [qabil] or [gabil]. In other words the vowel epenthesis (insertion) to break the consonant cluster of the final syllable influences the classification of items. Hence different tokens of the same lexical item may be classified as belonging to class II or to class III.

Despite these differences, Abdel-Jawad's study revealed interesting results, and to a great extent results similar to the results of the present study, which will be discussed at relevant points in this study.

#### 4.2. The present study

We will discuss the data of the present study making use of the following two sets of rules:

##### 1. Colloquialization Rule:

(a) /Q/ →  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [g] \\ [d_3] \end{array} \right\}$

(b) /d<sub>3</sub>/ → [y]

##### 2. Standardization Rule:

(a) /Q/ →  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [q] \\ [b] \end{array} \right\}$

(b) /d<sub>3</sub>/ → [d<sub>3</sub>]

The rule which changes /d<sub>3</sub>/ into [j] is a neutral rule (see

4.2.1.1). In each rule, (a) is for the (Q) variable and (b) is for the  $(d_3)$  variable

Before discussing details of the realization of the (Q) and the  $(d_3)$  variables in the various classes of lexical items, I put forward the following hypothesis:

(a) The lexical class of the item containing the variable, whether (Q) or  $(d_3)$ , is a conditioning factor in determining whether the word would undergo the colloquialization rule or the standardization rule.

(b) Each class of lexical items will show a different proportion of the various variants when compared to the other class of lexical items. That is to say that class I, for example, will have a different proportion of variants  $[d_3]$ ,  $[j]$  and  $[y]$  when compared to items in any other class.

(c) The colloquialization rule will be most prominent in items in class I and least evident in items in class IV, with items in classes II and III occupying an intermediate position between the two. Furthermore items in class II will be closer to items in class I than items in III are. The reverse is true of the standardization rule.

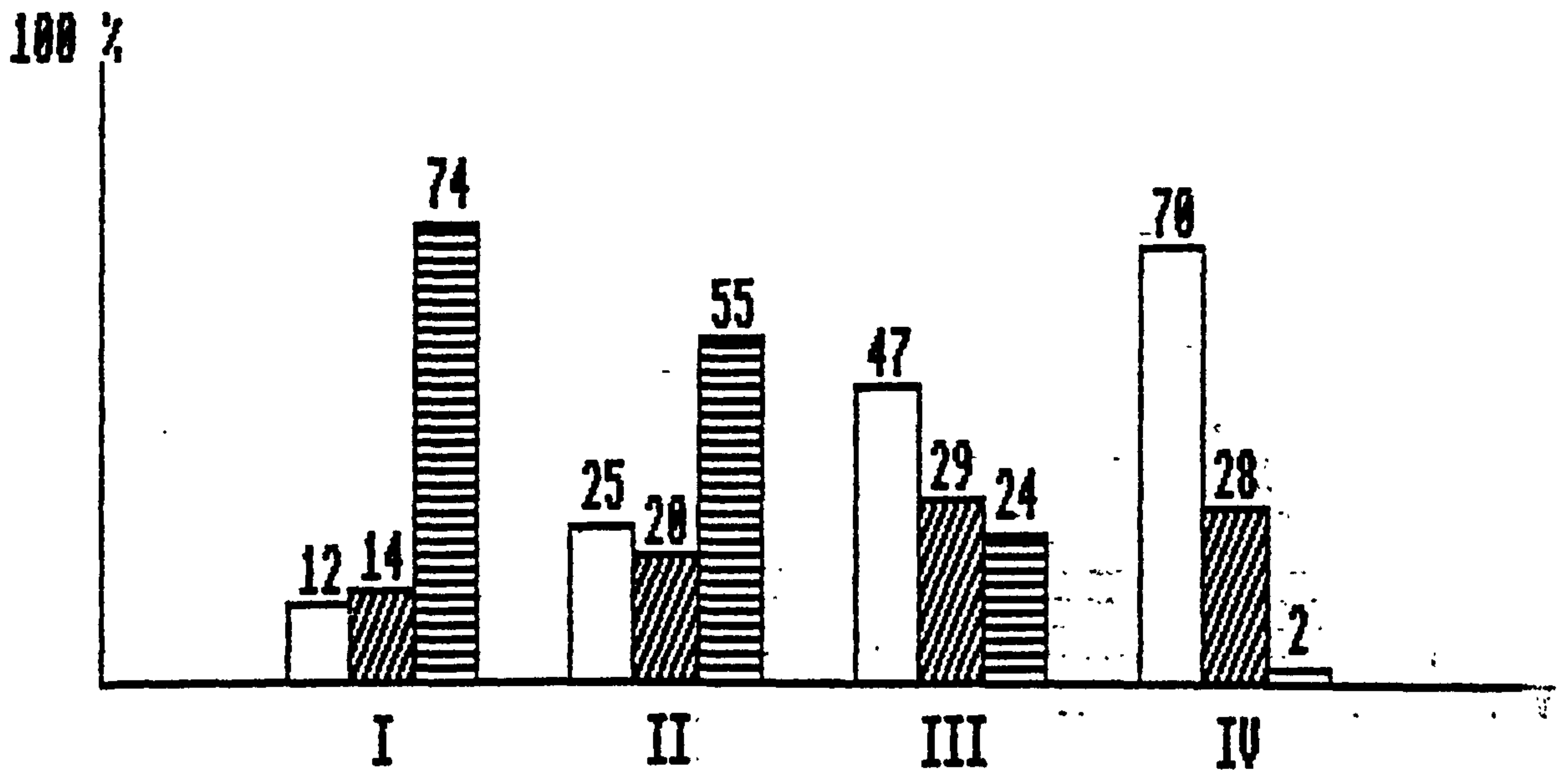
#### 4.2.1 Description of the data

##### 4.2.1.1 The $(d_3)$ variable:

Looking at histogram (4.1), considering the  $[d_3]$  variant only and furthermore regarding classes I-IV as a scale, with class I at one end and class IV at the other, it is quite evident that there is a progressive increase in the frequency of this variant as we move

along the scale toward class IV. (The exact figures and percentages are provided in Histogram (4.1).) In other words the probability of the application of the standardization rule increases to its highest if the items containing the ( $d_3$ ) variable belong to class IV of the lexical item. Similarly, the probability of the application of this rule decreases to its lowest if the words containing the ( $d_3$ ) variable belong to class I. Items in classes II and III favour the application of this rule relative to their position on the scale.

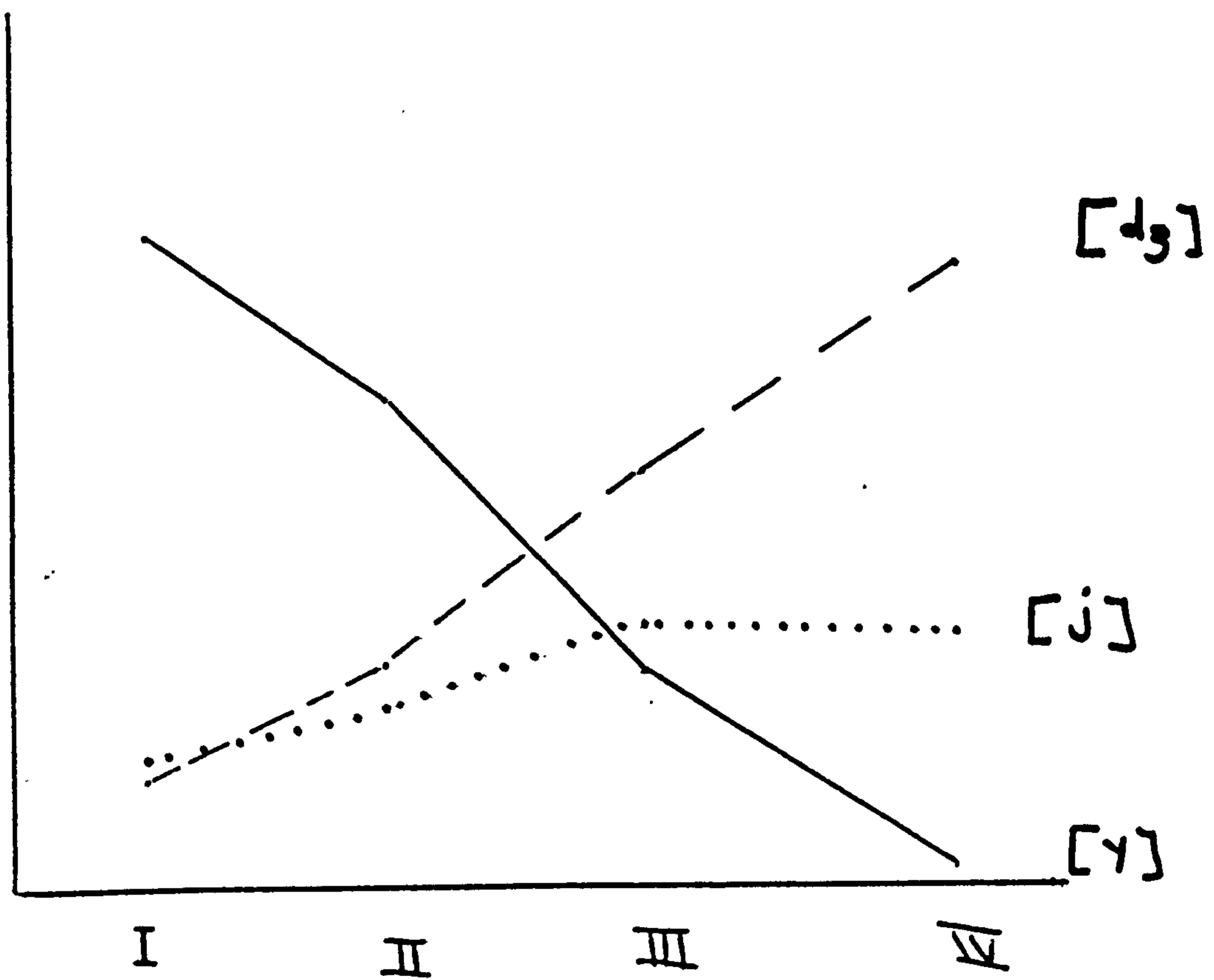
Histogram 4.1



The occurrence of the (d3) variable in the data according to 4 lexical classes

Variable	I	II	III	IV	N
[d3]	124 12%	239 25%	990 47%	1317 70%	2670
[j]	139 14%	196 20%	682 29%	527 28%	1464
[y]	755 74%	540 55%	513 24%	28 2%	1836

Significant at 0.01 level



Graph (1) :the realisation of the (d3) variable  
in four classes of lexecal items

The application of the colloquialization rule operates exactly in the opposite way. In fact the application of this rule is most and least favoured in items which least and most favour the application of the standardization rule respectively. What is clear from the above histogram is that items in classes I and IV are mirror images of each other, and this is very much evident in graph (1).

Graph (1) shows that there is a gradual increase in the standardization rule as one moves along the scale towards class IV. Such an increase is, however, accompanied by a simultaneous gradual decrease in the application of the colloquialization rule. The important point which the graph reveals is the point at which the lines representing the  $[d_3]$  and the  $[y]$  variants intersect. The intersection occurs at a point between class II and class III, thus dividing the lexical items into two groups. On the one hand, we have items in classes I and II which favour the application of the colloquialization rule. On the other hand, items in classes III and IV show a strong tendency towards the application of the standardization rule. In this way one can safely say that items in class II are a mirror image of items in class III as items in class I are a mirror image of items in class IV.

The graph also indicates that the  $[j]$  variant is neutrally realized in all classes of lexical items. In other words occurrences of this variant, generally speaking, are not influenced by the lexical status of the word containing the  $(d_3)$  variable,

although there is a weak tendency for this variant to increase in items in classes III and IV. The increase, however, is not significant. The reason for this may lie in the fact that this variant is socially insignificant: that is to say that although all speakers have a proportion of this variant in any class of lexical item in their speech, yet no one realizes or acknowledges its existence. Generally speaking, people do not differentiate between the [j] and [d<sub>3</sub>] variants, but consider both of them as instances of the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant.

This awareness is a product of my native knowledge about the dialect; furthermore such intuitive knowledge was reinforced by the information I obtained during the fieldwork. Informants, when asked about the realization of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable in QD, only mentioned [y] and [d<sub>3</sub>] variants; none of them mentioned anything that may suggest their awareness of the existence of the [j] variant.

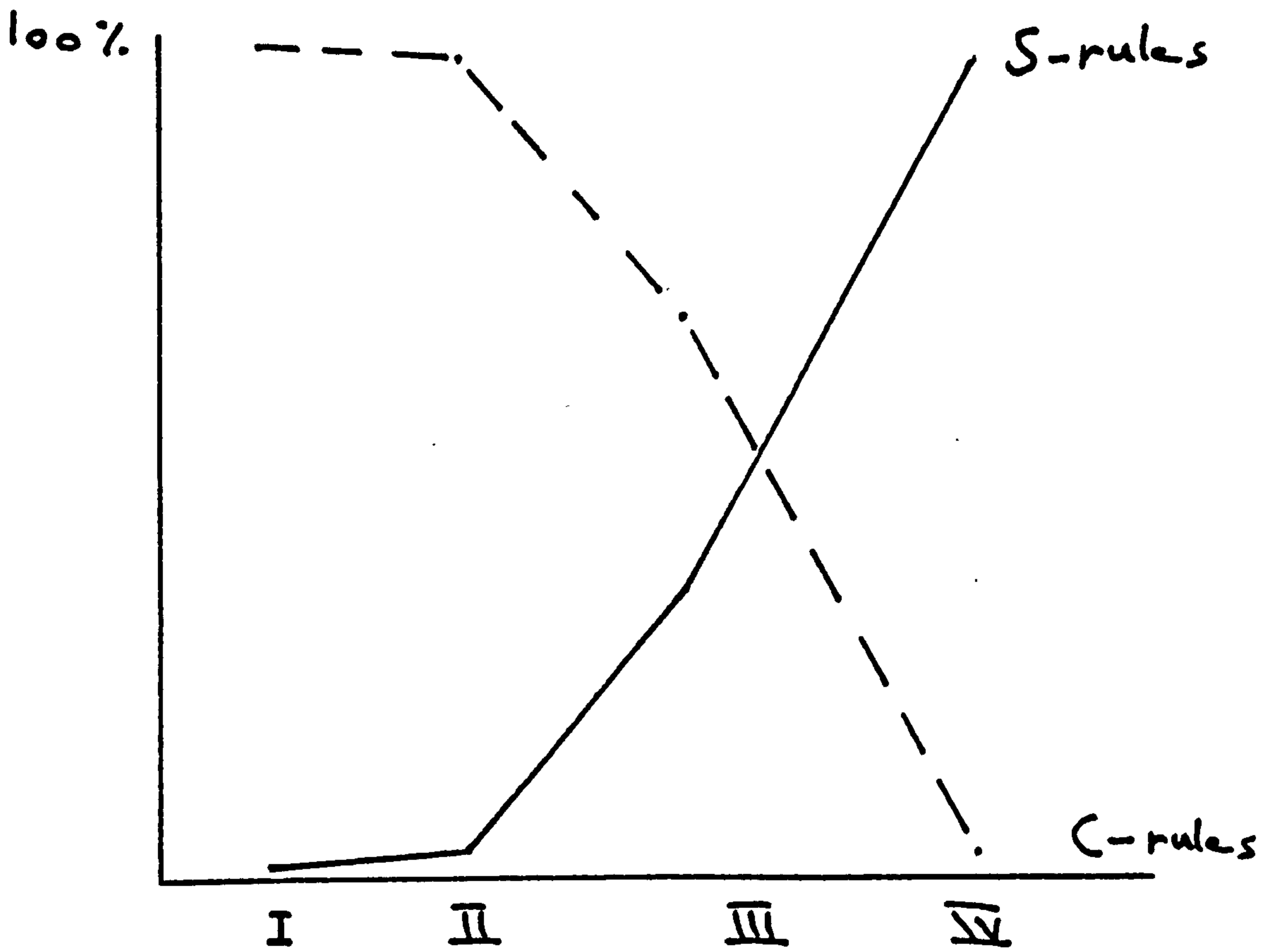
#### 4.2.1.2 The (Q) variable:

Before attempting to describe the data on the (Q) variable, one point must be clarified. Whereas [q], [ʃ] and [g] are phonologically unconditioned, the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant is phonologically conditioned. The [d<sub>3</sub>] variant may occur only in the following environment:

/q/ -> [d<sub>3</sub>] / front vowel before or after

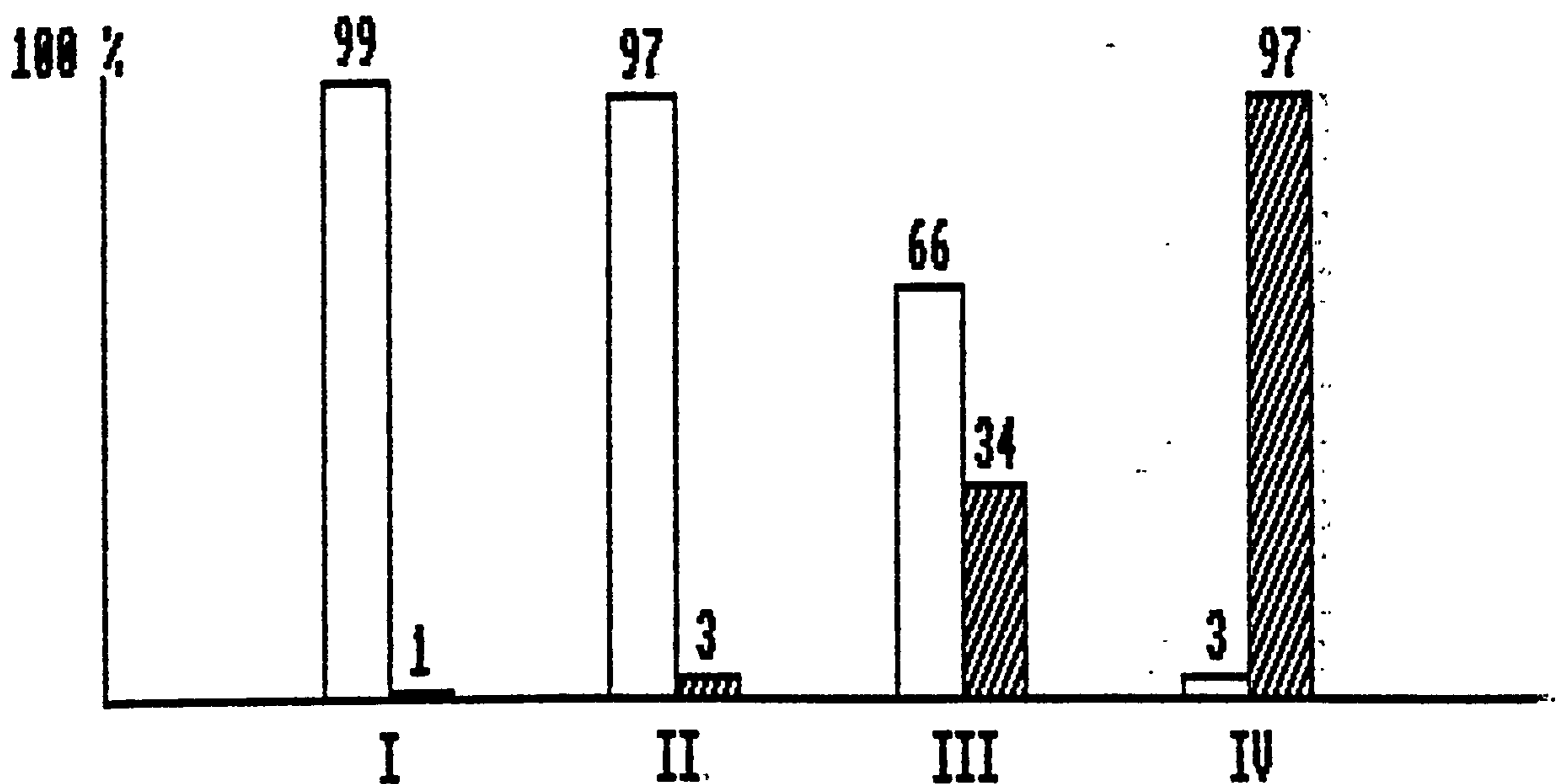
However there are many exceptions to this rule. In other words, there are many items which meet the above phonological condition: yet they do not undergo the affrication process. An example of this is the word /daqi:qa/ "a minute". Therefore the low frequency of this variant in the data must be considered in relation to this important fact.





Graph (2) :the realisation of the (Q) variable  
in four classes of lexical items.

Histogram 4.2



The occurrence of the (Q) variable in four classes of lexical items.

	I	II	III	IV	N
C-rule	1262 99%	1732 97%	3437 66%	41 3%	6472
S-rule	17 1%	58 3%	1808 34%	1390 97%	3273

Significant at 0.01 level

Since at this stage the differences between [q] and [k], and between [g] and [d<sub>3</sub>] are not relevant, I will refer to the former two collectively as the standardization rule and to the latter two as the colloquialization rule. These differences will be discussed in the following chapters.

Histogram (4.2) indicates that the colloquialization rule is almost categorical in items in classes I and II. It is strongly favoured in items in class III and hardly noticeable in items in class IV. The reverse is, of course, true of the standardization rule. This rule is almost not present in class I and II, starts to emerge in class III and reaches a semi-categorical level in items in class IV.

This image is relatively more accurately captured in graph (4.2). The line which represents the colloquialization rule is extremely high in classes I and II, decreases as we move to class III and then there is a big jump and almost a total reduction in the application of this rule as we move from class III to class IV. For the standardization rule the situation is exactly the opposite.

An interesting result which emerges from this graph is the point at which the line for [q] and [k] (standardization rule) intersects with the line for [g] and [d<sub>3</sub>] (colloquialization rule). The crossover occurs after class III. Thus the four classes of lexical items are divided into two parts. Part A, which includes items in classes I, II and III, favours the application of the colloquialization rule, albeit to a different degree. Part B

includes items in class IV only and favours the application of the standardization rule.

A similar result on the (Q) variable is also reported in Abdel-Jawad's study on the dialect of Amman (Jordan). He also found that any item which can be classified as standard (class IV) strongly favours the application of the standardization rule. This one single condition can arguably replace the majority of the phonological rules suggested in Sallam's study (1981). That is to say that

"instead of the many fragmented environments  
Sallam suggested, we have one linguistic  
condition which is the lexical status of the  
item containing the (Q) variable"  
(Abdel-Jawad 1981:201)<sup>1</sup>

The important point to bear in mind at this stage is that classes I (and II for the (Q) variable) and IV are more homogeneous in favouring the application of the colloquialization rule and the standardization rule respectively than is class III, which shows a great deal of variation.

Looking at the data it is evident that hypothesis (a) is verified by the data on the (Q) and the ( $d_3$ ) variables. We can confidently conclude that the lexical status of the word containing the ( $d_3$ ) or the (Q) variable is a determining factor in deciding whether the word would undergo the standardization rule or the colloquialization rule.<sup>2</sup>

The case for hypotheses (b) and (c) is quite different. In fact, taking the data as it is, these hypotheses are verified by one part of the data, while the other part indicates that certain

modifications must be added to the hypotheses.

The data on the ( $d_3$ ) variable is completely in line with the predictions made by these two hypotheses. For this variable classes I-IV represent a real scale. On this scale the application of the colloquialization rule decreases gradually as we move from class I towards class IV. Thus each class of lexical item shows a different proportion of [y], [j] and [ $d_3$ ] when compared to any other class of lexical item (hypothesis (b)). And the colloquialization rule is most favoured in items in class I and least in items in class IV, with II and III being at intermediate positions (hypothesis (c)).

The data on the (Q) variable, however, does not reflect these two hypotheses. The behaviour of items in classes I and II is exactly the same, which means that classes I and II have the same, or similar, proportion of the variants [ $d_3$ ], [g], [q] and [B], and that the colloquialization rule is equally favoured in items in classes I and II. At the present there is no adequate explanation available that may account for the similarities in the behaviour of items in class I and II on this variable. To accommodate the data of this variable within the hypothesis we suggest that the following modification should be added to the two hypotheses: a sentence should be added at the end of the statements on the hypothesis which says that "for the (Q) variable items in class I and II behave in a similar manner".

#### 4.2.2 Similarities and differences between the two variables

The data on the (Q) and the ( $d_3$ ) variables exemplify certain common features, which can be summarized as follows:

1. In both variables the standardization rule is most favoured in items in class IV.
2. The switch from the application of the colloquialization rule to the standardization rule is of a gradual nature in the case of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable, but it is of an abrupt nature in the case of the (Q) variable. In the latter case there is a huge increase in the application of the standardization rule as we move from class III (34%) to class IV (97%).
3. In the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable [j] serves as a neutral variant which is not affected by the stratification of the lexical items into various classes. But for the (Q) variable there is no such variant.
4. The lines for the standardization and the colloquialization rule for the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable crossover at an intermediate point on the scale, thus dividing the lexical items into two groups: (A) includes classes I and II and favours the application of the colloquialization rule, while (B) comprises classes III and IV and favours the standardization rule. (This also indicates that the transition of the two rules is gradual.) In the case of the (Q) variable the intersection point occurs between classes III and IV, thus again dividing the lexical items into two parts, but of a different structure.

There are many reasons which together may explain the apparently conflicting pictures of these two variables. Firstly, the colloquialization rule, especially /Q/ -> [g], is very common in Arabic dialects, whereas the rule /d<sub>3</sub>/ -> [y] is very much a local

feature. More precisely, it occurs only in certain dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. Secondly, the colloquialization rule, again /Q/ → [g], affects all sections of society in Qatar, but the colloquialization rule in the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable (/d<sub>3</sub>/ → [y]) does not (see chapter V). Thirdly, the colloquialization rule of the (Q) variable is not affected by the orthography, whereas the same rule in the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable is influenced by the orthography. This was shown when educated people were given a dialectal poem to read (see Chapter VII). All of them except three informants read every instance of the letter /Q/ as [g], but none of them read any item written with the letter, /d<sub>3</sub>/ as [y], although the poem included items of the various classes of lexical items. (For more detail on the last point see chapter 7.). In short, the (Q) colloquialization rule is more strongly rooted in Arabic dialects, and QD is no exception. Finally, the reason for the differences in the behaviour of the two variables may lie in the fact that one is involved in the sound change process whereas the other is not (see Chapter VI).

#### 4.3 Discussion

Some tentative idea of what is going on may be arrived at by considering and examining the conditions under which the two sets of lexical items are learned. Items in classes I, II and III represent genuine dialectal words whereas items in class IV do not. The dialectal feature, however, is more profound in items in classes I and II than it is in items in class III.

The dialectal items are acquired at home and in the sphere of

domestic and friendship interactions. Thus, they have acquired the flavour of locally based relations. For members of the speech community of Doha, and indeed of Qatar, identification with classes I and II and to a lesser extent with class III, represents the dimensions of conservatism and localism. These items reflect casualness, and intimacy of home atmosphere and peer-group relationships.

The items in class IV, on the other hand, are mostly learned at school and under the influence of mass media, particularly television and radio. These words are associated with the modern progressive socio-economic values of the community. The acquisition and usage of these words enhance the speaker's status and his chances of success in society. These items imply status differentiation, education, formality of speech or out-group interactions, which are less acceptable in the realm of informal and casual interactions.

The contrasting set of values which are presented by dialectal and non-dialectal items may in fact be found in most of the speech communities characterized by diglossia. This point is quite clear in Straker (1980), who wrote that

"societies characterized by diglossia separate languages, dialects, registers or differentiated language varieties ... to communicate two existing classes of complementary values, attitudes and behaviours. There are L-related values (dialectal items) of intimacy, solidarity, spontaneity and informality that are related to the home and friendship domains. The complement of L-rated values are H-related values which emphasize status differences, ritual and formality related to religion,



education and government. Language varieties on codes associated with L-related values are generally learned first in an informal setting ... while varieties that are H-related are learned later in a more formal setting such as school."

(Straker 1980:103)

We may say that the colloquialization rule reflects intimacy and informality, whereas the standardization rule expresses formality and out-group relationships. Therefore, one would expect the colloquialization rule to dominate all lexical items when the speech event is casual and involves only members of the family or peer group. Similarly, in formal styles one would expect the standardization rule to prevail in all items, regardless of lexical class stratification. This, however, is not the case. The behaviour of each class of lexical items tends to be the same in formal and informal situations. This claim holds strongly for items in classes I, II and IV, but weakly for class III (see Chapter VII).

A natural question that comes to mind is why people do not operate the standardization rule in items in classes I and II to achieve stylistic effect, since the application of this rule enables one to level one's speech i.e. to sound more educated. In other words, if [q] and [ʋ] for instance, are seen as signs of education and prestige in one's speech, why do people not realize all instances of the (Q) variable in items in classes I, II and III as [q] or [ʋ]?

There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the application of the standardization rule in items in classes I and II, particularly would subject the speaker to potential ridicule. To illustrate this,

we will look at the following example. The word /wad<sub>3</sub>id/ is almost categorically pronounced as [wayid] by the sedentary population, and is realized variably as [wad<sub>3</sub>id] by the Bedouin section of the community. If, however, a member of the former group categorically pronounces the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable as [d<sub>3</sub>] and hence [wad<sub>3</sub>id], he will be seen as a person who is trying to sound like a Bedouin. Therefore he may be looked upon as a person who is trying to dissociate himself from the part of the community to which he belongs. Consequently he will be ridiculed and mocked by his friends and colleagues.

Secondly, based on the former point, the simple application of the standardization rule in these items does not produce a more educated style. When such an effect is aimed at, these dialectal items of classes I and II are replaced by other items from SA. Here are some examples:

(a)		(b)
[yawwad]	"He caught"	[?amsaka]
[yaryu:r]	"shark"	[samak ilgir]
[gidda:m]	"front"	[?amam]
[agdar]	"I can"	[?astaTi9]

In ordinary speech people would use the items in group (a), but if the speaker wishes to be seen as educated and so forth, he would use the words in group (b).

Thirdly, the application of the standardization rule is blocked in some items because the resulting word may mean something different from its intended meaning. The following example will

illustrate this. The word [ga:9id] has two meanings in QD. It may be used as an auxiliary verb, denoting a continuous action, or as an active participle, "sitting". If the standardization rule is applied the resulting word would be [qa:9id]. It would be understood as "sitting" rather than with the dialectal meaning. If, however, one wishes to indicate a continuous action in a more educated style i.e. SA, one would have to use other standard resources. Such a misunderstanding arises because there is a syntactic mismatch in the function of [ga:9id] as an auxiliary in QD and [qa:9id] in the educated speech; hence the application of the rule is blocked in such cases. The application of the standardization rule would be perfectly acceptable if [ga:9id] meant the active participle "sitting", since the resulting word would be [ga:9id] "sitting" and there would be neither syntactic nor semantic differences between the two words. In other words, the application of the standardization rule is only permissible if the morphological structure and the semantic/syntactic function of standard words and of QD words match. (Holes 1981, 1983).<sup>3</sup>

#### 4.4 Variation and modernization

The differences between the dialectal words and the non-dialectal items presented in this study reflect states of change and diversity of values which dominate Qatari society. The changes that have occurred in Qatari society since the 1950's have influenced all aspects of community life, of which language is only a part. Therefore, the following tentative hypothesis is reasonable:

(a) Items related to the traditional activities and the value

system of Qatari society would show a strong tendency towards the application of the colloquialization rule. (b) Items related to modern value systems of the community, and associated with new developed activities, would strongly favour the application of the standardization rule.

We have briefly seen how oil, and the technology which followed, have left their mark - not only on the structure of society, but also on ~~the~~ its way of life (see chapter I). Qatari society is trying to achieve a balance to accommodate the new elements of modernization, and, at the same time, to keep the privileged stratum as intact as possible.

"It is a commonplace of modern linguistics that language boundaries are sharpest and the older form is most likely to survive in areas which for one reason or another, have been communicatively isolated and where populations have remained stable over time. When barriers to communication break down, rapid language changes take place and dialect boundaries become muted."

(Gumperz 1982:38)

The forces of modernization such as oil, the mass media, education, social mobility, urbanization etc. which have started relatively recently, have led to the tendency of borrowing the new items of class IV, albeit not all of them. The influence of new values and ideologies of modern urban civilization, education and mass media have resulted in a strong tendency in favour of such standard vocabulary. All signs at the present indicate that such a tendency is on the increase.

One of the main reasons why modernization in the Qatari society

means the flow of item from SA into QD is the educational factor. As more people get chances of formal education, for which SA serve as the main vehicle, more of the standard items become as a part of everyday jargon, and become a part of commonly used vocabularies.

Effective communication, however, requires that interlocutors agree on the social significance and social values attached to the choice of any lexical item. The data suggests, quite strongly, that all informants' interpretation and evaluation of the lexical item, as well as their perception of the status of it, influence their choice of the colloquialization rule or the standardization rule. To examine this, we will look more closely at two sets of lexical items. They are related to two contrasting elements. On the one hand, there are items related to fishing and the pearl industry. These undoubtedly represent the traditional value system of the society. On the other hand, we have words relating to television, which represents a modern element in the society. The following show the occurrence of these two sets of items in the data, with their realizations:

Table 4.3  
Item associated with traditional activities. The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable (A)

Class	Item	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
III	/mid <sub>3</sub> da:f/ "oar"	-	-	4	4
I	/d <sub>3</sub> u:d/ "skin water container"	2	4	5	11
III	/d <sub>3</sub> ozor/ "islands"	1	1	-	2
I	/d <sub>3</sub> i:da:n/ Pl. of /d <sub>3</sub> u:d/	10	2	5	17
III	/d <sub>3</sub> azi:ra/ "island"	2	1	11	14
I	/d <sub>3</sub> ard <sub>3</sub> u:r/ "shark"	-	-	14	14
I	/d <sub>3</sub> addā:f/ "diving trip"	-	-	8	8
I	/mid <sub>3</sub> anna/ "a location in the sea where pearls are found"	-	-	7	7
IV	/d <sub>3</sub> albu:t/ "Jolly boat"	2	5	-	7
IV	/lānd <sub>3</sub> / "launch"	6	2	-	8
III	/mid <sub>3</sub> dafi/ "my oar"	-	-	1	1
IV	/d <sub>3</sub> a:lbu:tna/ "our Jolly boat"	4	1	-	5
I	/d <sub>3</sub> aws/ "part of the sail"	-	-	3	3
III	/d <sub>3</sub> addafna/ "we sailed"	-	-	2	2
I	/did <sub>3</sub> a:d <sub>3</sub> a/ "Dragonfish"	-	-	6	6
I	/d <sub>3</sub> azwa/ "ship crew"	-	-	5	5
I	/d <sub>3</sub> azwa:na/ "our ship crew"	-	-	2	2
I	/d <sub>3</sub> u:dayn/ "two skin water containers"	-	-	2	2
I	/mird <sub>3</sub> a:l/ "sea depth to one's height"	-	-	2	2
III	/mid <sub>3</sub> a:di:f/ "oars"	1	1	-	2
III	/mawd <sub>3</sub> a:t/ "waves"	1	-	-	1
I	/d <sub>3</sub> azwa:h/ "his ship crew"	-	1	-	1
III	/mawd <sub>3</sub> / "waves"	1	-	-	1
IV	/xard <sub>3</sub> iyya/ "loans"	3	-	-	3
III	/yid <sub>3</sub> addif/ "to row"	-	-	3	3
III	/tod <sub>3</sub> addif/ "you row"	-	-	1	1
I	/d <sub>3</sub> iʔa:d <sub>3</sub> i:r/ "sharks"	-	-	1	1
III	/yid <sub>3</sub> addifun/ "they row"	-	-	2	2
III	/d <sub>3</sub> addaf/ "he rowed"	-	-	1	1
		33	17	85	135
		24%	13%	63%	

Table 4.4  
Item associated with traditional activities. The (Q) variable (A)

Item	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	N
I /qaffalu: / "they ended the pearl fishing season"	-	-	9	-	9
I /qoma:ʃ/ "pearl"	-	-	22	-	22
I /qala:li:T/ "shares"	-	-	1	-	1
I /qila:Ta/ "share"	-	-	4	-	4
I /qafa:l/ "end of pearl fishing season"	-	-	9	-	9
I /yiqaffil/ "ends the pearl fishing season"	-	-	3	-	3
I /Hida:q/ "fishing"	-	-	15	-	15
I /nHaddiq/ "we fish"	-	-	9	-	9
I /maHɔ:diq/ "fishing" places"	-	-	1	-	1
I /maH daq/ "fishing place"	-	-	1	-	1
I /tIsa:qi:m/ "loans given to the divers before the start of the season"	-	-	2	-	2
I /tisqa:m/ "loan"	-	1	12	-	13
I /qaffalna/ "we ended the season"	-	-	4	-	4
I /saqwa/ "loan"	-	-	1	-	1
I /qalla:T/ "has his share"	-	-	1	-	1
I /yoqafilu:n "they end season"	-	-	5	-	5
I /saqat/ "high tide"	-	-	7	1	8
I /qarqur/ "kind of fishing net"	-	-	2	-	2
III / araq/ "he drowned"	-	-	1	-	1
/Ha:qu:l/ "kind of fish"	-	-	4	-	4
/xaθa:θi:q/ "a kind of sea creature"	-	-	1	-	1
/tasqa/ "becomes high tide"	-	-	2	-	2
III /?aβraq/ "I drown"	-	-	1	-	1
I /qaylami/ "kind of boat"	1	-	-	-	1
III /taβraq/ "you drown"	-	-	1	-	1
III /yoβriqik/ "he/it drown you"	-	-	1	-	1
I /aHdiq/ "I fish"	-	-	1	-	1
I /yoHaddiqu:n/ "they fish"	-	-	1	-	1
I /toHaddiq/ "you fish"	-	-	1	-	1
I /qoma:ʃok/ "your pearl"	-	-	2	-	2
I /yosaqmu:naho/ "they give him a loan"	-	-	1	-	1
I /qar9a/ "every five days in the pearl fishing"	-	-	4	-	6
/daqal/ "sail"	-	-	5	-	5
/qaSSa:w/ "earned"	-	-	4	-	4
	1 0.5%	3 2%	139 97%	1 0.5%	144

Table 4.5  
Items associated with T.V. The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable

Item	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
IV /bara:mid <sub>3</sub> / "programme"	83	43	-	126
IV /barna:mad <sub>3</sub> / "a programme"	57	20	-	77
IV /moxrid <sub>3</sub> / "director"	2	1	-	3
III /notard <sub>3</sub> imoha/ "we translate it"	2	-	-	2
III /tard <sub>3</sub> ama/ "translation"	1	1	-	2
IV /?inta:d <sub>3</sub> / "production"	4	1	-	5
III /motad <sub>3</sub> ama/ "translated"	5	1	-	6
IV /bara:mid <sub>3</sub> ha/ "it's programmes"	6	3	-	9
IV /bara:mid <sub>3</sub> hom/ "their programmes"	3	-	-	3
IV /monta:d <sub>3</sub> / "editing"	7	-	-	7
III /yotard <sub>3</sub> im/ "he translates"	1	-	-	1
III /motard <sub>3</sub> am/ "is translated"	2	1	-	3
III /mawd <sub>3</sub> a/ "channel"	2	-	-	2
III /yotard <sub>3</sub> imu:naha/ "they translate it"	1	-	-	2
III /notard <sub>3</sub> moha/ "we translate it"	1	2	-	3
III /mawd <sub>3</sub> a:t/ "channels"	2	-	-	2
IV /?ixra:d <sub>3</sub> / "direction"	2	-	-	2
IV /barna:mad <sub>3</sub> ha/ "it's programme"	1	-	-	1
IV /?inta:d <sub>3</sub> oha/ "it's production"	1	-	-	1
IV /bara:mid <sub>3</sub> oh/ "it's programme"	1	-	-	1
	184	73	-	257
	73%	27%		



Table 4.6  
Items associated with T.V. The (Q) variable (B)

Item	[q]	[ʃ]	[g]	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	N
III /Halaqa:t/ "episode"	3	4	-	-	7
IV /maqTa9/ "parts"	2	-	-	-	2
IV /qana:t/ "channel"	23	31	-	-	54
IV /qanawa:t/ "channels"	4	-	-	-	4
IV /faqra/ "part"	3	1	-	-	4
IV /faqara:t/ "parts"	1	-	-	-	1
III /Halaqa/ "episode"	7	2	-	-	9
III /Halaqa:toh/ "its episode"	-	1	-	-	1
IV /tansi:q/ "co-ordination"	7	7	-	-	14
IV /maqTa9/ "parts"	1	1	-	-	2
III /Halaqatayn/ "two episodes"	1	-	-	-	1
III /laqTa/ "shot"	1	1	-	-	2
III /laqaTa:t/ "shots"	-	2	-	-	2
IV /qana:tayn/ "two channels"	-	1	-	-	1
	53	51	-	-	104
	51%	49%			

Having compared the two sets of vocabulary it is clear that items which are related to the traditional culture of the society strongly favour the application of the colloquialization rule. Similarly, items which represent modern forces in the society favour the application of the standardization rule.

It emerges from the comparison between the two sets of vocabularies that in items related to the pearl fishing industry the colloquialization rule in both variables is applied 80% whereas the standardization rule is used only 13%. But in words related to television, the former rule is not applied at all, and the latter rule is applied 80% of the time. The remaining 20% was realized as the [j] variant, in the case of the ( $d_3$ ) variable. Moreover, if we compare the behaviour of set (b) of these items with the behaviour of lexical items in class IV, (see histograms 4.1 and 4.2) one can see that they are quite similar. Therefore one may suggest that items in class IV represent the cultural change that the society is witnessing at the present.

The picture reflected in the behaviour of these two sets of lexical items coincides largely with the four classes of lexical items. That is to say that items related to television are by and large from class IV whereas items associated with the pearl fishing industry mostly belong to class I and II. But, however, it remains true that such division i.e. traditional activities vs modern elements, are marginally independent of the four classes of lexical items; as can be seen from the above tables, and it represents a different dimension that influences the realization of the two

variables.

The impact of new values and elements may cause local traditional values to occupy a position of lesser importance, or it may even cause them to disappear altogether. This is exactly what happened to the pearl industry, which ceased to have any influence in Qatari society after the discovery of oil. What this means is that

"traditionally-oriented attitudes, (speech habits) and beliefs of members of local communities do come into conflict with and are sometimes modified in favour of attitudes, (speech habits) and beliefs which are associated with progressive norms of behaviour. These norms may exemplify individual or communal orientation toward modern socio-economic patterns of life. In such circumstances certain elements of the culture of ... the community start to undergo modification or change in the direction of the favoured ... group. Language (or dialect) change may be one of the inevitable results of the assimilatory processes in socio-cultural change"

(Akere 1977:262)

The lexical innovation of the kind exemplified by items in class IV reflect both language and cultural change

"Cultural change normally involves not only the addition of a new element to the culture, but also the elimination of certain previously existing elements and the modification and re-organisation of the others."

(Weinreich 1953:5, quoted in Acholonu and Penfield 1980:28)

Considering the situation in Qatar the above quotation is by and large true. The process of modernization brought along a host of new vocabulary which is termed here as belonging to class IV. But more importantly, the rise of industrialization in the society meant

consequently that the pearl industry and other related traditional trades were doomed to disappear in a relatively short time. That in turn entailed the disappearance of a huge number of lexical items associated with these trades, because they are no longer a part of the active culture i.e. part of the daily life of the society.

#### 4.5 Class IV as borrowing phenomenon

The introduction of items in class IV into the lexicon of QD is, however, seen as borrowing from other languages and notably from SA. Borrowing here is defined as

"the introduction of single words or short frozen idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon ... and enter into its syntactic structure."

(Gumperz 1982:66)

The linguistic importing of class IV is defined as the adoption and adaptation of lexical items from a donor language, which is usually SA, into a recipient language, which is QD.

The thing to notice is the paradoxical borrowed and non-borrowed nature of the items in class IV. According to the criteria outlined above we recognize these items as borrowed ones, but at the same time we notice several characteristics which are not typical of the source language. This is due to the fact that they have been modified, albeit to various degrees, as a process of nativization i.e. integration into the phonological system of the QD. This, in fact, is a common process which occurs whenever borrowing of one sort or another takes place. Thus Tsou (1975) writes that

"one of the basic methods by which foreign words may be imported ... is phonetic approximation of the lexical item from the donor language by the recipient language"

(Tsou 1975:447).

To illustrate this here are some examples:

(CA)		(QD)
[laqaTa:t]	"shots"	[laqTa:t]
[istiwa:lati]	"my resignation"	[istiqalti]
[qana:tayn]	"two channels"	[qana:te:n]
[d <sub>3</sub> ami9a]	"university"	[d <sub>3</sub> am9a]
[lahad <sub>3</sub> at]	"dialects"	[lahd <sub>3</sub> at]

We notice that in most of these items the vowels or diphthongs undergo alterations to fit the vowel system of QD, whereas the variables (d<sub>3</sub>) and (Q) do not show any tendency towards the application of the colloquialization rule. This may be because vowels are less consciously observed than the two consonants. On the whole one can say that the above examples represent instances of lexical importation with partly phonetic adaptations.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.6 The effect of frequency

It has been reported that frequent words are pronounced more casually than infrequent ones (Dressler and Wodak 1982). If this is true one would expect the colloquialization rule to be dominant in such items. To find out how far this result, reported elsewhere, is true of the present data, we will examine some of the frequent items of class III. This class of lexical items was selected because: (a) while there is little room for variation in classes I, II and IV, this class of lexical items shows a reasonable amount of

variation, and (b) equally important is the fact that the total number of items in this class is far greater than the total number of words in any other class of lexical items. Here are the statistics:

	<u>No. of tokens</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
I	2297	14.6%
II	2765	17.5%
III	7350	46.7%
IV	3303	21.1%

---

N = 15715

The following are examples of frequent words in the data with their realizations:

(Q) variable

	word	[q]	[ʔ]	[g]	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	N
a	/qa:l/ "he said"	1	-	450	-	451
b	/qolt/ "I said"	1	-	285	-	286
c	/yaqu:l/ "he is saying"	1	1	280	-	282
d	/qabil/ "before"	3	-	192	-	195
e	/a9taqid/ "I think"	18	170	1	-	189

(d<sub>3</sub>) variable

			[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	[N]
a	/d <sub>3</sub> a?a/	"he came"	34	14	50	98
b	/d <sub>3</sub> i?t/	"I came"	16	11	27	54
c	/rad <sub>3</sub> ol/	"man"	23	15	-	38
d	/rid <sub>3</sub> a:l/	"men"	33	5	-	38
e	/zawd <sub>3</sub> ati/	"my wife"	2	15	-	17

What is clear from these examples is the fact that the first four examples for the (Q) variable and the first two in the (d<sub>3</sub>) behave very much like items in classes I and II respectively, although these items actually belong to class III. This is, however, an artifact of the formal definition outlined earlier. One may safely say that these items are part of the core vocabulary of every native speaker of QD. Furthermore their great frequency in everyday interactions has resulted in their becoming similar to items in classes I and II.

If this is so, how can we explain other examples which do not behave like items in classes I and II? For items like /a9taqid/ "I think", /rad<sub>3</sub>ol/ "man", /rid<sub>3</sub>a:l/ "men" and /zawd<sub>3</sub>ati/ "my wife", the situation is different. In fact all of these items share one common feature, they categorically disfavour the application of the colloquialization rule. The reason for this lies in the fact that these words have their equivalents in classes I or II (/aHsib/, /radd<sub>3</sub>a:l/, /rid<sub>3</sub>a:d<sub>3</sub>i:l/, /hormiti/) and the colloquialization rule is not used in the above mentioned examples, because if the speaker wants to sound relaxed and informal he may use the

equivalent items of classes I or II. Furthermore, the application of the colloquialization rule in some of these words may result in homophones which may give rise to misunderstanding. For example, if this rule is applied to /rid<sub>3</sub>a:l/ the outcome would be [riya:l] meaning "currency note".

We may conclude this by the following: for frequent items in class III which do not have dialectal equivalents in classes I or II, the tendency for these words is to behave like items in classes I and II (i.e. to show an extreme tendency towards the application of the colloquialization rule), if they have equivalents in classes I or II, their behaviour will be very much like items in class IV (strongly favouring the application of the standardization rule). The reason for the high occurrence of the [j] variant in /zod<sub>3</sub>t<sub>3</sub>/ "his wife" is that the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable tends to be fricativized if followed by the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ (see 2.10.1).

#### 4.7 Co-occurrence constraints:

There are instances in the data when a piece of speech stands out as markedly different from the surrounding speech. These instances are either religious quotations from the Holy Qur'an and the tradition of the Prophet, peace be upon him, or a standard proverb from SA. Before analysing the functions of these stretches of speech in speech interaction, it may be useful to examine briefly a few examples.

a. [la Hawla walaqowwata ?illa billah]

"there is no power or might save from Allah"



- b. [alʔislam(o) yad<sub>3</sub>ob(o) maqabla]  
 "Islam wipes off what has gone before"
- c. [iʔqilha wa tawakkaɫ]  
 "Tie it, (your camel) and put your trust in God"
- d. [robba ramyatin min ʔayro rami]  
 "Some targets are hit by chance"

These examples show numerous signs that what is actually utilized in the production of these sentences is the linguistic system of SA. For instance, we may look at the case markers in [Hawla:] and [robba:], the occurrence of the standard diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in [Hawla] and [ʔayro] respectively and finally the use of the standard nunation /in/ in the word [ramyatin]

The above examples show an interesting relationship among the constituents in each sentence. That is to say that once a speaker starts the quotation from religious books or utilizes a standard proverb, he sets limits to what may follow within the quotation. From the point of view of linguistic structure it is important to realize that the co-occurrence rules of SA apply to the whole stretch of the statement and not to any specific segment or word within it. By co-occurrence rules we mean that since these sentences belong to the domain of H-variety i.e. SA, the utilization of them entails the use of standard phonology, syntax etc. The co-occurrence restriction may be rigid and the result will be a complete switch to the rules of SA, as in examples, a, c and d. On the other hand, some co-occurrence rules may be violated and the outcome will be an incomplete switch to SA. An example of this is

(b) in which the bracket elements serving as case markers are left out by the speaker.

The relevance of these cases to the present study is that whenever a word containing the ( $d_3$ ) and/or the (Q) variables occurs as a part of such quotations, it strongly favours the application of the standardization rule, regardless of the class of lexical items to which the word belongs.

The motivation for such usage are (a) in attitudinal terms they are marks of education and identify the speaker with a certain type of elite group, (b) in stylistic terms they indicate what may be termed "deliberate style" (Kachru 1978). The utilization of these formal sentences in everyday interactions conveys some of the connotations of formality for the sake of emphasis. This is because

"the context in which one of a set of alternatives is regularly used becomes part of its meaning, so that when this form is then employed in a context when it is not normal, it brings in some of the flavour of this original setting"

(Gumperz 1971:296)

Therefore the use of religious quotations and standard proverbs bring in religious connotations as well as connotations associated with SA such as formality, seriousness, expressiveness, education, etc.

Furthermore, the data indicate that all items with religious connotations, such as /qaDa:ʔwa qadar/ "predestined" /Hadd<sub>3</sub>/ "pilgrimage" are most likely to undergo the standardization rule. This is, however, not surprising because religion plays the major role in influencing the lives of the people of the Arab countries in

general, and more so in the Gulf states.

A final point to be mentioned here is that some items in class III tend to behave like items in class IV if they occur in conjunction with a standard word, so that the whole phrase is recognized as standard, although the item in question belongs to class III. An example of this is the word /qaTar/ "Qatar" which is quite frequent in the data and may be realized as [giTar], [qaTar] or [ʁaTar]. If it occurs in conjunction with a non-standard word, such as /9a:yiʃ fi qaTar/ "living in Qatar", the item is liable to undergo the colloquialization or the standardization rule to the same extent. But if it occurs in a standard phrase such as /siya:sat qaTar/ "the policy of Qatar", the item is more liable to undergo the standardization rule. That is to say that the status of the phrase as a whole influences the application of the rule.

#### 4.8 Phonological versus lexical variation

In (4.3) we have mentioned that the replacement of [y] by [d<sub>3</sub>] or of [g] by [q] is only possible when there is a match in the semantic and syntactic function of the word in both SA and QD. The question which needs to be asked at this point is what the real nature of such a variation is. I will now discuss two different hypotheses which try to explain the phenomenon.

##### 4.8.1 Lexical hypotheses

Holes (1981) in his study on a similar phenomenon in the Bahraini dialect has noted an interesting process of alternation in items like /d<sub>3</sub>om9a/ "Friday". He realized that whenever the colloquialization rule was applied to such an item

"it was not merely the initial consonants which varied but concomitantly the quality of the initial vowel. Speakers either said [yi:m9a] with high, front unrounded [i] or [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] with high, back, somewhat rounded [o]"  
(Holes 1981:173)

In the data of the present study the word /d<sub>3</sub>om9a/ "Friday" behaves in exactly the same way. Here are some more examples from my data:

(a)		(b)
[laqTa]	"Proper Noun"	[ligTa]
[d <sub>3</sub> onu:b]	"south"	[yinu:b]
[qawi]	"strong"	[gowi]
[qaTar]	"Qatar"	[giTar]

The point is that if the colloquialization rule is applied it is always accompanied by a change in the quality of the first vowel (compare (a) to (b)). Of course there is no phonetic reason for such a simultaneous alteration of the variable and the following vowel (Holes 1981). The fact that items in group (a) and in group (b) represent bundles of dialectal phonological features of bundles of standard phonological features seems to favour the lexical explanation. In other words, the fact that no hybrid forms like [d<sub>3</sub>im9a] or [yom9a] occurred in Holes' data has led him to postulate the lexical hypothesis.

The argument and rationale behind this hypothesis is briefly presented in the following: speakers learn that /ʃa:f/ and /ra?a/, and /ʃinhu/ and /ma:ʒa/ are semantically functional equivalents. The first item of each pair is the dialectal word whereas the second

lexical item is the standard item. They also learn that [g] and [y] are equivalent to [q] and [d<sub>3</sub>] respectively, which has the functional equivalence similar to paired lexical items mentioned above. Just as there can be no hybrid form of functional equivalents between /ma:ʒa/ and /ʃinhu/, so there can be none between pairs like [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] and [yim9a], which are superficially similar. Such semantically and phonologically similar items are kept apart in the lexicon in much the same way that pairs like /ʃa:f/ and /ra?a/ are. They are kept apart because of their social function: [yim9a] is used in the sphere of domestic activities, while [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] is used in public and out-group interactions. On the whole, according to this hypothesis pairs like [yim9a] and [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] are stored in the lexicon as two separate entries, and each with a label denoting its appropriate function. Consequently, this hypothesis rejects a rewrite convention as an appropriate way of describing the data. Neither [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] nor [yim9a] should be described as the underlying form, although chronologically the latter is learnt first:

"but this is no argument for seeking to derive one from the other by re-write rules. The two exist as separate semantically equivalent items in the lexicon of the speaker"

(Holes 1981:176)

"separate storage of standard and dialectal forms would be nothing extraordinary: since people can learn widely different languages which demand separate storage".

(Dressler and Wodak 1982:346-7)

The lexical hypothesis may sound quite adequate and appropriate for handling the data. But fuller consideration of the data reveals

that the hypothesis suffers serious drawbacks. Firstly, we said that one of the main reasons which led to the lexical hypothesis was the fact that no medial or hybrid forms, such as [d<sub>3</sub>im9a] or [yom9a], occurred in Holes' data. In my data there are numerous examples of such medial forms. An example of this is the word /qolt/ "I said" which is realized as [qolt] in SA and as [gilt] in QD. Had the data revealed only these two realizations, the lexical hypothesis would have given an appropriate explanation, but the occurrence of [golt] has changed the situation completely. In fact the occurrence of the hybrid form [golt] contradicts the claims made in the lexical hypothesis that pairs like [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] and [yim9a] are kept as separate entities in the lexicon. The interesting point about [golt] is the fact that although the initial consonant is the colloquial voiced velar stop [g], the following vowel, according to the hypothesis, is the standard high, back rounded [o]. If the prediction made by the hypothesis is true, and [qolt] and [gilt] are kept as separate entities in the lexicon, hybrid forms such as [golt] should not exist at all, for after all, the word should either exhibit all and only the dialectal phonological features, or categorical standard phonological features. The data is full of such hybrid forms which contradict the hypothesis. Here are some more examples:

SA		QD	Hybrid form
[qodda:m]	"front"	[gidda:m]	[godda:m]
[qari:b]	"near"	[giri:b]	[gari:b]
[d <sub>3</sub> adi:d]	"new"	[yidid]	[d <sub>3</sub> idid]
[d <sub>3</sub> alasma]	"we sat"	[yilasn e]	[d <sub>3</sub> ilasne]
[d <sub>3</sub> a:ʔu:]	"they came"	[ya:w]	[d <sub>3</sub> a:w]

Although in most cases the hybrid forms constitute the exception rather than the rule, the fact that they occur is enough to reject the hypothesis.

Secondly, the lexical hypothesis collapses completely when considering the following example. The word /d<sub>3</sub>e:t/ "I came" may be realized as [d<sub>3</sub>iʔt] in SA and as [d<sub>3</sub>e:t] or [ye:t] in QD. Faced with this the lexical hypothesis has the following two options: on the one hand, one may say that these different realizations of the word represent separate entities and are kept distinct in the lexicon, and to each one attached a label explaining the social function of the word, while on the other hand, one may postulate that there is a two-way split in which [ye:t] is seen as the dialectal word and [d<sub>3</sub>e:t] and [d<sub>3</sub>iʔt] as the standard words for different levels of formality.

If one adopts the first choice, one is, in fact, making unnecessary demands on the lexicon. Consequently, we may end up with a lexicon that is divided into numerous parts. If, however, one decides to adopt the second option, the outcome is even worse, since in this case one is prepared to accept that [d<sub>3</sub>e:t] and [d<sub>3</sub>iʔt] are related, and consequently one is derived from the

other. If this is so, it will be more appealing and more convincing to claim that [d<sub>3</sub>e:t] and [ye:t] are related, because the phonological differences between these two are far fewer than the phonological differences between [d<sub>3</sub>e:t] and [d<sub>3</sub>i?t].

Finally, it is somewhat counter-intuitive to claim that pair items like [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] and [yim9a], or [giTar] and [qaTar] are separate items i.e. none is derived from the other, simply because no medial forms occur. Native speakers feel, however, that such pairs are not only semantically and morphologically related but also feel that one is ultimately derived from the other. For these short-comings of the lexical hypothesis we propose the alternative explanation: the phonological hypothesis.

#### 4.8.2 Phonological hypothesis

The phonological hypothesis I propose instead considers items like [gili:l] and [qali:l] "few" to be phonologically related, through the phonological units they contain. That is to say both realizations come from the same diaphonemes.<sup>5</sup> Diaphonemes are abstract entities to which these realizations are related. Each entity is presented here as a capital letter, for example (QALI:L). However, since the variation we are interested in lies in the first two diaphonemes i.e. (Q) and (A), we will neglect the diaphonemes (L), (I:) and (L).

The set of rules will yield [d<sub>3</sub>ili:l], [gili:l], [gali:l] and [qali:l] are as follows (ignoring [Li:L]).

- |    |     |    |      |   |                                      |
|----|-----|----|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. | (Q) | -> | [q]  | } | <u>circle 1</u> as in [qali:l] "few" |
| 2. | (A) | -> | [a:] |   |                                      |



- |    |      |    |                   |   |  |
|----|------|----|-------------------|---|--|
| 3. | [q]  | -> | [g]               | } | <u>circle 2</u> as in [gili:l]               |
| 4. | [a:] | -> | [i]               |   |  |
| 5. | [g]  | -> | [d <sub>3</sub> ] | } | <u>circle 3</u> as in [d <sub>3</sub> ili:l] |
| 6. | [i]  | -> | [i]               |   |  |

According to these rules, to produce a token like [qali:l], the speaker would use rules in circle 1 only; and to produce [gili:l] he needs to use rules of circle 2: and to produce the affricated form, he must use rules in circle 3.

This hypothesis has the advantage of explaining the hybrid forms as well as the full ones. Thus, the hybrid form such as [gali:l] may occur as a result of not using all the rules within a particular circle. For instance in the above hybrid form, the speaker has applied rules of circle 1, but has not done so in circle 2. He has used rule 3 (circle 2) to produce the consonant [g], but used rule 2 (circle 1) to produce the vowel [a]. Thus the result is the hybrid form [gali:l]. The ordering of rules in this way also explains why hybrid forms like [qili:l] never occurs, since one may not change [a] into [i] without first substituting [g] for [q].

By the same token we can explain the behaviour of paired items like [d<sub>3</sub>om9a] and [yim9a] "Friday", which do not have hybrid forms. These realizations are ultimately related to diaphonemes (JOM9A), through the following rules (again ignoring M9A):

- |                      |    |                   |   |   |
|----------------------|----|-------------------|---|---|
| 1. (J)               | -> | [d <sub>3</sub> ] | } | <u>circle 1</u> as in [d <sub>3</sub> om9a] |
| 2. (0)               | -> | [o]               |   |   |
| 3. (d <sub>3</sub> ) | -> | [y]               | } | <u>circle 2</u> as in [yim9a]               |
| 4. [o]               | -> | [i]               |   |   |

The reason why no hybrid form occurs in this case lies in the fact that speakers use the whole sets of rules of any one circle. In other words the speaker either stops at rule 2 and thus [d<sub>3</sub>om9a], or goes all the way to rule 4 and thus [yim9a]. This is, however, not difficult to envisage, for after all lexical peculiarities are well attested i.e. certain lexical items tend to behave differently (for example see Labov 1963, Milroy 1982).

#### 4.9 Summary and conclusion

We started this chapter by examining the role of the class of lexical items in the application of the colloquialization and the standardization rules. We have shown that the class of lexical items is an important factor in determining whether an item will favour the application of the colloquialization or the standardization rule. Items in classes I and II show a strong tendency towards the application of the former, whereas items in class IV behave in the opposite way. The transition in the application of the two rules as one moves along the lexical scale from class I to IV, is gradual in the case of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable, whereas in the (Q) variable there is a sudden sharp increase in the application of the standardization rule as one moves from class III to class IV.

Items in classes I and II are called the dialectal items, while

items in class IV are referred to as non-dialectal. The former reflect intimacy and casualness, and represent the local value systems of the society. They are learnt in the sphere of domestic and informal interactions. The latter group serves as a mark of modernization and education. It represents the modern progressive socio-economic values of the society. The items in this group are mostly learnt at schools and through the influence of mass media.

Items that are related to the traditional activities have shown a great tendency to undergo the colloquialization rule, whereas items associated with modern activities strongly favour the application of the standardization rule. Although such division largely coincides with the division of the four classes of lexical items, nonetheless, it is a different dimension which independently influences the realization of the two variables.

We also examined the effect of frequency on the application of the two rules. Items which formally belong to class III but are extremely frequent in verbal interactions, such as /qa:l/ "he said", and which, furthermore, do not have dialectal equivalents, behave similarly to items in the dialectal group i.e. they strongly favour the application of the colloquialization rule. If however, such frequent items have dialectal equivalents in classes I or II, they show a similar tendency to items in class IV: i.e. they favour the application of the standardization rule.

When an item containing the variable occurs in a quotation from standard or religious material, the implication is that the item should favour the standardization rule, regardless of the class of

lexical items to which the word belongs. Moreover, items with religious connotations generally indicates a similar tendency.

Having discussed a number of aspects that might influence the realization of these two phonological variables i.e. ( $d_3$ ) and (Q), one can not single out any one factor that could adequately explain the true nature of variation that occurs in the data, although the class of lexical item seems to influence the variation more than other discussed factors. In the following chapters we will see that other extralinguistic factors do also influence the variation to a great extent.

On explaining the real nature of the variation which occurs in the data we discussed two hypotheses - lexical and phonological. The lexical hypothesis, which claims that pairs like [ $d_3om_9a$ ] and [ $yim_9a$ ] are kept separately in the lexicon, was rejected. The main reason for our rejection was the occurrence of several hybrid forms which contradicted the core of the hypothesis. Instead we proposed a phonological explanation. According to this hypothesis, the various realizations of the same word are related to each other, and one is derived from the other through a set of rules.

1. Schmidt (1974) in his study on the Cairene Arabic also reports that learned words tend not to undergo the colloquialization rule. But he does not discuss how far other non-learned items are likely to undergo either the standardization rule or the colloquialization rule.
2. This is however not unique to Arabic. Jahargir and Hudson in their study on Persian found that

"the chances of occurrence of non-standard variants differ radically from one lexical item to another and cannot be predicted on phonological or nonphonological groups"

(Romaine<sub>a</sub> 1982:51)

J. Milroy (1982) also observes something similar to what is reported here. In discussing the (a) variable in Belfast he noted

"the different sub-sets within the system have different vowel realization"

He goes on to say

"we may claim that these subsets constitute two, three or more separate lexical sets, each with different target vowels and different potentialities for change"

(ibid 1982:42)

A similar indication of lexical peculiarities is also found in Labov (1963) who reports that a few words are given greater centralization than their phonetic form or prosodic position would usually account for. An example of this is the word sliding (also see Milroy and Milroy 1978). But, however, in none of these studies a thorough examination of the role of lexical item in shaping the variation was carried out.

3. Holes' study was about the Bahraini dialect. He writes that the only reason for the non-application of the standardization rule in items in class I and II is the semantic/syntactic function and mismatch between the word in standard Arabic and in Bahraini dialect. He, however, does not mention the first two reasons.
4. The lexical importation from CA into the QD is a special case of language borrowing. It is special because of the relationship between CA and the QD. After the Qatari speech community is a diglossic one, in which QD serves as Low variety and CA as High variety.

Another means of lexical innovation has been internally

created by producing new terms on expressing new concepts using original QD words. Loan renditions are old words extended in meaning or change to express new concepts. An example of this is the word /mad<sub>3</sub>lis/ "sitting room", which is extended to mean "council" as well. If this word is used to refer to its original meaning, the application of the colloquialization rule is possible. But if it is used in its new acquired meaning the colloquialization rule is blocked and one has to use either the neutral variant [j] or the standard variant [d<sub>3</sub>].

5. The term diaphoneme is borrowed (Stockwell (1959) and Weinreich (1954)). It is defined as the following

"by superimposing A or B or C ... X so that all contrasts made in all dialects are included, one arrives at diaphonemes. A diaphonemic system incorporates all the contrasts that any speaker makes"

(Stockwell 1959:262)

## Chapter V

Variability and social groups5.1 Introduction

In the past two decades, urban dialectologists have turned to the study of language, not as an isolated phenomenon which can be interpreted in terms of linguistic elements alone, but as an activity closely related to the whole range of human behaviour. To interpret a great number of linguistic phenomena, they have looked into social factors for possible explanations. Taking into consideration the effect of social variables such as age, sex, socio-economic class, etc., has played an important role in revealing structures which otherwise would not have emerged. In this way a great number of sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated convincingly that many types of linguistic variations show a close correlation with social variables, and more so in relation to the socio-economic hierarchy (Labov 1966, 1972<sub>a</sub>, Trudgill 1974, Macaulay 1977 to name a few).

