A sociolinguistic study of the Tihami Qahtani dialect in Asir, Southern Arabia

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To my beloved late sisters

Zahrah

&

Jamila

You will be always in my heart

Contents

Abstract

This is a sociolinguistic investigation that examines variation in the use of two ancient features in the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect as spoken in two villages (al-Jawwa in the highlands and al-Faršа in the lowlands) in ʿAsīr, southwest Saudi Arabia. The data are analysed within the framework of the variationist sociolinguistic paradigm and subjected to statistical testing using Rbrul. In addition to 'linguistic environment', 'age' and 'gender' as independent variables, the study analyses the effect of geographical location on the structure of variation and the trajectory of language change. The first linguistic variable is phonological, the Arabic sound *ḍād,* and the second linguistic variable is morpho-phonological, definite article *m-*. The Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect preserves ancient realisations of these features. This is a dialect that traditionally has a lateral realisation of *ḍād,* and *m-* definite article, both of which are ancient Semitic features. A total of twenty eight speakers were sampled from the two communities. The data were obtained through sociolinguistic interviews.

The results show that there is considerable variation in the use of both variables. The structure of this variation is influenced by social, linguistic and spatial factors. The incoming variants, emphatic interdental fricative [ðˁ] for (*ḍād*) and *l-article* for *m-article,* are koine forms. In the case of *ḍād*, the quantitative analysis shows that it is undergoing change towards [ðˁ]. This change is led by younger women in both communities, while men in general and older women lag behind. Analysis of *m-article* shows change in progress in the lowland community only (al-Farša). In this case too, the younger women are found to be in the lead. The qualitative analysis of the data shows that ambition, attitudes, tribal identity and mobility influence variation in the use of the traditional features. The analysis underlines the benefits of quantitative sociolinguistic methods towards understanding historical linguistic developments.

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Phonetic Transcription

Two systems are used in this thesis for Arabic transcription: IPA and EAIL. Below is the list of symbols used in this thesis. In quoting examples from previous studies I used the same symbols used by the authors.

Consonants

	IPA	EAIL	
أ	ʔ	ʾ	voiced glottal stop **hamza**
ب	b	b	voiced bilabial stop **bāʾ**
ت	t	t	voiceless dento-alveolar stop **tāʾ**
ث	θ	ṯ	voiceless interdental fricative **ṯāʾ**
ج	ʒ	ǧ	voiced post-alveolar fricative **jīm**
ح	ħ	ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative **ḥāʾ**
خ	x	x	voiceless velar fricative **xāʾ**
د	d	d	voiced dento-alveolar stop **dāl**
ذ	ð	ḏ	voiced interdental fricative **ḏāl**
ر	r	r	voiced alveolar trill **rāʾ**
ز	z	z	voiced alveolar fricative **zāy**
س	s	s	voiceless dental fricative **sīn**
ش	ʃ	š	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative **šīn**
ص	sˤ	ṣ	voiceless velarised alveolar fricative **ṣād**
*ض	dˤ	ḍ	voiced velarised dento-alveolar stop **ḍād**
ط	tˤ	ṭ	voiceless velarised dento-alveolar stop **ṭāʾ**
ظ	ðˤ	ḏ̣	voiced velarised interdental fricative **ḏ̣āʾ**
ع	ʕ	ʿ	voiced pharyngeal fricative **ʿayn**
غ	ɣ	ġ	voiced uvular fricative **ġayn**
ف	f	f	voiceless labio-dental fricative **fāʾ**
ق	q	q	voiceless uvular stop **qāf**
ك	k	k	voiceless velar stop **kāf**
ل	l	l	voiced dental lateral **lām**
م	m	m	voiced bilabial nasal **mīm**

ن	n	n	voiced alveolar nasal **nūn**
ه	h	h	voiceless glottal fricative **hā**ʾ
و	w	w	voiced labiovelar glide **wāw**
ي	j	y	voiced palatal glide **yā**ʾ

*for the emphatic lateral fricative realization of *ḍād* i.e. the historical realization, ɮˤ symbol is used throughout.

Vowels

IPA   EAIL

a: ā

e: ē

i: ī

o: ō

u: ū

Introduction

To date, only a handful of sociolinguistic studies have been carried out in the province of ʿAsīr, which is located in southwest Saudi Arabia. The Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect (TQ) was not discussed in the descriptive work of Prochazak (1988), although most regions were included in his project. The present study is the first sociolinguistic investigation that examines variation in the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect (TQ) as spoken in ʿAsīr.

The locations and dialects examined in the present research are important from a typological viewpoint because they are spoken at the periphery of the Arabian Peninsula, and, in many respects, are linguistically more conservative than other Saudi dialects. For instance, TQ does not have the same level of simplification and levelling as in most urban varieties in ʿAsīr. At the sociolinguistic level, the linguistic features of the TQ dialect (discussed in chapter 2) can characterise the distinction between conservative dialects and koineised urban varieties in ʿAsīr.

The study focuses on the use of two linguistic variables, which are examined in relation to three independent variables (age, gender and locality). The first linguistic variable is phonological, the Arabic sound *ḍād,* whilst the second variable is morpho-phonological, the definite article *m-*. The analysis follows the methods of quantitative sociolinguistics.

The data were obtained through sociolinguistic interviews in two Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni villages: al-Jawwa, which is located in the highlands, some 90 kilometres away from Abha city, and has a population of 7,403 people; and al-Farša, which is located in the Tihāma 'lowland', 30 kilometres south of al-Jawwa and has a population of 14, 219.

One of the important questions raised concern the impact of geographical isolation on linguistic variation and change. In addition to examining (synchronic) correlations between

linguistic and social and spatial variables in hitherto unstudied communities, the present study underlines the contributions of quantitative sociolinguistic methods towards understanding historical linguistic processes.

The hypotheses of the study are:

- The local dialects show variation in the use of *ḍād* and *m-article*, which involves localised (traditional) and supra-local variants. This variability is structured in relation to linguistic, social and spatial variables.

- Geographical location and channels of communication (roads, schools) are important factors: linguistic innovation is at a more advanced stage in the highland location.

- Ambitions and attitudes (towards the local community) influence patterns of variation.

The thesis contains six chapters, organized as follows. The first chapter describes the linguistic situation in Saudi Arabia and in ʿAsīr province. It also provides a historical, geographical and social overview of ʿAsīr, including the two communities under examination. It further gives background information about the population in ʿAsīr in general, as well as in the two examined communities in particular, with respect to their dialectal, tribal and cultural affiliation.

Chapter 2 gives a linguistic description of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect as spoken in the two villages. This chapter explains the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of the TQ dialect. References to other Tihāmi and Yemeni dialects that share the same linguistic features will be provided in this chapter.

Chapter 3 deals with the methods adopted in the present research. It provides information about the participants, whose speech is analysed in this study, including the stratification of the sample and the sample size. It also explains how the two communities have been accessed. This chapter also gives detailed information about the sociolinguistic interviews, including the settings and interview designs. The linguistic and social variables, the coding technique and the software that is used for the analysis of the data are also detailed in this chapter.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the linguistic variables *ḍād* (chapter 4) and the definite article *m-* (chapter 5). In the first section of each chapter, a historical and linguistic overview is provided for each linguistic variable as discussed by old grammarians and modern linguists and/or sociolinguists. The second part of each chapter deals with the quantitative analysis of each linguistic variable along with a discussion of the patterns observed.

Finally, Chapter 6 gives a summary of the major and important findings to emerge from the study, the contributions which the study makes to the field and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 1

ʿAsīr: history and geography

Saudi Arabia is one of the largest countries in western Asia and consists mainly of five regions; northern, southern, eastern, western and central (Najd). Every region has a distinctive geography. While the central and northern regions consist mainly of vast areas of desert, the eastern and western regions are coastal and the southern region is mountainous. This range of different topographies encompasses extreme cultural and dialectal diversity. Dialects in Saudi Arabia tend to form what Chambers and Trudgill (1998) call geographical dialect continua. This means that the linguistic differences between two geographical locations will become larger as one moves further from the starting point. The concept of geographical continua is important in the present study especially because the two villages under investigation are located at the border between two political entities: Saudi Arabia (to which they belong) and Yemen. So while the dialects in the region show linguistic affinities with Yemeni dialects, the trajectory of the linguistic developments in these dialects points towards koineised Saudi dialects, most notably those spoken in the cities of Abha and farther north in Jeddah. Furthermore, because of the rugged topography of the southern region, and thus centuries of isolation, many southern dialects can be incomprehensible to speakers of other Saudi dialects. By and large, the dialects spoken in villages and cities in the highlands of ʿAsīr tend to be mutually intelligible with other Saudi dialects. The further we move down towards the lowlands, in Arabic *Tihāmah*, the less intelligible the dialects become.

A number of studies have provided descriptions of various Saudi dialects. The work of Prochaska is particularly useful in that it covers a wide range of dialects from all regions.

The Najdi dialects have been described in considerable details by Ingham (1994 & 2010). Abboud (1979) deals with the morphology of the Ḥāyili dialect, spoken in the north of Najd. The (Ḥijāzi) dialect of Mecca is described in Ingham (1971). These studies provide descriptions of various aspects of the grammars of these dialects. With the exception of Prochaska (1988), descriptive works of the dialects spoken in the southern region, particularly in ʿAsīr, are rare (see section 1.5).

The dialects of Saudi Arabia have been classified by a number of scholars including Johnstone (1967), Prochazka (1988), and Ingham (1982 & 1994). According to Johnstone (1967) dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula can be divided into four groups; North Arabian, Ḥijāzi, South-western and Omani. Prochazka (1988) divides Saudi dialects into two groups; (i) the dialects of the southern Ḥijāz and Tihāmah, and (ii) the Najdi and Eastern Arabian dialects which are morphologically more uniform than the southern Ḥijāz and Tihāmah group (Prochazka 1988:11). The dialect under investigation in this study belongs to group (i). This group will be further discussed in section 1.5.

One important observation about the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia is the absence of a variety that can be described as a 'standard Saudi dialect'. In other Arab countries, the dialects of the capital cities, such as the Cairene dialect in Egypt and the Damascus dialect in Syria seem to function as local (and prestigious) standards. Miller (2004) writes:

> "Since the early 20th century, the dialects of the main cities are often emerging as national or regional standards in both the Maghreb and the Middle East. In this respect they are competing with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, Fuṣḥā) as prestigious norms in the Middle East".

(Miller 2004:180)

With respect to Saudi Arabia, the impression is that there is no such thing as a 'standard variety'. Although this issue awaits serious research, it is possible that the relative recency of the unification of all parts of the country (1932), and until recently, the lack of communication channels (e.g. fast roads, regional universities, regional airports) have made it unlikely for standardisation to have taken place. Nonetheless, we find predictions in the literature. For instance, Al-Shehri (1993:28) suggests that the Najdi variety as spoken in Riyadh acts as a Saudi standard. More recent investigations in the Ḥijāz province, particularly in Jeddah (on the Red Sea) discredit the validity of this prediction, at least as far as the western province is concerned. For instance, in Al-Essa's study (2009) on dialect contact in Jeddah, the findings show that traditional Najdi features are levelled out in favour of Ḥijāzi features (e.g. depalatalisation of /k/ and /g/, neutralisation of gender in the 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns and endings). Such findings suggest that a separate regional standard may be emerging in the western province, based on the koineised dialect of Jeddah. This suggestion is corroborated by the findings of Al-Ghamdi (2013) on dialect contact in Mecca. She found that traditional Ghamdi features are levelled out in favour of the features found in Mecca and Jeddah, even though some of the Ghamdi features are identical to those found in the Riyadh dialect (interdental sounds). Further evidence that a separate standard variety is emerging in the western region comes from work in progress by Hussein in the Ḥijāz city of Medina. For instance, Hussein found that the Medina traditional pronunciation of an affricate sound /dʒ/for *jīm*, which is identical to the variant found in the Riyadh dialect, is undergoing change towards a fricative sound /ʒ/, which is a characteristic feature of the dialect of Jeddah; thus, *dʒumʕa > ʒumʕa* 'Friday', *rdʒa:lana: > rʒa:lana:* 'our men'. It is interesting to note further that the term *il-lahja il-bedaayḏa* 'the white dialect' is used quite widely to refer to 'a neutral dialect' (viz. one that has no particularly localised features), which may be an indication that the general public are conscious of the emergence of koineised varieties (cf. Kerswill 2002).

Along similar lines, in Abha, the capital of ʿAsīr, whose population is comprised of different tribal groups (see below), one notices that in many cases it is no longer possible to identify the tribal affiliation of speakers by the dialect they speak in, which is an indication that koineisation is taking place in these regional centres.[1] In a previous study that I conducted in Abha (Al-Qahtani 2011), I found that the 2nd sing fem suffix *–ʃ*, which is a hallmark of southern dialects in general, is being replaced by the koineised forms [k], [ik], [ki], as in *abu:ʃ > abu:ki* 'your father', *ʔaʕtˤe:tiʃ > ʔaʕtˤe:tik* 'I gave you'. Additionally, the traditional ʿAsīri form *inħim* 'we' is being replaced by the koineised form *iħna*. In another study by Mona Al-Shihry (2011), she found that the progressive marker *ma-* as in *ma-ya:kul* 'he is eating', *ma-yuktub* 'he is writing' is being replaced by the koineised forms *ya:kul/ ga:ʕid yakul* 'he is eating' and *yiktub/ga:ʕid yiktub* ' he is writing' respectively. The regional koine does not necessarily oust the local dialect of the area; speakers can become bi-dialectal and alternate between their local dialect and the koine (cf. Kerswill 2002, especially his comments about regional standards in Italy).

1.1 Geography and population

ʿAsīr is located in the southern region of Saudi Arabia (18°4′ N, 43°9′ E) and shares borders with al-Ḥijāz to the north and Yemen to the south (see map 1.1). ʿAsīr is considered an important geographical link that connects the southern and northern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. There are different views regarding the origin of the province's name. According to Al-Niʿmi (1999:16), the name of the province may be derived from the Arabic word *ʕusr* 'harshness' due to the rugged topography of the region. Alternatively, quoting al-Hamdāni in

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[1] My own speech is a good example of such cases. My Saudi colleagues often remark that I do not sound 'southerner', by which they mean that my idiolect does not contain the typical southern features, e.g. /ʃ/ for /k/.

his book *al-Iklīl* (al-Niʿmi 1999: 16), he maintains that the province takes its name from the

ʿAdnāni tribe 'ʿAsīr', who were the first inhabitants of the province. ʿAsīr tribe consists of

four major tribes, namely Muġayd, ʿAlkam, Rabīʿat Rufaydah and Banu Mālik (Shakir

1981:54). The homeland of these tribes extend to Šahrān homeland in the east, ʾAlmaʿ tribe in

the west, Qaḥṭān tribe and some of the Šahrān tribe in the south and Bal-Aḥmar in the north

(Shakir 1981:55).

Map 1.1: *Map of Saudi Arabia, showing ʿAsīr province*

(Source: http://www.mapsopensource.com/saudiarabiamap-black---and---white.html)

The province consists of three different topographies; the highlands that include rugged mountains (*as-Sarāh* Mountains) extending from at-Ṭāyif in the north to Yemen in the south, the rocky valleys, and the lowlands that include areas which extend from the south of Ḥijāz along the plateau of the Red Sea coast to the borders of Yemen.

The population of ʿAsīr numbers around 1,913,392 (CDS Report 2010) and can be divided into three groups; the first group is the Bedouin who occupy the eastern parts of the province in Ṭirīb and Taṯlīṯ (about 200 km from Abha), the second group is the farmers who come from different tribes including ʿAsīri, Qaḥṭāni, Šihri, Šahrāni and Muġaydi tribes, whilst the third group is the Tihāmi who inhabit the lowlands of the province (see also sections 1.5). Generally speaking, the tribal groups in the province belong to tightly-knit networks. Mutual support and showing of solidarity with one's group is the norm among these communities. Occasions, such as weddings, funerals and the birth of a child, are treated as 'community events'; everyone rallies to offer help and financial support.

The capital of ʿAsīr is Abha, a small city which sits in the middle of as-Sarāh mountain range, app. 2,200 metres above sea level, and through which the Abha Valley waterbeds. Its climate is usually very cold in the winter and warm in the summer, which makes it an attractive destination during the summer season for most tourists from the rest of the kingdom and other Arabian Gulf countries. In his book *the Arabian Peninsula, ʿAsīr,* the historian Mahmud Shakir (1981:72) maintains that Abha is an ancient city whose existence dates back to the kingdom of Sabaʾ, when it was named *Hiva or Iva.*It was also referred to as such by al-Hamdāni (cited in Al-Niʿmi 1999: 19). Another view suggests that Abha did not exist historically as a city, only Abha Valley was known and when the city was established it

took its name from the valley (Asiri 1983: 16). What existed near Abha Valley were a group

of villages, such as Mnāḏir and Mgābil, which are now neighbourhoods in Abha (Al-Niʿmi

1999).

The population of Abha numbers around 236,157 (CDS Report 2010) and is made up

of a mixture of different tribes such as the ʿAsīri, Qaḥṭāni, Šahrāni, and Zahrāni who speak

different but mutually intelligible dialects. There are also a number of Turks who settled in

the city after the withdrawal of the Ottomans, and socialized with the existing population via

marriage ties (Al-Niʿmi1999). There are also non-Saudi citizens, who number 58,252, and

come from different countries including Egypt, Palestine, India and Pakistan.

1.2 The Politics of ʿAsīr in modern times

Ottoman control returned to the area in 1840 after the end of Muhammad Ali Pasha's reign of

the Arabian Peninsula, and attempted to include more regions in the Peninsula under its

control. ʿAsīr had remained independent from Ottoman control and was under the reign of

Prince ʿĀyiḍ bin Mirʿi; this was also the case for the Najd province, which was under the

control of imam Fayṣal bin Turky. ʿAsīr province came under Ottoman control in 1871 and

remained so until World War I (al-Zulfa 1995).

The province had experienced massive disorder after the withdrawal of the Ottomans.

The province was faced with two powers; ʾāl-ʿĀyiḍ who felt they had the legal right to take

control of the province after the Ottomans had left, and al-ʾIdrīsi in Ṣabyā. Additionally, the

Šarīf of Mecca in the north and the Imām of Yemen in the south were also two powers that

threatened the province. As a result of these powers, the tribes were divided into two groups; a group which was influenced by the enlightenment movement of the Ottomans and thus allied with the Šarīf of Mecca, and a conservative group that allied with al-ʾIdrīsi in Ṣabyā.

At that time the province suffered from a chaotic political and economic situation that led the largest tribes' leaders in the province, such as Qaḥṭān, Šahrān and Zahrān, to ask for help from King Abdul-Aziz al-Saud who had already initiated his power in Najd province. As a response to the tribes' call, and for strategic reasons related to the geographical location of the province which is close to the Ḥijāz province, King Abdul-Aziz moved to ʿAsīr in 1919 with an army of 3000 soldiers and settled in Bīša where the tribes' leaders started to join him and became allies for his movement until the whole province came under the reign of Āl-Saud.

1.3 The economic situation

Before the discovery of oil, 1938, ʿAsīr used to maintain a more stable economic situation in comparison to Najd and al-Ḥijāz, in terms of the ability to fulfil the needs of the population (al-Zulfa 1995). Farming played a key role as an important source of income in the province. About 85% of the population worked as farmers or livestock keepers, and would export their products to al-Ḥijāz and Yemen. This can probably be attributed to the topographical diversities in the province. For instance, in the eastern plateau where a number of valleys extend to Bīša and the climate tends to be warm, a large number of palm trees produce different kinds of dates every year. At the top of the mountain range where wide green lands scatter and the climate is cold, different kinds of wheat and lentil are grown. Additionally, there are a large number of vegetable, wheat and corn farms on the mountainsides. The

lowlands area, where the weather is extremely hot in summer and warm in winter, is famous for growing cotton in the Ḥalī valley, which used to be exported to ʿAdan in Yemen.

The commercial situation was also active in the province as there were about 76 weekly markets (*souqs*), which strengthened the commercial ties with al-Ḥijāz and Yemen (al-Zulfa 1995:69). One of the famous markets in the province is *Souq aṯ-Ṯolaṯā* 'the Tuesday market', a weekly market that is held every Tuesday where people all over the province buy and sell different types of products. This market still exists in Abha today, and is one of the main tourist attractions in the city.

Another important factor which supports the province commercially is the four harbours on the Red Sea coast that border ʿAsīr province from the west: al-Qunfiḏa, Jazān, aš-Šugīg and al-Qaḥma. These harbours were used to import and export goods and products, which in turn supported the province's commerce. At that time, before 1938, the province had witnessed a high level of migration from Najd due to the difficult political and economic situation there.

The province witnessed an economic growth after the discovery of oil in 1938[2]. A number of paved highways were established to connect different centres in the province to each other. The highland is connected to the lowland via a number of paved roads each of which is called al-ʿagaba, such as ʿagabat Ḏilʿ and ʿagabat Šʿār. These roads usually run through rugged mountains via a number of tunnels. There is now one domestic airport that connects the province to the rest of the kingdom. Abha, has gradually developed as a city in every aspect. It has become an urban centre and a destination for most people inside and outside of the province. Public services have also witnessed improvements; Abha has one

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[2] Source : http://www.mopm.gov.sa/Arabic/AboutMinistry/PoliticsAndPetroleumIndustry/Pages/HistoryOfOil.aspx

public hospital and a number of private hospitals, schools, and private colleges. It has one public university, the King Khalid University, and a well-known private college, the Prince Sultan College for business and tourism, which have both become learning centres for most students throughout the entire region. Abha is also the head centre of al-Watan newspaper, a well-known Saudi newspaper.

Women have played a key role in the social structure of ʿAsīr province. In the past, they worked side by side with men in jobs such as farm work, animal husbandry, and designing and painting houses, in addition to their work as housewives. They also participated in the public markets or *souqs* by selling different products including crops, food, handmade jewellery and clothes, to help with the expenses of their families. Marriages were usually restricted to insiders and members from the same tribe and outside marriages were rare.

The role of women in ʿAsīr, has changed progressively in recent years. Most present day young women are educated and hold higher degrees and some have been granted scholarships from the government to continue their education outside of Saudi Arabia. Job opportunities for women have increased and women can work in the education, medicine and business domains. They have begun to join the Consultative Assembly of Saudi Arabia, also known as *Šura council,* which can be seen as a drastic change for women not only in the province but in the country as whole. Marriage is no longer restricted to members of the tribe or the community and outside marriages are now very common in the province.

1.4 Education

During the Ottoman control education was not paid much attention, until the reign of Muḥi

ad-Dīn Baša, around 1913, who was the last Ottoman governor in Abha. He opened a

primary school in Abha that was called ar-Rašdiyyah school for both Turkish and local

children. However, locals stopped sending their children to this school because they had

some concerns about them not acquiring a local identity, as the main language of teaching

was Turkish. (Al-Niʿmi 1999: 26).

After the Ottoman control, education in the province was mainly limited to the

Islamic and Qur'anic readings and to some basic reading and writing skills that usually took

place in mosques or some locals' houses. Al-Garʿāwi schools which were also based on

traditional teachings were the only schools which existed in the province at the beginning of

the Saudi reign. Formal education in the province first appeared in 1936 in Abha, where the

first Saudi school was established. Since that time, schools have been established in a number

of towns and cities. Education was not available to women until 1961. Before that time,

women's education was restricted to a number of families, where they had the opportunity to

study basic Qura'nic readings. Higher education became available in the province in 1976

when branches of the King Saud University and Imām Muhammad bin Saud University in

Riydh were opened in the province. In 1998, King Khalid University was established as a

separate, public university in the province. Most recently, King Abdullah scholarship

programmes have given young men and women an opportunity to continue their education in

different majors in a number of well-known universities outside Saudi. This programme has

widened the younger generation's plans and their future prospects, in the province in

particular and in the kingdom as a whole.

1.5 The linguistic situation in ʿAsīr

Alfaifi and Behnstedt (2010) sketch one of the most interesting dialects in Saudi Arabia,

namely the dialect of Čabal Fayfāʾ. At the end of their article the researchers stated the need

for empirical and systemic research into the dialects of southwest Saudi Arabia and some

parts of Yemen as they are unknown to most scholars, despite the fact that Prochazka (1988)

investigated some of these dialects. Such a need for research is motivated by the fact that

these dialects include a number of interesting archaic linguistic features that have not been

properly analysed. In the words of Alfaifi and Behnstedt (2010: 64): "It [the region] is,

together with some parts of Yemen, the most archaic Arabic dialect region, a kind of museum

of the Arabic language, and linguistically full of surprises".

Other studies that looked at southern dialects include: Khtani (1992) who examined

the correlation between a number of linguistic variables such as the glottal stop, diphthongs,

/ʒ/ and three social factors namely education, age and area, and predicted that a regional

standard variety based on the dialect of Abha is emerging; Al-Azraqi (1998) provides a

description of the syntax of the Abha dialect, and Asiri (2009) describes the morphology and

phonology of the dialect of Rijāl Almaʿ, spoken in Tihāmat ʿAsīr.

The southern Ḥijāz and Tihāmah group (i.e. group (i) according to Prochazka's (1988)

classification) includes villages and towns that extend from the southern area of Ṭāyif in the

north to the northern part of Yemen in the south (see map 1.2). Prochazka mentioned that the

term *al-Ḥijāz* is used in a localized sense and most people in the lowlands, such as the people

of Rijāl Almaʿ, refer to mountainous areas above them as al-Ḥijāz (Prochazka1988:5). In the

present study, however, the term *Najd* or *Nayd* is also used in a geographical and localized

sense among most Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni speakers in order to refer to any tribal group in the

mountainous area that is of non-Tihāmi origin. Prochazka (1988) further divides this group

into three sup-groups according to their topography; the highlands, the Tihāmah valley and the lowlands. A summary of each group is presented in the next page.
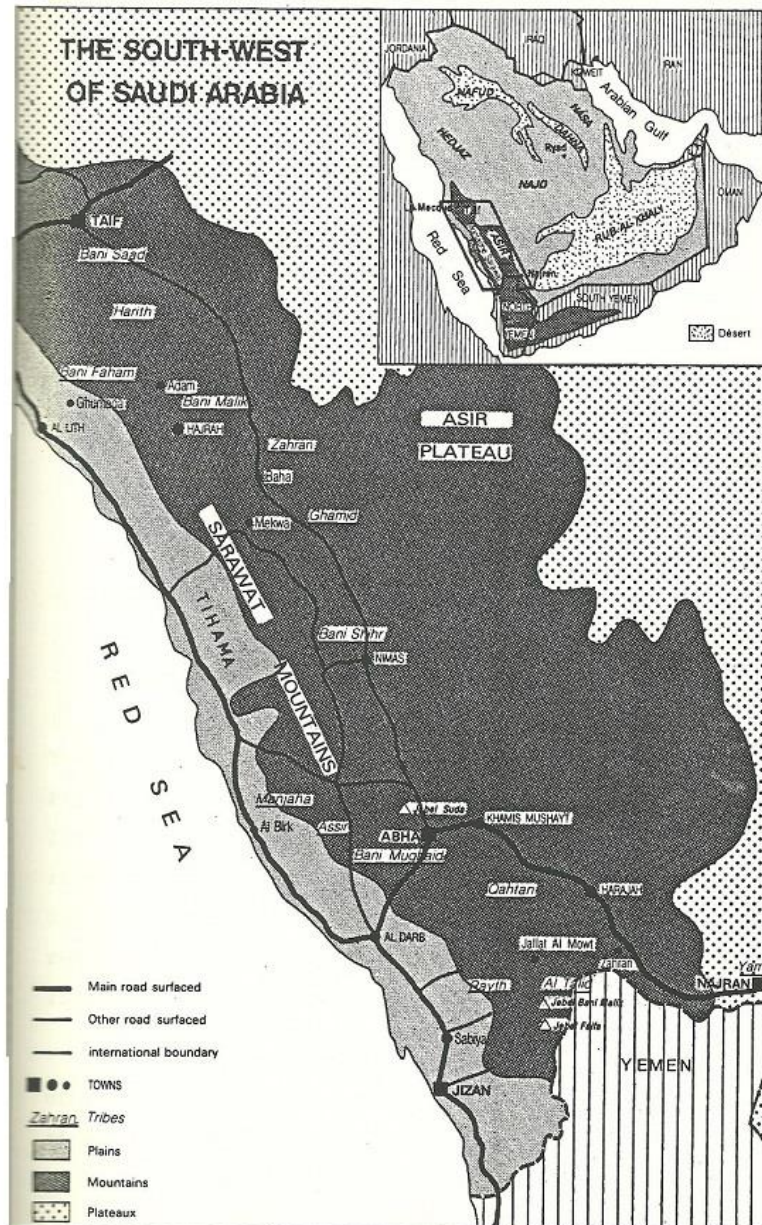
Map 1.2: *A close-up map of the southwest of Saudi Arabia* (Source: al-Shehri 1993)

The Highlands

This area is also known as 'Sarāh' and it includes areas located on top of the Sarawāt mountain range. A number of tribes are settled in this area including the Zahrān, Ġāmid, Xaṯʿam, Šumrān, Bal-Qarn, Banī ʿAmr, Bani Šihr, Bal-Asmar, Bal-Aḥmar, ʿAsīr, and Banī Mālik in the Jīzān province. Also to be found in this area, but located at the western edge of the Najd plateau, are the Šahrān and Qaḥṭān tribes that extend towards Central Arabia (Prochazka 1988: 3). There are also a number of Bedouin groups in the highlands who speak Bedouin varieties, such as those of the Qaḥṭān and Šahrān tribes, which are spoken in Bīšah, Ṭirīb and Taṯlīṯ in the eastern parts of the province. These varieties tend to share the same linguistic characteristics with dialects that Ingham (1994:4-5) classified as a sub-group of "Najdi dialects".

Generally speaking, dialects spoken in the highlands such as the Qaḥṭāni variety, the ʿAsīri variety and the Zahrāni variety are mutually intelligible. It should be noted, though, that there tends to be higher levels of lexical variation in these dialects than morphological and phonological variation. For instance, the Qaḥṭāni *šifah* [ʃifah] 'there it is' and *tannūr* [*tannu:r*]'a traditional oven made of clay' is the ʿAsīri *irgah* [*irgah*] and *mīfa* [*mi:fa*], respectively.

The Tihāmah valley

This region includes areas that stretch below the Ḥijāz escarpment (below the escarpment of the Sarawāt Mountains). It includes tribes that were originally subgroups of the highlands tribes. However, due to the geographical isolation between the highlanders and the tribes who inhabit this area, both groups developed distinctive cultural and dialectal features that distinguish them from each other. Dialects spoken in this area are mutually intelligible with

the dialects of the highlanders, although the level of intelligibility tends to be lower with speakers located further to the south.

The lowlanders (Tihāmi group) are distinguished from other tribes in the highlands by adding 'Tihāmi' to their tribe's name such as the Tihāmi ʿAsīri, Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni and Tihāmi Šahrāni tribes. All of these groups speak different but mutually intelligible Tihāmi dialects.

They differ from one another in traditions, customs and lifestyle. As far as the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni tribe is concerned, most Tihāmi tribes in this area show affiliation to other Tihāmi tribes more than to non-Tihāmi tribes in the highlands with respect to culture, costumes, architecture, and most importantly the dialect. The Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect and culture tends to be closer to the Tihāmi ʿAsīri tribe than to other Qaḥṭāni tribes in the highlands. For instance, a traditional Tihāmi house is made of animals' fur and leather that is called *ʿišša*

.Additionally, the traditional Tihāmi costume for men consists of two pieces *izār* and a blouse while Tihāmi women's costume consists of three pieces; *jubba, giṭʿah* and *izār* (see section 1.7 for details). Furthermore, the use of the definite article *m-* (e.g. *m-layl* 'the night') is a salient feature among Tihāmi groups in the province as opposed to the definite article *l-*. On the other hand, the traditional Qaḥṭāni house in the highlands, for instance, is made of stone and clay. The traditional Qaḥṭāni costume for men includes a long white garment, *ġutarh* (a traditional headdress) and *janbiya*[3] that is attached to a belt while Qaḥṭāni women wear a long colourful dress that is commonly known as *ṯawb ʿAsīri* 'ʿAsīri dress'.

The Lowlands

This region includes the area that extends along the Red Sea coast from the west. It is separated from the Tihāmah valley by a sand barrier. The harbours of al-Qunfiḏa and Jīzān

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[3] A traditional type of dagger.

are located in this area. This area also includes the villages of al-Qauz and al-Ḥabīl; the Ḥalī's area including the villages of al-Ṣulb and Kiyād; Jīzān in the south, the villages of al-Darb, Umm al-Khashab, Ṣabyā and Abu ʿArīsh (Prochazka 1988:5).

Tribes in this area represent a distinctive social group that is different from other groups in the southwest region in terms of tribal affiliation, culture, dialects and architecture. It should be noted, however, that the dialects spoken in this area tend to be more mutually intelligible with dialects spoken in the Tihāmah valley than with the varieties spoken in the highlands.

1.6 The Qaḥtāni tribe in ʿAsīr

The Qaḥtāni tribe is one of the largest tribal groups in the Arabian Peninsula. It is important to mention that the word Qaḥtān does not only refer to the Qaḥtāni tribes who live in ʿAsīr but also to other Qaḥtāni tribes who inhabited areas which extend from the Oman Gulf and al-Furāt in the east and the Atlantic Ocean to the west, and from Alexandria in the north to the ʿAdan Gulf in the south. Qaḥtāni tribes in ʿAsīr originally inhabited areas extending along Ḍahrān Valley, Taṯlīṯ Valley and al-Jawf Valley. They share borders with Šahrān and ʿAsīr to the north, Bani Ṣaḥār and Najran to the south, Bīšah Valley to the west and the Empty Quarter to the east (Al-Niʿmi 1999: 79).

1.7 Tihāmat Qaḥṭān

Tihāmat Qaḥṭān is the land where most Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni tribes, who are a sub-group of the larger Qaḥṭāni tribe in the highlands, have settled. It is located in the lowlands of ʿAsīr, about 120 km away from the southern part of the province (see map 1.3). The original larger tribe to which most Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni tribes belong is called ʾāl as-Sari. Tihāmat Qaḥṭān[4] shares borders with the Bani Bišr bin Ḥarb tribe and some Rufidah tribes in the north, ʾāl -Talīd Xolān in the south, Wādʿah tribes and some Šarīf tribes in the east and ar-Rīṯ tribes in Zahwān Mountain and some Šahrān tribes in the west. A number of Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni tribes, such as al-Jaḥādir, migrated to Najd in the central region while others such as aṣ-Ṣahālīl migrated to Jazān. The two villages included in the present research are mainly inhabited by Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni tribes.

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[4] This information was provided by an authoritative member in the community. Tihāmat Qaḥṭān includes :ʾāl as-Sari bin Sanḥān tribes, ʾāl-Saʿīd bin Hwēj bin Sanḥān tribes and Janb bin Saʿad tribes.
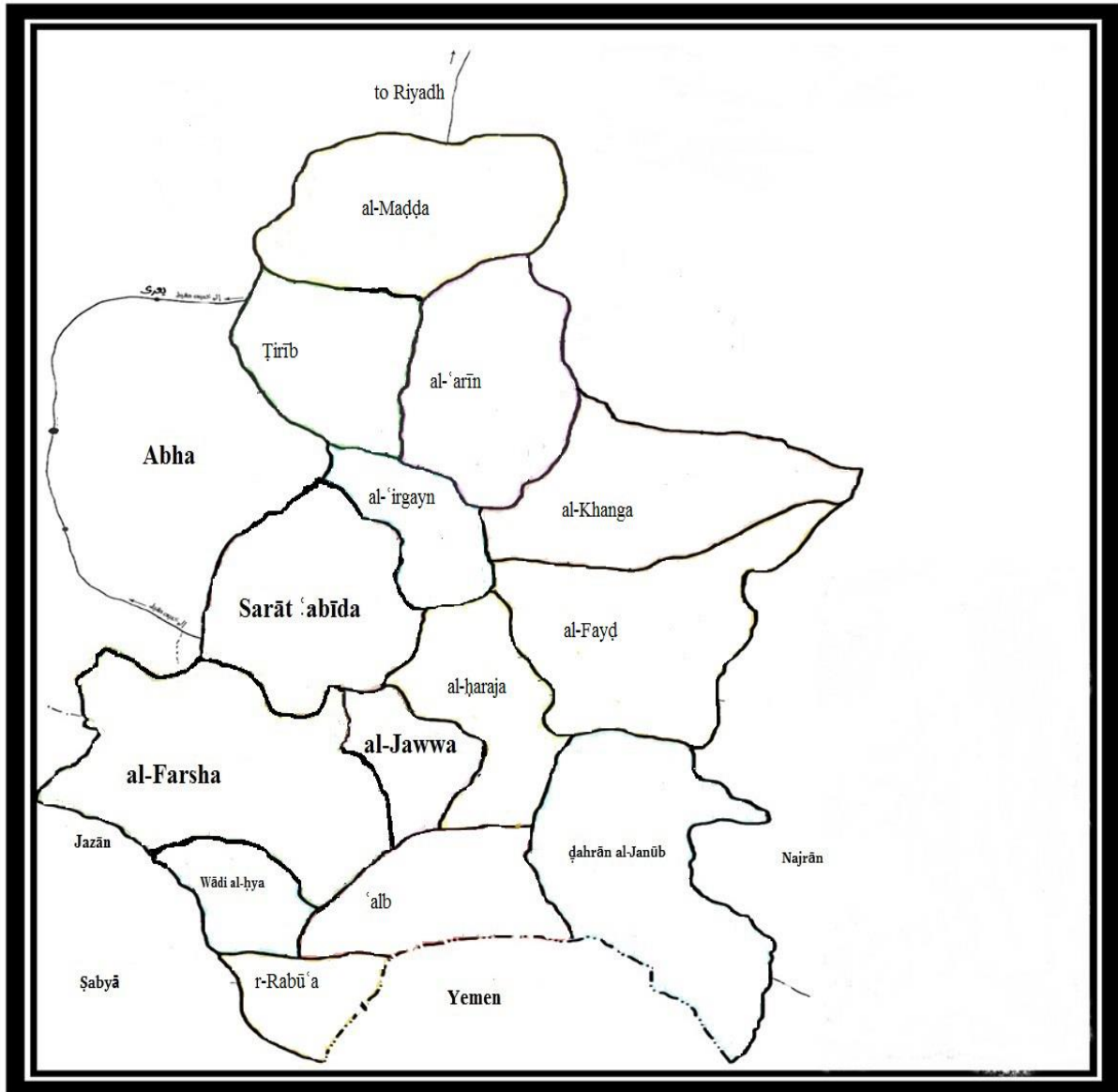
Map 1.3: *A close-up map showing al-Farša and al-Jawwa*

(Source: http://www.tahama-q.com/vb/t54033.html)

Contrary to the stereotypical image associated to the geography and climate of Arabia

in general, Tihāmat Qaḥṭān is a lush land. It is covered with a rich and varied greenery and

trees, as well as archaeological sites, including a living testimony of ancient cultures and

civilizations. The area is characterized by different geographical features, ranging from huge

mountains and green farms to a large number of rocky valleys. Although Tihāmat Qaḥṭān is located in the lowlands one can notice the large number of high mountains, where most of the population in this area have lived through the past and into the present day. During winter, when the weather tends to be mild, some tourists come from both inside and outside of Saudi Arabia to see a part of the Kingdom which they otherwise knew nothing about.

Most of the population in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān live in small, simple houses in the mountains or in the valleys below, such as the ʾāl-Ḥasan tribe who are settled in Ṭōr ʾāl-Ḥasan, and the al-Magraḥ tribe who live in Jabal il-Ġōl. I originally intended to conduct my study in an area called Wādi al-Matīh 'al-Matīh Valley' which is mainly inhabited by the ʾāl-Ḥasan tribe. However, due to the difficult geography of this area (it is connected to al-Faršạ via a rock way[5]) and also to time pressure I decided instead to conduct the interviews in al-Faršạ. I was only able to record a few pilot interviews from al-Matīh, and it became clear that it would be impossible to record an adequate number of interviews in this area to complete a full in-depth study.

Traditional houses in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān are built from hay and the ceilings are covered by animal fur and leather. Some Tihāmi tribes still live in these types of houses, especially those who live on the periphery of the valley while other people live in concrete-built 'modern' style houses. Traditional Tihāmi clothes for men consist of two pieces; a piece of garment that is wrapped around the lower part of the body called *izār*, and a shirt or blouse for the upper body. Men usually have long hair which reaches their shoulders and wear a

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[5] This rugged way needs a special car engine which was not always available during the fieldwork.

collar over their heads made from fragrant plants. Women wear a traditional costume consists of three pieces; *jubbah* (a long-sleeved wide blouse), *izār* that differs from men's *izār* in that it is wider and longer and *giṭ'ah* (a black piece of garment that is worn above the *izār),* they also wear a traditional large hat that is called *maḍalla* 'shade, shelter'. This traditional costume is still worn by a large number of Tihāmi individuals both old and young in the lowlands, especially among the tribes who live on the periphery of the valleys. The preservation of the traditional lifestyle and customs of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni tribe among both the older and younger generations makes this tribe a distinctive social group not only among other tribes in ʿAsīr, but also among other tribes in the Saudi Kingdom.

At the political level, despite the presence of a number of political powers in the past such as al-ʾIdrīsi in Ṣabyā, ʾāl-ʿĀyiḍ in the province and Bani Rasōl in Ḍahrān al-Janōb, Tihāmat Qaḥṭān was never under any control except the Saudi reign. An authoritative member of the community attributed the independence of Tihāmat Qaḥṭān before the Saudi reign to the difficult topography of this area, which made it difficult for conquering armies to reach. Another factor that my contacts in the area mentioned was the social structure of this community, whereby individuals are connected to each other via considerably tight-knit social networks which in turn help them to protect their lands from outsiders' incursions. Before the Saudi control, the leader of ʾāl as-Sari tribe, Kurdom bin Ṣāliḥ, was taken by the soldiers of ʿĀyiḍ bin Mirʿi, the governor of ʿAsīr, in order to force him to be their ally and to join their rule. However, he refused to submit to their control and was sent to prison for one and a half years[6].

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[6] This information was provided to me by an authoritative member in the community via the online forum.

At the economic level, before the Saudi reign most of the population in Tihāmat

Qaḥṭān in the lowlands were divided into two main groups according to their jobs; one group

worked as farmers and the second group worked in animal husbandry and constituted most of

the population. Both groups relied on each other commercially by buying and selling goods.

The life of the first group, the farmers, used to be very hard because they relied on

traditional and manual machines to work the land. The farms in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān are of two

types, one of which relies on rain seasons and its crop production is very limited. The second

type relies on well water that is usually drawn using traditional machines.

The second group, who are mostly shepherds, are also called *najᶜ* which in Arabic

means people who are usually nomadic searching for green lands and water for their animals

(Al-Qahtani 2013). Although Tihāmat Qaḥṭān is an agricultural area that is suitable for most

animals to live in, most shepherds move around in search of certain kinds of grass and trees

for their sheep. They often face difficulties in finding these lands during dry seasons. Their

nomadic life may sometimes cause some tribal clashes in the areas they move to.

Women in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān played an important role in their community. Their lives

in the local community were more challenging than any other women in the province. They

used to help their husbands on the farms and were responsible for bringing firewood and

water to their houses. They were also responsible for decorating the houses, making furniture

from fur and leather and making utensils from the leaves of trees.

Despite the economic growth that the province witnessed after the discovery of oil,

people in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān still maintain a rural lifestyle mostly. Men work in the livestock

and honey markets. Women still help with the farm work and animal husbandry, including

milking and feeding the animals. Communities in the lowlands still face many challenges in

every aspect including employment, health care and basic facilities. The economic situation

in the lowlands is generally low and this can be seen as the main reason for the migration of

some of the population to the large cities in the highlands, or even outside of ᶜAsīr.

At the educational level, however, schools have begun to open in all isolated villages

and the government financially supports students at all three levels to encourage them to join

the schools. Despite this, there is still a lack of awareness of the importance of education in a

number of communities in the lowlands. Several views presented on the online forum[7]

mentioned that it is difficult to persuade students to join schools. Young men usually prefer to

leave school to find jobs, even those of low income, rather than continue their education due

to the poor economic situation in the lowlands communities. Young women usually quit

school to start their families, which is considered to be better than education. My fieldwork

observations suggest that some old women discourage their daughters from joining schools in

order to help them on the farm and in house work. Additionally, a number of female teachers

in the lowlands have informed me that some students find it difficult to understand the

standard form of language used by the teachers inside the class, which might explain their

low grades in schoolwork.

1.7.1 Al-Farša

Al-Farša in the lowlands is an administrative centre located in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān where most of

ʾāl as-Sari tribes settle. The population in al-Farša numbers around 14, 219 (CDS report,

2010). It has one public hospital and schools at all three levels; elementary, intermediate and

high. Public education in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān began with a male school that was built in al-Ġōl

village in 1973, and after that a number of schools were established. There are now about 20

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[7] http://www.tahama-q.com/vb/t54033.html

male schools and 19 female schools in al-Farša.[8] The table below lists the establishment dates

of all schools in al-Farša.

School level	Date of establishment
Elementary (male)	1976
Elementary (male-Quran)	1992
Intermediate (male)	1979
Intermediate (male-Quran)	1999
Secondary (male)	1990
Secondary (male-Quran)	2002

Table 1.1: *The dates of establishment of the first schools in al-Farša*

1.7.2 Al-Jawwa

Al-Jawwa in the highlands is one of the oldest villages in ʿAsīr and was officially registered

as an administrative centre in 1940. It was mentioned by Fhilby, who visited Tihāmat Qaḥṭān

in 1936, in his book *Arabian Highlands*. This village sits on a mountain slope and is

surrounded by mountain ranges which sit at about 3,000m above sea level. This village has

not undergone structural expansion since it was established. This can be attributed to the

geographical location of the village and to the absence of adequate structural plans from the

town council.

Al-Jawwa is considered the urban centre of Tihāmat Qaḥṭān and as can be seen in

map 1.3 is situated about 32km away from Sarāt ʿAbīda, a larger urban centre to which al-

Jawwa officially belongs. Although al-Jawwa is an old village it is not officially registered as

a town. In the past, this village consisted of only five neighbourhoods and nowadays it has

become home to different tribes who came from Tihāmat Qaḥṭān to settle in the village. Al-

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[8] These figures were taken from the institution of Education in *Sarāt ʿAbīda*

Jawwa is about 31 km away from al-Farša and the two villages are connected to each other via a paved road called ᶜagabat al-Jawwa. The population in al-Jawwa numbers around 7,403, of whom 259 are non-Saudi citizens who work in the village as farmers and shopkeepers (CDS report, 2010). The population of al-Jawwa is mainly composed of migrant groups from different tribes and villages in the lowlands; they immigrated to the village in search of a better lifestyle and job opportunities. Most of the population were originally farmers, beekeepers and shepherds.

The size of the al-Jawwa community is relatively small, and the population here too form tight-knit communities. However, this community differs from al-Farša in the lowlands in that it is surrounded by non-Tihāmi villages whose inhabitants speak different dialects. This characteristic of life in al-Jawwa makes it rather less conservative and perhaps more open to social and linguistic change.

Education became available to the al-Jawwa community around 1976 when the first male elementary school was established (see table 1.2.). Schools for female students only became available in the community around the time that the fieldwork was being carried out for this study. Before that, young females used to go to other schools in neighbouring villages, such as Zuhra School in Zuhra village. Teachers in these schools come from different towns in the province or from different cities such Jeddah and Riyadh and they all speak different Saudi dialects. Currently there are five female schools and four male schools.

School level	Date of establishment
Elementary (male)	1976
Elementary (male)	1998
Intermediate (male)	1993
High (male)	2008

Table 1.2: *The dates of establishment of the first schools in al-Jawwa*

I was unable to find the exact date at which women began to join schools in the al-Jawwa. However, one of the community members informed me that women did not have the chance to join schools until 1976. Before that time there were Qurʾanic schools such as al-Qarʿāwi school, which was mainly open to male students.

1.8 Summary

This chapter presented a geographical and historical overview of ʿAsīr in south-west Saudi Arabia. It described the linguistic situation in ʿAsīr in particular and in Saudi Arabia in general. It also gave information about the population of the two communities under study, namely al-Jawwa in the highlands and al-Farša in the lowlands. Chapter 2 provides a linguistic description of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect as spoken in the two communities.

Chapter 2

Linguistic Description of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni Dialect

The Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect (TQ) is one of the most understudied dialects in the Arabian

Peninsula, and contains a number of features that do not exist in other spoken dialects of

Arabic. This dialect has not previously been investigated or recorded in the literature. The

descriptive work by Prochazak (1988) was used as the starting point for the present study. In

his work Prochazak covered a number of Tihāmi dialects such as al-Quaz and Ṣabyā,

however the dialect under investigation in this study was not included. This chapter will give

a linguistic description of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect as spoken in two villages; al-Jawwa

(highlands) and al-Farša (lowlands). This description is based on my empirical data collected

from both villages, and broadly follows the format used in the dialect description sections of

the *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics.*

For the purpose of providing a description of the traditional dialect I prepared a sheet that

contained the major linguistic characteristics of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect. This sheet was

filled by eliciting data directly from the speakers, roughly following the methods found in

traditional dialectology. The speakers were asked directly 'how they would say X'.

Elicitation was done after the interview had been completed, so as not to attract their attention

to their speech (methods of data collection are covered in chapter 3). The male assistant also

collected and provided sufficient data to help complete the dialect description. I gained

additional data from some members of the online forum who helped by filling in the

descriptive sheet and also answered queries related to the local dialect. Gaps in the data

obtained through elicitation were filled using the data obtained through the interviews (which

were transcribed). The aim of writing this chapter is to contextualise the variables under

investigation in the linguistic system of this dialect as a whole. It is also hoped that it would

benefit future researchers by providing a starting point for further investigations.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Consonants

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	interdental	alveolar	post alveolar	palatal	velar	pharyngeal	laryngeal
plosives voiceless voiced emphatic	 b		 t d tˤ					 k g		 ʔ
nasal	m		n							
fricatives voiceless voiced emphatic		 f	 ðˤ	 θ ð	 s z sˤ	 ʃ ʒ		 x ɣ	 ħ ʕ	 h
affricate										
trill/tap					r					
lateral emphatic fricative					l ɮˤ					
glides	w						j			

Table 2.1: *Inventory of consonants in the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect*

The above table shows the consonants used in the TQ dialect. One important and interesting

aspect of the phonology of the TQ dialect is the preservation of the emphatic lateral fricative

sound /ɮˤ/. This sound is likely to be very similar to the original realization of *ḍād* as in

ħaɮˤan 'house', *ɮˤayf* 'guest', *ħaɮˤart* 'I attended', and *ɮˤa:n* 'lamb'. This sound was thought

to have disappeared from Arabic dialects until it was recently discovered by al-Azraqi (2007)

and Asiri (2009) in ʿAsīr. Greenman (1979) also reported a different realization for *ḍād* in the

Central Yemeni Tihāmah dialect (CT), in which the sound is produced from one side of the

mouth, but without lateralization. Vanhove (2009) also reported the lateral realization of *ḍād*

in Yemen in the dialects of Abyan and Ġayl Ḥabbān, which has undergone change to a

velarized /ḷ/, while in some areas in Abyan province such as Mudia and Lawdar it has changed into a velarized /ṛ/ (Vanhove 2009:750-758).

The realization of *ḍāʾ* in the TQ dialect is the emphatic interdental [ðˤ] as in *maðˤalla* 'hair dress', *ʕaðˤm* 'bone', and *waðˤiːfa* 'job'. Interestingly, the two realizations [ðˤ] and [ɮˤ] are used as two allophones for the two sounds *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ*. For instance, words that descend from historical *ḍād* such as **ħaɮˤart* 'I attended' can be realized as *ħaɮˤart* and *ħaðˤart*. Similarly, words that descend from historical *ḍāʾ* as in **waðˤiːfa* 'job' can be realized as *waðˤiːfa* and *waɮˤiːfa*. These two sounds will be discussed in details in chapter 4.

Arabic *jīm* is realized as voiced fricative post alveolar /ʒ/ as in *ʒabal* 'mountain', *ʒamal* 'camel', and *ʒimʕa* 'Friday'.

Qāf is realized as velar plosive [g] as in *gamar* 'moon', *gaːm* 'he stood up', *galam* 'pen'and *galiːl* 'little'. The standard realization [q] is only maintained in loanwords from Classical Arabic and among a few educated younger speakers.

An important and interesting feature of the phonology of the TQ dialect is the deletion of final consonants in pause, a form of apocope (Crowley & Bowern 2010:27). This feature is similar to that which old Arabic grammarians, such as Sībawayhi[9] and Ibn Yaʕīš[10], describe as *ʾat-tarxīm*. They mentioned that this linguistic feature is used in formal poetry and involves the deletion of the final consonants in proper names that are preceded by the vocative *yā* as in *ya: ħaːri* for *ya: ħaːriθ* . The preceding short vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ are usually preserved after the consonant is deleted.

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[9] al-Kitāb, vol 2, p.239
[10] Šarḥ al-Musaṣṣal, vol 2,p.19

Anīs (1952), however, has mentioned that the dialect of Ṭayʾ has a feature similar to ʾat-tarxīm, differs from it in that the final consonant is not only dropped in proper nouns but in all nouns and verbs and this feature is called *qaṭʿat Ṭayʾ* (Anīs 1952:117). Similarly, in the TQ dialect the transcription has shown that almost all consonants are dropped in pause and this dropping is not restricted to proper nouns, but can also affect verbs and all nouns. It can also affect the stem as well as the inflection, such as the 3rd person feminine singular suffix -*at* in the perfect verb form, as in the following examples.

> *l-yaw*   < *l-yaw*m
>
>   DEF-day
>
>   'the day'
>
> *na-gi*   < *na-gi:l*
>
>   1PL.SBJ-take nap.IPFV
>
>   'we take nap'
>
> *l-ami*   < *al-ami:n*
>
>   DEF-councillor
>
>   'the councillor'
>
> *ni-lʕa*   < *ni-lʕab*
>
>   1PL.SBJ-play.IPFV
>
>   'we play'
>
> *t-iʃtaɣa* < *t-iʃtaɣil*
>
>   3SGF.SBJ-work.IPFV
>
>   'she works'
>
> *su:riyyi* < *su:riyy-i:n*
>
>   Syrian.PLM
>
>   'Syrians' (inflection)
>
> *ʃahr-ay*   < *ʃahr-ayn*
>
>   month-DU

'two months' (inflection)

intagal-a < intagal-at   '

move.PV-3SGF.SBJ

she moved' (inflection)

istamtaʕ-a < istamtaʕ-at

enjoy.PV-3SGF.SBJ

'she enjoyed' (inflection)

Another interesting feature in the TQ dialect is the use of the suffix *-u/-u:* or *-in* at the end of nouns, adjectives and numerals to indicate indefiniteness, thought by Prochazka (1988) to be *tanwīn* i.e. 'nunnation'. This is considered to be one of the most distinctive features of the TQ dialect and appears in the speech of both the older and younger generations. Prochazka (1988) discussed this feature with respect to the dialect of Bal-Qarn in southwest Saudi Arabia. In order to indicate indefiniteness of nouns, adjectives and numerals in Bal-Qarn dialect, speakers add one of two suffixes, either *-u:/u* or *-in*. Prochazka maintained that the suffix *-u:/u* is added to the last lexeme of a sentence i.e. CA pausal positions. On the other hand, the suffix *-in* is added in non-pausal position. He also mentioned that there is variation in the use of the suffix *-in* in pausal position along with the *-u:/u* or zero; the examples below illustrate this feature.

ʾāhu rājd-u	vs.	*rājd-in fi m-ġurfat tiyāk*
DEM.SGM asleep-INDF		asleep-INDF in DEF-room DEM.SGF.
'there he is asleep'		'asleep in that room'
rēt rāyīl-u	vs.	*rēt rāyīl-in fi m-ḥugnah*
see.PV.1SG.SBJ men-INDF		see.PV.1SG.SBJ men-INDF in DEF-field
'I saw men'		'I saw men in the field'
rēt kahleh/kahlit-in		
see.PV.1SG.SBJ old woman-INDF		
'I saw an old woman'		

(examples from Prochazka 1988: 47)

In the TQ dialect the two suffixes -*u* and -*in* are used to indicate indefiniteness, see examples below.

ħafl-u kabi:r-u   *vs*   *ħafl-in kabi:r-u*

party-INDF large-INDF   party-INDF large-INDF

'a large party'   'a large party'

However, the two suffixes are distributed as follows; the suffix -*u* is used in both pausal and non-pausal position while the suffix -*in* is used only in non-pausal position. Therefore, the example *ħafl-in kabi:r-in* 'a large party' is not found in TQ dialect. This distribution can be expressed in binary features as follows:

- pause choose either -*n* or -*u*

+pause choose only -*u*

What this rule is saying is that you can only choose -*u* in pause while in non-pause either -*u* or -*in* can be used. Thus, the two suffixes are not in complementary distribution. There might be a phonological rule that governs the usage of the two suffixes in non-pause and this can be verified by future analysis. If there is a phonological rule that predicts the occurrence of the two suffixes in non-pause then we can say that -*u* and -*in* are in complementary distribution in this particular environment only. The examples below show the distribution of the two suffixes in the TQ dialect.

min ʒabl-in fi ʒabl-u
from mountain-INDF to mountain-INDF
'from a mountain to a mountain'
ma:l-him ibl-u w ɣanm-u

'their money is camels and sheep'

money-3PLM.POSS camels-INDF and sheep-INDF

ʕind-ah ħe:diθ-u

have.PV-3SGM.SBJ accident-INDF

'he had an accident'

widd-hum yaru:ħ-u:n ʕala tˤu:l-u.

want.IPFV-3PLM.SBJ go.IPFV-3PLM.SBJ straight away-INDF

'they [boys] want to go straight away'

aʃi:l-ha: maɣiyr bi yad-u.   vs.   *bi yad-in we:ħidah*

hold.IPFV.1SG.SBJ-3SGF.OBJ only with hand.INDF   with hand-INDF one.SGF

'I hold her with a hand'   'with one hand'

θawb-in ʔaswad

gown-INDF black.SGM

'a black gown'

la:di maʕ-na mdi:r-in kafu

but have.IPFV-1PL.SBJ manger-INDF respectful

'but we have a respectful manager'

ħo:ʃ-in da:xil-ah   '

yard-INDF inside-3SGM

a front yard inside it [the house]'

wa:ħd-in miθl wald Nora

One-INDF like son Nora

'one [child] is like Nora's son'

niʕmal-ha: bmaga:s-in ħilu

make.IPFV.1PL.SBJ-3SGF.OBJ size-INDF good

'we make it [the dresses] in a good size'

Greenman (1979) also found this feature in the Central Yemeni Tihāmi dialect (CT) and he

considered it to be a preservation of the 'case' system in Literary Arabic i.e. Modern

Standard Arabic. He maintained that the suffix *-u* is used only in indefinite nominal forms, but not in adjectives of colours and comparison that have an /a/ or /a:/ in the final syllable i.e. *ʔafʕal* patterns (Greenman 1979: 60). However, in the present TQ dialect the suffix *-u* is used in *ʔafʕal* patterns like *ʔazraq* 'blue', and *ʔakbar* 'bigger', as in the following example.

> *isˤ-sˤa:lu:n ħagg il-ʕaru:s ʔabyaðˤ-u*
>
> DEF-Saloon car for.SGM. POSS DEF-bride white-INDF.
>
> 'the Saloon car for the bride is white'.

2.1.2 Vowels

The short vowels that are available in the phonetic inventory of the TQ dialect are /i/,/e/, /a/, /u/, /o/ and the long vowels are /i:/,/e:/,/o:/,/u:/ and /a:/.The two diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ are also maintained in this dialect as in *bayt* 'house', *θintayn* 'two fem', *sˤayf* 'summer', *layl* 'night' , *yawm* 'day' and *dawm* 'a type of tree (of the Rhamus family)'.

In the speech of the older and younger generation the low front vowel /a:/ is raised to the back vowel /o:/ in these lexemes only *ʃo:h* 'sheep', *ħayo:h* 'life', *ko:n* 'was' and *mo:t* 'died'. Additionally, in the speech of the older and younger generation /a:/ is also raised to the mid front vowel /e:/ as in

> *ħe:diθ*   'accident'
>
> *we:ħid*   'one'
>
> *ʔaxwe:t-i*
>
> sisters-1SG.POSS
>
> 'my sisters'
>
> *θe:niya*   'the second fem; a female name'
>
> *θe:liθa*   'the third fem; a female name'

In this dialect, raising of /a/ to the high mid /e:/ is internal and occurs only in the vicinity of the high front vowel /i/ as in

>*me:-hi*
>
>NEG-3SGF
>
>'she is not'
>
>*nʕe:win-ha:*
>
>help.IPFV.1PL.SBJ-3SGF.OBJ
>
>'we help her'

The dialect does not raise final /a/ as in *kulliyya* 'university', *madrasa* 'school'.

2.2 Morphology

There is a gender distinction in the speech of both the younger and older generations in the singular and plural forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons. This distinction is maintained in personal pronouns, possessive suffixes and verbs as will be seen in the following sections. The dual pronouns, which are only maintained in Classical Arabic, are maintained in the 2nd and 3rd person pronouns as in, *ʔantuma, huma* as well as in demonstratives such as *ðʕayn* 'these two'.

2.2.1 Pronouns

2.2.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns found in the TQ dialect are displayed in table 2.2.

	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	1st pers.
sg.masc.	*hu*	*ʔant*	*ʔana/ba:ni*
sg.fem.	*hi*	*ʔanti*	
dual	*huma*	*ʔantuma*	
pl.masc.	*hum*	*ʔantu*	*inħim/banħ-im*
pl.fem.	*hinna*	*ʔantinna*	*banħinna*

Table 2.2: *Independent personal pronouns in the TQ dialect.*

Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person plural personal pronouns is maintained in the speech of the younger and older generations, as in

> *ʔant-u taktub-u:n*   vs   *ʔant-inna taktub-na*
>
> you-2PLM.SBJ write.IPFV-2PLM   you-2PLF.SBJ write.IPFV-2PLF
>
> 'you write'   'you (fem) write'
>
> *hum yaktub-u:n*   vs   *hinna yaktub-na*
>
> they.3PLM.SBJ write.IPFV-3PLM   they.3PLF.SBJ write.IPFV-3PLF
>
> 'they write'   'they (fem) write'

A particularly interesting gender distinction is in the first person plural pronouns as in

> *banħ-inna fi m-mistaʃfa*
>
> we-1PLF.SBJ in DEF-hospital
>
> 'we (fem) are in the hospital'
>
> *banħ-im fi Abha*
>
> we-1PLM.SBJ in Abha
>
> 'we (masc) are in Abha'

The dual form is maintained in the 2nd and 3rd personal pronouns as in *huma:* 'they.3M.DU' and *ʔantuma:* 'you.2M.DU'. This form is only maintained in masculine pronouns as in

> *ʔantuma min ya:na?*
>
> you.2M.DU from where?
>
> 'Where are you from?'
>
> *huma: fi l-wa:di min sˤ-sˤaba:ħ*
>
> they.3M.DU in DEF-valley since DEF-morning
>
> 'they are in the valley since the morning'

2.2.1.2 Possessive/object suffixes

In the speech of the older and younger generations a gender distinction is maintained in the use of 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ singular and plural suffixes. The feminine suffix *-ki* is maintained in the 2ⁿᵈ person singular as in

ʔabi:-ki

father-2SGF.POSS

'your (fem)father'

The suffix *-kinna/-kin* is used in the 2ⁿᵈ person plural as in

ʔabi:-kina

father-2PLF.POSS

'your (fem) father'

In the 3ʳᵈ person plural the feminine suffix *-hinna/hin* is maintained in the speech of both the younger and older generations as in

ʔabi:-hinna

father-3PLF.POSS

'their (fem) father'

Table 2.3 below shows the possessive pronouns in TQ dialect. The vowel /u/ in *ʔabu* is changed into /i:/.

ʔabu- 'father'	3ʳᵈ pers.	2ⁿᵈ pers.	1ˢᵗ pers.
sg.masc	*-i:h*	*-i:k*	*-i*
sg.fem	*-i:ha*	*-i:ki*	
plu masc	*-i:him*	*-i:kum*	*-i:na*
plu fem	**-***i:hinna/i:hin*	*-i:kinna/-i:kin*	

Table 2.3: *possessive/object suffixes in TQ dialect*.

2.2.1.3 Indirect object suffixes

The indirect object suffixes found in the TQ dialect are listed in table 2.4 below. These suffixes differ when the preceding segment is a vowel or a consonant, as demonstrated in the table below.

After c- *ʃarayt-lah* 'I bought to him'	3rd	2nd	1st
sg masc	*ʃarayt-ilah*	*ʃarayt-lak*	*ʃarayt-li*
sg fem	*ʃarayt-ilha*	*ʃarayt-ilki*	
plu masc	*ʃarayt-ilhum*	*ʃarayt-ilkum*	*ʃarayt-ilna*
plu fem	*ʃarayt-ilhin*	*ʃarayt-ilkinna*	
After v- *ʃaru:-lah* 'they bought to him'			
sg masc	*ʃaru:-lah*	*ʃaru:-lak*	*ʃarau:-li*
sg fem	*ʃaru:-lha:*	*ʃaru:-lki*	
plu masc	*ʃaru:-lhum*	*ʃaru:-lkum*	*ʃaru:-lna*
plu fem	*ʃaru:-lhin*	*ʃaru:-lkinna*	

Table 2.4: *Indirect object suffixes in TQ dialect*.

2.2.1.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in the TQ dialect are divided into near and far deixis, and both types show gender and number distinctions, as illustrated in table 2.5 below.

	near deixis	**far deixis**
sg masc	ði /ða/ðay	ða:*k*/ ðak
sg fem	*ti/tay*	*ta:k/ tak*
plu masc	*Woli*	*wol*a:*k*
plu fem	*woliyya(h)*	*woliyya:k*

Table 2.5: *Demonstratives in the TQ dialect*

A separate near deixis form for the dual is used with masculine nouns only as in

> ða*yn l-ɣumr-ayn ziya:n fi m-madrasa*
>
> DEM.DU.M DEF-boy-DU good in DEF-school
>
> 'these (two) boys are good in school'

However, for dual fem near deixis, the sg fem form *ti* is used as in

ti l-ɣomrat-ayn ziya:n

DEM.SGF DEF-girl-DU good.

'these (two) girls are good'

The feminine singular near deixis *ti* can also be used with the feminine plural as in

ti l-ɣomra:tu ziya:n

DEM.SGF DEF-girl.PL good.