"The correlative approach regards the relation between linguistic and social categories as one of closely-connected but independent systems. Verbal means are used to convey information about the material environment of individuals. Social categories are considered to be part of this material environment; they are measured by social characteristics that are independent of the process of communication."

(Dittmar 1976: 190)

Most of the studies of speech behaviour start from the point of view that such behaviour reflects the basic categories of the social

structure of the community, since social class has been regarded as the most influential factor affecting one's speech in the majority of the sociolinguistic studies which followed the correlative paradigm. I will briefly review two prominent studies which have established a correlation between the socio-economic status of the speaker and certain linguistic variables.

#### 5.1.1 New York City study (Labov 1966):

Labov's research on the speech of the Lower East Side of New York City was the first accurate, empirically-founded treatment of an old phenomenon known until then as 'free variation', introducing new dimensions in data collection and data analysis and offering a novel explanation for linguistic variation (Dittmar 1976).

The sample included 155 informants. They were selected randomly on the basis of an earlier sociological investigation. They represented various ethnic groups (Italians, Jews, etc.) and different socio-economic classes. According to the level of education, occupation and income of the informant, the speakers were divided into four social classes. These classes are:

UMC = upper middle class

LMC = lower middle class

WC = working class

LC = lower class

The phonological variables which were intended to reveal social and stylistic stratification were (oh), (eh), (r), (th) and (dh) as in for, beer, car, thing and this respectively. For each variable more than one variant was isolated. In the following



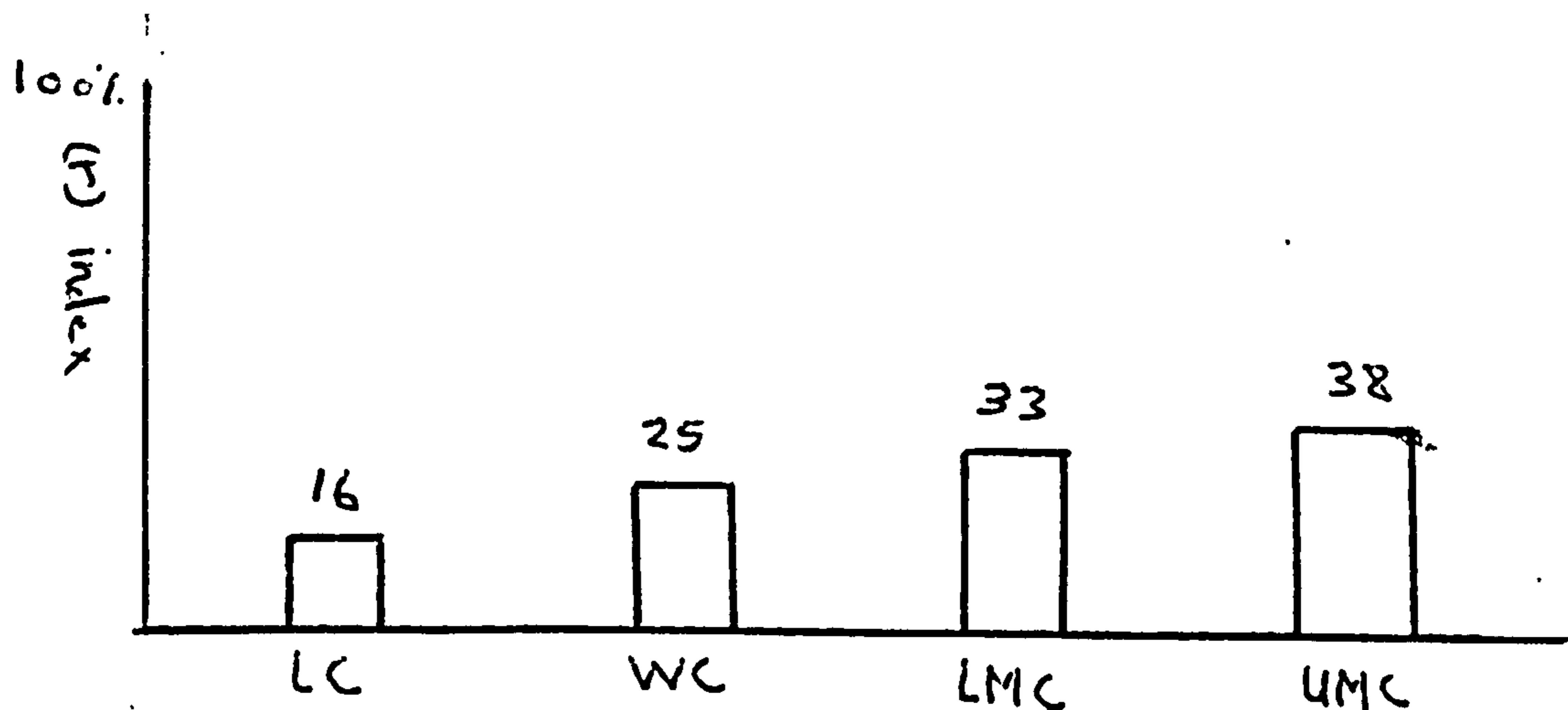
paragraphs we will look into the position of the variable (r) as an illustration.

Two variants were isolated for this variable:

(r-0) [ɹ]

(r-1) [r]

This is a classic example of a polar variable in which the speaker has, theoretically, a choice of either pronouncing the post vocalic /r/ in words like car and cart, or omitting it. A speaker who consistently omits /r/ in his speech i.e. who is (r)-less, will have 0% of (r) in the score. Similarly, a speaker who consistently utilises /r/ in his linguistic outputs will score 100% (r), i.e. he will be (r)-full. The following graph shows the distribution of the (r) variable in the speech of the four socio-economic classes:



LC = lower class, WC = working class, LMC = lower middle class, UMC = upper middle class

The graph reveals the fact that the social class stratification

is reflected in the realization of the (r) variable in the linguistic behaviour of the informants. One can say that in New York City in about 1970, if a group of speakers are stratified on class hierarchy, they will be stratified in the same way with regard to the realization of (r). The highest group on the social scale will have the highest percentage of the prestigious [r] in their speech. Similarly, the lowest group on the hierarchy will have the lowest percentage of (r) in their speech.

In this way, Labov put forward a novel perspective on an old phenomenon. Prior to his study, the deletion or retention of the (r) was looked upon as a random linguistic phenomenon, i.e. "free variation". But Labov showed, quite convincingly, that it is a ruled-governed phenomenon. It became evident that:

"the correlation of linguistic variables with social parameters makes it possible to explain the speaker's modes of behaviour and certain trends of development (change) of the linguistic structure ... as well as the social mobility of the speakers"

Dittmar 1976:200)

One of the major drawbacks of Labov's study, however, is that it is rather static and deterministic. For instance the variation within each subgroup is not investigated. The results suggest that the above graph reoccurs in all ethnic groups, a case which remains to be investigated.

#### 5.1.2 Norwich City (Trudgill 1974):

A very similar study on linguistic variation in the dialect of Norwich in England was carried out by Peter Trudgill in 1974. Using his native knowledge of the structure of the city, he divided it

into four parts, representing four social classes. The informants within each area were then randomly selected from the electoral registers of the four designated areas. The final sample of informants who gave interviews were 60, of whom 10 were between the ages of 10 and 20 years old. The social status of each informant was decided on the basis of five factors: occupation, income, education, locality within the city and housing. Five social classes were distinguished as following:

MMC = middle middle class

LMC = lower middle class

UWC = upper working class

MWC = middle working class

LWC = lower working class

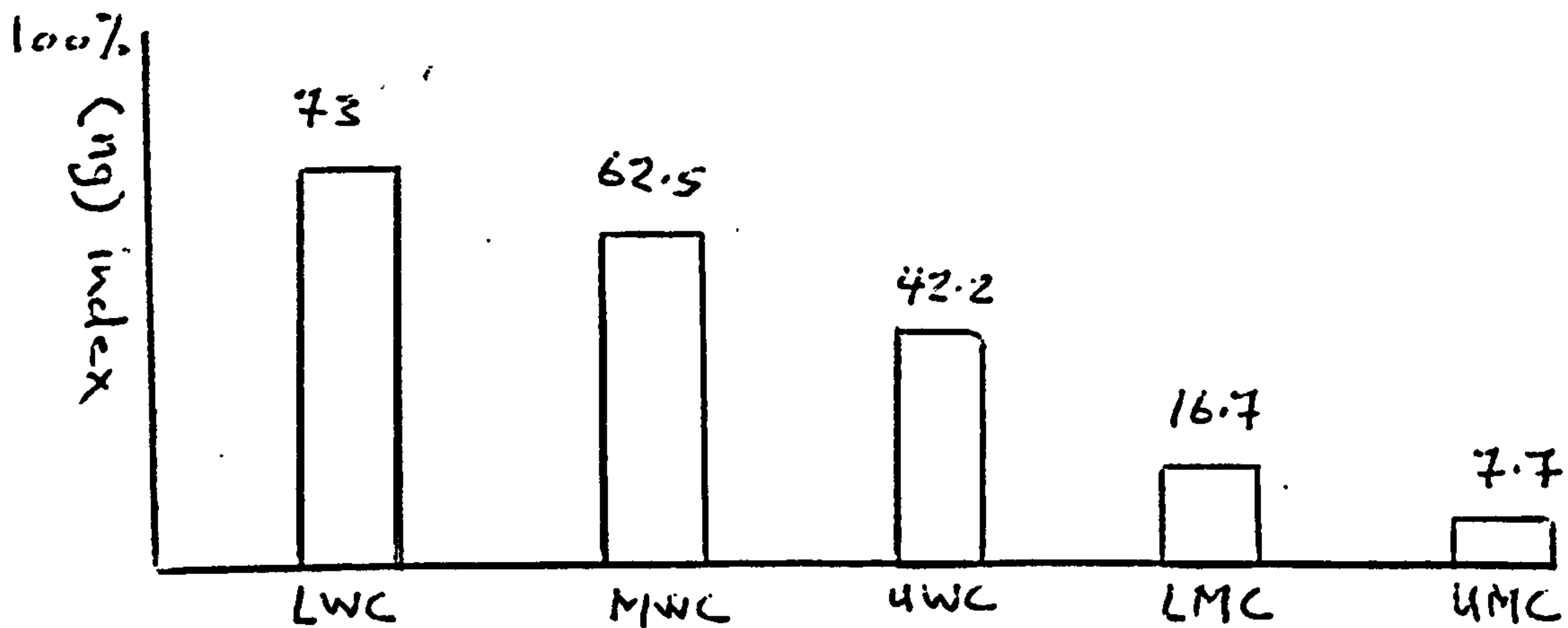
A total of 16 linguistic variables was selected, of which three were consonants and the rest were vowels. The methodology of obtaining the data was a classical Labovian example, i.e. formal interviews. Here we will look only at the distribution of the (ng) variable in the speech of the five social groups:

Two variants for this variable were isolated:

(ng)-0 = [ŋ]

(ng)-1 = [n]

thus, the speaker who scores 100% is a consistent user of the stigmatized variant [n], whereas the scorer of 0%, refers to a speaker who consistently uses the prestigious variant [ŋ]. The following graph shows the distribution of this variable in the speech of the four socio-economic classes:



(adapted from Table 7.1 in Trudgill 1974:92)  
aggregated figures of four styles

Looking at the graph, it is clear that the (ng) variable is a reliable indicator of the social hierarchy. Thus the higher a person is on the social hierarchy, the less he will have the stigmatized [n] variant in his speech. However, the histogram also shows that, although the five social groups are stratified in their usage of the (ng) variable, they can nevertheless be roughly divided into two groups i.e. Working class and Middle class. This is evident if we look at the histogram where we can see that the biggest gap occurs between LMC and UWC. The findings of this study offered additional support to the Labovian view that linguistic social structures are closely interwoven, and that sociological factors can be useful in the interpretation of linguistic phenomena.

Such correlative results were soon followed by other studies in numerous Western communities (for example Macaulay 1977 on Glaswegian English). It is established now that the social structure of class-based societies of Western countries is reflected in the pattern of relatively low-level linguistic differentiation. That is to say that linguistic and social class hierarchy were shown to be two sides of the same coin. In these communities the pattern of speech of the higher social classes (Upper middle class, Middle middle class, Lower middle class) is closer to the norms of the overt prestige dialect than that of the working or of the lower social classes.

## 5.2 Arabic Studies

### 5.2.1 Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981)

The results of this study are based on the speech of thirteen Palestinian students studying at SUNY at Buffalo and an equal number of informants chosen from the Palestinian Arab community in Buffalo, New York. The study was carried out for a Doctor's degree.

The principal method of data collection was recorded structured interviews with the help of a standard questionnaire. The linguistic variables investigated in this study were the voiced alveolar-palatal affricate /d<sub>3</sub>/, the voiceless uvular plosive /q/, the voiceless velar plosive /k/, the voiceless dental fricative / / and the two diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/.

Two variants were distinguished for the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable: [d<sub>3</sub>] and [ʒ]. The former is used by Fellahi (rural) and Bedouin speakers; the latter is utilized by Madani (urban) speakers, who use

the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant in Quranic recitations and in reading.

For the (Q) variable, two sets of variants were isolated. [q] was the main variant for all three social groups in reading. But in speech a different variant was distinguished for each group:

[ʔ] for the Madani (urban) speakers

[k] for the Fellahi (rural) group

[g] for the Bedouin informants

In the case of the (k) variable the variants isolated were [k] and [tʃ], whereas the variants for the (th) variable were [t] and [θ]. [tʃ] was only employed by the Fellahi group, and therefore serves as a good indicator to distinguish between the speakers of rural parts of Palestine and the rest. [t] on the other hand, was a good marker of the Madani (urban) speech vis-a-vis the other two groups.

On the whole, the study concluded that the Fellahi speakers who go to the town and who are the most stigmatized group, tend to use the Madani variant instead of the Fellahi variant in all the linguistic variables. The Bedouin group, on the other hand, proved to be more faithful to their own variety. They hardly showed any sign of shift to the Madani variety, which is also the prestigious variety.

This study, however, suffers a number of limitations. Firstly, the total figure of informants on which the study is based, 26, is at best very modest. A larger sample is needed for an investigation of this sort. Secondly, the author does not inform us whether or not the three social groups have an equal number of informants.

Finally, adoption of the Madani variety by the Fellahi speakers is not represented quantitatively. In other words we do not know the degree to which the Fellahi speakers shift to the Madani mode of speech. Instead, the result is presented in terms of a general statement.

#### 5.2.2 Amman dialect (Jordan) (Abdel-Jawad 1981):

This Ph.D research is based on the speech of 160 informants from Amman (Jordan). The linguistic data of this study were correlated with the following sociological variables: origin, residential area, sex, age and education. The speakers were divided into three social groups according to their origin:

1. Madani (urban)
2. Fellahiin (rural)
3. Bedouin

The linguistic variables studied were (Q), (k), (ay) and (aw). The variants for the (Q) variable were [ʔ], [g], [k] and [q], the first three corresponding to urban, Bedouin and rural varieties respectively. The [q] variant occurred variably in the speech of the three social groups. The study found that the rural speakers who came to live in the city were more likely than any other group to use the [q] variant. This was true at all stylistic, educational and age levels for both males and females. Such a high shift by the Fellahiin speakers is due to the fact that their variant (i.e. [k]) is strongly stigmatized by the members of the other two varieties. The Fellahiin speakers adopt the [q] variant because it is not tied to any particular social group, whereas the choice of [ʔ] or [g]

would indicate affiliation with the Madani or the Bedouin group respectively.

This is an excellent study but nevertheless it suffers from two shortcomings. On the one hand, we are not informed whether the speakers are equally distributed among the three social groups or not. On the other hand, we are not told the degree to which the stigmatized groups (Fellahin and the Bedouin, and particularly the former), are influenced in their speech by the Madani variety.

These are the two quantitative studies on variation in Arabic. There are, however, a number of works which deal with variation in Arabic, but do not fall into the quantitative paradigm proper. Examples of these studies are Blanc (1964) on variation in Iraqi dialect, and Holes (1981), which deals with variation in the Bahraini dialect.

### 5.3 The present study

The material in this chapter will be examined in the light of the following rules:

#### A - Standardization Rules:

1. (Q) -> [q]
2. (Q) -> [k]
3. (d<sub>3</sub>) -> [d<sub>3</sub>]

#### B - Colloquialization Rules:

1. (Q) -> [d<sub>3</sub>]
2. (Q) -> [g]
3. (d<sub>3</sub>) -> [y]



The hypotheses for this chapter are:

1. the four social groups are differentiated by their usage of rules in A and B
2. the biggest gap or difference will be between the Bedouin group, on the one hand, and the sedentary group on the other
3. although there will be some differences among the three sedentary groups, yet such differences will be less striking than the one mentioned in hypothesis 2

Due to the complexity of material in this chapter, it will be discussed in two parts:

1. Bedouin versus hadhar (Sedentary).
2. Variation among the four social groups.

#### 5.4.1 Bedouin versus hadhar

##### 5.4.1 The description of the data:

##### 5.4.1.1 The (Q) variable:

Looking at histogram (5.1) certain points are evident:

Both social groups utilize the same percentages of the standardization and the colloquialization rules. (The exact figures of the occurrence of each rule in the speech of each group are presented in the table accompanying the histogram.) On the whole, both groups use 34% and 66% of the standardization and the colloquialization rules respectively.

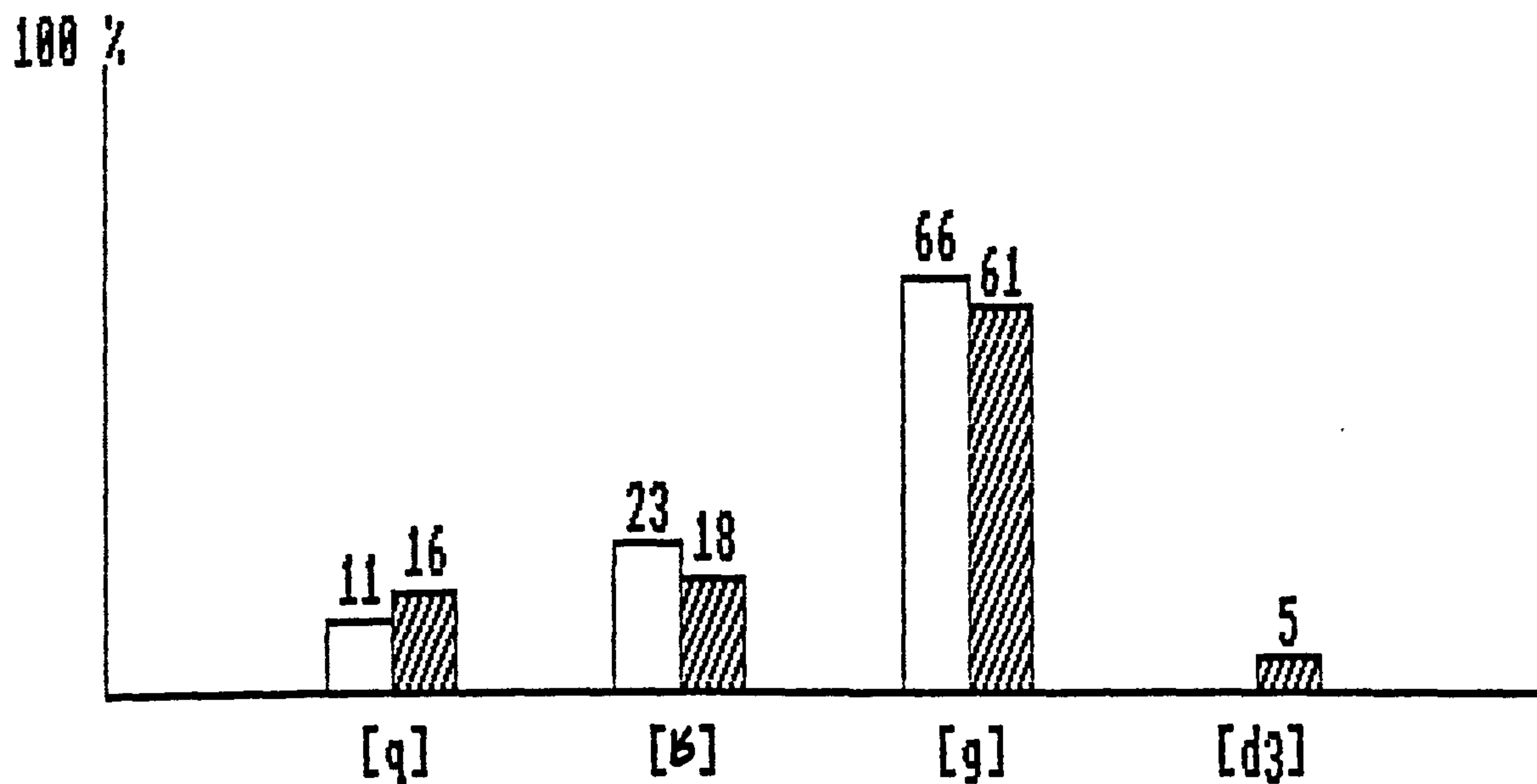
The occurrence of the subset rules, however, is different in the linguistic output of the two groups of speakers. In the standardization rule the speech of the sedentary people displays the same level of rules 1 and 2, whereas the Bedouin speakers exhibit a

strong tendency to use rule 2. In other words, in utilizing the standardization rule, they are more likely to use the [b'] variant rather than the [q] one. The sedentary group, on the other hand, shows no preference, and both variants are likely to occur to a similar degree. Thus one can say that the heavy use of [b'] at the expense of [q] is a characteristic feature of the Bedouin speech.

The colloquialization rule also indicates certain discrepancies between the two groups. Although both groups have a very high percentage of rule 2 i.e. [g], yet they are markedly differentiated by their usage of rule 1 i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>]. The last rule occurs only in the speech of the sedentary population. It seems that qaf-affrication i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] is a characteristic feature of the speech of the sedentary group, and is therefore a distinguishing factor between the two.

In the last chapter we have concluded that the class of lexical item containing the variable is an important factor in determining whether the item would be subject to the standardization rule or to the colloquialization rule. Therefore we will look closely at the application of the two rules in every class of lexical items by the two social groups. Histograms 5.2 and 5.3 show that in items in classes I and II the two social groups are mainly differentiated by rule 1 of the colloquialization rule. In other words, while the sedentary group has a certain level of qaf-affrication ([d<sub>3</sub>]) in classes I and II, speakers from the Bedouin group do not operate this rule at all.

Histogram 5.1



The distribution of the (Q) variable in the speech of two social groups

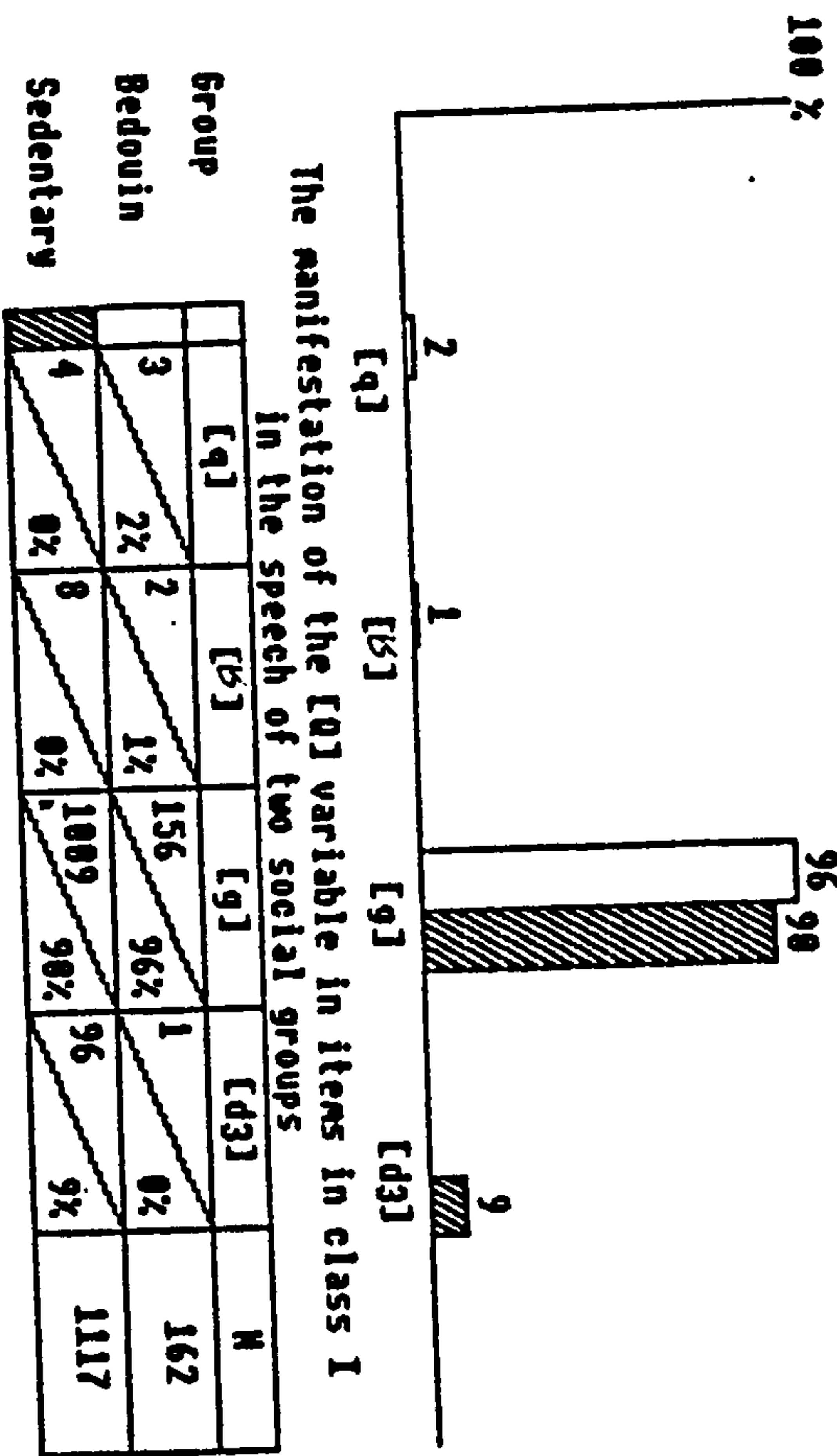
Group	[q]	[ʁ]	[g]	[dʒ]	N
Bedouin	219 11%	481 23%	1368 66%	9 0%	2069
Sedentary	1207 16%	1366 18%	4693 61%	410 5%	7676

Histogram 5.4 is quite interesting, with perhaps its most striking element being the emergence of a small column indicating the occurrence of rule 1 of the colloquialization rule in the speech of the Bedouin group in items in class III. This coincides with the reduction of the frequency of the same rule in the speech of the sedentary group. Examining the data, it was found that this is due to the pronunciation of only one item in the speech of the Bedouin group. That item is the proper noun /qa:sim/. It seems that orthography plays a major role in dictating the pronunciation of this noun in the speech of this group (see 2.8).

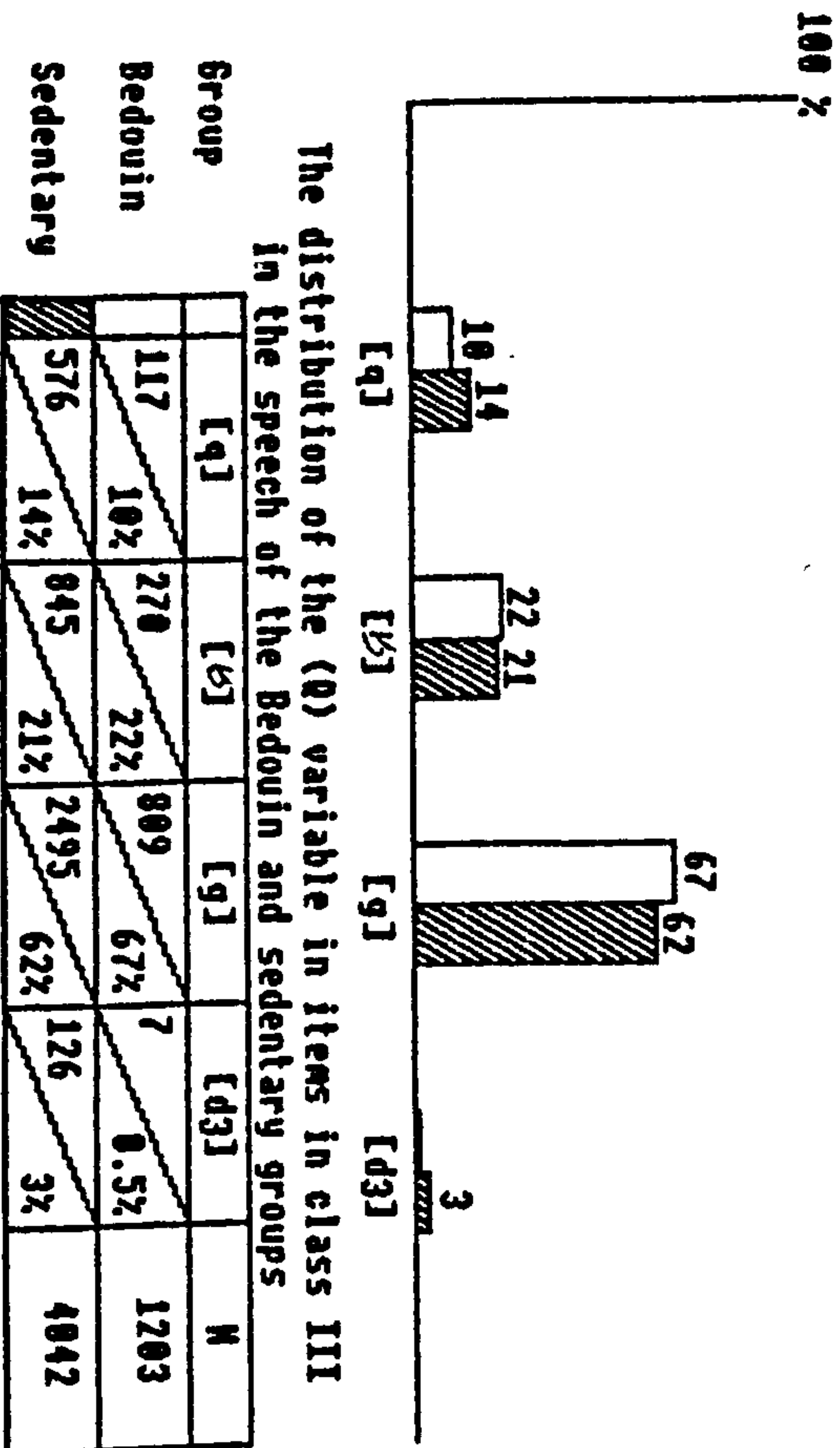
But one can still say that the difference between the behaviour of the two social groups in items in class III resides in the application of the affrication rule. For the Bedouin group this rule is applicable only in the proper noun /qa:sim/, whereas for the sedentary group, the rule is utilized in producing a host of other lexical items, as well as the proper noun /qa:sim/.

Histogram 5.5 reflects the behaviour of the two groups in items in class IV. It shows how a rule can manifest itself differently in the linguistic output of the two groups. Both groups have a similar high percentage of the standardization rule in this class of lexical item. However, whereas the Bedouin group favour the application of rule 2, the sedentary group show a tendency to apply rule 1. In other words in items in class IV, the Bedouin group are more likely to use the [b] variant than to utilize the [q] one, while the reverse is true of the behaviour of the other group.

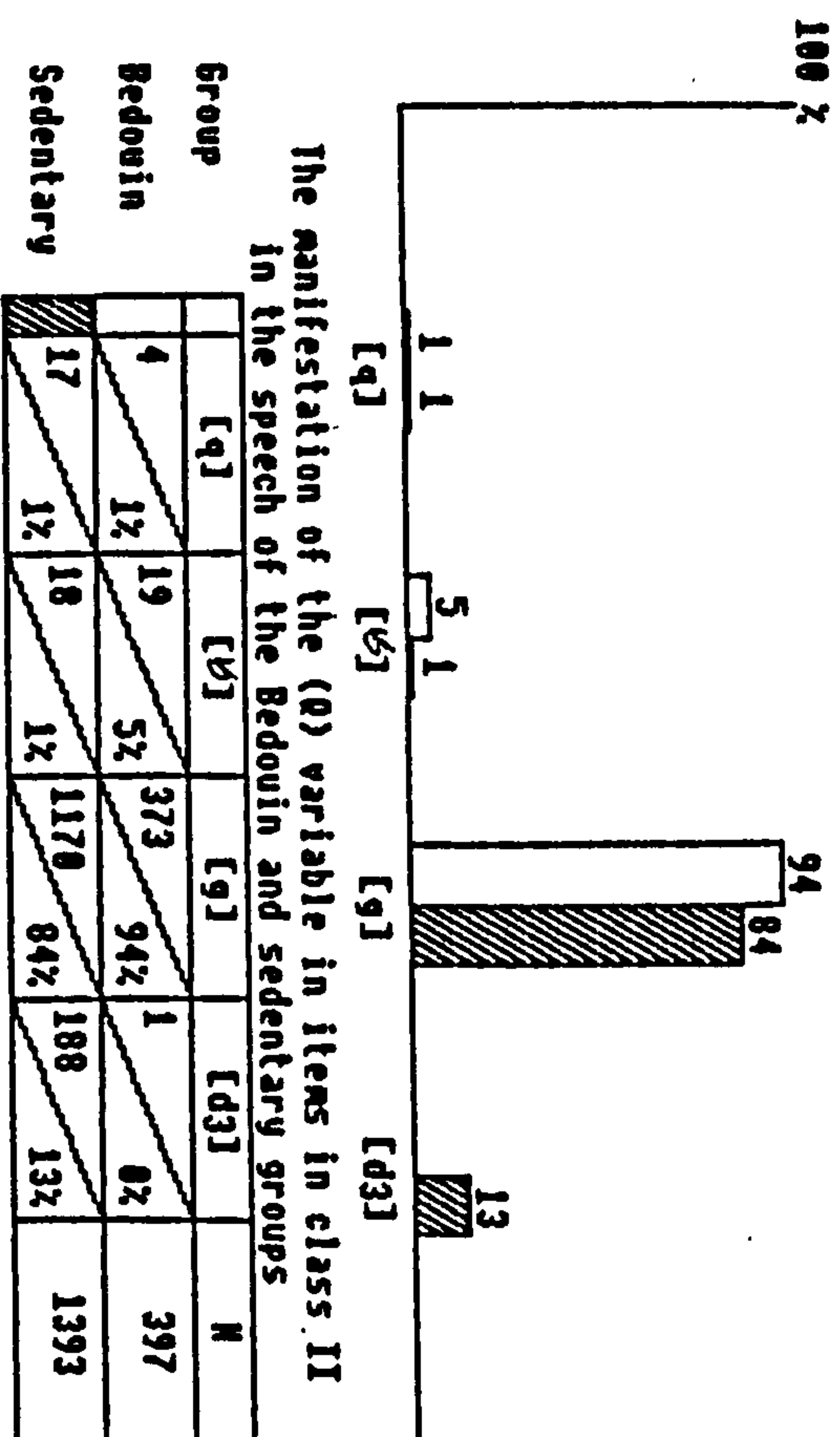
Histogram 5.2



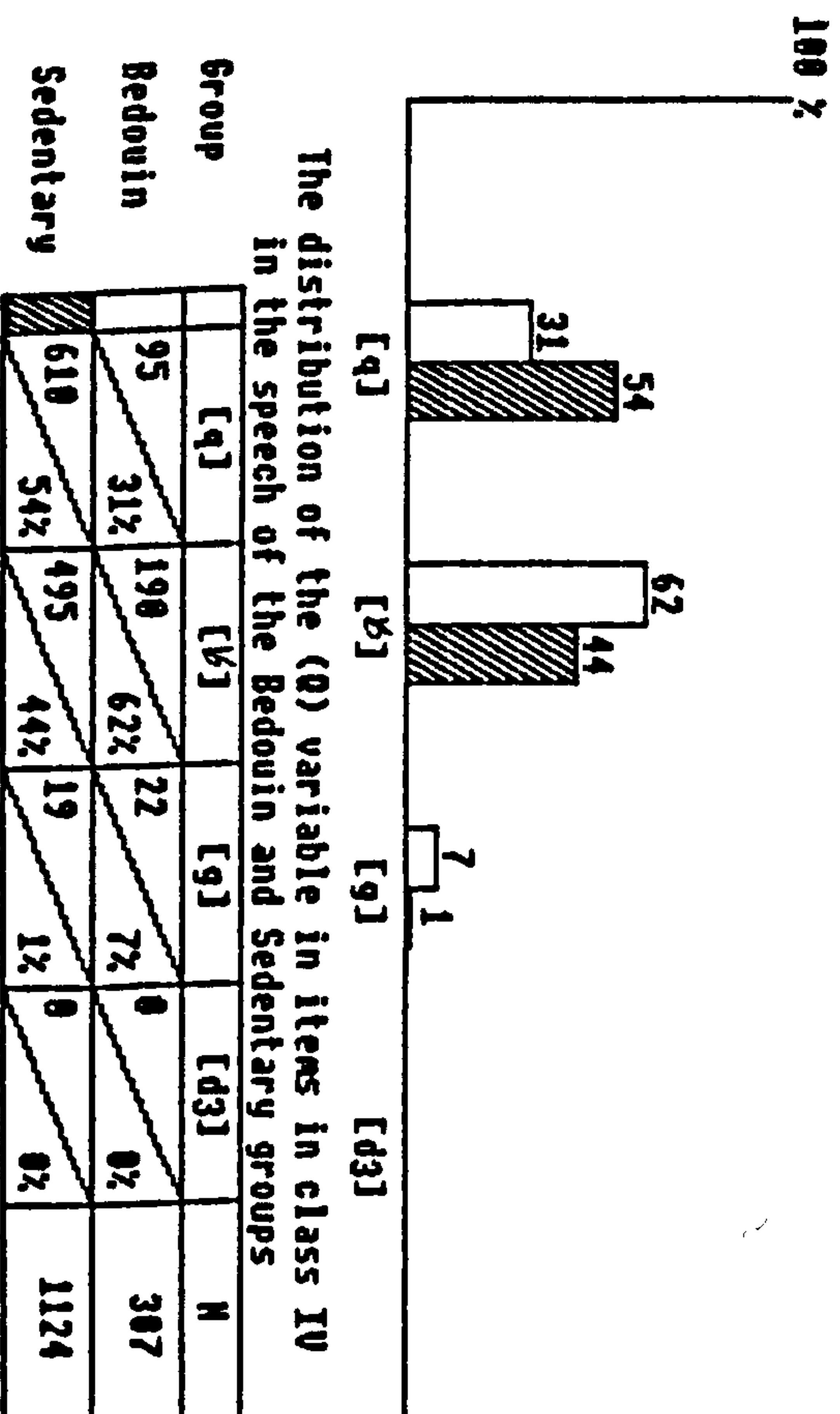
Histogram 5.4



Histogram 5.3



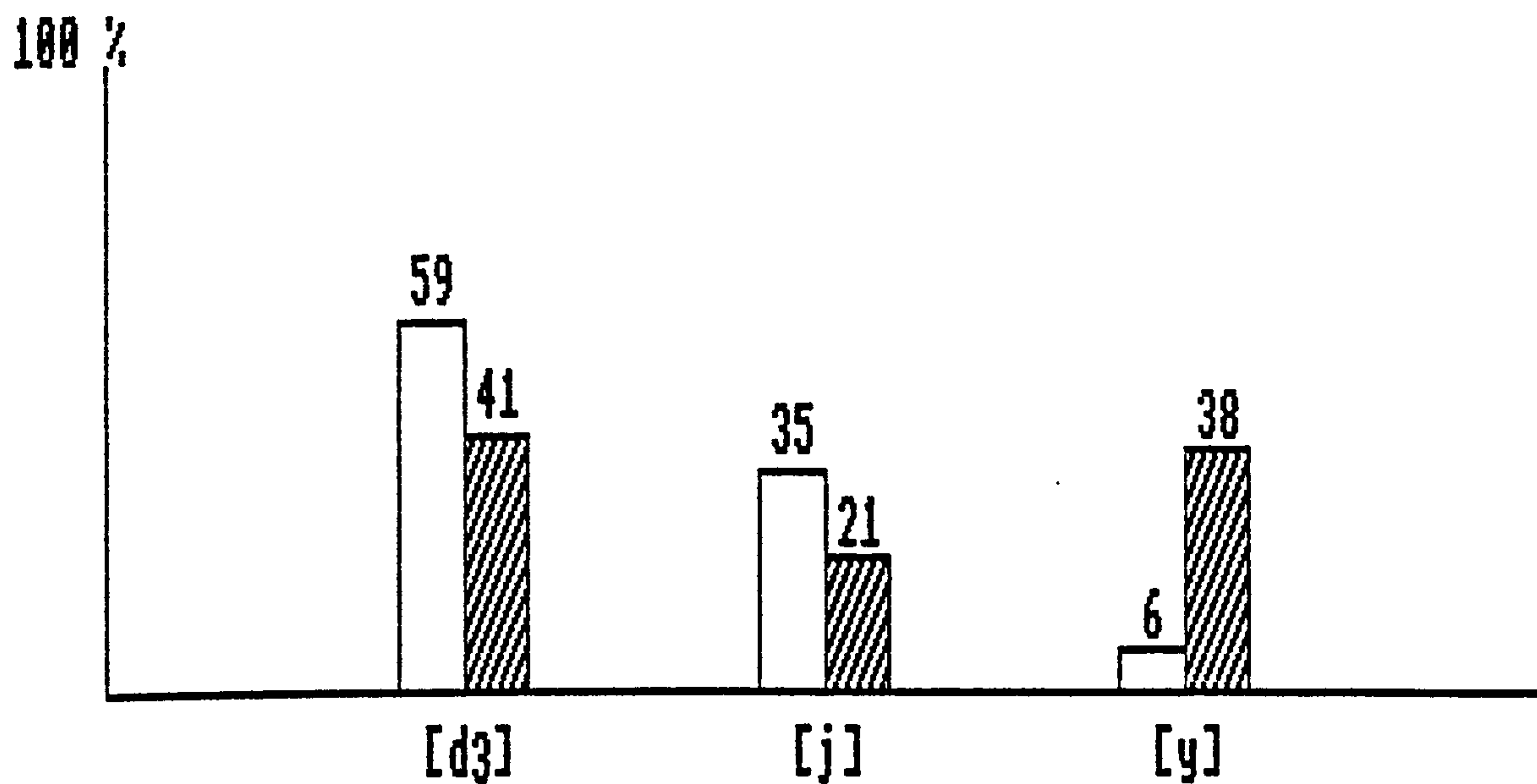
Histogram 5.5



#### 5.4.1.2 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable:

Examining histogram 5.6, one can say that both groups are highly differentiated by this variable. The sedentary people predominantly use rule 3 of the standardization and the colloquialization rules i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] and [y] respectively. The Bedouin group, on the other hand, mainly use the standardization rule 3 i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] and the neutral variant [j]. If we compare this to histogram 5.1, we can reasonably claim that the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable is a greater differentiator element between the two groups than the (Q) variable. This will be more apparent if we take into consideration the fact that the qaf-affrication ((Q)>[d<sub>3</sub>]) is phonologically conditioned, whereas the colloquialization rule 3 ((d<sub>3</sub>)>[y]) is phonologically unconditioned (see 1.3.1 and 1.3.2).

Histogram 5.6



The distribution of the (d3) variable in the speech of the Bedouin and Sedentary groups

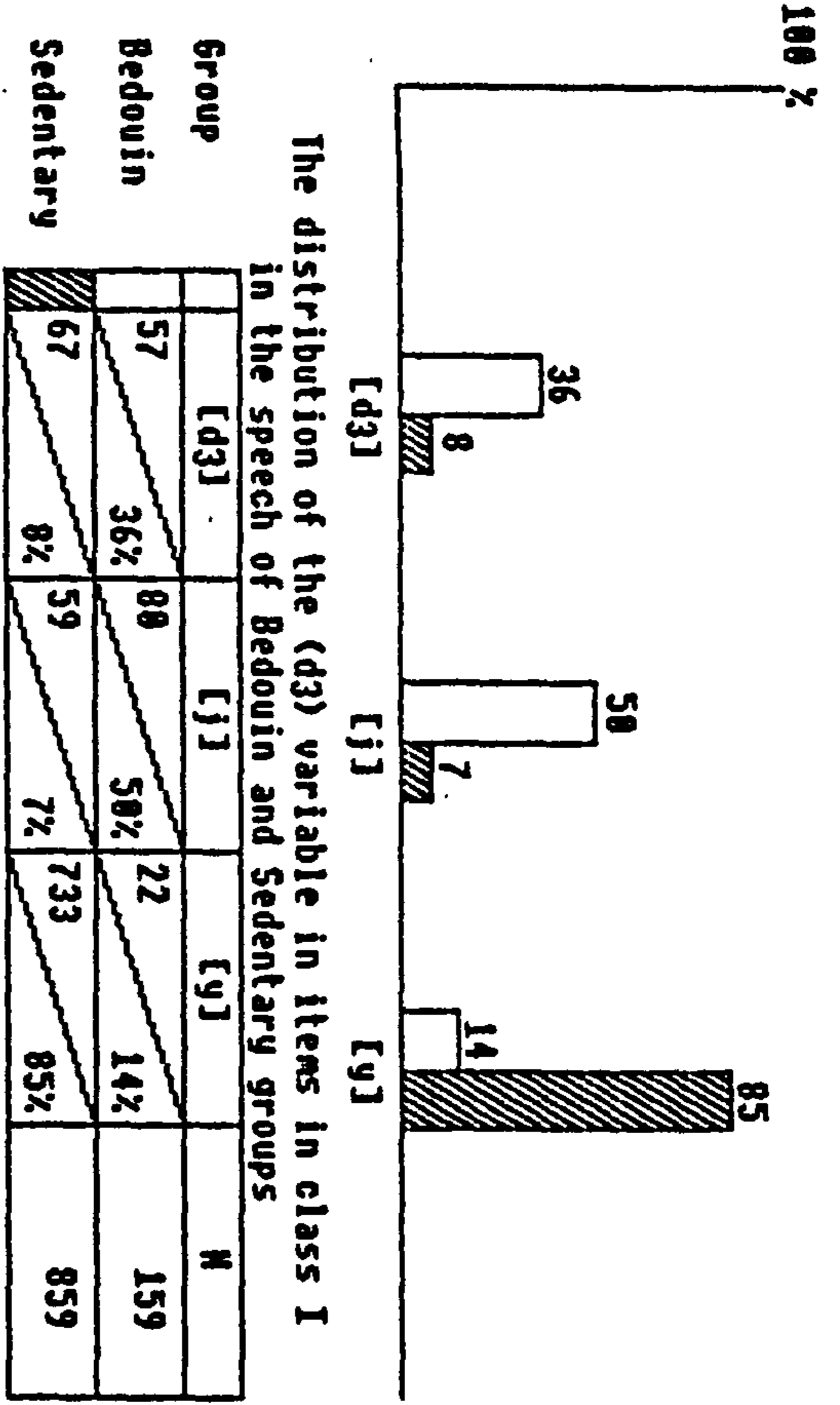
Group	[d3]	[j]	[y]	N
Bedouin	779 59%	478 35%	80 6%	1337
Sedentary	1891 41%	986 21%	1756 38%	4633

Histograms 5.1 and 5.6 demonstrate that the difference observed in the realization of the (Q) and the ( $d_3$ ) variables respectively in the linguistic behaviour of the two social groups is a question of relative frequencies of a variant and not of absolutes. Therefore one is in fact talking about the relative likelihood of the application of a particular rule, or a sub-rule, in the speech of each group. Such relative behaviour is more important in the case of the ( $d_3$ ) variant, because of the common belief which prevails the society and which claims that the [y] variant may only occur in the sedentary dialect. The data, however, show that for the group as a whole it is not possible to claim in categorical terms that their speech has the [y] or the [ $d_3$ ] variant, but rather the frequency of occurrence of each variant in the speech of the two groups varies.

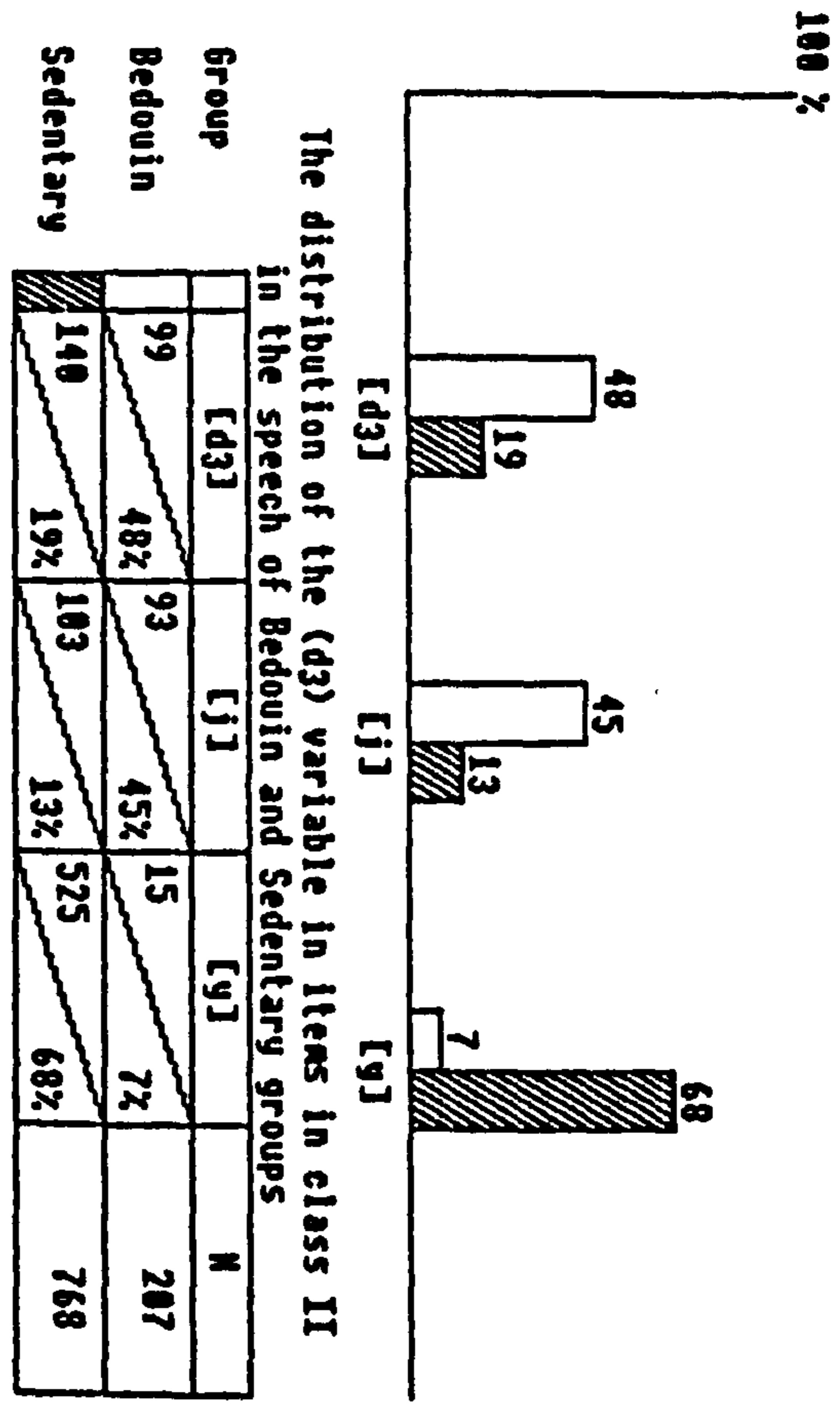
Having looked at the general pattern of behaviour of the ( $d_3$ ) variable in the speech of the two social groups, we will examine in more detail the realization of the variable in four different classes of lexical items by the two groups. Histograms and tables 5.7 - 5.10 reflect the linguistic behaviour of the two groups in four classes of lexical items.



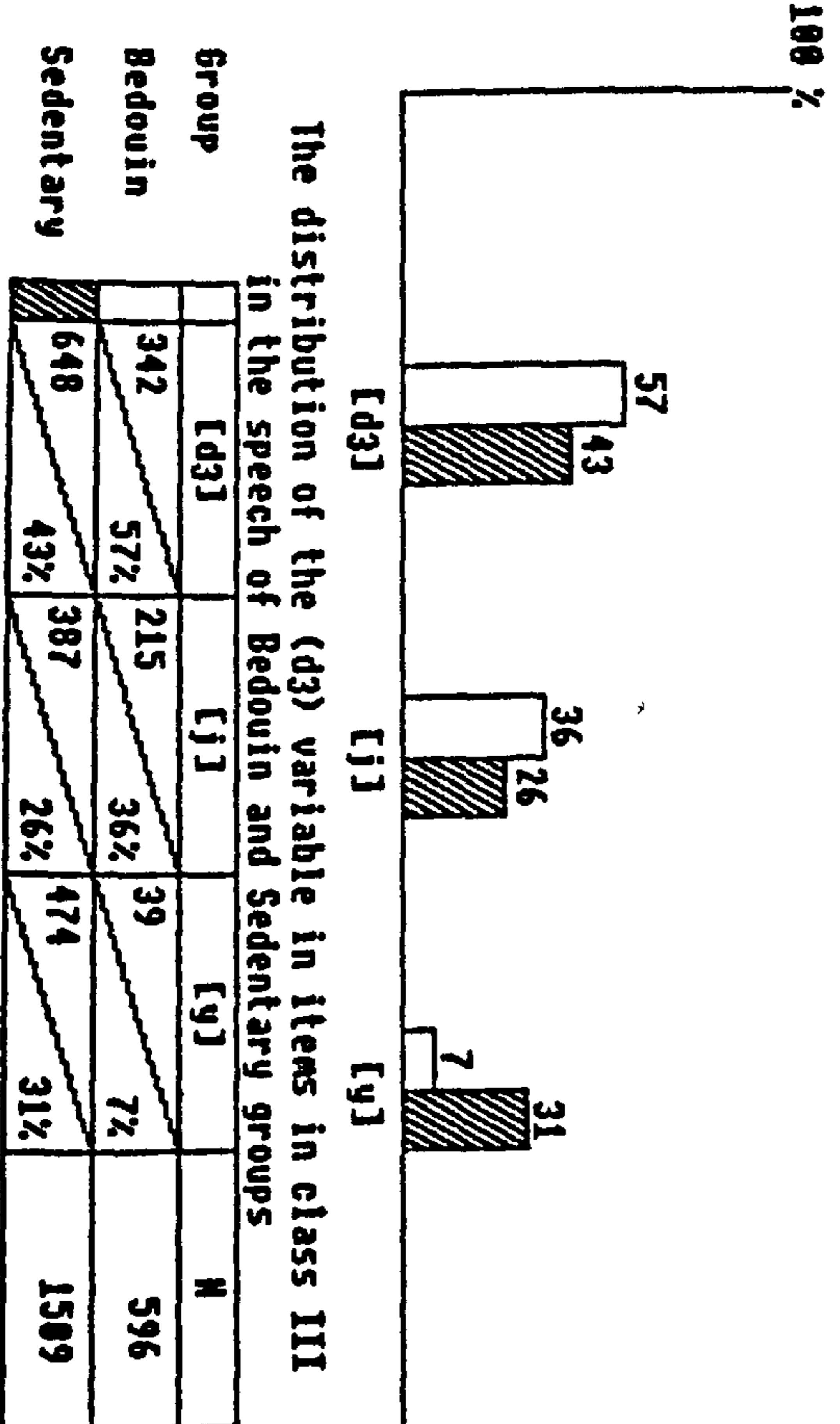
Histogram 5.7



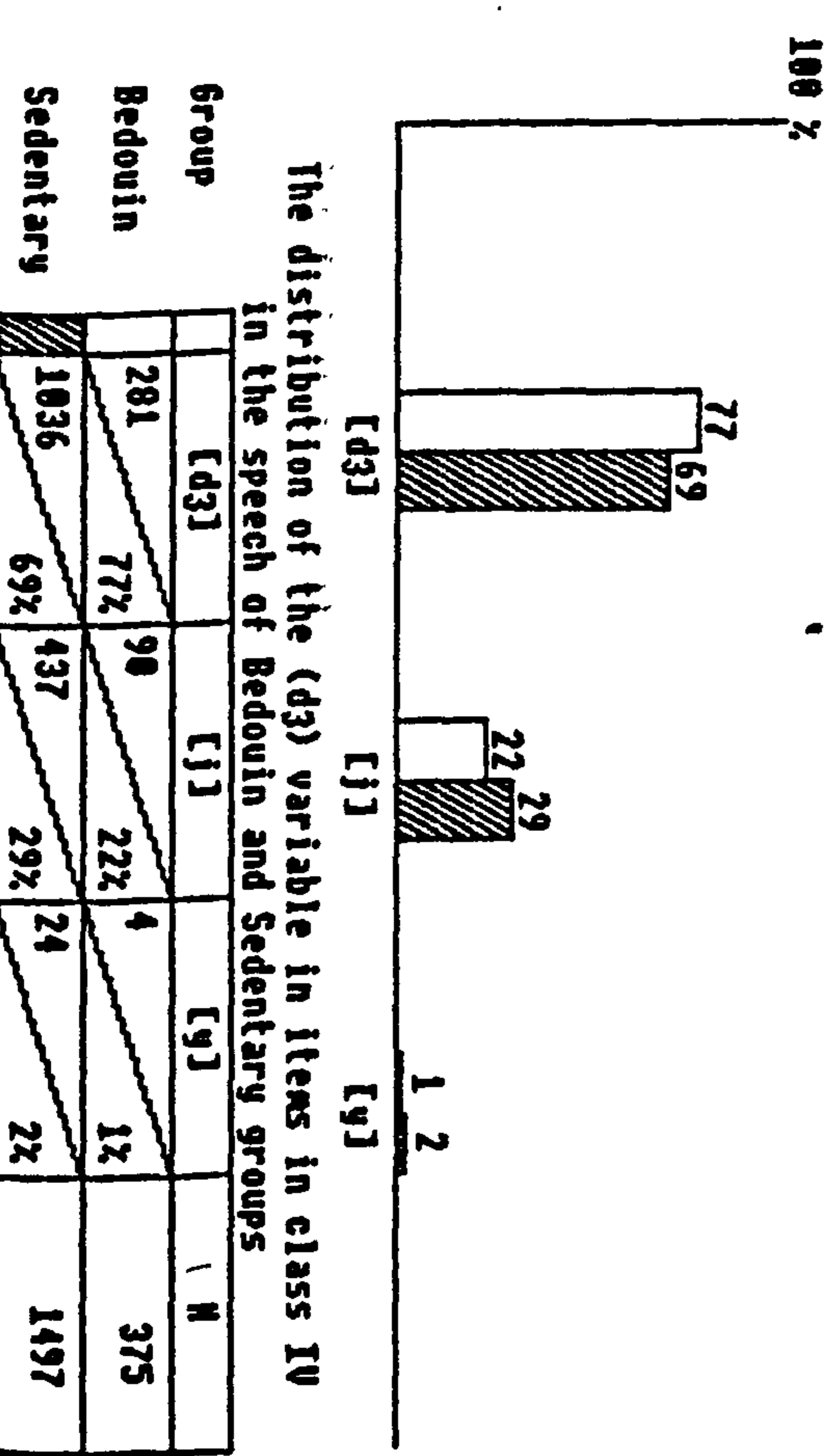
Histogram 5.8



Histogram 5.9



Histogram 5.10



Histograms 5.7 and 5.8 demonstrate clearly that the two social groups behave differently in the application of rule 3 of the colloquialization rule in the production of items in classes I and II. In both these classes the sedentary people show a very strong tendency to use the [y] variant, whereas the Bedouin speakers tend to utilize [d<sub>3</sub>] or [j].

In histogram 5.9, which represents items in class III, the sedentary people continue the trend which has been triggered off in class II, and show a further reduction in the application of rule 3 of the colloquialization rule. Nonetheless, the gap between the two groups is evident, particularly in the use of the [y] variant. In histogram 5.10 (items in class IV) the behaviour of the two groups is very similar.

Following the shifts that occur as one moves from histogram 5.7 - 5.10, it is noticeable that linguistic modifications take place in the speech of both groups as we move from class I to class IV. The tendency in the Bedouin group is to shift from the neutral variant [j] to the standard one [d<sub>3</sub>]. The behaviour of the sedentary group, on the other hand, indicates that this group is moving away from the [y] variant. In fact in items in class IV (histogram 5.10) it almost disappears from their speech. On the whole, one can conclude that the shift in the sedentary group is more evident than the shift in the Bedouin group, bearing in mind that the difference between the [d<sub>3</sub>] and the [j] variants is not perceived by the natives, whereas the shift from [y] to [d<sub>3</sub>] is apparent to all.

#### 5.4.2 Discussion:

The social and cultural differences between the two communities are reflected in the linguistic manifestations of the two variables. Such differences are, however, not surprising. In fact:

"linguistic diversity occurs not only in strictly bilingual, or multilingual settings, but where varieties are those within single language ... distinct linguistic 'codes' emerge wherever there is any role differentiation in a human group at all"

(Downes 1984:55).

A similar point is raised by Gumperz (1982), when he writes that where intelligibility is not in question, language diversities function as a marker of social identity and are perpetuated in accordance with established norms and traditions. In other words, the linguistic diversity occurs, or persists, to signal the social distinctions.

In the description of the data it was mentioned that the use of rules 1 and 3 of the colloquialization rule i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] and [y] respectively, was an indicator of sedentary speech and identity as opposed to that of the Bedouin group. The utilization of these two variables cannot be limited to the communication of referential information.

"We are ... dealing with the emblematic function of phonetic differentiation: the identification of a particular way of speaking with the norms of a ... community."

(Labov 1980b:262).

The social value of the qaf-affrication, and [y] variants is in fact the set of values which the rules encode or symbolize, and

which their use conveys. Any group of people or community can be defined, more or less, as a communication network; the variety of language, specific vocabularies or certain rules of the linguistic system utilized by that network for its various functions will acquire and thus conventionally signals the social identity of the group. Such a function not only entails the identity of the group but also the systems of values, beliefs, patterns of culture etc. which are indistinguishable parts of the group. However, this may be more evident in a bilingual speech community where the two codes of communication are clearly differentiated. An example of this would be Canada, in which French and English are used as modes of communication, and where the use of the French variety as a means of interaction brings in a host of sets of values and beliefs which are normally associated with French (Downes 1984). The same mechanism, albeit with less force, seems to be operating in the linguistic speech community of Doha. The variants [y] of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable and [d<sub>3</sub>] of the (Q) variable are associated with the sedentary dialect, and thus with the sedentary identity. The absence, or relative absence, of these variants in the speech, seem to be related to the identity of the Bedouin group.

Such recognized norms of speech assist in mutual understanding and interpretation. The adoption of any particular variant is in fact a way of claiming a certain identity in relation to the participants and relative to the norms of the society. Without these norms, such acts would be hard to interpret as denoting identity. Needless to say, speech in addition to factual knowledge,

delivers a great deal of information about the speaker's values, beliefs, background etc. <sup>1</sup>

### 5.5 Is [y] prestigious or stigmatized?

The social significance of a dialect, or for that matter of a variant, is deeply connected with the community and the culture of its speakers. That is to say, a variety of a language derives its importance from those who speak it. The [y] variant in the QD holds a peculiar position: it is highly stigmatized by the speakers of the other Arabic dialects outside the Gulf region because they see it as an intolerable deviation from the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant used in SA. For the sedentary members of the speech community, however, it constitutes a mark of prestige, as it distinguishes them from the socially stigmatized Bedouin group.

It is well known that "social pressures are continuously operating upon language" (Labov 1972<sub>a</sub>:3). It is claimed that people on the lower part of the social scale, i.e. stigmatized groups, tend to adopt the norms of speech of the group which is higher on the social hierarchy (Labov 1972<sub>a</sub>). Therefore, according to Labov one would expect the Bedouin speakers who occupy the lower part of the social hierarchy to drop the elements which indicate their "Bedouinness" and adopt instead the sedentary modes of speech. This as we shall see is a wrong claim and as L. Milroy (1980:19) rightly comments:

"Language does much more than reflect people's position in an abstract hierarchial society ... when we look at language use in a more detailed way, we find that people also manipulate the linguistic resources available to them .... The resources available for manipulation include low-prestige and stigmatized varieties which may be used, if the speaker wishes, to indicate loyalty to a local community and rejection of ... prestige values".

This means that linguistic stigmatized features could operate against the norms of the prestigious group. Moreover, such features could function as a positive force: they strongly symbolize the social identity of the group, thereby resisting external pressures.

In fact a number of recent social psychological studies (for example Ryan 1979), have indicated that stigmatized groups perceive their language as a strong marker of group solidarity and of group identity. Therefore the resistance of such speakers to adopt the linguistic norms of the prestigious social group is due to counter-acting pressures favouring their native speech dialect (Ryan 1979). Other studies (Milroy 1982, Blom and Gumperz 1972 among many others) have demonstrated that the disfavoured dialects of the stigmatized social groups survive despite the external social pressures. That is because these dialects function powerfully as a source of pride to the members of such groups, and are therefore capable of symbolizing group values which may deviate sharply from those of the prestigious group (Milroy 1982). It goes without saying that the world is full of examples of low-prestige varieties, which have not only survived but have also become regional standard varieties, despite the existence of high status varieties. The most

noticeable example is the development of vulgar Latin (as opposed to Classical) into the standardized Romance languages.