'these girls are good'

The demonstrative can be placed before the noun as in

ti l-ɣomra

DEM.SGF DEF-girl

'this girl'

or after the noun as in

l-ɣomra ti

DEF-girl DEM.SGF

'this girl'

2.2.1.5 Presentatives

Sometimes the demonstratives ð*ay /tay* are preceded by the presentative *bah/bahi* which is

used to add emphasis, similarly to the use of the standard expression *ha hu,* for example:

ħaðˤan Anas bahu ðay
house Anas DEM.3SGM
'Anas's house is (indeed) over here'

sayyarat Anas bahi tay
car Anas DEM.3SGF
'Anas's car is (indeed) over here'

These presentatives can be prefixed to personal pronouns; *ba:-hum* '3PLM', *ba:-hin* '3PLF', *ba:-hi* '3SGF', *ba:-hu* '3SGM', *ba:-ni* '1SG', *ba:-ki* '2SGF', *ba:-k* '2SG.M', *ba:-kum* '2PLM', *ba:-kinna* '2PLF' as in

> *ba:-hum yitʕaʃʃ-o:n*
>
> DEM-3PLM.SBJ have dinner.IPFV-3PLM
>
> 'here they are, having dinner'
>
> *ba:-hu yitʕaʃʃa*
>
> DEM-3SGM.SBJ have dinner.IPFV
>
> 'here he is, having dinner'

It can be also used along with *mayd* 'want' as in

> *ba:-hum mayd yitsˤayyd-o:n*
>
> DEM-3PLM.SBJ want to hunt.IPFV-3PLM
>
> '(here they are) they want to hunt'
>
> *ba:-hu mayd yitsˤsˤayyd*
>
> DEM-3SGM.SBJ want to hunt.IPFV
>
> '(here he is) he wants to hunt'

2.2.1.6 Interrogatives

The interrogatives used in the TQ dialect are listed below:

1. *man* or *mða ħa:l* 'who' are invariant interrogative forms that are used to refer to animate entities, as in

> *man-ða/ti?*   *mða ħa:l-ða/ti?*
>
> Q-DEM.SGM/SGF   Q-DEM.SGM/SGF
>
> 'who is she/he?'   'who is she/he?'
>
> *man-hu: rafi:g-ak?*

Q-3SGM friend-2SGM.POSS

'who is your friend?'

2. *mða* 'what' is used as a general interrogative in

mða-ðah?

Q-DEM.SGM

'What is that?'

It is also used with personal pronouns such as *hu* as in

mða-hu ða tiħmil-ah?

Q-3SGM. REL.SGM carry.IPFV-3SGM.OBJ

'what is this thing that you are carrying?'

Further, *mða* is used in the expression below

mða:-hi ʕlu:m-ak?

Q-3SGF news-2SGM.POSS

'what's your news'? (i.e. 'how are you'?)

3. *ʔa-* is usually used with yes/no questions. It usually precedes *ko:n* and *fi* to give the

meaning of 'is/are there' as in

ʔa-ko:n maʕ-kum ʔaħa:ði-u?

Q-were with-2PLM shoe.PL-INDF

'were there shoes with you?'

ʔa-fi ʒawwa:l-ki kurah?

Q-in mobile-2SGF.POSS a football game

'is there a football game in your mobile?'

The answers for this kind of questions are usually *la: billah* 'no, by God', or *bala: walla* 'yes,

by God', *walla* and *billah* are used for emphasis.

2.2.1.7 Relative pronouns

ða 'that/who' is used as a relative pronoun to refer to singular masculine nouns as in

> *ʔab-i ða samma:-h*
>
> father-1SG.POSS. REL.SGM name.PV-3SGM.OBJ
>
> 'It was my father who named him'
>
> *ʔana ða ʒawwada-h*
>
> 1SG.SBJ REL.SGM. make.PV-3SGM.OBJ
>
> 'I was the one who made it'
>
> *m-layl ða gabla*
>
> DEF-night REL.SGM before.
>
> 'the night (that is) before'
>
> *ir-rabu:ʕ ða ra:ħ*
>
> DEF-Wednesday REL.SGM go.PV
>
> 'the Wednesday that has gone'

As for singular feminine nouns *ðih* is used as a relative pronoun as in

> *ʔumm-i ðih samma:-h*
>
> mother-1SG.POSS REL.SGF name.PV-3SGM.OBJ
>
> 'It was my mother who named him'
>
> *Sara ðih ga:lata-h*
>
> Sara REL.SGF say.PV-3SGM.OBJ
>
> 'It was Sara who said it'.

2.2.2 Adverbs

1. Temporal adverbs are: *mata:* 'when', *l-yawm* 'DEF-today, *ɣadi* 'tomorrow', *ʔams* 'yesterday', *gabl ʔams* 'the day before yesterday', *l-laylah* 'DEF-tonight, *laylat ʔams* 'last night', *laylah ða gabl ʔams* 'night REL.SGM before yesterday (the night before yesterday)'

2. Local adverbs are*: ya:nhu/ya:* 'where' as in

> *ya:nhu m-mistaʃfa?*
>
> Q DEF-hospital
>
> 'Where is the hospital?'

ya: is usually used with *ya:na* for extra emphasis, as in

> *ya: darasta ya:na?*
>
> Q study.PV.2SGM.SBJ Q
>
> 'where did you say you studied (exactly)?
>
> *ya: ʒe:t min ya:na* ?
>
> Q come.PV.2SGM.SBJ from Q
>
> 'where did you exactly come from?'

hne:h 'here' is another temporal adverb as in *ħaðˤan Hasan hine:h* 'Hasan's house is over here'

3. Manner adverbs are: *mða:hi* 'how', *kaðayya* 'like this', *wasˤ-u* 'very-INDF', *sahl-u* 'ordinary/easy-INDF'.

4. Casual adverbs are: *mða go:m* 'why'/'what for'; *laʔan* 'because', as in

> *mða go:m-ak ðˤayyaˤat kutb-ak?*
>
> Q-2SGM lose.PV.2SGM.SBJ books-2SGM.POSS
>
> 'why did you lose your books?'

5. Number and mass*: kamm* 'how much', 'how many'.

2.2.3 Particles

2.2.3.1 Article

The definite article in the TQ dialect is (*i*)*m-* and is used in an invariant form: *m-ɣomrah* 'the girl' and m-ɣomra:t 'the girls'. This article is a distinctive feature of the TQ dialect and indeed most Tihāmi dialects in ʿAsīr (see Prochazka 1988). According to Rabin (1951), it is an old linguistic feature which was used widely in southern Arabian dialects (details in Rabin 1951). In modern times, it is found in Central Yemeni Tihāmi dialect (Greenman 1979), in a number of areas in Yemen such as Daṯīnah and Mukeyras (Behnstedt 2007) and in the dialect of Čabal Fayfāʾ (Alfaifi & Behnstedt 2010). The definite article in the speech of the TQ dialect is variable; speakers use the standard article *l-* along with the article *m-*. Chapter 5 of this thesis deals with this article in detail and presents the quantitative analysis of the data.

2.2.3.2 Genitive marker

The genitive markers in the TQ dialect are *li* 'mine.1SG', *lana* 'ours.1PL' *lah* 'his. 3SGM', *laha* 'hers.3SGF', *lihinna* 'their.3PLF', *lahum* 'their. 3PLM', *lak* 'yours.2SGM', *laki* 'yours.2SGF', *lakum* 'yours.2PLM', *likinna* 'yours.2PLF'. They are usually used as disjunctive forms:

> *kita:b-in li*
>
> book-INDF mine.1SG.POSS
>
> 'a book of mine'
>
> *ʔuxt-in lahum*
>
> sister-INDF theirs.3PLM
>
> 'a sister of theirs'
>
> *kita:b-in lah*
>
> book-INDF his.3SGM
>
> 'a book of his'

2.2.3.3 Negation

The particles used for negation are *ma:* and *la:*. *ma:* is used to negate perfect verbs as in:

ma: ʔakalt min ʔams

NEG eat.PV.1SG.SBJ since yesterday

'I did not eat since yesterday'

It is also used to negate imperfect verbs as in

ma: ta:kul

NEG eat.IPFV.3SGF

'she does not eat'

It can also be followed by deixes as in

ma: ði l-kita:b bli

NEG DEM.SGM DEF-book mine

'this book is not mine'

b- is sometimes attached to the genitive marker *li* to add emphasis (as in the example above).

The negative particle can also be attached to personal pronouns as in *ma:-hu* 'he is not', *ma:-hi* 'she is not', *ma:-hum* 'they are not' etc. *la:* is also used with *ma:* for negation as in

la: ma: ʒa:

no NEG come.PV.3SGM

'no, he did not come'

It is also used in imperatives such as

la: ta:xuð-ah

NEG take.IMP.2SGM.SBJ-3SGM.OBJ

'do not take it!'

2.2.3.4 Prepositions

It is noticed from the data that a number of lexemes can be used as prepositions such as *ʒawf* 'in' or 'inside' as in *ʒawf im-ħaðˤan* 'in the house', *ʒawf im-sayya:rah* 'in the car', and *wasˤsˤ/ʕala:* 'in the middle of'/'on' as in *wasˤsˤ/ʕala: m-ma:sah* 'on the table'.

2.2.3.5 Conjunctions

The conjunctions in TQ dialect are:

1. *yo:m* 'when' as in

> *ħala ʔaħmad li ʕali yo:m xaraʒ-u min im-ħaðan*

> speak.PV.3SGM Ahmad to Ali when go out.PV-3PLM of DEF-house

> 'Ahmad spoke to Ali when they went out of the house'.

2. *go:m* 'so that/because' as in

> *go:m im-ʕa:mil yo:m raʃʃa-ha gid yabas-ah*

> Because DEF-gardener when flush.PV.3SGM.SBJ.-3SGF.OBJ dry.PV-3SGF.SBJ

> 'because it was dry, when the gardener flushed it (the farm) with water'.

3. *la:di* 'but' as in *la:di ba:ni bixayru* 'but I am fine'.

4. *iða:/tama* 'when' as in

> *iða:/tama ʒa: ʕabdullah hiʃna:*

> when come.PV.3SG.M Abdullah go.PV.1PL.

> 'when Abdullah comes we will go'

2.2.4 Nominal Morphology

2.2.4.1 Gender

Feminine nouns without marking end with *–u: yad-u* 'hand-INDF', *riʒl-u* 'foot-INDF', *sa:g-u* 'leg-INDF', *ʕayn-u* 'eye-INDF', *ðira:ʕ-u* 'arm-INDF', but this ending also appears at the

end of other nouns to indicate indefiniteness, according to Prochazka (1988) (see section 2.1.1).

2.2.4.2 Productive patterns

The patterns that are used for instruments in the TQ dialect are: miCCaaC as in *milga:tˤu* 'tongs' and *minðˤa:ru* 'binoculars'; maCCaC as in *mabrad* 'wood file' and *mafrasˤ* 'wood cutter'; and CaCCaaCa as in *ħarra:θa* 'plough truck' and *θalla:ʒa* 'fridge'. The pattern that is used for professions is: CaCCaaC as in *wabba:l* 'camel keeper', *gatˤtˤa:ʕ* 'butcher', and *θalla:b* 'a person who sings traditional Tihāmi poems'. The pattern noun +*i/ʒi* is also used for professions as in *gahwaʒi* 'an employee who serves coffee' and *samkari* 'plumber'.

2.2.5 Numerals

The cardinal numbers are: *we:ħid, ʔaθni, θala:θah, ʔarbaʕah, xamsah, sittah, sabʕah, θama:nyah, tisʕah, ʕaʃarah*. The numerals 3-10 are shortened when they are followed by nouns: *θala:θ, ʔarbaʕ, xams, sitt, sabʕ, θama:n, tisʕ, ʕaʃir* as in *θala:θ ɣomra:tu* 'three girls' and *ʔarbaʕ ɣomra:tu* 'four girls'. It is noticed that the feminine ending *at-* is not added to the number when it is followed by a noun as in *sabʕah riʒa:lu* 'seven men' and *xamsah ʔayyamu* 'five days'.

The numerals 11-19 are *ʔaħda ʕaʃa:, ʔaθna ʕaʃa, θala:θ ʕaʃa, ʔarbaʕa ʕaʃa, xamsa ʕaʃa, sitta ʕaʃa, sabʕa ʕaʃa, θama:niya ʕaʃa , tisʕa ʕaʃa*. The numeral *ʕaʃar* is shortened to *ʕaʃa* (the final /r/ is dropped). As for the ordinal numbers they are *ʔuwla, θa:niyah, θa:liθah, ra:biʕah, xa:misah* and so on.

2.2.6 Strong verbs

2.2.6.1 Forms

I	II	III
rakab/yirkab 'to ride'	*ħarrad/iħarrid* 'to regret'	*ʕa:wan/iʕa:win* 'to help'
gasam/yigsim 'to divide'	*ħarraṭ/iħarriṭ* 'to tear up'	*ga:tal/iga:til* 'to fight'
manaʕ/yimnaʕ 'to prevent'	*ʒawwad/iʒawwid* 'to make'	
V (*t*-II)		**VI (t-III)**
tħarrad/yitħarrad 'to be regretted'		*taʕa:wan/yitʕa:wan* 'to be helped'
tharraṭ/yitharraṭ 'to be torn up'		*taga:tal/yitga:tal* 'to be fought'
tʒawwad/yitʒawwad 'to be made'		
VII (m-II)		**VIII**
mħarrad 'to be regretted'		*iʕtawar/yiʕtawir* 'to get hurt'
mharraṭ 'to be torn up'		*iʕtawn/yiʕtawin* 'to help'
mʒawwad "to be made"		
X		**IX**
stamtaʕ/yistamtiʕ 'to enjoy' green'		*xaðˤðˤar /yitxaðˤðˤar* 'to become green'
		ʃaggar/yitʃaggar 'to become red'

Table 2.6: *Derived forms in the TQ dialect*

Form I follows a CaCaC pattern. This pattern has *yi-* in the imperfect form as in *yirkab* 'to ride'. In the final syllable of this pattern an *a-* can be used as in *yimnaʕ* 'to prevent' or an *i-* as in *yigsim* 'to divide'.

Form II follows a CaCCaC pattern. In the imperfect form of these verbs there is an *i-* in the final syllable as in *iharriṭ* 'to tear up'.

Form III follows a CaaCaC pattern which usually gives the meaning of the participation of more than one person/thing in the action. These verbs have an *i* in the final syllable of the imperfect form as in *iʕa:win* 'he helps'.

Forms V, VI and VII are used to change the verb into the passive form. In the VI form *a* is inserted after *t-* as in *taʕa:wan* 'to be helped'.

Form VIII has the prefix *i-* as in *iʕtawar* 'to get hurt', and form X has the prefix *sta-* as in *stamtaʕ* 'to enjoy'. Both forms include the changing of the vowel in the final syllable from /a/ to /i/ in the imperfect forms as in *yiʕtawir* and *yistamtiʕ*.

Form IX is usually used to form verbs related to colours as in *ʃaggar* 'to become red'.

2.2.6.2 Inflections

2.2.6.2.1 Perfect

rakaðʕ 'he ran'			
	3rd pers.	**2nd pers.**	**1st pers.**
sg masc	*rakaðʕ*	*rakaðʕ-t*	*rakaðʕ-t*
sg fem	*rakaðʕ-a(h)*	*rakaðʕ-ti*	
plu masc	*rakaðʕ-u:*	*rakaðʕ-tu:*	*rakaðʕ-na*
plu fem	*rakaðʕ-n/rakaðʕ-na*	*rakaðʕ-tinna*	

Table 2.7: *Inflection of the perfect in the TQ dialect*

There is a gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural perfect verb forms. For the 3rd person singular, the feminine suffix –*a(h)* is used . This suffix is likely to be the result of the deletion of /t/ in the suffix –*at*. Thus, *rakaðʕ-at* 'she ran' is realized as *rakaðʕ-a(h)* in the TQ dialect. Other examples include

    istamtaʕ-ah

    enjoy.PV-3SGF.SBJ

    'she enjoyed'

    raʒaʕ-ah

    come.PV-3SGF.SBJ

    'she came back'

    maraðʕ-ah

    sick.PV-3SGF.SBJ

'she was sick'

fasˤal-ah

quit.PV-3SGF.SBJ

'she quit'.

For the 2ⁿᵈ person singular *-ti* is added to the perfect verb as a feminine suffix. As for

the plural, the feminine suffix *–tinna* is used with the 2ⁿᵈ person perfect verbs while

the suffixes *–n/–na* are used with the 3ʳᵈ person perfect verbs.

2.2.6.2.2 Imperfect

yatˤbax 'he cooks'			
	3ʳᵈ pers.	**2ⁿᵈ pers.**	**1ˢᵗ pers.**
sg masc	*yatˤbax*	*tatˤbax*	*ʔatˤbax*
sg fem.	*tatˤbax*	*tatˤbax-i/tatˤbax-i:n*	
plu masc	*yatˤbax-u:/-u:n*	*tatˤbax-u:/-u:n*	*natˤbax*
plu fem	*yatˤbax-na(h)*	*tatˤbaxna(h)*	

Table 2.8: *Inflection of the imperfect in the TQ dialect*

In the imperfect verbs a gender distinction is also maintained in the 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ person

singular and plural, as shown in table 2.8.

2.2.7 Weak verbs

2.2.7.1. Geminated verbs

Geminated verbs in a CaCC pattern exist in the TQ dialect, such as *matˤtˤ/yimutˤtˤ* 'to

stretch', *ħall/yiħill* 'to settle', *ħatˤtˤ/yiħutˤtˤ* 'to put', and *ʃall/yiʃill* 'to carry'. The 1ˢᵗ

and 2ⁿᵈ person singular perfect forms of these verbs are realized as follows: *matˤtˤayt*,

ħallayt, ħatˤtˤayt, ʃallayt. There is variation between these forms as in *matˤtˤe:t, ħalle:t*

, *ħatˤtˤe:t* and *ʃalle:t*. The active participles of these verbs follow a CaaCC pattern as

follows: *ma:tˤtˤ, ħa:ll , ħa:tˤtˤ, ʃa:ll.*

2.2.7.2 Verbs *I*

Imperfect			
ya:xið 'to take'			
	3rdpers.	**2ndpers.**	**1stpers**
sg masc	*ya:xið*	*ta:xið*	*a:xið*
sg fem.	*ta:xið*	*ta:xð-i: n*	*a:xið*
plu masc	*ya:xð-u:n*	*ta:xð-u:n*	*na:xið*
plu fem	*ya:xið-na*	*ta:xið-na*	*na:xið-na*
Perfect			
ʔaxað 'he took'			
sg masc	*xað-a*	*xat-t*	*xatt*
sg fem	*xað-a(h)*	*xat-ti*	*xatt*
plu masc	*xað-aw*	*xat-tum*	*xað-na:*
plu fem	*xað-na(h)*	*xat-tin/-inna*	

Table 2.9: *Inflection of Iʔ verbs in the TQ dialect*

This form *ya:xið* 'he takes'/*ta:xið* 'she takes' is used to express the imperfective or habitual action that takes place in the present time. There is a gender distinction in the 1^{st,} 2nd and 3rd plural imperfect verbs. The suffix *-na* is used for 1^{st,} 2nd and 3rd feminine plural verbs while the suffix *-u:n* is used for 2nd and 3rd masculine plural verbs. There is also a gender distinction in the 2nd singular imperfect verbs; the suffix *-i:n* is used for the 2nd singular feminine imperfect verbs.

As for the perfect form, it is noticed that the verb *ʔaxað*, as in most Arabic dialects, undergoes regressive assimilation when followed by the personal pronoun *-t*. This assimilation affects the 1st person singular and the 2nd person singular and plural

as in *xatt* 'I took' and *xatti* 'you (fem) took'[11]. The participle forms of this verb are

ma:xið and *mo:xu:ð* and the imperative is *xuðð*.

2.2.7.3 Verbs *Iw*

Imperfect			
yuwʕid 'to promise'			
	3ʳᵈ pers.	**2ⁿᵈ pers.**	**1ˢᵗ pers**
sg masc	*yuwʕid*	*tuwʕid*	*ʔuwʕid*
sg fem	*tuwʕid*	*tuwʕid-i:n*	
plu masc	*yuwʕid-u:n*	*tuwʕid-u:n*	*nuʕid*
plu fem	*yuwʕid-na*	*tuwʕid-na*	
Perfect			
sg masc	*ʔawʕad*	*ʔawʕat-t*	*waʕatt/ ʔawʕtt*
sg fem	*ʔawʕad-ah*	*ʔawʕat-ti*	
plu masc	*ʔawʕad-u:*	*ʔawʕat-tum*	*waʕadna/ʔawʕdna*
plu fem	*ʔawʕad-nah*	*ʔawʕat-tinna*	

Table 2.10*: Inflection of Iw verbs in the TQ dialect*

For the imperfect *Iw* verbs the *m-* prefix can also be used to form the verb in the

present tense as in *muwʕid, muwʕid-a , muwʕid-i:n,* and *muwʕid-na* . The participles

follow the pattern *wa:ʕid/muwʕu:d.* The imperative form of this verb is *ʔuwʕid.*

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[11] In some ʿAsīri dialects in Abha, the pronoun (in clitic form) undergoes assimilation; thus *ʔaxaðð* 'I/you (masc) took', *ʔaxaðði* 'you (fem) took' , *ʔaxaððu:* 'you (fem/masc plu) took'.

2.2.7.4 Verbs *IIw/y*

Imperfect			
yihi:ʃ 'he goes'	**3ʳᵈ pers.**	**2ⁿᵈ pers.**	**1ˢᵗ pers.**
sg masc	*yihi:ʃ*	*thi:ʃ*	*ʔahi:ʃ*
sg.fem.	*thi:ʃ*	*thi:ʃ-i*	
plu masc	*yihi:ʃ-u:n*	*thi:ʃ-u:n*	*nhi:ʃ*
plu fem	*yihiʃ-na*	*thiʃ-na*	
Perfect			
ha:ʃ 'he went'			
sg.masc.	*ha:ʃ*	*hiʃ-t*	*hiʃt*
sg.fem.	*ha:ʃ-a(h)*	*hiʃ-ti*	
plu masc	*ha:ʃ-aw*	*hiʃ-tu:*	*hiʃ-na:*
plu fem	*hiʃ-na*	*hiʃ-tinna*	

Table 2.11: *Inflection of IIw/y verbs in the TQ dialect*

The participle forms of verbs like *ha:ʃ* 'he went', *ga:m* 'he stood up', and *ba:ʕ* 'he sold' follow the pattern CaayiC: *ha:yiʃ*, *ga:yim, ba:yiʕ* . These participle conjugations are used to form verbs in the future as in *ha:yʃin m-Jawwa* 'I will go to al-Jawwa'. The imperative forms are realized with the long vowels: *hi:ʃ, gu:m, bi:ʕ*.

2.2.7.5 Verbs *III*

Imperfect *yisri* 'he leaves at nigh	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	1st pers.
sg masc	*yisri*	*tisri*	*ʔasri*
sg fem	*tisri*	*tisr-i:n*	
plu masc	*yisr-u:n*	*tisr-u:n*	
plu fem	*yisr-inna*	*tisr-inna*	
Perfect *sara* 'he left at night'			
sg masc	*sara*	*sarayt*	*sarayt*
sg fem	*sara-h*	*sarayt-i*	
plu masc	*sara-w*	*sarayt-u*	*saray-na*
plu fem	*sara-yna*	*sarayt-inna*	

Table 2.12: *Inflection of IIIy verbs in the TQ dialect*

The participle conjugation of verbs like *sara* 'he left at night' and *saga* 'he watered' follows the mCaCCi/ CaaCi patterns to form verbs in future: *msarri/ sa:ri* 'I will go at night', *msaggi/ sa:gi* 'I will water'. The imperative of these verbs are *ʔisr, ʔisg*.

2.3 Syntax

2.3.1 Noun phrase

The structure of the noun phrase is: noun or pronoun + adjective + prepositional phrases/adverbials. Quantifiers such as *ti/kull* 'every', *baʕð^ʕ* 'some', and *maɣe:r* 'only' are used as in

    ti l-biyu:t

all DEF-houses

'all the houses'

miʃtri:n baʕðˤ im-kutub

buy.PTCP.1PL some DEF-books

'we will buy some books'

The numeral *wa:ħid/ we:ħid ~ wa:ħda/we:ħda* is used as generic pronoun:

il-wa:ħid yidʕi ʒama:ʕat-ah

DEF-one calls.IPFV.3SGM group-3SGM.POSS

'one calls his group'

The noun phrase is negated by *ma:/ma* and can be used with personal pronouns as in

man-ti ðˤani:nah

NEG-you.2SGF nice

'you are not nice'.

2.3.2 Verb phrase

2.3.2.1 Tense and aspect

1. The perfect form is used to express the past tense as in *tˤabax* 'he cooked'. *ko:n*

'was' is used to express modality in the past tense as in

ko:n gafalt im-ba:b

should close.PV.2SGM.SBJ DEF-door

'you should have closed the door'

ko:n is also used along with the imperfect verb form to express continuity in the past

as in

ko:n yidrus

was study.IPFV.3SGM

'he was studying'

It can also be accompanied by personal pronouns as in

ko:nn-i ʔaħlib

was-1SG milk.IPFV

'I was milking'

yo:m ko:nn-i sˤaɣi:rah

when was-1SG child

'when I was a child'

2. To express the future tense, the active participial is used as in

ka:tibu

write.PTCP.1SG

'I will write'

za:yru

visit.PTCP.1SG

'I will visit'

miʃtr-i:n

buy.PTCP-1SG.PL

'we will buy'

ra:yħ-i:n

go.PTCP-1SG.PL

'we will go'

3. The suffix *-in*, *-i:n , -tin* in combination with the imperfect form of the verb are also used to express future. For the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular masculine verbs the suffix *-in* is used, see examples below.

> *ʔant ya:xðinn-ah m-ɣadi*
>
> you 2SGM.SBJ take.IPFV.2SGM-3SGM.OBJ DEF-tomorrow
>
> 'you (masc) will take it tomorrow'
>
> *hu ya:xðinn-ah m-ɣadi*
>
> he 3SGM.SBJ take.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.OBJ DEF-tomorrow
>
> 'he will take it tomorrow'

The suffix *-i:n* is used for 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural masculine imperfect verbs as in the examples below.

> *ʔantu ya:xði:n-ah m-ɣadi*
>
> you 2PLM.SBJ take.IPFV.2PLM-3SGM.OBJ DEF-tomorrow
>
> 'you (masc. plu) will take it tomorrow'
>
> *hum ya:xði:n-ah m-ɣadi*
>
> they 3PLM take.IPFV.3PLM-3SGM.OBJ DEF-tomorrow
>
> 'they (masc.plu) will take it tomorrow'

The suffix *-tin* is used for 1st, 2nd and 3rd feminine singular and plural imperfect verbs as in the examples blow.

> *ʔana: ya:xiðtinn-ah m-ɣadi*
>
> I will take.IPFV.1SGF-3SGM.OBJ DEF-tomorrow
>
> 'I (fem sg) will take it tomorrow'
>
> *hinna ya:xðtinn-ah m-ɣadi*
>
> they.3PLF take.IPFV.3PLF-3SGM.OBJ
>
> 'they (fem.plu) will take it tomorrow

The *b*-prefix is also used in the speech of the younger generation to form verbs in the future as in *b-na:xuð* 'we will take', and *b-ya:xuð* 'he will take'.

2.3.3 Word order

The word order is SVO or VSO, as in

ha:ʃ-at Zahra li m-madrasa

go.PV-3SGF Zahra to DEF-school

Zahra ha:ʃ-at li m-madrasa

Zahra go.PV-3SGF to DEF-school

'Zahra went to the school'.

When the subject is indefinite, verb initial sentences are commonly used as in

tazawwaʒ we:ħida/waħda w tˤallag-ha

marry.PV.3SGM a woman and divorce.PV.3SGM.SBJ-3SGF.OBJ

'he was married, to a woman, and divorced her'

2.3.4 Conditional sentences

law and *iðˤa* 'if' are used as conditional particles as in

law/iða naʒaħ-t ʃarayt lak hadiyya

if succeed.PV-2SGM.SBJ buy.PV.1SG for you a present

'when you succeed I will buy you a present'

2.4 Conclusion

The linguistic description of the TQ dialect shows that it is a relatively conservative dialect in that it preserves grammatical forms that are absent from the koineised Abha dialect. Assuming the dialect of Abha is the regional and target variety in ʿAsīr, the TQ dialect differs from the regional variety in a number of grammatical forms, the main differences are listed in the following table.

	Abha	TQ
phonology		
	ðˤ	*ʒˤ~ðˤ*
Morphology		
definite article		
	l-article	*m-article~l-article*
possessive/object suffixes		
you drink (plu masc)	*tiʃrab-u:n*	*tiʃrab-u:n*
you drink (plu fem)	-	*tiʃrab-na*
they drink (plu masc)	*yiʃrab-u:n*	*yiʃrab-u:n*
they drink (plu fem)	-	*yiʃrab-na*
personal pronouns		
we (masc)	*ʔiħna:*	*banħin/ʔinħim*
we (fem)	-	*banħinna*
you (masc)	*ʔintu/ʔintum*	*ʔantu*
you (fem)	-	*ʔantinna*
they (masc)	*hum*	*hum*
they (fem)	-	*hinna*

Table 2.13: *Differences between the TQ dialect and the Abha dialect*

Chapter 3

Methodology and data collection

Many researchers in the field of language variation and change face two main challenges: to find a representative sample of speakers, and to obtain good quality data. This chapter explains the methodology adopted in the present study, and how the data were obtained. Section 3.1 details the sample and techniques used to recruit the participants, while section 3.2 clarifies the status of the researcher and her connection to the two examined communities. The process of gaining access to the two communities will be discussed in section 3.3. Section 3.4 discusses data collection methods used in this project, including the use of pilot interviews and sociolinguistic interviews. Data analysis and coding techniques will be dealt with in section 3.5, while section 3.6 explains the ways in which ethics were taken into account in this study. The social variables will be explained in section 3.7, and section 3.8 explains the linguistic variables.

3.1 Sampling

Different sampling approaches have been adopted in sociolinguistic studies. In the early days, large-scale investigations, such as Labov's Lower East Side survey in New York City followed the random sampling method according to which subjects are chosen randomly and each individual in the group has an equal chance of being selected. In this method subjects are selected at random from a list of members of a community, such as the electoral register or telephone directories. A researcher can then choose participants by, for example, assigning random numbers to individuals in

the list, or just selecting a certain number of individuals from the list. In this case

every individual within that list's "sample frame" will be included in the study

(Milroy and Gordon 2003:25). However, several researchers argue against the validity

of this approach; Milroy and Gordon (2003) in particular summarize the two main

limitations of the random sampling approach. For one thing, linguistic studies often

make use of small samples of participants, which can make it difficult for a researcher

to argue that the sample is representative of the whole community, regardless of how

strictly scientific the original sampling process is. The second limitation is that should

some of the original subjects that are selected to participate in the study withdraw for

any reason (be it death or illness, or simply a refusal to take part), they cannot be

easily replaced by other individuals. Additionally, not every community has such

means of accessing information as 'electoral register', or any type of objective listings

of community members, which are available to researchers. Because of these

limitations most sociolinguistic field workers avoid the use of random sampling and

instead choose to rely on the more practical approach of *judgment sampling* also

called *quota sampling,* which relies on the researcher's own judgment in selecting the

participants and determining the important social dimensions that influence the

speech of the community under investigation (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 30).

In some cases the social variables can be selected using available social and

demographic information, such as in the studies by Romaine (1978) and Reid (1978)

(cited in Milroy & Gordon 2003: 31) who used the social and demographic

information available from the 1971 Census of Population in order to examine the

language use of working-class children in schools in Edinburgh. However, there are

other cases when the demographic social information is not available for the

researcher to make use of. In this case the researcher is responsible for deciding upon

the important social dimensions of the community based on their own observation and judgment.

Many sociolinguistic researchers study their own communities and therefore already have insiders' knowledge of the community and its dynamics (e.g. Peter Trudgill in Norwich; Enam Al-Wer in Amman). Others gain such knowledge through frequent visits prior to conducting the research and extended periods of presence in the under study while conducting the research (e.g. Penelope Eckert in Belton High, Detroit; Lesley Milroy in Belfast). The point to be made about this aspect of sociolinguistic research is that it is in the first place the researchers' knowledge of the communities of their investigations that allows them to determine the relative importance of the parameters within which the sample of speakers will be selected. For example, Eckert's long-term observation and involvement in the daily interactions and activities of the students at Belton High enabled her to determine the relative importance of the students' social categorisation inside the school (Jocks and Burnouts), and its relationship with linguistic variation in their speech and in the larger community (Detroit) (Eckert 2000).

Milroy and Gordon (2003) suggest the use of a "snowball" method in order to fill the quotas in judgment sampling, which relies more heavily on the participants' social networks. In this method, the researcher asks one participant from the sample to nominate other participants that he/she knows as friends or relatives and who will be likely to be willing to take part in the project. Therefore, when the researcher reaches those participants and mentions the name of the person who nominated them as good applicants for the study, they will hopefully be encouraged to take part. The researcher in this case reduces the possibility of participants' refusal to take part in the study because they are assured by the fact that friends or relatives have already taken

part, and are therefore more likely to consider the researcher trustworthy, as they are "a friend of a friend"(Milroy and Gordon 2003: 32).

3.1.1 Adopting the snowball method in the current project

Many sociolinguists have used the snowball method in studies conducted in western societies and it has indeed proved to be a useful technique in constructing their research samples. Examples of these studies include the studies by Labov (1972a) in Harlem, Cheshire (1982) in Reading, and Bortoni-Ricaedo (1985) in Brasilia (cited in Milroy and Gordon 2003:31). This technique proved to be helpful too in studies conducted in the Arab world such as al-Wer (1991) and in recent research projects in the Arabian Gulf such as al-Essa (2008) and al-Qouz (2009).

The snowball method is an effective technique particularly in studies that examine relatively small communities or minority groups. Indeed, in the present project the snowball method proved to be an efficient way of gaining access to potential participants. The two communities under study are both relatively small and conservative communities. The method was especially effective in recruiting participants in the lowland village al-Farša, which is more isolated than the village of al-Jawwa in the highlands.

It was very difficult at the beginning for me to encourage participants to take part in my research or to gain their trust in order to record the interviews due to the fact that I was seen as an outsider in the community, despite our shared tribal affiliation (Qaḥṭāni), and they found the idea of recording their speech awkward. However, when I approached new participants and quoted the name of the participant who recommended them as his/her friend who could help in my research, they soon agreed to participate. They were even motivated by the fact that their friend had

participated in my study, and that my research would help in one way or another to introduce and promote their small community to the outside world. Those participants in turn led me to other new participants and I was eventually able to record a good number of interviews. What helped also was the fact that in such small communities, news spread fast. Not long after I arrived, the whole community became aware of the presence of 'a researcher', a stranger at first but a 'Qaḥṭāni' and 'a friend of a friend' shortly after, which helped reassure prospective speakers of my intentions and the purpose of my research. Even in the case of recruiting male participants, the male assistant informed me that when he used the 'friend of a friend' technique, although he himself was an insider in the two communities, he was able to recruit additional participants because they were encouraged to hear that their friends or relatives had already taken part in the study.

Milroy and Gordon (2003) summarize three basic criteria, citing Sankoff (1980), that should be taken into account while selecting the sample: the sampling universe, stratification, and sample size.

Sampling Universe

The first task is to define the sampling universe which means deciding the boundaries of the community or group the researcher wants to investigate. This can be achieved by for instance selecting a certain social or ethnic group within the community, or by selecting individuals who were born and have lived a set amount of time in a certain community. Decisions made in this task are mainly under the control of the researcher. Some choose to include certain participants in their research while others choose to exclude those participants. For instance, the sampling universe of Labov's study in New York is defined by excluding non-native speakers of English. Trudgill

(1983) asserts that some speakers lived their whole lives in Norwich but did not adopt the local dialect. On the other hand, the sampling universe of Horvath's study (1985) examining the use of spoken English in Sydney did include non-native speakers of English. This decision proved to be important because ethnic minorities who speak English as a second language have been found to play a key role in language variation and change (cited in Milroy and Gordon 2003:27). Examples from research in Arabic include Al-Essa (2008) who defined her sampling universe in Jeddah to be speakers who originally came from Najd. Al-Ghamdi (2013) in Mecca selected speakers from among the Ghamdi community who had migrated into the city during the past fifty years or so; and Ismail's (2008) sample in Damascus was drawn from among the native speakers of Damascene Arabic.

Defining the sampling universe can be a challenging task, especially when a study aims to examine the language use of minority groups. One example of this is the linguistic Minority Project that investigates language use among non-native English speakers in England and Wales, in which the researchers define the sampling universe using "ethnic name analysis" or "community lists" of minority language speakers. Both techniques are shown to be inaccurate due to the difficulty in finding the names in electoral registers (Milroy and Gordon 2003:28). One key principal that researchers should therefore bear in mind while drawing up the sampling universe is to know how to access the population under investigation. Researchers should draw the boundaries of the sampling universe in a way that is guaranteed to produce an accurate representation of the whole population.

In the present study subjects have been selected according to their original tribe, their place of birth and their place of residence. Therefore, subjects should be members of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni tribe because the main goal of this research is to

examine the variation in the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect. They should also have been born or lived in the two selected villages; al-Jawwa in the highlands and al-Farša in the lowlands. Any individuals who were non-Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni or who lived outside the boundaries of the two locations were not included in the sample.

Stratification and sample size

Another crucial task in any sociolinguistic study is to determine the sample size. Researchers must choose a sample which is large enough to accurately represent the entire population of the community being studied, whilst also considering the different social factors that may be significant in the target community. While considering the size of the sample, either small or large, researchers should take into account the different social and linguistic variables they intend to include in their studies, and be aware of the amount of data that they will need to handle later at the analysis stage. The sample size of the present research was to some extent influenced by availability of participants, and local traditions. Many speakers refused to be recorded (see below), and it was not possible for me, a female researcher, to conduct interviews with male participants. Nonetheless, I was able to obtain data from a fair number of speakers (altogether 28, see below).

Stratification

Milroy and Gordon (2003) provide sociolinguistic fieldworkers with valuable stratification techniques that can be utilised in order to divide up the sample in a way that includes all the social variables a researcher wants to investigate. If the community under investigation has a population of different social dimensions such as age, gender and social status, the researcher should stratify the sample into smaller

groups according to these social dimensions in order to make generalizations across the whole community. For example, if a researcher wants to examine four social status groups, two gender groups and four age groups then they will have 32 cells to fill. If the researcher then decides to have four speakers in each cell, the sample will eventually consist of 128 participants. Sociolinguistic studies do not often utilise samples this large, because of the time and effort required to analyse the huge amount of data generated. On the other hand, if the researcher decides to have two speakers instead of four in each cell he/she will eventually have 64 participants. This sample size is also problematic because generalizations based on just two speakers may not be accurate. One suggestion for managing such a problem is to minimize the number of social variables and maximize the number of participants (Milroy and Gordon 2003:30).

In the current research, I adopted Milroy's and Gordon's stratified sample in order to achieve the main goal of the research which was to examine the effect of the geographical barrier on the dialect change of two Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni villages. The sample therefore consisted of speakers distributed over two localities; highlands and lowlands, two gender groups, and two age groups from each locality.

In order to stratify my sample I needed to fill 8 cells. It was planned to have 3 speakers in each cell so that the total sample contained 24 participants. The first cell, for instance, contained 3 young, female participants from the lowlands while the second cell contained 3 young, female participants from the highlands and so on until all of the social variables were represented in the study. However, in some cases I had more than 3 participants in one cell while in another cell I had only two participants who eventually agreed to take part in the study. This was due to the difficulty in

gaining the participants' approval to be recorded, especially in the lowlands. The total

number of the speakers is 28 stratified as shown in table 3.1 below.

_____

	males	females	
	old/young	old/young	total
highlands	3/3	3/7	16
lowlands	4/3	2/3	12

_____

Table 3.1: *The stratified sample*

Female participants from the highlands were mainly employees of, or students at, the

high school in al-Jawwa. Older females worked in the school as cleaners, dinner

ladies or babysitters and were all uneducated. The younger females on the other hand

were students in their final year at high school. During this year the students attain

their college degree before joining the university. All male speakers in the highlands

were uneducated except two speakers, namely Nabīl, a high school student, and Yazīd

who had a master degree.

As for the lowlands, the younger females were educated. Some had finished

intermediate school and stayed at home, while others quit their intermediate school

and started their own families. The older females, on the other hand, were uneducated,

with one working at a school near her house, and the other a housewife. All male

participants in the lowlands were uneducated except for one speaker Sulimān, who

had a Diploma degree.

3.2 The researcher

The researcher in the present study is an outsider to the two examined communities. However, being a member of the well-known Qaḥṭāni tribe in the province gave me accreditation among the locals in the two communities. Hence, I was not a complete stranger but rather a close outsider. I am a Qaḥṭāni speaker who was born and has lived my whole life in Abha. My parents came from a village located about seven kilometres away from the village of al-Jawwa in the highlands, in the region of Sarāt ʿAbīda, and moved to Abha as adults. My grandparents and most of my relatives on the other hand still live in the village. I also have relatives who have strong long-lasting friendship ties with the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni community in the highlands and the lowlands, and a relative who used to hold a high position in the village of al-Jawwa before his retirement and whose name is well-known in the local community. Quoting his name to the participants gave them the courage to participate in the study and most importantly, the trust to allow me to tape-record their voices in the interviews. Most of the participants agreed to take part in my research to express their appreciation of the old friendship between my grandparents and the locals. I remember introducing myself to an older female in the highlands and once I told her my family name she showed an interest in and support toward my project. She also mentioned the name of my relative who had assisted her community in the past. This participant then introduced me to other women and mentioned my family name to them in order to encourage them to participate. The power relations between me and my participants soon changed and I was no longer recognized as a researcher who was in a superior status and who asked questions which had to be answered. Instead they accepted me as a daughter of a family they knew and appreciated.

Being an outsider in the two communities also has its disadvantages that I faced as a researcher. I had initial concerns regarding the acceptance of the locals and their possible reluctance to take part in my study. It should be noted that being a non-native speaker of the dialect under investigation does not mean that this dialect was completely incomprehensible to me. I was capable of understanding the contexts of all the interviews, but there were some differences between my local dialect and the participants' dialect. These included some lexical and morphological items that speakers usually repeated which did not exist in my own dialect. For instance, my *lākin* [*la:kin*] 'but' is *lādi* [*la:di*] in the speakers' dialect, my *ʿala* [*ʕala*] 'on' is *waṣṣ* [*waṣˤṣˤ*] in the speakers' dialect, and my *bayt* [*bayt*] 'house' is *ḥaḏan*[*ħaðˤan*] in their dialect. I tried to learn and adapt to these minor differences at the first stage of recording the pilot interviews. I also prepared for these differences by asking relatives, contacting locals via emails and sending a prepared list that included most local linguistic items. They were then able to support me with sufficient data of the most remarkable features and I eventually became aware of the main differences between my own dialect and the dialect under investigation.

On the other hand, the male assistant who happened to be a friend of a relative was a native speaker of the dialect. He was born and has lived his whole life in the highlands community and was a teacher in a village near al-Jawwa in the highlands. Being an insider in the community, the male assistant was able to gain the trust and support from the locals in the two communities.

3.3 Accessing the two communities

3.3.1 Research in the lowlands

One of the main challenges that I faced during my research trip was the fact that the fieldwork was to be conducted in two localities, and there were more hurdles in the lowlands village, al-Farša. I was introduced to the community via a friend who was a teacher in the village and who had developed a fairly good relationship with the locals. This teacher then introduced me to the native speakers in the community. Before beginning to record the interviews I made several visits to al-Farša that lasted for roughly two weeks, with the help of this teacher. I lodged with the teacher for two weeks and she became my local contact to the community. These initial visits were planned in order to gain an insight into the community, the locals and the topics that might be of interest to them.

These visits were useful for me as well as for the locals. As an outsider of the community I had to gain enough background knowledge about the area, observe its culture and learn the key techniques which might help me to be closer to the locals. During these initial trips I was not introduced to the community as a researcher, at the beginning at least, but rather as a friend of this teacher who wanted to explore the area and investigate its culture.

It was not easy at the beginning to socialize with the locals even with the help of the teacher, not because they did not welcome a stranger but because most of the females in the lowlands community, especially given their young ages, were very shy and wary of speaking to a stranger. I had been told by the teacher that it took a long time for her students to make eye contact with her during the formal classes.

Therefore, I preferred not to start off by talking about my research, and instead tried to become familiar with the individuals and develop a good relationship with them.

During these initial visits, I tried to make short conversations with the locals with the help of my contact who used to meet some of the locals who lived near the school. At the beginning, I participated in the conversations she had with her friends and tried to share my own experience of any topic they discussed. Importantly, I tried to show my interest in their culture, their community and their dialect.

In my first visit to the community I found it fairly difficult to take part in a conversation as I did not have enough background knowledge of the places or people that were important to the locals. Therefore, after my first visit I searched for some information to share with the locals in order to show my interest in the community. I looked for cultural and historical information either via the online forum, which had been set up by the locals, or via individuals who were friends of my contact in the village. This information was important to me for the sake of my research, as well as for the sake of expressing my engagement in and knowledge of the community. It became easier to start a conversation with the locals when I began to understand their culture and history, for instance most of the female participants were interested in discussing wedding customs when I mentioned some of their cultural costumes and asked them to talk more about the topic.

By the end of the second week, I was no longer a stranger in the community. I tried to discuss my study with the locals and explain that my research focused on the most interesting dialects in the Arabian Peninsula. Then I tried to discuss some of the features of their dialect that indicate how old and interesting it is. The concept of being 'original' is very important to the locals because to them it implied authenticity

and importance. They live in an isolated community and tend to reject change initiated by outsiders. They are proud of being unique and different from the rest of the province and the whole peninsula. Thus, when I would tell them how unique and important their dialect is and that no one had studied this dialect, it encouraged them to help me and to participate in the research. I have also been asked several times, especially by younger people, if their dialect will be published in a book. Although people in the lowlands live in a small conservative community, they are more accepting and supportive of studies that will acknowledge and present their culture to the outside world.

When I first started recording the interviews in the lowlands, I was introduced only to female participants. For cultural reasons it was impossible for me as a female researcher to meet male participants and have a casual and relaxed conversation. I could not guarantee that male participants would use their normal or casual style of speech when talking to me. Generally speaking, in Saudi Arabia men tend to maintain a formal type of speech when they speak to women strangers. Therefore I relied on a male assistant, who was an insider in the community of the highlands and who had contacts in both villages under study, in order to guarantee a casual and spontaneous type of speech with male participants. The process by which I searched for a male assistant will be explained in the following section.

3.3.2 Research in the highlands

In the village of al-Jawwa my family name, al-Qaḥṭāni, gave me more credit, trust and support among the community. My initial access to the community of al-Jawwa came through posting some queries in the 'Tihāmat Qaḥṭān online forum' which was one of the main resources that assisted me in gaining background information about

the two villages. I tried to contact the active members of the forum who used their

actual surnames and whom I already knew via a friend are influential members of the

local community. I wrote several posts explaining my research and its aims and

advertising for participants who would be willing to take part in my research. I left

my email address with those who replied and were willing to help and participate.

At this stage I was also searching for a male assistant who could help in

conducting interviews with male participants and introducing my research to the two

communities. I was primarily looking for a native male assistant from the community

because, in my opinion, having a local interviewer on board would benefit the study

and help in gaining the trust of the participants. Although the community of al-Jawwa

has more connections to major centres in ʿAsīr than the community of al-Farša, it is

still a small community where people in the village know each other and they do not

simply allow an outsider to record interviews with them. For this reason, I wanted to

inform the community through their online forum of my work and to expect a study to

be conducted in their village. Besides searching in the online forum, I also tried to

rely on my personal networks in my parents' village. I was mainly searching for

individuals in my village who had relationships with members of the community of

al-Jawwa.

I then received an email from the male assistant who was from al-Jawwa. I

explained my research to him and gave him instructions on how to carry out the

interviews, including the topics to be discussed, the duration of each interview and the

participants. I also explained to him that I was awaiting the approval from the

Ministry of Education in Riyadh to visit the female school in the village and to record

interviews with female participants. This is because I wanted him to spread the word

to the parents that he might know, again so that I could gain their approval. This will be discussed in detail in section 3.4.1.

The male assistant became my local contact to the male participants in the highlands as well as in the lowlands. I handed the digital recorder to him to start recording the male interviews, and suggested that he recorded one or two interviews at the beginning so that I could listen back to the recordings and send him my feedback before he continued to interview the rest of the participants. I kept in regular contact with the assistant to make sure the interviews ran smoothly. I received the first two interviews from him as planned, listened to the recordings and found that were carried out exactly as I requested. I then gave him my feedback and he was able to interview the rest of the participants efficiently.

As for the female participants, due to the lack of a local female contact in the community of al-Jawwa I relied on a formal institution to introduce me to the girl's high school in the village. I therefore contacted King Khalid University in Abha where I worked and informed them about my intention to visit this school. They directed me to the Institution of Education in Sarāt ʿAbīda, to which the village of al-Jawwa officially belongs, which ultimately directed me to the Ministry of Education in Riyadh. The procedure took about two months before I received the approval from the Ministry of Education in Riyadh, which was sent to me via the institution of Sarāt ʿAbīda.

I then moved all the way from Abha city, where I normally live, to my parents' village where I lodged in a relative's house for one month to be closer to the village of al-Jawwa. I met the school's principle and she arranged the first meeting

with the students. In the first week I introduced myself to the students and explained

to them that I was a researcher studying the culture and the dialect of their village.

During this week I tried to gain enough background information about the students,

their plans for the future, and the problems they faceed as high school students. By the

end of the first week, I distributed the consent forms to the students, to be signed by

their parents and returned to me. The following week, I started to record the

interviews with the female participants.

3.4 Data collection

Two types of data were collected in order to meet the purpose of the present study:

the first type of data included the 'vernacular', the everyday speech of the

participants, which was obtained through sociolinguistic interviews (see section 3.4.1)

and the second type of data included descriptive features of the dialects, which was

elicited directly from the native speakers of the dialect (details of how I obtained this

type of data are provided in chapter two).

The data was collected over a six-month period between May-September

2012. The duration of each interview differed according to the participants. Some

participants spoke for roughly an hour, others for 20 or 30 minutes. Some linguistic

variables were obtained within the first ten minutes of the interview, while others

required some probing to obtain (see section 3.4.1.2).

Many researchers in the field of language variation and change face the

problem of the "observer's paradox" (Labov 1984:30). The fact that the speech of the

participants is being observed and recorded may lead them to maintain a formal type

of speech. Because the main interest of a variationist is to obtain the natural and

spontaneous type of speech the participants use when not being observed, he/she should minimize the effect of the observer's paradox as far as possible, e.g. by shifting the participant's attention away from the fact that they are being observed.

In the present study I tried to dress casually while meeting the participants in the school or in their houses in the two localities where the interviews took place, especially in the lowlands where the houses were very small and simple. I sometimes wore some of their traditional handmade jewellery which gave me something to talk about with the participants along the lines of *how do you make this?* or *when do you usually wear this kind of jewellery?* or *what is the best place that sells them* etc. These questions helped me to gain more data from the participants and more importantly to shift their attention away from the fact that the interviews were being recorded.

The interviewer should "fudge" the interview by promoting an atmosphere that encourages the interviewees to talk more often and in a casual manner (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 62). The questions used in the interview should also be relevant to the topic and respect the privacy of the speakers. The interviewer should take the role of someone who wants to learn from the interviewee, who shows "a genuine and profound interest" in the topic being discussed Labov states:

> "The basic counter-strategy of the sociolinguistic interview is to emphasize the position of the interviewer as a learner, in a position of lower authority than the person he is talking to"
>
> (Labov 1984: 40).

This technique was very fruitful in the current study, as when a female participant asked *why do you want to record our speech?*, I explained to her that I wanted to learn more about the culture and traditions of the community, and she soon became more interested and began to speak more throughout the interview. In addition, asking

the participants questions about the recipe of some traditional dishes and showing my interest in this topic elicited a lengthy and relaxed type of speech.

In the present study interviews were recorded as either one-to-one or in groups, and good useful data was obtained from both types of interview. In the case of the group interviews conducted by me only three participants were recorded at a time. In order to guarantee good quality data I selected three speakers who were friends with the aim of eliciting casual style speech and long conversations. Only one of the group interviews included more than three participants.

3.4.1 The interviews

3.4.1.1 The recording device

All of the interviews were recorded using a battery-operated Sony digital recorder (ICD-UX200F) that has its own clip microphone. To test the device, I recorded an amount of speech twice; once with the clip microphone and again without, and found there to be no big difference in the quality of the recorded sound. Therefore, during all of the interviews I did not use the external microphone as the device was very powerful in capturing the voice very clearly, and also because I did not want the participants to become distracted by the microphone being clipped to their clothes, and then pay more attention to the fact that they were being recorded. This digital recorder was also excellent in terms of its small size meaning it was barely noticed by the interviewees. It also has a direct USB connector that made it easier to move all the recordings to an external hard drive.

3.4.1.2 The interview design

It is well agreed that casual speech promotes the appearance of dialectal features; indeed Chambers & Trudgill (1998:24) assert that "more casual styles increase the occurrences of regional accents and homelier vocabulary". They add that in order to obtain a less formal type of speech in an interview, a researcher has to develop a close relationship, or "rapport" with their participants (Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 24).

Sociolinguistic interviews are agreed among most researchers to be the best tool to use to obtain more casual and less careful types of speech. Questionnaires can also be used in linguistic surveys and have played a significant role in several studies, but they usually elicit standard speech forms. Interviews are different from questionnaires in that they are "less structured" i.e. the order of questions in the interviews is not fixed but rather is flexible and can be altered whenever needed (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 57).

The interviews in the present study were not structured in a question and answer format. Interviews that are designed to use such a format, for example asking questions about the pronunciation of particular words, may not be the best tool to obtain accurate casual styles of speech (Chambers & Trudgill 1998). This does not mean however that the interviews in the present research were random conversations with the speakers with no specific topics; but rather they were organized in a way that promotes long and casual conversation. I prepared a list of some topics and questions that would be interesting to the participants and that would help me to obtain instances of the linguistic variables I was investigating.

Some linguistic variables were obtained easily in the interviews as they appeared frequently in the participants' speech, while other variables required specific questions to be asked of the participants. For instance, the linguistic variable *ḍād* with

the two realizations the lateral [ɬˤ] and the interdental [ðˤ] will appear in the

participants' speech only in words that have the Arabic sounds *ḍād* or *ḍ̱ā'* as in *ðˤuhr*

'noon', *ɬˤa:n* 'lamb', and *ḍayf ɬˤayf* 'guest'. To ensure that at least some tokens of

this variable were guaranteed to appear in every interview, I would ask simple

questions like: *which time of the day do you prefer, morning or afternoon, how many*

guests do you expect to visit you in Eid or Ramadan and *what do you call the baby of*

the sheep?. Responses to these questions were bound to include the words *ðˤuhr*

'noon', *ɬˤa:n* 'lamb', and *ɬˤayf* 'guest'. The *m-* definite article occurred considerably

more frequently and there was no need to design specific questions to ensure

occurrence of tokens of the variable.

The interviews included open questions that needed long answers, like

narrating a story or an incident from the past. Topics that include joyful, dangerous or

sad personal experiences encourage participants to speak more spontaneously since

they engage the speakers emotionally, thus making it less likely for speakers to

monitor their speech closely (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 65). This technique, engaging

speakers emotionally to elicit the vernacular, has been used since the early days of

sociolinguistic research, as illustrated in Labov's famous 'danger of death' question

(Labov et al 1968), and in Trudgill's 'have you ever had a good laugh' question

(Trudgill 1974)[12].

Another topic that also helped me to gain more data was the students' personal

experience in the intermediate schools. For instance, when I asked *which experience*

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[12] I am aware of the ethical issues associated with questions related to sad experiences. It should be noted that I didn't include questions about the danger of death or sad moments. However, a number of speakers during the conversations happened to mention incidents in their lives where they lost their loved ones and indeed they seemed more talkative and produce more speech.

was better, high school or intermediate school? the speakers started to tell stories about different funny incidents that happened to them in intermediate school. Because most of the population in both communities live in rural areas, questions about farms and animals were also successful in encouraging the participants to produce long and interesting stretches of speech. Another topic discussed was wedding traditions, in which the participants described the clothes that the bride and grooms would wear, and related the topic to their own experiences. Additionally, participants' favourite TV series or movies were discussed and I tried to show interest and engagement in this topic through comments such as *I would love to watch this show* or *I like this movie too*.

3.4.1.3 The pilot interviews

Pilot studies are important to large-scale projects. They can help researchers to examine linguistic features that have not been investigated before and "also... to identify important variables that, previously, had not been thought to be particularly interesting" (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 141).

It was necessary to carry out pilot interviews at the beginning of this study due to the fact that the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect has not been recorded before, making it essential to create some preliminary linguistic materials in order to decide a starting point for the fieldwork. I began by conducting a pilot interview, which included recording the casual speech of a native speaker of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect in order to elicit the distinctive features of the dialect. The speaker was a driver for a group of female teachers, who used to pick them from their houses in the highlands and take them to a school located in the lowlands. The teachers were all outsiders to the

Tihāmi community and they always made small talk with their driver. I was

introduced to the driver as a friend of one of these teachers. I asked the teachers to

choose an interesting topic for their driver in order to obtain a relaxed and

spontaneous form of speech. At this stage, I was mainly looking to elicit a lengthy

speech from the driver in order to note as many linguistic features of the dialect as

possible, without targeting specific ones.

After listening to the interview several times I transcribed the whole recording

word for word, and then highlighted the most remarkable and interesting features in

his speech to concentrate on later. I then continued to record four more pilot

interviews from both genders, concentrating on some linguistic features that had

appeared previously in the driver's speech. After recording all of these interviews, I

again transcribed the whole conversations word for word. I also tried to make a list of

some prepositions, conjunctions and peculiar lexemes that they often used. By the

time I reached the second stage, conducting the actual research, I already had a good

idea about what I was looking for and which linguistic features to focus on.

3.4.1.4 Interviews with women

After receiving the consent forms from the students in the highlands, the school's

manager arranged several meetings with the students. I chose to meet the college

students[13] in the school, as well as the female workers because their age bracket was

also included in my sample. I avoided meeting the students during their breakfast

break partly due to the distractions that may occur during the interviews, but mostly

because it was the students' break time and they did not want to spend it recording an

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[13] These students were in their final year at high school, which is the year before they join the university.

interview. Therefore, all the interviews took place in the classroom and during school hours[14].

Instead of recording a one-on-one interview with the students, I preferred to record a group of three friends to help the conversation run casually. Recording peer groups who shared the same interests was indeed of great benefit in obtaining a less formal type of speech in this study. One-on-one interviews, especially in a formal place like a classroom, may affect the flow of the conversation and give the impression that the interviews are question and answer sessions, rather than a casual conversation between friends. This technique is pointed out by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 66) who state that "changing the dynamics of the interview away from the one-on-one format can also facilitate the production of casual speech". I started with three participants who were friends and shared the same interests. Those participants were actually the 'joke tellers' in the classroom; recruiting them first encouraged others to speak more casually during their interviews.

I tried to concentrate on one speaker among the three and directed my questions to her. Whenever there was a silence I tried to encourage the other two speakers to participate to get the conversation going again, ensuring at the same time that the targeted speaker remained the centre of the conversation. For instance, I would ask the others some questions that needed small answers like *do you like that movie too?* or *do you have a large family as well?* and then continued to direct my questions to the main speaker in the interview. I also shared my own interests and my own high school experience with the participants to help to minimize social distance and level of formality. The last interview included more than three speakers and they

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[14] These interviews had to coincide with days when there was a free period.

were more relaxed and spoke more intensively with each other. Concentrating on one specific speaker in this interview became difficult, but this did not affect the quality of the recorded data.

As for the older female group, I met with four employees who worked in the school although one of these four had to sleep with her child in the hospital and therefore was excluded from the sample. Meeting the other female workers was not an easy task especially as they were busy all day, but despite this they were very happy to dedicate their free time to the interviews. I met with them in their staff room at the school, carrying out one interview with two workers together while the other was busy, and therefore interviewed the third alone. Topics discussed with this group were mainly about their culture and traditions as well as the problems they face in the village or in their jobs.

I conducted all of the interviews in the lowlands within the presence of the teacher who was my local contact in the community. The presence of this teacher throughout the interviews in a community such as al-Farša was essential. The participants were shy or hesitant to speak to me when I was the only interviewer, but when they saw a familiar face, the teacher, they were more relaxed and spoke more. We met the older participants in their houses, which were near the school. My contact knew all the participants and had frequently visited them in their homes. Some of the participants were the families of the students whilst others were workers in the school. I was lucky at the first meeting when the teacher introduced me to the first house as I met a female participant and her daughter-in-law as well as her neighbour. We asked the neighbour if she could help in introducing us to other families that would like to participate in the research. Through this neighbour we were introduced to other potential participants, some of whom agreed to be recorded, while others did not. It

should be noted that persuading female participants in the lowlands to participate in my study was more problematic than in the highlands due to the conservative nature of the community. Recording participants' speech, especially the female participants, was considered a strange and questionable practice despite the explanations and the guarantees I gave. There were two participants who agreed to talk with me and give me as many lexical items as I wished, but not be recorded. Therefore I had to respect their desire and not make them feel obliged to take part in the interview. The information these participants provided was still highly useful in the dialect description part of the project, and I eventually managed to gain a fair number of participants from the lowland community.

3.4.1.5 Interviews with men

The male participants' interviews were conducted by the male assistant who was trained and given instructions in terms of the topics to be covered, the length of the interviews and the number of participants of each age group that were required. I also asked him to include the age and the locality of each participant at the end of each recording. Despite the fact that he was an insider in the Tihāmi community, he told me that some participants did not accept the idea of recording interviews, but he was eventually able to collect sufficient data for my research.

The male interviews were conducted in the participants' homes or outside their farms in a casual setting where the interviewer and participants drank Arabic coffee. With the older participants, the assistant selected topics related to the farms, wedding customs, and new born child traditions where the participants spoke for more than 30 minutes, while with the young group he usually asked about their daily routines, or the challenges they face in the community.

3.4.1.6 Methodological issues and Limitations

One obvious drawback to the consistency with which the data were collected which was dictated by the local traditions was that the interviews with the male speakers were conducted by a local man while I myself conducted the interviews with the women. On the phase of it, this can cause problems for the conclusions because there is a possibility that the women's linguistic behaviour with me reflected some sort of a *register* form; they accommodated to my speech and used a register that they use with outsiders. I actually stayed in these communities and visited them more than once so the speakers were comfortable in my presence. Additionally, during my fieldwork I did not notice that female participants maintain a different type (or formal) speech with their teachers.While this is a possibility i.e. the female speakers are actually using a *register* form, my presence after a while was accepted as an insider and the fact that I myself is Qahtāni means that I am not a total stranger. The effect of the

interviewer is not something that I can dismiss all together, but I tried to minimize the effect of observer's paradox and made the speakers feel relaxed during the interviews (see section 3.4). There is no way to verify this through the data that I have and only future research can clarify these points. One way of resolving this is to train a local female interviewer or to make the participants interview each other without my presence. These are methodological issues that if applied in the future can improve the quality of the data obtained.

Another limitation while conducting the interviews in the lowlands was the weather conditions since I started my fieldwork during the rain season in ʿAsīr. During this season, the roads that lead to the lowlands are usually closed because of the flooded valleys. People who live in the lowlands are usually stuck there during

this season. Therefore, some of the interviews were postponed and others were cancelled, and I had to arrange other appointments with different participants. I arranged to meet some participants after the rain, which is normally also the beginning of the summer season, when the temperature tends to get very high in the lowlands. Although it was a challenging task to conduct interviews in the heat of the summer, accessing the community during this season was much easier because there were no restrictions in accessing the roads.

Another limitation was encouraging people to participate in the interviews. The two communities that I conducted my research in were considerably small and isolated ones. Most of the individuals were conservative and did not accept strangers very easily especially 'a researcher' who is asking them to record their voices. I met with one participant who was ready to talk with me for two hours but without recording. Therefore, I had to respect the social and cultural norms of the community and not to force them to participate. I overcame this problem by relying on some individuals who were trusted and known within the community, as discussed above, and this enabled me to eventually succeed in obtaining enough interviews.

3.5 Data analysis and coding procedure

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

Each linguistic variable was coded separately in its own Excel sheet, and each sheet included a linguistic variable and all of the social variables. Each linguistic variable was coded differently. Two variants were coded for the linguistic variable

ḍād; the emphatic lateral fricative variant and the emphatic interdental variant. I realized that there might be different lateral realizations for this variable that need to be analysed acoustically such as those identified by Watson and Al-Azraqi (2012). However, the present study was not designed for this type of analysis and the main goal in the analysis of this variable was to identify the presence or absence of the lateral feature. For this reason, an impressionistic analysis was believed to be adequate. In addition to the social variables and locality, I coded for proceeding and following sound and word etymology (*ḍād* or *ẓāʾ*) (see chapter 4 for more details).

For the linguistic variable *m-definite article*, two realizations were coded: *m-article* and *l- article*. Other linguistic factors such as following sounds were also coded for in order to examine linguistic constraints. (See chapter 5 for more details). The coding protocol is summarised in table 3.2.

Dependant variables

Variable	realization	code
ḍād	[ɭˤ] 'lateral'	l
	[ðˤ] 'interdental'	d
m-	m-	M
	l-	L

Independent variables

Factor group	Code
ḍād[15]	
Preceding	obstruent/ sonorant
Following	obstruent/ sonorant
m-	
Following	vowel
	labial
	back sound
	Coronal
	/ɭˤ/
	/ʒ/
Age	
18-39	young
40-60+	old
Gender	male
	female
Locality	highlands
	lowlands

Table 3.2: *Codes used in Rbrul analysis*

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[15] This protocol was arrived at after trying a number of models; see chapter 4 and chapter 5 for details.

3.6 Ethics

The topic of data protection and subjects' rights in studies of language variation and change is discussed by several researchers such as Labov (1984) and Milroy and Gordon (2003). Milroy and Gordon explain the idea of ethics in sociolinguistic studies, and the key elements fieldworkers should bear in mind in order to maintain good ethical practice in research involving human participation. The elements which must be considered include informed consent, the preservation of anonymity and access to recordings (Milroy & Gordon 2003:79).

In the present study ethics were maintained by giving the participants written consent forms that clarified their role and rights as participants. I explained that their participation would be through recording their casual speech while speaking to the researcher about different topics. The consent forms included information about the research and its aims. All male and female participants were given pseudonyms and this was mentioned on the consent form. The participants were also assured on the consent form that the recordings would be kept confidential and only used for academic purposes. All of the recordings were saved on an external hard drive and were accessed by the researcher and supervisor only.

In the case of the younger female participants I added the need to obtain a signature from the participants' parents to the consent form in order to comply with local traditions. On receiving the parents' permission to record their daughters, I proceeded to obtain consent from the participants themselves after their parents gave permission. The participants were given copies to keep, while the original forms stayed with me.

3.7 The independent variables

The present study aims to examine the correlation between the participants' use of the linguistic variables and three independent variables: age, gender and locality. In the following section I will discuss these variables and how they were dealt with in this study.

3.7.1 Age

The importance of age as a sociolinguistic factor has been proven through a number of sociolinguistic studies. Eckert (1997) provides an elaborate interpretation of age as a sociolinguistic variable. Age related differences in linguistic usage can represent historical *change*, the changes that occur in a speech community as it moves through time, or *age grading*, the changes that occur in the speech of individuals as they move through life (Eckert 1997: 160).