There is another point which, together with the above mentioned one, may explain why the Bedouin speakers are very reluctant to adopt the sedentary modes of speech. This is the type of residential area in which the Bedouins live. Even though they began to settle in the city 15-20 years ago, a semi-physical separation between them and the sedentary group is evident. The former live in the peripheral sections of the city in self-contained areas, whereas the latter live within the city itself. Until now there has been no real mixed residential community which embraces the two groups. There is no doubt that interaction between the two takes place frequently (in the market, the university, school, offices etc.), but it is hindered by the separation mentioned above. However we must bear in mind that:

"increased frequency or intensity of communication is perhaps necessary for the disappearance of dialect boundaries, but is by no means sufficient"

(Gumperz 1978:394)

He tells of a linguistic situation in a North Indian village where the minority dialect of sweepers deviates from that of the majority population. Although the sweepers spent most of their time talking to the women of the majority group, they had shown hardly any sign of adopting their manner of speech. (Gumperz 1971)

No doubt living in a semi-isolated area plays a role in resisting the temptation of adopting the sedentary norms of speech. Living in the same area creates a close knit network which in turn has

"the capacity to function as a norm enforcement mechanism and insulate its members from the pressures of mainstream values including linguistic values"

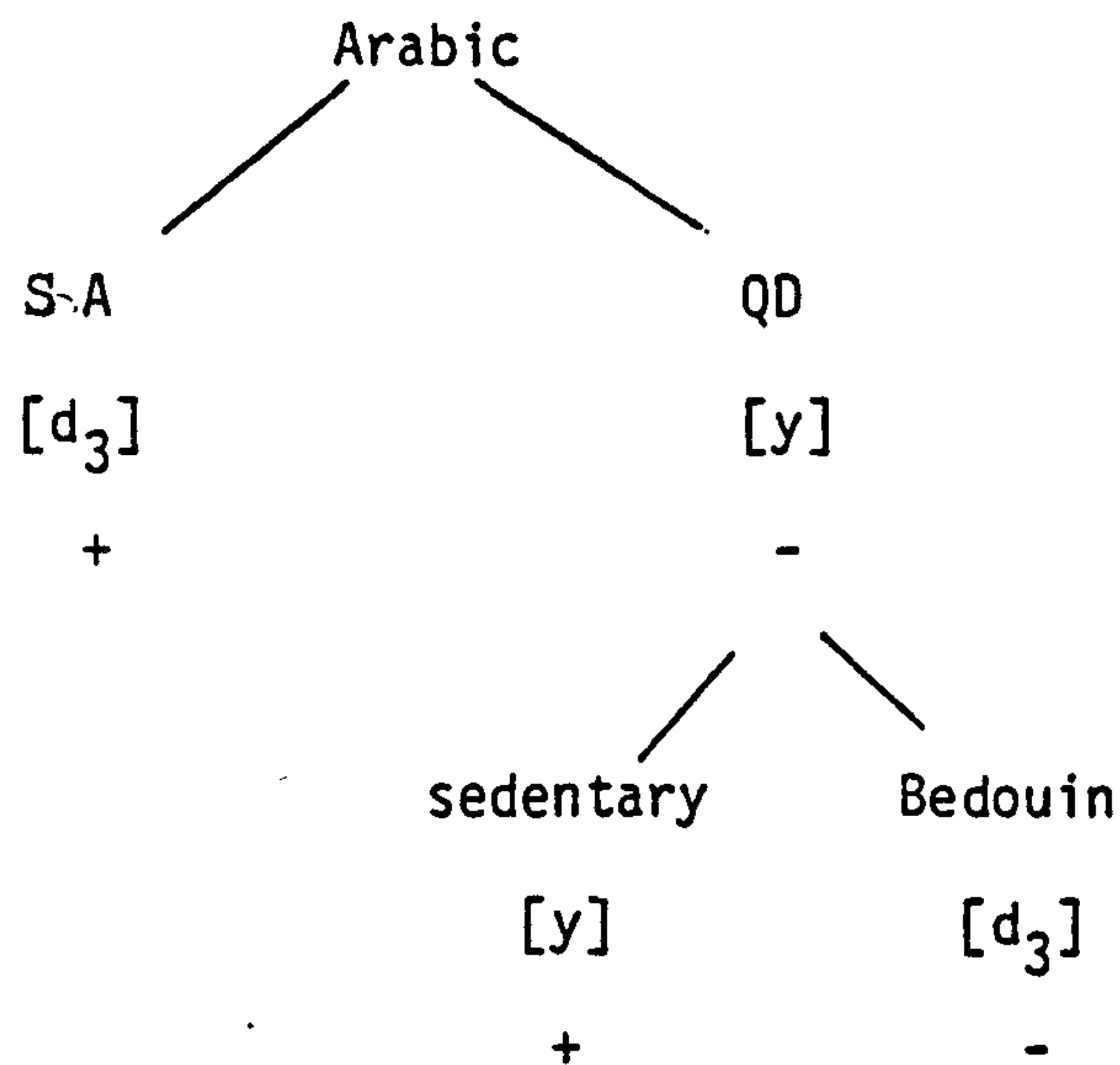
L. Milroy 1982:212

On the whole we may say that the disappearance of the Bedouin dialect is hard to envisage for two reasons. Firstly, it serves as a marker of Bedouin identity for the members of the Bedouin group. Secondly, the general atmosphere of the residential areas in which they live has created a situation which has the capacity to exert normative pressure on individuals, and to resist external pressures.

The data leave us with interesting questions on the nature of prestige in speech communities. If one looks at the dialectal level, the prestigious form of the ( $d_3$ ) variable is the [y] variant which is used by the prestigious sedentary group. However the variant used by the Bedouin speaker, which is [ $d_3$ ], coincides with the norm of the SA. This is quite different from what has been found in studies of Western (European) societies, in which the most prestigious variants are used most frequently by the highest socio-economic class. This is known as a reflex of social class stratification (Labov 1972a, Trudgill 1974). Therefore we may say that one of the differences between the speech community of Doha and that of Western societies is the fact that the standard variant of the superposed variety (SA), which is of great prestige and significance, coincides with the variant associated with the locally socially stigmatized group.

Schematically, the position of the ( $d_3$ ) variable in the QD vis-a-vis the SA can be presented as following





(+ = prestigious, - = stigmatized)

We, however, must notice that the shift by members of the sedentary group towards the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant as we move towards items in class IV is in fact influenced by the rules and systems of SA rather than the norms of speech of the Bedouin group.

This kind of agreement between the norm of speech of the Bedouin group and that of SA is a strong source of pride for the Bedouins. Unlike New York City where

"the dominant theme in the subjective evaluation of speech by New Yorkers is a profound linguistic insecurity which is connected with a long standing pattern of negative prestige for the New York speech"

(Labov 1966:500)

there is a profound linguistic pride to be seen in the opinions of the members of the Bedouin group when they are asked about their speech.

No attempt has been made to quantify informants' comments on language variation in any systematic way; nevertheless a great deal of useful impressionistic data in the form of answers to direct

questions were obtained which could be helpful, for any future investigation, in deciding which evaluational dimension might be relevant in Qatari society.

Members of the Bedouin group attach considerable importance to the distinctiveness of their own dialect from that of the sedentary population. They also exhibit a strong emotional attachment to their speech characteristics. The most positive expression of linguistic pride can be heard when, in spite of socio-economic superiority of the sedentary group, the Bedouins affirm the linguistic norms of their speech. The following are some comments made by the members of this group which reflect this:-

A university graduate was asked whether people should pronounce the /d<sub>3</sub>/ as [d<sub>3</sub>] or as [y]. He answered:

"Frankly speaking and without any compliments it is better for people to say [d<sub>3</sub>]. They should utter the letter as it is; as we (Bedouins) all pronounce it; as our ancestors have uttered it and as did people before them; as it was revealed in the Qur'an. The pronunciation should be the same ([d<sub>3</sub>]). The letter should be pronounced as it is written. That is better."

When the same question was put to another speaker from the same group with a primary level of education, his reply and attitude was markedly similar. He said:

"To utter /d<sub>3</sub>/ as [y] is not a good habit, because you cannot understand it (what is said). For instance you say [yak] "he came to you". What does it mean? Explain it for me! It is better to say [d<sub>3</sub>ak]."

Many Bedouin speakers regard their own dialect as very much

identical to SA, especially when compared to the sedentary variety; as evidence they cite the use of [d<sub>3</sub>] rather [y] by their group.

During the fieldwork I put the following question to one informant who was a university graduate from the Bedouin group: "Which dialect do you think is the closest to SA?" He replied "our dialect" i.e. Bedouin. I asked him why and on what grounds. He said:

"Look, town dwellers call a grandfather [yadd], but we call him [d<sub>3</sub>add]. And since grandfather is pronounced [d<sub>3</sub>add] in SA, it follows that our dialect. i.e. Bedouin, is closer to SA than that of the sedentary people."

Now compare those comments with other remarks made on the same point by the sedentary people. When asked whether it is better to pronounce /d<sub>3</sub>/ as [d<sub>3</sub>], as [y] or anything else, the majority of them were of the following idea expressed by a 24 year old from the Qaba:yil group

"Whether you say [fad<sub>3</sub>ir] or [fayir] 'dawn' it is the same. It is a matter of which pronunciation you are accustomed to. There are people who say [y] and there are others who say [d<sub>3</sub>], but it is the same."

The speakers of the Bedouin variety also feel that their speech is more precise and clearer when compared to the sedentary dialect. The following comments are made by a 60 year-old Bedouin, comparing the two varieties:

"The Bedouin dialect is different from that of the town settlers. For instance I ask you (as a member of the sedentary group): "Where are you going?" (You reply) "by Allah, I am going to Khore." "When will you come back?" "I'll be back around 8 o'clock or 9 o'clock". I as a Bedouin will not say around 8 or 9 o'clock, (I say) I will be back either at eight or at 9 o'clock. Our speech (Bedouin) is clear and precise whereas theirs (the sedentaries) is not."

Such attitudes, however, are not unique to the Bedouin speech community of Doha. Similar results have also been reported elsewhere. For instance Cheyne (1970) found that Scottish subjects evaluated their own speech as more friendly, humorous and likeable than English modes of speech, thus displaying accent loyalty (also see Milroy and MaClenaghan 1977). Expressing similar points, Romaine 1978:20 writes:

"sometimes minority groups evaluate the speech of their own group higher than that of groups which are dominant in socio-economic terms."

She reports that Lambert found that French Canadian subjects tended to evaluate more favourably French Canadian guises than English guises on certain stereotyped characteristics associated with French Canadians.

## 5.6 Variation among the four social groups:

### 5.6.1 The description of the data:

#### 5.6.1.1 The (Q) variable:

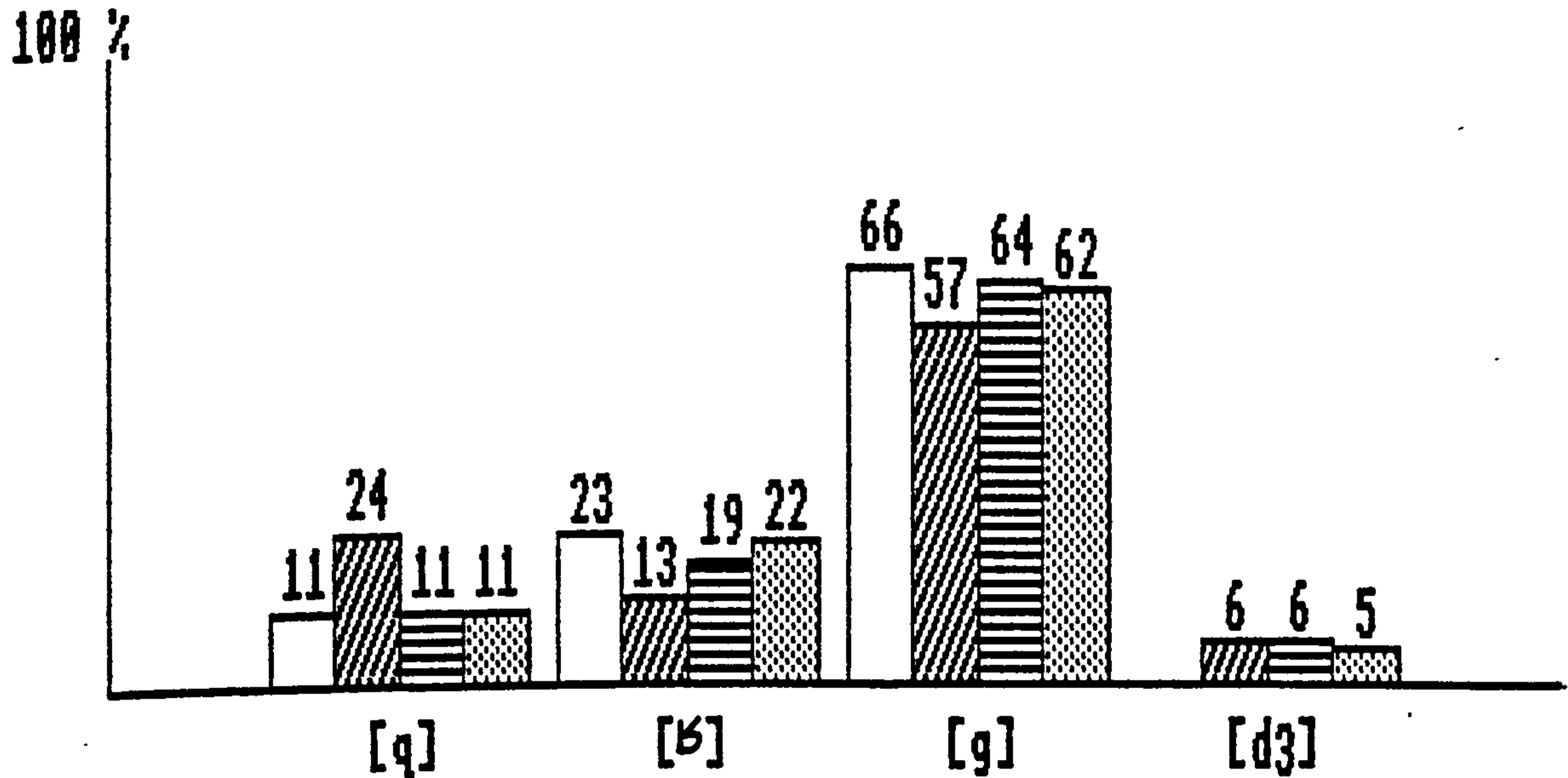
The data on this variable are presented in Histogram 5.11. It exhibits a few characteristic features which should be noted. Firstly the application of the colloquialization rule is relatively high in the speech of all the social groups. Secondly, although the tendency

towards the application of the standardization rule is similar in the linguistic behaviour of the four groups, yet the 'Ajam group shows a preference to utilize rule 1 i.e. [q]. whereas the other three groups tend to use rule 2 i.e. [k]. Thirdly, the Bedouin group is distinguished from the others by the fact that it does not utilize rule 1 of the colloquialization rule, i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] (qaf-affrication). Finally, and surprisingly, the linguistic behaviour of the Howala and the Qaba:yil groups are quite similar. Indeed one can claim that they are approximately identical.

To form a better idea about the nature of this variable in the speech of the four groups, we will briefly examine the manifestation of the variable in each class of lexical item separately. The material is presented in Histograms 5.12 - 5.15.

The behaviour of the groups in classes I, II and III is reflected in histograms 5.12, 5.13 and 5.14 respectively. The first two do not indicate any linguistic differences among the four groups, except for the fact that the Bedouin group lack the qaf-affrication feature i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] in their speech. More formally, they do not apply rule 1 of the colloquialization rule.

Histogram 5.11

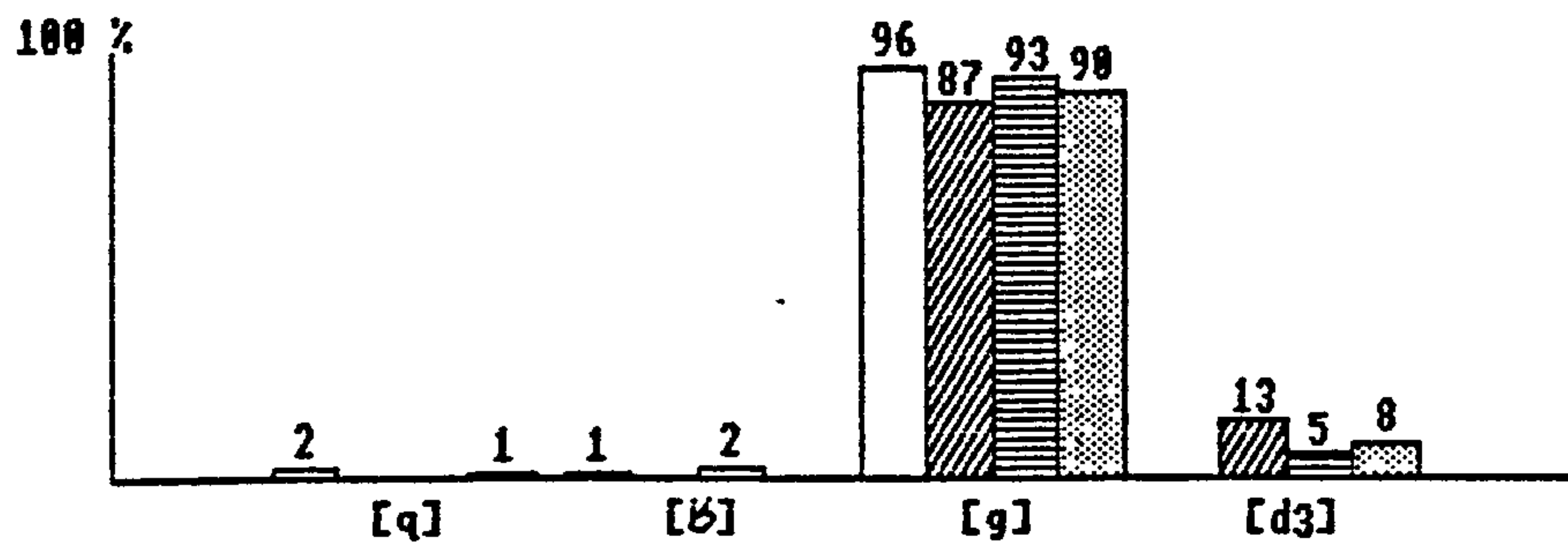


The distribution of the (Q) variable in four social groups

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Bedouin	219 11%	481 23%	1360 66%	9 0%	2069
'Ajam	684 24%	384 13%	1647 57%	158 6%	2873
Howala	300 11%	543 19%	1807 64%	163 6%	2813
Qabayil	223 11%	439 22%	1239 62%	89 5%	1990

Significant at 0.01 level

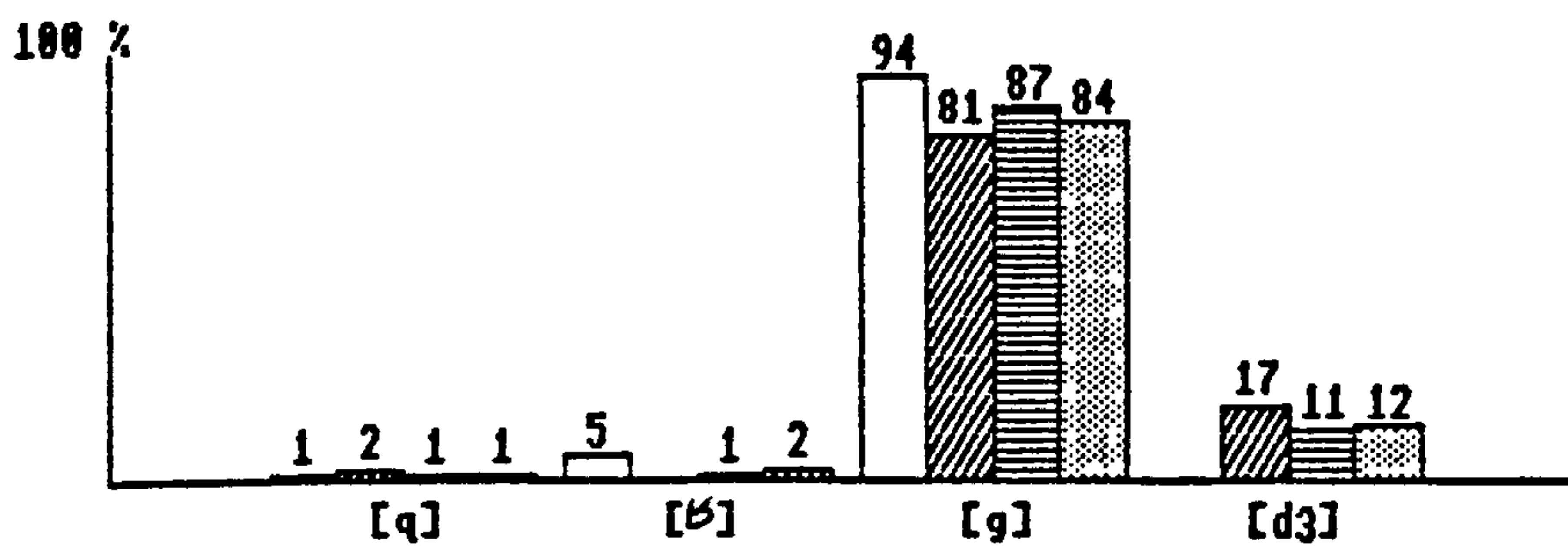
Histogram 5.12



The distribution of the (Q) variable in items in class I in four social groups

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Bedouin	3 2%	2 1%	156 96%	1 0%	162
'Ajam	1 0%	8 0%	321 87%	48 13%	378
Howala	0 0%	7 2%	437 93%	25 5%	469
Qab:yii	3 1%	1 0%	251 98%	23 8%	278

Histogram 5.13

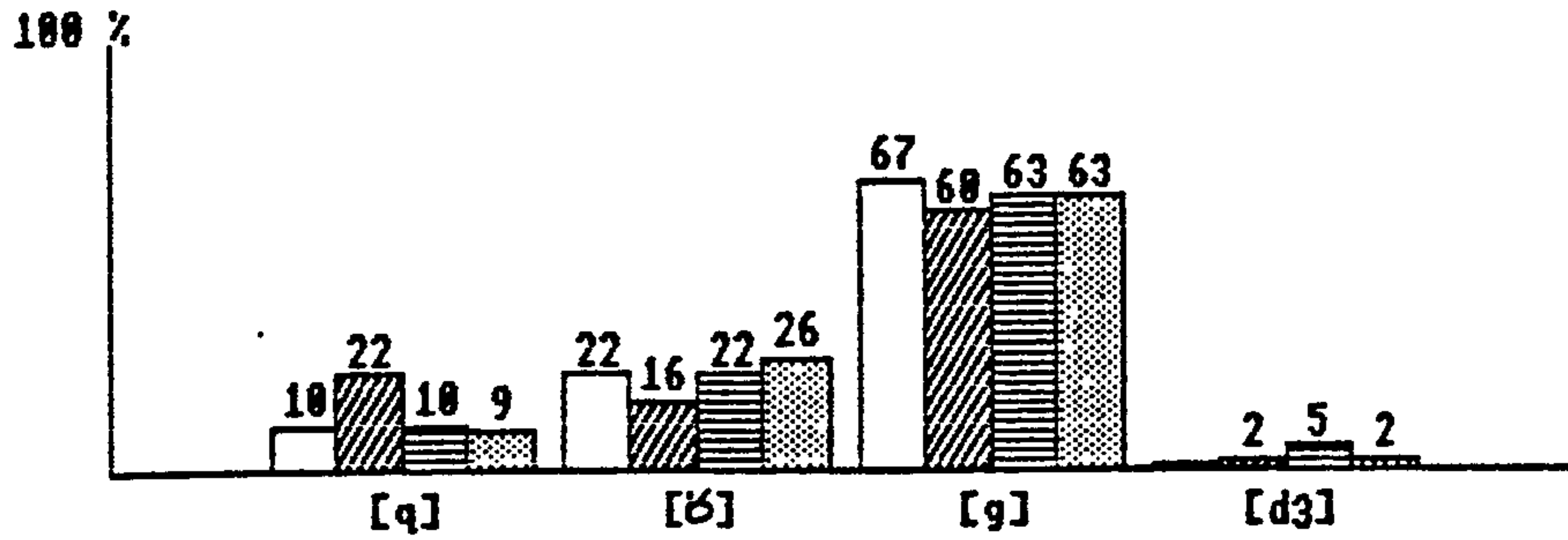


The distribution of the (Q) variable in items in class II in four social groups

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Bedouin	4 1%	19 5%	373 94%	1 0%	397
'Ajam	8 2%	2 0%	378 81%	88 17%	468
Howala	4 1%	8 1%	494 87%	65 11%	571
Qab:yii	5 1%	8 2%	298 84%	43 12%	354

Significant at 0.01 level

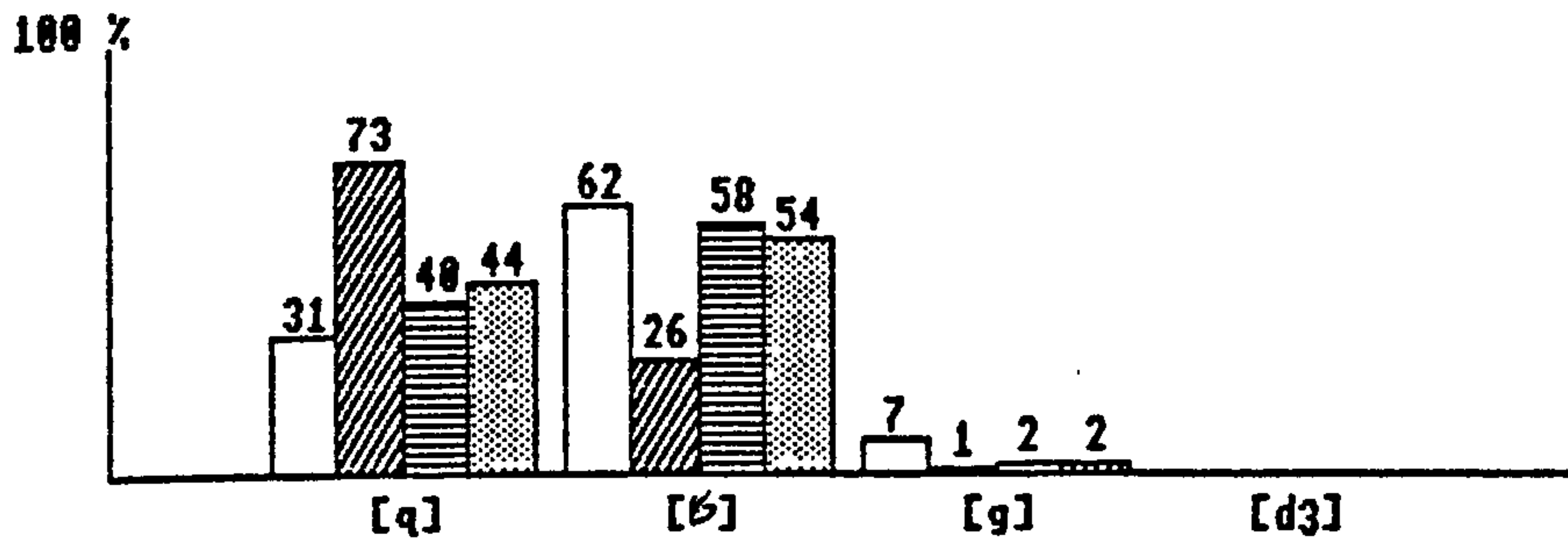
Histogram 5.14



The distribution of the (Q) variable in items in class III in four social groups

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Bedouin	117 18%	27 22%	809 67%	7 0.5%	960
'Ajam	345 22%	262 16%	943 60%	30 2%	1588
Howala	137 10%	302 22%	868 63%	73 5%	1380
Qaba:yii	94 9%	281 26%	684 63%	23 2%	1082

Histogram 5.15



The distribution of the (Q) variable in items in class IV in four social groups

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Bedouin	95 31%	190 62%	22 7%	0 0%	307
'Ajam	330 73%	120 26%	5 1%	0 0%	455
Howala	159 40%	302 58%	8 2%	0 0%	469
Qaba:yii	121 44%	149 54%	6 2%	0 0%	276

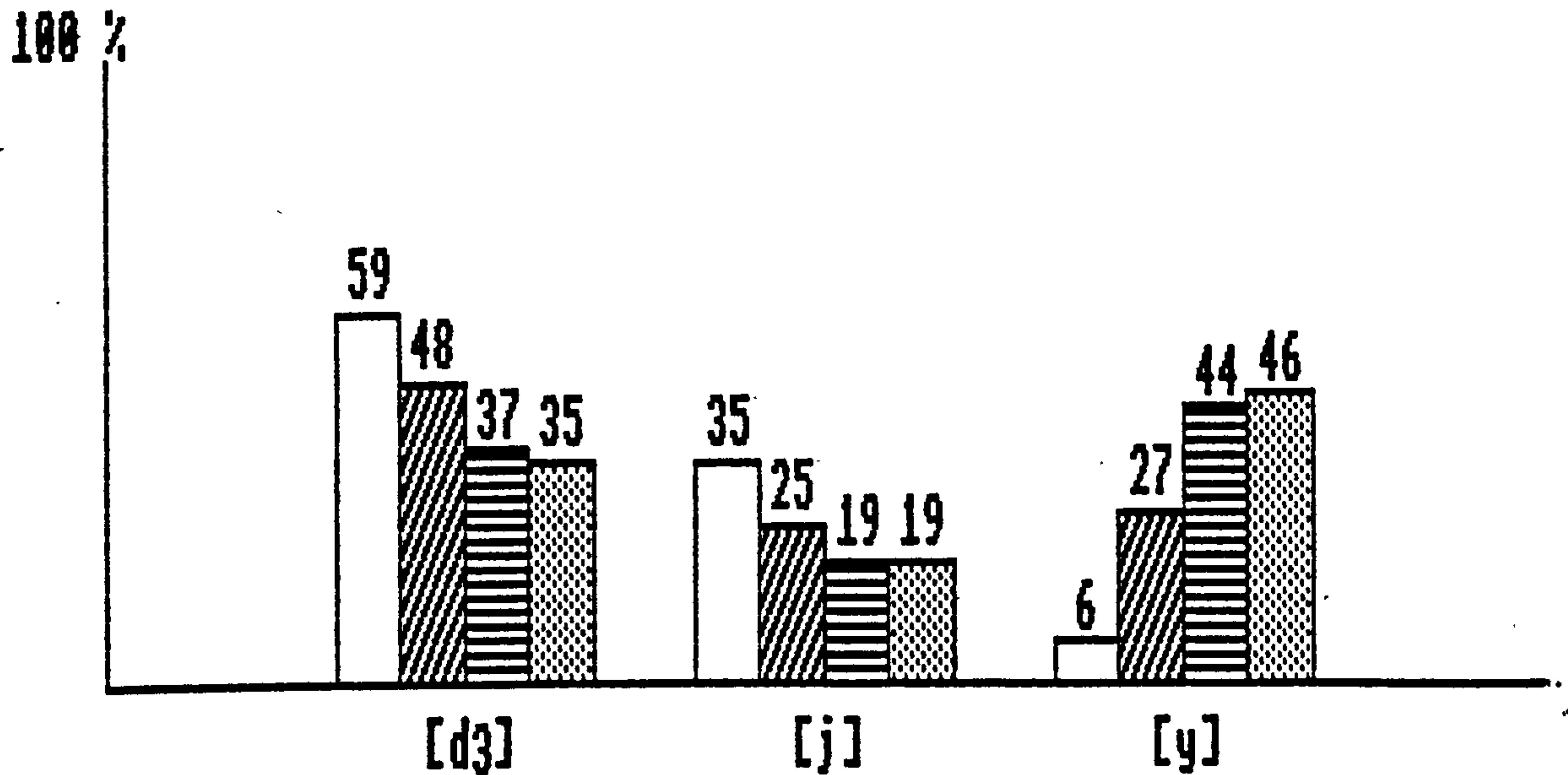
Significant at 0.01 level



Histogram 5.14, (items in class III) represents what could be termed the beginning of a change of pattern, compared to the previous two histograms. It is evident in this histogram that the application of the colloquialization rule, particularly rule 2 i.e. [g], is considerably reduced in the speech of all the social groups; and simultaneously there is an increase in the application of the standardization rule in the linguistic outputs of the groups. It is noticeable in this histogram that the 'Ajam group deviates from the mode of speech set up by the other three groups. The former show a tendency to use the [q] variant, in the application of the standardization rule, whereas the latter use the [b] variant.

Histogram 5.15 demonstrates the behaviour of the social groups in items in class IV. It reflects the continuation of the pattern which started in the previous class of lexical item. The application of the colloquialization rule is reduced to a minimum. Instead all the groups, almost categorically, use the standardization rule. The tendency towards the use of rule 1 of the standardization rule by the 'Ajam group in the previous histogram is even more evident here. On the whole one can claim that in the application of the standardization rule, the 'Ajam group aim at rule 1, i.e. the [q] variant, whereas the others aim at rule 2, i.e. [b] variant.

Histogram 5.16



The distribution of the (d3) variable in four social groups

Group	[d3]	[j]	[y]	N
Bedouin	779 59%	478 35%	80 6%	1337
'Ajam	838 48%	433 25%	462 27%	1733
Howala	629 37%	330 19%	745 44%	1704
Qaba:yii	424 35%	223 19%	549 46%	1196

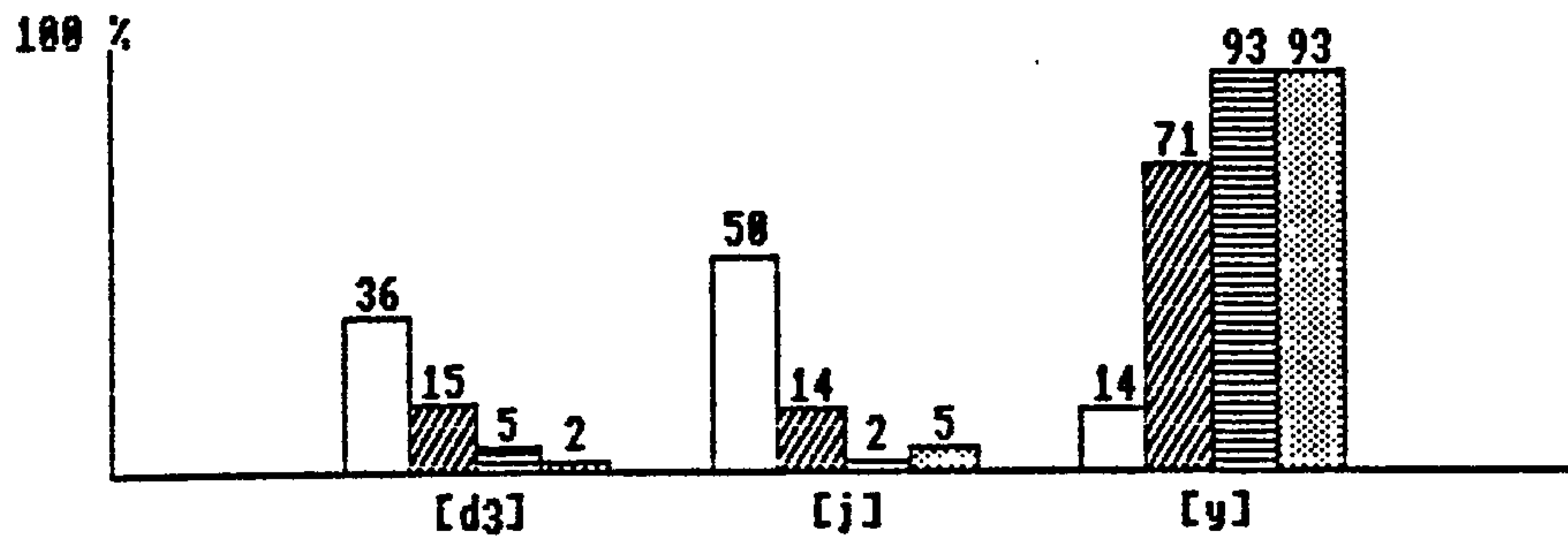
Significant at 0.01 level

### 5.6.1.2 The ( $d_3$ ) variable:

Looking at histogram 5.16 and ignoring the columns representing the [j] variant for the time being, it is evident that the columns for the standardization rule 3, i.e. [ $d_3$ ], and those for the colloquialization rule 3, i.e. [y], are mirror images of each other. To put it differently, the order of the four social groups with regard to the application of the former rule is matched by their reverse order in the application of the latter rule. For instance, the Bedouin group, which has the highest percentage of the application of the standardization rule 3, also has the lowest percentage of the application of the colloquialization rule 3. Similarly, the Qaba:yil and the Howala groups, which have the lowest degree of the standard variant in their speech, have the highest level of the localised variant.

The position of the [j] variant is quite interesting. In this case the group which behaves differently is the Bedouin, which has the highest level of this neutral variant in their speech. The other groups have a similar percentage of it in their linguistic manifestations. It seems, however, that in the production of this variable the Bedouins aim at either [j] or [ $d_3$ ], whereas the sedentary groups, except the 'Ajams, aim at [y] or [ $d_3$ ]. The 'Ajam group take the compromising strategy. Their prime target is the standard variant [ $d_3$ ], but they also have a secondary target, which could be either [j] or [y].

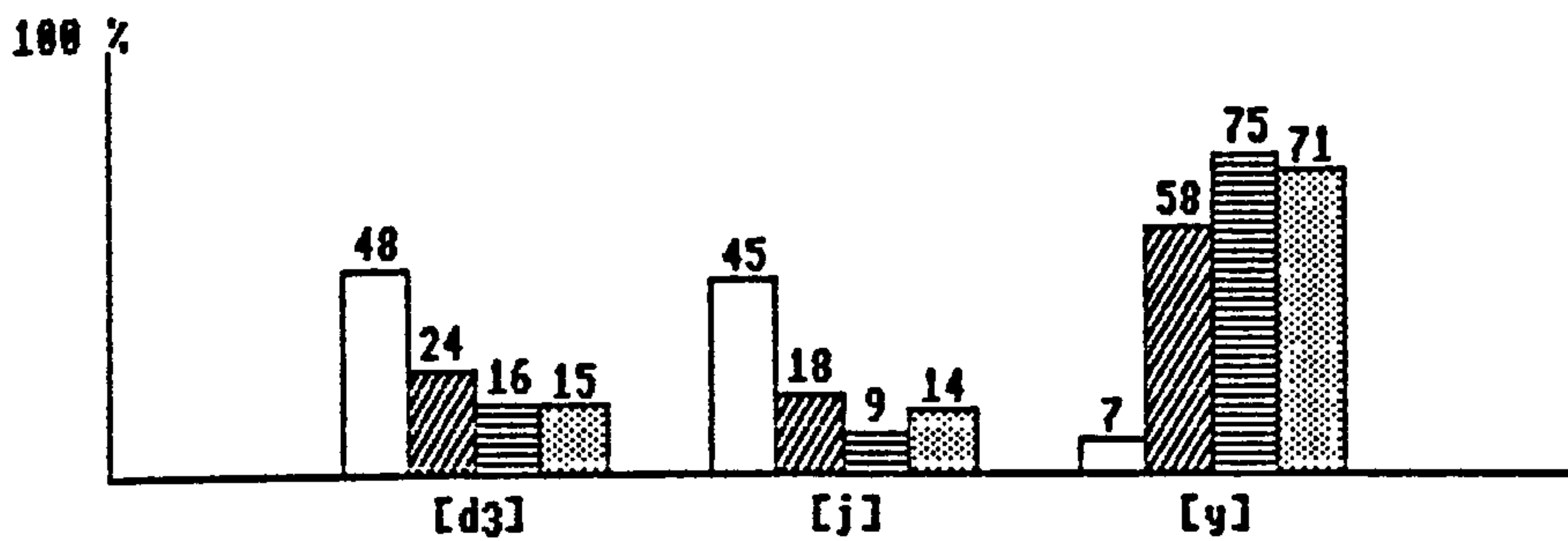
Histogram 5.17



The distribution of the (d3) variable in items in class I in four social groups

Group	[dʒ]	[j]	[y]	N
Bedouin	57 36%	88 50%	22 14%	159
'Ajam	43 15%	41 14%	199 71%	283
Howala	17 5%	7 2%	308 93%	332
Qaba:yii	7 2%	11 5%	226 93%	244

Histogram 5.18

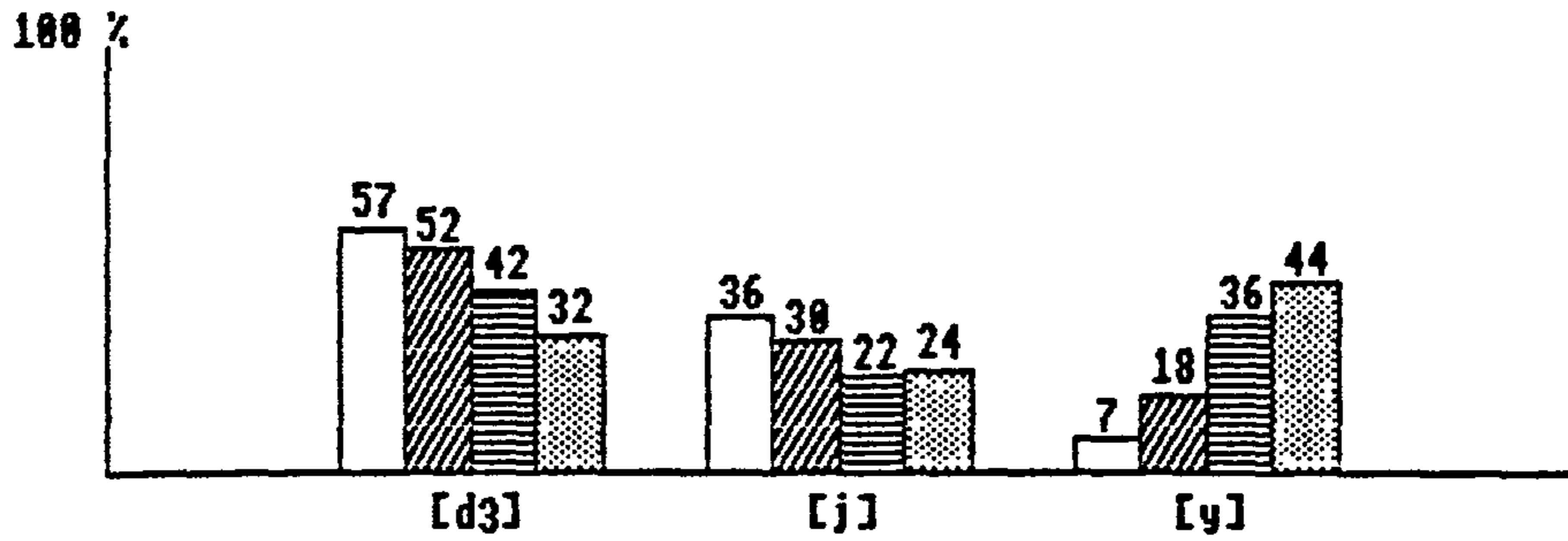


The distribution of the (d3) variable in items in class II in four social groups

Group	[dʒ]	[j]	[y]	N
Bedouin	99 48%	93 45%	15 7%	207
'Ajam	59 24%	45 18%	141 58%	245
Howala	58 16%	38 9%	248 75%	328
Qaba:yii	31 15%	28 14%	144 71%	203

Significant at 0.01 level

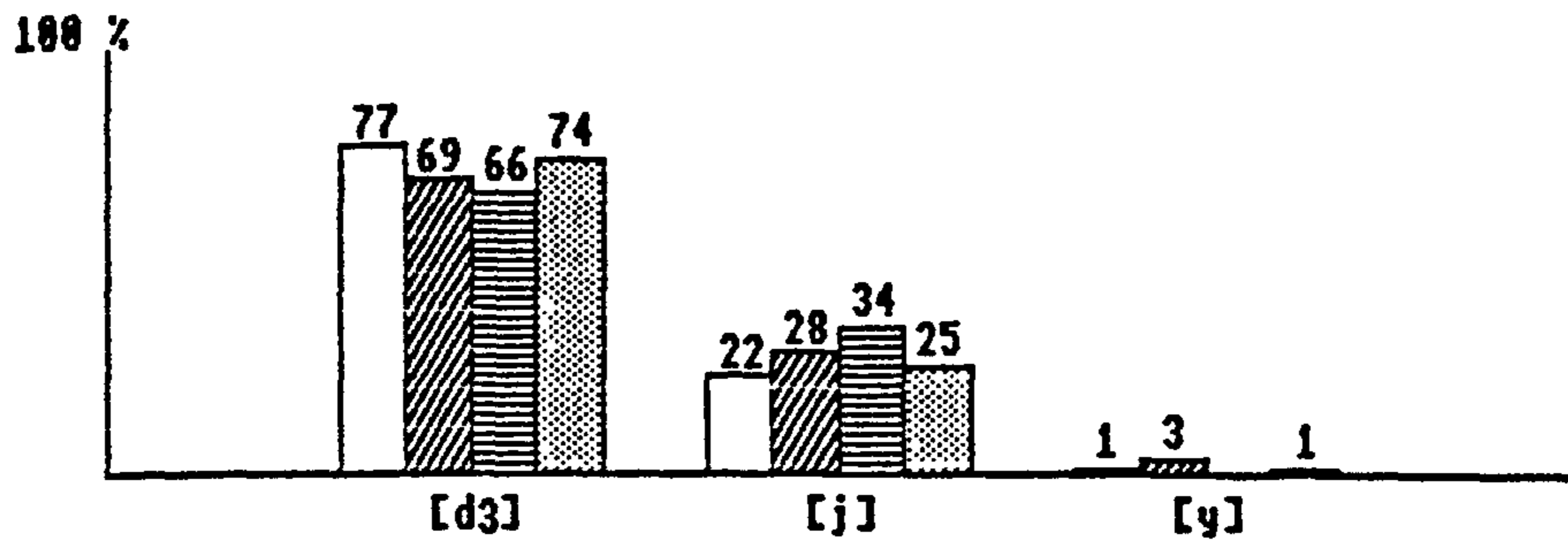
Histogram 5.19



The distribution of the (d3) variable in items in class III in four social groups

Group	[d3]	[j]	[y]	N
Bedouin	342 57%	215 36%	39 7%	596
'Ajam	298 52%	172 30%	105 18%	575
Howala	226 42%	121 22%	194 36%	541
Qaba:vil	124 32%	94 24%	175 44%	393

Histogram 5.20



The distribution of the (d3) variable in items in class IV in four social groups

Group	[d3]	[j]	[y]	N
Bedouin	281 77%	98 22%	4 1%	375
'Ajam	438 69%	175 28%	17 3%	638
Howala	336 66%	172 34%	3 0%	511
Qaba:vil	262 74%	98 25%	4 1%	356

Significant at 0.01 level

As we have done with the other variables we will pursue the manifestation of this variable in the various classes of lexical items. Histograms 5.17 - 5.20 indicate the behaviour of the variable in items in classes I-IV in the speech of the four social groups.

Histogram 5.17 indicates that the three sedentary groups exhibit a high tendency towards the application of the colloquialization rule 3, in items in class I. Such a tendency, however, is more prominent in the linguistic behaviour of the Qaba:yil and the Howala groups than it is in the speech of the 'Ajam group. The Bedouin group, on the other hand, show a tendency either to use the standard variant [d<sub>3</sub>] or to utilize the neutral variant [j]. Once again the columns for the standardization rule and the colloquialization rule are mirror images of each other.

Histogram 5.18 reflects the shift in the behaviour of all the social groups as we move from items in class I to class II. In the sedentary groups the shift takes on the form of a reduction in the level of the application of the colloquialization rule i.e. [y]. For the Bedouins the modification occurs at two angles. On the one hand, there is a reduction in the application of the colloquialization rule, on the other hand, there is a minimization in the use of the neutral variant [j]. Meanwhile, their speech shows an increase in the percentages of the standard variant [d<sub>3</sub>].

Histograms 5.19 and 5.20, which represent items in classes III and IV respectively, indicate a continuation of the trend which began in the previous histogram. In histogram 5.19 we notice a considerable

increase in the application of the standardization rule and a decrease in the application of the colloquialization rule in the speech of all the groups, with the exception of the Bedouins: they seem to shift from the neutral variant [j] to the standard one [d<sub>3</sub>].

Histogram 5.20 is in fact the final stage of the trend. Here the probability of the application of the colloquialization rule i.e. [y] is virtually nil. The interesting point about the last two histograms, when taken together, is the position of the [j] variant. Although the positions of the [d<sub>3</sub>] and [y] variants change dramatically, yet the position of the [j] variant remains approximately the same. It seems that the shift in class III and class IV involves only the two extreme poles, i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] and [y] variants.

From the data which have been described in the chapter so far, one can say that the hypothesis outlined at the beginning of the chapter is largely true. The two linguistic variables co-vary with the social structure of Qatari society as represented by the four social groups. The socio-linguistic structures of the two linguistic variables are inter-linked in a complex way throughout the community, with different phonological elements being associated with various social groups. It is also true that the biggest gap is between the Bedouin group, on the one hand, and the sedentary group on the other. The data, however, did not reveal any real or noticeable differences between the Qaba:yil and the Howala groups in their realization of the two linguistic variables. The split in the sedentary group is between the 'Ajam group on the one hand and the Qaba:yil and Howala groups on the other.

## 5.6.2 Discussion

### 5.6.2.1 The behaviour of the Qaba:yil and the Howala groups:

On what grounds can we explain the similarities in the linguistic performance of the Howala and the Qaba:yil group, as far as the variables are concerned, bearing in mind that they are seen as different groups by the indigenous population? The two groups have lived side by side in the coastal city of Doha for more than 120 years. Although each group was staying in separate territorial zones, the two groups were in constant contact with each other whether in /souq/ "the market", mosques, or in pearl diving journeys which lasted for four months each year. These contacts shaped the linguistic performance of the two groups to the extent that they are virtually identical in their realization of the two variables. It is, however, more likely that the Howala speakers, who were newcomers, were influenced by the Qaba:yil group, who were natives, as time went on, rather than the other way round.<sup>2</sup>

There are some sociological reasons which support this linguistic performance i.e. similarity in linguistic realization for the (d<sub>3</sub>) and the (Q) variables in the two groups. More and more members of the younger generation of Qaba:yil and Badu are accepting Howala as Arabs and differentiating them from the 'Ajam group. One of the informants, who was from the Qaba:yil group, said that the Howala have been living in Qatar for such a long time that they could be called natives i.e. true Qataris. Another speaker, from the Badu group, said that the Howala are originally from the Arabian Peninsula, an idea which his father would have been very unlikely to have uttered.



To put it another way, the linguistic realizations of the Qaba:yil (tribes) and the Howala groups in the two variables indicate quite clearly that these two groups have effectively melted together to form one group - namely the hadhari "town settlers". Such linguistic similarity is supported by a mutual approach between them on sociological grounds. Historically speaking, when the Howala first migrated to Qatar they were looked upon as intruders, (as the Qaba:yil look upon the 'Ajam group at the present time), but as time passed the inhabitants of Qatar accepted these groups particularly since the two groups are of the same religious sect (Sunnis). With a formal educational system the barrier between these two groups disappeared almost completely. The mutual approach between these two groups is evident in the increasing number of cross marriages between these two groups. Finally, the informant's view presented earlier strongly supports the mutual approach that has taken place between these two groups.

#### 5.6.2.2 The behaviour of the sedentary groups:

How can we explain the difference between the realization of the variables in the speech of the 'Ajam group on the one hand and the Howala and Qaba:yil groups on the other, bearing in mind that all three groups have lived in Doha for the last 40 years? As I have said earlier, people today normally distinguish the 'Ajam group from the other two sedentary groups. So it is relevant if you belong to the 'Ajam or not, but it is irrelevant if you are of Howala origin or not. Many members of this group are bilingual in Arabic and Persian. In fact many of them acquire the latter at an earlier stage. In such

cases the school is the prime source of Qatari dialect. In such institutions they are under two conflicting pressures. On the one hand they are influenced by children from the Howala and the Qaba:yil groups, on the other hand they are under pressure from standard Arabic particularly since the majority of the teachers are non-Qataris (Egyptians or Palestinians). For this reason this group has fewer cases of the (d<sub>3</sub>) colloquialization rule than the other two groups. The same can be said about their heavy use of the [q] variant compared to other groups. But, however, this group is under tremendous social pressure from the other groups.

To be a member of the 'Ajam group one is in fact in a potentially disadvantaged position i.e. facing social discrimination. Such acts, however, do not stem from the constitution of the state. In other words there is no rule which discriminates between any two individuals let alone two groups of speakers. But in actual fact members of the 'Ajam group are discriminated against in formal transactions. Moreover, being a member of this group entails, in one way or another, that one is inferior to others. This is very evident whenever a fight breaks out. In such circumstances the first swear words heard are [ruH ya! Irani] "get lost you Persian". Tags like "Persian" do not only refer to the origin of the person, but also carry with them a connotation of inferiority, i.e. being of an impure and contaminated race. Such a low profile of the 'Ajam group has forced many of them to deny their true origin. They deny that they have any link with the 'Ajam group. In fact when asked which languages they speak, none of the informants mention 'Persian', although some of the informants

are native speakers of it. But they did mention English, even if their knowledge of it did not exceed a few sentences.

In fact the social pressure on the members of the 'Ajam group is very great. Such pressures force the individual to adjust his linguistic behaviour in the direction of the Howala and Qaba:yil groups. Without such modification he will be referred to as /Irani/. A tag like this has connotations which not only refer to the person's origin but also reflect his inferiority in the social structure of the community. To avoid such unpleasant associations he often makes a conscious effort to free his speech of those features which are associated with his group - for example the low level of the application of the colloquialization rule 3, i.e. [y], compared to that of the other sedentary group.

Such modification brings with it numerous advantages, not the least a chance to improve one's opportunities of social success by associating oneself with the dominant group. In other words, being looked upon by other speakers as inferior has generated a general social insecurity in the 'Ajam group which pushes the members of this group towards the overt linguistic signals of prestige as a form of compensation, as well as means to climb the social scale.

As for the future, one can predict that what has happened to the Howala group will eventually happen to the 'Ajam group. As I have mentioned earlier, when the Howala first came to Qatar they were treated as foreigners by the indigenous inhabitants of Qatar, but were eventually accepted as natives. Today the linguistic performance of the Qaba:yil and the Howala, as well as other evidence, strongly

suggest that the segregation between them has disappeared almost completely. The 'Ajam speakers, at the present time, occupy the same position that the Howala occupied when they first arrived in Qatar. Therefore it is natural to expect that the same thing will happen to the 'Ajam group and, eventually, that they will be integrated into the society and accepted by the indigenous population as natives.

#### 5.7 Acts of identity:

The theory of acts of identity (Le Page 1972, '73, '74, '78) claims that social factors such as class-hierarchy or ethnic groups will influence people's speech only to the extent that they represent social groups with which speakers can be identified. In other words, the important point is not so much "one's experience of a particular variety of speech, but rather one's willingness to identify oneself with the kind of person who uses it" (Hudson 1980:171). An example of this is the behaviour of the Howala group, who identified themselves with the Qaba:yil group. We can say, at least linguistically, that they have formed one group i.e. (hadhar). However, we must not forget that speech does not determine identity, but provides a way to express and assert it.

Le Page's theory states:

"that each individual creates the systems of his verbal behaviour so that he shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified".

(Le Page 1974:2)

But as Macaulay (1982:142) writes:

"The existence of differences among individuals in each population (group) should not be allowed to observe the extent to which this cultural identification, including its linguistic manifestations, is a group phenomenon".

The theory is, however, constrained by four factors:

1. The extent that he can identify his model group(s)
2. The extent that he has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyse their behaviour systems to work out the rules of their behaviour
3. The extent that he has strong motivations to impel him to adopt the behaviour of the model group
4. The extent that he is still able to modify his behaviour

Many studies have confirmed the claims of this theory. In an interesting study on British singers, Trudgill (1983 Chapter 8) found that they try to adopt an American accent in their songs. They use features which are stereotypically perceived as American by British speakers. The reason behind that is the cultural domination of America in pop songs. Interestingly enough, Trudgill found that in 'Punk' music the singers were trying to imitate the accent of south English urban working-class youths, with some features of American accent.

Pandit (1978) reports a case in which both language shift, of language maintenance, and revival function as a mechanism of identity. The Punjabi Hindu of Delhi is prepared to give up Punjabi in order to disassociate himself from Sikhs. (The opposition here is Hindu-Sikh). On the other hand, the Punjabi Muslim of Pakistan wants to revive

Punjabi in order to identify himself as being distinct from other Muslims. The opposition here is Punjabi Muslim against other Muslims. (For more examples see Hewitt 1982, Le Page 1972, 74, 78 and Milroy 1982 etc.).

The individual speaker lives in a multidimensional set of relationships with the various groups within his society. Therefore he is exposed to a multiplicity of various, and sometimes conflicting, pressures derived from the social symbolism of the variants of the linguistic variables. His dialect, in fact, not only reflects his position in relation to other groups in the multidimensional society, but also his response to the normative pressures exercised by the various groups within the society.

In response to the social symbolism of the linguistic elements, the speaker actually follows a set of norms in production, as well as the social interpretation of the different variants. The actual frequencies which the speaker produces each variable are not important; what is significant is the rule that guides or motivates the act of such production. The majority of the linguistic variables which display variations have social values attached to them as well. A frequently discussed example of this is the centralization of the first element of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in the Island of Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963).

The study revealed that the degree of centralization of the two diphthongs indicated a strong correlation with the speakers' personal sense of identity with the values and norms of the Martha's Vineyard community, vis-a-vis the norms of holiday-makers (summer visitors).

Thus the Vineyarders utilized linguistic variability resources to show their affiliation with the local values of the island.

The fact that speech is socially and systematically meaningful even on the phonological level was found in studies in social psychology (Downes 1984). The word meaningful refers to the fact that some kind of information about the speaker is being transmitted via the relative use of one variant in relation to the other. Such information becomes available once a link is established between a variant and a particular social group. Thus in the speech community of Doha the heavy use of rules of the colloquialization rule in the ( $d_3$ ) variable is closely connected to the Qaba:yil and the Howala group, whereas the relative absence of such a rule is associated with the Bedouin dialect.

In this case the choice of a particular rule could be a tactical move. In other words, in applying a given rule a speaker may be acting with the intention of being identified with a particular group of speakers. This could only happen where the speaker has a choice, in accordance with the linguistic norms of appropriateness. For instance, the choice of rule 3 of the colloquialization rule in items in class IV would be inappropriate because items in this class tend not to undergo such rules. On the whole

"consciously or subconsciously, each individual chooses the social group he wishes to identify with and, having made linguistic abstractions as to the kinds of signals which are appropriate to the identity he wishes to project, uses what he considers to be the required code".

(Edwards 1983:307)

But individual speakers are expected to conform to the norms of their

groups, since the group exerts a profound influence on its members. Therefore it is not surprising to find that most of the individuals do not deviate greatly from the norm of the group i.e. they display the typical behaviour of the group. But this need not always be the case: the attraction of an outside group might be strong enough to persuade the speaker to behave atypically.

#### 5.8 Individual deviations:

The majority of studies carried out in the quantitative paradigm were mainly interested in practices which typify the linguistic behaviour of a group of individuals in relation to the other groups within a society. This study is no exception, since group behaviour may exhibit emergent properties or regular patterns not visible when one regards isolated individuals. These studies have concentrated on the aggregated data from all the individuals in the group, so that a regular pattern of variation in the community as a whole is not obscured by the inconsistency of idiolects (L. Milroy and Margrain 1978). On the other hand, the behaviour of any one individual may or may not conform to the pattern of the group, although there is a general expectation on the part of other groups, as well as within the speaker's own group, that he will observe the practices of his group. Therefore it is legitimate to say that the average figure of any group does not reflect precisely the behaviour of its individual members. However, when the behaviour of one speaker deviates dramatically from that of the group, it invites a more detailed examination.

In this study the behaviour of one member of 'Ajam group was markedly different from the behaviour of the group in the realization



of the ( $d_3$ ) variable, as the following figures show:

	[ $d_3$ ]	[j]	[y]
Group	48%	25%	27%
Speaker A	62%	27%	10%

The difference lies in the application of rule 3 of the standardization and the colloquialization rules. The speaker is 26 years old, with a secondary level of education. We will refer to him as speaker A. The level of difference was present when his score was compared to another member of the 'Ajam group, (speaker B) with the same level of education and of the same age group. Here are the figures for the two speakers:

	[ $d_3$ ]	[j]	[y]
Speaker A	62%	27%	10%
Speaker B	47%	20%	33%

An examination of the information supplied by the informants during the interview, and from other resources during the course of the field work, suggested that the degree of interaction, especially in adolescence, with the members of the Howala and the Qaba:yil groups, seemed to be largely responsible for the behaviour of the two

speakers. One may say that for the 'Ajam group the greatest users of rule 3 of the colloquialization rule i.e. [y], for example speaker B, are members of open networks. In other words, they establish a regular contact with members from the other two sedentary groups. On the other hand, members of closed networks, like speaker A, who have limited contacts with members from those groups, are more likely to use the standard variant [d<sub>3</sub>].

Undoubtedly the peer group exerts a great influence on shaping the linguistic behaviour of the individual. Moreover, the norm used in peer group interaction is one of the strongest influences in the development of linguistic behaviour (Romaine 1984). L. Milroy (1980) refers to a similar phenomenon when she writes that the strength of a social network acts as a norm enforcement mechanism, and in dense and varied face-to-face interaction people will have a powerful normative effect on each other. Taking the social facts into consideration, for example, 'Ajam being the stigmatized group, of recent arrival in the country, many of them acquire Arabic at a later stage than Persian, the majority of them are bilingual etc, the same mechanism seems to be at work for the sedentary Qatari dialect. But the normative influence is unilateral i.e. only the Howala and the Qaba:yil groups exert a normative effect on the members of the 'Ajam group. Generally speaking the degree of the occurrence of the [y] variant in the speech of members of the 'Ajam group is influenced by the level of interaction and contact with members of the other two groups.

Many studies report similar results on the effect of interaction on shaping the linguistic norms of the speaker. Labov (1972b) found

that children who did not fully participate in the street culture (lames) did not have the same number of linguistic features of Black English Vernacular as did other members of the group who fully participated in the street culture. Cheshire (1982<sub>b</sub>) in her study in Reading, found that the extent to which an individual participates in his vernacular culture is reflected in the frequency with which he uses certain non-standard linguistic forms. L. Milroy (1982) reports on Klein and Dittmar's (1974) findings that Spanish and Turkish immigrants to Germany showed competence in German relative to their contacts with other Germans. In other words, the duration of their residence in Germany was not the major factor in developing a competence in German (see also Wolfram 1971 and L. Milroy 1980).

#### 5.9 Linguistic awareness as an indicator of social insecurity:

The position and the behaviour of the 'Ajam group are not without resemblance to those of the lower middle class in New York City (Labov 1966). Both groups are most vulnerable and occupy potentially mobile positions in the social structure of the community. They are also the most sensitive group to the social significance of prestige and stigmatized variants, and therefore most susceptible to pressures from above in their speech. Such social insecurity of the 'Ajam group is, however, reflected in their linguistic awarenesses. This is evident if we compare the comments made by members from this group to those made by other speakers, on the position of the two linguistic variables. On asking the Bedouin, the Howala and the Qaba:yil groups which group of people use the [y] variant and the qaf-affrication, i.e. colloquialization rule 1, their answers were practically the

same. They said that they are features of sedentary speech, and that they do not occur in the Bedouin dialect.

The data have shown that the Bedouin dialect shares both rules, particularly the [y] variant, albeit to a lesser extent than the sedentary groups. On the question of who would use the rule 2 of the standardization rule i.e. [ʔ] they all replied that they have never noticed such a thing, and in fact asserted that it is not a feature of the Qatari dialect.

The comments of a member of the Bedouin group in this respect were quite interesting. I asked him who would say [ʔ] instead of [q] in items like /mostaqbal/ "future". He was quite astonished, and replied:

"[mostaʔbal? min yigul mostaʔbal? ma Had yigul mostaʔbal. kilna nguʔ mostaʔbal]. "future? Who says future? Nobody says future. We all say future".

What he intended to say was

"[mostaqbal? min yigu:l mostaʔbal? maHad yigu:l mostaʔbal. kilna ngu:l mostaqbal]"

The interesting point about this is that he has a high level of this variant in his speech, yet failed to recognize it. From the comments made by these informants, we can say that they only detect particular features which have arisen to the level of social awareness, and have become a part of the accepted folklore about the language.<sup>(3)</sup> This shows that

"most perception of language is not perception of language, but perception of social experience and of socially accepted statements about language"

(Romaine 1978:11)

Now compare the above comments with the ones made by some members of the 'Ajam group. On the use of the [y] variant, a twenty-four year old member of the group said:-

"As for the [d<sub>3</sub>] and [y], there are Qataris who claim we are of Qaba:yil origin. They change /d<sub>3</sub>/ into [y] - for /d<sub>3</sub>ohara/, they say [yohara] "diamond"; and for /farad<sub>3</sub>/ they say [faray] "Proper noun". The majority of people say [y], but if one wants to be formal, one would not say [faray], one would say [farad<sub>3</sub>]. Some people (from the 'Ajam group) say that, as long as Qataris (Qaba:yil) change /d<sub>3</sub>/ into [y] we should do the same. Since one has been living in Qatar for a long period, and one tries to identify oneself as Qatari, one would attempt to imitate (the Qaba:yil) in the way they dress, the way they talk ... all these things."

Similarly illuminating comments were made by another member of this group on the use of [ʁ] variant. He said:

"Well, one does not pronounce /Q/ as [ʁ], but I think one mixes the two. It will be a mixture ... somewhere between [q] and [ʁ]. When you hear it, you realize that [ʁ] (qualities) are slightly more than [q], so you feel that you are listening to [ʁ]. Those who use it ([ʁ]) are the Qataris (Qaba:yil), particularly the dark-skinned. They do not say [qatari] "Qatari", they say [ʁatari]".

Comparing the above comments, we realize that whereas the previous three groups are aware of the Bedouin/sedentary split, the 'Ajam group tend to point out the existence of the prestigious group of the Qaba:yil. The reason for this lies in the fact that being a part of the stigmatized and disadvantaged group has made the 'Ajam group quite

sensitive to the social structure of their society. Therefore we see that they are extra-sensitive to the linguistic behaviour of the most prestigious group within the society.

#### 5.10 Summary and conclusion:

The general pattern of co-variation between the social groups and linguistic variables which has emerged in this study does not differ on the whole from what has been seen in other sociolinguistic studies. They have shown that speaker's ethnic background (Labov 1966), his social network contacts (Milroy 1980), his caste (Blanc 1964, Holes 1981), and his urban/rural identity (Feagin 1979, Abdel-Jawad 1981, Shorrab 1981), play a major role in shaping the linguistic behaviour of the speaker. The present study has shown that the two linguistic variables co-vary with the social structure of the Qatari society as presented by the four social groups. This shows that the full understanding of linguistic variation requires that it must be examined in relation to the structure of the society.

The findings of this study support the notion of non-discreteness of social dialects. In other words, social dialects can be defined quantitatively in terms of the relative degree of the use of a particular sociolinguistic variable across the various social groups. Groups are differentiated by relative rather than deterministic use of the linguistic variables.

Qatari society is divided into four social groups: Qaba:yil, Howala, 'Ajam and Bedouins. The former three are referred to as the sedentary groups. The study demonstrated that the linguistic differences between the Bedouin and the sedentary groups is far more

prominent than the difference among the sedentary groups.

The linguistic behaviour of the Qaba:yil and the Howala groups was closely similar in the realization of the two linguistic variables. This is because, I think, the latter group has, linguistically at least, identified itself with the former group; thus taking on the prestigious identity of the Qaba:yil group.

The 'Ajam group, however, deviates from the above two groups. That is because of their relatively recent arrival in the speech community of Doha. Such deviation is apparent in their tendency to use the standardization rule 1 i.e. [q] more than the other groups which display preference to use the standardization rule 2 i.e. [ʃ].

The degree of the occurrence of the colloquialization rule 3 i.e. [y] in the speech of the 'Ajam group was shown to be influenced by the level of interaction and contact with members of the other sedentary groups. The 'Ajam group were also the most sensitive group to the linguistic features. Not only were they aware of the linguistic differences which occurred in the society and which other groups failed to recognize, but also were consciously aware that they were trying to copy the prestigious Qaba:yil group to gain "Qatari" status.

## Notes:

1. Blom and Gumperz 1972 report similar results in their study of the Norwegian village in which the use of local dialect was seen as a marker of common culture and indicated the local community value systems, whereas the use of the Pan Norwegian dialect was seen as being a lack of respect for the local values, and as an expression of social distance and contempt for the 'local term' and its community values.
2. I do not want to claim that no linguistic differences exist between these two groups. What I am saying is that the linguistic behaviour of the two groups in the (Q) and the (d<sub>3</sub>) variables are similar whether other linguistic differences exist or not remains to be investigated.
3. In investigating linguistic attitudes in Scotland Romain (1978:11) also found that:  
"most informants when pressed on the subject of which particular features they find offensive are able to mention only a few stigmatized and much talked about features such as the glottal stop".



## Chapter VI

Variability, sound change, age and education6-A Age and variation:

In this Chapter we shall see if the variables under investigation are cases of sound change in progress or not. Therefore we shall look briefly at the various hypothesis concerning sound change.

6.1 Introduction6.1.1 The neogrammarian view:

It has been argued that there are seven elements or factors related to the process of sound change:

1. time; 2. space; 3. participants; 4. phonetic sounds involved in the change (old and new); 5. structural or phonological conditioning for change; 6. social factors; 7. lexical items that satisfy phonological conditions (Khrishnamuti 1978). Traditionally speaking, historical linguists and even more so the "Junggrammatiker" or the "new grammarians", neglected numbers 3, 6 and 7 and argued for the hypothesis that all true sound changes are completely regular. Embedded in the regularity hypothesis, however, is the suggestion that when a new sound enters the linguistic system of any dialect (or language) it would affect all the items which satisfy the structural conditions at the same time. Exceptions were looked upon as a process of dialect mixture or analogy. But

"although the view of phonological change that entails lexical abruptness, as inherited from the neogrammarians, clearly is logically possible ... it has as yet received no systematic empirical confirmation"

(Cheng and Wang 1977:86)

Dialect mixture as a solution when faced with numerous examples of exceptions to the rule fits the theories of both the neogrammarian and the generative schools, which state unequivocally that

"linguistic theory is concerned with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community"

(Chomsky 1965:3-4)

This means that the perfect homogeneity of language is looked upon as a pre-requisite for any scientific description of the language. Starting from such premises one must by definition explain any deviant development by dialect mixture. The proponents of the regularity hypothesis, however, failed to provide an acceptable explanation for the existence of exceptions to the general rule. In fact the term dialect borrowing served as a waste-basket category into which all kinds of unexplained irregularities were thrown (Chen 1972).

The neogrammarian hypothesis is summarized in the pronouncement of "phoneme change" (Bloomfield 1933). Accordingly a sound change influences a phoneme, and such a process is quite distinct from the effect of the lexical item into which this phoneme is realized. A similar theory is evident in Saussure (1916), who explicitly excluded the influence of lexical item from the consideration of sound change. He said that phonological change would affect sounds

alone regardless of the words in which they happen to occur. In his words:

"a phonetic change affects not words but sounds. What is transformed is a phoneme. This event ... results in the identical alternation of all words containing the same phoneme. It is in this sense that phonetic changes are absolutely regular"  
(Saussure 1916:134)

The above remarks state quite clearly that elements and conditions which control any sound change are purely phonetic ones. This entails the sound change being generally unidirectional i.e. the same for all members of the speech community in which the sound change takes place: i.e. the sounds undergoing change which occur in the stated phonological environment are affected by the sound innovation in the same way.

"The only exception to this is where the dialect is undergoing a split, in which case the change will affect only a part of the community and leaves the remaining part unaffected."  
(Bynon 1977:173)

### 6.1.2 Variationist's View

Until relatively recently variation was excluded from any systematic investigation of sound changes. This was partly due to the fact that there was no established methodology to handle it and partly because it was considered irrelevant to the description of language. As we said earlier the aim of linguistic theory was to describe a homogeneous speech community. In such a paradigm it was not surprising that variation was least welcomed. But it is precisely this neglected variation within a speech community which provided an important step to the understanding of the mechanism of

language change.

The view that is widely accepted today, at least among variationists, is that linguistic change displays synchronic variation at some stage - but the reverse implication does not necessarily follow. In other words, there may be cases of synchronic variation which are not involved in any change. For instance in a situation where some speakers use A, others use B, and a third group use A and B variably (and in the absence of contrary evidence), we expect that A and B represent earlier and later stages of the same linguistic unit, with the third group representing the transitional period. That is to say that at any moment between the initiation and the completion of a sound change we have a stage characterized by fluctuation i.e. more or less free variation between forms of expressions equally admissible within the system of the language (or dialect) involved. In such a state the speaker will have the choice of two (or more) alternative ways of pronouncing the sound.

The choice, however, is not completely random. It will be determined, more or less, by an interplay of a great number of factors; some linguistic, others stylistic, while others are social. The interplay among these elements is highly complex, and when such variation is looked at from a distance, the choice of any particular expression appears to be completely random. But if one considers all the relevant aspects, a systematic picture of the variation will emerge.

Perhaps the most important contribution towards a better

understanding of the mechanism of language change has come from the extensive sociolinguistic investigations of contemporary speech communities in the U.S.A. and Europe. In these studies, which have taken place in the past twenty years, language was not looked upon as an isolated phenomenon, but as an activity closely related to the whole range of human behaviour. One of the earliest and most vigorous spokesmen of this approach, of course, has been W. Labov, whose studies on Martha's Vineyard (1963) and on New York City (1966) have demonstrated, quite remarkably and convincingly, that social factors weighed at least as heavily in the question of language change as did purely linguistic factors.

Labov found that the behaviour of speakers aged 40-49 among the Lower Middle Class in New York was the most interesting of all. Not only did they respond positively to sound innovation in style B (formal), but also, as the context became more formal, they showed a stronger response - until in contexts C, D and D<sup>1</sup> (reading, word list and minimal pairs) they surpassed the originating group in their use of the prestige variant of the (r) variable. Labov (1966) has described this behaviour in terms of "hypercorrection" due to the linguistic insecurity of the LMC. The difference among the various age groups in each social class was taken as an indication that (r) was in the process of change. Moreover, hypercorrection was looked upon as a factor responsible for speeding up the spread of sound innovation. Labov's study showed quite markedly how a sound change starts in one social group and then gradually diffuses to other social groups.

In this way Labov was able to demonstrate how variation, when studied thoroughly, can yield interesting results regarding the mechanism of linguistic change, and how the interplay of linguistic and social factors explain and provide insights into the understanding of such a process. He has also shown that the linguistic changes have a social significance of some kind. Labov's approach soon received support in many other studies (Wolfram 1969, Trudgill 1974).

In these studies the origin of sound change has often been sought in the structure itself of a highly stratified society, and the results have pointed to one social class or another as the source of the change. But while this model, which presupposes a stratified society and measures sound change across those strata, is appropriate to already established metropolitan centres, it is not necessarily so to other cultural arrangements (Feagin 1983). For instance, in Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard (1963), the social factor responsible for the centralization of the first element of the diphthongs (aw) and (ay) was not the social class of the speaker, but his willingness to identify himself with the culture and the heritage of the island as opposed to those of the speakers of the mainland (i.e. summer visitors).

The numerous studies on the social dialectology have, however

"helped ... to establish some insight into the way in which change actually appears to take place within a speech community, and there is no reason why this process as currently observed need have been any different in the past."

(Bynon 1977:214)

The question of whether sound change is observable or not is also problematic. Neogrammarians deny the possibility of observing a sound change. They argue that what is observed by linguists is dialect mixture or the propagation of a sound change, rather than the change itself. Variationists, on the other hand, have taken the position, as stated earlier, that diachronic change involves synchronic variation at some stage. Starting from these premises Labov (1966) has put forward the idea that sound change in progress is observable by comparing change in apparent time, which is the difference among successive generations or age groups investigated in a single study, with the change in real time, which is an earlier investigation which has been carried out on the same dialect.

#### 6.1.3 Lexical diffusion:

Before Wang (1969) and associates came up with the lexical diffusion theory, many linguists had hinted at the lexically gradual nature of sound changes, although they lacked solid evidence to support their views. Thus Sapir (1921) spoke of "incomplete change" (quoted in Chen and Wang 1975:257), and how a change, or as he called it a drift, finds its way through a series of phonetically similar forms. Martinet (1955) wrote about the gradual replacement of lexical items by innovating forms. Sommerfelt (1962) has also observed that language change does not prevail suddenly in all the lexical items which fulfil the phonological requirements; instead change affects a limited number of lexical items and gradually works its way through the rest of the lexicon (Chen and Wang 1975).

Wang (1969), Chen (1972), Cheng and Wang (1977) and Wang and

Cheng (1977) have studied a number of sound changes in Chinese dialects. The results of these studies have led them to postulate, for most of the phonological innovations, a period in which changes move gradually through the lexicon. Wang (1969) has called this process "lexical diffusion". The core idea of this theory is that a sound change, as it enters a dialect, does not affect all the relevant items at the same time, but that some lexical items adopt the new form earlier than others. As time goes on more items adopt the new form, until the whole lexicon relinquishes the old form and takes up the new one. This theory also acknowledges the fact that the original sound may survive for a considerable length of time.

Schematically, the lexical diffusion theory may be represented as follows:

	$t_1$	$t_2$	$t_3$	$t_4$	$t_5$
$C_1$	A	B	B	B	B
$C_2$	A	A	B	B	B
$C_3$	A	A	A	B	B
$C_4$	A	A	A	A	B

(from Wang 1969:18)

The horizontal line ( $t_1-t_5$ ) represents time span; the vertical line ( $C_1-C_4$ ) the different sets of lexical items, with A and B representing old and new forms respectively. At time span 1 the old form A is realized in all contexts i.e. no change is involved. In ( $t_2$ ) context 1( $C_1$ ) starts to adopt the new form with other contexts being unaffected by the change. As we move along the horizontal line, we realize that more contexts favour and adopt the new form until in ( $t_5$ ) the new form is adopted by the whole



lexicon. In fact  $t_5$  represents the stage of completion of the change whereas  $t_2$ ,  $t_3$  and  $t_4$  are transitional periods i.e. stages in which A and B are more or less in a free variation relationship.

Wang and associates supported their claims with a massive amount of data concerning lexical split in the reflexes of tone III in Chinese dialects. They have demonstrated that sound changes (tone split) have proceeded with the word, not the phoneme, as the basic unit. Soon the lexical diffusion theory received support in other investigations. For example, Khrishnamuti (1978) has demonstrated, using the computer, that a shift in the position of alveolar and retroflex consonants in certain structures in the Dravidian languages i.e. "apical displacement", affected a few items at a common stage of the language subgroup (Telugu, Gondi, Konda, Kiri, Pergo and Manda). The rules gradually worked their way across the rest of the lexicon over a considerable length of time, and change is still in progress in some languages of this subgroup. Support of this theory was also shown by Gamble (1977), Robinson (1977), Janson (1977) and Hsieh (1972).

Within this framework the exceptions are seen as among the following:

- a. Change is still in progress i.e. incomplete at the time of the investigation.
- b. The rule, for some reason, ceases to operate before the change is completed.
- c. Another rule enters the language and competes for the same

environment and thus the same lexemes.

In other words, phonological change may be implemented in accordance with the lexical hypothesis, but as the new form spreads and diffuses through the lexicon, it may not reach all the relevant lexical items if another change enters the language and happens to be competing for the same lexical item. In this case a residue may result.

The principal factor which has led Wang and others to postulate the diffusion theory is well postulated in Chen (1972:244), who writes:

"the desire to find a more satisfactory explanation for recurrent exceptions to remarkable sound changes led us to take a closer look at the actual workings of phonological processes. It became obvious, on closer scrutiny, that sound change operates along two dimensions: lexical and temporal. Instead of changing a speaker's entire vocabulary overnight, as it were, sound change begins as an innovative pronunciation of a single word or a group of words, and then progressively spreads to other portions of the lexicon."

According to this hypothesis the change is considered to take place not between morphemes but between lexical items that contain the segment undergoing change. Thus the rule which states that A → B, which in the neogrammarian's approach is interpreted as sound A changes to sound B, is read in terms of the lexical diffusion theory as

"phonologically definable lexical category A goes to category B. A phonologically definable lexical category is a group of lexical items that share a sound segment subject to change"  
(Hsieh 1973:164)

Wang and others have indicated that during any process of sound change many items will have a period of alternating pronunciation until the new form gradually suppresses the old one. This is similar to the variationist's view.

The proponents of the diffusion theory, however, acknowledge that:

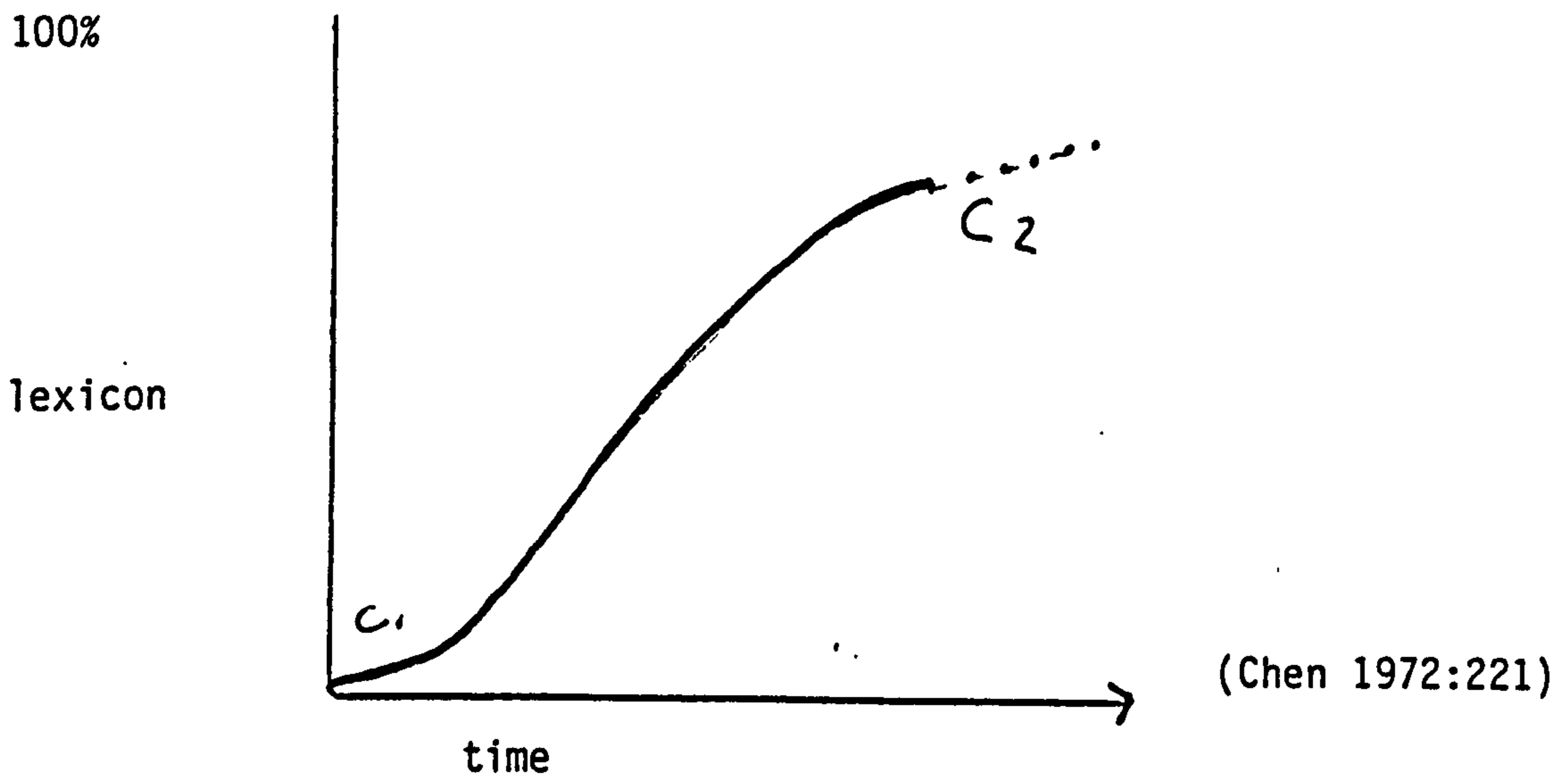
"within the narrow time perspectives available to us, numerous competing cross-currents appear to be vying for the phonological future of every word in the lexicon. Without adequate time-depth it is often difficult for us to know which changes are sporadic, which will persist, which come from past millenia, which are receding and which are just coming into the language"

(Wang 1969:23)

The process of change within the lexical diffusion theory may take one of the following forms, theoretically speaking:

a. The percentage of the affected lexicon increases linearly with time. In other words, the change across the relevant sector of the lexicon proceeds at a relatively uniform pace. The studies mentioned earlier do not support this.

b. At the beginning of a change the number of words affected by the rule are very small. As the change gradually diffuses across the lexicon, however, there will come a point when the rule becomes obvious and then it is generalized to many other items. At this stage one expects diffusion to be fairly rapid. Then it slows down to the extent that completion of the change may take a very long time (if indeed it is ever completed). This process is normally referred to as S-shaped.



One must bear in mind, however, that the neogrammarian's point of view and that of the proponents of the lexical diffusion theory may be very similar in their long-range effects. At the end the change may be completely regular. But the difference between the two lies in the description of the mechanism of change (Wang and Cheng 1977). The former looks upon the sound change as being phonetically gradual but lexically abrupt, whereas the latter sees the change as phonetically abrupt but lexically gradual.

The diffusion framework is closely aligned with that of Labov's quantitative paradigm, which states that

"the empirical foundations for a theory of language must include the capacity to deal with the 'orderly heterogeneity'"

(Labov 1981:274)

Diffusion across the lexicon is one example of such orderly variation. To put it differently, the Labovian paradigm is mainly interested in how a sound change spreads from one social group to the other, i.e. the social diffusion of the sound change. The

lexical diffusion theory, on the other hand, is primarily interested in how a change diffuses from one set of lexical items to the other. Realistically speaking, one cannot discard either of the two approaches; on the contrary a better way of studying sound change may be to combine the two. Thus one looks at how a change spreads from one set of lexical items to the other across the lexicon, and at the same time examines how the change diffuses from one social group to the other in the speech community.

## 6.2 The present study

Age has proven to be very significant when dealing with linguistic variation, particularly if there is a change in progress where the relation between real time and apparent time becomes important. Labov and others have reinforced the idea that sociolinguistic investigations should pay special attention to the temporal dimension, because the absence of such a dimension is a severe handicap when attempting to gauge sociolinguistic changes (Lieberson 1980). Age plays an even more important role in this study.

Qatari society has undergone tremendous changes since the discovery of oil and the consequent flow of wealth. With oil came close contacts with the outside world, and formal education was introduced. The older generation grew up in an almost homogeneous society, had very limited contacts with the outside world, and had no chance of formal education. The younger generation, on the other hand, has had every chance of such education. This generation is living in a heterogeneous community where foreigners form 60%, or

more, of the population.

The most obvious way to study linguistic change is to study repeatedly successive generations of the same population over a considerable length of time. Since this is impractical, I shall try to gauge the linguistic change that is taking place, if any, following Labov (1966) who writes that

"by studying the difference between the linguistic behaviour of successive age levels in our sample, we can make inferences about linguistic change. This type of approach may be referred to as a pseudo-trend study; it is a series of cross-sections in apparent time as opposed to real time. The dimension of apparent time lies along the axis of age levels of present day informants, taken as representatives of the native speech pattern of the years in which they grew to maturity. It is obvious that such a method will give an accurate report of change only if apparent time is isomorphic with real time."

(Labov 1966: 319-20)

But with the absence of real time data<sup>1</sup> in the present study any change in apparent time reported in this Chapter can only provide clues as to the central tendencies of change, and therefore can be useful in making certain predictions about linguistic change that may occur in real time.

Having said that, I would like to put forward the following hypothesis:

a. "The (Q) and the (d<sub>3</sub>) variables co-vary with age. Since the older generation are expected to be closer than the younger one to the traditional norms, they would utilize the colloquialization rule in their speech more than the other group would."

b. "If there is a change in progress involved it will unevenly

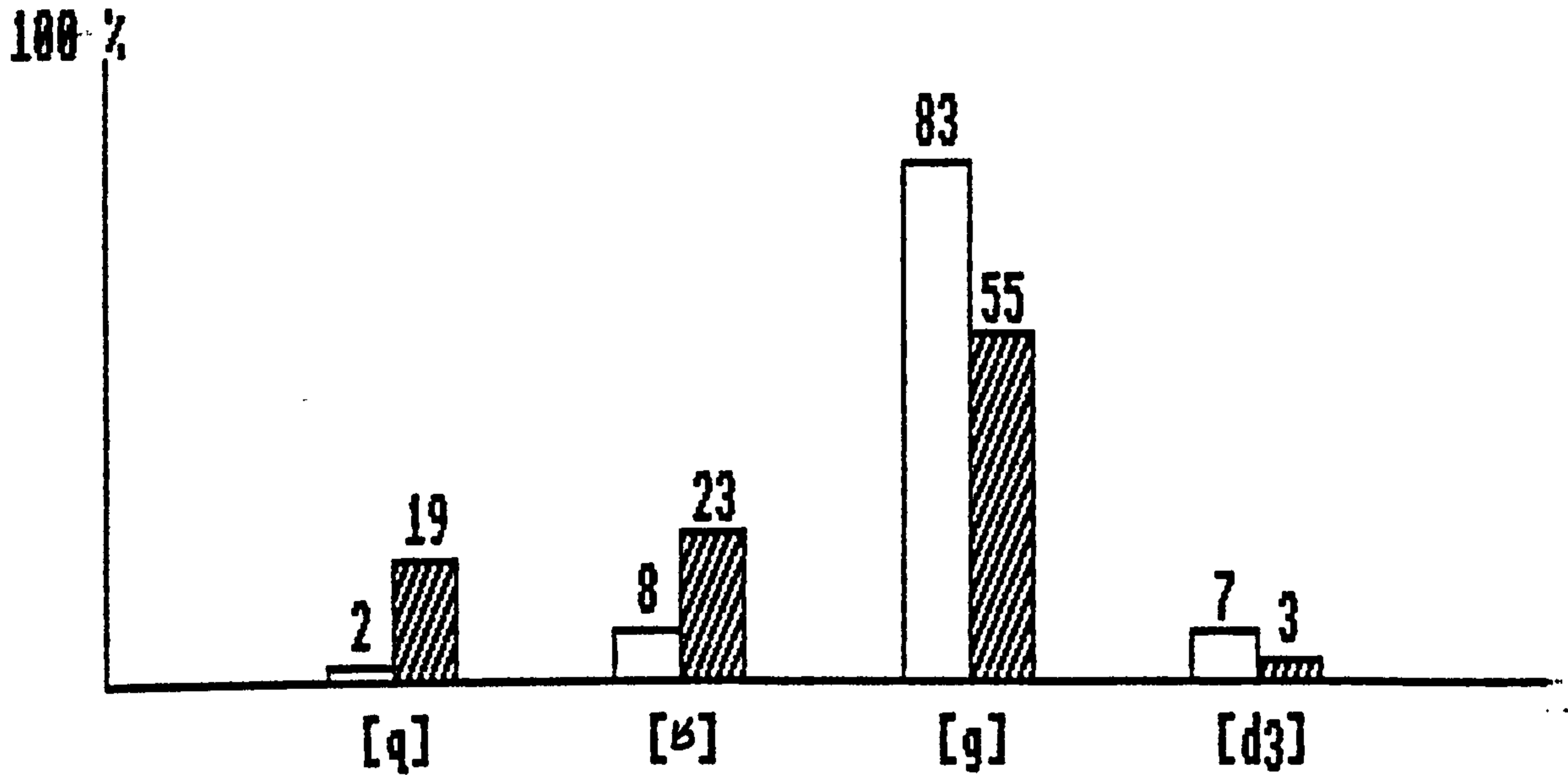
affect both the lexical classes and the social groups. In other words, the new innovation will touch the four classes of lexical items as well as the four social groups to different degrees."

### 6.3 Description of the data

#### 6.3.1 The (Q) variable:

Histogram 6.1 illustrates that the two age groups are indeed differentiated by their application of the colloquialization and the standardization rules. Although both age groups seem to be aiming at the [g] variant, nonetheless the difference between the two groups in their tendencies towards the application of the standardization rule is obvious. The younger group shows a stronger tendency towards the application of this rule than does the other group.

Histogram 6.1



The distribution of the (Q) variable in the two age groups Old and Young

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Old	63 2%	285 8%	2114 83%	169 7%	2551
Young	1363 19%	1642 23%	3939 55%	250 3%	7194

Significant at 0.01 level

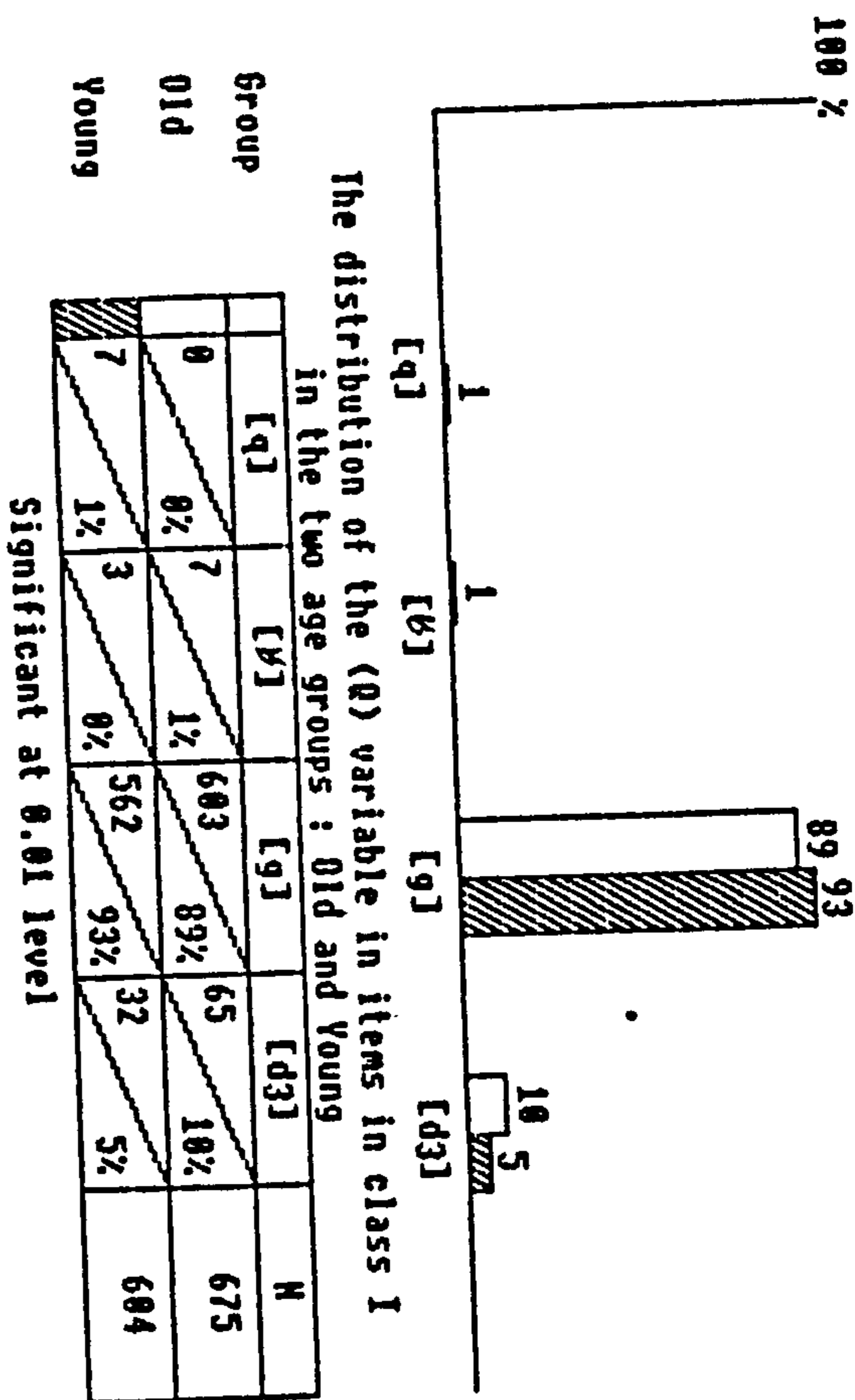


Now let us see if this age influence is constant across the four classes of lexical items. To do that we shall compare the linguistic behaviour of the two groups in the four classes of lexical items. The results are produced in histograms 6.2 - 6.5. Comparing the graphs one can claim that the difference between the two age groups in this variable lies in items in class III. It is in this class that the younger group departs from the older group i.e. shows some tendency towards the application of the standardization rule. Items in classes I and II do not reflect any significant difference in the behaviour of the two age groups. The difference in items in class IV lies in the fact that older speakers tend to use the standardization rule 2 i.e. [ʌ] more than [q], whereas the younger group show no particular preference for any variant.

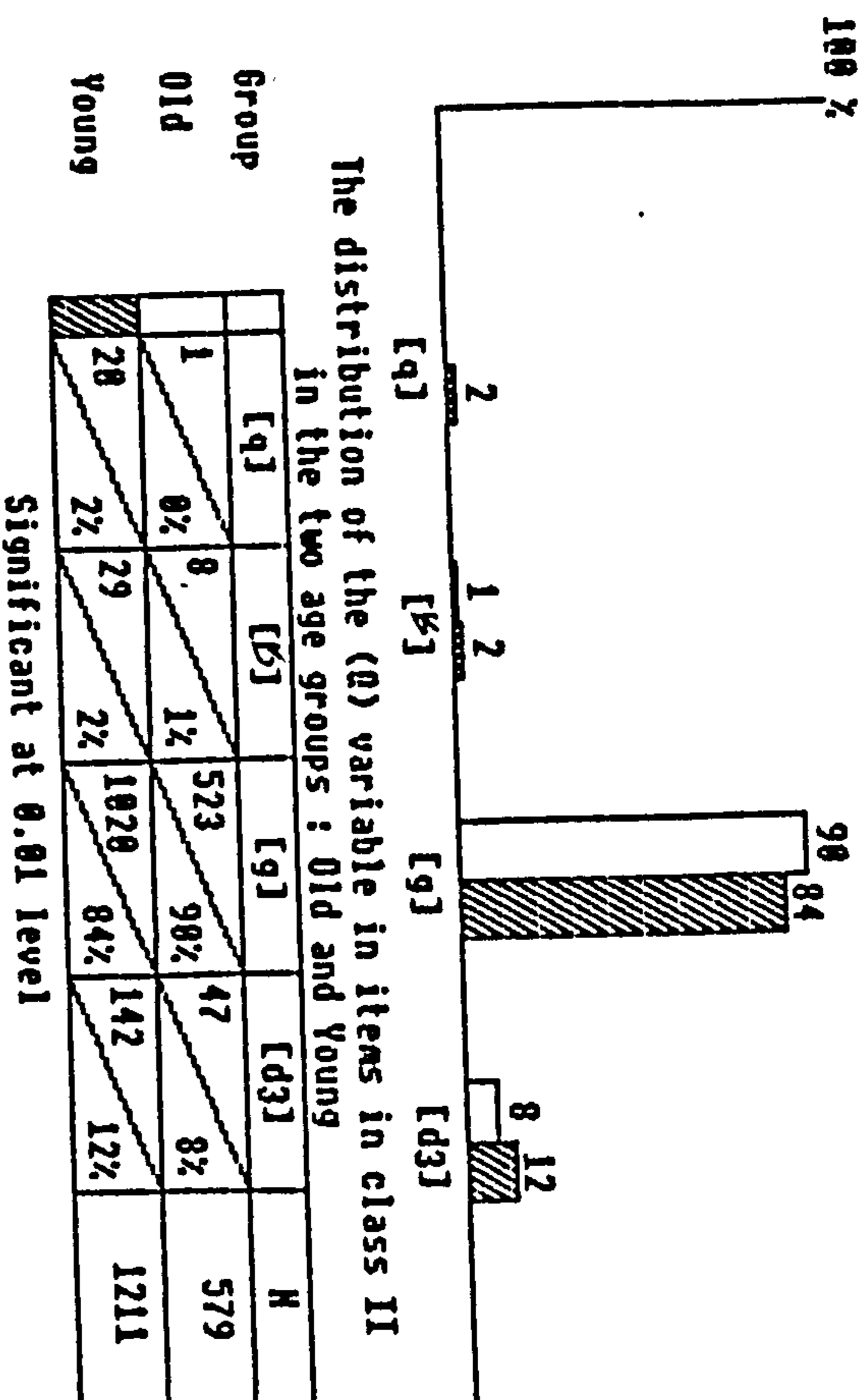
### 6.3.2 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable:

The difference between the two age groups is far more evident in the use of this variable than it was in the previous one. Histogram 6.6 demonstrates clearly that the two age groups behave differently when it comes to the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable. Looking at the columns for the standardization and the colloquialization rules i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] and [y], one can realize that they are mirror images of each other. The younger generation has a higher level of the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant in their linguistic output than the other group has. That is to say that the probability of the application of the standardization rule is higher in the speech of the younger generation than it is in the linguistic behaviour of the older generation. The realization of the [j] variant is remarkably similar in both age groups.

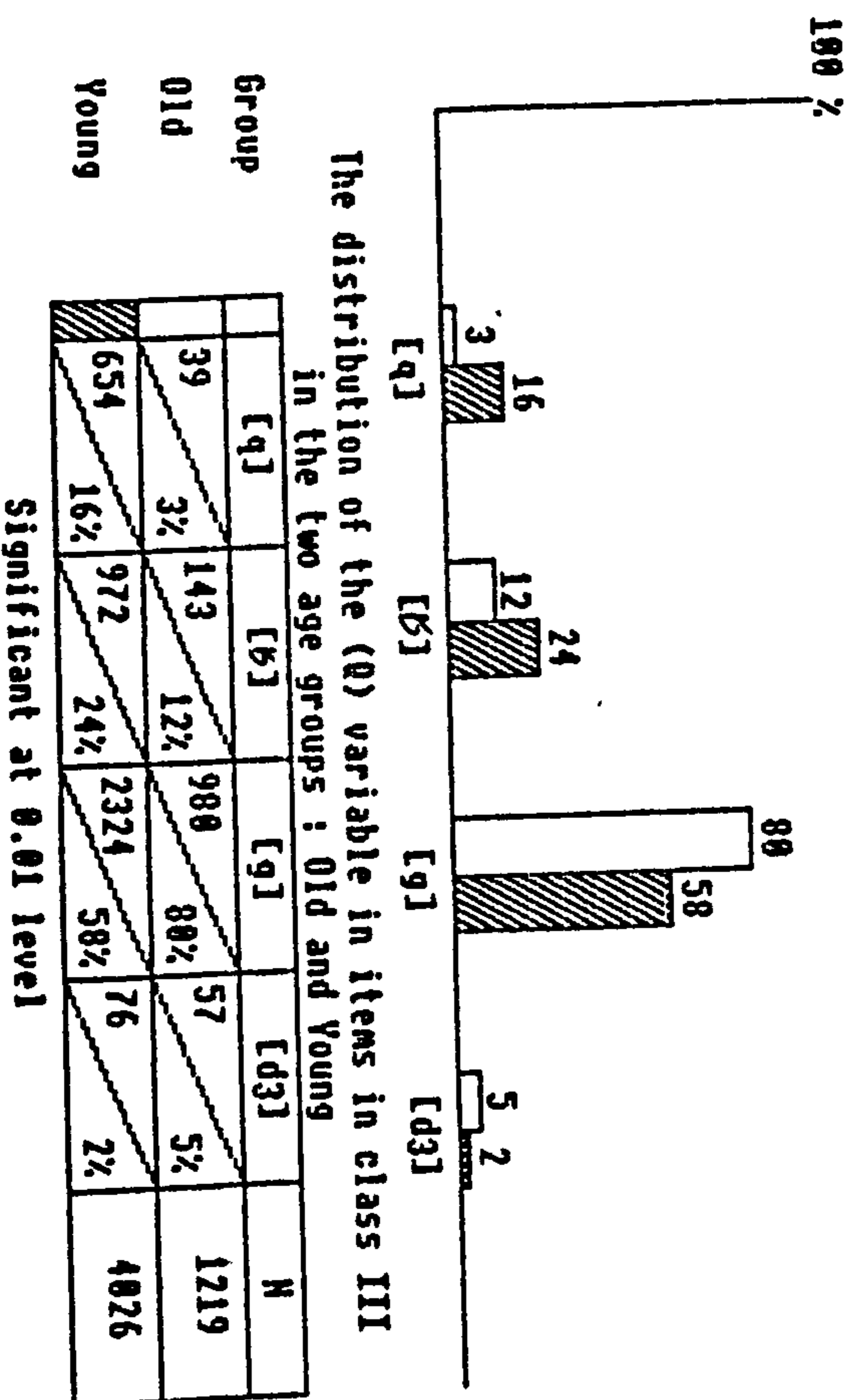
Histogram 6.2



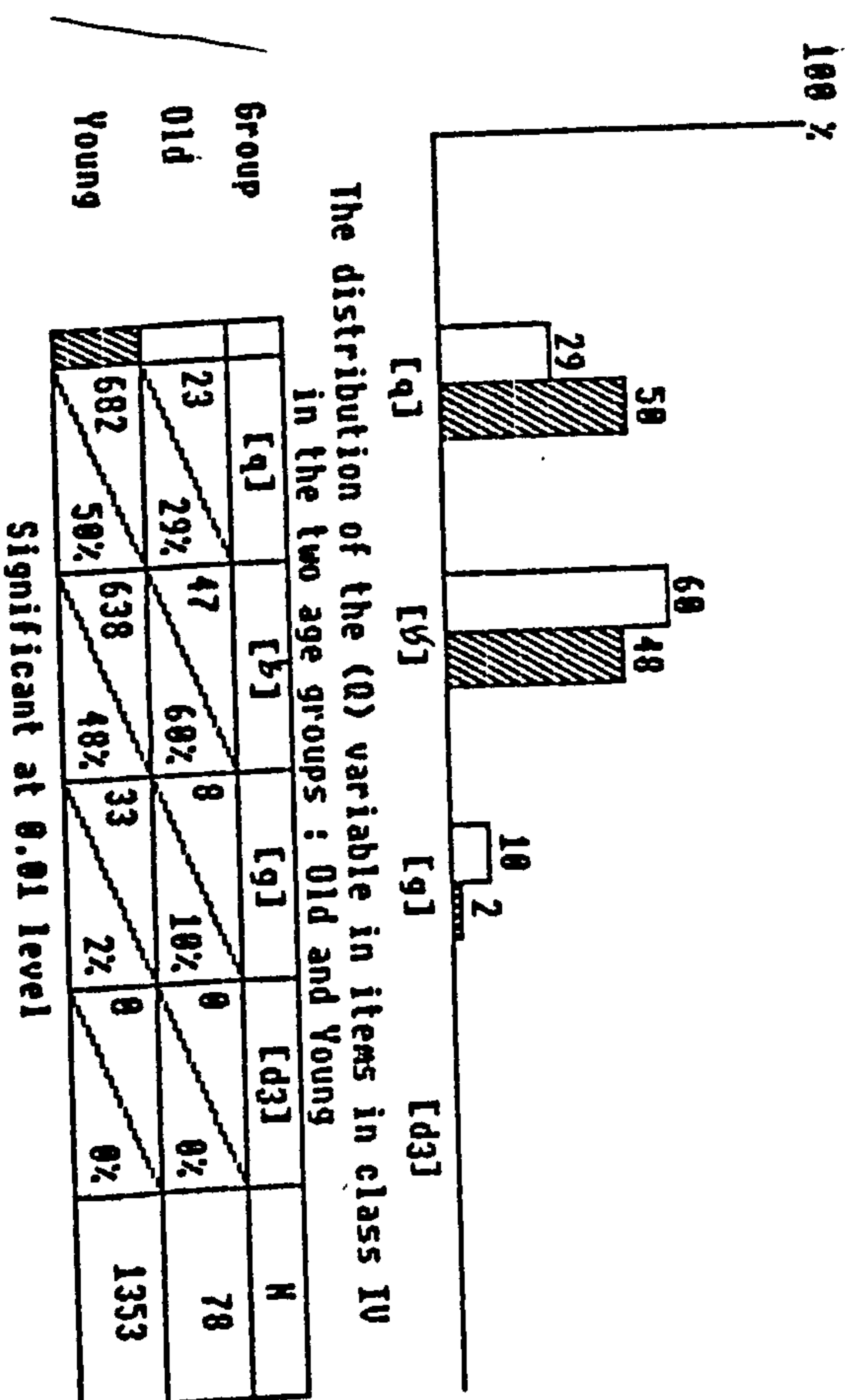
Histogram 6.3



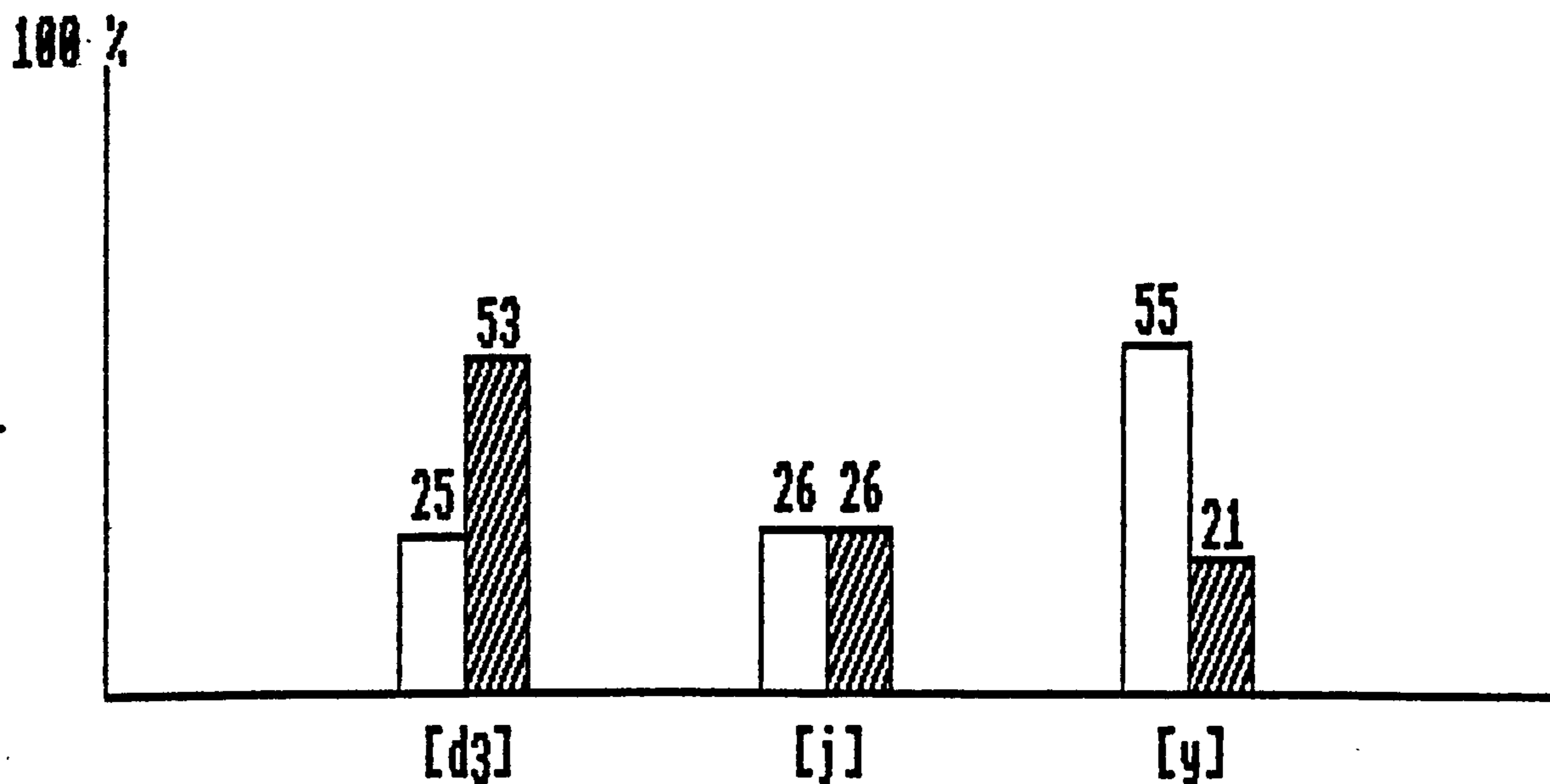
Histogram 6.4



Histogram 6.5



Histogram 6.6



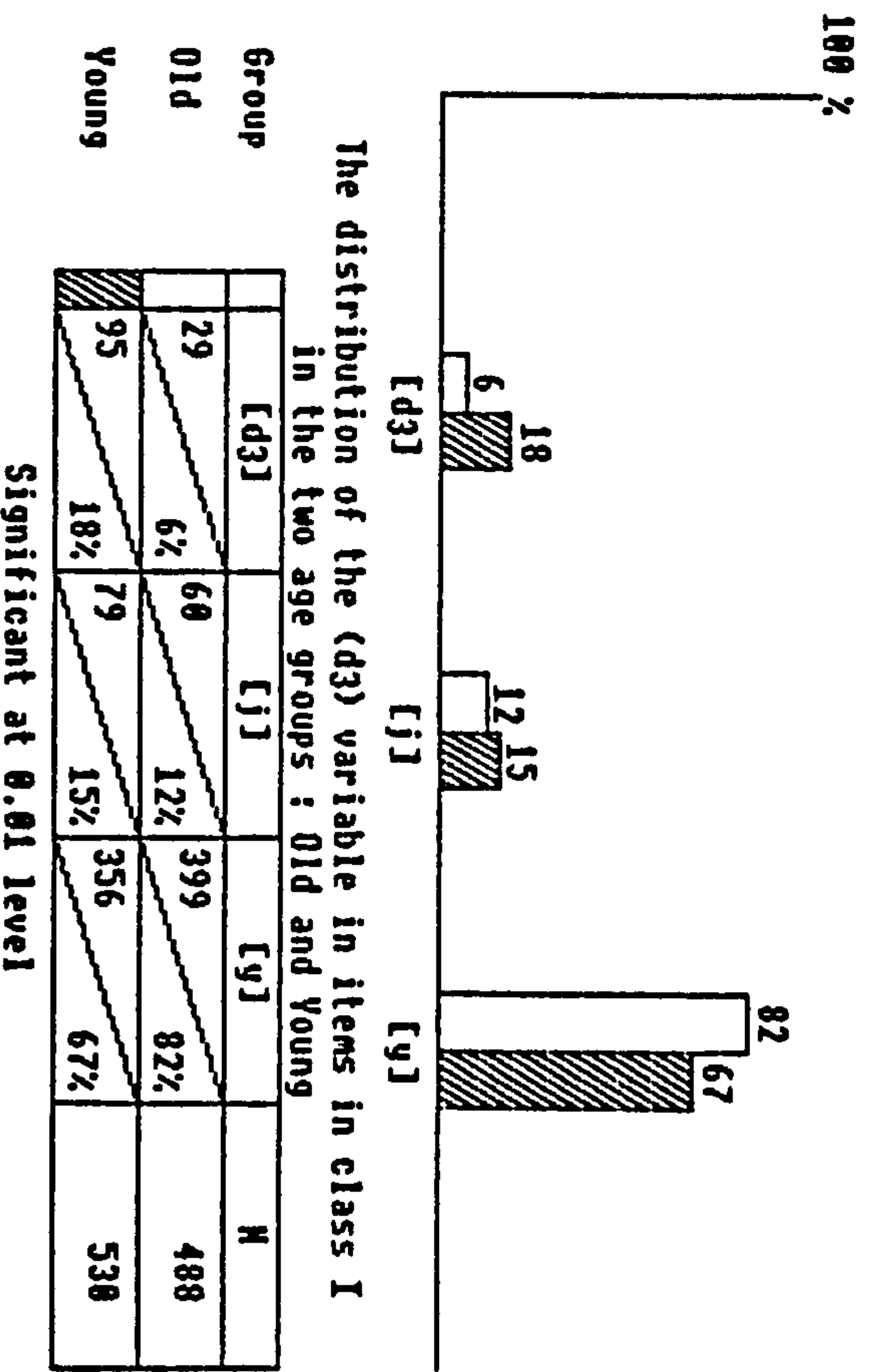
The distribution of the (d3) variable in the speech of the two age groups : Old and Young

Group	[d3]	[j]	[y]	N
Old	416 25%	343 26%	931 55%	1690
Young	2254 53%	1121 26%	905 21%	4280

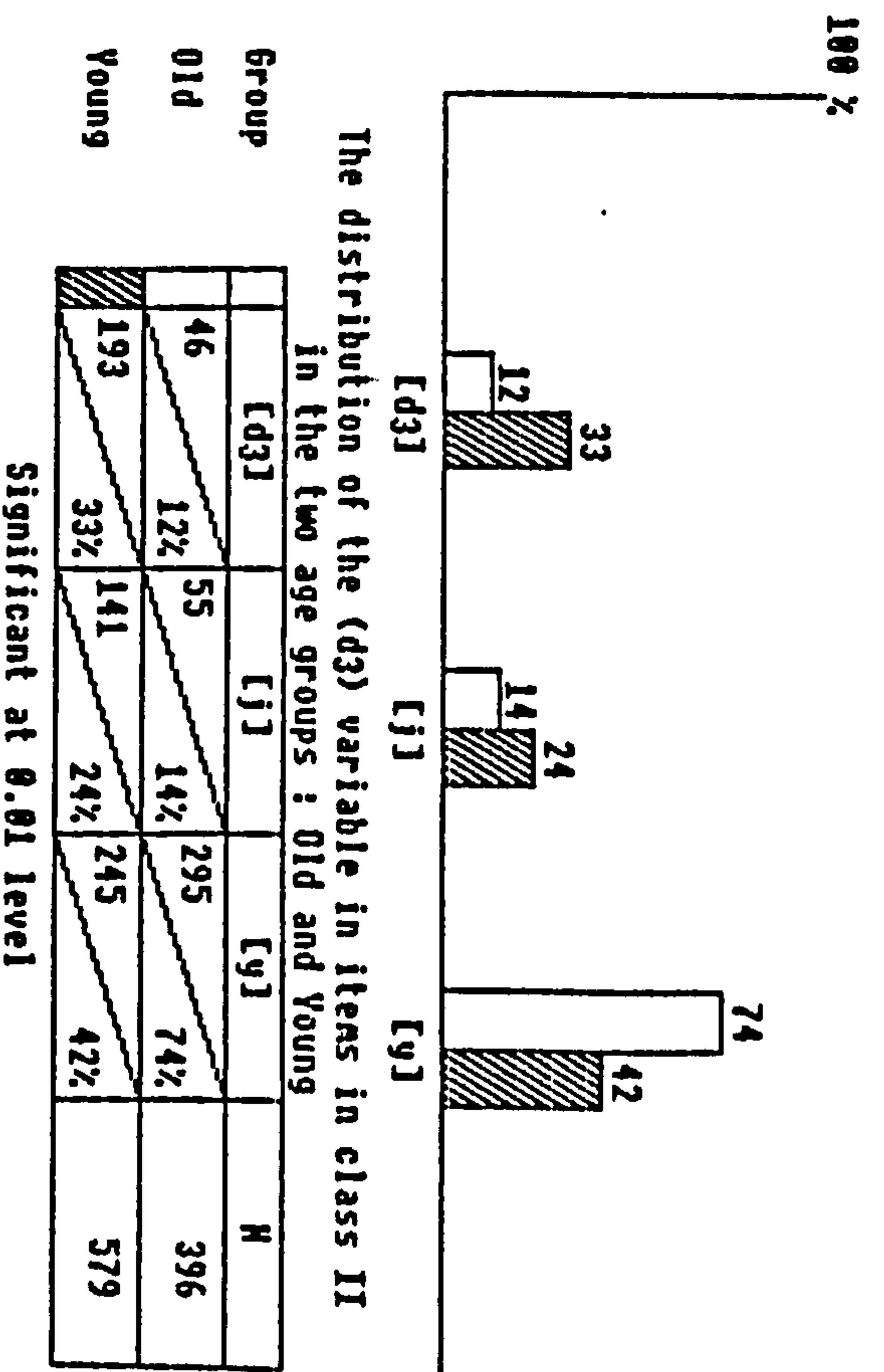
Significant at 0.01 level

The distribution of this variable in the speech of the two groups in four classes of lexical items is represented in histograms 6.7 - 6.10. Unlike the (Q) variable in which the difference between the two age groups was confined to classes III and IV, here the difference between the norm of speech of the two generations is prominent in every class of lexical item. The biggest gap between the two groups seems to occur in lexical items in class II.

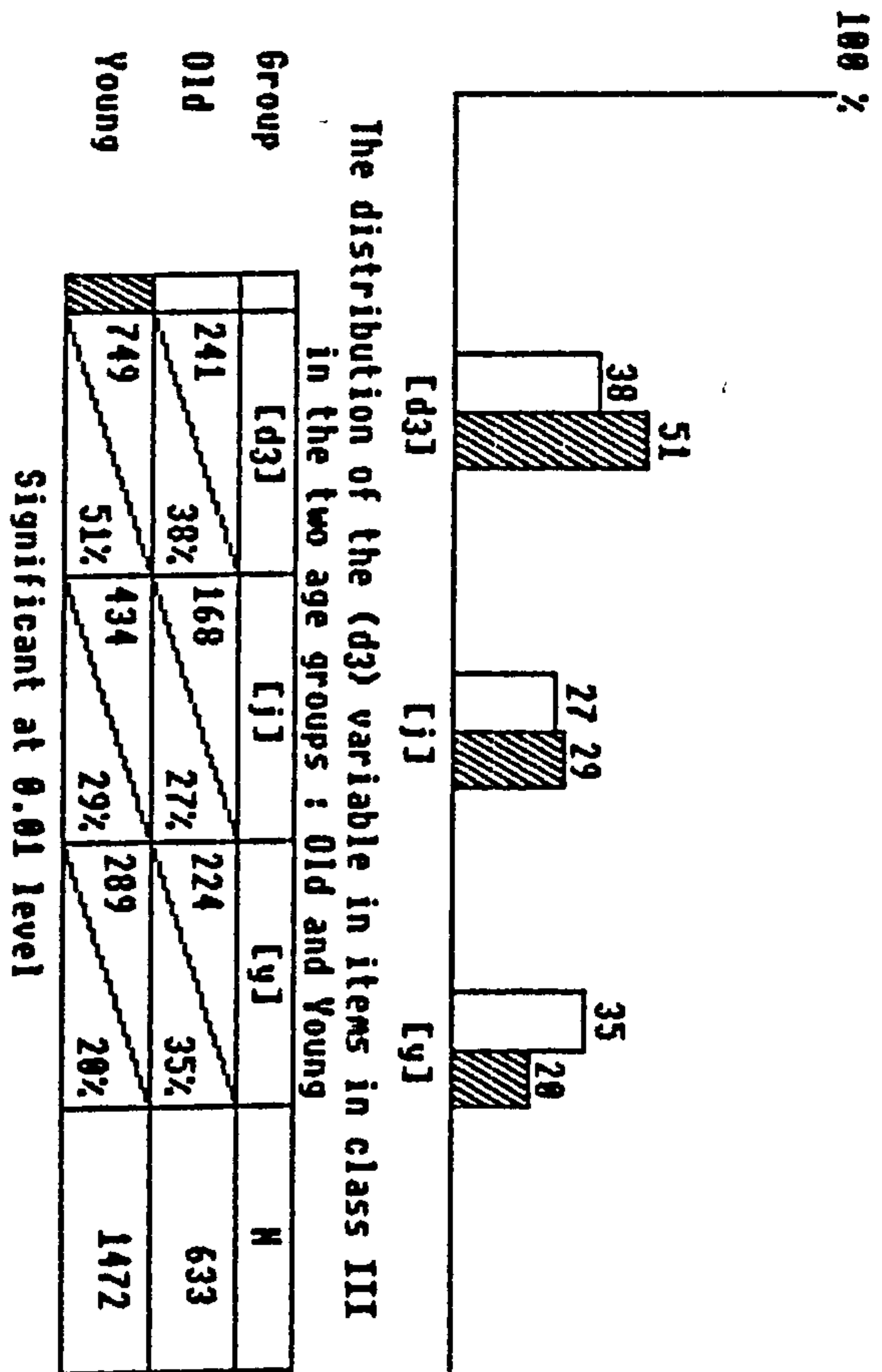
Histogram 6.7



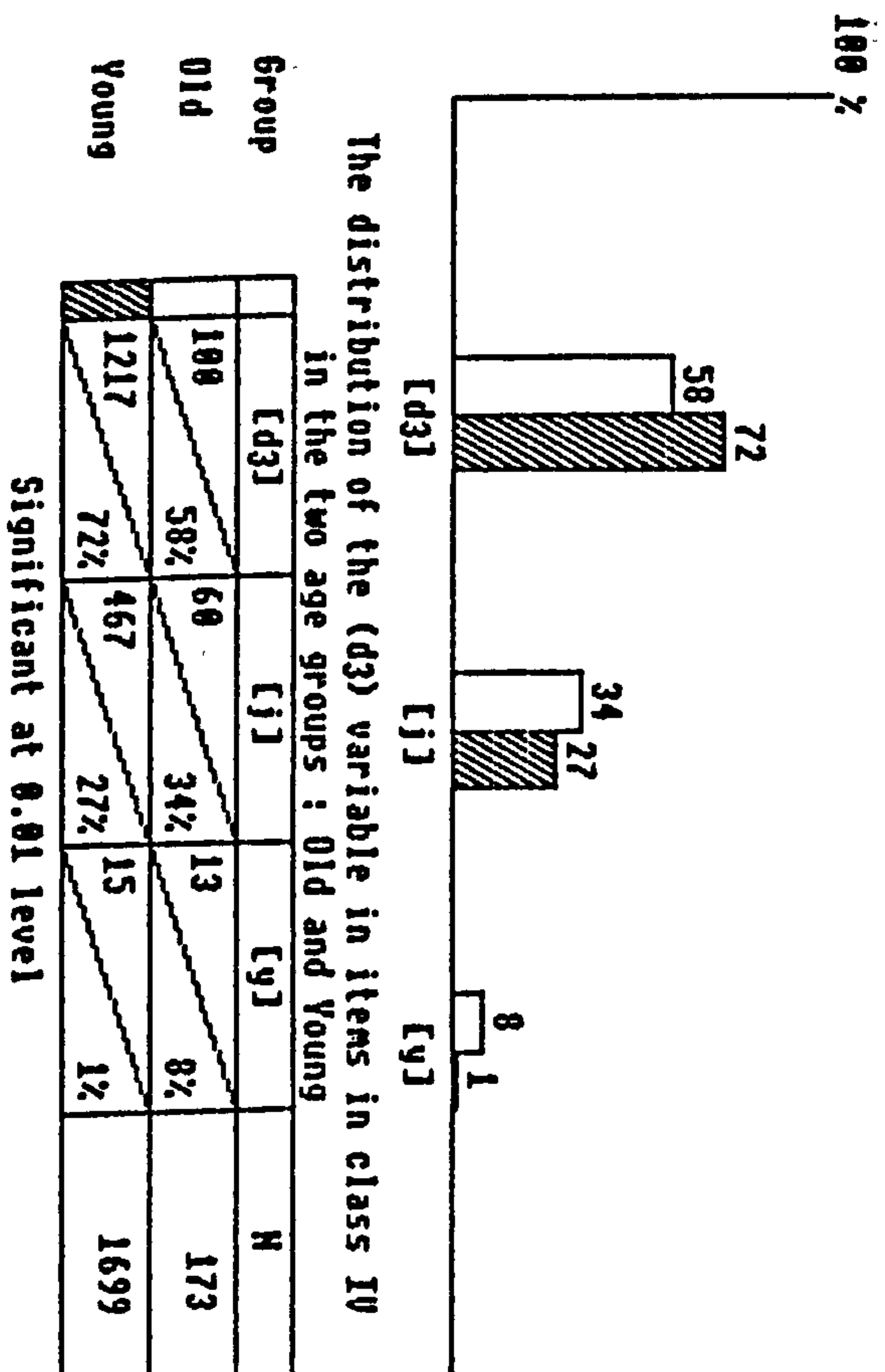
Histogram 6.8



Histogram 6.9



Histogram 6.10



#### 6.4 Discussion:

How can we explain the difference in the realization of the two variables in the speech of the two generations? Why does the younger generation show a greater tendency towards the application of the standardization rule? Why do the two variables behave so differently? In other words, why is the difference between the two age groups more prominent in the ( $d_3$ ) variable than it is in the (Q) variable?

A plausible explanation for the first two questions is that the younger group have experienced a greater degree of exposure to SA than the older group have. This exposure has been brought about by daily interaction with the mass media and with other educated members of the speech community. The older generation, due to their lack of formal education, have had less exposure to the influence of SA. This is also reinforced by their interactions with other speakers of the same age who do not normally utilize standard items.

Having said that, one would expect that the younger generation would utilize more items from class IV and fewer words from class I, than would the older generation which is relevant to the fact that the older and younger generations favoured different topics (see 2.2.2). The result is reflected in the following table:

Class	Old	Young
I	1163 27%	1134 10%
II	975 23%	1790 16%
III	1852 44%	5498 48%
IV	251 6%	3052 26%
N	4241	11474

(Table 6.1 The distribution of the four classes of lexical items in the speech of the two age groups.)

From the above table we can see that this is indeed the case. Items from class I constitute 10% of the linguistic output of the younger generation, whereas they form 27% of the speech of the older one. A similar difference is noted in items in class IV. Here however, the younger group utilize 26% of these items in their speech, while the older group use only 6% of such words.

The standard items (class IV) are normally educated, technical and cultural words. As expected the younger speakers, because they have had a chance of formal education, are able to understand and use these words. They encounter such items in reading newspapers, books, at school, on the radio etc. These words are in fact a part of the speaker's lexical component. On the opposite side the older generation, while they may comprehend and understand such words, because they hear them in mosques, on the radio and television, nevertheless seem very unlikely to use these words as a part of their active competence.

The change observed here in the lexicon of the two generations has come about as a result of the social change which Qatar has witnessed since the fifties. We all know too well that traditional attitudes and beliefs of members of a society or a community do come into conflict and in many cases are modified in favour of attitudes and beliefs which are associated with the modern norms of behaviour. In such a context certain elements of the culture of the people start to undergo modification. Language, as is the case here, may be one of those elements which inevitably undergo such change as the society changes. In this context, the increase in the level of items in class IV in the speech of the younger speakers is in fact a direct consequence of the process of modernization, education and frequent contact with the outside world which the country has witnessed in the last three decades.

#### 6.5 Change in progress

Talking about the role of age in relation to a linguistic variable would inevitably lead to the question of change in progress. Therefore the first question which comes to mind is whether these linguistic variables are cases of sound change in progress or not. However, before attempting to answer this question, I would like to make a few remarks about the lexical change that is apparently taking place in Qatari society.

A great number of lexical items in class I, are words related to activities which used to be quite common in everyday life before the oil era, such as pearl-diving, fishing and related trades. The economic boost which followed the exportation of oil has resulted in



these activities dying out, and as a result the vocabularies related to these activities are also slowly fading away. Nowadays, these items rarely occur in everyday speech, and even less in the speech of the younger group who grew up away from such activities. The only context in which these items may occur regularly is unsurprisingly when older people gather, as it were, to re-live the good old days, as they call them.

For the younger group the trend seems to be the opposite. Every day their lexicon is expanding towards the standard end. Thus more and more items from SA are acquired almost every day. Therefore, I would expect that as the older generation disappears, so too would a huge number of lexical items related to that generation. Instead more and more items from SA constantly flow into the lexicon of the younger group of speakers, and will form part of their active competence. This situation is closely related to the functional view of language, which says that language changes as the needs of its users change. Unused items are gradually fading out, and instead new terms from SA are infiltrating into QD as the need for new technical words increases.

#### 6.6.1 Are the (Q) and the (d<sub>3</sub>) variables examples of sound change in progress?

##### 6.6.1.1 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable:

In order to understand fully the mechanism involved in the linguistic change in the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable we must take into consideration (a) that the colloquialization rule is not witnessed outside the Arabian peninsula, and (b) that even in QD this rule

does not operate evenly for all the social groups. Having said that the rule which changes /d<sub>3</sub>/ into [y] was in fact never completed for any group of speakers. Looking at histograms (5.17 - 5.21) we realize that this rule reached a stage of completion only in items in class I in the speech of the older generation from the Qaba:yil and the Howala groups.

The change in the direction of the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant which is taking place at the present time is similar to what Blanc (1960) has called the "classicizing" mechanism. This refers to the tendency of the speakers to suppress their local dialectal features in favour of more prestigious features from SA. This process has resulted primarily from the rapid spread of education, which has led to the infiltration of a huge number of lexical items from SA into QD, as well as intensive interaction with other Arabic speakers from Egypt and the Levant. The infiltration of standard items from the superposed variety is fairly extensive and is undoubtedly a significant element in this language change.<sup>2</sup>

Looking at the data on the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable (histograms 6.7 - 6.9), and excluding items in class IV, one is inclined to consider the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable as an example of sound change in progress. This sound change is the reverse of the previous change which had resulted in yielding the [y] variant. In other words, what seems to be taking place is the gradual replacement of the [y] variant by the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant. More formally, we can say that the probability of the application of the standardization rule has increased, and will continue to do so, in the speech of the younger speakers.