There are two main approaches to utilising age as a social variable in language variation; the *apparent-time* approach and the *real-time* approach (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 35-36). According to the apparent-time hypothesis, generational differences in speech can be taken as symptoms of change in progress. Age in this method of investigating language change is thus considered a "surrogate for time" (Bailey 2002: 314). The basic assumption of this approach is that the idiolect is stable throughout adulthood. The speech of, say, a forty-year old individual is held under this approach to represent the state of language itself some three decades earlier. Despite the obvious benefits of the apparent time method, in that it provides instant results (unlike the real-time method, see below), sociolinguists caution that while generational differences are strong indicators of change in progress, they are not hard and fast *evidence* of it (Milroy & Gordon 2003). This is because of the phenomenon of *age-grading,* which refers to the possibility that the generational difference is repeated in every generation in more or less the same proportion. (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 36-37). Age-graded

differences are usually associated with childhood and adulthood, and normally include linguistic features with high social awareness among speakers.

In the *real-time* approach, on the other hand, language is investigated at two points in time. The differences between the two investigations constitute the changes that have taken place. There are many examples of real-time studies in sociolinguistics. For instance, Labov's famous studies in Martha's Vineyard (1962) and the New York Department Store study (1963) have been restudied: Blake & Josey (2003) in Martha's Vineyard, and Fowler (1986) in New York. Both of these studies were 'trend studies', i.e. they replicated the original studies in every detail using comparable but different groups of speakers. In other examples of re-studies, the same researcher returned to the community a number of years later, e.g. Trudgill's (1988) follow up in Norwich, and Al-Wer (2004) who revisited the town of Ṣult in Jordon, first examined in 1991; in both of these studies, smaller samples of speakers were used. More recently, Al-Qouz (2009) also integrated a real time element in her study in Bahrain by comparing her findings with the findings from Holes (1987) in the same community.

Less frequent are 'panel studies' (also called 'longitudinal studies'), which reinvestigate the same community using the original sample, i.e. the same speakers are re-interviewed a number of years later. Many studies use a combination of 'trend' and 'panel' methods. For instance, the famous Montreal project by David Sankoff and Gillian Sankoff replicated the original study by Henrietta Cedergren by using a combination of speakers, some of those who participated in the original study and some new ones (Sankoff 2013).

Sources for including a real-time dimension in an apparent-time study can also include historical records of the dialect under investigation. Where such records are available, sociolinguists normally consult them before conducting their research.

Sociolinguists stipulate that while the real-time method can be more reliable than the apparent-time method it is not nearly as practical, since researchers have to wait a number of years or even decades before results can be obtained, and in many cases previous studies or previous records are unavailable.

3.7.1.1 Dividing age

Grouping speakers into different age groups is necessary when studying linguistic change in speech communities. Eckert (1997) asserts that age cohorts in speech communities can be defined *etically* or *emically* (Eckert 1997:155). The etic method groups individuals into randomly determined but equal age spans such as decades, while the emic approach depends on grouping speakers according to shared experiences and attitudes such as childhood, adolescence and adulthood. In the present study I adopted the emic approach in grouping the sample.

Eckert (1997) divides age into four stages: childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age. Adulthood is the stage of individuals' lives in which they are independent and free from adults' care and support. Adulthood is the time for individuals to be stable and independent after their teen years. At this stage individuals are usually expected to begin three main aspects of their lives; job, marriage and family (Chambers 1995:194). This transition from adolescence to adulthood involves changes in individuals' responsibilities and roles. Adulthood is the stage where individuals create "a set of preferences" including their life routine, job routine, political views, the way they dress and most importantly for our concerns, the way they speak (Chambers 1995: 194). These preferences can change slightly as individuals move from adulthood to old age but they are not completely abandoned or changed dramatically.

The speech of young adults is likely to be influenced by the pressure of the marketplace. Chambers (1995: 195) explains the concept of "marketplace dialect" whereby some individuals use more standard and prestigious varieties than others. The pressure of the work place may lead individuals to standardize their speech, as there are some professions which require individuals to use a more standardized style of speech than other professions. For instance, writers, actors and announcers may be required to use more standard variants than say technicians, mechanics and programmers. Moreover, individuals who are in jobs that require regular contact with people in higher positions are likely to maintain standard speech varieties more than those who work in jobs that require less contact with others (Chambers 1995: 197). The influence of the marketplace dialect is a further explanatory factor in the present study. However, in the case of the present research, it results in adult male speakers adopting more localized forms in their speech in order to promote traditional, local products in the open markets (see chapter 4).

Eckert (1997:159) emphasizes the role of "institutional age limits and landmarks"; institutions can form the social network as well as the linguistic behaviours of individuals. Schools and work places, for instance, play a significant role in shaping individuals' attitudes toward themselves and their local community and by extension their linguistic choices. This can be also the case where home and retirement exerts an influence on elderly peoples' lives.

The adolescent stage is usually the time in which individuals free themselves from adult rules and engage in school life. It is the stage in which they independently build new lives away from the rules of their family. For instance, in the U.S this stage is usually associated with 'popular' groups at secondary schools where individuals are surrounded by new environments and new social networks that affect their linguistic behaviours. It is important to be aware of the differences between western societies and Arabic speaking societies at this stage. For instance, Al-Wer (2002:72) states in Middle Eastern societies

generally adolescents start to form their own networks away from their families at a later stage than in Western societies in general, and therefore the influence of their parents' dialects on their speech is stronger than the influence of the peer group during early adolescence. It is not until they are well into their teens that they are permitted to socialize independently, and form peer groups.

In her emphasis on the adolescents' roles in language variation and change, Eckert maintains that adolescents at this stage attempt to create new lives and identities separate from their parents, and hence "lead the entire age spectrum in sound change and in the general use of vernacular variables" (Eckert 1997: 163) .While adolescence is usually associated with language change and innovative linguistic behaviour, adulthood is mainly associated with conservatism. Adults tend to be more conservative in their linguistic behaviours than younger individuals, often due to the influence of the workplace. As adults move out of the *marketplace* and into old age, the pressure to use normative features eases off. Eckert comments on Paunonen's findings (1994) in which adult women were found to use non-standard features more often as they moved from middle age to old age. Eckert attributes this to the fact that women at this stage free themselves from family responsibilities including language use, especially in front of their children. Their low usage of normative features can be seen therefore as "a relaxation of their language" (Eckert 1997: 165). This is also the case in the present study whereby older women tend to use more localized features in their speech. This, however, is also partly due to the fact that older women in the two communities have fewer chances than older men to move outside of their local communities or interact with outsiders (see chapter 4 & 5 for more details).

Just as with other social variables like gender and social class, chronological age is only "a rough indicator" of different factors (Eckert 1997:167). Age does not display anything by itself and thus should be studied with respect to social experiences and life stages

that constitute its significance as a social variable. In the words of Milroy & Gordon (2003: 39):

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

3.7.1.2 Age division in this study

The sample in the present study is divided by age into two main groups; an older generation group that includes 12 speakers, age ranges (40- 70+), and a younger generation group that includes 16 speakers, age ranges (18- 39).

The older group includes individuals from both localities who are retired, employed or unemployed. This group represents the less mobile members of the community with less regular exposure to outside dialects through face-to-face interaction. Direct access to other dialects became available mainly through the spread of schooling, which only began in the 1973 with the opening of the first male primary school in the lowland community. The first female primary school opened in 1976. Until 2012, the Lowland village did not have female secondary schools. Their outside social contacts are very limited, especially those from the lowland community.

The younger group represent a more mobile group, and whose social networks are considerably wider than the older group. They are much more likely to move from one town to another in pursuit of jobs or education. Among the younger participants included in the study are young men who have left school at the age of 18 and immediately searched for jobs inside or outside of their community. This is believed to have an impact on their social network as well as their linguistic behaviour. My initial assumption for this group was that even in an isolated community like the lowlands, younger speakers will lead the change in

their local dialect. The younger generation is likely to be influenced more by the 'institution' they are part of, such as their school or work place. It is only recently that schools with all three levels of education, elementary, intermediate and secondary, have become available in both communities. Three to five years ago young individuals from the two communities who wished to go to secondary school had to travel to schools in neighbouring villages in the highlands, such as Zuhra. The inhabitants of these villages are non-Tihāmi tribes and their dialect is different from the Tihāmi dialect.

At the outset of my research I planned to also investigate the linguistic behaviour of young Tihāmi participants in a place where they are outsiders in the community. Therefore, the plan was to interview young females who were basically from al-Jawwa but had joined the Zuhra School for college education. This school used to receive students from both al-Jawwa and al-Farša for secondary and intermediate levels. However, I was informed by the school principal that the school no longer accepted students from the two villages because the Ministry of Education had just established new schools in these villages. Those students who previously studied at Zuhra School were instead directed to the school of al-Jawwa where I eventually interviewed them. Those who want to go to university have to go to Abha city or Sarāt ʿAbīda, and in these institutions they interact with speakers of different dialects who come from different social and cultural backgrounds.

Recent developments in the education system in Saudi Arabia are also likely to play a role in influencing the dialect of the younger generation. Large numbers of teachers from different cities in Saudi Arabia such as Riyadh, Jeddah, Abha are employed in the remotest parts of the Kingdom including the two localities under study. The teachers reside in these small communities or sometimes in the neighbouring towns for, say, three to five years until

they move to their hometowns. Teachers who speak their native dialects come into frequent contact with the local residents; this interaction is likely to have linguistic consequences. Chapter 4 will provide further explanation of the impact of the outsiders on the local dialect of younger individuals (see chapter 4 for more details).

3.7.2 Gender

Gender has been proven to be an important social variable that correlates with linguistic variation, and as such can potentially provide important clues regarding the structure of variation and the mechanism of language change.

In the early days of modern sociolinguistic research (1960s through 1970s), the differences found between the speeches of male and female speakers were described as a general tendency on the part of female speakers to use features that are associated with 'social prestige', such as standard forms, while men's behaviour was generally described as a tendency to use non-standard, or vernacular forms more consistently (bearing in mind differences across social class, age, ethnicity, etc.). An important reformulation of this generalisation was suggested by Milroy et al (1994) in their study of glottalisation in Tyne Side. The data from this research seemed to suggest that the generalisation is that women's linguistic preferences are for 'supra-local' linguistic features, while men prefer to use localised features. They further suggest that it is possible that the features that women use more consistently acquire prestige in society at large, i.e. that women actually create associations of 'prestige' rather than adhere to pre-existing associations of prestige.

Labov (1991) summarises the findings from research concerning sex-differentiated patterns under the following generalisations, called 'principles':

I.   *In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women* (p205).

Ia.   *In change from above, women favor the incoming prestige form more than men.* (p213).

Principles I & Ia are supported by robust evidence from a range of languages and communities.

II.   *In change from below, women are most often the innovators.* (p2015).

Therefore according to principles Ia & II women lead most linguistic changes.

While there is wide agreement among sociolinguists of the validity of these generalisations (based on the empirical evidence available), there has been much debate about how they can be interpreted. The model of interpretation originally presented relied on men's and women's roles and societal expectations. For instance, Trudgill (1972 & 1987) suggested that while men are evaluated on 'what they do in life', society tends to place more emphasis on 'appearance' in the case of women, i.e. they are evaluated on 'how they appear'. This difference in society's attitudes, according to Trudgill, compels women to pay more attention to the sociolinguistic associations of linguistic features; women, he says, are 'status conscious'. In more recent, and to a large extent more intricate analyses, especially as a result of the work of Penelope Eckert and the integration of social theory in sociolinguistic interpretations, the focus has shifted to power relations and marginalisation as approaches to the understanding of gender-differentiated linguistic patterns. Eckert (1989) focuses on the 'linguistic market' and 'symbolic capital' as used in Bourdieu and Boltanski (1975). She maintains that women are marginalised and marginalisation leads to exaggerated usage of symbolic means to assert status. They are under pressure to accumulate 'symbolic capital' in order to assert authority and membership. In Eckert's approach, women are *status bound,* rather than 'status conscious', as has been suggested previously. She writes:

"…women, deprived of access to real power, must claim status through the use of symbols of social membership. An important part of the explanation for women's innovative and conservative patterns lies, therefore, in their need to assert their membership in all of the communities in which they participate, since it is their authority, rather than their power in that community, that assures their membership."

(Eckert 1989: 256)

The interpretation of data from Arabic has been influenced by developments in sociolinguistic theory in general. During the 1970s and early 1980s[16], it was widely believed that Arabic contravened the general pattern found in other languages since research during that period reported a tendency on the part of Arab men to use standard Arabic features more frequently than Arab women (see Al-Wer 2014). The early findings were reinterpreted by Ibrahim (1986), where he suggested that the confusion stems from equating the role played by 'standard Arabic' in Arabic-speaking communities with the role played by, say, 'standard English' in the societies in which it is spoken, and proposed making a distinction between 'prestige' and 'standard' in the case of Arabic (see also Owens 2001). It is worth quoting part of Ibrahim's conclusion:

"Investigators of language variation according to speaker's sex in Arabic have misinterpreted their data because they wrongly assumed the standard H variety of Arabic to be the only highly valued variety of Arabic. Evidence from various sources and different Arab countries shows that spoken Arabic (L) has its own local prestigious varieties which always comprise certain featuers that are not only different from but are often stigmatized by H norms. All available data indicate that Arab women in speaking Arabic employ the locally prestigious features of L more than men. This is in perfect conformity with patterns of language use in other language communities investigated for sex differentiation and not contrary to such patterns …"

(Ibrahim 1986: 124)

Ibrahim's position is further supported by the data and analysis presented by Haeri's study in Cairo (Haeri 1997), and the analysis of the trajectory of linguistic change in Arabic by Al-

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[16] For example Schmidt (1974), Abdel-Jawad, Kojak, Bakir (1986)

Wer 1997. On the topic of the status of standard Arabic, upholding Ibrahim's stance, Al-Wer writes:

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

(Al-Wer 1997:255)

More recent research on gender differentiation in Arabic (especially since the 1990s) seems to follow Ibrahim's line of interpretation and analysis (see for instance, Al-Essa (2008), Ismail (2008), Al Qouz (2009))[17]. Haeri (1987) suggests that sex differentiation in Arabic can be considered from another angle, namely the difference between men and women's linguistic behaviour with respect to modernization. A similar perspective can be seen in Al-Wer (1991 & 2007), where she suggests that marginalisation of women (in Jordan) from high-ranking positions in the civil service during the 1970s in particular resulted in women's attraction to variants that expressed 'urbanity' and 'modern', such as the variant [ʔ] of *Qaf.* (see also Al-Wer & Herin 2011). As will be seen, the findings from the present study can be interpreted, in part, along similar lines.

3.7.2.1 The roles of the women and men in the local community

The opportunities open to women in the highland community are slightly different from those in the lowland community because of relative proximity and easier access to larger cities and towns. In the village of al-Jawwa in the highlands older women are generally housewives and only a few women work. Their work is usually restricted to their local community. I met and had a long conversation with three older women who worked in the local school; and their interactions were confined to the members of the place they work in. For them there was no question of travelling to find work away from the local village; their choices of work place

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[17] A full review of gender research in Arabic can be found in Al-Wer 2014.

are limited to places close to their homes, since they also had a family to look after. Nonetheless, the aspirations they had for their daughters were considerably different. For instance, Jamila talked about her wish to see her daughters complete their education at universities because she wanted a better life for them. This is echoed in the discourse of the younger women whom I interviewed. Some are ambitious and are looking to continue their education, get jobs and be active members of their community. For instance, Sara, who at the time was a student in her final year of high school; during the interview she talked about some beauty courses that she took in Abba during the summer vacation. She even talked about her future plans to work in beauty salons in Abha where she could develop her skills and run her own business. She also commented that if she had the opportunity to live and work outside of her community she would prefer to do so. Another participant, Mona, 19 years, who was also a student, criticized the lack of some public services such as shops and hospitals in her local community. She also resented the local traditions, according to which girls are encouraged by their families to start a family at an early age rather than complete their university education. By local standards, Mona's views are quite revolutionary, and are certainly signs of change to come in the local value system.

Men are responsible for looking after their families' expenses. Most of the older men are uneducated and prefer to work locally, trading their farm products in neighbouring villages. Others work locally as school porters. Some of them are owners of farms and livestock in the lowlands, which they regularly check during the weekends. Young men are considerably more mobile than the older generation; they travel to different locations within the ʿAsīr province searching for jobs or education, or even for pleasure. Many prefer to quit high school and search for jobs. For instance, Anas, 30 years, did not complete his education after intermediate school, and he talked throughout the interview about a small house renting

project that he tried to invest in, in the lowlands. Ismāʿīl was also another young man who did

not complete his education and worked as a honey trader in a different area. He sometimes

travelled to Jeddah and Mecca and would reside there for a couple of days or weeks to trade

honey.[18]

The life of women in the lowlands is much more demanding than it is in the

highlands. Women are generally responsible for farm work such as milking and feeding the

animals in addition to their responsibilities as housewives. Older women are mostly illiterate

housewives and rarely engage in any type of public sector jobs, and therefore have

considerably less amount of contact with outsiders than their counterparts in the highlands. If

they have the opportunity to work, chances to communicate with outsiders are usually limited

to the situations at work in the schools where they communicate with the teachers, who come

from different urban centres and speak different dialects.

Young women in the lowlands are literate but rarely go to high school or university.

Families that have young kids usually receive financial support from the government to

encourage them to educate their children. However, many young women leave school after

the elementary or intermediate stage and rarely continue their education. These women are

restricted by the social norms of the community, which encourage young women to be

mothers and start their own families at a young age. Young girls' education is sometimes

considered by local families to be an obstacle that interferes with their main roles as mothers

and housewives.

Young Men in the lowland, on the other hand, are physically more mobile than their

female counterparts, and usually work as livestock or honey traders, and these kinds of jobs

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[18] Some young men from the community do complete school education, and fewer have university degrees. The research assistant I employed to conduct the interviews with the male speakers was a teacher himself.

require travelling to different weekly markets in the ʿAsīr province, especially during the

summer season when many tourists come from different places across the peninsula to visit

the province. Many are uneducated and rarely join intermediate or high schools. Of the

younger men who participated in the research, one (Slēmān, 30 years) did have a diploma. He

talked about a letting agency project that he wanted to invest in. Slēmān was unlike the

majority of young men in the community who for the most part leave school at an early age,

preferring to work in honey or livestock trading as their fathers have done before them.

Young men generally have positive attitudes toward their life in the community, as can be

gleaned from their comments during the interviews. For instance, they extol life in the

village, including the weather conditions and the scenery. The jobs they practice locally

provide them with a stable income and do not limit their mobility. On the other hand, young

women do not have the opportunity to travel independently outside their local community for

work or leisure. Their mobility is usually restricted to their local school or their next-door

neighbour. The young women here too expressed 'rebellious' views. For instance, Wafa

made several negative comments about some cultural norms throughout the interview. When

I asked her if she preferred to get married soon after school, she rejected the suggestion and

told me that she wanted to be a teacher in the future. Wafa, like the many women in her

generation, refuses to accept the social restrictions on young women in the community; she

has ambitions beyond life in the local village. Differences between men and women's

attitudes towards their local community and their social roles are likely to influence their

linguistic choices and by extension drive change in the local dialect.

3.7.3 Locality

Locality as a social variable covers many other social factors such as social class, social networks, contact and mobility. Locality has been dealt with differently in the literature, such as the treatments of Gordon (2000), and Britain (2009). In the following sections I will give an overview of these studies and then explain how locality is dealt with in the present research.

In the study of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS), Gordon (2000) examined the sound change with respect to three social variables, location, age and sex (Gordon 2000: 40). Gordon selected two Michigan communities roughly 100 miles apart, namely Chelsea and Paw Paw. Despite the fact that these two towns are small, they are not isolated but rather are located close to urban centres such as Ann Arbor (which is closer to Chelsea) and Kalamazoo (which is closer to Paw Paw). The need for this division was to examine the geographical diffusing of the NCS and the spread of this change in Michigan. One of the main hypotheses of this study was that due to the geographical location speakers from Chelsea will show linguistic convergence toward Detroit, rather than Chicago, while Paw Paw speakers will show the opposite. Additionally, nearby urban centres were deemed to have an impact on the linguistic behaviour of the two communities.

Surprisingly Chelsea speakers showed a resistance towards the NCS, which could not be explained by the amount of contact they receive from these urban centres as both towns had a fairly equal amount of contact. One important explanation given by Gordon (2000) for the differences between the two towns in adopting this change was the negative attitudes on the part of the Chelsea speakers toward newcomers, as Chelsea had undergone a huge influx of newcomers from either Ann Arbor or Detroit. Some locals had negative attitudes toward this change and it was believed that their attitudes caused them to avoid the use of sociolinguistic variants that came from outside their speech community, as Gordon explains:

"If the NCS variants are associated with speakers from cities like Ann Arbor and Detroit, then it is possible that the negative feelings Chelsea natives have toward the newcomers from these cities could carry over to their linguistic features as well"

(Gordon 2000: 178).

In the present study, selecting locality as a social variable does not necessarily mean that it is assumed that the language of the two communities under investigation differs accordingly. There are more social aspects to consider in small towns such as social networks, amount of contacts, the "attitudinal factors" that a researcher should take into account when selecting locality as a social variable (Gordon 2000: 179). The present study will lend further support to the effect of attitudinal factors in which individuals' positive and negative evaluations of the community norms tend to affect their linguistic choices (see chapter 4 for more details).

Britain (2009) gives a crucial argument for the concept of 'urban' and 'rural' in dialectological studies, demonstrating that the typical view in peoples' minds about the difference between urban and rural areas does not really exist. He states that "there are no casual social processes which affect urban areas but not rural, or vice versa" (Britain 2009:224). Therefore, Britain asserts, the methodologies, theories and techniques that are used in urban areas can also be applied equally successfully to rural areas. In addition, social factors that affect urban areas can affect rural areas to the same level, and produce the same results. More importantly, contact that is expected to occur more extensively in urban areas can also occur in rural areas as "rural areas are not immune from such mobility and contact, and the linguistic outcomes of contact in rural as well as urban areas are typologically the same" (Britain 2009:238). We will also see later in this study that even in most isolated region in the peninsula contact and mobility can occur; changes that have occurred in the

highlands community which is considerably less isolated can also occur and affect the local dialect of lowlands community (which is presumed to be more isolated). The old assumption whereby rural areas are believed to be associated with backwardness and homogeneity may be exaggerated.

As a response to the overwhelming trend of investigating rural areas in traditional dialectology, sociolinguists turned their attention mainly to urban areas. Britain (2009: 234) refers to "urban fetishism" as a way of critiquing this overwhelming focus on urban settings for sociolinguistic investigations. The logic behind this shift is that urban areas are associated with heterogeneity, contact, mobility, and thus variation and change, while rural areas are associated with isolation and immobility with less chance of contact occurring. The comparison that Labov makes between his urban study in New York City and his rural work in Martha's Vineyard gives a clear picture of the differences that are believed to exist between rural and urban areas. Labov finds that social variables that apply in NYC such as age, class, gender and ethnicity are also sociolinguistic variables in Martha's Vineyard. The Martha's Vineyard study shows this rural location to also be a heterogeneous community and "hardly fits the rural stereotype", as Britain explains:

> "…there are large –scale social (-linguistic) processes which are perhaps most obviously and vividly expressed in cities but are not confined politically, sociologically or epistemologically to an urban context"

> (Britain 2009: 230)

The findings from the present study support Britain's argument; as we shall see we find young women of al-Farša, one of the most isolated communities in the peninsula, behave in similar ways to the young women in the less isolated community of al-Jawwa. I realize that this result could be related to the attitudes which are shared among these speakers toward their role in the local community, which seems to be a much more powerful factor in

facilitating change in the local dialect than the fact that some speakers are more isolated than others.

It is clear that the terms 'urban' and 'rural' have too often been used in Arabic studies, as elsewhere, as *explanatory* terms in themselves, with implications that, if examined in relation to empirical data, can be contradicted. A similar confusion in Arabic sociolinguistics arises from the labels 'Bedouin' and 'Sedentary', which are usually used in Arabic dialectology to classify Arabic dialects according to 'norm'. The term 'Bedouin' in Arabic sociolinguistics is sometimes used without reservations or qualifications, and in ways that can be misleading, or at least at odds with the lifestyles of the speakers of some of these dialects; for instance, the term is used to describe dialects whose speakers lead a highly urbanized lifestyle. Similarly, many of the dialects that are described as 'Sedentary' refer to the speech habits of rural communities.

3.7.3.1 Locality as a variable in this study

In the present study, locality is selected as a social variable along with age and gender. Two villages were selected, both located in the southwest of ʿAsīr in Saudi Arabia. One village is located in the lowlands (al-Farša) and the other is located in the highlands (al-Jawwa). The two villages are connected via a very narrow road that passes through rugged mountains, see picture 3.1.

Fig 3.1: The road that connects al-Farša to al-Jawwa.

These mountains are a geographical barrier that blocks al-Farša in the lowlands from urbanised localities in ʿAsīr and makes this community very isolated in comparison to the community of al-Jawwa in the highlands in particular, and also in comparison to other areas in the province in general. The community of al-Farša is surrounded by other Tihāmi villages where the population are indigenous members of Tihāmat Qaḥtān and speak different, but mutually intelligible, Tihāmi dialects. On the other hand, al-Jawwa is surrounded by non-Tihāmi villages, and while the population of these villages are of Qaḥṭāni tribes, they are not Tihāmi, and they speak different Qaḥṭāni dialects. Therefore, the chance for the community of al-Jawwa to communicate with speakers of non-Tihāmi dialects is higher than the community of al-Farša.

In addition to being less isolated, the population in the community of al-Jawwa is more mobile than the community of al-Farša. Most schools, colleges and governmental

institutions are located in larger cities in the highlands and many individuals in al-Jawwa move from their own community to nearby urban centres in search of jobs or education. Moreover, the majority of the population work as livestock traders or farmers and their jobs usually require regular travel to weekly markets in larger cities. Additionally, some individuals in the community of al-Jawwa own houses in the lowlands where they reside for a couple of months during the winter vacation when the weather tends to be warmer. The individuals' movement back and forth between their community and other communities is believed to influence the local dialect and results in the adoption of innovative features.

The present research hypothesizes from the start that this geographical location is significant. In keeping with the precautions I raised towards the end of the previous section (3.7.3), I treat geographical location as a factor that interacts with other, equally important factors that affect the lives of the members of these communities; some of these factors (age, gender) are quantified and tested statistically; while others (ambitions, attitudes, daily pursuits, contact, mobility, etc.), as gleaned from analyses of my field notes and the contents of some of the interviews, are integrated in the interpretation of the results. A total of 16 speakers from al-Jawwa and 12 speakers from al-Farša were included in the sample.

3.8 The Linguistic variables

3.8.1 ḍād

It is now widely accepted that the Arabic sound *ḍād*, Standard Arabic /dˤ/, descends from a lateral fricative sound. The original sound was thought to have disappeared from Arabic dialects. It, or a lateral variant thereof, was discovered most recently by Al-Azraqi (2007, 2010) and Asiri (2009) in the province under investigation in this study. It is also one of the interesting features of the Tihāmi Qahtāni dialect as spoken in the communities under

investigation. In all other modern Arabic dialects that we know of, *ḍād* is realized either as

emphatic interdental [ðˤ] or as an emphatic stop [dˤ].

In the communities under investigation, *ḍād* has two realizations; a lateral realization,

described in this thesis using IPA [ɮˤ], which is the traditional realization in the dialects of

both villages; and the interdental [ðˤ], which is the innovative variant, used everywhere else

in the province. Interestingly, the Arabic sound *ḏ̣āʾ* has the same range of variation, the

lateral and the interdental. In other words speakers use the lateral realization with lexemes

that have etymological *ḍād* (*ɮˤ) and with lexemes that have etymological *ḏ̣āʾ* (*ðˤ). This

aspect while it complicates the analysis of this variable also makes it more informative,

specifically with respect to the mechanism through which the change is progressing in these

dialects, and provides a better understanding of how the merger between these two sounds,

which is found in other dialects, might have progressed historically, as will be explained in

chapter 4.

Speakers of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect seem to be unaware that their *ḍād* is different

from the other dialects surrounding them, but most outsiders do recognize this difference. An

account of the historical development of this sound, and the findings of previous studies, is

given in Chapter 4.

3.8.2 m- definite article

The definite article in standard Arabic and most Arabic dialects is the prefix *al-* (*lām ʾat-*

taʿrīf), as in the examples below.

kita:b   al-kita:b

book.INDF	DEF-book
'a book'	'the book'
walad	*l-walad*
boy.INDF	DEF-boy
'a boy'	'the boy'
tˤaːwila	*tˤ-tˤaːwila*
table.INDF	DEF-table
'a table'	'the table'

This definite article undergoes assimilation in standard Arabic and most Arabic dialects when it is followed by the so-called *Sun Letters*[19]. This assimilation results in lengthening of the following consonants (gemination). The sounds that assimilate the article include /n/, /r/, /d/, /t/, /ṣ/ [sˤ], /ṭ/ [tˤ], /z/, /s/, /š/[ʃ], /ḏ/ [ðˤ], /ḍ/[ð], /ṯ / [θ], i.e. coronal sounds in general (including emphatic sounds with coronal primary place of articulation).

The definite article in the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect is the prefix *m-*, which is used variably along with the standard article *l-* .The *m-article* is used in different areas in ʿAsīr both in the highlands and the lowlands. In the highlands, it is used in villages close to Abha [20]such as s-Sūda, l-Masgī, l-Gara. To my knowledge, *m-article* is not found in dialects outside this area.

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[19] In Arabic, *al-ḥurūf š-šamsiyya*. The title is derived from the word for 'sun', *šams*, which begins with a sound /ʃ/ that assimilates the article. By contrast, the sounds that do not assimilate the article are referred to by Arabic grammarians as 'moon letters' in reference to the Arabic word for moon 'qamar' which begins with a sound, /q/, that does not assimilate the article.

As would be expected, the *m-article* is a very salient feature of the dialects that have it. Generally speaking, its use is associated with 'rural speech'. Speakers who use this feature are often ridiculed by outsiders. Chapter 5 deals with the data and analysis of this variable.

Chapter 4

ḍād

This chapter deals with the first linguistic variable in this study, which is the Arabic sound *ḍād*. The chapter is divided into two sections: the literature review and the presentation of the data. The first section (4.1) will briefly give an overview of how *ḍād* has been documented by ancient grammarians, before presenting studies of this sound in contemporary times. The second section of this chapter (4.2) will present the data obtained from the statistical analysis along with a discussion of the results.

The Arabic sound *ḍād* is popularly believed to be a unique sound that gives Arabic a 'special status' among world languages; *luġat aḍ-ḍād* 'the language of *ḍād*', is a cliché that is often used to refer to Arabic; the implication being that only Arabic has this sound, and especially in non-academic circles, it is assumed that the reference in this cliché is to the emphatic dental/denti-alveolar plosive that is found in the standard variety and represented by the grapheme ض. It is clear that both assumptions are erroneous. Firstly, the phonetic property of modern Arabic *ḍād* is an innovation; the reference in the statement above must have been to the original sound, most probably a voiced lateral fricative (Corriente 1978; Steiner 1976). Secondly, Arabic is not alone among world languages to contain the sound, or similar sounds, e.g. among the languages of the Caucasus, Adyghe and Kabardian have voiced laterals (see Ladefoged 1996).

The Proto sound, from which Arabic *ḍād* descends, was thought to be obsolete (Corriente 1978; Steiner 1976), but it, or a close enough realization, was recently reported to exist in dialects of southern Arabia by al-Azraqi (2010) and Asiri (2009) (cited in Watson & al-Azraqi 2011). The present study also proves the existence of a lateral realisation of this

phoneme in two southern communities in ʿAsīr, as will be explained in the course of this chapter.

4.1 Literature review

4.1.1 The history of Arabic *ḍād* as described by old grammarians

The place and manner of articulation of the Arabic *ḍād* were discussed by a number of ancient Arabic grammarians, specifically the 9th century grammarian Sībawayhi who gave the following description for the place of articulation of the Arabic *ḍād* in his book *al-kitāb*:

> ...*min bayna ʾawwal ḥāfat al-lisān wa-mā yalīhi mina al-ʾaḍrās* …
>
> " ..between the front edge of the tongue and the adjacent molars"

(Sībawayhi[21] 1988: 433, translation by Versteegh 1999: 274)

Sībawayhi also grouped *ḍād* with *majhūr* 'voiced', *rixwa* 'fricative' and *muṭbaq* 'emphatic' sounds. Based on this description we can conclude inferentially that Arabic *ḍād* is an emphatic voiced fricative sound /ɮˤ/. It is important to note that the description above does not explicitly point to the lateral nature of *ḍād*; however Sībawayhi 's comments on the 'emphatic' nature of the sound can lead us to conclude that this sound is lateral. Sībawayhi maintained:

> … *wa lawla il ʾiṭbāq laṣārat al ṭāʾu dālan wal ṣādu sīnan wal ḏāʾu ḏālan wa laxarajat al ḍādu mina il kalām liʾannahu laysa šayʾun min mawḍiʿiha ġayruha.*
>
> (Sībawayhi 1988: 436)

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[21] Volume 4

"were it not for emphasis, ṭāʾ would be articulated as dāl, ṣād as sīn, ḏ̣āʾ as ḏāl and ḍād would not be part of the inventory since no other sound is articulated at this place (of articulation) without emphasis".

(Translation from Al-Wer & Al-Qahtani in press)

From these comments we can understand that ḍād had no plain counterpart. These descriptions of ḍād, however, contradict the present day realization found in most modern Arabic dialects, which is an emphatic dental stop sound /dˤ/. This modern realization is in fact taught in schools as the correct realization of ḍād.

Both Ibn Jinnī (1985), in his book *Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*, and Ibn Yaʿīš, in his book *šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, added to Sībawayhi 's description of the Arabic ḍād that the sound could be produced either from the left or right side of the tongue. They also cited the existence of ḍād ḍaʿīfa 'weak ḍād' as a sound that belongs to an 'unaccepted' type of speech (Ibn Jinnī 1985: 46) (Ibn Yaʿīš (10):123-125). Ibn Yaʿīš described 'weak ḍād' as a sound that can be pronounced as ṭāʾ /tˤ/ or a sound that has a place of articulation between ḍād /ʒˤ/ and ḏ̣āʾ /ðˤ/.These sounds are most probably different allophones of ḍād, which is believed to be the first stage of a merger between ḍād and ḏ̣āʾ (see Versteegh 2006 and the following sections).