The pattern of change across the classes of lexical items fits quite closely to the idea of the lexical diffusion theory. Firstly, this theory would predict that in any instance of on-going processes of sound change, the synchronic state of the language in question must have a considerable amount of heterogeneity (Wang and Cheng, 1977). This is precisely what is reflected in the manifestation of the ( $d_3$ ) variable. Secondly, the theory predicts that the sound change worms its way gradually through the lexicon. Examining histograms 6.7 - 6.9 we can clearly see that the shift from the colloquialization rule to the standardization rule is gradual across the lexicon. Not all the words containing the ( $d_3$ ) segment are affected simultaneously: the change has spread unevenly across the lexical items. The least affected class of lexical item is number I, the most greatly affected class is number III, with class II occupying an intermediate position. The reason for this is that the colloquialization rule is most prominent in items in class I, less in class II and least in class III.<sup>(3)</sup> Finally, the theory suggests that the change may spread to other parts of the lexicon before the whole set of words, in which the sound change is operating, is affected. The data suggests that this is the case. The change has reached classes I and II before it is completed in items in class III.

We said earlier that the rate of diffusion across the lexicon takes on the appearance of a slow-quick-quick-slow pattern (Aitchison 1981), or more precisely the S-curve shape. The innovation in the ( $d_3$ ) variable seems to have passed the first

slow stage. In other words, the change has already gathered momentum and the change is affecting more and more words as time goes on.

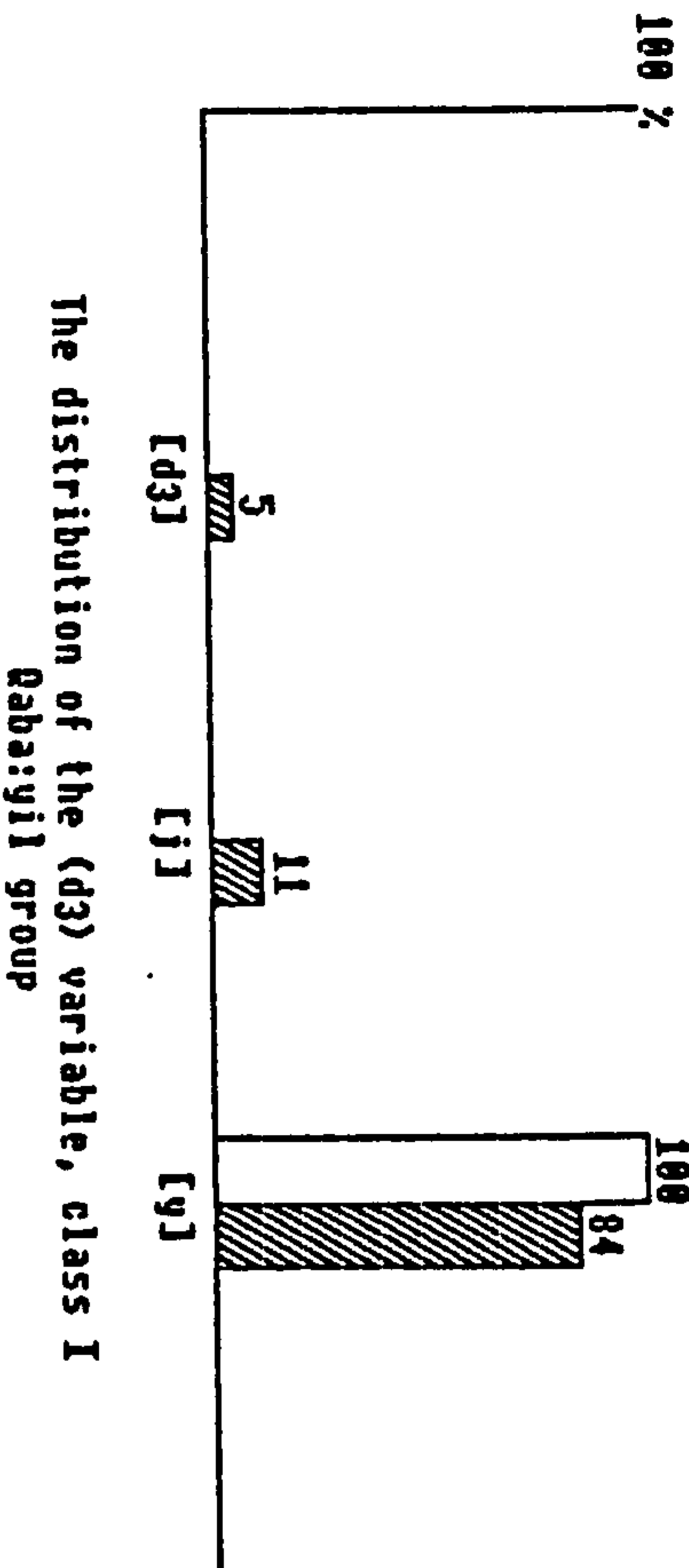
The distribution of the change in this variable across the different classes of lexical items is another example of what Weinreich et al (1968) have called "orderly heterogeneity". This term means that during any sound change in progress we expect a ranking of some sort during the transitional period. Such heterogeneity need not always be lexical (Chen and Wang 1975): it may be social (Weinreich et al 1968).

#### 6.6.1.2 The (Q) variable:

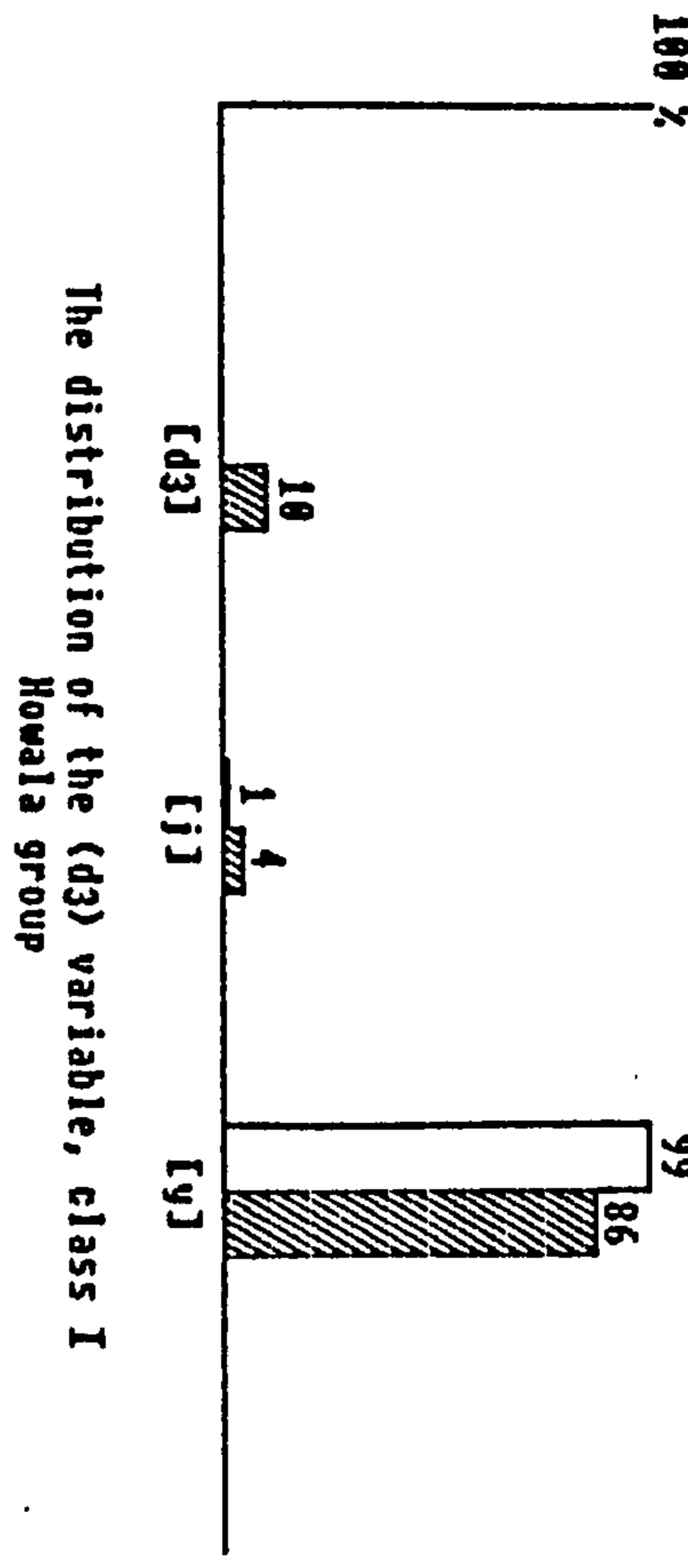
The data on the (Q) variable (histogram 6.2-5) is quite different. Items in classes I and II do not indicate any change: both classes categorically favour the application of the colloquialization rule. It is only in class III that a faint indication of difference between the linguistic behaviour of older and younger speakers starts to emerge. Whether this is an example of sound change in progress or not, is not clear. If, however, it turns out to be a case of on-going change, then it has either started later than the change in the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable, or else the rate and pace of change in the (Q) variable is much slower than the pace of change in the other variable. At any event the reason behind this seems to lie in the fact that whereas [y] is very much a localized feature, the colloquialization of the (Q) variable, and particularly the [g] variant, is widely spread in many dialects outside the Gulf region. In fact all the Arabic Bedouin dialects

have this variant as a reflex of (Q) (Blanc 1964). Therefore it shows less urgency towards classicizing when compared to the ( $d_3$ ) variable. This reasoning seems to explain the relative strength of the resistance of [g] as opposed to [y] being replaced by [q]/[ʃ] and [ $d_3$ ] respectively. We must also take into consideration that the [g] variant is neutral with respect to the social groups, which means that it is under less social pressure to change. The difference in the manifestation of these two variables in the speech of the two generations demonstrates that the likelihood of any particular non-standard variant being replaced by a more standard one can only be explained in its social as well as its linguistic contexts.

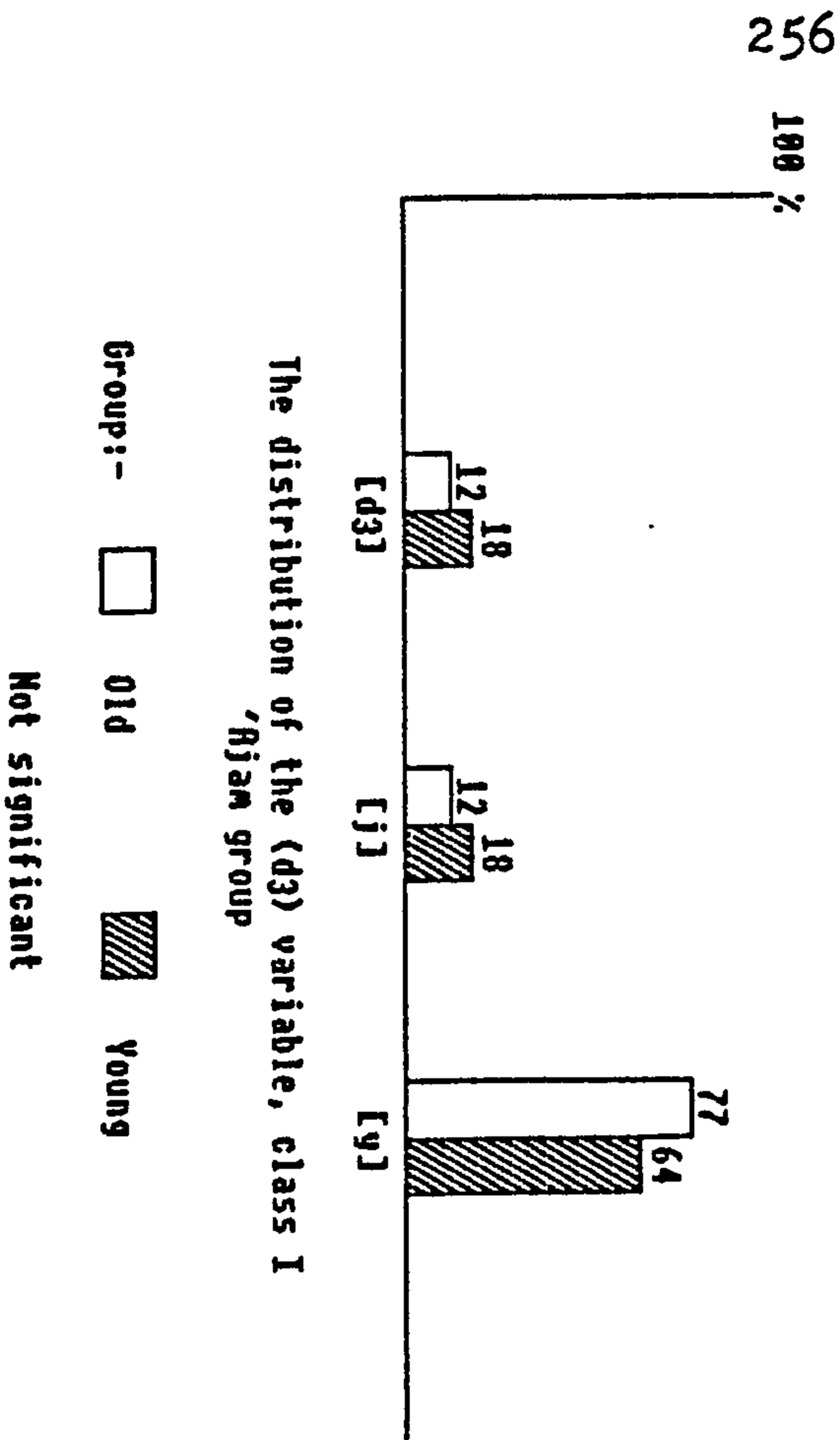
Histogram 6.11



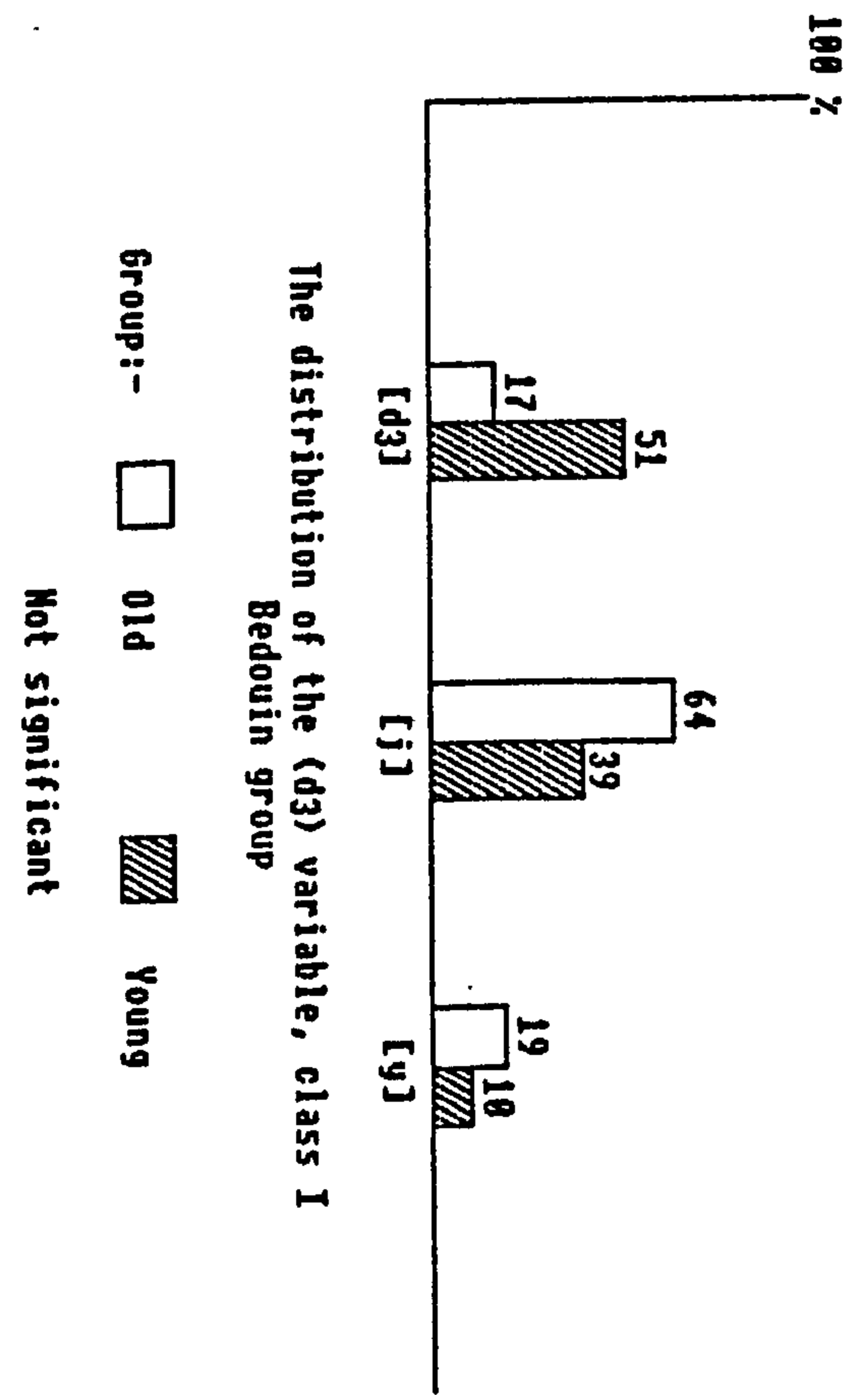
Histogram 6.12



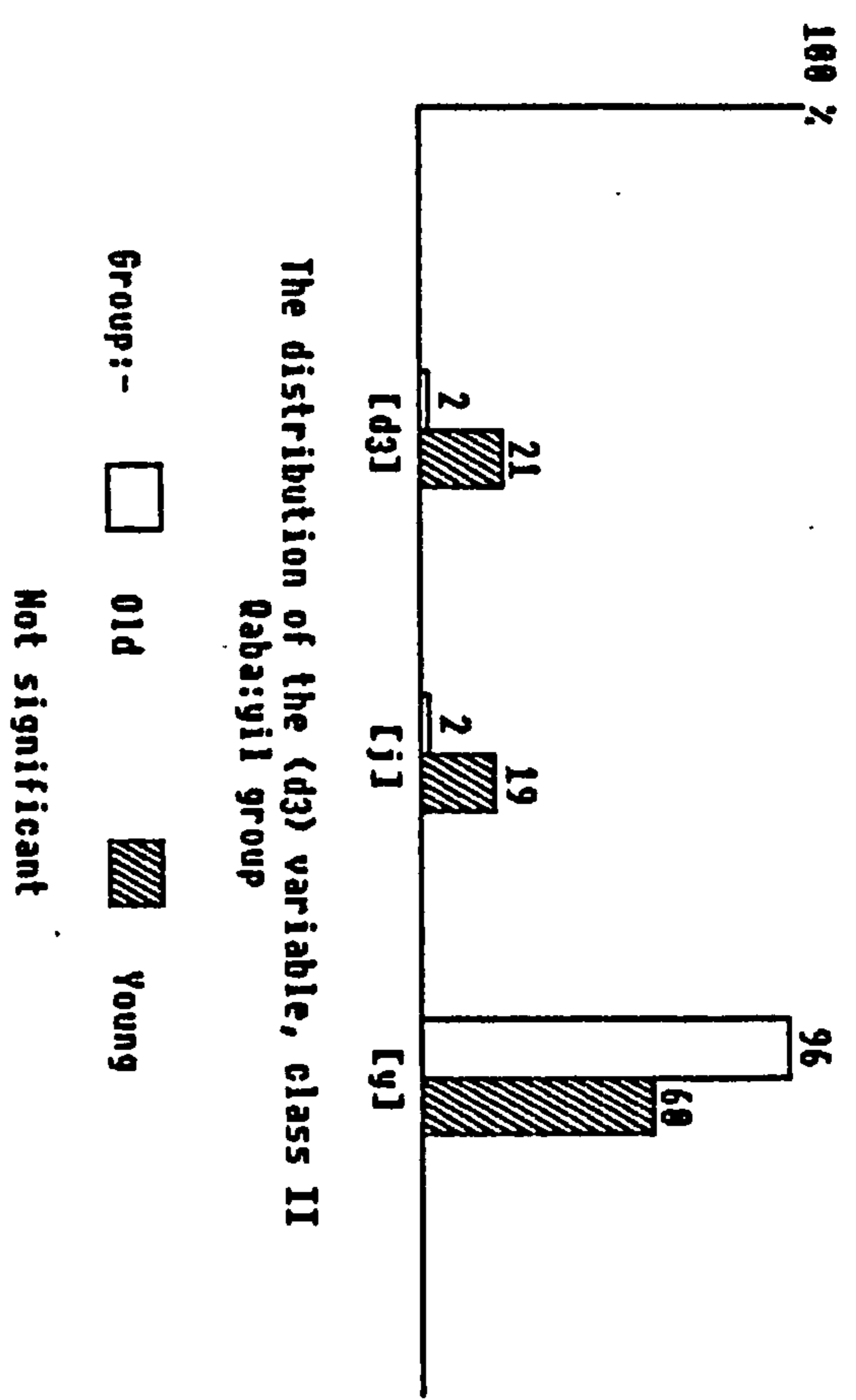
Histogram 6.13



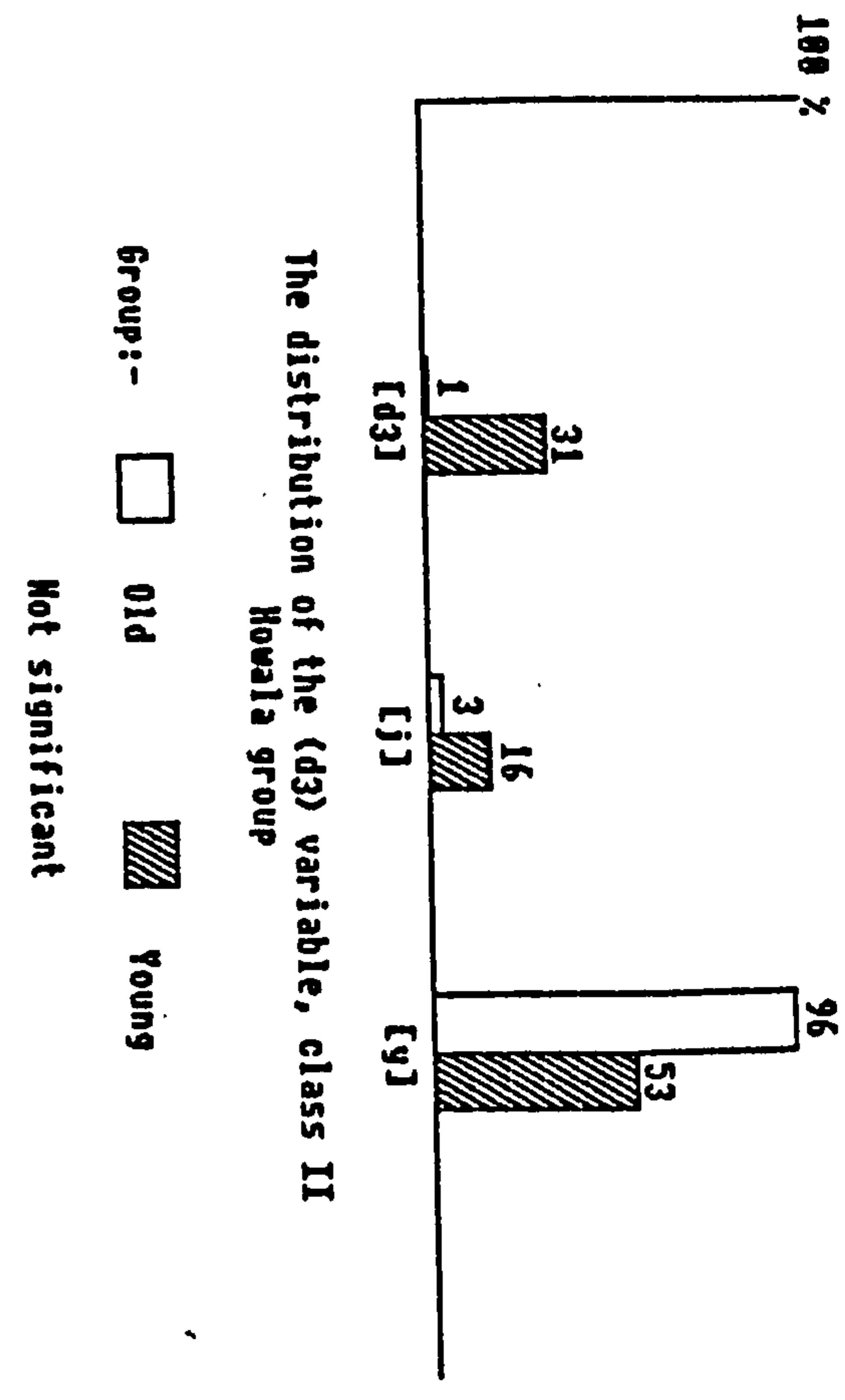
Histogram 6.14



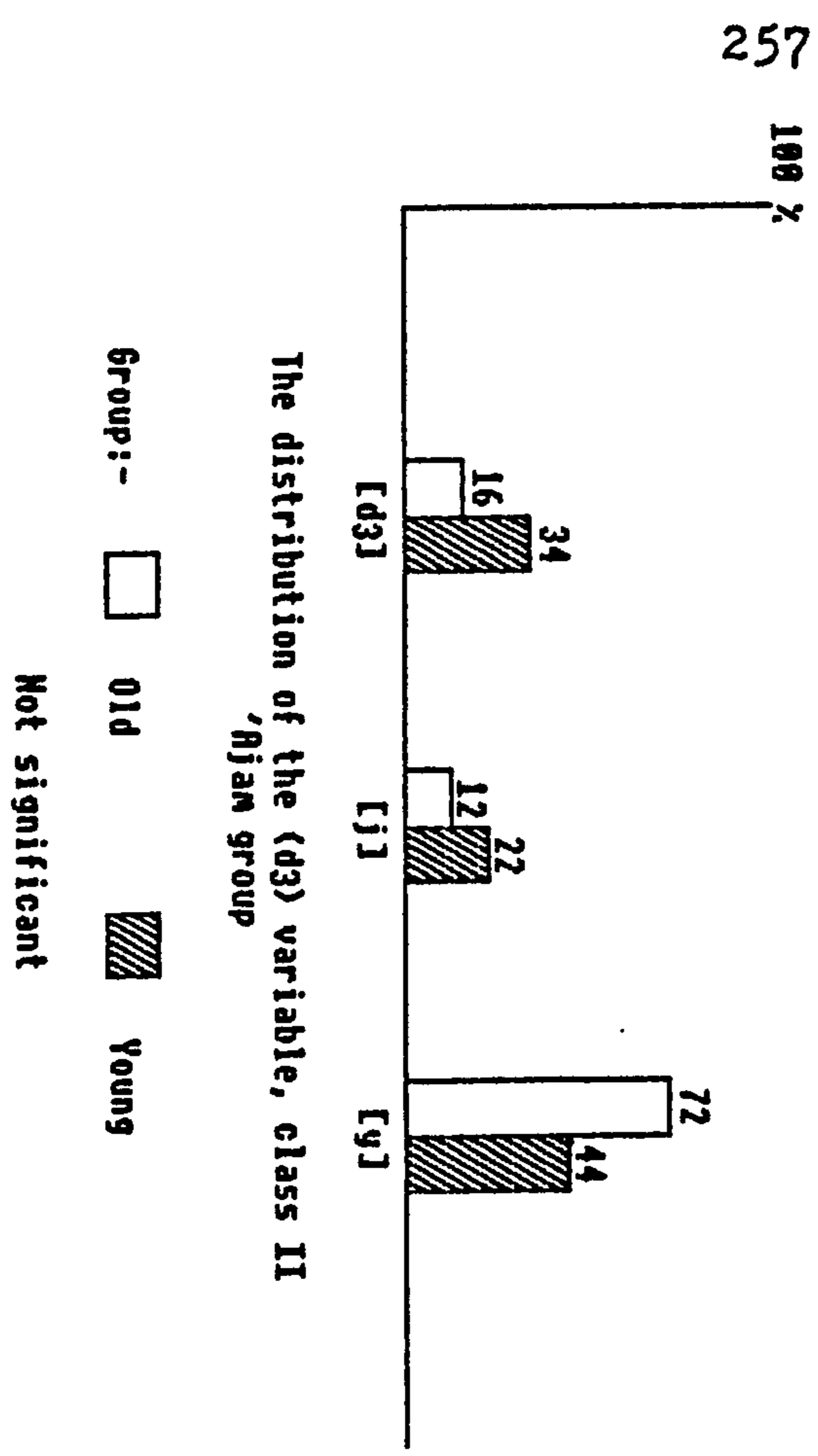
Histogram 6.15



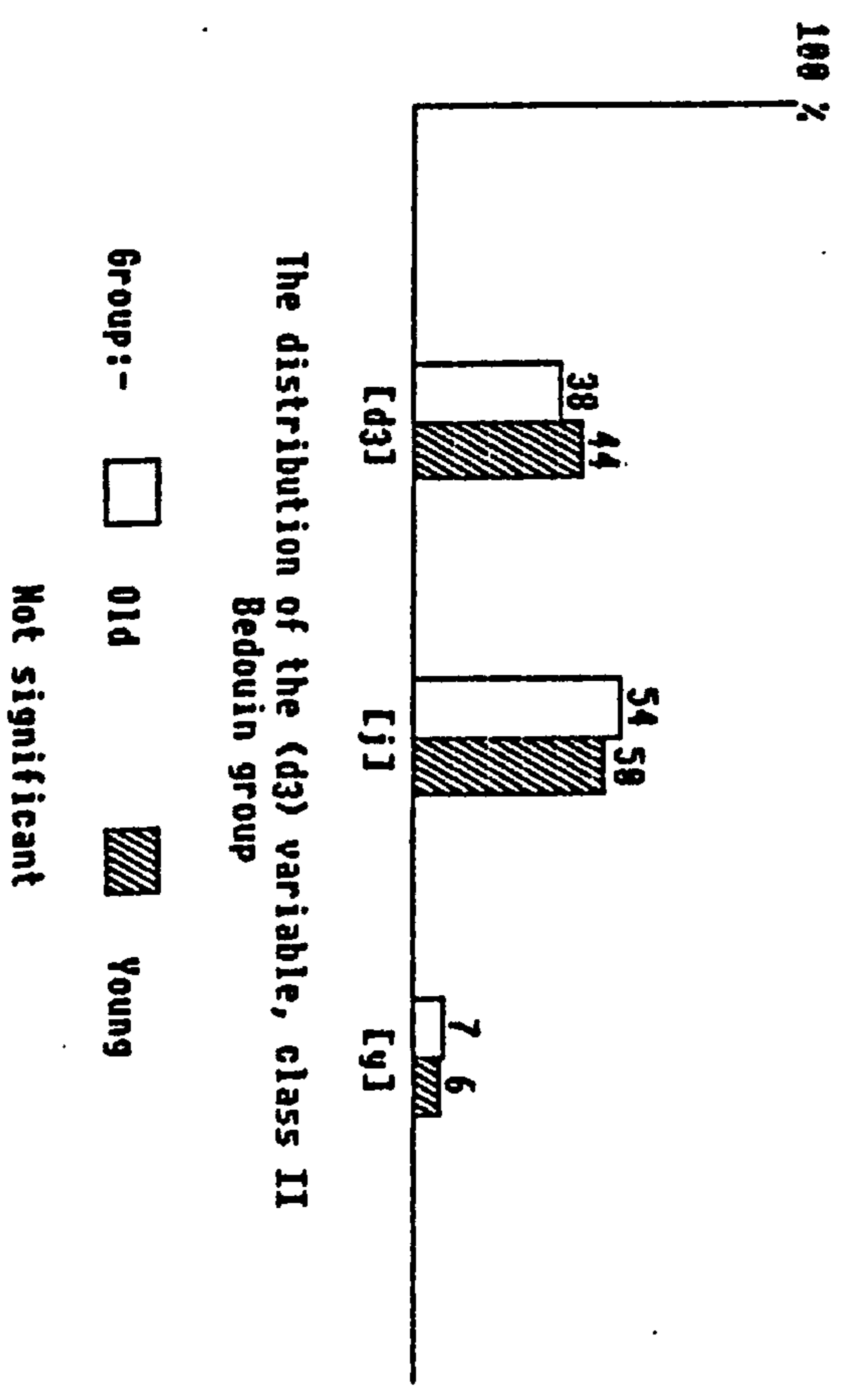
Histogram 6.16



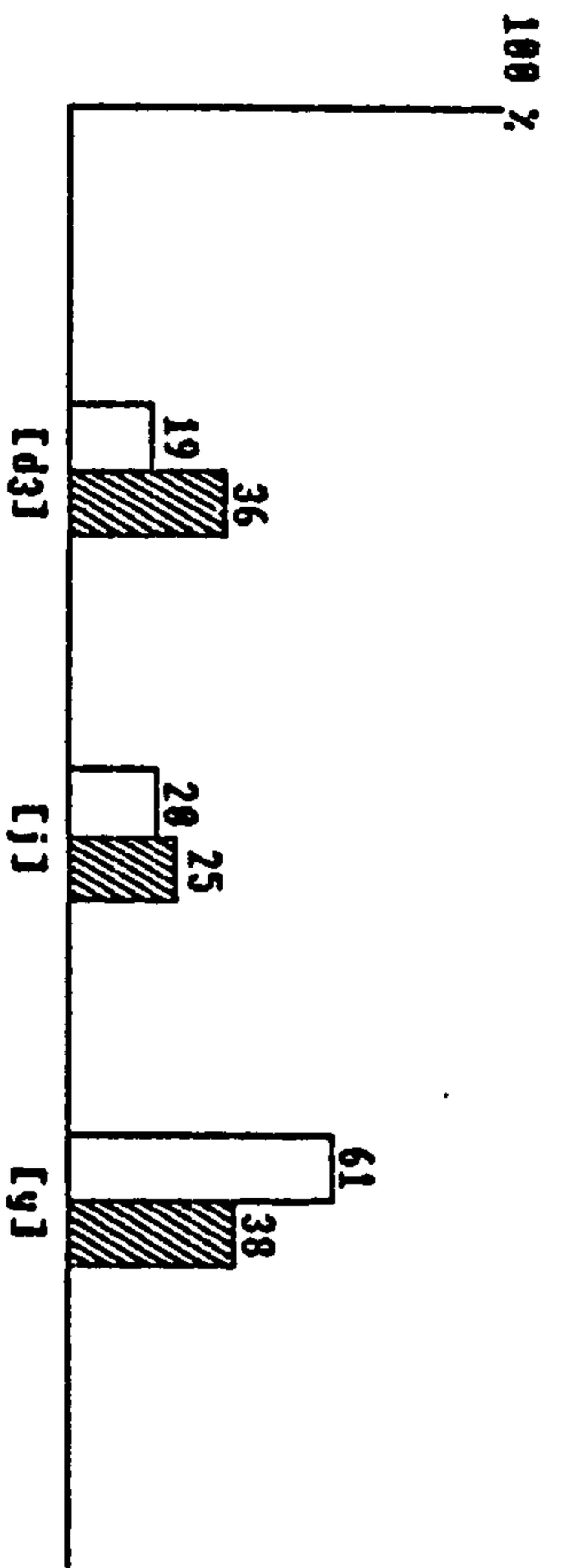
Histogram 6.17



Histogram 6.18



Histogram 6.19

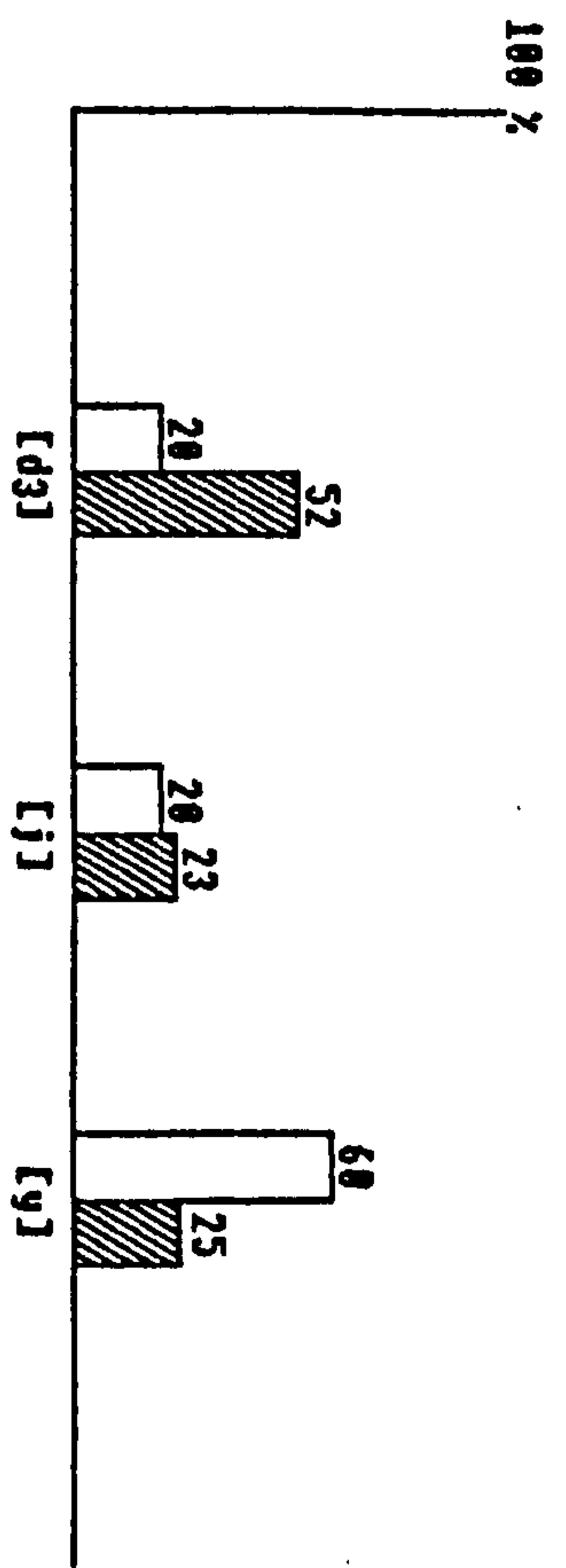


The distribution of the (d3) variable, class III Qaba:yii group

Group:--  Old  Young

Not significant

Histogram 6.20

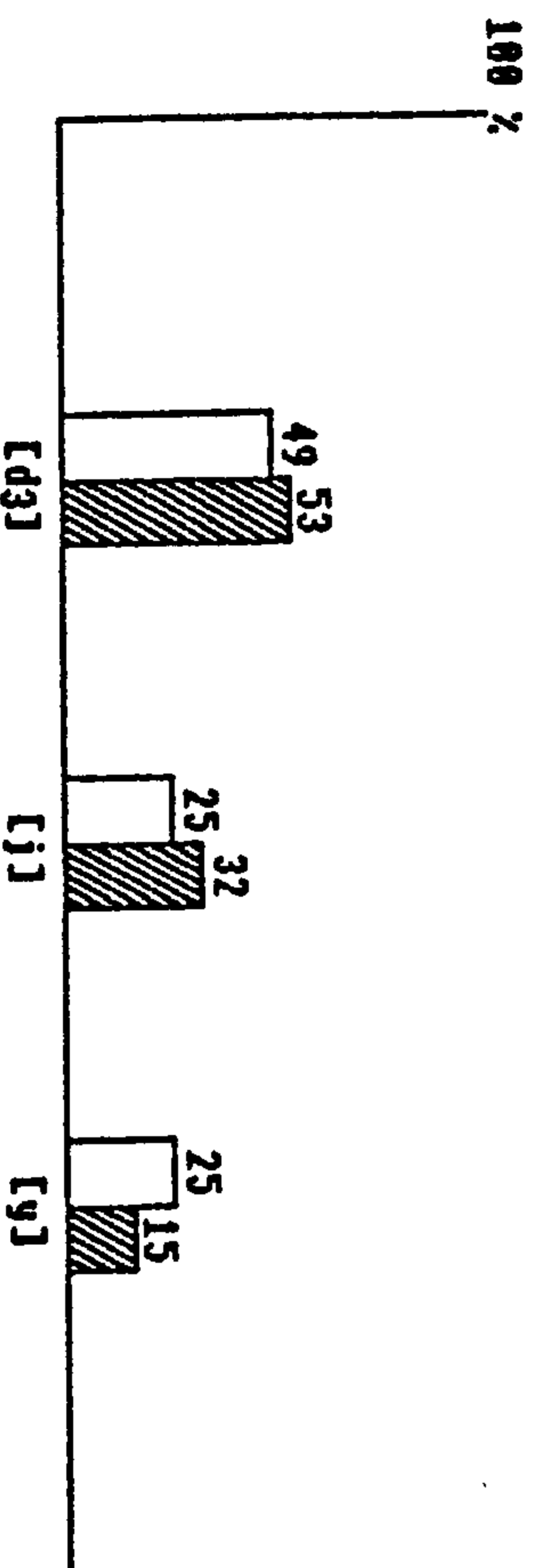


The distribution of the (d3) variable, class III Howala group

Group:--  Old  Young

Not significant

Histogram 6.21



The distribution of the (d3) variable, class III 'Rjam group

Group:--  Old  Young

Not significant

Histogram 6.22



The distribution of the (d3) variable, class III Bedouin group

Group:--  Old  Young

Not significant



### 6.7 The intersection of age and social factors:

In discussing the role of social factors in language development Labov 1972a writes:

"the embedding problem is to find the continuous matrix of social and linguistic behaviour in which the linguistic change is carried. The principal route to the solution is through the discovery of the linguistic system and between those elements and the non-linguistic system of social behaviour."

(Labov 1972a:162)

Earlier Weinreich et al (1968) postulated that the socially motivated model of language change shows that linguistic features involved in the change in progress would be used differentially across sub-groups within the speech community. They have also pointed out that linguistic development is a feature of group behaviour. Thus they write:

"linguistic change is not to be identified with random drift proceeding from inherent variation in speech. Linguistic change begins when the particular alternation in a given subgroup of the speech community assumes direction and takes on the category of orderly differentiation."

(Weinreich et al 1968:178)

This means that during the course of the development of language, change is unevenly embedded in the social structure. The implication of this is that linguistic variation in age groups is only fully systematic when viewed in relation to the social context.

In order to examine the interaction between age and social variables, we will consider the linguistic behaviour of the two age groups in each social group. The aim of this process is to try to discover if all the groups change in the same way and to the same

degree. The data presented in this section are all from the ( $d_3$ ) variable, because apparently only this variable is involved in change.

The following histograms (6.11 - 6.22) demonstrate that the change which is taking place is also socially gradual. In the last Chapter we have seen how the behaviour of the Qaba:yil and the Howala groups was similar. But looking at the manifestation of the ( $d_3$ ) variable in the speech of the two generations in the two groups we realize (a) that the behaviour of the older speakers in the two groups is similar, (b) that the younger groups respond differently to the sound innovation. If we compare the behaviour of the two generations in items in classes I and II we realize that the younger speakers of the Howala group shift more than their counterparts in the Qaba:yil group. The reason for this, as Ramaihi (1976) said, is that the Howala group, generally speaking, are more apt to change than any other group. This group has been known for its less conservative attitudes towards social change and modernization. The data of the present study indicate that it is also less conservative in its linguistic attitudes.

Since this group has had the chance of formal education earlier than others (ibid), I propose the idea that this group seems responsible for initiating this change in the first place. Taking into consideration the fact that this group is neither the highest nor the lowest on the social hierarchy seems to reinforce the findings of the other studies, namely that the originating group of the social change is neither the top nor the bottom group, but

occupies a relatively intermediate position on the social hierarchy.

For instance Romaine (1980:49-50) writes:

"although change does not seem to be unidirectional i.e. from the upper to the lower class, what does seem to be characteristic is that the originating group is neither the lowest nor the highest in the social hierarchy. Change originates from within the system rather than on the periphery."

Labov (1980a:253-4) writes in the same vein:

"no case has been found in which the highest social group was the origination of a system of linguistic change ... In each case of sound change in progress located, the variables display a curvilinear pattern of social distribution, where the innovating groups are located centrally in the hierarchy."

Examples of such cases are numerous. For example in Labov's study on New York City (1966) the responsible group for the sound change was LMC (Lower middle class), while in Trudgill's study in Norwich (1974) it was UWC (Upper working class).

#### 6.8 The behaviour of the Bedouin group:

The most interesting of all is the behaviour of the Bedouin group. What we shall concentrate in this section on is the small percentage of the application of the colloquialization rule which occurs in items in classes I, II and III in the speech of this group.

We must recall, however, that the informants of this investigation agreed on one point - namely that the [y] variant is a feature of the sedentary dialect and that it does not occur in the Bedouin dialect. Moreover the informants from the Bedouin group repeatedly ridiculed the sedentary speakers for using such a

colloquialization rule. The point is, if the informants' knowledge of their dialect is correct, we may claim that the dialect of the Bedouin who have moved to the capital town of Doha has already entered a new phase of change. That is to say that what in these histograms appear like small percentages of the [y] variant in the speech of the Bedouin dialect are in fact an indication of sound change in progress.

Looking more closely at histograms 6.11 - 6.22 we realize that, whereas in the sedentary groups there is a marked difference between the behaviour of the two age groups, the speech of both generations of the Bedouin group displays a similar tendency towards the application of the colloquialization rule (especially in classes II and III). The reason for such a similarity may well be that [y] is a recently borrowed element in the dialect of this group of speakers.

However we must bear in mind the fact that the reflex of the ( $d_3$ ) variable in the Bedouin dialect coincides with the variant of the superposed variety; both have [ $d_3$ ], especially if we remember that no difference is perceived between the [ $d_3$ ] and the [j] variants by the native speakers. Moreover, while the sedentary groups are moving away from the colloquialization rule, the Bedouin group has just started to move in the opposite direction, having begun to use the [y] variant. These tendencies illustrate the local ranking of the dialects. They demonstrate that where the local prestige form is in conflict with the norm of the superposed variety, in the diglossic speech community, the former may exert a

greater influence on the speaker. The reason for such changes is fairly obvious. The sedentary dialect has more prestige and wider currency than the Bedouin one; and the extent to which one language or dialect is favoured or disfavoured will largely depend on the community's perception of the role and status of that dialect in the context of the prevailing linguistic and social attitude in that society. In other words:

"what is to change is thus not the linguistic function of a linguistic variable, but the social information carried by its various realizations."

(Bynon 1977:213)

The variants receive the meanings they get because they are somehow associated with particular subgroups in the society. Labov also refers to the same idea when he writes that:

"the function of language reflected ... in sound changes cannot be limited to the communication of referential information. We are clearly dealing with the emblematic function of phonetic differentiation: the identification of a particular way of speaking with the norms of a local community."

(1980a:262)

It seems unequivocal that any explanation of the fluctuating course of sound change must take into account the continual fluctuation that takes place in the structure of the society in which the language, or the dialect, is used.

Although the Bedouin speakers overtly condemn the use of the colloquialization rule i.e. the [y] variant, they have consciously or subconsciously, started to implement it in their speech. This is because they have been living in the city for the past two decades,

and have been greatly influenced by the sedentary way of life. As one of the Bedouin informants said:

"other Bedouins nowadays see us not as Bedouins but as 'sedentaries'; one cannot even properly milk the camel."

Undoubtedly those Bedouins who have moved to the cities have undergone a tremendous social transformation. One consequence of such a change is the introduction of the [y] variant into their speech. But, due to their strong sense of affiliation with the Bedouin identity as well as their sense of belonging to that culture, the linguistic change seems to have occurred relatively recently, to the extent that none of the Bedouin informants was aware that he has used the [y] variant. This shows how strong the influence of the socially prestigious group can be.

This demonstrates that we cannot explain linguistic changes by adopting an identity-oriented approach (le Page et al 1974) alone, nor by adopting the status-oriented approach (Labov 1966) alone. Perhaps we need a combination of both approaches. To show the relevance of this to the present data we can say:

(a) the long resistance of the Bedouin dialect to the pressures from the dominant social group can be explained in terms of acts of identity. The Bedouins refused to give up their way of speech in favour of a more prestigious dialect, although the status-oriented paradigm predicts that this should take place within a relatively short span of time. This, however, did not happen, because the Bedouins felt that by doing so one is in fact disassociating oneself of the Bedouin identity.

(b) the occurrence of the [y] variant, which is a landmark of the sedentary dialect, indicates that at last the pressures from the prestigious group have paid off, and it has started to influence the Bedouin speech. The reason for such an influence can be explained in terms of the status-oriented approach. Thus the sedentary dialect has a more prestigious influence than the stigmatized dialect of the Bedouins, to the extent that the latter takes on features of the former dialect.

Another interesting point which should be made here is the tendency of the younger speakers of the Bedouin group to move away from the neutral [j] variant. Instead they increasingly adopt the standard variant [d<sub>3</sub>]. This means that the younger group of the Bedouins are, remarkably, moving in two opposite directions. On the one hand, they have started to use the colloquialization rule i.e. the [y] variant, while on the other hand they show a tendency to give up the [j] variant in favour of the standard variant [d<sub>3</sub>]. This is an interesting example, not only of different groups in a speech community moving in different directions, but also of one group moving in two directions at the same time.

#### 6.9 The role of frequency in linguistic change

Many studies have shown that the frequency of relevant lexical items in the speech of the speaker plays a significant role in the spread of a sound change. The growing body of evidence shows that the most frequently used words are quite often affected early on by the new innovation. For instance, Jonson (1983), in his study on the dialect of Cologne (West Germany), has found that

"the most rapid spreading will take place in the set of the most frequent words. Then once the frequent set has been dominated, the less common words will begin to show the spread of the change"

(ibid:70)

The same idea is also advocated by Gerritsen and Jansen (1980), in their study on the spread of Amsterdam features to other dialects, who write

"since interpretation of the new variants is involved, one may assume that first the most frequent words will lend themselves to interpretation and imitation"

(ibid:38)

Phillips (1981) also quotes Schuchardt as saying

"the greater or lesser frequency in the use of individual words that plays such a prominent role in analogical formation is also of great importance for their phonetic transformation ... Rarely used words drag behind, very frequently used ones hurry ahead"

(quoted in Phillips 1981:73)

To examine the effect of frequency and its role in the change which is taking place in the ( $d_3$ ) variable, I have chosen one item from each class of lexical items, which I judged to be fairly frequent, and examined the realization of the variable in them.

Here are the words, their realizations and their occurrences in the speech of the two generations: (tables 6.2 - 6.4)



Class I: /wad<sub>3</sub>id/or/wad<sub>3</sub>di:n/ "many/much" singular or plural (6.2)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	21%	79%	78
young	3%	4%	93%	119

Class II: d<sub>3</sub>a:y/ "he is coming" or d<sub>3</sub>a:yya/ "she is coming" (6.3)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	5%	12%	83%	77
young	25%	22%	53%	118

Class III: /d<sub>3</sub>a?a/ "he came" /d<sub>3</sub>i?t/ "I came" (6.4)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	37%	12%	51%	82
young	31%	22%	47%	93

A glance at the figures in these tables, and a quick comparison of the application of the colloquialization rule between the groups, together with histograms 6.7 - 6.9, demonstrate that the finding of this study contradicts the results of the studies mentioned above. Not only are these frequently used words not most affected by the

innovation, but also they resist the change more than other items. The item in mind is the word /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/, which shows that the younger people apply the colloquialization rule more often than the older speakers.

However, this is not the only study which does not support the frequency theory. For instance Phillips (1981), in his study on the change of the diphthongs in words like tune, duke etc. in Carolina, found that

"the least frequently used words have been the most susceptible to change"

(ibid:75)

The peculiarity of the lexical item /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/ and its deviation from the general pattern of change invites closer examination. There could well be an interaction between social group membership and the manifestation of the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable in the word. To find out I have examined the realization of this lexical item in the four ethnic groups. The following tables (6.5 - 6.8) show the result.

The Howala group: (6.5)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	-	100%	24
young	-	-	100%	31

The Qaba:yil group: (6.6)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	-	100%	17
young	-	-	100%	32

The 'Ajam group: (6.7)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	10.5%	89.5%	19
young	-	-	100%	39

The Bedouin group: (6.8)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	78%	22%	18
young	15%	35%	50%	17

The tables show, not only that the younger groups of the sedentary population categorically apply the colloquialization rule in this item, but also that the younger speakers of the Bedouin group are on their way to follow suit. The high level of the application of the colloquialization rule by the younger generation of this group in this particular word, compared to their overall use of the [y] variant in class I or in any other class of lexical item, is a typical example of the start of a change. Labov (1963) writes that

"phonological division requires as a starting point a variation in one or several words in the speech of one or two individuals"

(ibid:273)

It should be noted, however, that although the older generation of the Bedouin group have a higher percentage of the [y] variant in items in class I (histogram 6.14) than do their younger counterparts, nonetheless its occurrence in the speech of the younger speakers is more systematic. This is because the application of the colloquialization rule in the speech of the

younger group is almost totally confined to this single lexical item, which makes it predictable and systematic, whereas the [y] variant occurs in the speech of the older groups in sporadic items, rather like a hit and miss process. Therefore I propose that the carriers of this linguistic innovation within the Bedouin group, or "language missionaries" as Trudgill (1984) called them, are the younger generation of the Bedouin speakers, who interact very frequently with people of the same age from the other groups. The behaviour of this group is important in the process of linguistic change for two reasons. On the one hand, they are not rejected by the Bedouin speakers, but considered insiders, while on the other hand they are felt to be more sophisticated than the other speakers. Taken together this is vital, for as Trudgill (1984:5) puts it:

"if the attitudinal factors are right, and particularly if individuals are perceived as being insiders by a certain group of speakers ... they can have a considerable linguistic influence through face-to-face contacts in spite of being heavily out-numbered."

The reason for picking up this particular lexical item by the linguistic "missionaries" may lie in the fact that it is categorically realized as [wa:yid] by the sedentary groups in all contexts. No other single item exhibits such uniform behaviour in the manifestation of the [y] variant - not even other frequent items of class I. As an example we look at the item /yid<sub>3</sub>i:b/ "he brings" of class I.

## The Qaba:yil group: (6.9)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	-	100%	16
young	19%	19%	62%	23

## The Howala group: (6.10)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	-	100%	55
young	33%	-	66%	18

## The 'Ajam group: (6.11)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	11%	11%	78%	46
young	36%	20%	44%	25

The Bedouin group: (6.12)

	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
old	-	66%	23%	6
young	58%	30%	12%	26

It is evident from the above tables that no unified pattern is apparent in the realization of this lexical item. Therefore we can say that the chance of missing the rule, whether circumstantial or otherwise, which changes /wa:d<sub>3</sub>id/ into [wa:yid] is virtually nil. Besides, the high frequency of this word means also that it is often uttered and consequently often heard. It is acceptable, therefore, to assume that in the subsequent process of conscious or unconscious imitation of the sedentary variant, the younger Bedouin speaker will use it first and foremost in the words he categorically heard pronounced with the [y] variant; later other highly frequent words soon follow.

#### 6.10 Change from above or from below:

Linguistic changes are normally of two kinds. On the one hand, there are changes which people realize are taking place and actively encourage. These are referred to as changes from above i.e. above the level of social awareness. They spread because of the "overt prestige" that is attached to them (Labov, 1966 and 1972a, Trudgill, 1974). These changes come from the upper social stratum and gradually spread to other groups lower on the social scale. On the

other hand, there are changes from below i.e. below the level of social awareness. They are associated with "covert prestige". These changes by contrast are initiated by a group lower on the social scale and gradually spread to the other groups higher on the social hierarchy, where social reaction may fasten on to it, suppress it - or even exert social pressure to reverse it.

The changes reported in this study seem to be of the former type i.e. from above. The change from [d<sub>3</sub>] to [y] in the speech of the Bedouin group is not difficult to place within this paradigm. The Bedouin group who are on the lower part of the social scale have borrowed the [y] variant from another group higher up on the hierarchy i.e. the Qaba:yil group.

The other kind of change, namely the increase in the application of the standardization rule, which is affecting the sedentary as well as the Bedouin group, has its origin in the superposed variety. In other words, no social group has borrowed the [d<sub>3</sub>] variant from another group within the community, but rather the change has come about as a result of the spread of education and mass media, as well as the general process of modernization which swept the country after the exportation of oil in the early fifties.

#### 6.11 Speech community as defined by Labov:

One of the doctrines that have emerged from the quantitative paradigm initiated by Labov (1966) is that there is a common evaluation of sociolinguistic variables, and ultimately a common evaluation of specific variants throughout the speech community. That is to say that all members of the speech community evaluate the



variants in terms of status or prestige in the same way. Thus Labov (1966) defined New York City as a single speech community because it is

"united by a common evaluation of the same variables which differentiate the speaker"  
(1966:125)

All the members of the Lower East Side of New York City, regardless of their social background, agreed that the occurrence of post-vocalic (r), for example, is a mark of prestige, whereas the omission of it is not as prestigious; they also displayed a similar agreement on other variables like (oh) or (eh). This means that

"the speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage"

(Dorain 1982:27)

At several points Labov (1972<sup>a</sup>) insists on common evaluation of speech variants as the crucial factor in designating any group of speakers as members of the same speech community. For example on page 158 he says:

"a speech community cannot be conceived as a group of speakers who all use the same forms; it is best defined as a group who share norms in regard to language"

At another point he writes:

"the linguistic variable became one of the norms which defined the speech community, and all the members of the speech community reacted in a uniform manner to its use"

(ibid:179)

Again on page 249 he emphasizes the same point:

"the correlate of regular stratification of a sociolinguistic variable in behaviour is uniform agreement in subjective reactions towards that variable."

What is clear from the above quotations is that, according to Labov, speakers within the same speech community may differ in the usage of a variant, but not in their evaluation of it. It is precisely for this reason that he, at another stage, writes that

"older and younger speakers in New York City belong to slightly different speech communities"  
(ibid:198)

No subjective reaction test was carried out for the present study, but from the remarks made by the informants during the interviews, it was clear that the interviewees positively evaluated their own form of speech. In fact, it would be difficult to envisage how a change could take place if all the users shared the same evaluation of the variants (Scotton and Wanjin 1984). Milroy (1980) has also noticed that, according to Labov's definition, Southern British English speakers do not belong to the same speech community, because they do not attach the same social evaluation or meaning to the (r) variable, but at the same time their evaluation is unified with regard to the (h) variable.

Moreover, many studies have reported results which do not support Labov's view. An example of this is Scotton and Wanjin's investigation (1984) on the semantic change of the meaning of the Chinese shi:fu. What they found was that there was differentiated evaluation as well as differentiated usage of the word within the

same speech community. Shi:fu could mean elder or master craftsman (original meaning), comrade or a neutral term of address. Each meaning is associated with a different group of speakers in Beijing (People's Republic of China). The investigators found that there was an isomorphic relationship between the subjective evaluation and the actual usage of shi:fu. Informants who were asked to evaluate the word usage, evaluated their own usage of it most positively.

Labov's notion of linguistic change is closely tied to the principle of the common evaluation of linguistic variables. Because all members of the speech community evaluate the variants in the same way, change can take place only in one direction which, in most cases, is towards the prestigious variant. In other words, the speech community is regarded as like a physical body which can move as a whole in a certain direction (Romaine 1984). But such an idea is far too simplistic and unconvincing. In fact

"even fairly homogeneous speech communities may display more than one direction of change and variation, and subgroups within the community can be characterized by bimodal distribution with respect to the use of the same variable i.e. they use it in different ways"

(Romaine 1980:43)

In the present study we have seen how the Bedouin group, whose variant coincides with the one used in the superposed variety, shows a shift in the direction of the dialectal variant [y], whereas the other groups are moving towards the superposed variant [d<sub>3</sub>]. A similar result was found by Holes (1981) in his study on the Bahraini dialect.

Bahraini society is divided into two main groups: the

prestigious Sunni group, and the stigmatized Shi'i group. Holes found that in the ( $d_3$ ) variable, in which the variant of the latter group coincided with that of the superposed variety, there were two directions of change. The Shi'i group were moving in the direction of the socially prestigious group, thus adopting the [y] variant of the Sunni group, while the other group was moving in the direction of the superposed variety and thus the change was to the [ $d_3$ ] variant.

Based on these data one is inclined to agree with Gumperz's view that one cannot satisfactorily define a speech community in terms of common evaluation of purely linguistic elements such as (r) in New York City or (th) in Belfast. Competent members of any speech community do not necessarily agree on evaluative measures.

#### 6-B Variability and education

Since the older groups are generally uneducated this section deals only with the features of the speech of the younger speakers who had undergone a level of formal education.

Before proceeding in this section I should point out that age and educational factors are indistinguishable. The older people are commonly illiterates who had no chance of formal education; and those who had a chance of local religious education with clergymen ("motawa") constitute a very small fraction of the society and can virtually be ignored. Instead of the wide-spread illiteracy that had characterized Qatar, and indeed other parts of the Arab world, in the past, the newly-developing society of Qatar is progressing rapidly in educating its members. The time when the bulk of its

society could not afford to go to school no longer exists. Nowadays, the younger generation are expected to be well-educated - or at least to be able to read and write. This means that the younger people are exposed to SA influence, whether in schools or through written materials.

6.12 The distribution of the lexical items in the educational groups:

In table (6.13) we will present the distribution of four classes of lexical items in the speech of U (university graduates), H (high school graduates) and E (speakers with elementary level of education or less).

Table (6.13)

Class	E	H	U
I	12%	9%	9%
II	18%	14%	14%
III	49%	51%	44%
IV	21%	26%	33%
N	3646	7383	4045

Comparing the distribution of items in class IV across the three educational groups, we realize that the trend is a gradual increase in these words as we move from the E group to the U group. In other words, the H speakers seem to have a higher percentage of these

items in their speech repertoire when compared to speakers from the E group, but have a lesser degree of such standard items when compared to the U group. On the basis of this we may conclude that the level of the occurrence of items in class IV seem to correlate with the level of the education of the speaker.

Detailed consideration of the distribution of items in class IV in the speech of the three educational groups, besides the fact that the older speakers had the least level of these items in their speech, suggests that what we are calling items in class IV are acquired later, if at all, than the other classes of lexical items. Items in classes I, II and III can be said to form the basis of the primary linguistic data which is acquired early in childhood and about which the speaker generalizes in his initial stages of acquisition.

The general pattern of lexical distribution i.e. class IV, along the educational level can be observed in all social groups as table (6.14) shows (the deviations circled):

Table (6.14)

Group	E	H	U
Qaba:yil	15%	26%	31%
Howala	25%	20%	36%
'Ajam	17%	26%	39%
Bedouin	15%	29%	22%

### 6.13 The distribution of the two variables in the educational groups:

#### 6.13.1 Description of the data

##### 6.13.1.1 The (Q) variable:

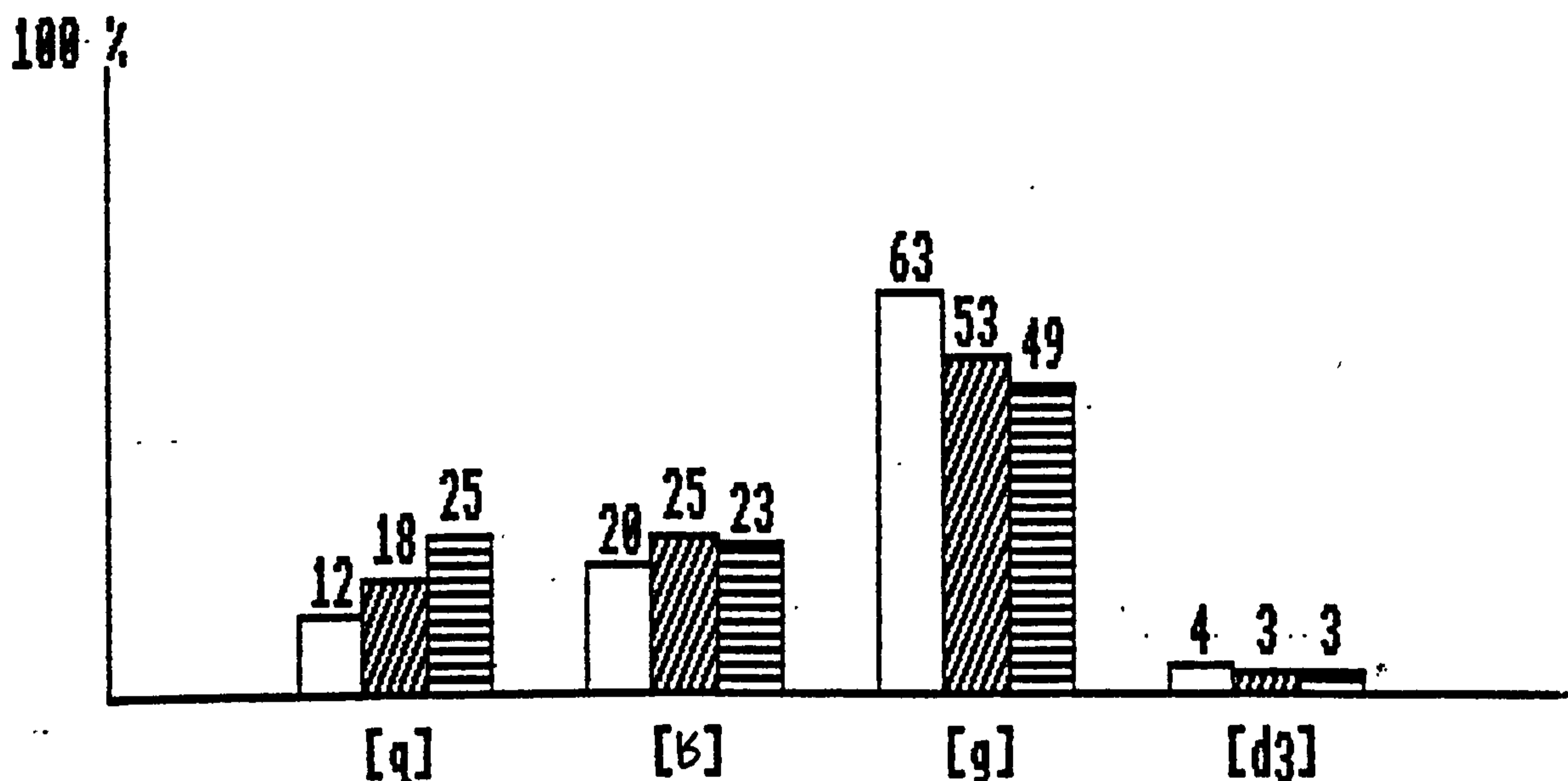
The general pattern which emerges from histogram 6.23 is that there seem to be a positive correlation between the level of education of the speakers and the probability of the application of the standardization rule. University graduates use this rule more often than High school graduates, who apply the rule more often than speakers with a lower level of education i.e. the E group.

To get a more detailed idea about the realization of this variable in the speech of the three groups in classes III and IV of lexical items, we present histograms 6.24 and 6.25. Items in classes I and II tend not to show any real variation. Looking at histograms 6.24 and 6.25 it is obvious that the general pattern of the earlier histogram occurs in items in class III and in class IV. Not only are the three groups stratified by their relative

application of the colloquialization and the standardization rules, but also by the fact that for items in class IV, which almost categorically favour the application of the latter rule, the three groups are differentiated by their tendencies to use the [q] or the [ʋ] variants. It seems that as the educational level of the speaker increases there is a corresponding increase in the probability of the application of the standardization rule (1) i.e. [q], in items in class IV. The less educated speakers, however, tend to use standardization rule (2), which yields the [y] variant.



Histogram 6.23

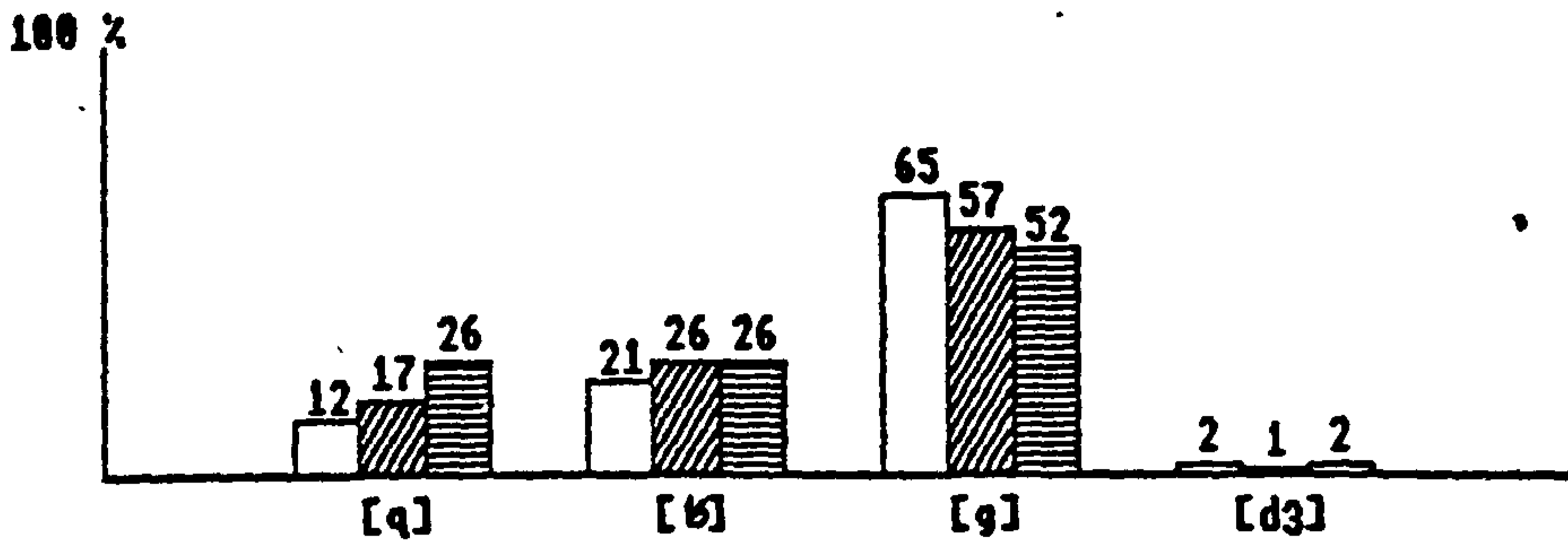


The distribution of the (Q) variable in three educational groups:  
Elementary - High School - University

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Elementary	286 12%	461 20%	1458 63%	100 4%	2305
High School	440 18%	586 25%	1255 53%	69 3%	2350
University	637 25%	595 23%	1226 49%	81 3%	2539

Not significant

Histogram 6.24

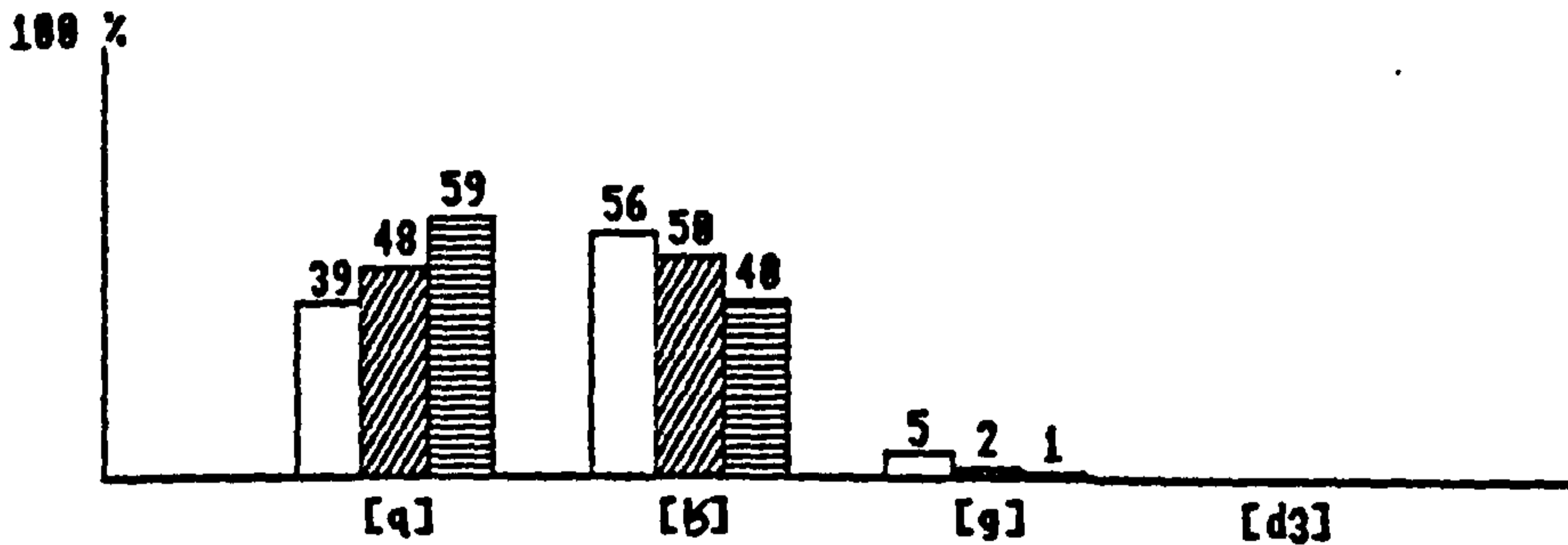


The distribution of the (Q) variable in class III in three educational groups : Elementary - High School - University

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Elementary	151 12%	265 21%	843 65%	28 2%	1287
High School	233 17%	357 26%	786 57%	15 1%	1391
University	347 26%	350 26%	695 52%	33 2%	1425

Not significant

Histogram 6.25



The distribution of the (Q) variable in class IV in three educational groups : Elementary - High School - University

Group	[q]	[b]	[g]	[d3]	N
Elementary	129 39%	186 56%	15 5%	0 0%	330
High School	206 48%	216 50%	10 2%	0 0%	432
University	347 59%	236 48%	8 1%	0 0%	591

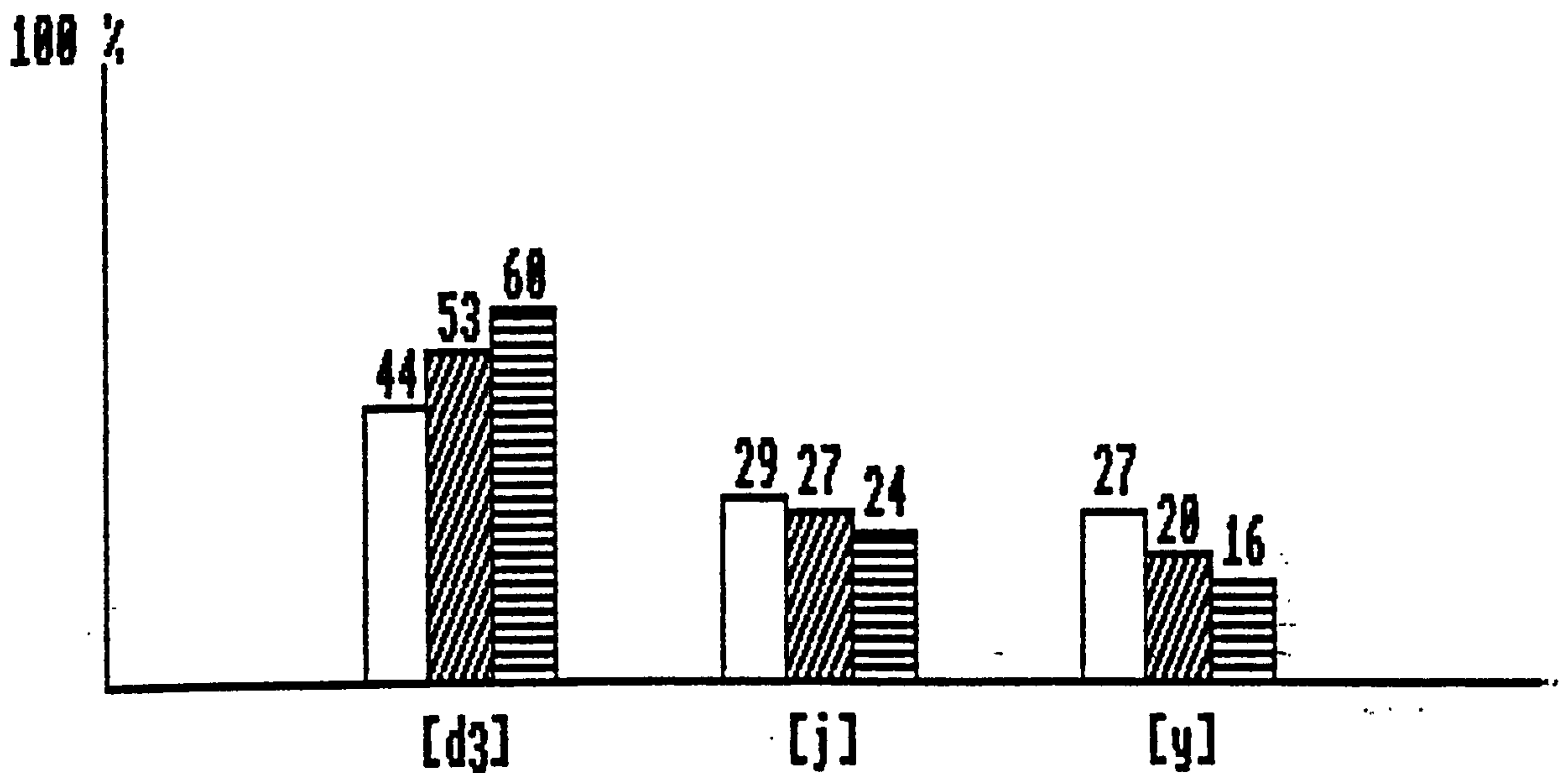
Not significant

### 6.13.1.2 The (d<sub>3</sub>) variable:

Histogram 6.26 shows that the behaviour of the group on this variable does not differ in essence from their behaviour on the previous variable. As the level of education of the speakers increases, so do their tendencies towards the application of the standardization rule.

Histograms 6.27 - 6.30 demonstrate that the above general pattern re-occurs in every class of lexical item. Histogram 6.30, however, shows that the higher level of education also means a lesser tendency towards the use of the neutral variant [j]. In other words, even in lexical items which almost categorically disfavour the application of the colloquialization rule (class IV), the university graduates display a more marked shift towards the standardization rule i.e. [d<sub>3</sub>] than do the other group. Such a tendency is less prominent in the speech of the high school graduates and least prominent of all in the speech of the speakers with a lower level of education.

Histogram 6.26

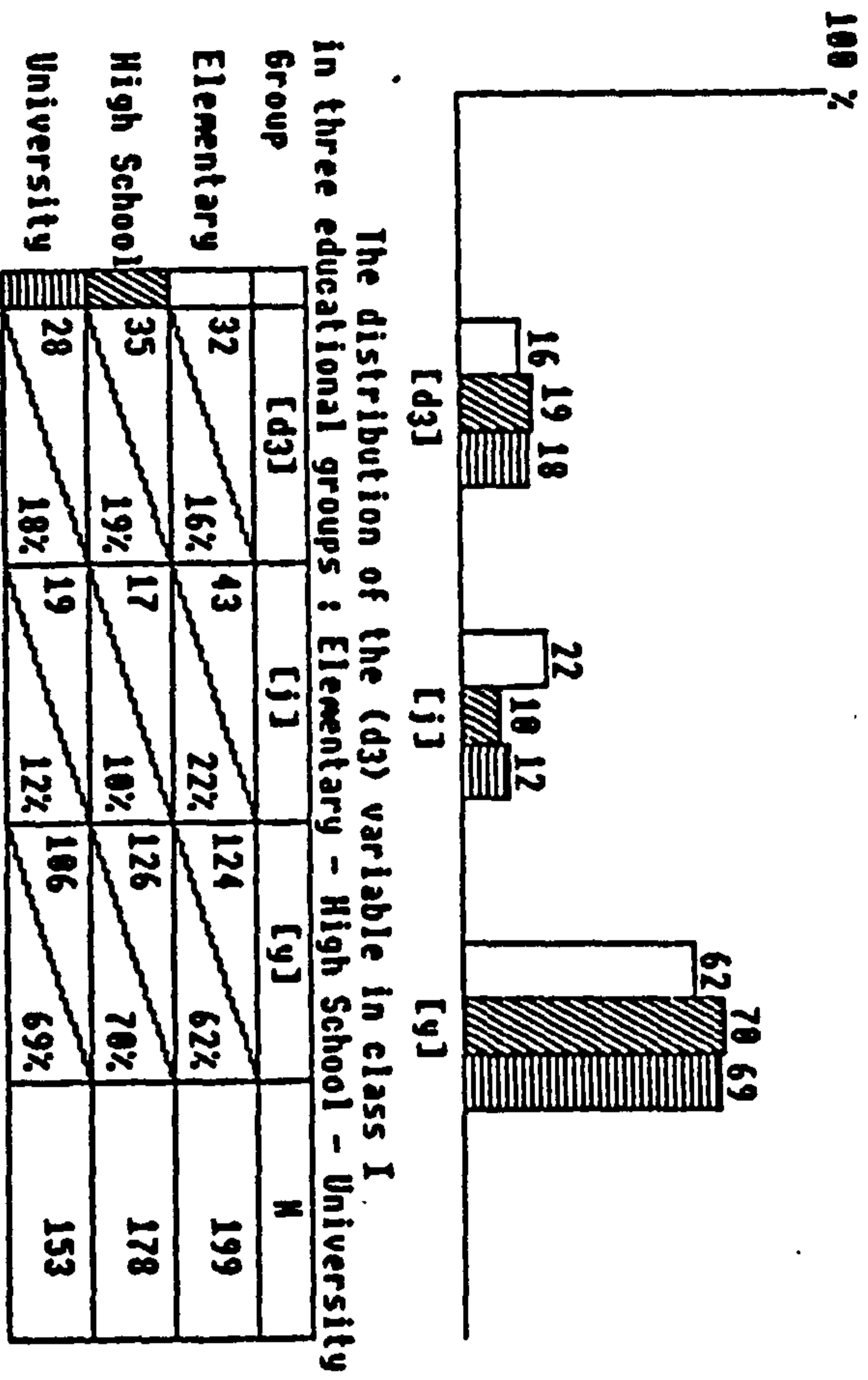


The distribution of the (d3) variable in three educational groups:  
Elementary - High School - University

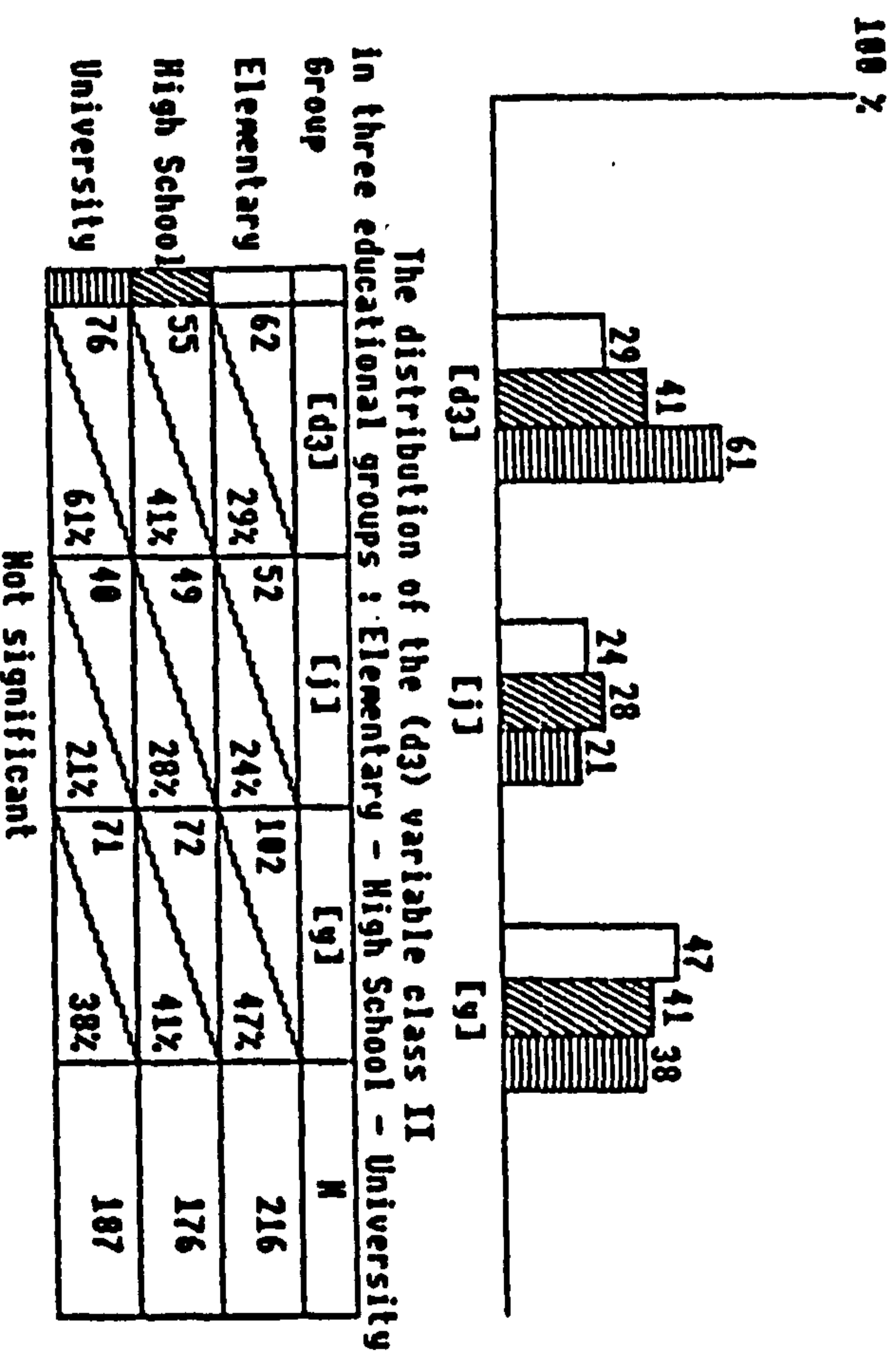
Group	[d3]	[j]	[y]	N
Elementary	588 44%	387 29%	366 27%	1341
High School	757 53%	380 27%	296 20%	1433
University	909 60%	188 24%	243 16%	1340

Not significant

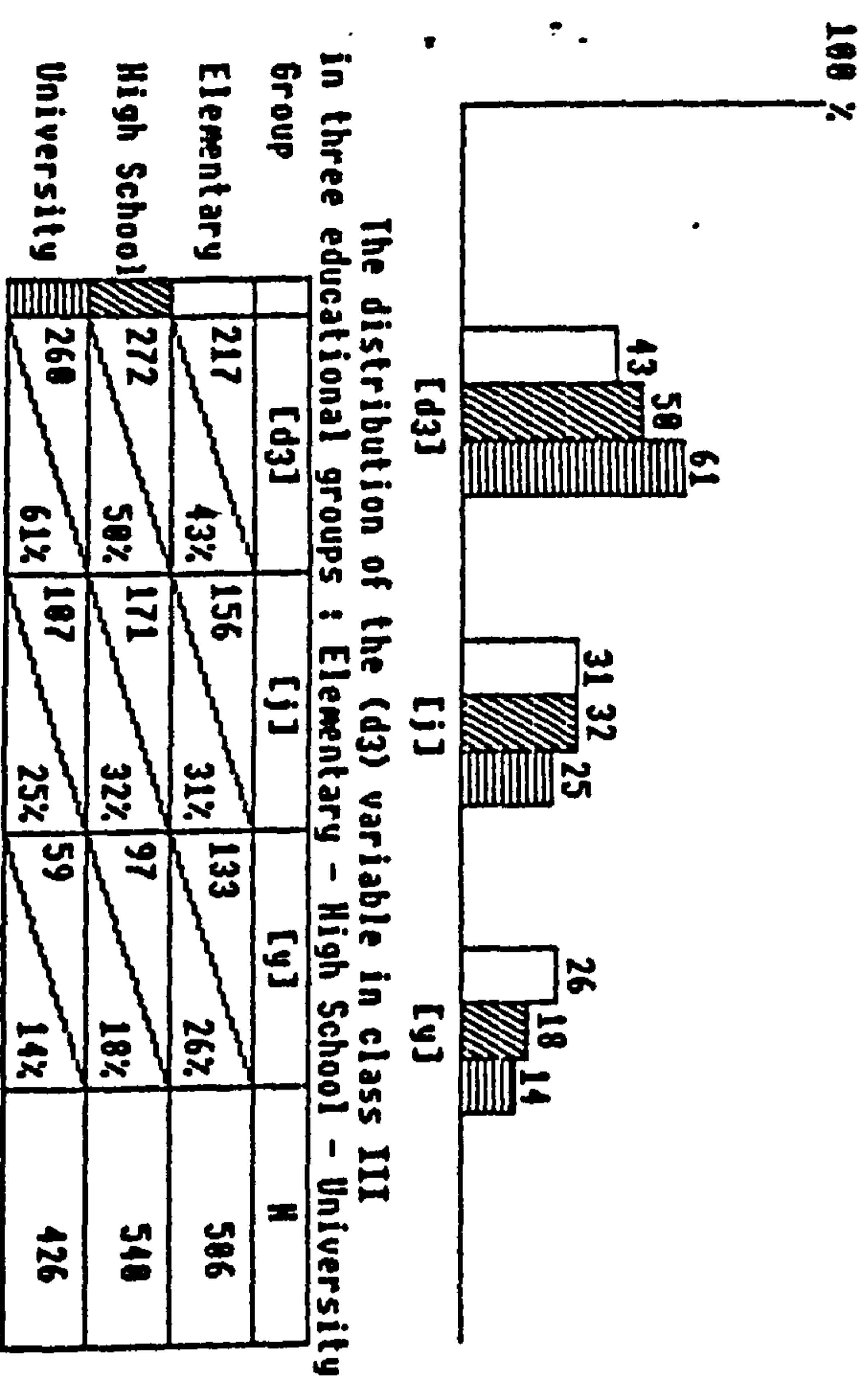
Histogram 6.27



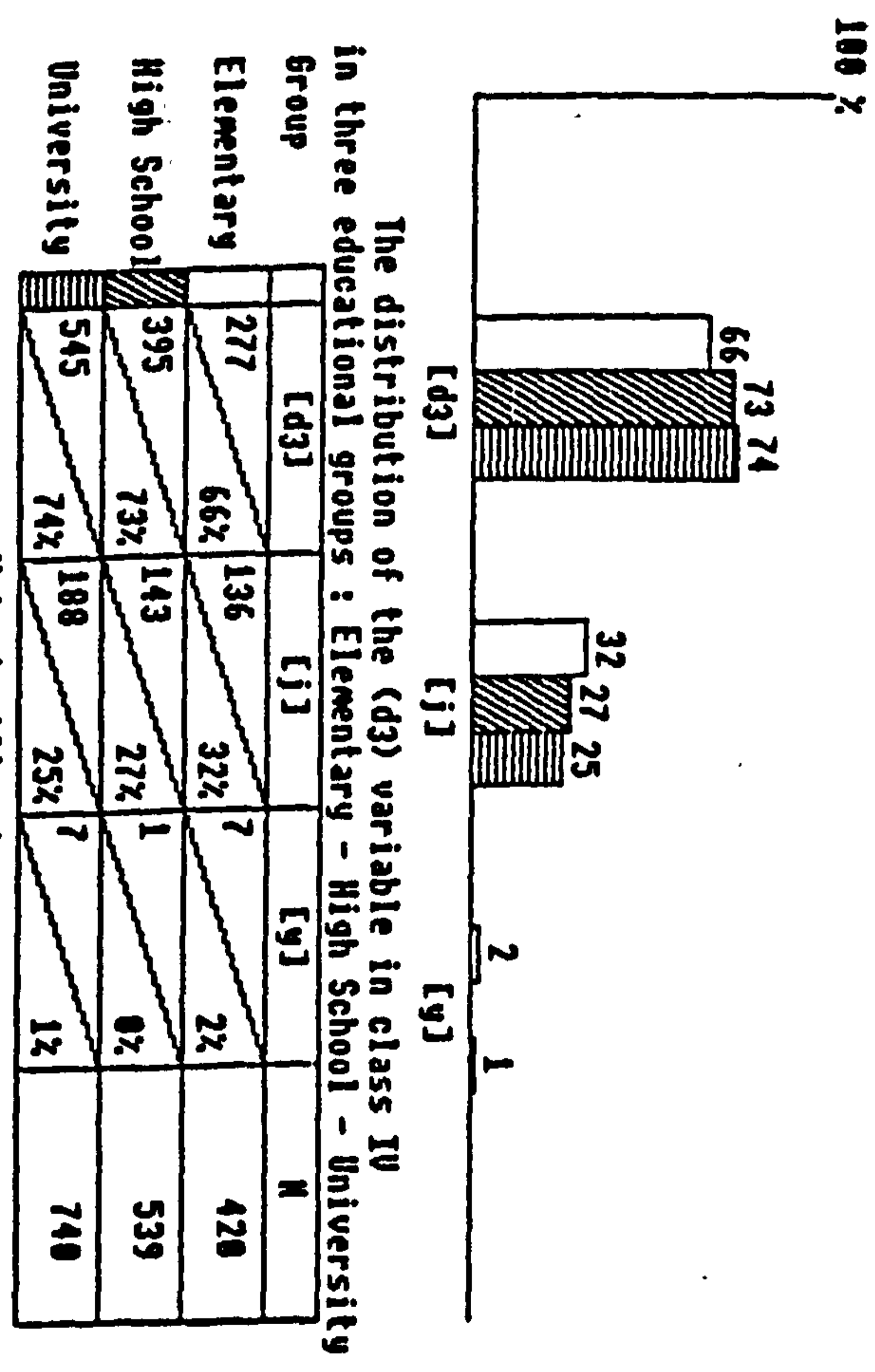
Histogram 6.28



Histogram 6.29



Histogram 6.30



The findings of this section seem to confirm the results of a similar study done on the dialect of Amman (Abdel-Jawad 1981). He also found that as the speakers move upward along the educational hierarchy, the probability of the application of the standardization rule increases. His other relevant finding was that in Amman old educated speakers showed the strongest tendency towards the standardization rule in their speech. He writes

"we can assume that old educated speakers use [q] pronunciation more often than the other groups do"

(ibid:256)

For the present study, however, it remains to be seen if this is the case. In other words, the unavailability, or more precisely the non-existence, of speakers with different levels of education from the older generation, makes it impossible to discuss the issue at present. To obtain such data we have to wait for two or three decades for the younger generation to grow older.

On the whole we may claim that the differences among the educational groups are less striking than the differences between the two generations. In other words, there is a considerable amount of convergence among speakers of all the educational levels when compared with the older speakers. For example, the difference between the high school graduates and the elementary group is far less than that between the latter group and the old people, who are illiterate. The question of whether such differences is due to the age factor or to the educational factor is difficult to say. This is why we have said earlier that these two factors are inseparable.

#### 6.14 Summary and conclusion:

The detailed examination of the two linguistic variables has shown that the two variables co-vary with age. In both variables the younger generation utilize the standardization rule more often than do the older generation. The data have also shown that, generally speaking, three kind of changes were in progress in the QD:-

One kind of change involves the change in lexical items in classes I and IV. A huge number of lexical items relating to the activities of the before-oil era are rapidly fading away from everyday use. Instead more and more items from the standard variety (i.e. SA), are constantly infiltrating into the QD, due to the fast spread of formal education, mass media etc.

The other two kinds of change involve the ( $d_3$ ) variable. One kind of change, which is also more evident, is the change from the localized variant [y] towards the superposed variant [ $d_3$ ], i.e. an increase in the application of the standardization rule. The second kind of change, which has just begun to take place in the Bedouin dialect, is the adoption of the [y] variant, due to increasing social pressures. The former change displays a negative correlation with the frequency of a lexical item. In other words, the most frequently used words in any class of lexical items are least affected by this change. On the other hand, the change in the direction of the localized variant [y] in the speech of the Bedouin group appears to show a positive correlation with the frequency of lexical items, particularly in the case of the word /wa: $d_3$ id/

"very much/many".

The data on the educational factor have demonstrated that the use of the standardization rule seem to correlate strongly with the level of education of the speaker. As one gets higher on the educational scale, one is more likely to use such rules. Nonetheless, the difference among the three educational groups was less striking than the difference between the two age groups. That is to say that the gap between the least educated group of the younger generation and the older generation is far more than the gap between the former and the one directly above them on the educational scale i.e. high school graduates. Therefore it is extremely difficult to say if the difference between the two age groups is merely due to the educational factor or to the age factor. In other words, the two factors are inseparable.



Footnotes

- (1) Judging from the data in this study it is almost impossible to be certain if the difference between the two age groups is a real change or if it is merely due to age differences; after all we all know that there are certain patterns of speech which are thought to be suitable for the younger speakers, while other patterns of speech are thought to be appropriate for older speakers. In the absence of real time data I would suggest that the remarks on sound change in progress on the variables should be taken as suggestive rather than definitive.
- (2) Aitchison (1981, chapter 7) also acknowledges that the infiltration of external foreign elements may be an important factor in language change.
- (3) We have excluded items in class IV from consideration because
  - (a) they invariably block the colloquialization rule, and
  - (b) we believe that these words are responsible for the change that we are discussing.

## Chapter VII

Variation and style shifting in reading and conversational styles7.1 Introduction

Many investigations of different dialects have reported the existence of an unbroken style continuum, stretching from the most to the least formal style (Labov 1966, 1972<sub>a</sub>, Wolfram 1969, Schmidt 1974). Between these two extreme poles one may predict various stylistic levels depending on social, situational and linguistic factors. This style-shifting is so common that its occurrence in one's speech in daily interactions is perceived as normal by one's audience. On the contrary, the absence of such a shifting is, if anything, surprising. In fact it is commonly accepted nowadays that "there is no single-style speaker" (Labov 1970 b:180), which means that every speaker shows variation in one way or another in accordance with the linguistic and immediate as well as the background context in which the speech event is taking place. (See also Hymes 1977:30 for similar remarks.)

Style shifting seems to play a prominent role in communication. To communicate well, it is not enough only that the linguistic structure of utterances should be correct, but also that the speaker must adopt one level of style or another according to the situational and social demands.

The idea that the knowledge of stylistic levels is a part of the communicative competence of the speaker has been emphasized by different scholars but mainly Hymes. For example Milroy (1980:85)

writes on this subject that

"a person's knowledge of his language includes more than knowledge of syntactic, semantic and phonological rules. Even if his knowledge of these is complete he must also acquire communicative competence - knowledge of when to speak or be silent; how to speak on each occasion; how to communicate (and interpret) meanings of respect, seriousness, humour, politeness or intimacy."

The same idea is evident in White (1983:47)

"in acquiring language children must acquire not only the structure of the language but also the rules for using language appropriately in a wide variety of situations."

Wolfram and Fasold (1974:24-5) also write that

"It is most reasonable to assume that speakers who have acquired a language system have also acquired some flexibility in the use of alternative structures within that system."

Agreement on the age at which communicative competence is acquired is not as clear as the fact that it is acquired. Labov (1972 a, b) has concluded that the knowledge of stylistic competence is acquired during the adolescent period. But many studies have reported results contradicting such claims. For example Reid (1978) presented some evidence from his investigation on the speech of 77 Edinburgh primary-school children that at the age of eleven not only are patterns of social and stylistic variation well established, but there is also a high level of conscious awareness of the variation involved. More evidence of acquiring the knowledge of stylistic shifting at an early age is found in Romaine (1984, chapter 4). She presents numerous examples of linguistic variables from her study on the speech of school children in Edinburgh which validate the

assumption that children acquire such knowledge as early as the age of 6-10 years.

It is also widely accepted that one of the main factors of stylistic variation lies in the amount of attention paid to speech. One of the earliest studies which supported these views was Labov (1966).

The concept of stylistic stratification can be found in the majority of recent sociolinguistic studies (for example Trudgill 1974.) They demonstrate that the variables not only display social stratification but also stylistic distribution. The point is that the realization of a linguistic variable at every level of style is different from its manifestation in the preceding or in the following level of style; and as the context becomes more formal, the prestigious variant increases.

#### 7.1.1 Style shifting in Arabic

The first work based on empirical data dealing with stylistic modification in Arabic is Blanc (1960). He clearly states at the outset of the article that the study falls in the realm of "variation of style" (ibid:81). He investigated stylistic shifting in the speech of four speakers who, although from different backgrounds, were all teachers of Arabic studying in the U.S.A. Two of them were native speakers of Baghdadi (Iraqi) Arabic; one being Muslim while the other was Christian. The third informant was an Aleppine who spoke a kind of generalized Syrian; and the final speaker was a Palestinian.

He found that "major stylistic modifications in the Arabic

dialects take place on one of two planes or simultaneously on both; these may be labelled the 'levelling' and 'classicizing' planes ... and the mechanisms used to modify utterances may accordingly be discussed under 'levelling devices' and 'classicizing devices'" (Blanc 1960:82). The former is usually employed in interdialectal circumstances, where the speaker may replace certain features of his native variety with their equivalent in a dialect of higher prestige (not necessarily that of the interlocutor). Generally speaking, levelling takes place not as means of imitating a specific dialect, but as a way of suppressing localisms in favour of features which are simply more common or more well known. The classicizing tendency means the process of incorporating elements from the superposed variety instead of the dialectal ones. For example, the use of the [q] variant instead of the glottal stop [ʔ] in Cairene Arabic, is seen as a classicizing mechanism.

Although he acknowledges the fact that stylistic shifting is constrained by many external elements such as intimacy between the speakers, value of dialectal features, native dialect of the speaker, his age, his sex etc., when setting up his five stylistic levels he did not tie them to such external factors. Instead they were differentiated on linguistic grounds such as the presence of, for example, the [q] variant. Each stylistic level was therefore associated with a set of linguistic features. The five styles i.e. varieties, as distinguished by Blanc (1980:85) are:

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

The five varieties are basically of two origins. The first three are largely of the L structure with different levels of modifications in the direction of the H variety, or in the direction of another dialect with a higher prestige. On the other hand numbers 4 and 5 are basically of the H structure, with 4 being slightly modified in the direction of the colloquial i.e. L variety, by introducing a dialectal admixture into it.

Commenting on the range of the stylistic variations which could occur in his data, Blanc (1960:85) writes

"once one gets beyond homespun conversation in relaxed colloquial within a single dialect, it is the exception rather than the rule to find any sustained segment of discourse in a single one of the style varieties alluded to. Speakers tend to pass from one to the other sometimes within a single sentence, so that overall stylistic characterization of a given segment of discourse is a complex and delicate matter."

It is clear from the above quotation that Blanc regards linguistic features and styles as isomorphic i.e. the change of one entails the change of the other. Such a great level of fluctuation in style shifting, which so commonly occurs even in single sentences, is only a consequence of defining the styles in terms of linguistic elements. To elaborate this we present the following example. If we have three linguistic features A, B and C, which we regard as being isomorphic with three levels of style  $A_1$ ,  $B_1$  and  $C_1$ , then whenever the feature changes, inevitably the style should

change accordingly. For example if we assume that a change from [g] to [q] represents a style shift, then any shift in the use of the linguistic variant, by definition, means a change in style, which is somewhat uninformative or tautologous. Moreover this could well involve circularity. To quote Abdel-Jawad (1981:92)

"since we are trying to study the influence of style shifting on linguistic performance, or linguistic choice, we cannot take formal linguistic differences as criteria for our style division. Instead, we should start from the other end i.e. define, at least roughly, our styles along a scale of formality depending on the external factors, and then see if the defined contexts correspond to linguistic differences."

However, without discrediting Blanc in any way, one must say that in addition to the above mentioned points, the study suffers from a major drawback. The data on which the study is based came from four educated speakers who are teachers of Arabic. Their verbal interaction centered around one main topic: language. Moreover, the informants were not only aware of the recording process but also "were well aware of the purpose" (Blanc 1960:86) of the whole exercise. Taking these facts into consideration we can say that what he has described as five different styles is no more than subsets of one style - namely educated speech in a formal setting.

Another study which is similar to Blanc's, in some respect, is that of Sallam (1980), who studied the realization of the voiceless uvular plosive /q/ in the speech of educated speakers from Egypt and the Levant (see 4.1.1). One of the relevant findings of this study was that the majority of the [q] variants were generally associated

with a context marked (+formal) and (+education). Therefore he argues that it is justifiable to distinguish the [q] variant as stylistically formal (Sallam 1980:82). But we have seen in the last few chapters that the occurrence of this variant was very much tied to the class of lexical item, the age of the speaker and the speaker's level of education.

### 7.1.2 Quantitative studies:

#### 7.1.2.1 Schmidt 1974:

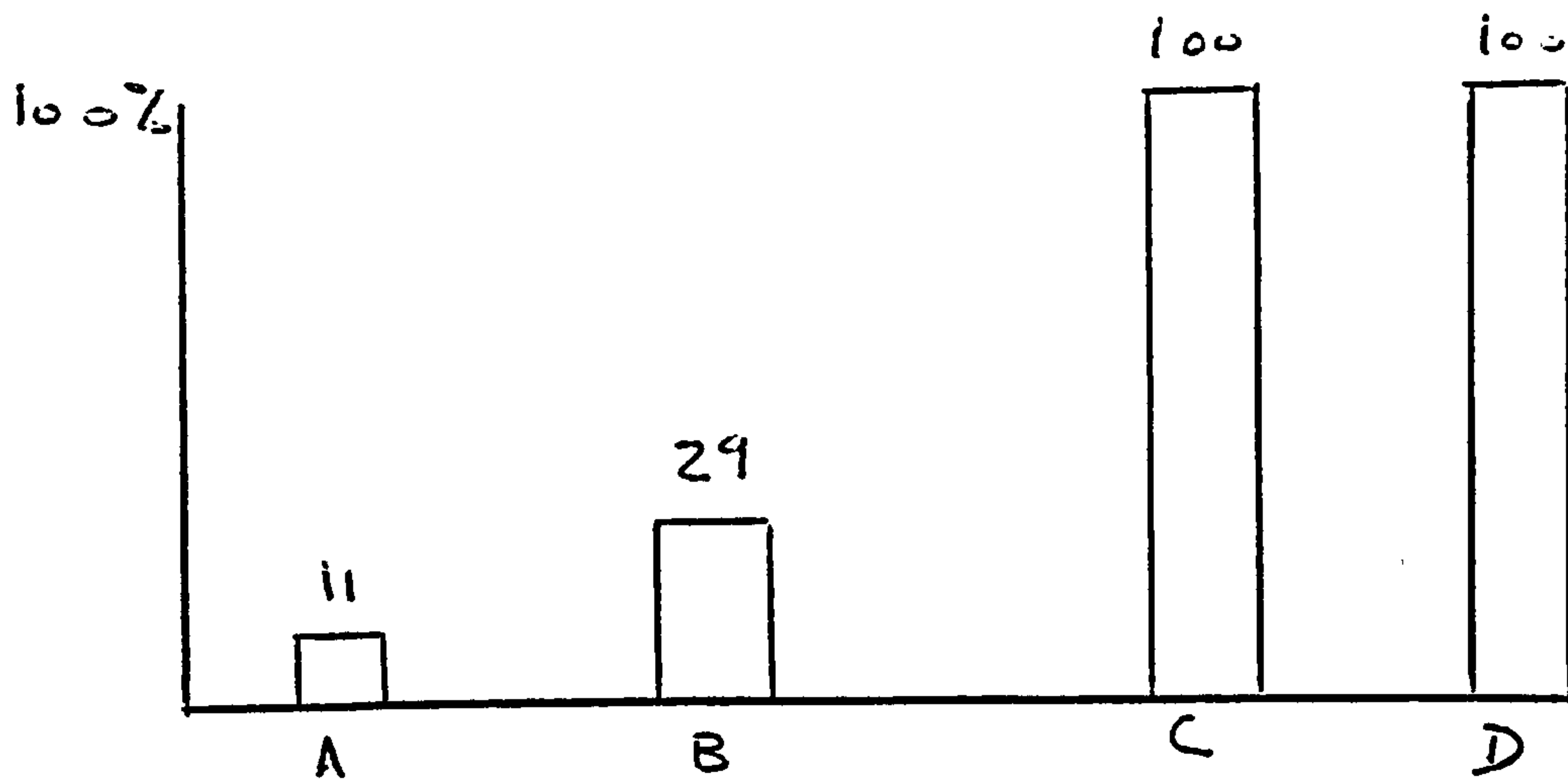
This researcher investigated the occurrence of a number of phonological variables in the speech of 28 Cairene speakers. 16 of them were students at the American university of Cairo representing both sexes equally; 12 male informants came from the working class with secondary educational level or less. Among other things the study was interested in the stylistic distribution of the variables in the speech of the informants. Four levels of style were isolated:

- style A = casual style
- style B = formal style
- style C = reading style
- style D = word list style

It is clear that the author is following Labov (1966, 72a) in distinguishing the different levels of style.

The result of the style shifting in the (Q) variable was as following, with 100% categorical use of the [q] variant and 0% categorical use of the [ʔ] variant i.e. glottal stop.





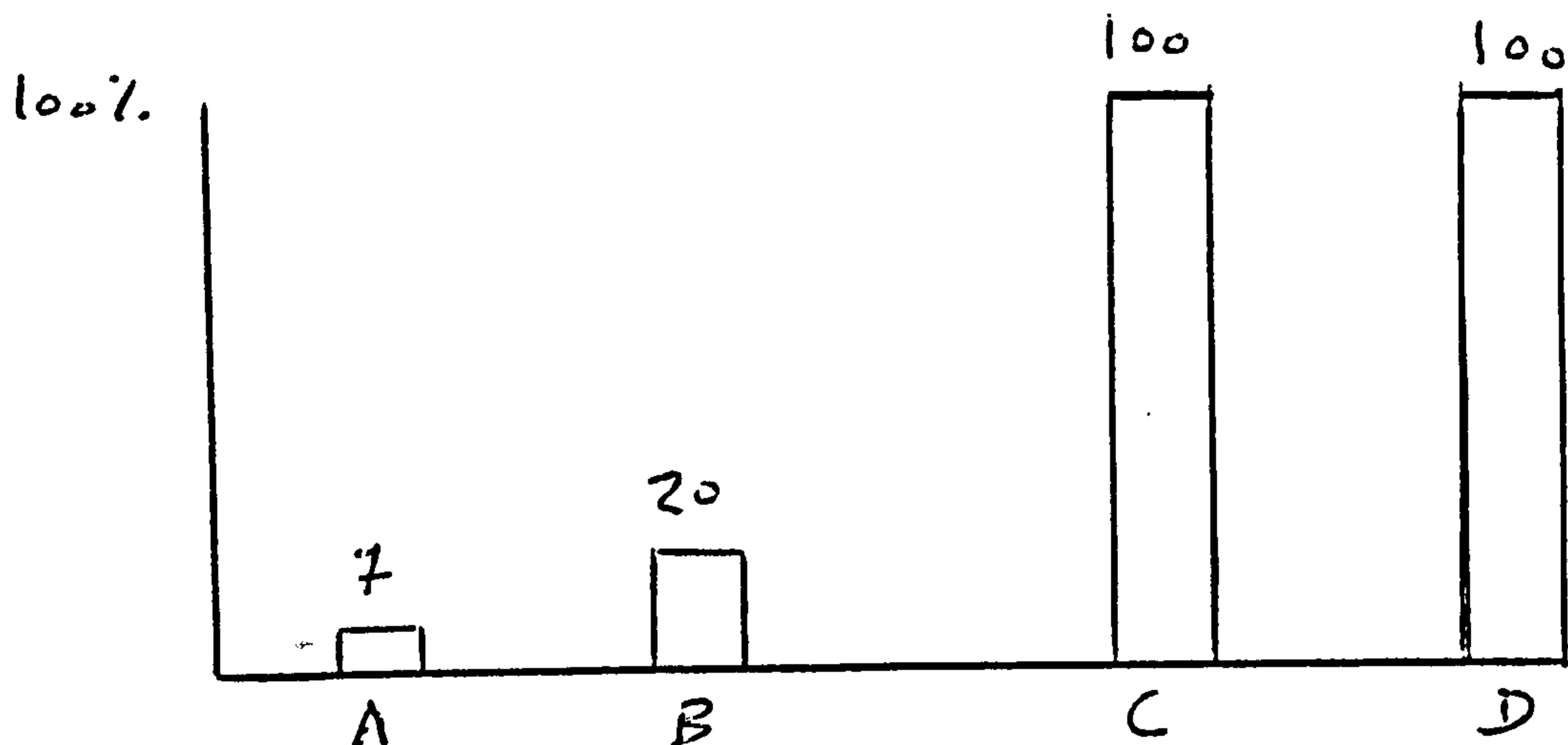
(adapted from Schmidt 1974:86)

The most striking feature of the above figure is the categorical application of the standardization rule in the [q] variant by all of the speakers in styles C and D.

The pattern for the ( $d_3$ ) variable was very similar. Informants consistently used the [g] variant in styles A and B, except for a few loan words with [ $d_3$ ] or [ʒ] pronunciation in the source language, and which retained such pronunciation but categorically used the [ $d_3$ ] variant in reading styles i.e. styles C and D.

#### 7.1.2.2 Shorrab (1981):

The remarkable stylistic distribution of the (Q) variable was reproduced in another study by Shorrab (1981) on the Palestinian dialect. His sample included 26 informants, half of whom were students at Suny at Buffalo, the others coming from the Palestinian Arab community in Buffalo. Like Schmidt (1974) he also isolated the same four styles. The following figure shows the realization of the (Q) variable in four styles.



(adapted from Shorrab 1981)

Both studies demonstrate quite clearly that when reading from a printed page (styles C and D), there is no room for variation. More precisely, in reading styles the only rule that is applied is the standardization rule. From the present study, however, I would argue that the pattern produced in these two studies is very much an artifact of using standard material in reading. In other words, I would like to show that by using different material a different pattern will emerge. Through using reading in the present investigation I want also to show that conversational styles and reading styles cannot be placed on a single linear continuum.

Some investigations on variation in Arabic did not include any kind of reading. For example Abdel-Jawad (1981) ruled out any sort of reading from his study on the dialect of Amman. The reason given is clear. He says:

"in Arabic ... it is assumed that there is a perfect match, or at least close to perfect, between spelling and pronunciation. Once a consonant or a vowel is written in Arabic, speakers will have no choice but pronounce it correctly with no option to differentiate it from other consonants, in the system."  
(ibid: 1981:101)

The same reason is advanced by Holes (1981) for the exclusion of reading in his study on the Bahraini dialect. He puts it in this way:

"the construction of reading tests aimed at sampling more 'formal' styles of spoken Arabic would inevitably involve the test constructor in pre-empting the speaker's choice between such alternative forms." (ibid: 82)

As an example he cites the word /kam/ "how much" which could be realized as [tʃam] or as [kam]. He says if the word is written as كَمْ or كَم it would leave the speaker with no choice but to pronounce the segment as it is written down.

Both studies also mention the high level of illiteracy in the two speech communities as another reason for not including reading styles. In fact Holes (1981) does not consider the question of style at all. Instead he treats each interview as a "single style" (ibid: 83).

The above reasonings seem to suggest that the correspondence of sound and symbol or the spelling pronunciation principle in Arabic works in every context i.e. given the spelling, there is only one unambiguous pronunciation for it. Reading from a printed page, therefore, is nothing but an oral manifestation of the written symbols. But I would like to argue - and to demonstrate - that this

need not always be the case. Moreover, I would like to show that in Arabic speaking communities the nature of the printed material (namely whether it belongs to colloquial folklore or to standard heritage) determines pronunciation to a greater extent than does the spelling-pronunciation relationship.

## 7.2 The present study

In order to test the hypothesis that the nature of the material being read influences the realization of the sociolinguistic variables, it was necessary to present to the young informants two pieces of material which were similar in structure but which were at the same time perceived to be different by the native speakers. That is to say, they had to be part of the same genre e.g. poetry, but one was known to be part of the native (L) variety literature, while the other was unequivocally part of the classical (H) variety. The best place to look for materials which met both these conditions was in poetry. Not only does there exist a large number of colloquial poems (alshi9r al9ammi), but also the vast majority of these poems have been published in collection of poems (divans). Poems in SA are as common as any other written material.

Two colloquial poems (appendix A1) were chosen, which together constituted 12 lines, wherea for the SA passage three quatrain poems were chosen (appendix A2). The reason why I have not chosen one long poem from colloquial poetry and a similar one from classical poetry, was to remove the element of boredom from the reading process. It was thought that breaking up the reading text into smaller units (here poems) would have the effect of keeping the

informant alert and fresh as he went from one poem to another. The disadvantage of this was, of course, that he had no chance of building up any real momentum.

The criterion in choosing the poems was the presence of the linguistic variables being investigated. In selecting any poem it was necessary that it should contain a high index of the (Q) and the (d<sub>3</sub>) variables. In earlier studies (Shorrab 1981, Schmidt 1974) it was reported that the diphthongs (aw) and (ay) behave differently in reading and spoken styles. Therefore it was decided to investigate the realization of these two diphthongs as well. Thus it was equally important that the poems should also contain instances of the diphthongs.

At this point I would like to make a few remarks about the two diphthongs introduced in the last paragraph. They were not considered in the previous chapters because they show no variation in conversational styles. In fact the only variation which they seem to show is conditioned by the phonological environment as follows:

1. a - /ay/->[ay]/ - y
- b - /ay/->[e:]/ elsewhere

The above rule reads that the diphthong /ay/ is realized as [ay] if it is followed by the semivowel /y/ as in [ayya:m] "days". In other phonological environments, the diphthong will be realized as a monophthong [e:] as in [ke:f] "how". (The output of rule (a) does not undergo rule (b).)

A similar phonological conditioning plays a part in the

realization of the diphthong /aw/:

a - /aw/->[aw]/ - w

b - /aw/->[o:]/ - elsewhere

An example of (a) is the word [awwal] "first", and of (b) the item [fo:g] "above/on".

Generally speaking, native speakers of QD distinguish between the broad diphthong [ay] variant, on the one hand, and the narrow diphthong [eə], or the monophthong [e:], on the other hand. Therefore I had to look for formal criteria in distinguishing the variants of each variable i.e. diphthong. It was decided, in both variables, that if the first element i.e. the vowel, was between cardinal vowels 4 and 5, it would be considered as an instance of [ay] or of [aw]. If, however, the first element was closer to cardinal vowels 3 or 2, in the case of the (ay) variable, the result would be considered as a monophthong [e:], and if the first element, in the case of the (aw) variable was closer to vowels 6 and 7, it would be taken as monophthong [o:]. Very few cases were excluded as mispronunciations. Thus the variants isolated for each variable were as following:

(aw): [aw] and [o:]

(ay): [ay] and [e:]

We shall refer to the rule which produces [aw] and [ay] as the standardization rule; and to the opposite rule which yields [o:] and [e:] as the colloquialization rule.

For the purpose of the present investigation we disregard the instances of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ which are followed by /w/

and /y/ respectively, because in such environments the variables are invariably realized as [aw] and [ay] respectively.

I also excluded from the investigation any word derived from a tri-consonantal root starting with the letter (w), because the /w/ element in these words, which appears to be part of the diphthongs, is in fact a genuine consonant. For example the word /mawd<sub>3</sub>u:d/ "available" is invariably realized as [mawd<sub>3</sub>u:d]. What here superficially appears to be a diphthong is in fact the vowel /a/ plus the consonant /w/. This becomes clear if we consider the root from which the word is derived. It is derived from the "w d<sub>3</sub> d" وجد root through the process of vowel insertion from the type maf9u:il. Thus what appears superficially as a diphthong is in fact the consonant /w/ preceded by the vowel, which is part of the prefix ma. Such words are invariably realized as diphthongs. For example /mawDu:9/ "topic" from "wD9" وضع root, and /maw9u:d/ "promised" from "w9d" وعد root. For similar reasons any item derived from a tri-consonantal root starting with the sound /y/ was also excluded: for example /ayqana/ "became sure", which is derived from "yqn" يقن root.

### 7.3 Limitation of the obtained data:

In measuring the differences in reading styles, several restrictions in the sample population must be noted. Firstly, the younger members of the sample only took part in reading, due to the very high level of illiteracy among the older group. Secondly, one of the informants, who is a university graduate from the Howala group, agreed to read only three lines of each kind of poetry.

Therefore I have decided to exclude him from the reading style. Lastly, a member of the 'Ajam group refused to take part in reading. The reason for this could well be due to his lack of adequate reading skills. His refusal was, I think, in order to avoid embarrassment in front of his friends who were present at the time of the interview. Another member of the Qaba:yil group also refused to take part in reading with no apparent reason. The total number of people who took part in reading was 32.

#### 7.4 Description of the data

##### 7.4.1 Lexical shift in formal and informal styles

##### (Conversational styles)

Stylistic variation in Arabic involves, among other things, lexical variation. One of the most interesting characteristics of Arabic is the existence of a reasonable number of paired items; one form is judged to be suitable for formal situations, while the other is looked upon as adequate for casual interactions. Ferguson's (1959<sub>a</sub>) remark on this matter is very clear:

"A striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L, where the range of the two items is roughly the same and the use of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L."

Schmidt (1974) also reports that Palva (1969) found that lexical variation is the most prominent indication of style shifting in Arabic.

To find out how far this is true of style shifting in QD we will examine the distribution of the four classes of lexical items in



the two conversational styles (informal and formal). Informal and intimate topics were looked upon as producing an informal style of speech, while serious and formal topics were regarded as yielding a formal style (see 2.6.1). The following table (7.1) reflects the results:

class	informal	formal
I	18%	12%
II	20%	15%
III	48%	45%
IV	14%	28%
N	7924	7791

Comparing the percentages of each class of lexical item in the two styles, we can confidently say that as the style becomes more formal, the occurrence of items in class IV increases at the expense of the other three classes of lexical items. This is not surprising if we take into consideration the fact that the two styles of speech were distinguished on the basis of topic.

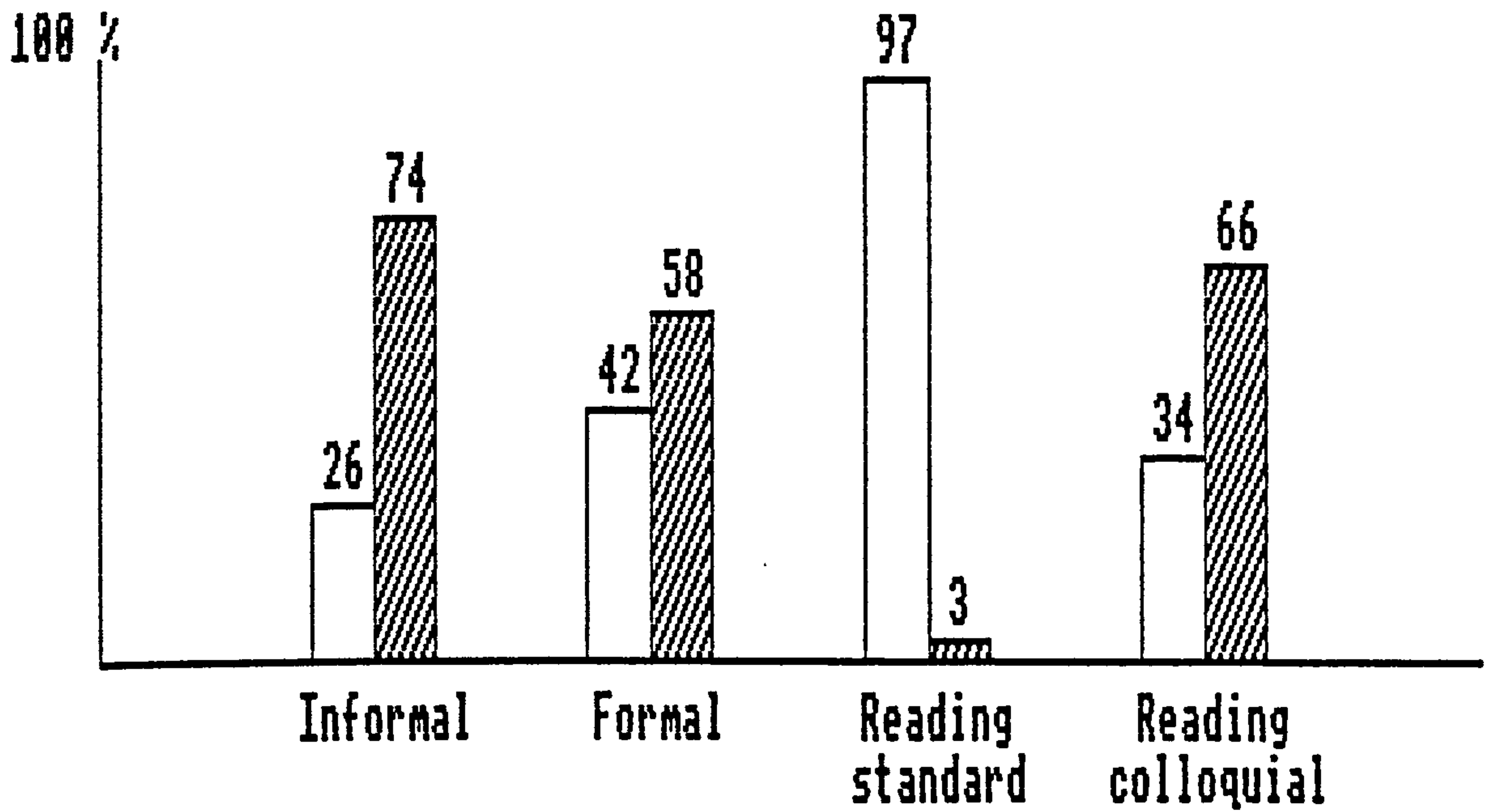
#### 7.4.2 Stylistic shift in four styles

##### 7.4.2.1 The (Q) variable: (1)

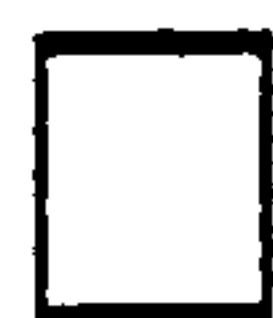
Looking at histogram (7.1) we may say that the application of the standardization rule increases as the situation becomes more

formal. But the reading styles have produced interesting results: while in reading the classical poetry the dominant feature is the categorical, or semi-categorical, application of the standardization rule, the reading of the colloquial poetry shows an opposite tendency. All the signs are that in reading this kind of poetry the variable displays a strong tendency to undergo the colloquialization rule.

Histogram 7.1



The distribution of the (Q) variable in four styles



Standardization rule



Colloquialization rule

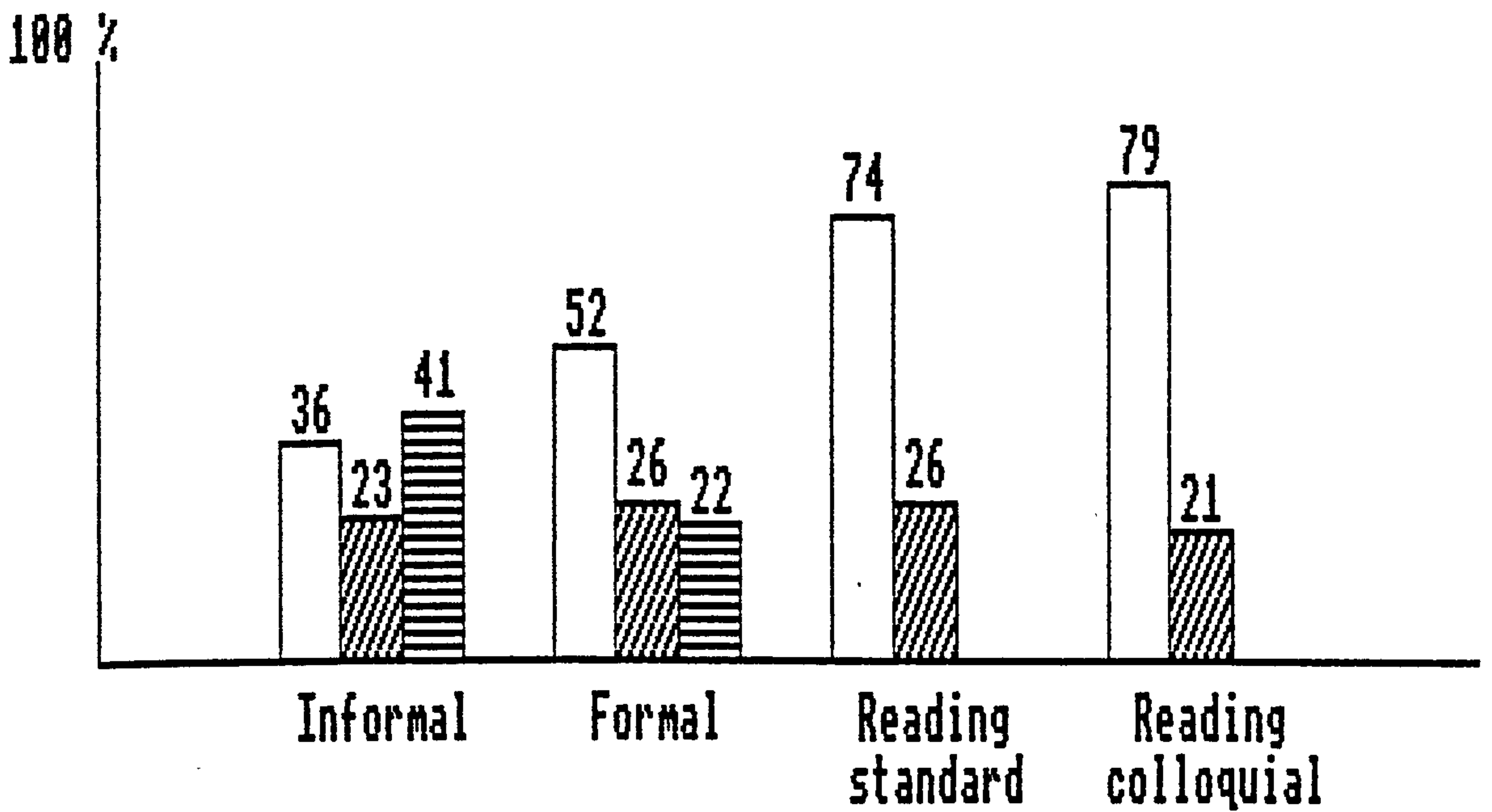
The difference in reading the two kinds of poetry was, however, not due to the effect of the lexical class of words in the poems. The majority of lexical items in the poems were of class III, which shows that it had nothing to do with the above argument. Furthermore, to show that the difference is due to reading two different kinds of poetry, I shall report a general observation noticed during the fieldwork.

All the speakers, who took part in reading, were presented with the colloquial poetry first and then with the standard one, which happened to start with the word /qa:lu:/ "they said". Many informants read the word as [ga:lu:], and when realized that it was a piece of standard poetry went back and read it as [qa:lu:].

#### 7.4.2.2 The ( $d_3$ ) variable:




Histogram (7.2) reveals a different pattern of variation in this variable from that of the previous one. Although the application of the colloquialization rule decreases as we move from informal to formal styles, yet in reading both kinds of poetry all informants categorically rule out the application of this rule.