The Egyptian linguist Anīs is one of a group of scholars who point out the difference between the original and modern ḍād. In his book *al- Aṣwāt al-Luġawiyya,* Anīs (1947) states that the old Arabic ḍād has undergone a series of developments since the 8th century up to its modern realization. He mentions that the modern realization of ḍād that is used in Egypt is similar in its place of articulation to the Arabic sound dāl /d/, which is in all probability an emphatic stop sound /dˤ/. Anīs also adds that Arabic ḍād is rendered among some Bedouin and Iraqi speakers with a pronunciation similar to ḏ̣āʾ and to the old form of ḍād. He adds that both Arabic and non-Arabic speakers alike find the lateral ḍād difficult to produce in speech.

El-Gindi (1982) also mentions the existence of seven different recitations of the Qur'an in which the graphemes *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ* are used interchangeably to represent both the interdental and the lateral sounds.

4.1.2 *ḍād* in modern literature

4.1.2.1 Steiner (1976)[22]

In Steiner's discussion of the history of the laterals' theory he pointed out that Lepsius (1861) was the first scholar to adopt the theory that the Arabic *ḍād* was originally "an emphatic assibilated *l*" in the post Islamic period (Steiner 1976: 2). This theory was then supported by a number of researchers who were able to find an emphatic lateral realization of *ḍād* in South Arabian dialects, such as Ḥaḍramī Arabic (van den Berg 1886:239), and in Mehri (von Maltzan 1873:259). Additionally, Růžička (1909) was the first researcher to discuss the Arabic loanwords in Spanish in which *ḍād* was realized as *ld,* which further supports the description of Arabic *ḍād* as a lateral feature (all cited in Steiner 1976: 3).

Citing the argument made by Brockelmann (1908), Vilenčik (1930) and Magee (1950) Steiner agrees that the lateral *ḍād* in Arabic and Modern South Arabic (MSA) is probably the result of a sound shift from an interdental to a lateral sound, stating that:

> "…there are no grounds for brushing aside the possibility that the lateral *ḍ* of Arabic and MSA developed from an earlier (unlaterlized) *ḍ̣* [/ðˤ/]".
>
> (Steiner 1976: 5)

He goes on to give analogies for this assumption, citing the work of Vilenčik (1930), for example the */ð/* which has changed to */l/* in Afghan dialects, and the /*d*/ that has changed to /*l*/ in different languages including Latin and the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Azerbaijan (all cited in Steiner 1976: 5).

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[22] In this study the author used /*ḍ̣/and /ẓ/ for* /ðˤ/.

Voiced fricative-lateral sounds are less common in world languages than voiceless fricative-laterals /ɬ/. According to Steiner, voiced fricative-laterals are found only in Modern South Arabic languages (MSA), Ubykh, the Circassian languages and some African languages such as Sandawe, Bura, Margi and the southern Bantu languages.

Fricative-laterals are found in MSA (Modern South Arabic), a term that was used to describe a group of Semitic languages spoken on the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula (Steiner 1976). One of these languages is Shahari, which is spoken in Ẓufār in Oman. Mehri is one of these languages spoken in Ẓufār and in the Mahra county, which is located between Ẓufār and Ḥaḍramawt, and also in Socotra island. Furthermore, the Botahari and Harsusi dialects are both similar to Mehri and are also spoken in Ẓufār (Steiner 1976:12). One remarkable difference between MSA and the Arabic language is the presence of phonological innovations in the latter that are used in most Arabic dialects. These innovations include the unconditional merger of /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/, and the unconditional merger of /ʃ/ and /s/ as a result of the chain shift ś>š > s[23]. Another difference is that in Arabic the emphatics are velarized while in MSA they are glottalized, as in Ethiopian Semitic languages (Steiner 1976: 12).

Another important piece of information given by Steiner is that the distinction between ḍād and ḓāʾ is "secondarily" maintained in the same way as the distinction between ð/d and θ/t is secondarily maintained (Steiner 1976: 37). This distinction is preserved by producing one of the two sounds as an interdental and the other as a dental stop. According to Steiner this would mean that there was a time in which the distinction between dˤ/ðˤ, ð/d and θ/t ceased to exist in urban reading traditions. The disappearance of the interdental sounds has encouraged old orthoepists to create this distinction in order to preserve the traditional recitation of the Qur'an (Steiner 1976:37). This is an indication that the distinction between

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[23] For more details about early Arabic *sīn* and *šīn*, see Churchyard (1993)

ḍād and *ḍāʾ* is in fact an 'artificial' distinction .The data presented in this study will lend further explanation to this argument, as we find that the lateral sound and the interdental sound are available in the phonetic inventory of the dialect but there is no 'phonemic' distinction between the two sounds (See section 4.2 for further details).

Steiner (1976) gives examples of Arabic loanwords from a number of languages such as Malay, Mindano and Sulu to support the lateral theory of Arabic *ḍād*. In the Malay language, for instance, the realization of *ḍād* in Arabic loanwords is either *dl* or *l*. In the Philippine Island Mindano *ḍād* is realized as *l* (Vollers, 1893 cited in Steiner 1976:74). Arabic loanwords such as *rela* < *riḍā*(ʾ)'consent' and *lohor* < *ẓuhr* 'noon' are believed to be found in Malay because they spread from traders from south Arabia who used to work in Sumatra during the Middle Ages.

Steiner attributes the existence of the lateral realization for *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ* in Arabic loanwords in modern Malay to the influence of the Ḥadramī dialect which was spoken in the Arab colony in Malay'a Archipelago within the last two centuries. Another explanation is that the *l* realization of *ḍād* in Arabic loanwords that was found in dictionaries in the seventeenth century existed due to the early contact between the Arabic dialects of South Arabia and Malay. Nowadays, the lateral realization is hardly found in Malay (Steiner 1976)

In both the Moro dialect spoken by the Magindanao of Southwest Mindanao, and the Moro dialect that is spoken by the Sulu of the Sulu Archipelago, *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ* are rendered with *l* in Arabic loanwords; see the examples below from (Steiner 1976: 78-79).

lad	'the letter *ḍād*'
la	'the letter *ḍāʾ*
Ramedlan, *Ramadlan*	'the month of Ramaḍān'
lapal < *lafẓ*	'word'

*luhul < ẓ*uhr   'noon'

Furthermore, the lateral *ḍād* is found in Arabic loanwords in a number of West African

languages such as central Sudan as well as in North African languages such as Beni-Snous

and Kabyle. Hausa was the first African language studied by Yushmanov (1926:43) in which

ḍād is rendered with *l* (cited in Steiner 1976: 81). There are also a number of examples for

Arabic loanwords in Hausa, the list below is based on Steiner (1976: 90).

alwal(l)a < ʾal-waḍāʾa   'ablution'

lullo < l-wuḍūʾ   'purification'

liyafa < ḍiyāfa   'hospitality'

liddi < ḍidd   'opposite'

larli < l-ʾarḍ   'country'

Steiner maintains that despite the Islamization movements in West Africa there is no

evidence or record of the lateral realization of *ḍād* in Arabic loanwords. This suggests that the

lateral *ḍād* is not connected to Islamization in West Africa. Steiner gives an example of the

Ṣahāja Berber group who contributed in the Islamization movement in West Africa and states

that:

> "But when we examine the Arabic loanwords in the Berber dialect of their modern
> descendants-the Ẓnāga (=Ṣanhāja) of Mauritania- we find no trace of a lateral ض".
>
> (Steiner 1976: 86)

This is also another indication that this sound is very old and its existence dates back

centuries before the existence of Islam.

According to Steiner, there is no chronological evidence in the literature which shows

exactly when the shift from the lateral *ḍād* to the modern stop realization began. This is likely

to be because Arab grammarians continued to use the old description given by Sībawayhi even though this description did not represent the realization most consistently used in their times, i.e. their approach was prescriptive. Steiner maintains that there are a number of Arab linguists and philosophers who did recognize different realizations of the Arabic ḍād. For instance Ibn Sīnā describes Arabic ḍād as a stop sound; Ibn Jinnī identifies different realizations for ḍād such as [dˤ] and [ðˤ] in Egypt and North Africa; and Al-Jāḥiẓ, in his book Bayān, points out the confusion between ḍād and ḍāʾin Baṣra. Steiner comments on these reports:

> "These are only isolated reports and, moreover, give no idea of how long the lateral realization persisted alongside the colloquial realizations"

> (Steiner 1976: 71).

Brown (2007) provides data obtained from Old South Arabian speech communities and a number of lexical items from the Islamic period which prove that the two phonemes ḍād (lateral) and ḍāʾ (interdental) have been used since the 4th century AD (Brown's data will be further discussed in this section).

4.1.2.2 Corriente (1978)

Corriente (1978) maintains that the merger of historical ḍād and ḍāʾ is used to distinguish between Old Arabic (pre-merger) and Middle Arabic (merged) (Corriente 1978: 51). He agrees with Cantineau's explanation for the development of Old Arabic ḍād in that the sound has lost the lateralisation feature due to pronunciation difficulties. Lateralisation is eliminated resulting in a relaxation of the dental occlusion which leads to a continuant sound similar to /ðˤ/, and which could be what Sībawayhi refers to as ḍād daʿīfa. At this point, the development of ḍād ends in Bedouin dialects. However, in urban dialects the change continues resulting in a shift from the interdental /ðˤ/ to the dental stop /dˤ/ which is equivalent to the shift from /ð/ to /d/ and from /θ/ to /t/. The new phoneme /dˤ/, which most

Arabic speakers assume is the correct pronunciation of *ḍād*, did not exist in Old Arabic. It is "a phoneme which Old Arabic had probably never known and which was certainly not the one meant by the sobriquet *lugat al- ḍād,* given to Arabic as a hallmark of uniqueness" (Corriente 1978: 51).

In order to trace back the "de-lateralisation" of the lateral *ḍād* in the Arabian Peninsula Corriente suggests that the change from /ɮˤ/[24]) to /ðˤ/ originally started where *Nabaṭī* Arabic existed in the northern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. This change moved gradually "in a wave" from the north affecting the whole Arabic speaking areas in the Arabian Peninsula, and was then resisted in South Arabia (Corriente 1978: 51). Such a scenario fits with the picture that has been found in this study. The lateral *ḍād* does not exist in the dialects of the northern parts of Saudi Arabia. However, its existence has been recorded in the south and southwest of Oman and Yemen. It has also been discovered by many researchers in South Arabian in Hadrami, Mehri and Shihri (see Watson and Al-Azraqi 2011). The interdental realization which is the koineised form for both *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ* is found in most dialects in Saudi Arabia, such as the *Najdi* type of dialects and in the urban (koineised) dialects of ʿAsīr in the southern region. The emphatic stop realization for both *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ* is found in most Ḥijāzi dialects in the western region. However, the further we move towards the southern parts of Saudi Arabia, the more we find dialects that preserve the lateral realization of *ḍād*. The dialect under investigation in the present study is one example of these dialects, whereby the old realization of *ḍād*, or a similar realization thereof, is still preserved along with the interdental realization, as two reflexes for both *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ*.

In order to test the de-lateralisation theory of the old *ḍād*, Corriente (1978) gives examples of a number of Ḍ-L (i.e. /dˤ/-/l/) doublets in Classical Arabic in which the same morpheme is realised by two similar Arabic roots, for instance:

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[24] Corriente in this article used /ḏ/ for /ɮˤ/

Initial *ḍ/l*

labaja 'to throw someone on the ground,   *ḍabaja* 'to throw one's self on the ground'

libn 'sun-dried clay or brick'   *ḍibn* 'hard ground'

lagada 'keep'   *ḍagada* 'tighten'

lāsa 'to taste'   *ḍāsa* 'to eat'

lamma and *ḍamma* 'to gather'

With *ḍ/l* in second position

alla and *aḍḍa* 'to run'

baḍaʿa 'to cut'   *baliʿa* 'pierce'

falla 'chip'   *faḍḍa* 'crack'

jalla 'to be great'   *jaḍḍa* 'to walk with pride'

final position

rakala and *rakaḍa* ' to kick'

qāyala and *qayaḍa* ' to give or do something'

naqala 'to smash'   *naqaḍa* 'to break up'

(Corriente 1978: 52-53)

According to Corriente, it is possible that these doublets the lexicographers recorded as separate words were the same word that was pronounced with two different allophones /ḍ/and /l/of the original *ḍād*. Corriente (p.54) suggests that these doublets existed between the beginning of the Umayyad caliphate and the ninth century when Sībawayhi (at the end of the 9th century) was able to identify the two realisations of *ḍād* among Arabic speakers; the old /ɮˤ/ as well as the emphatic interdental /ðˤ/ "*the ḍād ḍaʿīfa*" (Corriente 1978: 55).

4.1.2.3 Versteegh (1999)

Versteegh makes an interesting contribution to the lateral theory, which relies on Arabic loanwords in a number of languages that came in contact with Arabic in various ways. In all of these languages (Malaysian languages, Ful, Hausa, and Romance languages) loanwords

containing Arabic *ḍād* are rendered with /l/ generally. The list below, based on Versteegh 1999: 277-282).

Spanish

al-ḍabba > aldaba   'doorknocker'

rabāḍ > arrabal   'suburb'
al-qāḍi > alcalde   'judge'

Hausa
farīda > farilla   'obligatory

*ramaḍān > ramal*án   'Ramadan'

ḍuḥā > walahá   'forenoon'

Indonesian

ʿaraḍ > aral   'obstacle'

ramaḍān > ramalan   'Ramadan'

qaḍāʾ >kala   'judgement'

According to Verteegh, the description given by Sībawayhi of Arabic *ḍād* is unclear. He writes:

> "It is not altogether clear exactly which pronunciation of the *ḍād* is indicated in this description, but since he emphasizes the role of the side of the tongue, a certain degree of laterality must have been involved"

(Versteegh 1999: 274)

Citing Moscati (1964), Versteegh maintains that some Semiticists believe that Arabic *ḍād* corresponds to Proto-Semitic *ḏ̣* /ðˤ/, a voiced emphatic interdental sound, which is rendered as *ṣ* /sˤ/ in other Semitic languages such as (Akkadian, Ugartic, and Hebrew), and as *ʿ* /ʕ/in Syriac, and as *ḍ* /dˤ/ in South Arabian and Ethiopic. For instance the word 'earth' is *erṣetu* in Akkadian, *ʾereṣ* in Hebrew and *ʾarʿā* in Syriac and *ʾarḍ* in Arabic (Versteegh 1999: 273).

Other scholars, according to Versteegh (1999: 273), e.g. Cohen and Cantineau believed that *ḍād* was a lateralized sound.

Versteegh maintains that the merger between *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ* must have occurred at an early stage, as can be supported by statements found in the ancient treatises, which suggest that Arabic speakers confused the two sounds (Versteegh 1999: 275).

4.1.2.4 Al-Wer (2004)

Al-Wer (2004) is an attempt to shed light on the historical collapse of the interdental and stop sounds by using contemporary data about the structure of variation in dialects that are undergoing change from interdental to stop variants, i.e. it is an attempt to use the present in order to interpret the past. She begins by making the following observation about the *ḍād*/*ẓāʾ* distinction in modern Arabic dialects:

> "…none of the spoken dialects maintain the distinction presumed in the written form of the standard variety, no spoken dialect has both sounds in the phonetic inventory, and no dialect however isolated, 'preserves' vestigial forms of the distinction"

(Al-Wer 2004: 22)

She classifies modern Arabic dialects as belonging to either of two types, according to the presence or absence of interdental sounds. Type (I) includes dialects that do not have interdentals such as urban Levantine dialects. In this type of dialects it is fairly easy to account for the merger since these dialects simply contain no interdental sounds at all. Type I can thus be assumed to have undergone merger that collapsed the lexical sets of the plain and emphatic interdental and stop sounds, as illustrated below.

Schema 1: Scenario of events in type I dialects

Plain sounds			outcome	Phonetic property of the outcome
/θ/, [θ]	→	[t]	/t/	[t], contains lexical sets with etymological /ṯ/ and /t/
/ð/, [ð]	→	[d]	/d/	[d], contains lexical sets with etymological /ḏ/ and/d/

Emphatic sounds

/ðˤ/, [ðˤ] ⟶ [dˤ]   /dˤ/   [dˤ], contains lexical sets with etymological /ðˤ/and/dˤ/

<div align="right">(Al-Wer 2004: 22)</div>

Type (II) includes dialects that contain interdentals, both the emphatic interdental /ðˤ/ and the plain interdentals /θ/ and /ð/, as in most dialects inside the Peninsula (including the major Gulf dialects, and Mesopotamia). In these dialects, there is a phonemic distinction between plain interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ and their stop counterparts /t/ and /d/ respectively. However, in these same dialects, there is no stop counterpart to the emphatic interdental /ðˤ/ as illustrated below.

<div align="center">Schema 2: Scenario of events in type II dialects</div>

Plain sounds	outcome	Phonetic property of the outcome
/θ/ [θ], /t/ [t]	No Merger	
/ð/ [ð], /d/ [d]	No Merger	
Emphatic sounds		
/dˤ/⟶ /ðˤ/	/ðˤ/	[ðˤ], contains lexical sets with etymological /ðˤ/
		and /dˤ/ i.e. merger in favour of the interdental.

<div align="right">(Al-Wer 2004:23)</div>

According to Al-Wer (2004) positing a change from stop */dˤ/* to interdental */ðˤ/* to account for the system found in Type II dialects is problematic, since this change, stop to interdental, is less common in world languages especially that it 'selects' one phoneme out of the system (of interdental phones), leaving the rest (plain interdental sounds) unaffected. Her solution to this anomaly is that the emphatic interdental had had an extra layer of development, independently of the plain interdental sounds. Specifically, she suggests that if Arabic *ḍād* indeed descends from a lateral sound (as seems to be the case), the loss of lateralization of *ḍād* simply merged the emphatic phonemes *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ*. This means that Type 2 dialects never had an opposition between interdental emphatic */ðˤ/* and stop emphatic */dˤ/*.

An important observation in Al-Wer's account is that studies that have investigated variation between interdental and stop variants in modern Arabic dialects, such as the Jordanian dialects, have all reported different rates of progression from interdental to stop for the plain and emphatic consonants (emphatic interdental to emphatic stop is twice as fast as plain interdental to plain stop). This, to Al-Wer, is symptomatic of the different histories of the development of the plain and emphatic interdental sounds. Further, she suggests that the plain sounds are undergoing phonological merger, whereas the change from emphatic interdental /ðˤ/ to emphatic stop /dˤ/ does not involve phonological merger (since these dialects did not have this opposition in the first place); assuming that 'loss of information' as in the case of phonological mergers slows the change down or is a factor that may delay change, in addition to the social stigma associated with the use of the emphatic interdental in Jordanian dialects, explains the faster rate of development of the emphatic interdental to stop change compared with plain interdental to stop change.

4.1.2.5 Brown (2007)

Brown (2007) provides further evidence from Old South Arabic and old Islamic texts which explains the de-lateralization of Arabic *ḍād* and its merger with *ḍāʾ*. This evidence suggests that the two phonemes have been variables since the 4th century AD. According to Brown (citing Cohen 1962), in early Islamic times /ɮˤ/[25], was already a "fossil"; i.e. that it had already merged with /ðˤ/ (Brown 2007: 338).Therefore, in Arabic dialects which have interdentals, /ðˤ/ is preserved. However, in dialects that do not have interdentals, /ðˤ/ has merged with a dental plosive sound /dˤ/ which is used nowadays in most urban dialects. This would mean that the de-lateralization of /ɮˤ/, and its merger with /ðˤ/ must have occurred before the merger between /ðˤ/ and /dˤ/ in urban dialects such as the Egyptian and Moroccan dialects, Brown comments:

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[25] In Brown's article /ɖ/ symbol is used for /ɮˤ/and/ẓ/ is used for /ðˤ/

"As it is assumed that this loss of interdentals occurred relatively early, /ḍ/ must have disappeared in the early Islamic period"

(Brown 2007: 338)

Brown provides data from Old South Arabian languages in which some cursive text in Yemen written in the Sabaen alphabet (Epigraphic South Arabian, ESA) indicate the loss of the distinction between the two phonemes *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ*, and it is believed that this occurred no later than the 3rd century AD. Citing Weninger, Brown (2007: 342) maintains that some of the stocks that exhibit the merger of /ðˤ/ and /dˤ/ into /dˤ/ include the word Ṣanʿāʾ (the Capital of Yemen) written as /sˤ-n-ʕ-w/, a name that was not known for the city until the 3rd century, which means that these stocks (in which the merger is exhibited) must date to a time after the 3rd century CE.

According to Brown, citing Abdallah (1994), in the cursive texts the two phonemes are represented using only the *ḍād* grapheme. For example, Abdallah mentions that the word /ʕ-ðˤ-m/ that means 'milk', 'possession' or 'fullness' in (ESA) alphabet appears as /ʕ-dˤ-m/ in the cursive texts. This would mean that the writers of these texts no longer maintained the distinction between the two sounds in written texts or spoken language. Brown writes:

"That these texts tend to deal with mundane issues such as small-scale trade, properties and personal correspondences also suggests that they represent a more colloquial register of the language"

(Brown 2007: 343)

This piece of evidence could lead us to an explanation as to why young and old speakers in the two communities under investigation in the current study do not split the two phonemes 'correctly'. In other words, the data presented in this study can be further evidence that the two phonemes are merging, and because they are merging speakers no longer have access to the phonemic distinction, cognitively speaking. This would mean that this merger is not a

new phenomenon but rather might have occurred centuries ago as Brown suggests, and is still

happening, as the present data suggests (see the data section 4.2).

Brown also presents some earlier Arabic works that deal with *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ* minimal

pairs, focusing on the work of al-Zāhid (d. 345/957), and al-Ṣāḥib (d. 385/995) in the 10th

century. In these works the writers list a number of *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ* pairs which they treat as

minimal pairs, and they explain their different meanings in extensive detail with reference to

the 'incorrect' use of the two phonemes, especially among the *kuttāb* "government

secretaries" (Brown 2007: 345). The importance of their work, in their views, is to explain

the difference between these minimal pairs so that people do not confuse them, which may

result in corrupting the Arabic language.

Brown lists thirteen pairs (treated as minimal pairs by al-Zāhid and al-Ṣāḥib) from

these two works, e.g. */b-y-dˤ/b-y-ðˤ/* 'eggs' */dˤ-r-r/ðˤ-r-r/* 'harmful, dangerous', */ʕ-dˤ-m/ʕ-ðˤ-m/* 'bone', */ʕ-dˤ-dˤ/ʕ-ðˤ-ðˤ/* 'to bite'. They claim that whereas the root *b-y-dˤ* means 'eggs' the

root *b-y-ðˤ* means 'semen'; the root *ʕ-dˤ-m* means 'grasping with one's hand' the root *ʕ-ðˤ-m*

means 'bone'; the root *ʕ-dˤ-dˤ* means 'to bite' the root *ʕ-ðˤ-ðˤ* means 'to harm or afflict'.

Brown argues, contrary to al-Zāhid and al-Ṣāḥib, the eight roots */n-ðˤ-ðˤ/, /f-dˤ-ʕ/, /ʕ-ðˤ-ðˤ/, /f-y-ðˤ/, /ʕ-ðˤ-m/, /dˤ-h-r/, /b-y-dˤ/* and */ðˤ-r-r/* have very limited usage and rare definition than

their counterparts (Brown 2007: 362). These words are only found in some Bedouin dialects

or in literary works that deal with the distinction between *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ*. According to Brown,

al-Zāhid and al-Ṣāḥib simply insist on creating a semantic distinction (which does not exist)

in order to prove that the two sounds are separate phonemes. To emphasise his point, Brown

cites the root */q-rr-dˤ/* which has a rare and old */ðˤ/* counterpart, but both words have the same

meaning 'to recite praise poetry' (Brown 2007:366). However, al-Zāhid and al-Ṣāḥib

maintain that these words are distinct: with */ðˤ/* the reference is to 'panegyric poetry' while

with */dˤ/* the reference is to 'satirical poetry'. Brown argues that the two words share the same

meaning, but that al-Zāhid and al-Ṣāḥib resurrect older meanings in order to serve their theory (viz. "non-synonymy"; but the distinction between the two words is forced).

Brown concludes that these are not minimal pairs, but a strong indication that the existence of the two pronunciations is not-a result of semantic differences, but rather a result of ancient dialectal variation. It is possible that people who produce these different words are simply producing different variants rather than distinct phonemes. He quotes al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad as saying that for the pair *ħuðˤa:ðˤ/ħudˤa:dˤ* 'a type of eye kohl', speakers who have *ḍāʾ* in their dialect produce it as *ħuðˤa:ðˤ* while speakers who have *ḍād* in their dialect produce it as *ħudˤa:dˤ*.

The works of al-Zāhid and al-Ṣāḥib like most early lexicographers' and philologists' contributions are motivated by what they considered to be a noble cause, namely the preservation of 'the sacred words and meanings of the Quran'.

4.1.2.6 Al-Azraqi (2010)

al-Azraqi examines the existence of the old realization of the Arabic *ḍād* in two villages in the southwest areas in Saudi Arabia, specifically in *al-ʿIrḍyn* and *al-Maḍḍa*. The realization of the Classical Arabic *ḍād* in these villages has linguistic characteristics similar to that described by old grammarians. It is worth mentioning that the two villages are located in the highlands and are close to Sarāt ʿAbīda (see map 1.2). The size of the communities in these villages is small and they are fairly isolated from modern areas. Al-Azraqi collected data from 43 participants who were classified according to four social variables; age, sex, education and place of birth.

The results of Al-Azraqi's study showed that the dialects spoken in the two villages preserved the same sound described by ancient grammarians for Arabic *ḍād*. This sound is produced by moving the front of the tongue to the alveo-palate. According to the author, it is normally pronounced in the right side of the mouth, but may sometimes be produced with

both sides. Al-Azraqi explains that the sound used in the two villages is "a voiced alveo-palatal fricative lateral emphatic sound" (al-Azraqi 2010:62). She also pointed out that the use of this sound differs with respect to some social factors such as age, sex and education. For instance, old uneducated speakers tend to use this sound more often than young educated speakers. The present study will present further explanation of the correlation between the usage of this old sound and other social factors including age, gender and locality.

Al-Azraqi suggests some social factors that may explain the preservation of the old realization of *ḍād*. One is related to the geographic isolation of the two villages and the small size of the communities therein. Both villages lack paved roads and thus outside communication and travel to other communities is very rare. In addition, access to different types of media such as television and radio is not very common. Information given for al-Maḍḍa indicates that the number of schools is limited. All of these factors contribute to making the local dialect resistant to linguistic change, and preserve the lateral realization of Arabic *ḍād*.

4.2 The Data

This section deals with the results and the quantitative analysis of the *ḍād* variable. The quantitative analysis was carried out using Rbrul variable rule program and the data was treated as follows:

(1) Cross-tabulation was carried out between factor groups in order to obtain the correlation between the use of the dependant variable (*ḍād*) and the social variables (age, gender, locality).

(2) Modelling of the data (regression analysis) was then carried out using all factor groups (age, gender, locality and linguistic environment) in order to obtain the factor weights and P-values.

The results show that speakers use two variants for the Arabic *ḍād*; a lateralized variant, symbolised in this thesis as [ɮˤ], and an emphatic interdental variant [ðˤ]. Therefore, lexemes that descend from etymological *ḍād* i.e. *ɮˤ can be pronounced with the lateral realization and with the interdental realization, see table 5.1 below.

*ɮˤ	[ðˤ] realization	[ɮˤ] realization	Gloss
naħɮˤur	*naħðˤur*	*naħɮˤur*	'we attend'
ɮˤiyu:f	*ðˤi:fa:n*	*ɮˤi:fa:n*	'guests'
bayɮˤa:	*bayðˤa:*	*bayɮˤa:*	'white fem'
ɮˤa:n	*ðˤa:n*	*ɮˤa:n*	'lamb'
ħaɮˤan	*ħaðˤan*	*ħaɮˤan*	'house'
ʕiɮˤa:h	*ʕiðˤa:h*	*ʕiɮˤa:h*	'grass'
ʔabyaɮ	*ʔabyaðˤ*	*ʔabyaɮ*	'white masc'

Table 4.1: The range of variation of *ɮˤ words

The lateral variant [ɮˤ] and the interdental variant [ðˤ] are found to be used not only as variants of *ḍād*, but also as variants of *ḍāʾ*, as demonstrated in Table 5.2 below.

_____

*ðˤ	[ðˤ] realization	[ɮˤ] realization	Gloss
ɣayðˤ	ɣayðˤu	ɣayɮˤu	'anger'
ʕaðˤm	ʕaðˤm	ʕaɮˤm	'bone'
waðˤiːfa	waðˤiːfa	waɮˤiːfa	'job'
yiħfaðˤak	yiħfaðˤak	yiħfaɮˤak	'bless you masc'
ðˤalʕ	ðˤalʕ	ɮˤalʕu	'limping'
ðˤuhr	ðˤuhr	ɮˤuhr	'noon'

_____

Table 4.2: The range of variation of ðˤ words

The finding that the lexical set of *ḍāʾ* is also involved is an important finding especially because it sheds light on the re-structuring of the grammar: the transition from lateral fricative to interdental– the statistics indeed show that this is change in progress, see section 4.2.1– is a phonological change (not just phonetic change), a merger. If completed, it will involve reduction in the number of phonemes and thus the collapse of two lexical sets into one. This is what scholars assume to have occurred centuries ago, the outcome of which is the system found in the vast majority of Arabic dialects; as far as we know so far, none outside this region have separate sounds to correspond to Arabic *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ*. Therefore, the availability of data, such as the data presented in this thesis, that capture the merger as it progresses allows us to examine the route it takes towards integration in the language system and, since this is a sociolinguistic analysis, how it is embedded in the speech of the community.

To summarize the above findings, speakers use the lateral and interdental sounds as two realizations for the Arabic phonemes *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ*. They use the two variants [ɮˤ] and [ðˤ] interchangeably with lexemes that descend from etymological *ḍād* and etymological *ḏāʾ*. This would suggest that speakers do not treat these two sounds as two separate phonemes but rather as two different allophones (but see further below).

4.2.1 Treatment of the *ḍād* variable

4.2.1.1The first step: one variable, two variants

In this first run, I treated all token as variants for the same phonological unit; the lateral variant [ɮˤ] and the interdental variant [ðˤ]. This was because, as discussed above, speakers did not appear to preserve a phonemic distinction between *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ* .Therefore, I started with a model that examined the correlation between the use of these two variants and five factor groups; linguistic environment, etymology, age, gender and locality (see table 4.3). All of these factor groups were found to be highly statistically significant, except for locality which will be discussed in the following sections, but for the sake of the current discussion I will present the treatment of the data with respect to the linguistic environment and etymology.

In order to examine the linguistic environment for this variable the model examined the preceding environment with three values (consonant, vowels, and pause) and the following environment with three values (consonant, vowels, and pause). The consonants were further coded according to their place of articulation such as palatal sounds. This is because the phonetic descriptions given to *ḍād* in the old Arabic grammarians' treatises, such as Sībawayhi's description, suggest that the place of articulation of this sound is considerably wide. This means that pharyngeal, palatal sounds may all affect the articulation of this sound. However, cross tabulation in Rbrul showed cells where there were zero tokens. This might

have been caused by the low number of tokens available for this variable, due to the exclusion of some tokens where the meanings of the lexemes did not correspond to that found in Arabic dictionaries. For instance, the word *ḍanīn* [*dˤani:n*] was used in the dialect to denote 'nice' and speakers used the two variants the lateral as in [ɮˤani:n] and the interdental as in [ðˤani:n]. However, in the Arabic dictionaries *ḍanīn,* with *[dˤ],* means 'thrifty' and *ḍanīn* with *[ðˤ]* means 'suspicious'. The two meanings do not correspond to that found in the dialect under investigation. For this reason, and because etymology was one of the factor groups included in the analysis, all tokens of this lexical item were eliminated. I then tried to conflate the above model into a less general one. This new model examined the preceding environment with two values (consonant versus vowel or pause) and the following environment with two values (again, consonant versus vowel or pause). Eventually, the 'linguistic environment' factor group was conflated to contain three values, c-x, x-c and x-x (x= vowel or pause).

The Rbrul analysis for this step is displayed in table (4.3). A factor weight above 0.5 shows that the application value (in this case [ɮˤ]) is favoured, whilst a factor weight below 0.5 means that the application value is disfavoured. By the same token, a positive log-odds value indicates that the application value is favoured and a negative log-odds value indicates that the application value is not favoured. Neutrality is expressed when the log-odds value equals 0 and the factor weight equals 0.5. The R squared value indicates the proportion of variation which the model explains (Johnson 2009).

				R^2 0.3
				Application value: [ðˤ]
Etymology	**log-odds**	**Tokens**	**[ʣˤ] mean**	**Centred factor weight**
*ʣˤ	0.542	316	0.633	0.632
*ðˤ	-0.542	84	0.393	0.368
(P < 0.000835)				
Linguistic environment				
x-c	0.662	38	0.658	0.66
x-x	0.054	271	0.609	0.513
c-x	-0.716	91	0.473	0.328
(P < 0.00254)				
Age				
old	0.861	186	0.785	0.703
young	-0.861	214	0.407	0.297
(P <6.39e-15)				
Gender				
male	0.466	143	0.741	0.614
female	-0.466	257	0.494	0.386
(P <3.71e-05)				
Locality[26]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
				Grand mean 0.582

Table 4.3: *Rbrul results of the correlation between the use of [ʣˤ] and the independent variables.*

Additionally, this model examined the use of the two variants with respect to the etymology of the sound, in which 'etymology' refers to whether the token descends historically from *ḍād* or *ḏāʾ*. In other words, this factor group investigates whether speakers can assign either of the two variants [ʣˤ] and [ðˤ] to its 'correct' historical lexical set *ʣˤ or *ðˤ. Rbrul analysis for this model shows that etymology is statistically highly significant

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[26] Empty brackets indicate insignificant factor groups.