Histogram 7.2

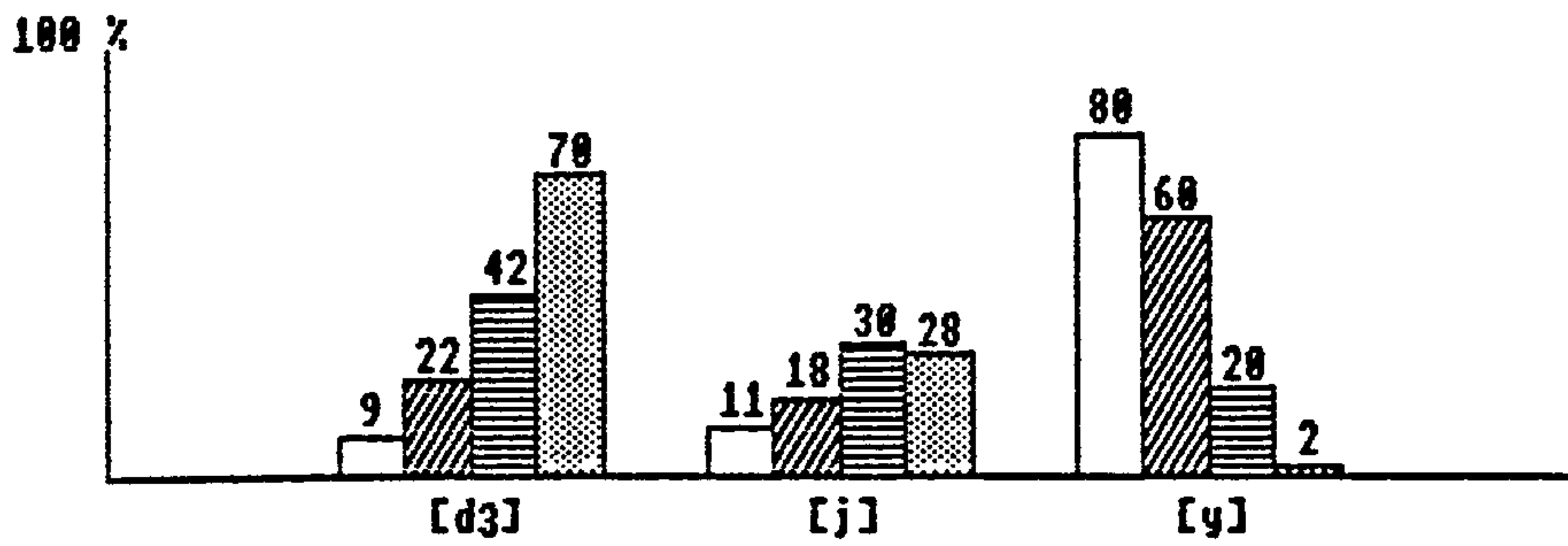


The distribution of the (d3) variable in four styles

Variable:-

	[d3]
	[j]
	[y]

Histogram 7.3

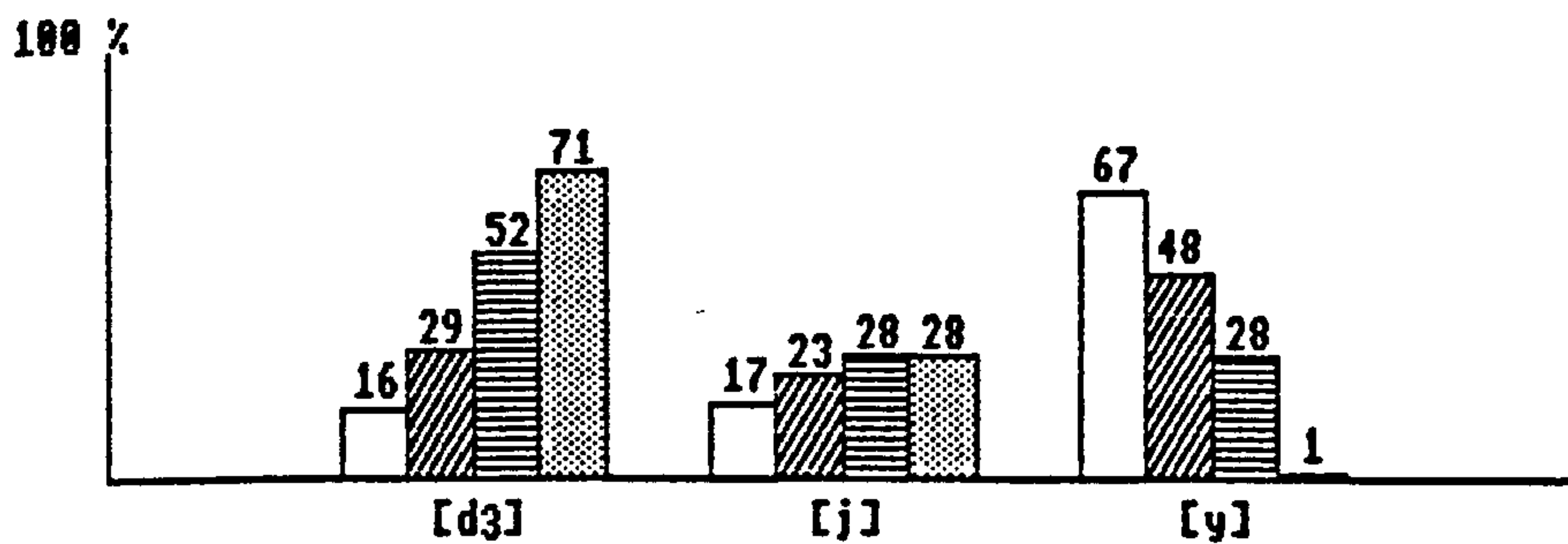


The distribution of the (d3) variable in four classes of lexical items  
Informal style

Class:-		N
I		549
II		575
III		1051
IV		515

Not significant

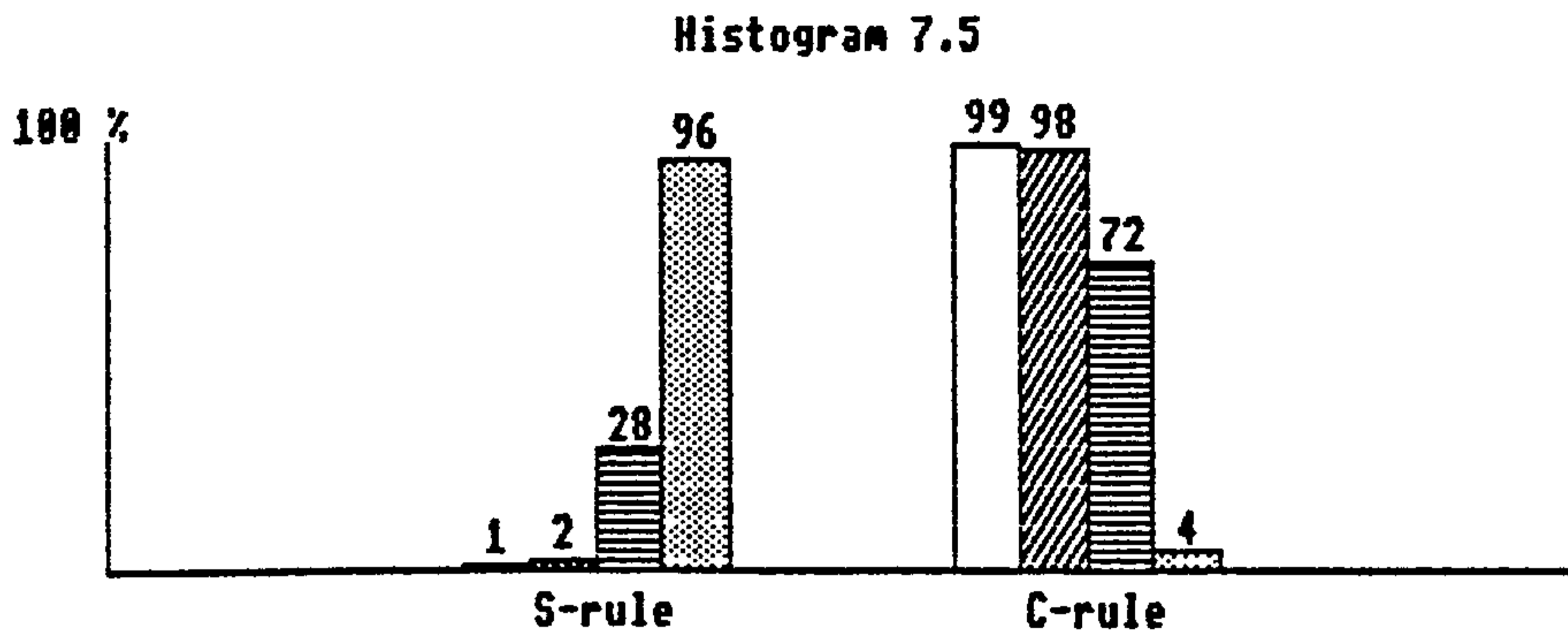
Histogram 7.4



The distribution of the (d3) variable in four classes of lexical items  
Formal style

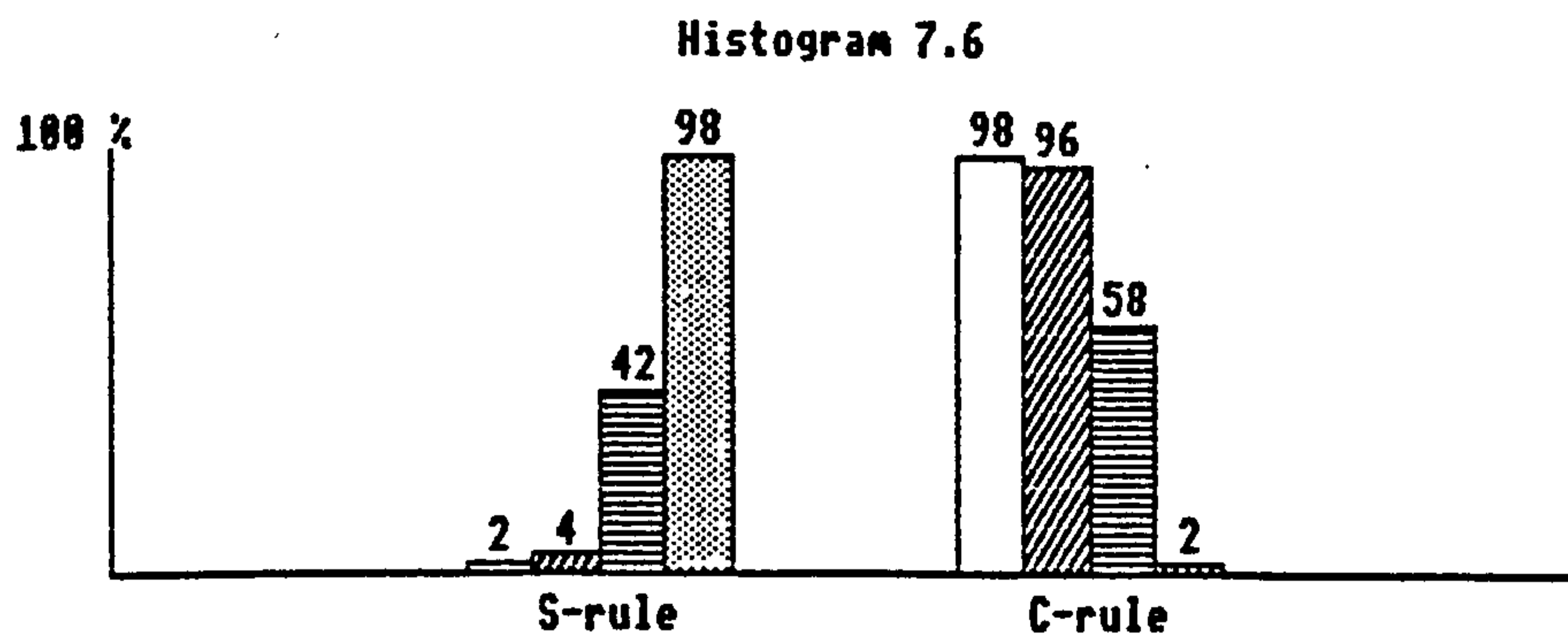
Class:-		N
I		469
II		480
III		1054
IV		1357

Not significant



The distribution of the (Q) variable in four classes of lexical items  
Informal conversational style

Class:-		H
□	I	844
▨	II	1024
▩	III	2775
▧	IV	591



The distribution of the (Q) variable in four classes of lexical items  
Formal conversational style

Class:-		H
□	I	435
▨	II	766
▩	III	2470
▧	IV	840

Significant at 0.05 level

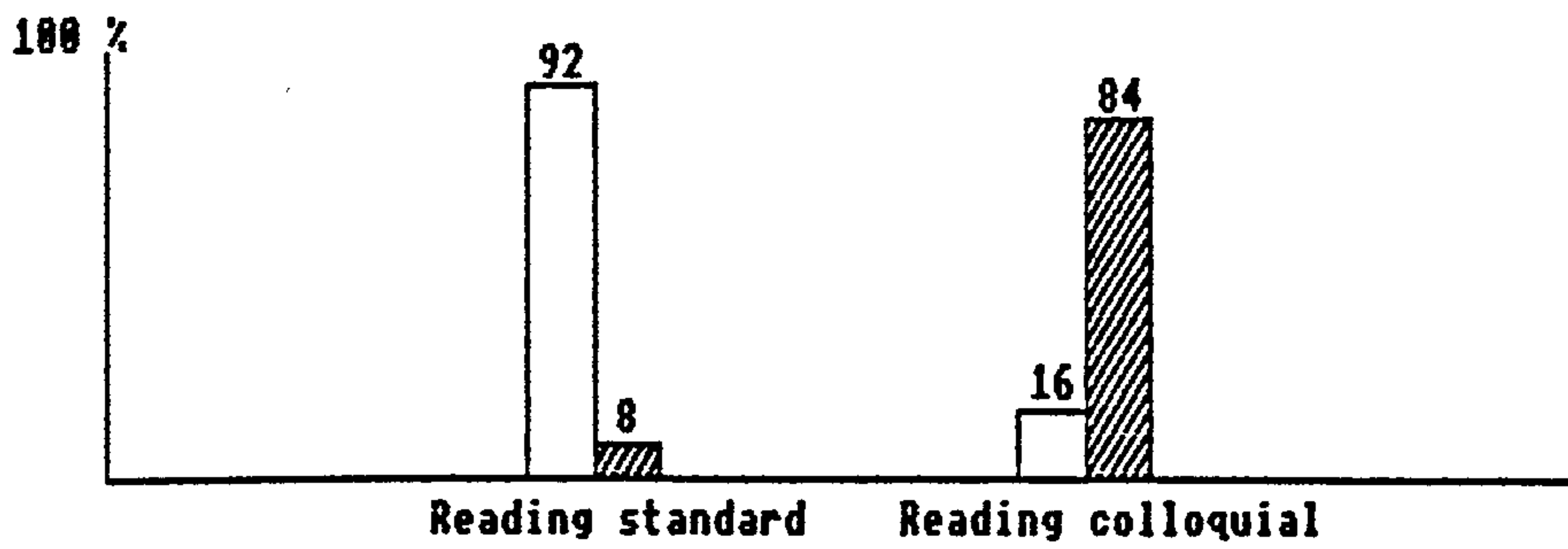
Checking the stylistic shifting of the two variables in the four classes of lexical items (histograms 7.3 - 7.6) we realize that such shifts are only apparent in class III, in the case of (Q) variable, whereas in the ( $d_3$ ) variable, we may notice the shift in all classes of lexical items except class IV. The reason for that probably lies in the stable nature of the (Q) variable as opposed to the feature of on-going change of the ( $d_3$ ) variable.

#### 7.4.2.3 The (aw) and (ay) variables:

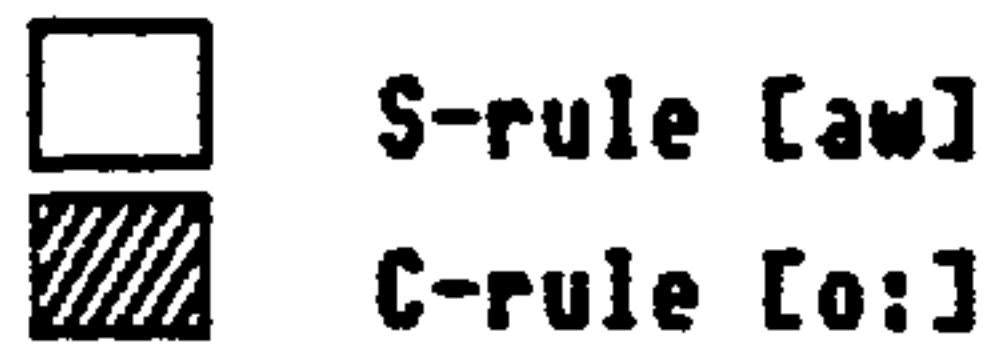
Histograms 7.7 and 7.8 demonstrate that in reading standard poetry the informants show a strong tendency to utilize the standardization rule, which produces [aw] and [ay] in the two respective variables, whereas in reading colloquial poetry they tend to use the colloquialization rule which yields [o:] and [e:] respectively.



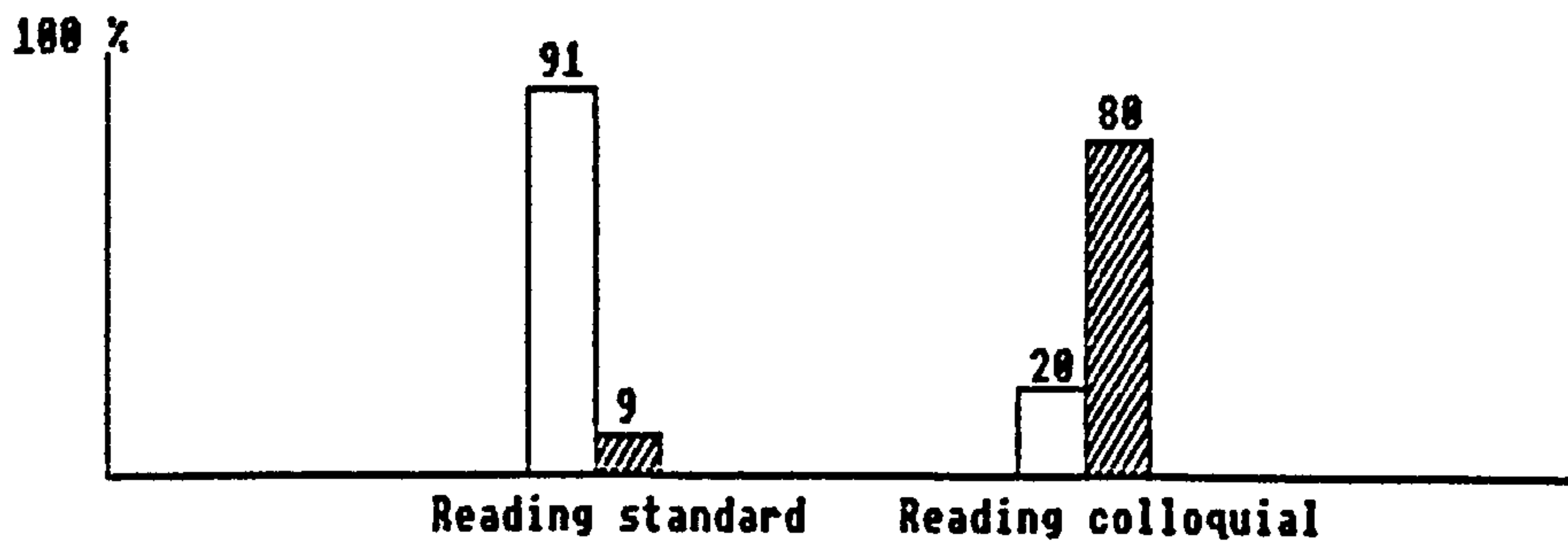
Histogram 7.7



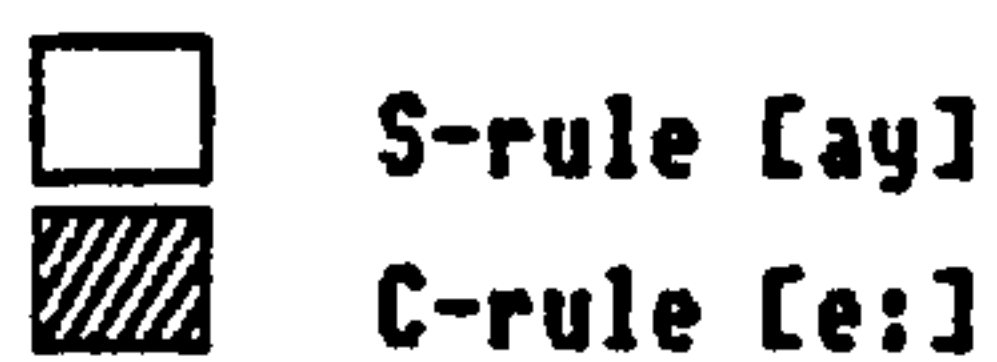
The distribution of the (aw) variable in two reading styles



Histogram 7.8



The distribution of the (ay) variable in two reading styles



### 7.5 Discussion

The general pattern of style shifting in conversation style from informal to formal contexts supports the findings of the majority of the sociolinguistic studies (Labov 1966, '72<sub>a</sub>; Trudgill 1972, '74, '78; Abdel-Jawad 1981; Schmidt 1974 etc.): namely that the localized variant will display decreased frequencies, and a prestigious standard variant will show increased frequencies, as one moves from informal to formal styles. The result of the (Q) variable is very similar to Abdel-Jawad's finding in Amman. He also found that the variability of the standardization rule in this variable showed a strong correlation with the formality of the speech event. Generally speaking, it is not wrong to claim that

"proper conversations are interactional processes, in which speakers are continually reassessing the social context and adjusting their speech in order to produce an appropriate style."

(Cheshire 1982a:125)

The question which inevitably forms itself at this point is why there is a fundamental difference between the behaviour of the ( $d_3$ ) variable and the other variables. More precisely, why does the colloquialization rule fail to operate in the reading styles in the case of the former, while it is predominantly applied in the latter (in reading the colloquial poetry)?

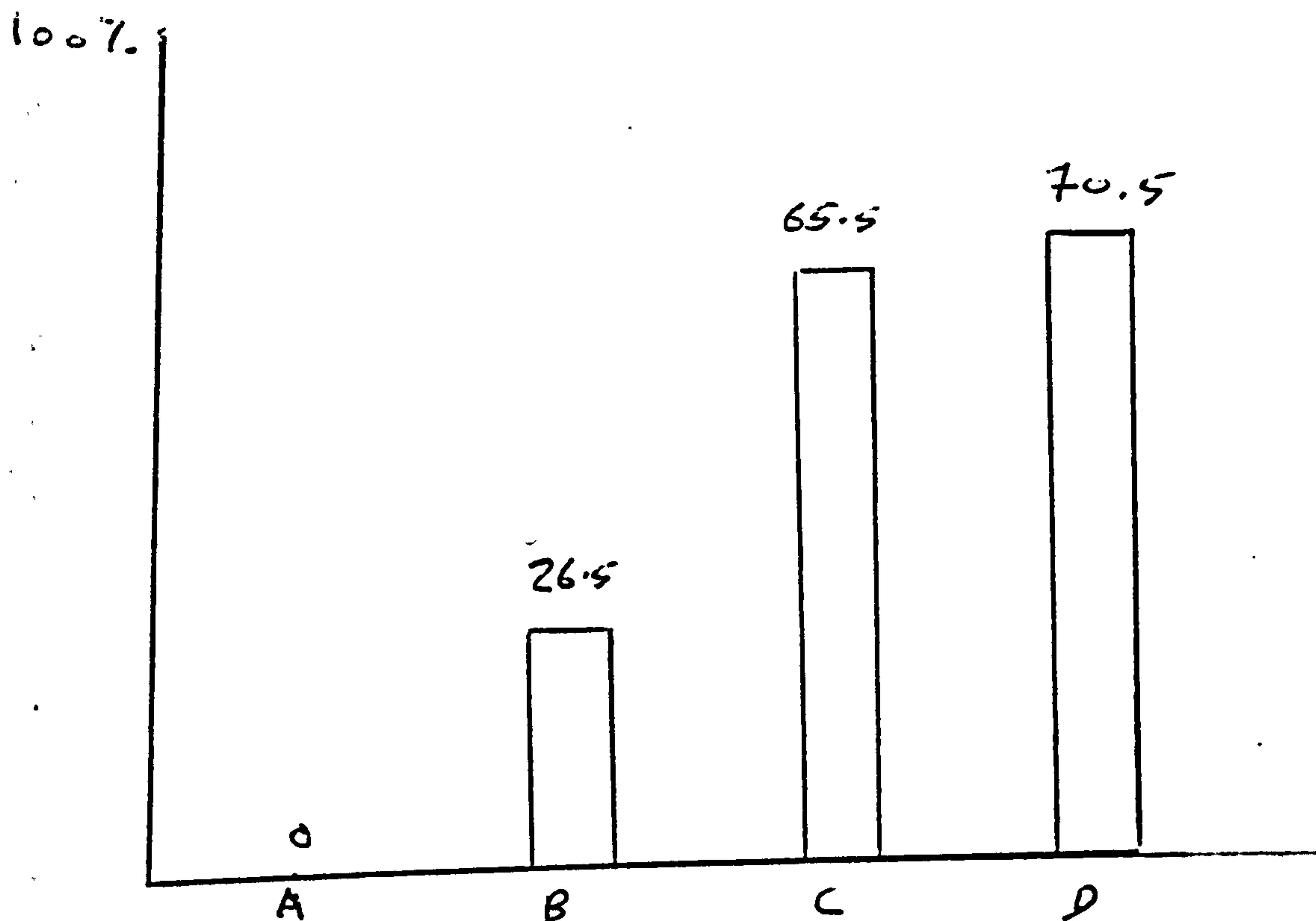
To find the answer for this we must look at a broader perspective of Arabic colloquial dialects, vis-a-vis SA. In the case of the (Q) and the two diphthong variables there is a long-established opposition between the dialectal realization of

these variables and their manifestation in the standard variety. These are cases of stable sounds which are not undergoing any change. Therefore they do not seem to be affected by the spelling-pronunciation principle. The ( $d_3$ ) variable, however, is a totally different case. The change of / $d_3$ / -> [y] is very much a localized feature which is not witnessed outside the Arabian peninsula. Moreover such a rule has never reached a stage of completion, nor was it generalized across all the social groups. This is why this variable is affected by the spelling-pronunciation principle.

Generally speaking, we may conclude that different linguistic features have different potentialities for stylistic variation. In Arabic-speaking communities, the reading of any material which is clearly perceived to be a part of the standard variety, seems to be highly influenced by the spelling. But in reading the colloquial literature the variables, which show an opposition between the dialectal variants and the standard ones in the majority of the Arabic dialects, seem not to be affected by the spelling-pronunciation principle.

What are the implications of the findings of this study, that different norms are observed in reading different material? The findings of the majority of the sociolinguistic studies show that reading styles show a closer approximation to the standard norm (Wolfram 1969; Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Shorrab 1981; Schmidt 1974). In fact Shorrab 1981 investigated the realization of the diphthongs (aw) and (ay), as well as the (Q), in the speech of the

Palestinians, and produced the following results:



with 100% = a categorical use of [aw] or [ay] and 0% = a categorical use of moophthongs [o:] or [e:] (adapted from Shorrab 1981:177).

The difference between the results of the present study and Shorrab's (1981), or Schmidt's (1974), lies in the reading materials being used. My study has used two different materials: one was clearly part of the colloquial culture, while the other was obviously a part of the standard heritage. But the previous studies have utilized the latter type of material only. Therefore, it is not surprising to find in reading the standard poetry that the results

produced were similar to the ones obtained in the above mentioned studies i.e. a categorical use of the standardization rule.

This study, however, is the first, to my knowledge to use two kinds of reading materials which clearly belonged to two different parts of the same culture. Thus we are able to claim that different norms of readings are observed in the two kinds of materials. But this study is not the only one which has produced results contrary to the accepted dogma that reading styles show a closer approximation to the standard norms. For example, Milroy and Milroy (1977) found that it is not always the case that reading styles yielded results which were closer to the standard norms of speech. In their investigation of Belfast speech, they found that the (a) variable did not show the expected direction of shift. All the speakers had a higher percentage of the vernacular variant in reading word list than in the formal style, an indication of a closer approximation to the vernacular norms in the reading list. Moreover the (a) pattern was reproduced in

"a number of vowel variables: sometimes one sub group and sometimes the whole community reverts to a strong vernacular norm on the word list"  
Milroy and Milroy (1977:17)

To explain such an odd pattern they have argued that the strategy adopted by the speakers in reading the word list was to attempt to modify their speech away from the vernacular. Such deviation is due to the absence of a clear, well-defined set of prestige norms.

The data on the (Q), (aw) and (ay) variables seem to suggest not only that there are different norms observed in spoken and reading

styles, but also that, even in reading the same kind of materials which belong to the two ends of the same culture, the observed norms are quite different. Moreover the data on the ( $d_3$ ) variable indicates that all the speakers have a reasonable level of the colloquialization rule in the conversational styles, but such a rule is never applied when reading aloud. This suggests that some kind of dual norm is involved

"which has little to do with paying more attention to speech during reading ... Thus the influence of the written form (in this case) produces ... variability which is qualitative rather than quantitative"

Milroy (1980:103-4)

These findings contradict Labov's (1966, '72<sub>a</sub>) claims that it is possible to view styles along a linear continuum from casual to formal. He divided the continuum into five styles: casual speech, formal speech, reading style, word list style and minimal pairs style. Labov's basic argument is two-fold. On the one hand, he claims that formality of style increases progressively as one moves from the casual style to the minimal pairs style. On the other hand, his idea that speech and reading can be placed on the same linear continuum indicates that the same norms would hold for written and spoken language. The findings of this study, together with the results of Milroy and Milroy (1977), demonstrate clearly that reading and conversational styles are perceived differently, and thus cannot be placed on the same continuum. In other words, the two sets of styles should be represented as different parts of informants' repertoires, instead of points on the same linear

continuum (Milroy 1980). It seems that I am calling for the same thing as Macaulay (1977) advocated, when he wrote:

"however, Labov may have been mistaken in claiming that his five contextual styles were on a single continuum. It is reasonable to claim that styles A and B (casual and formal) are on a single dimension, namely that of impromptu speech, and that styles C, D and D1 (reading, word list and minimal pairs) are on another dimension, namely that of reading aloud. However there is a gap between the first two and the last three that may be more than a single step, and it would seem advisable to keep the two kinds of stylistic variation separate, since to a certain extent variation in the reading styles may depend on skill in reading aloud"

Macaulay (1977:21)

It seems that while the casual/formal distinction is universal, reading is evaluated differently in different speech communities. In fact very little is known about people's attitudes towards reading aloud

"but the available evidence suggests that such activity is viewed rather differently in different speech communities. Thus the relation between written and spoken varieties of language is different in different communities"

(Stubbs 1980)

## 7.6 The intersection of style with other factors:

### 7.6.1 Age:

Since the older people are mostly illiterate and consequently did not take part in reading, I will examine style shifting in the two age groups in the conversational styles only i.e. informal vs formal. The results are presented in the following tables: (7.2, 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5)

style	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
informal	22%	20%	58%	876
formal	27%	21%	52%	814

(7.2) style shift in the older groups in the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable (significant at 0.05 level)

style	[d <sub>3</sub> ]	[j]	[y]	N
informal	43%	24%	33%	1814
formal	60%	27%	13%	2466

(7.3) style shift in the younger groups in the (d<sub>3</sub>) variable (significant at 0.05 level)

style	colloquialization rule	standardization rule	N
informal	9%	90%	1445
formal	12%	88%	1106

(7.4) style shift in the older group in the (Q) variable (significant at 0.05 level)



style	colloquialization rule	standardization rule	N
informal	33%	67%	3789
formal	52%	48%	3405

(7.5) style shift in the younger group in the (Q) variable (significant at 0.05 level)

Looking at the figures in the above tables and comparing the range of style shifting in the two age groups we may say that the stylistic range for the older speakers seems to be very narrow. Younger people are more aware of the importance of speech as a marker of identity and therefore shift to a greater extent to accommodate their speech to the situation. We must also remember that the two age groups also differ in their level of education. Therefore one cannot say, for sure, whether the difference in the stylistic range observed here between the two groups is due to the educational factor or at the age factor - or to a combination of both, which seems preferable.

#### 7.6.2 Social groups:

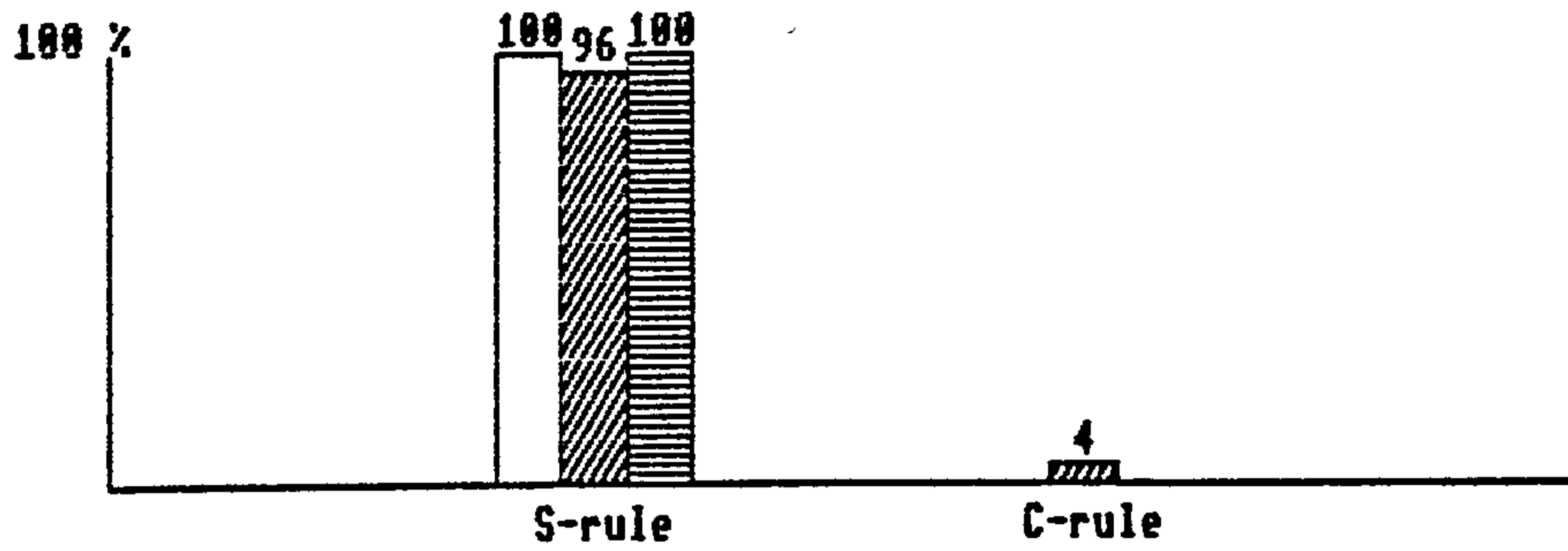
##### 7.6.2.1 Reading style

Since we have decided that conversational and reading styles should not be placed in the same linear continuum, we will examine first the differences in reading styles in the younger group of each social category (and since the ( $d_3$ ) variable is categorically blocked from undergoing the colloquialization rule we exclude it

here). The results are reflected in histograms 7.9 - 7.12. Looking at them and comparing the realization of the variables in the two kinds of reading styles we may conclude that in reading the standard poetry, all the social groups seem to follow the same strategy which is the application of the standardization rule. The slightly deviant pattern of the Bedouin group is due to the behaviour of one member of the group, who read the standard poems as though he was reading colloquial poetry (thus applying the colloquialization rule). On the whole, the speakers seem to agree on the strategy that is appropriate to adopt in reading this kind of poetry.

The patterns for the colloquial poetry, however, except the Howala, agree more or less on the application of the colloquialization rule in reading this kind of poetry. Such an agreement, however, is more evident in the realization of the two diphthongs than in the manifestation of the (Q) variable.

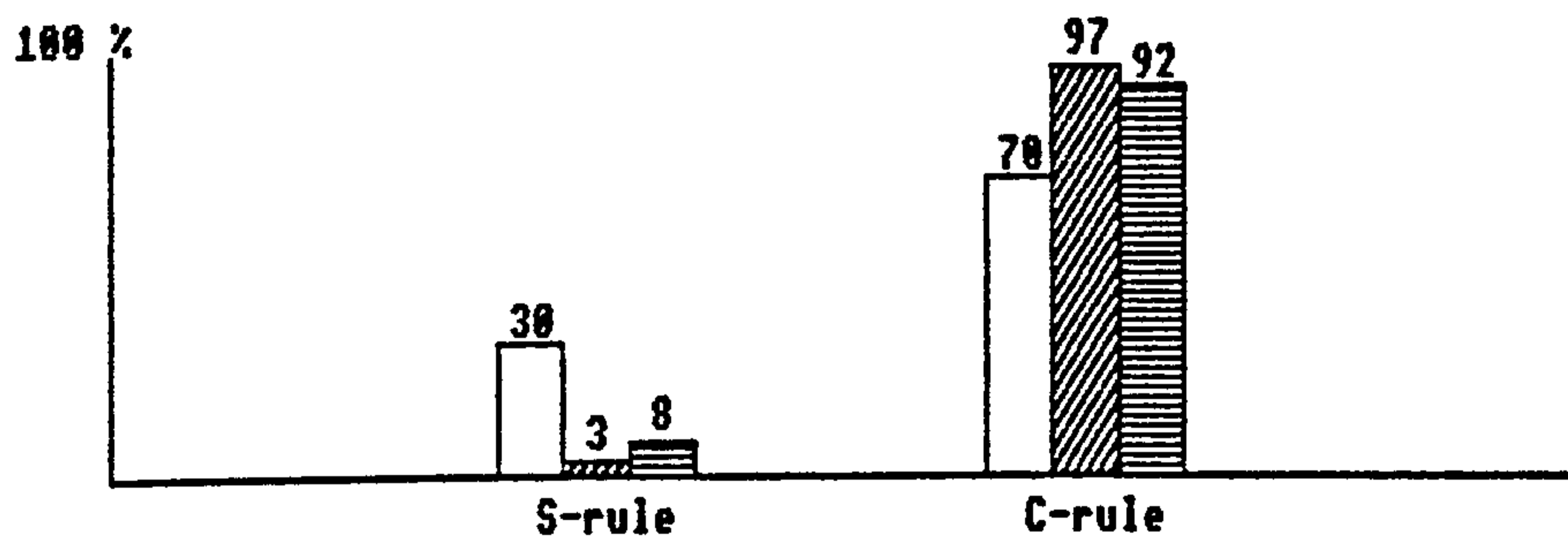
Histogram 7.9a






The distribution of three variables in standard reading style in the 'Ajam group

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

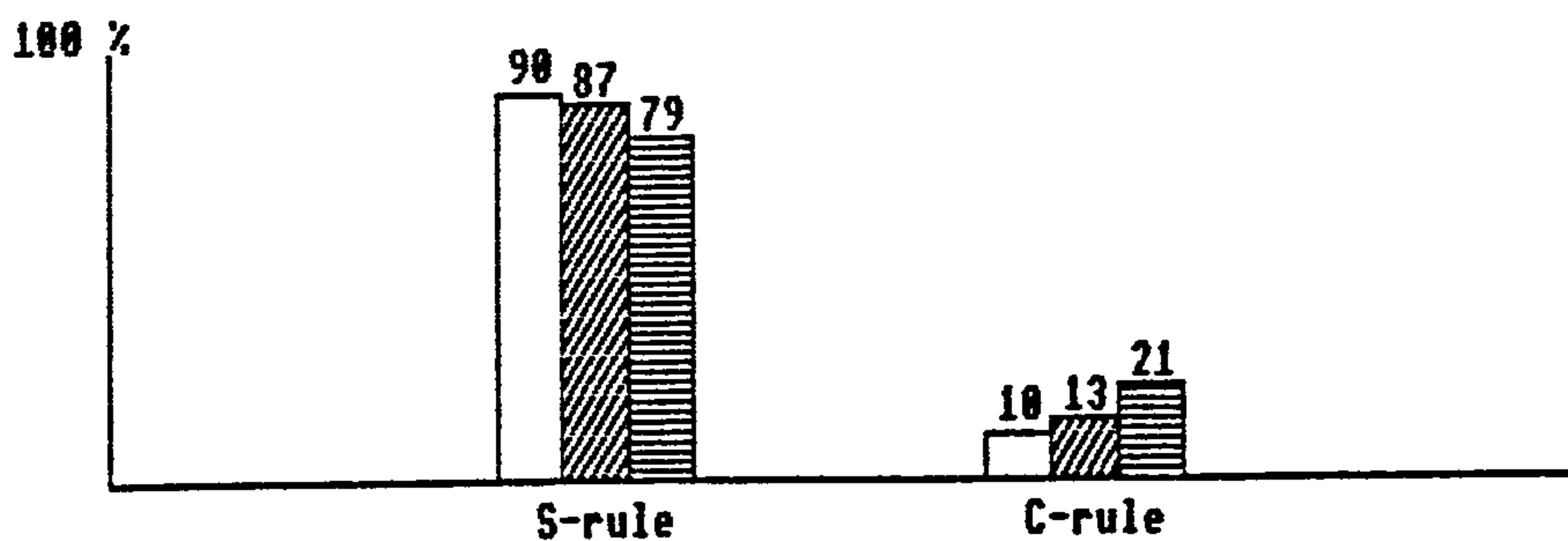
Histogram 7.9b






The distribution of three variables in colloquial reading style in the 'Ajam group

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

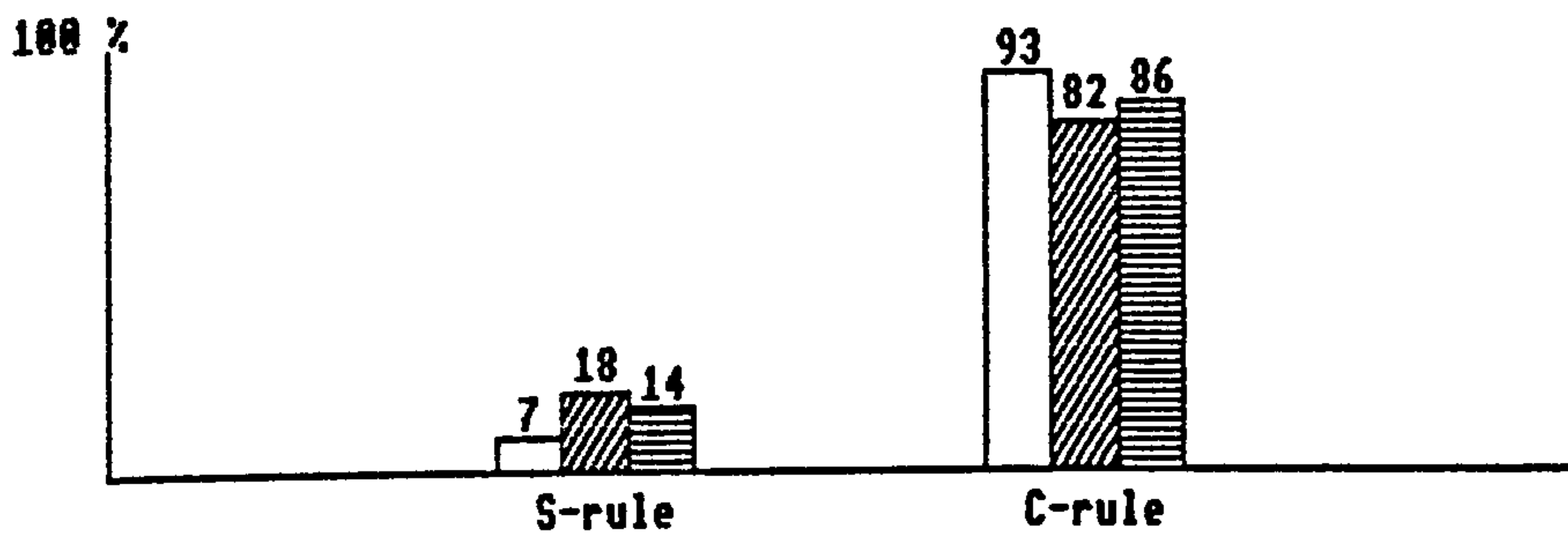
Histogram 7.10a






The distribution of three variables in standard reading style in the Bedouin group

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

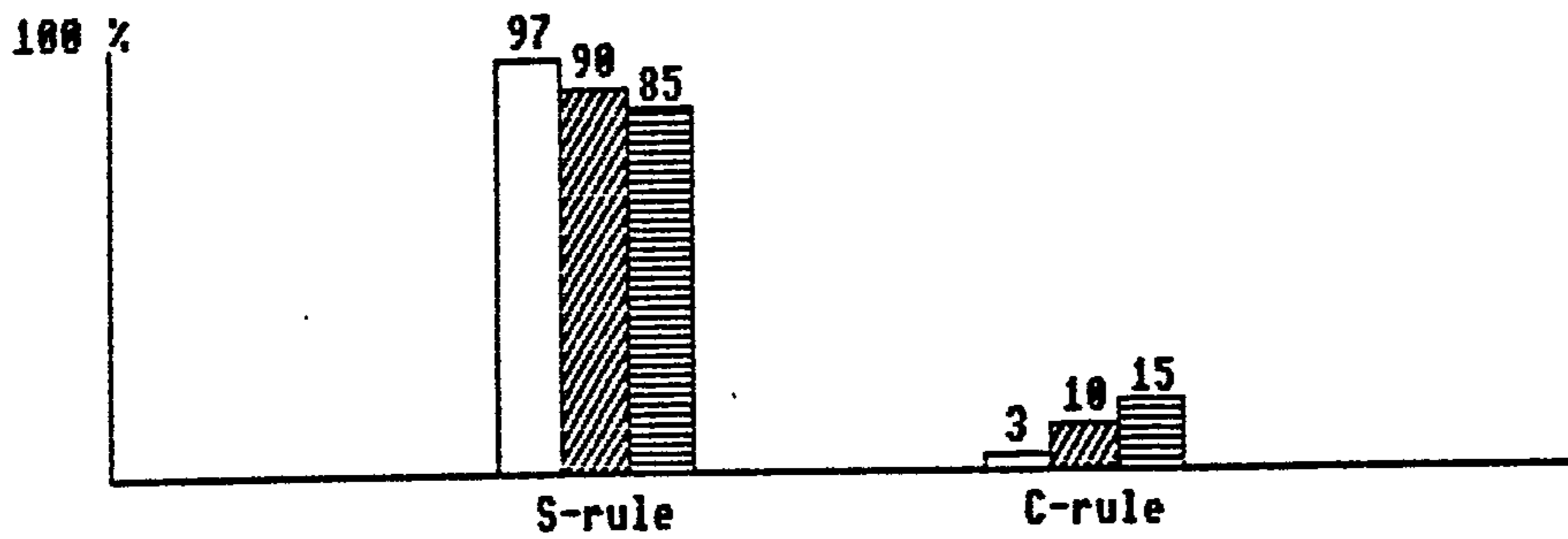
Histogram 7.10b



The distribution of three variables in colloquial reading style in the Bedouin group



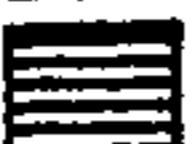
Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

Histogram 7.11a

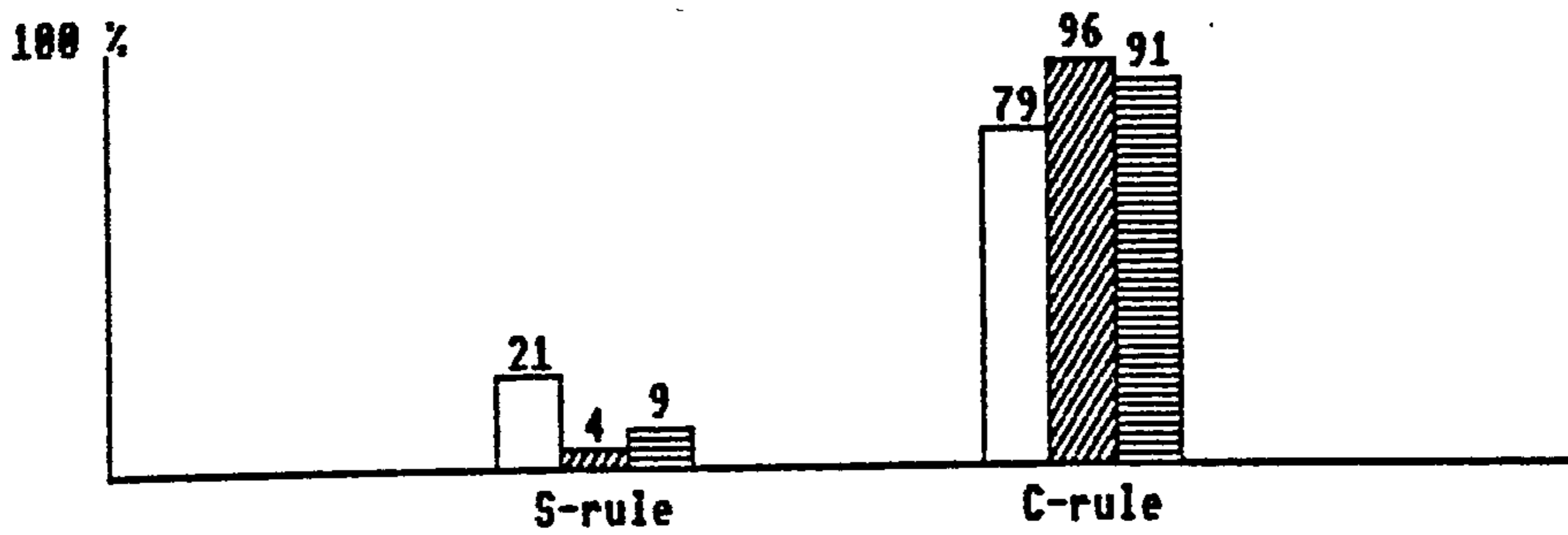


The distribution of three variables in standard reading style in the Qaba:yil group

Variable:-




	(Q)
	(aw)
	(ay)

Histogram 7.11b

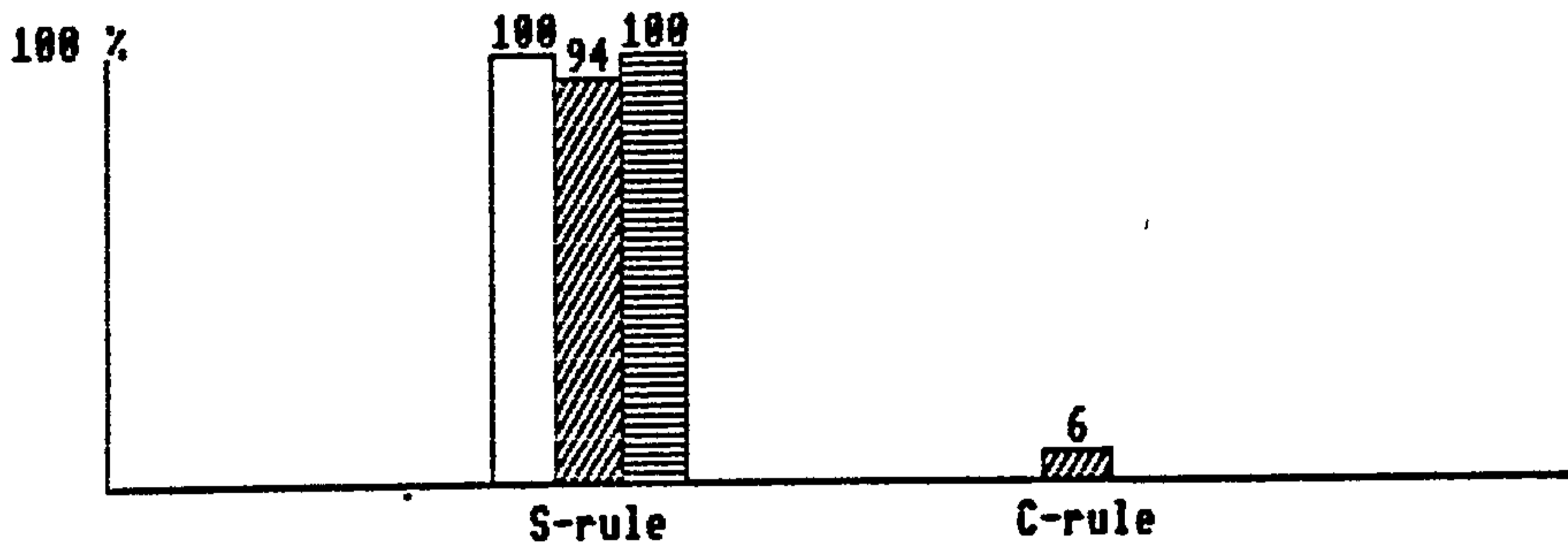


The distribution of three variables in colloquial reading style in the Qaba:yil group



Variable:-

	(Q)
	(aw)
	(ay)

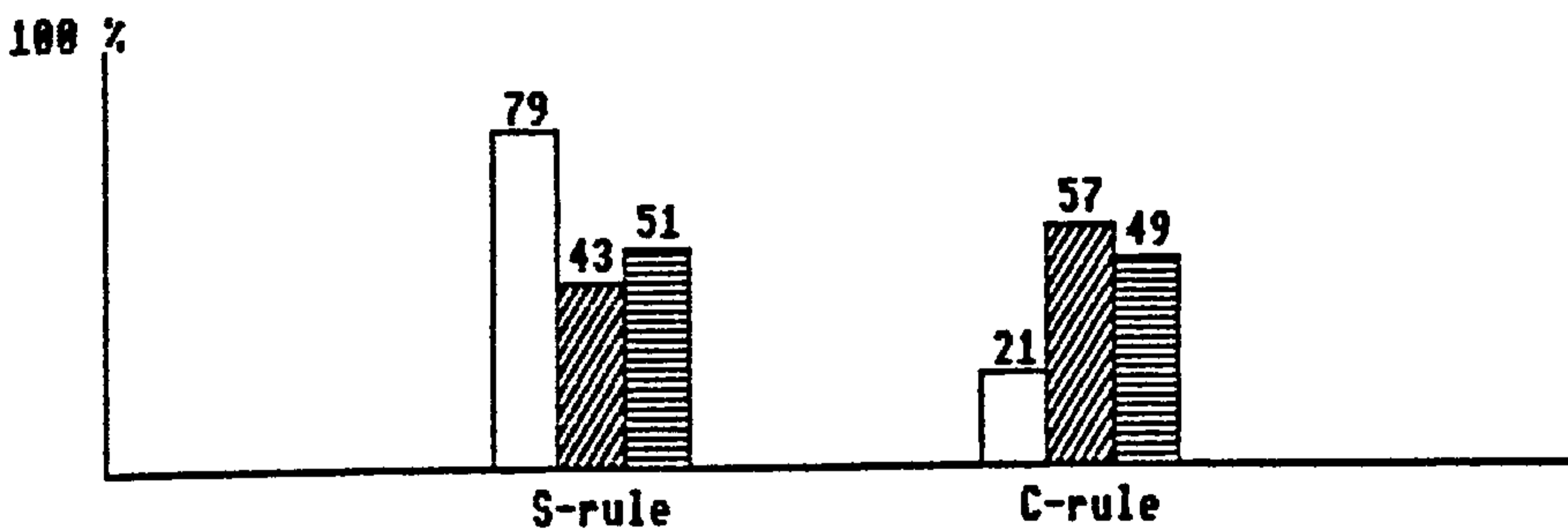
Histogram 7.12a






The distribution of three variables in standard reading style in the Howala group

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

Histogram 7.12b



The distribution of three variables in colloquial reading style in the Howala group

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

The behaviour of the Howala group in reading the colloquial poetry is quite extraordinary, and at the moment there does not seem to be any explanation for their deviation from the general pattern set up by others. The Howala group does not seem to follow a clear strategy. Their behaviour seems to be more like a hit-or-miss exercise, particularly with regard to the two diphthongs. If we take the behaviour of this group into consideration, as well as the fact that all the other groups agree on applying the colloquialization rule in reading this kind of poetry, it becomes evident that the difference between reading the standard poetry and the colloquial poetry is even greater than the picture reflected in histograms 7.1, 7.7 and 7.8. In other words, the behaviour of the Howala group has resulted in reducing the difference between the norms of reading the two kinds of poetry.

#### 7.6.2.2 Conversational styles:

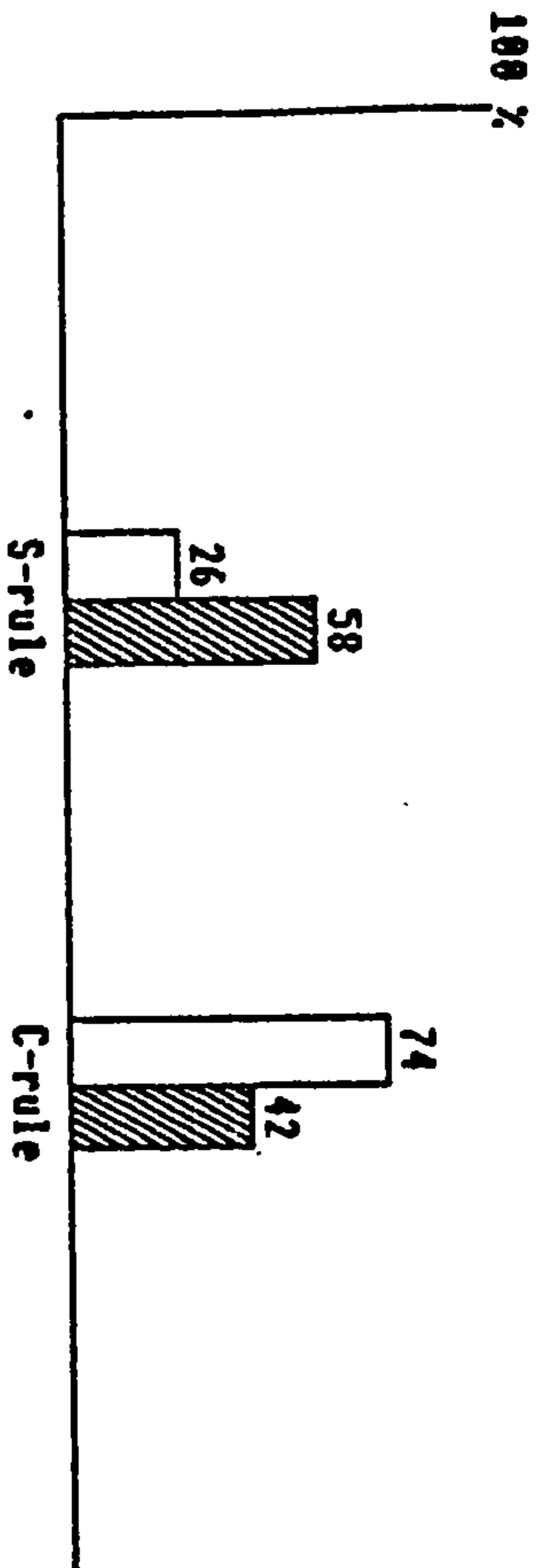
The result of the style shifting in the two conversational styles is presented in histograms 7.13 - 7.20. They indicate that the general pattern of style shifting, which is reported in a wide range of sociolinguistic studies, is by and large true. All the speakers utilize the standardization rule more often as the context or the situation becomes more formal.

The behaviour of the Bedouin group in the ( $d_3$ ) variable deserves comment. Here we realize that the level of the application of the colloquialization rule is the same in the two styles, which is low as well. This is because we believe that the [y] variant is a recent borrowing into their dialect. The shift in this

group seems to be away from the natural variant [j] in the direction of the standard variant [d<sub>3</sub>], as the context becomes more formal.



Histogram 7.13

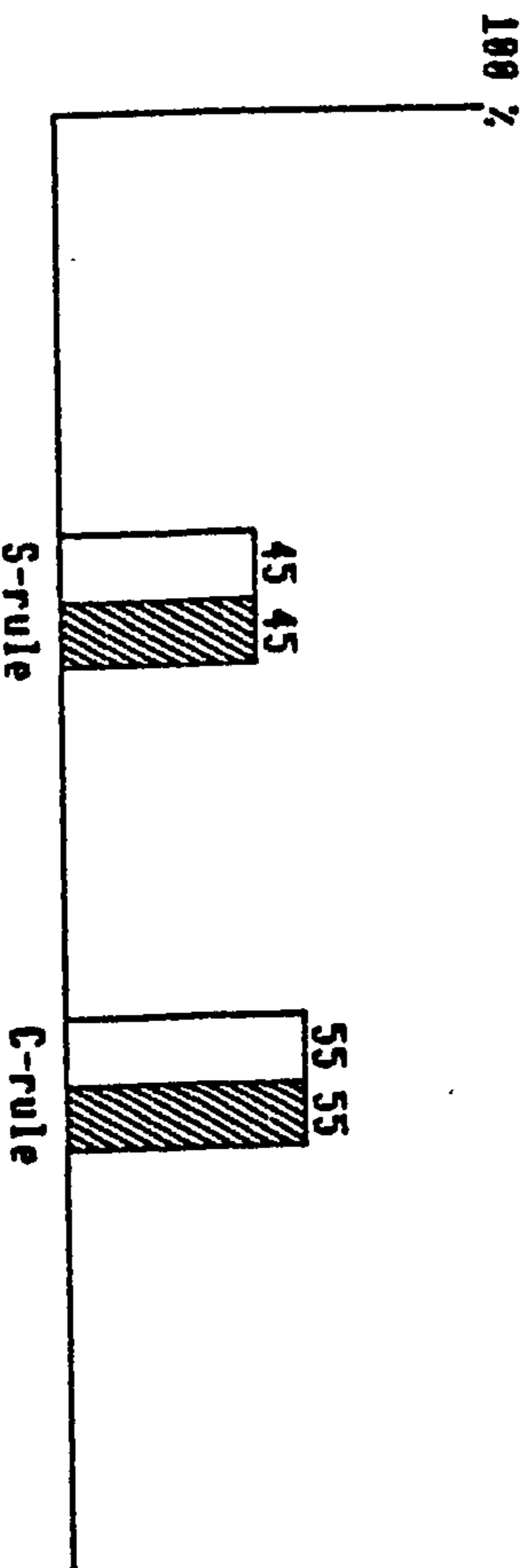


The distribution of (Q) variable in two conversational styles in the speech of the Qabayil group

Style:-  
 Informal 881  
 Formal 646  
 N

Not significant

Histogram 7.15

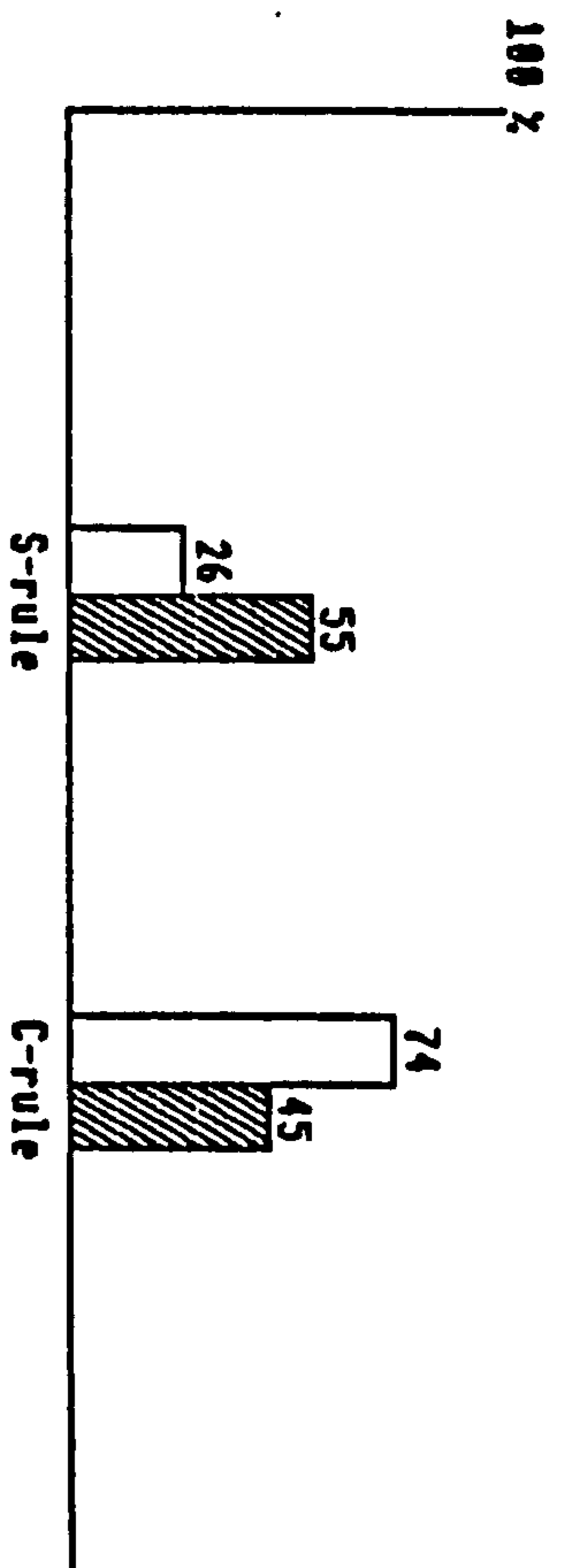


The distribution of (Q) variable in two conversational styles in the speech of the 'Ajaw group

Style:-  
 Informal 1122  
 Formal 1102  
 N

Not significant

Histogram 7.14

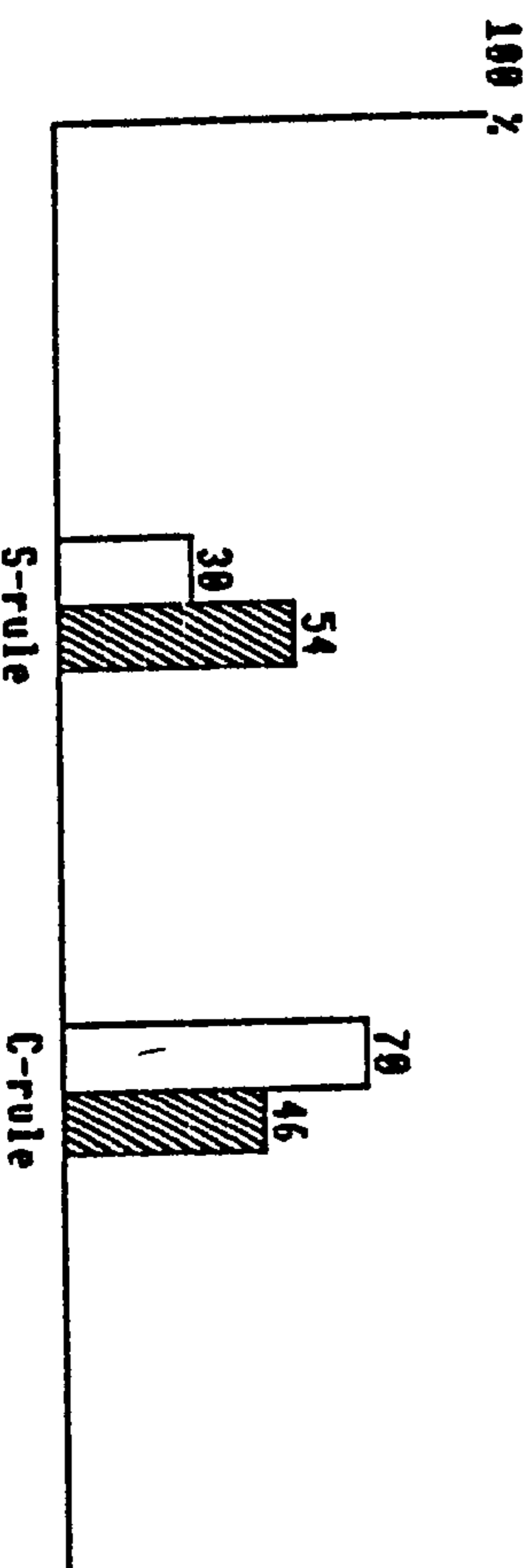


The distribution of (Q) variable in two conversational styles in the speech of the Howala group

Style:-  
 Informal 1070  
 Formal 878  
 N

Not significant

Histogram 7.16

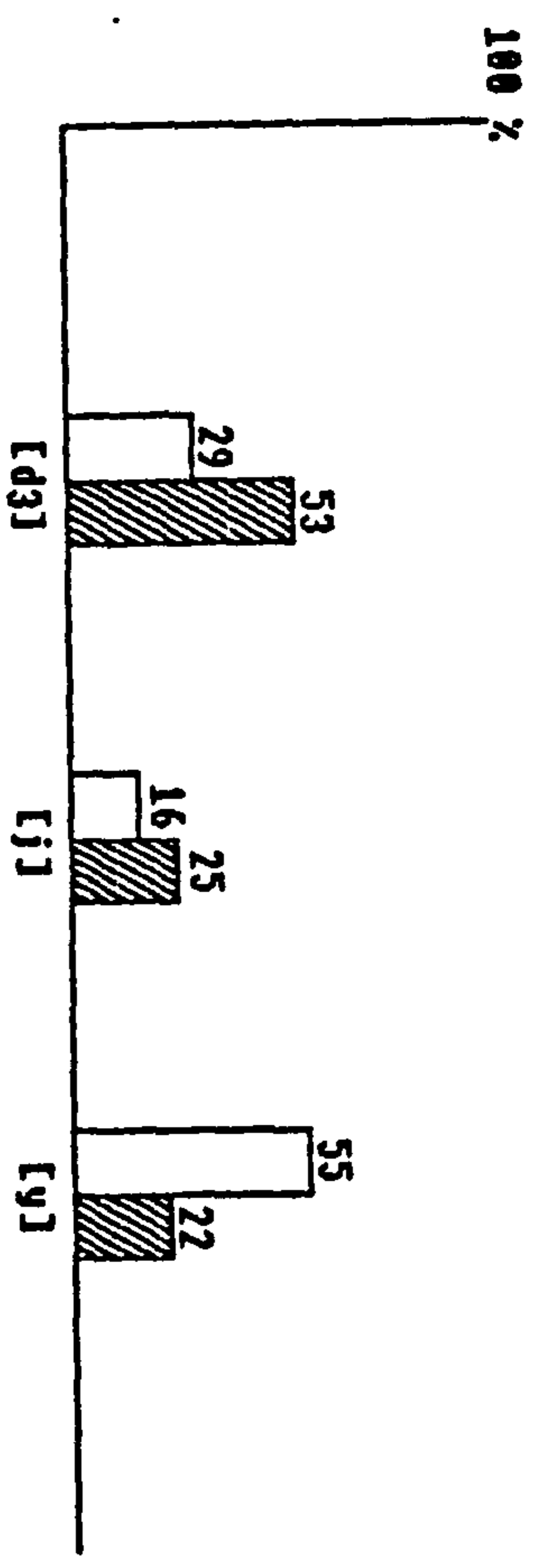


The distribution of (Q) variable in two conversational styles in the speech of the Bedouin group

Style:-  
 Informal 796  
 Formal 779  
 N

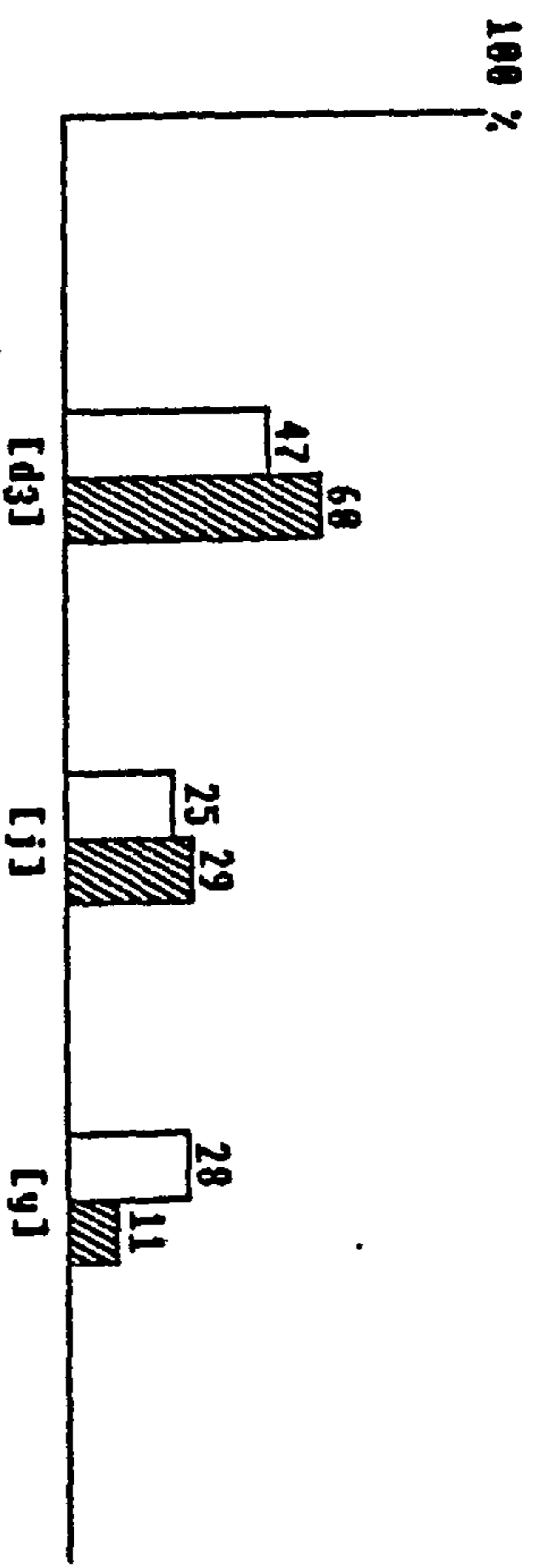
Not significant

Histogram 7.17



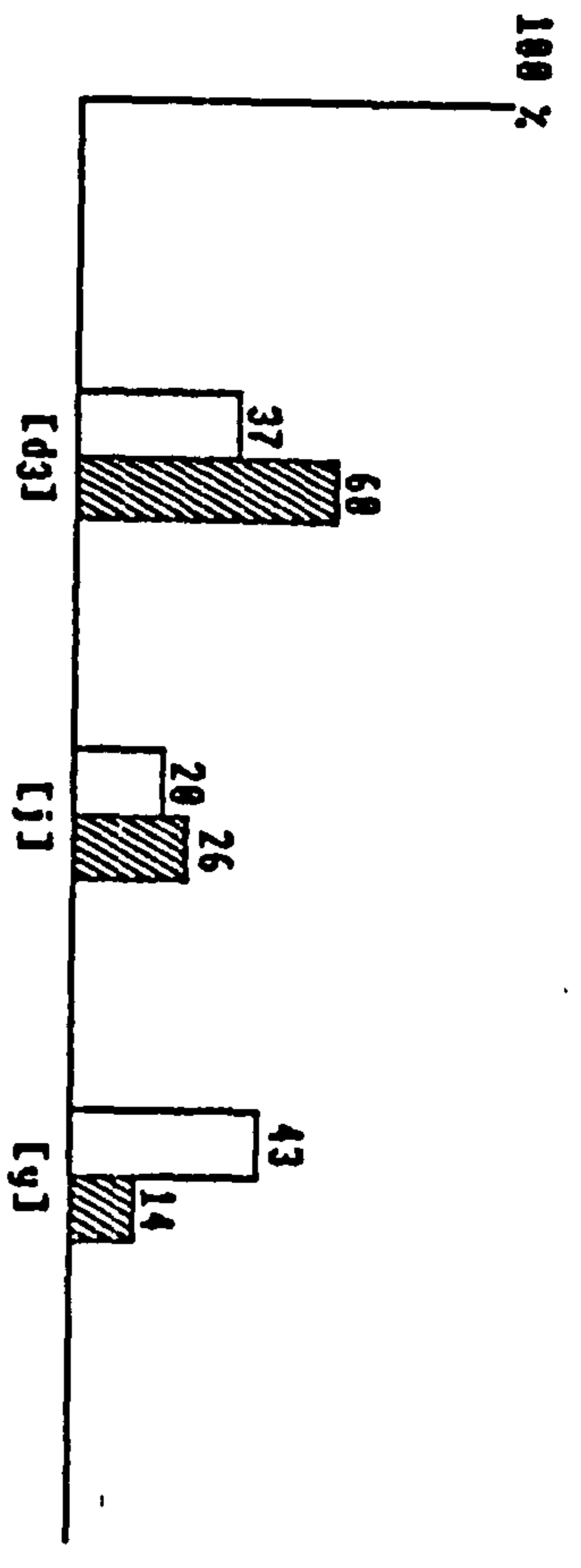
Not significant

Histogram 7.19



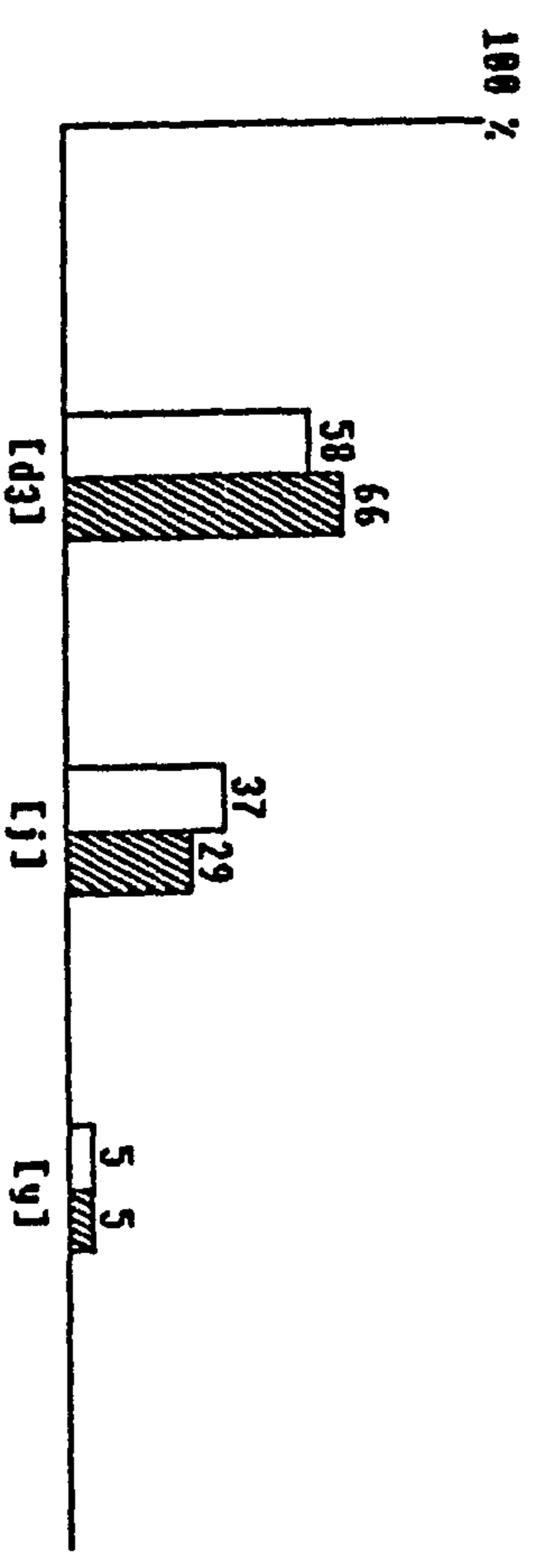
Not significant

Histogram 7.18



Not significant

Histogram 7.20



Not significant

### 7.6.3 Education:

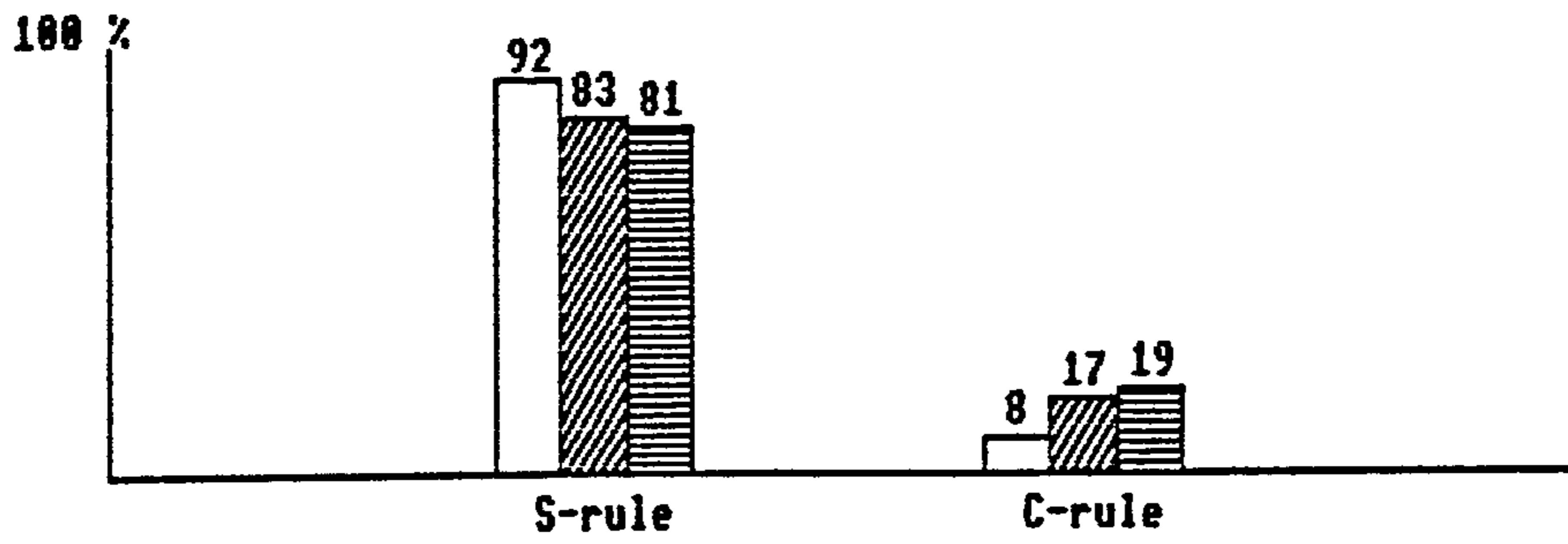
#### 7.6.3.1 Reading styles:

Histograms 7.21 - 7.23 demonstrate that the level of education of the speaker correlates strongly with his ability to pursue a clear strategy in reading. The fluctuation in reading both kinds of poetry is most evident in the behaviour of the speakers with an elementary level of education, and least evident in the behaviour of the university graduates, with high school graduates occupying an intermediate position between the two. This supports Macaulay's (1977) view that reading has nothing to do with the amount of attention paid to speech, but rather involves a set of skills called reading skills. The findings of this study suggest that such skills are gained more and more as the speaker climbs the educational scale.




#### 7.6.3.2 Conversational styles:

The stylistic shift among the educational group, (histograms 7.24 and 7.29) in informal and formal styles, shows that all the groups change in the same direction. The range of such a shift is more or less the same for all the groups: in both styles speakers with an elementary level of education use the colloquialization rule more frequently than the high school graduates, who in turn use it more frequently than the university graduates.

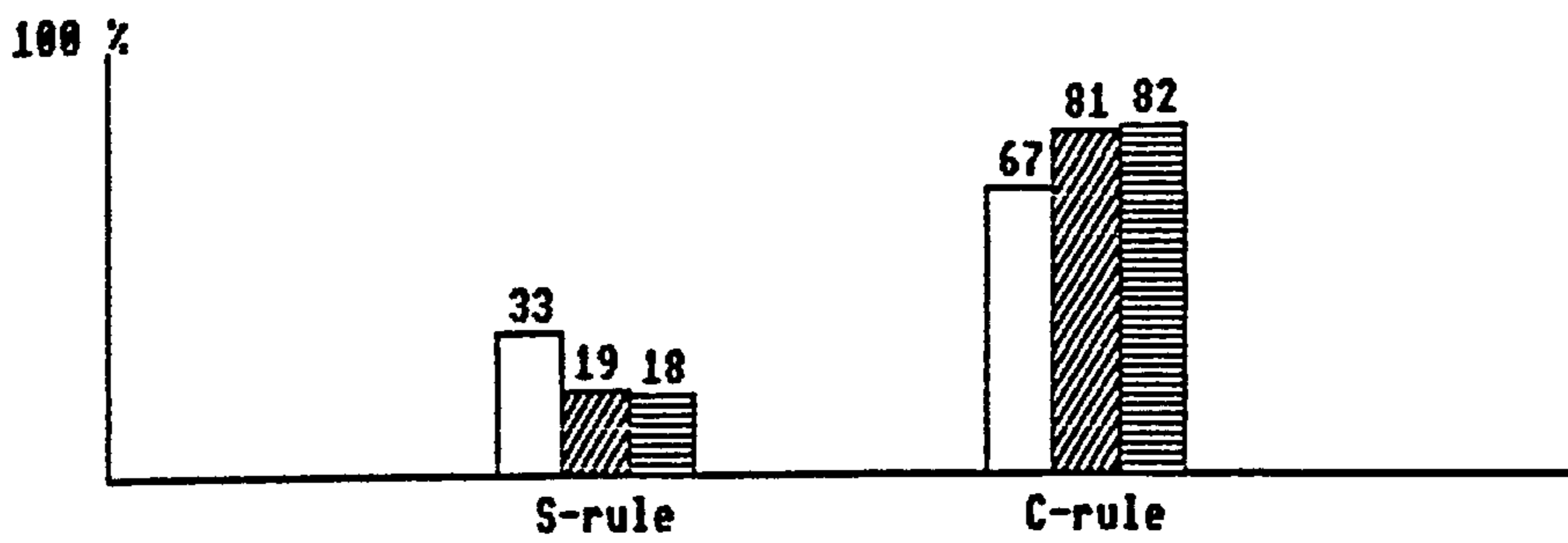
Histogram 7.21a






The distribution of three variables in standard reading at Elementary level

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

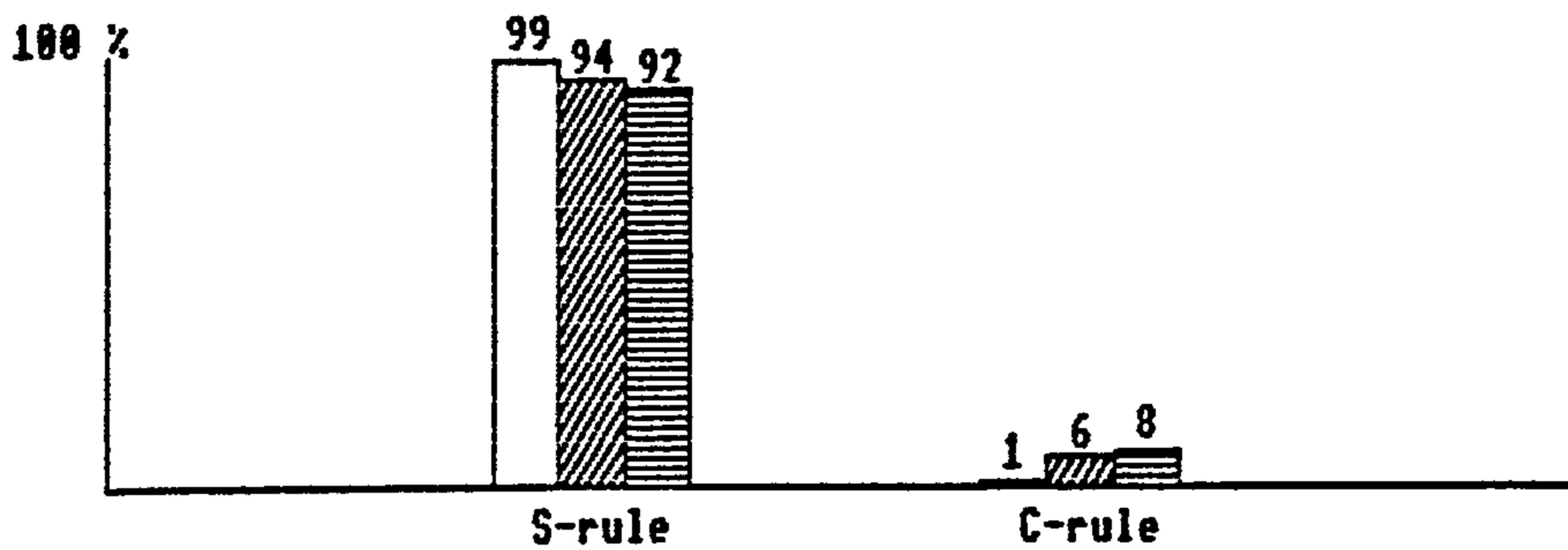
Histogram 7.21b






The distribution of three variables in colloquial reading at Elementary level

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

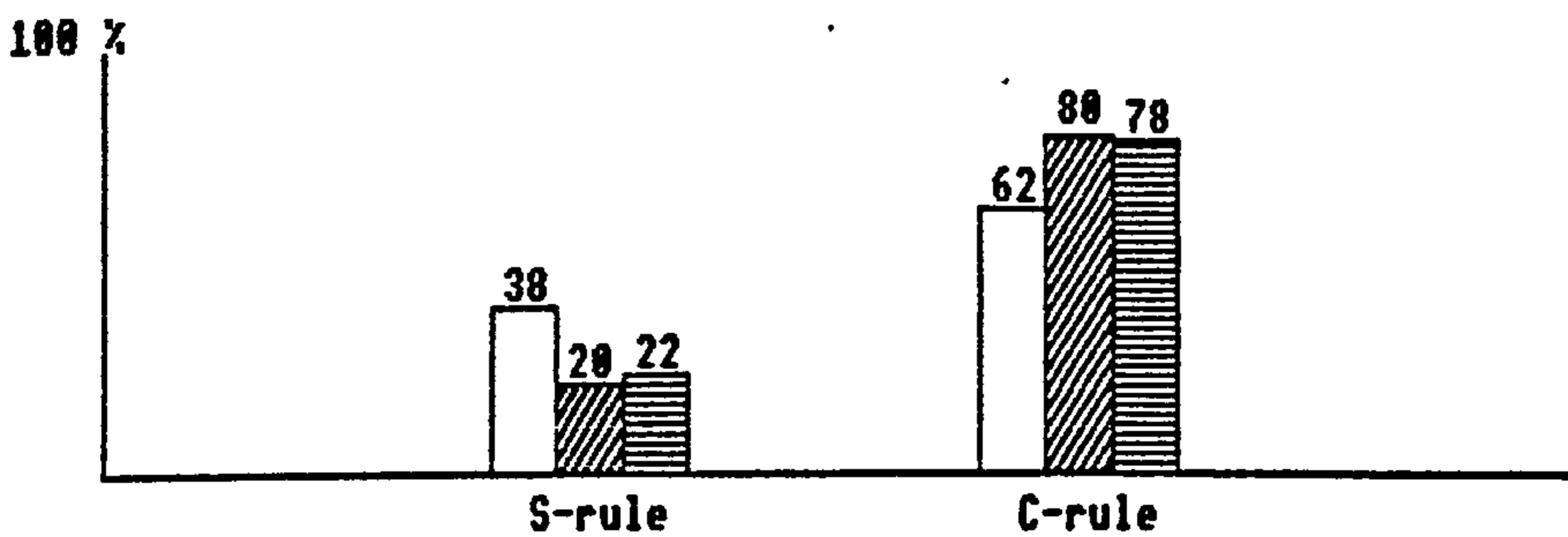
Histogram 7.22a






The distribution of three variables in standard reading at High school level

Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

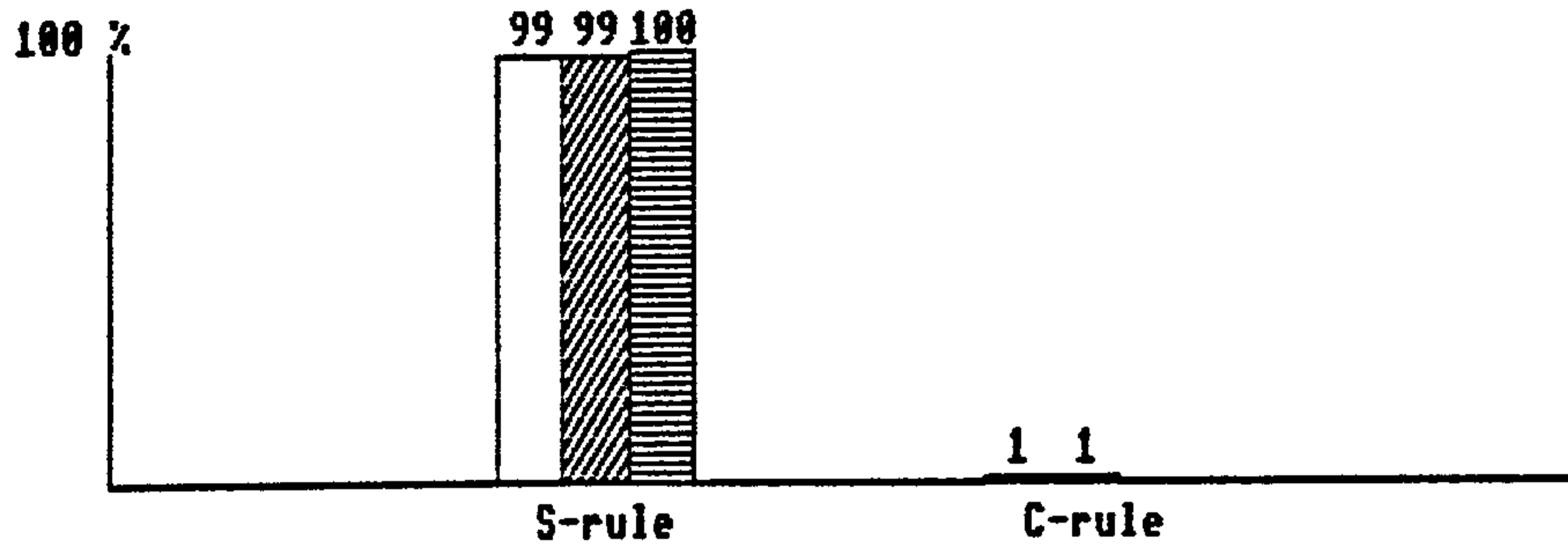
Histogram 7.22b



The distribution of three variables in colloquial reading at High school level




Variable:-  (Q)  
 (aw)  
 (ay)

Histogram 7.23a

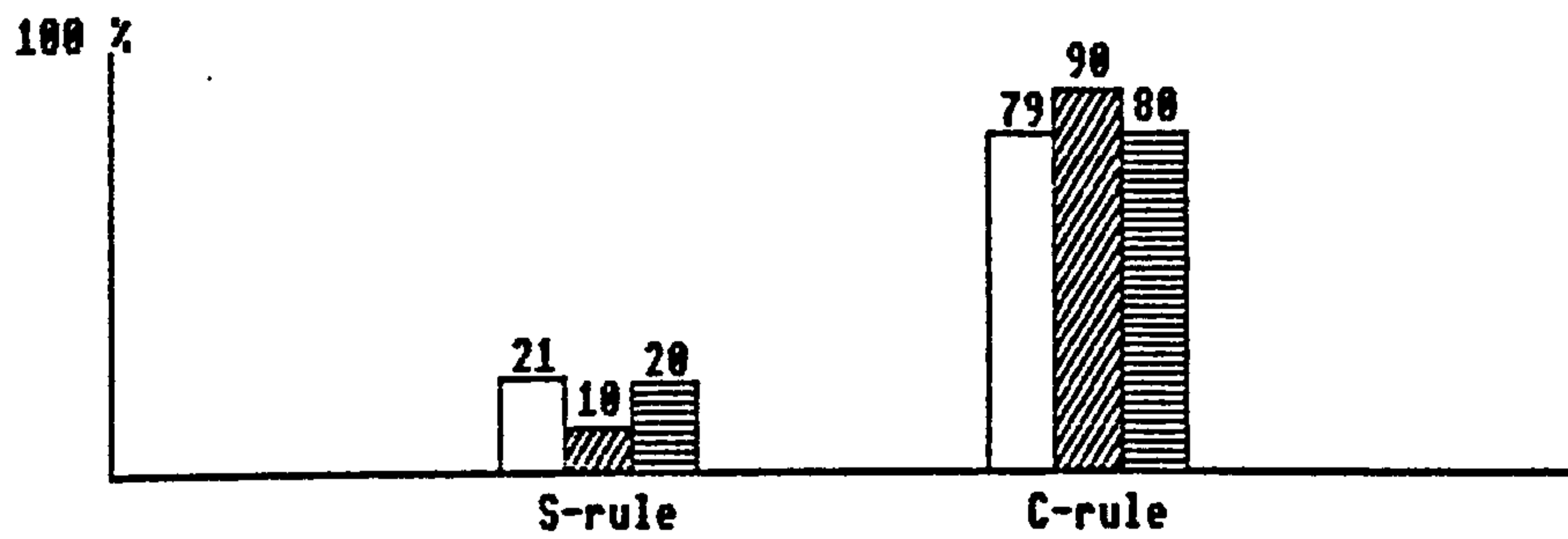


The distribution of three variables in standard reading at University level

Variable:-




	(Q)
	(aw)
	(ay)

Histogram 7.23b

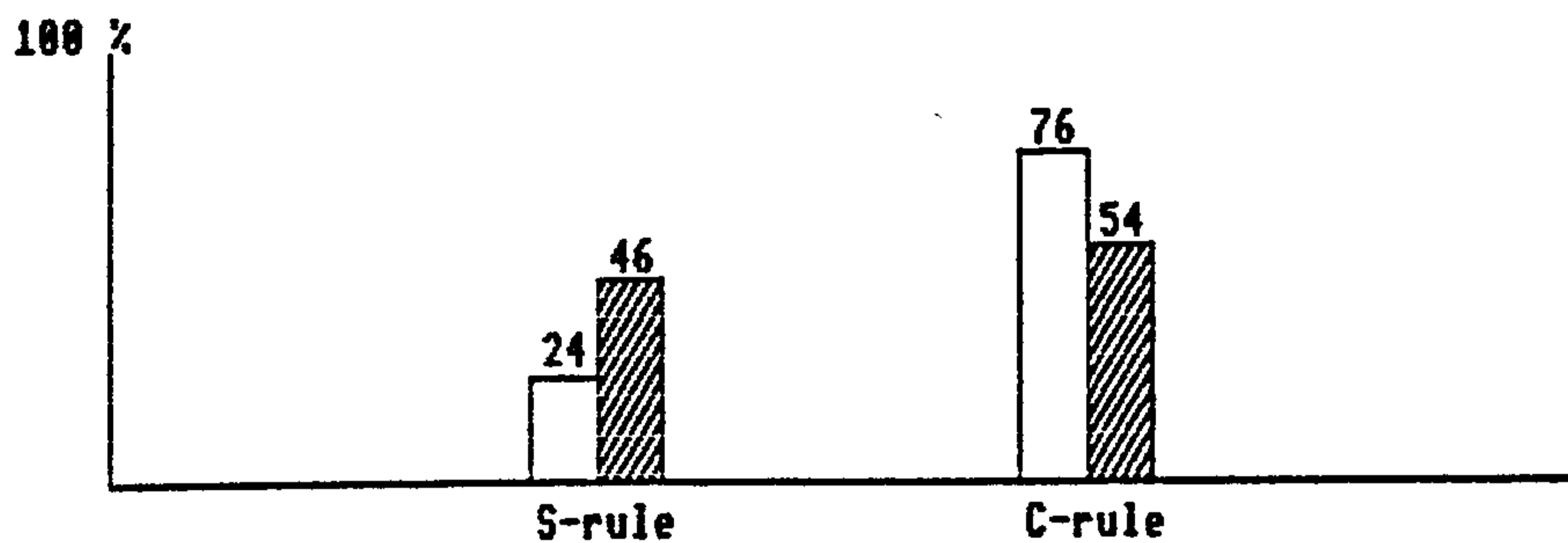


The distribution of three variables in colloquial reading at University level

Variable:-

	(Q)
	(aw)
	(ay)

Histogram 7.24

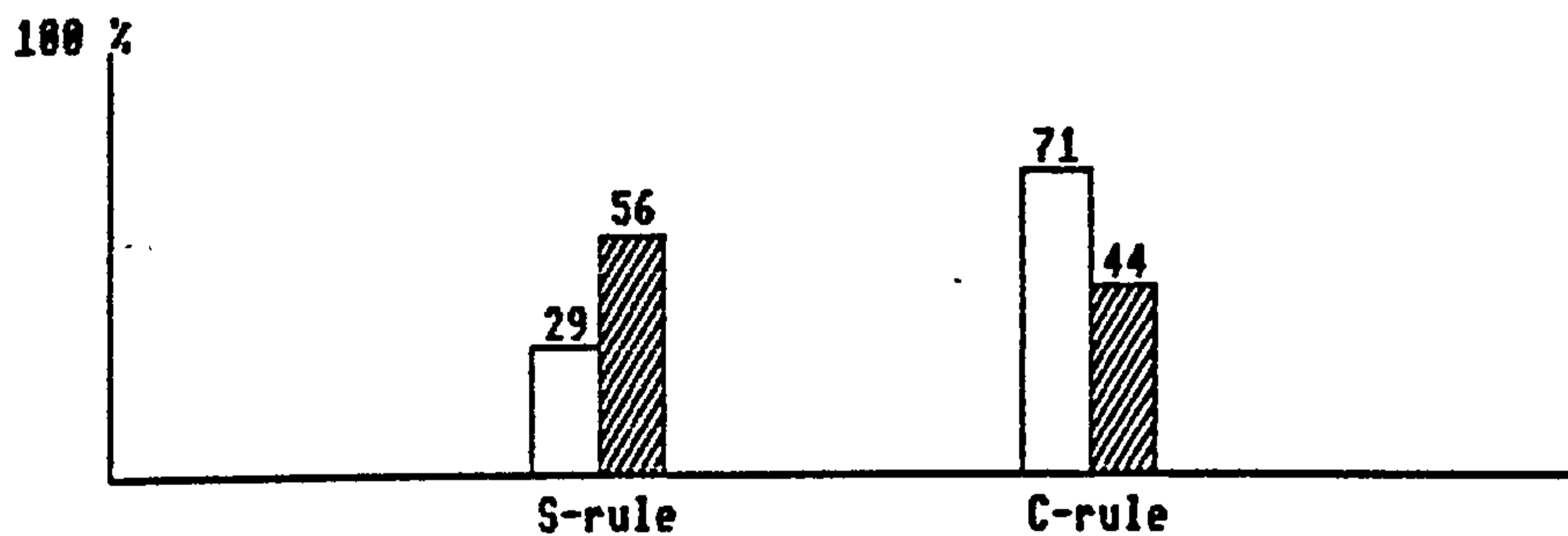


The distribution of the (Q) variable in two conversational styles at Elementary level

Style:-		N
□	Informal	1413
▨	Formal	892

Not significant

Histogram 7.25

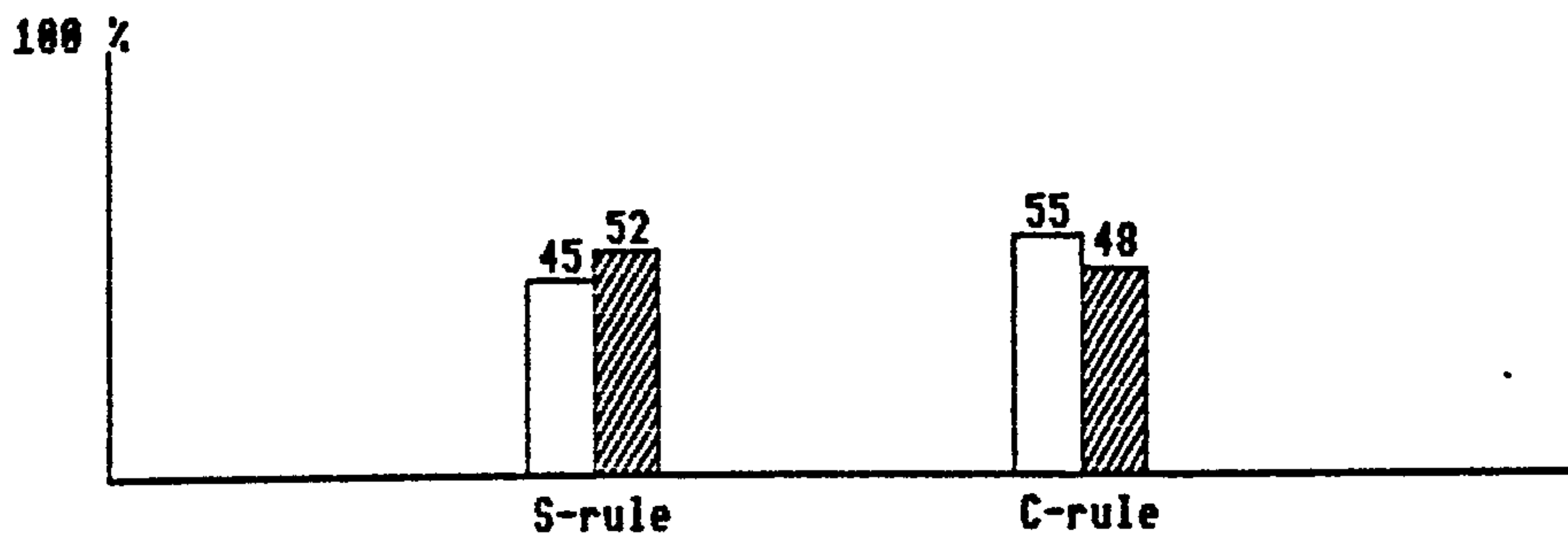


The distribution of the (Q) variable in two conversational styles at High school level

Style:-		N
□	Informal	1187
▨	Formal	1243

Not significant

Histogram 7.26

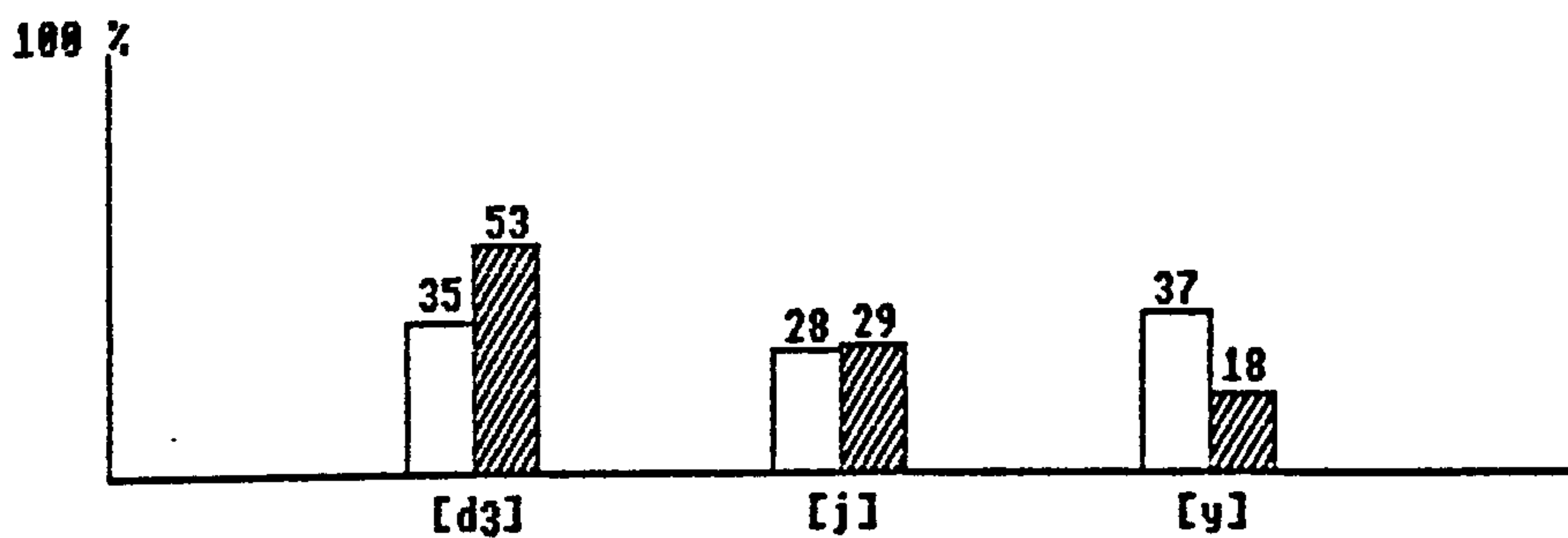


The distribution of the (Q) variable in two conversational styles at University level

Style:-		N
□	Informal	1269
▨	Formal	1270

Not significant

Histogram 7.27



The distribution of the (d3) variable in two conversational styles at Elementary level

Style:-		N
□	Informal	689
▨	Formal	652

Not significant



Histogram 7.28

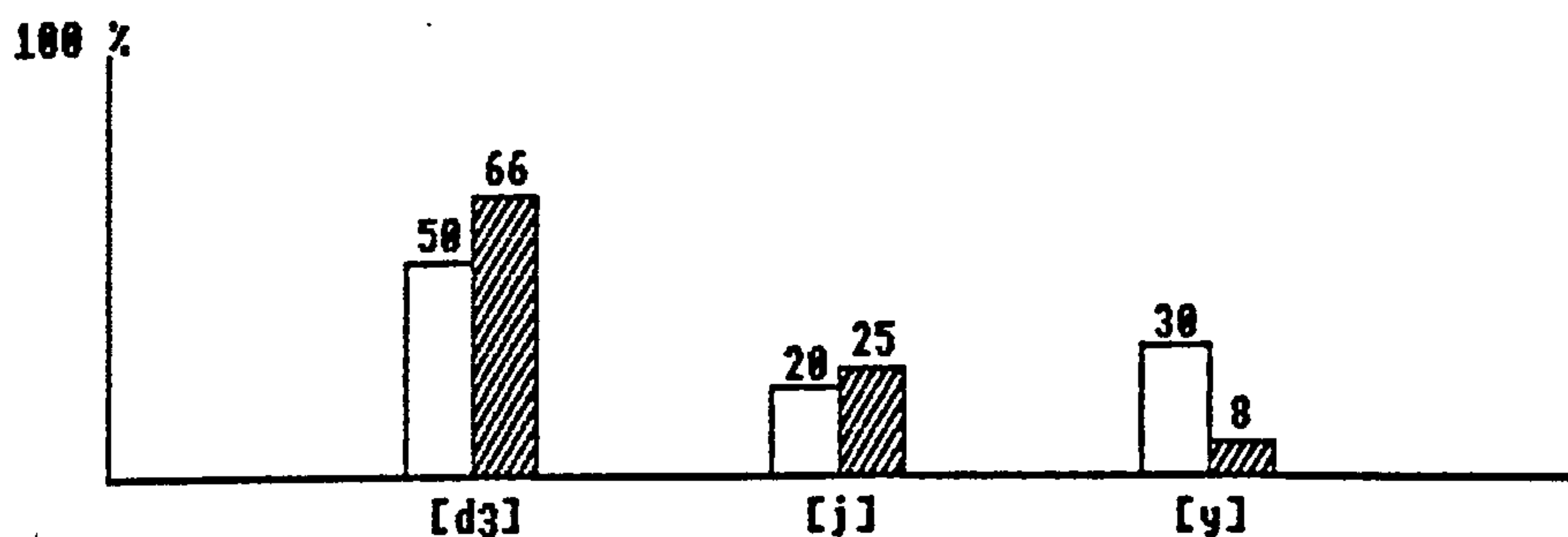


The distribution of the (d3) variable in two conversational styles at High school level

Style:-		N
□	Informal	558
▨	Formal	875

Not significant

Histogram 7.29



The distribution of the (d3) variable in two conversational styles at University level

Style:-		N
□	Informal	567
▨	Formal	939

Not significant

### 7.7 Summary and conclusion:

The data on the stylistic shifting, generally speaking, confirm what has been reported elsewhere - namely that more of the standard variants occur as the situation develops more formally. In QD such a shift is also evident in the choice of lexical items i.e. the percentages of colloquial items (classes I and II) decreases as the context becomes more formal. Such a shift, however, is more evident in the language of the younger generation than it is in the speech of the older one.

The study also presented data which unequivocally shows that reading styles are qualitatively different and thus cannot possibly be placed on the same linear continuum. People were asked to read standard poetry and colloquial poetry. In reading the former all the groups used the standardization rule, whereas in reading the latter the choice was the colloquialization rule, except for the Howala group, who used this rule considerably less than the others.

The spelling pronunciation principle seems to work, when reading from a printed page, for the ( $d_3$ ) variable, whereas the manifestation of the (Q), (aw) or (ay) variables is not constrained by this principle.

Footnote

1. The colloquialization rule in this section includes both [g] and the [d<sub>3</sub>] variants. Similarly, the standardization rule includes both [q] and [b] variants.

## Chapter VIII

ConclusionsOn the theoretical level

The close examination of the data on the linguistic variables, drawn from the Arabic-speaking community of Doha (Qatar), has provided additional support to the quantitative approach, which looks upon language variation as a by-product of the diversity of human culture in its various forms; and such variation can be shown to be highly systematic if examined in relation to extralinguistic factors such as age, sex, style etc.

The study has demonstrated that the kind of variation observed in the ( $d_3$ ) and the (Q) variables shows a systematic relationship with social group membership, age, level of education and style. However the study has also shown that variation cannot be explained solely in terms of extralinguistic factors, and that some attention must also be paid to the lexical items containing the variables under investigation. I do not want to claim that each individual word has a life of its own, but rather that each group of lexical items tends to behave similarly, without denying the interaction between such linguistic factors and extralinguistic ones.

The other contribution of this study to the study of variation in general is the fact that it has drawn attention to the question of frequency. By this I do not mean the frequency of the occurrence of a lexical item only, but also the frequency of interaction among the speakers within and among the various groups. It seems that this is very important when dealing with sound change

in progress. When the change is in the direction of a dialectal prestigious form, the most frequent words are affected first, but the opposite takes place if the change is in the direction of the superimposed variety.

The study has presented data on two key issues. Firstly, it has shown that reading and conversational styles are qualitatively different and thus cannot be placed on the same linear continuum. Secondly, it has demonstrated that a speech community need not always move in the same direction, like a physical body, in regard to a particular sound change, but that different groups within the speech community may move in different directions with regard to the change.

#### On the descriptive level

The speech community of Doha (Qatar), due to the process of modernization, is undergoing change. Such change involves not only phonological units but also lexical items. Items related to the traditional local activities (pearl-fishing, diving etc.) are rapidly disappearing from the linguistic repertoire of the community; instead the lexicon is expanding in the direction of SA as more and more of the standard items are becoming assimilated into the dialect.

As I have said in chapter I, probably the prime merit of this study lies in the fact that it has shed light on a relatively virgin dialect. On the whole the study has shown how far linguistic variation in the speech community of Doha is related to the social differentiation of the social groups within the society.

The implication of this study for variation in Arabic:

Variation in Arabic is normally described in terms of diglossia, alternation between H and L varieties which is inspired by Ferguson's article of (1959<sub>a</sub>). In fact the term "diglossia" was first coined by the French linguist William Marcias (Zughoul 1980). But Ferguson gets the credit for the spread of the term in the English speaking world. His article "Diglossia" (1959<sub>a</sub>) rapidly gained the status of a classic. His proposal was designed to distinguish language varieties with specific structural and functional relationships.

Ferguson's article, however, was not based on real data. This is quite clear from the remarks made at the end of the well-known article, when he writes that

"perhaps the collection of data and more profound study will drastically modify the impressionistic remarks of this paper"

(ibid:340)

But instead many investigators took the distinction between (H) and (L) as an article of faith and went on handling the variation in Arabic simply in terms of these two varieties (Altoma 1969; Kaye 1969-70).

Ferguson's remark on the functional specialization of (H) and (L) is of considerable relevance. In talking about the functional domain of the two varieties in a diglossic speech community, he wrote:

"one of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L. In one set of situations only H is appropriate and in another only L, with the sets overlapping only very slightly"

(Ferguson 1959<sub>a</sub>:328)

Later on he makes it clear that (H) is used in formal contexts such as sermons, lectures, political speeches etc. whereas (L) is used in informal situations such as at home, with one's peer group etc. In other words, diglossia is a phenomenon which has, among other things, affinities with stylistic variation.

Many criticisms have been levied at such a division. The claim that in one set of situations only (H) is appropriate and in another only (L) is appropriate is very categorical and opposes the nature of language, which is dynamic and fuzzy (El-Hassan 1977). The claim bears fruit if and only if by lectures and sermons Ferguson means written lectures in (H) variety that are read out to the audience.

In the present study we have proposed two sets of rules: the standardization and colloquialization rules. If we consider them to belong to (H) and (L) varieties respectively, we can say that the only place where there is a near categorical application of the standardization rule is in reading standard Arabic poetry; otherwise both rules occur with a frequency relative to the level of the formality of the situation in which the speech event takes place. This is true of all the speakers. Of course, it may be convenient

"to posit a one-to-one correlation between a set of linguistic forms and a situation ... but while this relation does sometimes genuinely exist, it would be a mistake to assume that it always exists and to talk rigidly in terms of one language (variety) in one situation"  
 (El-Hassan 1977:116)

In other words, although Arabic is normally described in terms of discrete varieties of (H) and (L), it is far from the truth that the choice is always either this or that; it is rather a mixture of both, according to the stylistic level of the speech event, the topic, the audience, age of the participants etc.

To account for the variability in Arabic we need to move away from (H) and (L) dogma, or for that matter from dividing the system into three or more discrete varieties. We need to regard the Arabic language as a continuum with standard Arabic at one end and colloquial Arabic at the other. This approach has an advantage in that it does not look upon a piece of Arabic as belonging either to the standard or to the colloquial variety, but as being at any point on the continuum depending on many interacting factors (as Bickerton (1975) suggests for creole languages).

The crucial problem when confronted by a state of utmost fluidity and overlapping, as is the case in Arabic, is to find a set of stable objective and operative criteria for capturing the nature of variation on the continuum. That is to say we need criteria with predictive validity.

The first step is to study separate linguistic features. If we could establish a set of relationships between the occurrence of such features and certain linguistic and extralinguistic elements,



and moreover if we could do the same for a great number of linguistic features, we could determine the probability of the occurrence of a feature, or combination of features, in terms of an implicational scale, such as the following one. It predicts for example that the occurrence of C entails that the probability of the occurrence of items on its left is greater than that of those on its right.

(a)

	a	b	c	d
1.	+	+	+	+
2.	+	+	+	-
3.	+	+	-	-
4.	+	-	-	-
5.	-	-	-	-

The findings of this study make a step in this direction. We have shown that the application of the colloquialization rule or the standardization rule is governed by the class of lexical items, the age of the speaker and his level of education. We have also seen that the application of these rules depends not only on style but also on whether it is reading or conversational style; and in reading it depends whether the material has colloquial or standard associations. For example, the colloquialization rule for the ( $d_3$ ) variable is more likely to occur in the speech of older speakers, in informal speech in items in class I rather than in class II, or than in the speech of the younger speakers in the same contexts and in the same class of lexical items.

Appendix A (Questionnaire)Section A:

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Are you literate? Where did you study? To what level? What is your opinion of the teachers who taught you? Were they strict, fair, good etc.?
4. Do you have a job? Where do you work? When did you start work? What is your occupation? Please supply some details about it. Does anyone else in your family work? If so, where, and at what, etc.
5. What did your father want you to be? Why have you not become so?
6. Where were you living before? Why have you moved?
7. Do you speak another language besides Arabic? How did you learn it?
8. What do you think of fate and divine decree? Do you think man is predestined or not? Why?
9. In the last decade women have begun to work (in Qatar) - what do you think about this? Do you agree? Why? What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a move? If a female from your family wanted to work, would you agree? Why?
10. What do you think of the programmes on Qatari television, channels 9 and 37? Why? Have you seen Fayiz attosh in "Ramadhan"? What do you think of it? Why did people react

positively to it? Why did others criticize it, saying that it is a failure? Do you wish to see this sort of programme all year round, or only now and again?

11. What is the difference between the education of the present day and some 50 years ago? Which is better? Why?
12. What do you think of the foreign labour force? What should the position of the state be in this respect? And of the people? How can we avoid its disadvantages? What is the alternative?

1b. (for older speakers only)

Have you ever been on a pearl-fishing trip? How old were you? How many times have you been there? With whom? What did you do before proceeding on those trips? Tell me about the diving process. What was the role of the diver and his assistant? How did you divide the pearls? What is the difference among assayfiyya, algho:s, al od and arraddu (kinds of pearl-fishing trips)?

### Section B

14. What are your hobbies?
15. Do you play football? What do you think of our national team? What is the difference between it and the one ten years ago? Why do you think the present team is better?
16. Do you like travelling? Why? Where do you normally go to? What is the best place you have ever visited? Could you narrate some of the interesting incidents that have happened during these trips?

17. Do you like falconry? What would you normally do on such trips? Have you ever been in a situation during these trips where something funny happened to you or to your friends? What is the best thing about falconry? Why?
18. Do you like fishing? Do you fish from a boat or at the seaside? Can you tell me about some of the humorous or embarrassing incidents that you have witnessed in the sea? Did your friend not trap you in these trips, or vice versa, where one party has a laugh at the other?
19. Have you ever been involved in a fight? What happened?
20. What is the funniest incident in your life, the one which makes you laugh whenever you remember it? And the most embarrassing one? Have you ever been in a situation where you were really scared? What happened?
21. Some people wake up and shout, walk and/or talk while they are asleep. Do you belong to this category? Do you know anyone who does? What has he done?
22. Have you ever been in a situation where you were in serious danger of getting killed? What happened?
23. Were you ever involved in an incident with a teacher? What happened? What was the worst thing you ever saw a teacher do to a pupil? Or vice versa? Were you a naughty boy at the school? What did you do? Did you belong to a gang? What were the sort of things you used to do?
24. What were the sort of games you used to play when you were a child? Could you describe some of them?

25. Did you ever have a dream that really scared you? What happened?
26. Some people pronounce /d<sub>3</sub>/ as [y] - who are they? Is it a good habit? What do you think of those who pronounce /q/ as [b], such as /mostaqbal -> [mosta**b**bal]? Some people utter the /q/ sound as [d<sub>3</sub>], as in [d<sub>3</sub>a:si:], instead of [qa:si:]. Who are they? What do you think of them?

### Section C

(for younger people only)

I would like you to read some poetry. Some of it is of the colloquial type, while the other is of the standard type. Of course, you may look at it before reading it, if you wish to. Firstly, would you read these two colloquial poems. Secondly, would you please read these standard poems.

## الاسئلة

- ١- ايش اسـمك ؟
- ٢- كم عمرك ؟
- ٣- دارس؟ وين درست؟ ايش قد درست؟  
ايش رايبك في المدرسين اللي درسوك؟  
هل كانوا زينين والا متساهلين  
والا جامدين ؟
- ٤- تشتغل ؟ وين ؟ ايش شغلتك ؟  
اعطني فكرة عن طبيعة شغلك ؟  
احد غيرك من العائلة يشتغل ؟  
من ؟ وين ؟ ايش وظيفته ؟
- ٥- والسيدك كان يتمنى انك تصير  
شي معين ؟ ليش ما صرت ؟
- ٦- وين كنت ساكن من قبل ؟ ليش  
انتقلت ؟
- ٧- تتكلم لسغة غير العربية ؟ كيف  
تعلمتها ؟
- ٨- ايش رايبك في القضاء والقدر؟  
يعني الانسان مسير والا مخير في  
رايبك ؟ ليش ؟
- ٩- في الفترة الاخيرة شغلتنا الحريم  
قمن يشتغلن . ايش رايبك في شغل  
الحريم ؟ انت موافق انها تشتغل ؟  
ليش ؟ ايش في رايبك الحسرات  
اللي يمكن المجتمع يحصل عليها  
من ها الشيء ؟ و ايش هي المساهم ؟  
لو واحدة من عائلتك بغت  
تشتغل هل توافق ؟ ليش ؟
- ١٠- ايش رايبك في برنامج تلفزيون  
قطر القناة ٩ والقناة ٢٧ ؟ شغلت  
حلقات فايز التوش في رمضان ؟  
ايش رايبك في ها البرنامج ؟

- ليش تعتقد ان الناس اندمجوا معاه؟  
 ليش تعتقد بعض الناس انقدوه  
 وقالوا عنه انه فاشل؟ تحب  
 تشوف ها البرامج على طول  
 السنه والا بعد كل فترة؟
- ١١- ايش الفرق بين تعليم اليوم وتعليم  
 ايام زمان؟ اى واحد فيهم الاحسن؟  
 ليش؟
- ١٢- من حول ١٥ سنة تقريبا بدأت عندنا  
 ضاهرة جديدة وهي كثرة الوافدين  
 من مختلف الاجناس. ايش رايبك في  
 العمالة الاجنبية؟ ايش تعتقد لازم يكون  
 موقف الناس والدولة من  
 ها الظاهرة؟ كيف يمكن  
 نتلافى عيوبها؟ ايش البديل؟
- ١٣- رحيت الغوص؟ كم كان عمرك؟  
 كم مرة دخلت الغوص؟ مع من؟  
 لو قلت لك قول لى عن اللي  
 كنتوا تسبون قبل ما تطلعون الغوص  
 ايش تقول؟ ايشلون كنتوا  
 تفوصون؟ الغيم والسحاب ايش  
 كان شغلتهم؟ ايشلون كنتوا  
 تقسمون النصيب؟ ايش  
 الفرق بين الصيفية والغوص العود؟  
 والبردة؟ ( للكبار فقط ) .

( ب )

=====

- ١٤- ايش هواياتك؟
- ١٥- ايش رايبك في منتخب قطر؟ ويش  
 الفرق بين ها المنتخب واللى  
 قبل عشر سنين؟ وليش  
 تعتقد ان الفريق تحسن؟

- ١٦- تحب السفر؟ ليش؟ وين تسافر  
اكثير شي؟ ايش احسن مكان زرتيه؟  
في السفر تحصل مفارقات عجيبة .  
ممکن تسولف عن بعض المفارقات اللي  
حصلت لك في ها السفرات؟
- ١٧- تحب الصيد؟ ايش تسوون يوم مسـا  
تكونون في رحيلة صيد؟ ايش احسن  
شي في الصيد؟ ايش اطـرف  
صادفتك (اولا صدقائك) في الصيد؟
- ١٨- تحب الحداق؟ تروح في طراد ولا تصيد  
تصيد على السيف؟ ممکن تسولف عن  
بعض المواقف اللي صادفتك في البحر  
وانت تصيد يعني المواقف المحرجة او المضحكة؟  
ربعاك ما سووا فيك مقالبا واضحكوا عليك؟
- ١٩- عمـرك تهاوشت؟ ايش صار؟  
٢٠- ايش اطـرف موقف مر عليك في حياتك؟  
موقف كل ما تتذكره تقعد تضحك؟  
وايش اخرج موقف؟ والموقف اللي  
صدق حسيت فيه بالخوف؟
- ٢١- بعض الناس يمشون وهم راقدين او يتكلمون  
وهم راقدين . انت منهم؟ ايش صار  
لك؟ تعرف احد كذى؟ تذكر  
سالفة حصلت لـه؟
- ٢٢- هل صار في يوم من الايام وحسيت  
انك خلاص بتموت؟ ايش صار؟
- ٢٣- الحوادث اللي تحصل بين المدرسين و  
الطلبة كثيرة . هل صارت لك سالفة  
مع مدرس؟ ايش صار ممکن تقول؟  
ايش احسن سالفة سواها طالب بحق  
مدرس؟ او العكس؟ ايام الاعدادية ما كنتوا  
تلعبون المدرسين؟ ايش كنتوا تسوون؟  
كلنت لكم عصابت في المدرسة؟ ايش كنتوا  
تسوون؟



٢٤ - ايشرالالعاب اللي كنتوا تلعبونها وانتوا  
صغار؟ ممكن تشرح ها الالعاب وتتكلم  
عنها؟

٢٥ - عمرك حلمت حلم وترعيت منه؟ ايش  
صار؟

=====

٢٦ - في بعض الناس ينطقون الجيم ياء . من  
هم؟ هل هي عادة زينة؟ والا لا؟  
ايش رايبك في اللي ينطقون القاف غين؟  
مثلا مستقبل يقولون مستقبل؟  
من هم؟ ايش رايبك فيهم؟ هل هي  
عادة زينة والا لا؟

بعض الناس ينطقون القاف جيم ويقولون  
جاسي بيدال قاسي اموشرجي  
بيدال شرقي . من هم؟ ايش  
رايبك فيهم؟

( ج )

=====

- الحين اعطيك قصائد بالشعر العامي  
والفصيح وابيبك تقراها . طبعاً  
ممكن تشوف القصائد قبل ما  
تقراها لو حبيت .
- اولاً هذى قصيدتين بالشعر العامي  
ممكن تقراها .
  - ثانياً هذى ثلاث قصائد  
بالشعر الفصيح . ممكن تقراها .

## Appendix A1

من الهجران لي نفسٍ عليه  
 وأبات الليل كني في مليله  
 ودمع العين ما ونى هميله  
 وجرحي ساطي ما فيه حيله  
 قطع عني فروضه والنفيله  
 وأنا والله ما قصدي بديله  
 بروض الحب كم يوم وليله  
 وقلب ما تسلي عن خياله  
 ونار الشوق زاد بها اشتعاله  
 وطيب النوم جفني ما هناله  
 من اللي قص حبلي من حباله  
 لحاء الله كيف أخطأ عداله  
 وأنا وياه من عصر الجهاله  
 وساعات بها حالي و حاله

---

ما كل من جس العروق طبيب  
 ولا كل من شل الكتاب خطيب  
 ولا كل من هز القنا ينطح العدا  
 ولا كل صعب إلا عليه صعب  
 ولا كل من يقرأ الأناشيد شاعر  
 ولا كل من جاء السؤال يجيب  
 ولا كل رجل للوازم تعده  
 ولا كل شبل من نجيب نجيب

## Appendix A2

قالوا : تَغَيَّرَ هذا الكونُ وازْدَهَرَتْ  
 فِيهِ الصُّنَاعَةُ وازْدَادَتْ بِهِ التُّخَفُ  
 فالأقدمون أقاموا الكلبَ حارسَهُمْ  
 واليومَ أَجْهَزَةُ الإنذارِ تَكْتَشِفُ  
 واللُّصُّ كانَ ، قَدِيمًا ، خائِفًا وَجَلًّا  
 واليومَ صارَ عَظِيمًا سَطْوَةً شَرَفُ  
 هذا الجَدِيدُ قَدِيمٌ رُغْمَ جَدْتِهِ  
 وكلُّ ما فِيهِ أنَ اللُّونُ مُخْتَلِفٌ

حَارَبْتُ مِن أَجْلِ المِبادِيءِ مَرَّةً  
 وَتَكَيْتُ مِن أَجْلِ النُّضارِ مِرارًا  
 فَوَضَعْتُ لِلإفلاسِ حَتَّى أَصْبَحْتُ  
 بِتِلْكَ المِبادِيءِ قُمَّةً وَغُبارًا  
 كَم قَد حَلَمْتُ بِمِوَعِدِ فِي رِوَضَةٍ  
 فَوَجَدْتُ نَفْسَكَ غارِقًا بِصَحارِي  
 ماذا تَريدُ وَأَنتَ أَوَّلُ تائِبٍ  
 بِرِجْوِ شروقِ الشَّمسِ ليلَ نَهارًا؟

حِياتِكَ لَيْسَ فِيها مِن جَدِيدٍ  
 مَجْمَلَةٌ كَأَبْحارِ الجَلِيدِ  
 فَيَوْمِكَ رُبُّعُهُ عَمَلٌ وَأَمَّا  
 بِقَبِيئَتِهِ فَنفِي لَهْرِ بَلِيدٍ  
 وَعَذْرُكَ أَنَّ هَذا العَمَرَ يَمضي  
 لِيَرْتَوِعَ عِنْدَ أَضْرَحَةِ الجَدِيدِ  
 فَهَلْ أَيْقَنْتَ أَنَّ العَمَرَ دُنْيَا  
 وَأَنَّ المِوَتَ مَنطِقَةُ الجَمودِ؟

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ  
 فیما یلی تجد امامك جملة فیها فراغ ومقابل الفراغ تجد كلمتين .  
 احدى هاتين الكلمتين یكثر استعمالها شفويا ای عند التحدث  
 بالعامية والاخرى عند الكتابة . والمطلوب منك هو ان تضع فی الفراغ

رقم الكلمة التي تظن انها الانسب للاستخدام فی الكتابه لو انك

كنت تكتب مقالا فی جريدة ما .  
 ان كنت تعتقد ان الكلمتين علی نفس الدرجة من الصلاحيه وان  
 كلتاهما تملحان للاستخدام فی الكتابه ضع الحرفین ٥٤ ب .  
 وان كنت تعتقد ان الكلمتين لئملحان للاستخدام فی الكتابه  
 فلا تضع فتبيننا فی الفراغ .

١ - نوم بـ ذرقاد	٢ - هادق
١ - عقب ب - بعد	٢ - المعناه
١ - اقدر ب - استطیع	٣ - العوده
١ - وجدت ب - لقيت	٤ - الرجل ذو اللحيه
١ - ارشدوني ب - دلونسي	٥ - الى الرجل المناسب
١ - جيد ب - زين	٦ - مكان

٧ -	دموعي	أ - جرت	ب - سألت	=====	=====	=====
٨ -	في الفخ	أ - طحت	ب - وقعت	=====	=====	=====
٩ -	على الكتاب	أ - حملت	ب - عبتت	=====	=====	=====
١٠ -	الى هناك	أ - طالع	ب - انظر	=====	=====	=====
١١ -	هنا	أ - وقت	ب - نف	=====	=====	=====
١٢ -	الكتاب	أ - يرجع	ب - يرجع	=====	=====	=====
١٣ -	ليلة هادئه	أ - رقت	ب - نمت	=====	=====	=====
١٤ -	محمد من المنزل	أ - خرج	ب - طلع	=====	=====	=====
١٥ -	محمد من النوم	أ - استيقظ	ب - قام	=====	=====	=====

١٦ - \_\_\_\_\_ الفرصه المناسبه

ا - الاتي

ب - اجد

=====

ا - رديت

١٧ - \_\_\_\_\_ الى الجامعه

ب - رجعت

=====

ا - رفيق

١٨ - \_\_\_\_\_ الطفوله

ب - صديق

=====

ا - بئر

١٩ - \_\_\_\_\_ الماء

ب - قليب

=====

ا - قمر

٢٠ - \_\_\_\_\_ الحبل

ب - قطع

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