(P<0.000835). The cross-tabulation between the etymology and the two variants (with the lateral variant [ɮˤ] as the application value) is displayed in table 4.4.

Etymology	[ɮˤ] mean	Tokens
* ðˤ	0.393	84
* ɮˤ	0.633	316
Total	0.58	400

Table 4.4: *The use of [ɮˤ] with respect to etymology.*

As the above table shows, speakers use the lateral variant with lexemes that descend from etymological *ɮˤ and etymological *ðˤ. However, their use of the lateral variant with etymological *ɮˤ is considerably higher 63% than their use of this variant with etymological *ðˤ words 39%[27]. In other words, the speakers use the 'correct' variant in app. 63% of the total number of tokens. This relatively high rate of match between choice of variant and etymology of the word suggests that the speakers maintain the phonemic distinction (presumed in standard Arabic) at least to some extent. In any case, with etymology returned as a significant factor group, and a relatively high rate of match, one cannot discount this possibility. Faced with these statistics, it made sense to split the token file according to etymology of the word and to treat ḍād and ḍāʾ as two separate phonemes. The results of this run are presented in the next section.

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[27] The mirror image of the data will be the interdental variant [ðˤ]. For instance, the use of the interdental variant [ðˤ] in etymological * ðˤ words cis 61% (table 4.4).

4.2.1.2 The second step: two variables, two variants

I first ran cross-tabulation between age and etymology to further test the case for running the

data as if *ḍād* and *ḍāʾ* were treated as separate phonemes. The results are in table 4.5 below.

Etymology	old	young	total	tokens
*ɮˤ	0.824	0.454	0.633	316
*ðˤ	0.606	0.255	0.393	84
Total	0.785	0.407	0.582	400
Tokens	186	214		

Table 4.5: *Cross-tabulation of etymology and age* (application value [ɮˤ])

As can be seen from the above table, there is a relatively high level of relationship (82%)

between the original lexical set and the lateral realization among older speakers. The older

speakers also 'over-use' this realization with lexical items which historically belong to the

interdental *ðˤ lexical set 60%. This would mean that older speakers tend to preserve a partial

distinction (as opposed to a total distinction) between the two phonemes, and also to use the

lateral variant quite frequently even in words descending from *ḍāʾ*. The use of the lateral

variant, however, is much lower among younger speakers; for *ḍād* lexemes they use it at the

rate of 45%, and in *ḍāʾ* words at 25%. Nonetheless, a match of 45% for *ḍād* and app. 75% for

ḍāʾ (the mirror image) is still considerable and thus motivates this run (with the sounds being

treated as separate variables). Additionally, as Rbrul returned etymology (P < 0.000835) and

age as highly significant factor groups (P <6.39e-15) this was deemed to be strong statistical

evidence to treat the two sounds as separate variables.

In this step etymology was no longer a factor group and I ended up with two

variables; the lateral variable model that contained only tokens descended from historical

lateral *ɮˤ and the interdental variable model that contained only tokens descended from

historical interdental *ðˤ. Therefore, the two sounds (*ḍād* and *ḍāʾ*) were treated as two

separate variables (ɮˤ) and (ðˤ) with the same variants [ɮˤ] and [ðˤ], as represented in the chart

below.

(ɮˤ)   (ðˤ)

[ɮˤ]   [ðˤ]   [ɮˤ]   [ðˤ]
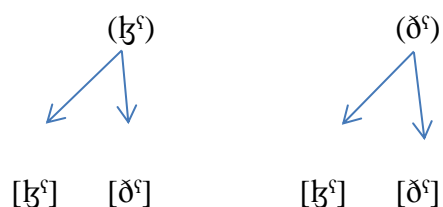
Fig 4.1: *The range of variation of the lateral and interdental variables*

The target/innovative variant for the two variables is the koineised interdental variant [ðˤ].

For the purpose of the present analysis, however, the interdental variant [ðˤ] was selected as

both the innovative and target variant for the lateral variable while the lateral variant [ɮˤ] was

selected as the innovative but recessive variant for the interdental variable. I ran the statistical

analysis for each variable separately. The result of each variable will be displayed in separate

sections.

4.2.1.2.1 The lateral variable (ɮˤ)

This variable was examined in relation to the four selected factor groups; the linguistic

environment, age, gender and locality. The Rbrul results for the lateral variable with the

interdental variant [ðˤ] as the application value are displayed in table (4.6).

				R² 0.293
				Application value: [ðˤ]
ling	**Log-odds**	**Tokens**	**[ðˤ] mean**	**Centred factor weigh**t
c-x	0.679	102	0.392	0.664
x-x	0.222	184	0.370	0.555
x-c	-0.901	30	0.267	0.289
(P < 0.000538)				
Age				
young	0.546	0.965	163	0.724
old	0.176	-0.965	153	0.276
(P < 3.68e-12)				
Gender				
Female	0.449	0.535	196	0.631
Male	0.233	-0.535	120	0.369
(P < 0.000334)				
Locality	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
				Grand mean 0.367

Table 4.6: *Rbrul results of the correlation between the use of [ðˤ] and the independent variables (linguistic environment, age, gender and locality).*

Table 4.6 shows that Rbrul run returns linguistic environment as statistically significant (P < 0.000538). The interdental variant [ðˤ] is preferred (FW 0.66) when it is preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel or pause (c-x). The second most favoured environment for [ðˤ] is when it is preceded and followed by a vowel or pause (x-x) (FW 0.55).

Further analysis for the preceding and following environment has been carried out firstly by categorizing phonemes into: 'liquids', 'non-liquids', 'pause', 'vowels' and '/m/'. The reason for selecting /m/ as a separate factor was because the analysis of the second variable (*m-* definite article) showed that the lateral variant co-occurred only with the *m-*

article and was thus thought to behave differently. Rbrul shows that the preceding

environment with this new categorization is statistically significant, as shown in table 4.7.

				R^2 0.319
				Application value: [ðˤ]
Preceding	**log-odds**	**Tokens**	**[ðˤ] mean**	**centred factor weight**
non-liquids	1.244	58	0.569	0.776
liquids	0.643	15	0.400	0.655
pause	0.126	42	0.333	0.531
vowel	0.046	172	0.360	0.511
m	-2.058	29	0.034	0.113
(P < 9.7e-06)				
Age				
young	0.92	163	0.546	0.715
old	-0.92	153	0.176	0.285
(P < 3.68e-12)				
Gender				
female	0.389	196	0.449	0.596
male	-0.389	120	0.233	0.404
(P < 0.00815)				
Locality	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Table 4.7: *The first run for the new linguistic environment, age and gender of the lateral variable.*

The above table shows that Rbrul returns preceding environment, age and gender as highly significant factor groups. This run shows that 'non-liquids', which includes obstruent consonants differed noticeably from other factors in favouring the interdental variant (FW 0.77). Therefore, a second run (table 4.8) was carried out by combining '/m/' and 'liquids' into one factor called 'sonorant'. It should be noted that there is one token preceded by /m/

and it is rendered with the interdental variant, however this /m/ is not part of the definite article but rather part of the future marker, [mðˤayyfkum] 'I will host you'. This run showed that sonorant and vowels were the least favoured environments for the interdental variant to occur and both values had the same factor weights (0.42), followed by pause that had a similar factor weight (0.43), as shown in table 4.8

Preceding	log-odds	Tokens	[ðˤ] mean	Centred factor weight
obstruent	0.818	51	0.529	0.694
pause	-0.247	42	0.333	0.438
vowels	-0.285	172	0.360	0.429
sonorant	-0.287	51	0.255	0.429

Table 4.8: *The second run for the linguistic environment of the lateral variable[28]*.

In the third run (table 4.9) 'vowels' and 'sonorant' were combined into one factor named 'sonorant' and consequently three factors were included in the analysis: 'sonorant' 'obstruent' and 'pause', see table 4.9

Factor	log-odds	Tokens	[ðˤ] mean	centered factor weight
Obstruent	0.800	51	0.529	0.69
Sonorant	-0.258	232	0.345	0.436
Pause	-0.542	33	0.273	0.368

Table 4.9: *The third run for the linguistic environment of the lateral variable*.

Table 4.9 shows that sonorant and pause behaved similarly in disfavouring the interdental variant (FW 0.43 for sonorant and 0.36 for pause). Therefore, in the fourth and final run the sonorant and pause factors were combined into one factor 'sonorant' and examined against 'obstruent'.

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[28] In each run Rbrul returns the preceding environment, age and gender as statistically significant but for the purpose of discussion of the 'linguistic environment', I displayed figures for this factor group only.

In order to decide which of these runs best explained the variation found, the four models were compared using a chi-squared test in Rbrul. Using the deviance value and the difference in degrees of freedom of each model, the output of the chi-squared test showed $p > 0.05$. This means that the difference between all these models is insignificant, and therefore, the model with less degree of freedom (i.e. less factor groups) explains the variation best. It was decided, eventually, to select the model with less detail, namely the model that examined sonorant and obstruent as the two factors in both the preceding and following environment factor groups, as shown in the table 4.10.

				R² 0.292
				Application value: [ðˤ]
Preceding	log-odds	Tokens	[ðˤ] mean	Centred factor weight
obstruent	0.506	51	0.529	0.624
sonorant	-0.506	265	0.336	0.376
(P<0.00394)				
Following				
sonorant	0.539	292	0.377	0.631
obstruent	-0.539	24	0.250	0.369
(P<0.031)				
Age				
young	0.955	163	0.546	0.722
old	-0.955	153	0.176	0.278
(P<4.8e-13)				
Gender				
female	0.523	196	0.449	0.628
male	-0.523	120	0.233	0.372
(P<0.000181)				
Locality	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Table 4.10: *The final run for lateral variable with respect to linguistic environment, age gender & locality.*

The results of the final run are displayed in table (4.10). Rbrul returned age as the most highly significant factor group followed by gender, preceding environment, and finally following environment. With respect to the preceding environment, the table shows that the interdental variant is highly favoured (FW 0.62) when preceded by an obstruent, while it is disfavoured when it is preceded by a sonorant sound (FW0.37). As for the following environment, the interdental variant is highly favoured when it is followed by a sonorant (FW 0.63) while it is disfavoured when it is followed by an obstruent (FW 0.36). To conclude, the most favoured environment for the interdental variant to occur is when it is preceded by an obstruent and followed by a sonorant consonant.

With respect to age, the difference between young speakers and old speakers in the use of the interdental variant is highly significant (P<4.8e-13). This variant is notably highly favoured among young speakers who use it in 54% of the time, while it is highly disfavoured among older speakers who use it only in 17%. This result suggests that the lateral variable is undergoing change in progress towards the innovative variant (the interdental). This change would consequently lead to the phonological merger between *ḍād* and *ḏ̣āʾ* when it is completed. This finding is not surprising given that the interdental variant is the innovative and widely used realization for *ḍād* in Saudi Arabia in general and in ʿAsīr in particular. On the other hand, the lateral variant is a recessive feature whose use is restricted to minority groups in the province. Therefore, the direction of the merger between *ḍād* and *ḏ̣āʾ* is expected to be towards the innovative and koineised variant [ðˤ].

With reference to gender, as can be seen from table (4.10) the difference between men and women in their use of the interdental variant is statistically highly significant (P<0.000181). Women are ahead of men in implementing the innovative variant in their speech. This would mean that women are in fact the leaders of the change from the lateral sound to the interdental sound. This finding follows the traditional pattern found in other

sociolinguistic studies whereby women tend to be in the lead of change towards supra-local/koineised feature (Labov 1990 & 1994). In order to build a clear picture of these findings, further cross-tabulation between age and gender is presented in the table 4.11.

				Application value: [ðˤ]
	Age			
Gender	old	young	Total	
female	0.159	0.685	0.449	
male	0.200	0.273	0.233	
total	0.176	0.546	0.367	

Table 4.11: *Cross-tabulation of age and gender for the lateral variable.*

As can be seen from table (4.11), we find older women to be the most conservative group, whilst the pattern is reversed amongst the younger generation. In other words it is the younger women who are ahead of all other groups in implementing this change. The table also shows that there is a slight increase 27% in the use of the interdental variant among younger men in comparison to its usage among older men 20%. However, there is a sharp increase in the use of the innovative variant among younger women 68% in comparison to older women 15%. Such a result, whereby older women tend to preserve dialect features, seems to be in agreement with the pattern found in other speech communities, such as Thomas's study (1989) in Pont-rhyd-fen, a Welsh mining village. In this community, older women were found to be for the most part linguistically more conservative than older men and younger men and women. Thomas related this linguistic conservatism to older women's social networks, which tend to be locally restricted. Unlike the older men who could find job opportunities both inside and outside of the local community, the older women's jobs and activities were usually restricted to the local community, and some women had never worked outside of their homes. A similar finding was also reported in an Arabic speaking community in a recent study by Al-Essa (2009). In a Najdi speaking community in Jeddah, Al-Essa found

that older women tended to preserve most of the Najdi features to a higher degree than any other group. This was related to the amount of contact with non-Najdi speakers older women had, as well as to their social networks which were generally governed by the community rules. Older women had experienced certain restrictions regarding contact with outsiders (the Ḥijāzi community in Jeddah) and their communication was usually confined to individuals from the Najdi community. However, the younger generations did not experience such restrictions and their social networks tended to be wider than the older women's. Therefore, the younger generations' amount of contact with outsiders, and therefore the chances of them being exposed to innovative features, tended to be higher. This applies to the communities under investigation in the present study. Older women, particularly those over the age of 50, are usually less mobile than older men and their social activities are often restricted to the local community. Besides, they rarely engage in public sector jobs, and if they do their job is likely to be restricted to locations inside their community. Additionally, their workmates, with whom they interact every day, usually hail from the same community. Therefore, the chances of them hearing the innovative variant are relatively low. On the other hand, older men are much more mobile than their female counterparts. They tend to work in livestock markets and honey trading, and these jobs usually require regular movement to neighbouring villages or larger cities such as Abha, Jeddah and Mecca. In these markets they interact with other individuals whose dialects have the interdental variant, and thus their chances to hear this variant and adopt it in their speech are considerably higher.

As for younger women, the recent educational developments such as building new schools or colleges in the two communities and in neighbouring villages have played an important role in changing the dialect of this group. In these institutions younger women come into face-to-face contact with their friends and teachers who speak different dialects and have the interdental variant as their realization of Arabic *ḍād*. Through this

communication, they become more conscious that their *ḍād* is different from others. The possibility, then, for adopting the interdental variant is higher among younger women.

With respect to younger men, it is important to mention that their chances to move to other communities are considerably higher than their female counterparts. They do not have restrictions regarding travel outside of the local community for work, education or even simply for leisure purposes. They are socially less restricted in their mobility than younger females. They hold positive attitudes toward their life in the local community. This was quite clear from several comments made by the locals during the fieldwork where they talked positively about the landscapes and authentic traditions of their local communities. Their positive attitudes toward their local communities are reflected through maintenance of the local norm of speech, as witnessed by their relatively low usage of the innovative variant (see table 4.11). On the other hand, younger women do not enjoy these chances given to men. They are considerably less mobile than younger men and their movement is usually limited to their schools or colleges in other villages or to next-door neighbours. They are socially more restricted in terms of travelling by themselves outside their local community. Fieldwork notes indicate that younger women tend to hold a negative attitude toward the social restrictions inside their local community. For most of the younger women these restrictions negatively influence their motivations and future plans. This negative attitude among younger women is likely to influence their evaluations of their lives in the local community, including their local dialect. This can explain the high usage of the innovative variant among younger women, which they use at a rate of 68%.

The overall usage levels of the innovative (interdental) variant shown in table (4.11) indicates that the male group tends to be more conservative 23% in their use of this variant in comparison to the female group 44%. Moreover, the difference between older and younger speakers within the male group in the use of this variant is fairly small (20% and 27%). For

men, as explained earlier, life in the local community provides a stable and relatively good income. The local community does not restrict their movements or their future prospects. They glorify their local village and social traditions. Most of the men interviewed made several comments about how they appreciate their homeland and its climate. They also talked about their future investments inside their community. They do, though, express their annoyance towards modern lifestyle. For instance, an interviewee talked about his experience in the city and complained that 'modern' people could not understand him. He also complained of outsiders' intolerance. Another interviewee criticized some locals who migrated to the cities and started to lose the skills of beekeeping, and other traditional skills that most Tihāmi people are famous for. Other comments were made regarding the lack of public services in the community including paved roads, electricity, and internet connection. It is important to note that most of these critical comments about 'city life' were made by younger men. Their linguistic conservatism seems to echo their positive attitudes towards life in the local community, and rejection of 'city life'.

With reference to locality, Rbrul runs found this variable to be statistically insignificant. However, cross-tabulations with age and gender highlights interesting findings that should be discussed, table 4.12

Highlands				**Application value: [ðˤ]**
	Age			
Gender	old	young	total	tokens
female	0.162	0.714	0.431	144
male	0.344	0.267	0.306	62
Total	0.217	0.580	0.393	206
Lowlands				
	Age			
Gender	old	young	total	tokens
female	0.143	0.632	0.500	52
male	0.061	0.280	0.155	58
Total	0.085	0.492	0.318	110

Table 4.12: *Cross-tabulation of gender, age and locality for the lateral variable*

As the table shows, the total usage of the innovative variant in the community of the highlands 39% is higher than in the community of the lowlands 31%. Such a result is expected given that the community of the highlands is considerably less isolated than the lowlands community. By the same token, men in the lowlands use the innovative variant considerably less 15% than their counterparts in the highlands 30%. However, the situation is different among the female speakers; the more isolated group (the lowlands women) tend to use the innovative variant more 50% than the less isolated group (the highland women) 43%.

As discussed earlier, the life of women in the lowlands is much more challenging than their counterparts in the highlands. It is possible that the high usage of the innovative variant among women in the lowlands is a reaction towards the challenges and social restrictions of the local community. Women's position and the social pressure they experience in the two communities tend to act as internal powers that affect their linguistic behaviour and are even more powerful than the external factor (the geographical isolation). This might be the reason that locality was found to be statistically insignificant. In other words, these social factors that affect the lives of women in the two communities render similar linguistic behaviour, divergence away from local features, and the even more marginalised women (the women in the lowlands) diverge even more sharply from the local dialect (cf. Eckert 1989).

It is important to note the effect of the newcomers to the lowlands village on the social structure of the community. Five or six years ago teachers in the lowlands' schools were mostly from Arab countries such as Egypt, Palestine, Sudan and only small numbers of Saudi teachers worked in these schools. Teachers who came from these Arab countries worked in the schools via job contracts and their stay at these schools was relatively short. More recently however the number of Saudi teachers in the lowlands communities has

increased. These Saudi teachers come from different cities such as Abha, Jeddah, and Riyadh to work in these isolated areas. Their stay at these schools may last for three to five years until the Ministry of Education approve their movement to the cities and hire a new group of teachers. To the locals, these 'outsiders' are *naydi* 'Najdi' and the term is used among Tihāmi people in the lowlands to refer to any individual who is from the highlands and of a non-Tihāmi tribe. In other words, people from all over ʿAsīr or any region in the kingdom are considered 'Najdi' to Tihāmi people no matter which tribe they belong to as long as they live in the highlands and do not belong to any Tihāmi tribe. Tihāmi people in the lowlands are aware of the social status of *naydi* people. In the social hierarchy *naydi* tends to be more prestigious and more dominant than Tihāmi. The reason that some social groups are considered 'more prestigious' or is more dominant than another is hard to explain sometimes since different social factors can play a role in determining the social status of such groups. It is possible that 'Najdi' communities in the highlands, in other words non-Tihāmi communities, gain their dominance and prestige from the fact that they are a majority group in the country in comparison to Tihāmi groups. Another factor could be their peripheral geographical location, which isolates Tihāmi groups from the rest of the country. Therefore when communication takes place between outsiders and the native speakers in the lowlands, accommodation occurs to the more dominant dialect which is the dialect of the *naydi* . Given that locality has been found to be statistically insignificant, it appears that those 'outsiders' who come from different dialect backgrounds play an important role in breaking the isolation factor of the lowlands community by diffusing their dialect features among the locals and consequently making the two communities relatively similar in the rate of adoption of innovative features.

4.2.1.2.2 The interdental variable (ðˤ)

The data analysed for this variable includes tokens that descend from the historical emphatic interdental sound, i.e.* ðˤ. As established above, speakers have two variants for this variable; the lateral variant [ɮˤ] and the interdental variant [ðˤ]. These are identical to the variants used for the lateral variable (see figure 4.1). The interdental variable occurred in only a subset of the data, specifically in 84 tokens used by 19 speakers out of 28. The amount of data available for this variable is therefore relatively low. The 84 tokens are divided as follows; among the older group 20 tokens out of 33 were rendered with the lateral variant, whilst among the younger group 13 tokens out of 51 were realised with the lateral variant. It is important to mention that the lateral variant occurred in commonly used words such as /ɮˤuhr/ 'noon', /ɣaiɮˤu/ 'anger', /nnaɮˤif/ 'we clean', /yintaɮˤirka/ 'he waits for you', /maɮˤalla/ 'a traditional women's headdress', /ɮˤalʕu/ 'a disease name that affects lambs'; and less commonly used words such as /waɮˤi:fa/ 'employment', /ħa:fɮˤa/ 'container', /ʕaɮˤm/ 'bones', /ʔabu ɮˤabi/ 'Abu Dhabi'. The Rbrul run for this variable with the lateral variant as the application value is shown in the table 4.13.

					R²= 0.158

Age	[ɮˤ] mean	log-odds	tokens		centred factor weight
old	0.606	0.752	33		0.68
young	0.255	-0.752	51		0.32

(P<0.00125)

Cross-tabulations

Linguistic environment

	Preceding			
Following	obstruent	sonorant	total	Tokens
Obstruent	ø	0.250	0.250	4
sonorant	0.333	0.403	0.400	80
total	0.333	0.395	0.393	84

	Age			
Gender	old	young	total	Tokens
female	0.500	0.233	0.311	61
male	0.733	0.375	0.609	23
total	0.606	0.255	0.393	84

Highland

	Age			
Gender	old	young	total	Tokens
female	0.500	0.259	0.333	39
male	0.667	0.400	0.571	14
total	0.571	0.281	0.396	53

Lowland

	Age			
Gender	old	young	total	Tokens
female	0.500	0.188	0.273	22
male	0.833	0.333	0.667	9
total	0.667	0.211	0.387	31

Table 4.13: *Rbrul runs for the interdental variable and cross-tabulation of the linguistics environment, age gender and locality*

As the table shows, Rbrul runs returned age as the only statistically significant factor group (P<0.00125). Taking into consideration the low number of tokens available for the interdental variable, this finding strongly suggests that this variable is undergoing change in progress

towards the interdental variant. Similarly to the lateral variable the leaders of this change are the younger female group, as can be seen from the cross-tabulation in table 4.13.

Labov (1994) explains the general principles of a phonological merger. One principle is that phonological mergers expand at the expense of distinction. The present data for the lateral variable, and indeed the interdental variable, suggests that these are cases of a phonological merger. Both sounds /ðˤ/ and /ɮˤ/ are available in the phonetic inventory of the dialect, however the statistical results, showing a change in favour of the interdental sound in both cases and a marked tendency to use either sound as a reflex of both variables, leads to the conclusion that in fact the speakers do not treat them as separate phones, but rather as allophones of the same phoneme. Thus what the result overall show is a case of phonological merger in progress.

$$/ɮˤ/ + /ðˤ/ \rightarrow /ðˤ/$$

For this merger to happen is not at all surprising, given that the same merger has taken place in many Arabic dialects, inside and outside the peninsula. The dialects that continue to have both sounds, or a partial distinction, such as the dialect investigated in this study, are confined to this area of Arabic (by the look of things). The insight we gain from the analysis at hand concerns the *mechanism* through which the merger is occurring synchronically, which can improve our understanding of how it occurred all those centuries ago in other Arabic dialects, i.e. its diachrony.

The finding that in the process towards a merged state, lexemes are moved in both directions, since we not only find interdental realizations for etymological lateral realizations but also lateral realizations for etymologically interdental realizations, is an important piece of information. It shows that even though the outcome of the merger is identical in phonetic property to one of the phonemes (ðˤ), the lexical set of this phoneme does not remain stable –

waiting for its newly acquired siblings to arrive! as it were. On the contrary, these lexemes too become destabilised by moving in the 'wrong' direction. Most probably, this state of affairs points to a state of 'confusion'; in technical terms, it indicates that the speakers are losing or have lost intuition of the membership of each lexical set, even if sometimes they match actual phonetic realization with etymological realization correctly (as in the cases of correct match, see Table 4.4).

Noticeably, as we saw, the older generation's use of the lateral sound (in words that descend from both etymologies) is quite high, 79%. They also showed a very high rate of match between etymology and realization of *ẓˤ, 82%; but in the case of the interdental variable they match correctly in 39% of the cases only. In Al-Wer &Al-Qahtani (in press), we maintained that:

> "The high rate of mismatch they show in the case of the interdental lexical set is a strong indication that the preservation of the lateral sound in the ḍād lexical set is not due to the preservation of a 'phonemic distinction' between the two sounds, but that the high rate of match we found is an artifact, a result of an exaggerated usage of the lateral sound by the older generation"

What the older speakers do in this respect is not too different from the behaviour of native speakers of Arabic dialects that do not have a stop counterpart to the emphatic interdental (see type 2 dialects, section 4.1.2.4). Al-Wer (2003) comments on the mistakes that such speakers make when they read standard texts; often, they read the grapheme for ḍād [dˤ], i.e. the sound absent from their mother tongues, as emphatic interdental; clearly these speakers have no intuition of the split between the two phonemes (maintained in the standard variety) and hence produce only a merged version, even when they read from a scripted text (where two distinct graphemes are used). By the same token, as brought to my attention by Enam Al-Wer (personal communication), looking at written exchanges on the social media (Facebook,

Twitter) one encounters a very large number of cases where speakers whose dialects only
have the interdental phoneme (type 2 again) overusing the grapheme for *ḍād* (ض), i.e. they
use it instead of the (correct) interdental grapheme ظ even though it is the latter that their
dialects have, but not the former. Most probably these individuals are aware of the existence
of both phonemes, and are aware that their dialects do not have the stop phoneme, but do not
have intuition as to identity of the lexical entries in each set. The fact that they substitute their
dialectal form, even where it is the correct letter to use, by the grapheme for the stop variant
mean that they have no intuition of which lexical items belong in which lexical set. Back to
the older speakers in this study, it is possible that they too are aware that their dialect is losing
this distinctive lateral pronunciation, and at the same time, they have lost/are losing intuition
of which words belong in which set, so they end up using it in an ad hoc and possibly
exaggerated manner.

It seems that the speakers of the dialect under investigation in the present study are
creating a new lexical set in order to preserve the distinction between *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ* by analogy
with the old distinction that was originally created by old Arabic grammarians. However, this
new lexical set does not match the original lexical sets. Aware that their dialect is losing the
distinction, the speakers try to re-split the merger, incorrectly. According to Labov (1994:
311) "once a merger, always a merger". In reference to *ḍād* and ḏāʾ specifically, Al-Wer
writes:

> "While it is conceivable for an individual to unmerge these sounds through active
> learning, it is inconceivable for an entire community of speakers to achieve this, and
> thus to restore the original distribution"

(Al-Wer 2008: 603-605).

A further interesting observation about the progress of this merger is that the linguistic
constraint that may have once operated on the co-occurrence of the lateral fricative with

liquid sounds appears to have been partially broken (cf. Labov 1994, chapter 11). Steiner (1976:108-110) maintains that in Arabic roots *ḍād* (the lateral fricative) and /l/ are highly incompatible i.e. a lateral sound will avoid another lateral in the same way that /t/ will avoid /d/ in Arabic. On the other hand, Watson and Al-Azraqi (2011:425) maintain that the lateral variant is incompatible with both /l/ and /r/. In my data, there are no tokens in which the lateral sound co-occurs with /l/, thus agreeing with Steiner on this environment; but in as many as 13 tokens the lateral fricative [ɮˤ] co-occurs with /r/, as in the following examples: *ʕirɮˤa* 'was offered', *ʕarɮa* 'a type of dance' *ʔarɮˤin* ' a land' and *mʕa:rɮˤa:t* 'objections'.

4.3 Summary

This chapter shows that *ḍād* in the speech of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect is a variable. This sound has two realizations; the old and Proto-Semitic emphatic lateral fricative [ɮˤ] and the emphatic interdental [ðˤ]. Interestingly, these two realizations are also used for the Arabic sound *ḏāʾ*. This means that the phonology of the dialect is changing and the two sounds (*ḍād* and *ḏāʾ*) are merging because speakers alternate between the two realizations (the lateral and the interdental) with both etymologies. In other words, speakers treat the two realizations as two allophones for one single phoneme. This phoneme could be the historical *ɮˤ or the historical *ðˤ because the *mechanism* of this merger is 'bidirectional', where we find the lateral realization for historical *ɮˤ and historical *ðˤ and the interdental realization for historical *ɮˤ and historical *ðˤ.

The data strongly suggests that there is a change in progress from the old variant (the lateral) to the koineised variant (the interdental) .This change appears to be lead mainly by the younger women in the two localities. One linguistic motivation for this change is the fact that the lateral fricative sound is fairly rare in human languages, and is difficult to produce from an articulatory point of view. As for the social motivations of this change, this sound becomes a minority feature. Although one community is for the most part more isolated than

the other, both communities have witnessed several changes such as the presence of outsiders who tend to influence speakers' awareness towards their local dialect, making the two communities behave in a considerably similar manner as regards linguistic innovations.

Chapter 5

m-article

This chapter deals with the second linguistic variable in the present study, the definite article *m-*. The first section of this chapter (5.1) will give an overview of the history of the definite article in Arabic as discussed by ancient grammarians and by scholars in modern times. The second section of this chapter will present the data obtained from the statistical analysis carried out in Rbrul (5.2).

5.1 Literature review

5.1.1 Old grammarians

In *al-kitāb* Sībawayhi defines the definite article in Arabic as one letter, /l/, which he calls *lām al-maʿrifa* 'definite / l/'. He maintains that the /l/ which is used as the definite article is produced from the edge of the tongue and is usually assimilated when it is followed by one of thirteen consonants. Eleven of these consonants are also produced from the tip of the tongue and they are /n/, /r/, /d/, /t/, /ṣ/ [sˤ], /ṭ/ [tˤ], /z/, /s/,/ḏ/[ðˤ], /ṯ/[θ] and /ḏ/[ð] while the two remaining consonants /š/ [ʃ] and /ʒˤ/ are merged with *lām* , Sībawayhi writes:

> *wa-l-ʾiḥda ʿašara ḥarfan an-nūn wa-r-rāʾu wa-d-dālu wa-t-tāʾu wa-ṣ-ṣādu wa- ṭ-ṭāʾu wa-z-zāyu wa-s-sīnu wa-ẓ-ẓāʾu wa-ṯ-ṯāʾu wa-ḏ-ḏālu wa-l-laḏāni xālaṭāhā ḍ-ḍādu wa-š-šīnu liʾanna ḍ-ḍāda staṭālat li-raxāwatihā ḥattā ttaṣalat bi-muxraji l-lāmi wa-š-šīnu kaḏālika ḥattā ttaṣalat bi-muxraji ṭ-ṭāʾ*

> "and the eleven consonants of the tongue–tip are: nūn, rāʾ ,dāl, tā, ṣād, ṭāʾ, ẓāy, sīn, ẓāʾ, ṯāʾ, and ḏāl; and the two which merge into them are ḍād and šīn, because ḍād gets longer and longer on account of its weak contact until it joins the place of articulation of *lām,* and the šīn does likewise, joining the place of articulation of ṭāʾ'"

(Sībawayhi[29] 1988: 457, translation by Steiner 1976:63)

In *sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb* , Ibn Jinnī explains that al-Khalīl considers both the *hamza* or

'glottal stop' and the *lām* as the definite article, and he calls it *al* instead of *ʾalif* and *lām*.

Support for this view comes from the fact that the glottal stop and the *lām* are not separated in

written poems. However, Ibn Jinnī believes that only the *lām* /l/, without the glottal stop, is

the definite article and his view corresponds to Sībawayhi's description of the definite article.

One justification for this view is that just as indefiniteness is realized with one letter at the

end of nouns 'nunnation', definiteness should be realized with one letter at the beginning of

the nouns[30] .

Ibn Jinnī summarizes four main arguments regarding the definite article in Arabic,

and these arguments are:

Why it is only one letter (rather than ʾalif and lām).

Why it is sākin[31] i.e. non-vocalized.

Why it is particularly lām; /l/.

Why it is inserted at the beginning and not at the end of the word.

As for why the definite article is one letter, Ibn Jinni states that when *lām* is attached to

words it transfers the meaning from indefiniteness to definiteness. The reason that *lām* is said

to be non-vocalized is because being non-vocalized is weaker than being *mutaḥarrik* (i.e.

vocalized). The description of *lām* as being non-vocalized is required in order to indicate that

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[29] Volume 4

[30] *Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb,*p.337

[31] *suku:n* in Arabic is identified by placing the diacritic (º) above the letter.

lām is weak on its own, and it needs to be attached to the following nouns in order to signify definiteness.

As for why it is specifically *lām* which signals definiteness, rather than any other letter, Ibn Jinnī says that the place of articulation of *lām,* the tip of the tongue, is closer to the place of articulation of most Arabic consonants. Therefore, *lām* is assimilated with the consonants that are produced from the tip of the tongue. Assimilated sounds are usually weaker than dissimilated sounds, and when *lām* is assimilated it becomes weaker. Its assimilation to the following consonants emphasizes its attachment to the lexemes and thus its function of conveying definiteness.

Ibn Jinnī also states that when /l/ functions as a definite article and is followed by the thirteen letters mentioned by Sībawayhi, it should be assimilated and should not be hidden. He also maintains that in most languages where *lām* occurs before these thirteen letters it is usually assimilated (Ibn Jinnī: 347). It should be noted, however, that the situation is different in spoken dialects of Arabic. The consonants which assimilate the definite article in one dialect might not be the same in another. For example, *jīm* is not among the sounds mentioned by Sībawayhi to assimilate the definite article. However, in some Egyptian varieties where *jīm* is realized as a voiced velar plosive [g] this realization can be assimilated with the definite article as in *ig-gaw* 'the weather', while in some Arabian dialects where *jīm* is realized as a fricative (such as the dialect of Abha) the definite article is not assimilated, as in *l-ʒabal* 'the mountain'. The thirteen consonants, which Sībawayhi states, assimilate the definite article are thus not necessarily the same in all Arabic dialects, including the dialect under discussion in this study, (see data section 5.2.).

As for the argument of why *lām* is attached at the beginning of the lexemes and not at the end, Ibn Jinnī says it is simply because consonants cannot be omitted in word initial positions, whereas final consonants can be dropped. In word final positions they may undergo change or deletion in pause as in the process called *ʾat-tarxīm* , the dropping of final consonants from proper names, e.g. *mansˁu:r >mansˁu* 'Mansoor'. Therefore, in order to preserve grammatical function of the article the *lām-*is placed in word initial position.

In the *lāmāt* section[32] of šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal, Ibn Yaˁīiš defines the definite article as *al-lām as-sākina;* non-vocalized /l/. He mentions that the people of Yemen pronounce the definite article /l/ as /m/ *wa hiya yamāniyya* 'and it is Yemeni' as in the old Islamic narration: *laysa min m-birri m-ṣiyām fī m-safar* 'fasting while travelling (in the month of Ramaḍān) is not a piety'.

Aṭ-ṭumṭumāniyya is a term used to refer to the substitution of /l/ with /m/ as the definite article (el-Gindi 1983)*,* as in the examples below:

> *l-qamħ*   *m-qamħ*
>
> DEF-wheat   DEF-wheat
>
>   'the wheat'
>
> *l-hawɑ*   *m-hawɑ*
>
> DEF-air   DEF-air
>
>   'the air'
>
> *s-sahm*   *m-sahm*
>
> DEF-arrow   DEF-arrow

---

[32] šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal P.17

'the arrow'

There are different views regarding which tribe or community this linguistic feature can be attributed to. All of these views share the opinion that *aṭ-ṭumṭumāniyya* is related to the old tribes that inhabit the southern parts of Yemen, such as ʾAzd and Ṭayʾ , both belong to Qaḥṭāni tribes, and to the Himyarite kingdom, an extinct kingdom that existed in Yemen before Islam. It is clear that the use of the *m-* definite article is widespread in the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula, and as a dialect spoken at the periphery of Saudi Arabia the Tihāmi dialect shows affiliation to the Yemeni dialect in preserving the *m-* article. It is interesting to note that this old feature is still alive nowadays, and is even preserved by younger speakers of the Tihāmi dialect.

El-Gindi (1983) maintains that old Arabic grammarians usually invented terms for linguistic features that did exist in their language, and suggests that *aṭ-ṭumṭumāniyya* is probably one of these invented terms. In addition, most Arabic grammarians associate Himyaritic speech with *ʿajami* 'foreign' speech because it contains what they thought were foreign linguistic features. One such example comes from Zamaxšari, who in his book *al-xizāna* considers *aṭ-ṭumṭumāniyya* as *ʿajma* 'foreign'. Additionally, the old narration by ʿAmru bin al-ʿAlā states that the speech of Himyarite and the peripheries of Yemen is not the speech of Arabs: *walā ʿarabiyyatuhum ʿarabiyyatunā* 'their Arabic is not our Arabic' (cited in el-Gindi 1983: 399). Anīs (1952) mentioned that early Arabic philologists tended to hold a biased view towards dialects that were spoken in the peripheries of the Arabian Peninsula; they were considered as less 'pure' or less 'eloquent'. However, dialects that were spoken in

in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula such as Qurayš, Qays, Tamīm and ʾAsad were considered as 'pure' and 'eloquent' dialects (Anīs 1952: 42). It is possible that when old grammarians describe a feature as *šāḏ* 'odd' or 'weak', most likely they imply that it is a localized and non-standardised feature.

The negative evaluation of *aṭ-ṭumṭumāniyya* that we read in the ancient treatises persists to the present day. The standard form of the definite article, which is most widely used in written and spoken norms, as well as being the form found in the majority of Arabic dialects is the *l-* definite article. The number of dialects that have *m-* as a definite article is small, which makes this form a marked feature, and may be therefore 'strange' or even stigmatised in the region where it is still used in a minority of isolated dialects. It is doubtful in fact whether Arabic speakers in general are aware of its existence- if I wanted to judge by the reaction I receive when I happen to mention it to Arab colleagues.

Anīs (1952) maintains that in the *aṭ-ṭumṭumāniyya* feature, an oral sound /l/ is replaced by a nasal sound /m/. He states that one of the most common mistakes which children make is the replacement of /b/ with /m/ as in *balakūna > malatūna* 'balcony', and that these mistakes can be explained by the fact that /b/ and /m/ are homorganic. However, in the case of *aṭ-ṭumṭumāniyya* there seems to be no strong phonetic justification for the replacement of /l/ with /m/ because the two sounds have different places of articulation. Both sounds do though belong to the group of what Anīs (1952:123) calls "medial sounds", which includes /l/, /n/, /m/ and /r/, and which he defines as those sounds that share the characteristic of being *majhur* 'voiced', but are neither truly *šadīd* 'hard' (e.g. plosive/stop) nor rixwa 'soft' (fricative). According to Anīs (pp 123-124), these are basic sounds in human languages, acquired earlier than other sounds in the speech of children. They are also common in Semitic languages, for instance the definite article in Arabic is /l/ while in Hebrew it is /n/, which is

originally *han* or *hal*. Therefore, it is possible for a Semitic dialect such as Himyaritic to have

/m/ as the definite article due to the phonetic relationship which exists between this sound

and other Semitic articles such as /l/ and /n/.

Taymūr (1973) discusses the substitution of /l/ with /m/ in the definite article and

argues against the shared views which describe dialects that have this linguistic feature as

'odd' or 'weak'. He explains that the Arabic grammarian az-Zaǧǧāǧi mentions lexemes

where /l/ is substituted with /m/ as in *azla> azma* 'dilemma' and *ʿaṯam* [ʕaθam] *> ʿaṯal*

[ʕaθal] *'inclined'*; no grammarians seem to disapprove of this substitution in these words.

Other grammarians, such as ibn Hišām in his book *Muġni,* suggest that the

substitution of /l/ with /m/ is conditioned and occurs only when the definite article is followed

by a sound that does not assimilate the definite article, such as /k/ (cited in Taymūr 1973:

107). His assumption is based on the account of a student from Yemen who mentions that

some people in his country say*: xuḏi r-rumḥa w arkabi m-faras* (take.2SGM DEF-lance and

ride.2SGM DEF-horse) meaning 'take the lance and ride the horse'; the definite article *m-* is

used with *faras* 'horse' but is assimilated with *rumḥa* [rumħa]'lance'*,* which shows that the

m- article favours non-coronal sounds. Rabin (1951) also comments on this example and

suggests that this assimilation could be due to the influence of the Arabic article *l-*. However,

Taymūr (1973) believes that this might not be the case with all speakers and that some

speakers might use the *m-* article even with sounds that assimilate the definite article, for

example coronal sounds. He supports his view with evidence from the earlier discussed

narration in which *m-* is used with *m-ṣiyām* [m-sˁiya:m] DEF-fasting 'the fasting' and *m-safar*

DEF-travel 'the travel', where both lexemes begin with coronal sounds that normally

assimilate the definite article *l-*. He also quotes the old Arabic poem**:** *yarmī warāʾī bi m-*

sahmi (DEF-arrow) *wa-m-salima* (DEF-stone) 'he defends me once with the arrow and once with the stone', in which *m-* is similarly used with *sahmi* 'arrow' and *salima* 'stone' (Taymūr 1973:105). The present study will lend further support to these pieces of evidence by showing that Tihāmi speakers use the definite article *m-* with both coronal and non-coronal sounds (see data section 5.2).

The conclusion that can be taken from these reports given by Arabic grammarians is that the *m-* definite article is an old linguistic feature that dates back to the existence of the ancient Himyarite kingdom that settled in Yemen around the 3rd century. These reports also indicate that this article is variable in the speech of a group of speakers in Yemen, as discussed by Taymūr (1973). As far as I know, the *m-* article is also found in a few scattered villages in the highlands of ʿAsīr, and speakers who use it in their speech are often members of minority groups.

5.1.2 Rabin (1951)

The article *m-* is discussed by Rabin (1951), who mentions that the definite article in Yemen is *(a)m-* and that it spread up to the northern parts of Yemen during the 3rd century. He states that this definite article is still used in Yemen along with the *al-* definite article, but that *(a)m-* might have disappeared in Central Yemen.

Citing Landberg, Rabin (1951:35) maintains that the definite article *(a)m-* was frequently used in Zwāmil poetry, and this led him to conclude that the article *(a)m-* is an old feature that belongs to an archaic poetic language, rather than everyday language (cited in Rabin 1951:35). However, it should be pointed out that the use of the *m-* definite article is not

confined to poems, though male speakers do use it in a number of poems during the interviews, but it is also used in casual/everyday speech, as the present data will show.

The definite article in Ẓufār is *al-*, however it is assimilated when it is followed by /b/, /f/ and /m/. This is explained by Rabin as an indication that the definite article that was originally used in Ẓufār is *am-*, and the assimilation shows the remains of the older forms after the change had been completed.

Rabin also mentions a number of areas where the definite article *am-* is used outside of Yemen; it is used in Tihāma, in Mokha by some Bedouin tribes, by the Murra, northwest of the Empty Quarter, and also in Central Africa by some Bedouin groups. Rabin disagrees with the idea that *am-* article is only to be found in older forms of South Arabian dialects, because this article is also a common feature of West Arabian varieties. He further suggests that since there is evidence that the definite article *am-* was used in the speech of Ṭayyiʾ, this article must have been ejected from the central-west region in the 8ᵗʰ century and is now starting to disappear from Yemen. However, he proposes that the development of definite article *am-* can be associated with the *Liḥyanic* definite article, which is *h-* or *hn-* before some consonants such as *ʾalif* and *ʿayn* (Rabin 1951:35).

According to Rabin, based on what is quoted by Nashwān, in some Yemeni dialects the definite article *an-* is used instead of *am-*. This article is believed to be related to the South Arabian prefixed article *an-*, which is found in some of the Hamdānī's Himyaritic inscriptions as *hn-*. According to some Himyaritic inscriptions all examples of the definite article *an-* occur before velar, guttural or emphatic consonants as in *an-ḫulm* 'the dream', *an-qushm* 'fresh vegetables', *an-hind* 'India' and *an-ṣarīf* 'silver'. Rabin maintains that it is difficult to suggest any linguistic rule to explain the use of the definite article *an-* rather than

am- before certain consonants. The material available in the literature may not be accurate since the scholars who copy these examples lack the knowledge of the correct spellings of the "normalized" forms (Rabin 1951: 35). Rabin demonstrates that the definite article *an-* could be used before certain consonants in some areas in Yemen, while in other areas the *am-* article is used. He then suggests that that the definite article was originally *an-*, and that this was maintained before velar and emphatic sounds, before changing to *am-* and then to the newer form *al-* .

5.1.3 Greenman (1979)

Greenman (1979) gives a brief sketch of the Central Yamani Tihāmi dialect (CT) as part of a study which he conducted in 1975. The dialect under investigation in my study shares a number of linguistic features with the dialect which Greenman examined. This is because the two dialects belong to the same dialect family, *Tihāma*, and are located in relatively close proximity geographically. The word Tihāma refers to the areas that extend from south Ḥijāz along the western Arabian coast. However, Greenman's study is focused on the Tihāmi dialect spoken in the Republic of Yemen, where its main centre is al-Ḥudaydah. One of the main aims of his study is to describe this dialect, which is unknown to most scholars.

The data collected for Greenman's study includes casual conversations and discussions with adult male speakers only. One problem with the sample in this study, which the researcher points out, is the lack of children and female participants, which is attributed to the limited time available to carry out the research. The sample is further divided into urban (U) and rural (R) speakers. This classification is not based on the speakers' birthplace or their lifestyle, but rather on some linguistic features which they use in their speech, and is a

"language-based" classification (Greenman 1979: 51). The speakers who were grouped as urban use certain linguistic features which are characteristic of some native speakers of al-Ḥudaydah, while these features are absent from the speech of the rural speakers. In order to analyse the CT dialect a comparison was carried out between its linguistic features and the features found in Literary Arabic 'LA'[33].

One of the most distinctive features of the morphology of the CT dialect is the use of the definite article *m-*. It is still used in the CT dialect in the present day, despite that it is undergoing linguistic change toward the standard form i.e. the article *l-*. Greenman found his rural speakers to use the traditional article *m-* far more often than urban speakers. While interviewing his participants, Greenman noticed that the occurrence of the article *m-* seemed to be "random" i.e. it occurs equally frequently with *Sun* and *Moon letters* (Greenman 1979: 52). However, in my present study the data suggest that the use both forms (*m-* and *l-)* is constrained by the following environment (see section 5.2).

Greenman also found that the *Sun letters* that assimilate the article *l-* in LA are the same as in the CT dialect. However, the progressive gemination that these consonants undergo in LA does not occur with the *m-* article in the CT dialect; instead a kind of dissimilation occurs. In other words, the *m-* article in CT is not assimilated when it is followed by the *Sun letters*, as in the examples below.

[*fiyān rUḥtI l-yōm rUḥtE m-xabt*]   'Where did you go today, did you go to the desert?'

Q go.2SGF DEF-today go.2SGF DEF-desert

[*m-šanṭah dahi bēnE m-rUkn*]   'The suitcase, that's it in the corner.'

DEF- suitcase DEM.SGF in DEF-corner

(examples from Greenman 1979:58)

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[33] Modern Standard Arabic

Similarly, my data shows that the *m-* article does not undergo assimilation in the Tihāmi dialect.

5.1.4 Prochazka (1988)

In his article *Gleanings from south-western Saudi Arabia*, Prochazka (1988) gives a brief summary of some linguistic features of a number of dialects in the south west of Saudi Arabia. He examines data that has been collected from dialects across two localities, the highlands and the lowlands (Tihāmah). However it should be pointed out that the two communities under investigation in my study are not included in the areas he covers. It is important to note that there are a number of linguistic features which the Tihāmi dialect shares with the dialects Prochazka examined. Among those linguistic features presented is the definite article which has two forms *il-* and *im-*. He lists the areas in which these articles are used, as below.

a) *ʾil- in* Rufaidah, Tanūmah, al-Ghāmid, al-Qauz.

b) *ʾim-* in al-Qahabah, Abha, al-Saḥrāʾ, Rijāl, Bal-Qarn, Bal-Asmar, Maḥāyil area and Wādi m-Ghēr, *ʾum-* in Bal-Aḥmar, *m-* in Bal-Qarn, *ʾam-* in Abū ꜥArīš.

It is noticeable that he does not list Abha among the areas that use the definite article *il-*. It should be pointed out that although Abba is included in Prochazka's list among the *m-dialects,* according to my knowledge as a native to the city, *im-* is not used in the city itself but can be found nearby villages, such as as-Sūda and al-Masgī, while the common form of the definite article in Abha itself is *il-*. Prochazka also points out that the *m-* article is not assimilated with the *Sun letters* as in *im-šams* 'the sun' in Abha, um-sāḥah in Bal-Aḥmar.

5.1.5 Behnstedt (2007)

Behnstedt (2007) presents the distribution of the different forms of the definite article in

Yemen using the maps from his 1985 atlas. It is widely known that *m-* article exists in Yemen

namely in the Daṯīnah since the early descriptions of Landberg (1905) in Yemen. However, it

is not easy to locate exactly the areas where *m-* article is used. In this article Behnstedt

emphasises the importance of Vanhove's work in Yemen for his project. Vanhove explains

that *l-* article is used in a number of areas including Ḥaḍramawt, Šabwa, Ḍāliʿ, Laḥǧ, Yāfiʿ

and ʿAdan. She did not, however, mention any other areas where *l-* article is used.

What has not been investigated so far is *m-* article in Mukayras and in the Tihāmah of

Yemen and areas that extend south until ʿAdan . Behnstedt reports that in the Ḥugayrīyah *m-*

article is used. In the north of Tihāmah, part of the areas where *m-* article is used extends

further to the Saudi borders (see map5.2). This part includes areas in Tihāmah and ʿAsīr in

Sadui Arabia such as al-Qahabah, Abha, aṣ-Ṣaḥrāʾ, Rijāl, Bal-Asmar, Bal-Qarn, Mḥāyil area,

Wādi m-Ġēr. Behnstedt explains that in Abū ʿArīš, south Saudi Arabia, the two forms *m-* and

im- are used. In the eastern parts of Tihāmah *l-*, rather than *m-*, article is used along with the

assimilated form.

On map (5.1) the al-Bayḍāʾ province represents the starting point of the region where

im- article is used. From al-Bayḍāʾ up to the south and to the east scatter a number of areas

where their names start with *am-* article, and these areas extend to the north of Daṯīnah. As

for Abyan, an area where Vanhove mentioned has *am-* and *um-* articles, there is only one area

whose name starts with *am-* article namely am-Asalah.

A further isolated point on map (5.1) is an area that is called im-ʿĀqir, but in

geographical map this area is rendered with *al-* article. Despite the fact that im-ʿĀqir is not

very isolated nowadays it continues to have *im-* article. To the north of this area lies Bayḫān

province where there are two villages that have *am-* article (map 5.1). On the opposite side

Jibāl am-Nāsiyīn, and to the south east of this area there are two villages that have *am-*

article.

Immediately to the east of ʿAdan, there are a number of village names that start with

am- article. These areas extend from ʿAtāq from the north and in Šuqrā from the coast (5.1).

The line on map (5.1) represents a border line between areas that have *am-* article and areas

that have *al-* article. In the eastern part of Daṯīnah, south to Ḥaḍramawt and ʿAwlaq, the

definite article *al-* is used.

Behnstedt talks about a *schlauchform* area (map 5.2), an area that forms a corridor

where *al-* article is used (Behnstedt 2007: 53). This *schlauchform* extends from ʿAdan up to

Ṣaʿdah until it reaches the Saudi border from the west and goes in parallel to the Tihāmah

where *m-* article is used. To the west of Ṣaʿdah there are a number of areas where *an-* and *in-*

article is used. Additionally, in these areas the article *l-* is assimilated to all the following

consonants. In Minabbeh, in the northwest, there are areas that have *im-* article and extend in

parallel to ʿAsīr in Saudi Arabia (map 5.2).To the north of Jawf and wādī al-xabb there are no

areas or villages' names that start with *im-* article. In the central east, in parallel to the

schlauchform, there are areas that are mostly deserts where *il-* article is used. From Ḥarīb in

the direction of al-Bayḍāʾ appear a number of areas where *am-* article is used. Behnstedt

further maintains that information given to this *schlauch* can be updated by adding what he

calls "relic islands" that have *im-*, *l-* and the assimilated forms. This area would be of

considerable importance for sociolinguistic research that incorporates social, political and space factors into the analysis.

Behnstedt concludes that interestingly in Yemeni dialects there are two conservative features that do not actually go in parallel to each other namely *m-* article and *k*-perfect. Dialects that have k- perfect, have *l-* article while dialects that have *m-* article do not have *k*-perfect, they only have t-perfect form (Behnstedt 2007:54).

2

Banī Ḍabyān

am-ʿUḍaym   15°00'

Ḥarīb   am-Laqīṭ

Ḥarīb   Bayḥān   Jibāl am-Nāsiyīn

Bayḥān   14°45

am-Rayš

im-ʿĀgir   J. am-Maru   J. am-Rayyān

Marxah   ʿAwlaqī   ʿAtāq

am-Šarfāʾ

am-Mukayl
J. am-Sarīq   ʿAqabat am-Ḥāliyah am-Silbābah
Maswarah   Ḥiṣn am-Jahwar
am-Kadāb
Nayd am-Masxal am-Suyiq
Farʿat am-Ḥanaš   14°15
am-Fārah

am-Tūm
ʿAqabat am-Hayni
al-Munqatiʿ   am-Ḥabl   Qarn am-Maldah
14°00'
am-Xayyālah J. am-Kulaybah
Bilād am-Suhūr 1   ʿAwdalī
al-Baydāʾ am-Hajar am-Nabr 2 am-Šaʿah   am-Ṣurrah
19   17 3
Mukayrās 18   16 am-Nijdah am-Jāyizah am-Qulaytah
20   21   4   am-Qaws
Rahwat am-Daqīqah am-Suwayq 15   7 6 am-Madarah
am-Rāya   am-Madmanah 14 13 am-Qifiriyah Datīnah am-Mahafhaf
Rahwat am-Qufl ʿArqūb am- 11 12 8
Kubayr am-Minṣāb 10   am-Xuḍayrah
9   am-ʿAyn   ʿAwlaqī
14°45
am-ʿAmūd am-Durayb am-Salāmiyah
Arḍ am-šarqī   am-Qawz am-Wuḍayʿ
am-Ḥadīdah   am-Xuḍayrah am-Farš
J. am-Naqʿah am-Dubbān
Yāfiʿ   am-Jaḥšā am-Maḥāṭit Faḍlī
am-Ṣurrah   Aḥwar
J. am-Lijafah   13°30
am-Fayš

am-Sawād
am-Zawq   Muqaybirah

Šuqrā   13°15

Saylat am-Suhaybiyah am-Asalah

J. am-Qarnayn Abyan   13°00'

Sauddünen

am-Mišrāh

ʿAdan 45°15   45°30   45°45   46°00'   46°15   46°30   46°45

Legend:
1 am-Ḍayq
2 am-Hajriyah
3 am-Yarbūb
4 am- Darb
5 am-Naʿbūb
6 am-Jinḥ
7 am-Jarūbah
8 Jawf am-Maqbābah
9 am-Sidrah
10 am-Qāʿ
11 am-Mājil
12 am-Madrūkah
13 am-Qāʿ
14 am-Ṣawmaʿah
15 am-Mišqālah
16 am-Ṣaʿrah
17 ʿAqabat am-ʿAwdah
18 Ahl am-Fiḍḍah
19 am-Ġawl
20 am-Salūl
21 am-Hajar am-ʿUlyā

Map 5.1: The distribution of the definite article in Yemen (Behnstedt 2007:56).
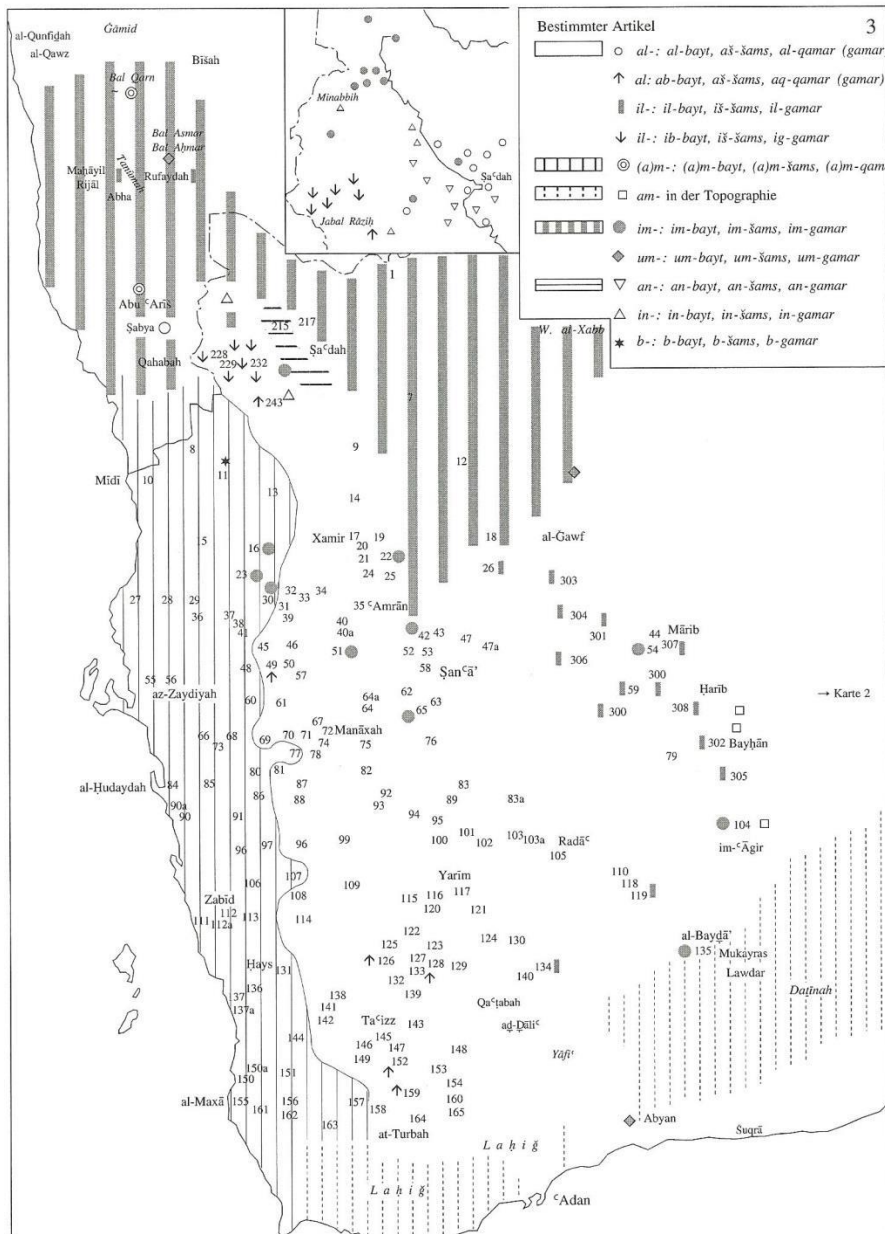
Map 5.2: The distribution of the definite article in Yemen (Behnstedt 2007:57)

5.1.6 Alfaifi and Behnstedt (2010)

There is a widespread impression in Saudi Arabia that the dialect of Čabal Fayfāʾ is the

hardest to understand in the country "*ʾaṣʿab lahǧa bil-mamlaka*" (Alfaifi & Behnstedt

2010:53). According to the writers the dialect of Čabal Fayfāʾ has experienced numerous

sound changes, yet has preserved a number of archaic morphological and lexical features that

are related to ancient Classical Arabic. The dialect of Čabal Fayfāʾ is not discussed by

Prochazka (1988), who gives an otherwise full descriptive account of the dialects of Saudi

Arabia. This might be due to the remote location of Čabal Fayfāʾ and the areas around it,

located as they are on the borders of Saudi Arabia.

Alfaifi and Behnstedt give a preliminary description of the dialect of Čabal Fayfāʾ

(JF) and compare it to the dialect of Minabbih (M), an area located in the northern parts of

Yemen close to the borders with Saudi Arabia. The researchers maintain that these two

dialects can be classified together as one dialect group, due to their geographical location and

the linguistic features which they share. In both dialects M and JF *im-* is used as the definite

article. However, in the JF the *im-* article does not co-occur with demonstratives, as in the

examples below.

> *ḏī r-ruǧl*
>
> DEM.SGM DEF-man
>
> 'this (the) man'
>
> *tī l-marah*
>
> DEM.SGF DEF-woman
>
> 'this (the) woman'

(Alfaifi & Behnstedt 2010: 60)

In my data however both forms (*m-* and *l-*) co-occur with demonstratives, as will be demonstrated shortly.

5.1.7 The definite article in other Semitic languages

In Modern South Arabian languages (MSA) such as Mehri and Ḥarsūsi the affixes *h(a)/ḥ(a)* and *a-/-ə* are used as definite articles, whilst the affix ɛ- is used in Śḥeri. In Socotri the same affixes are used as in Mehri and Ḥarsūsi, but the morphological function is lost (Johnstone 1970) (see also Watson (2011) for more details about MSA).

In Phoenician and Punic, two Canaanite dialects, *h-* is used as the definite article. In the Punic language -ˤ, -ʾ,-ˤḥ are also used as definite articles. The following consonant is doubled after these articles as in *ˤmmqm /ˤamm-/* 'the place' (Segert 2007:78).

In Hebrew the definite article is *han* or *hal*, and it prefixes nouns and sometimes demonstratives as in *hāʾîš hāhûʾ* 'that man'. The following consonant undergoes gemination and /n/ is assimilated, following the same process as the consonants that assimilate the definite article *l-* in Arabic, as in *handelet > haddelet* 'the house'. When the definite article *han* is followed by laryngeal or pharyngeal sounds, or /r/, it does not undergo assimilation. However, when it is followed by a vowel its quality and quantity is changed, as in *han ˤām > hā ˤām* 'the people'. When the definite article is preceded by a preposition such as lə 'to', /h/ is deleted as in *ləhammayim > lammayim* 'to the water' (Rendsburg 2007:90).

5.2 Data

The data presented in this section concerns the variability in the use of the definite article by speakers of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect. Speakers alternate between two variants; the local traditional form *m-* and the standardized form *l-*. In addition, the *l-* variant undergoes assimilation when it is followed by certain consonants and this assimilation results in the doubling or 'gemination'of these consonants. As mentioned earlier consonants that assimilate the definite article, the so-called Sun Letters, may differ from one Arabic dialect to another. The present discussion will identify these consonants in the speech of the Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni dialect, in addition to presenting the results of the statistical analysis.

5.2.1 Coding procedure and results

In order to analyse this variable I started with a general model that examined the use of the definite article and the 'following sound' as a factor group. This model contained three variants namely *m-*, *l-,* and the *assimilated* form. By examining the effect of the following sound as a factor group, the analysis will also shed light on the consonants that assimilate the article. Additionally, it has been reported in the literature that some speakers in Yemen only use the *m-* form before consonants that do not assimilate the definite article *l-*, i.e. the so-called Moon Letters, as in the example:

> *xuði r-rumħa w arkabi m-faras*
>
> take.IMP.2SGM DEF-lance and ride.IMP.2SGM DEF-horse
>
> 'take the lance and ride the horse'
>
> <div align="right">(Taymūr 1973: 107).</div>

Table 5.1 contains the number of tokens in each of the environments that were coded for. The 'following sound' was coded firstly by the factors 'back sounds' (/ħ/, /x/, /ʕ/, /ɣ/,

/g/,/q/,/ k/, /h/), 'coronal' (/t/, /tˤ/, /d/, /ð/,/ðˤ/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /sˤ/, /n/, /r /, /y/), 'labial' (b, f, w),

'vowel' (/a/, /i/, /u/), 'voiced palatal /ʒ/', 'lateral fricative /ɮˤ/', '/m/', '/l/'. The voiced palatal

/ʒ/ and the emphatic lateral fricative /ɮˤ/ were given a separate value from the rest of the

coronal sounds because on early inspection of the data it appeared that these sounds occurred

more frequently with *m-article*. In fact, in the lowland community, /ʒ/ tokens occurred

exclusively with *m-article* (section 5.2.3). The sounds /m/ and /l/ were coded separately in

order to check for the potential influence of a following homorganic consonant (viz. /l/ after

l-article; /m/ after *m*-article).

	assimilated	/l/-	/m/-	Total
Following sound				
back sound	0	132	197	329
coronal	73	10	177	260
labial	0	69	66	135
/ɮˤ/	0	0	29	29
m	0	63	60	123
/l/	0	15	21	36
/ʒ/	0	10	44	54
Vowel	0	31	31	62
Total	73	330	625	1028

Table 5.1: *Cross-tabulation of the three variants (l-, m-, the assimilated form) and the*

following sound

As can be seen, cross-tabulation of 'following sound' as a factor group and the three variants

shows empty cells. The empty cells can be symptomatic of the environments that assimilate

and those that do not assimilate preceding *l-article*. For instance, under *assimilated* there are

no tokens with *back sound*, *labial, /ɮˤ/, /ʒ/, vowel, /l/, /m/*. Under *l-,* there are no tokens with a

following /ɮˤ/. Finally, there are no tokens with *l-* or *assimilated* in the environment of a

following /ɮˤ/. Keeping in mind the possibility that the empty cells are simply gaps in the

data (i.e. that the pool of data (by accident) does not have such token -where *l-article* is

followed by these sounds), we may conclude that *l-* is assimilated before /s/, /z/, /sˤ/, /ʃ/, /d/,

/t/, /r/, /n/, /tˤ/, /θ/, /ðˤ/, /ð/, whereas before non-coronal it does not undergo this assimilation.

Furthermore, we notice that there are no empty cells under variant *m-article*, which means

that *m-* can occur in all environments, assuming again there are no gaps in the data.

Importantly, we notice that before lateral fricative /ɮˤ/ the only possibility is *m-*, as in the

following examples:

    m-ɮˤa:n

    DEF-sheep

    'the small sheep'

    m-ɮˤayf

    DEF-guest

    'the guest'

    m-ɮˤi:fa:n

    DEF-guests

    'the guests'

    m-ɮˤoma

    DEF-bowl

    'the traditional food bowl made from grass'

This means that /ɮˤ/ does not co-occur with /l/ (see section 4.2), and that the assimilated

variant has an underlying *l-* article (or has the same effect in the phonology of the

dialect).Since there is no variation in the tokens containing a following /ɮˤ/, these tokens were

excluded from the pool of data that went into the statistical testing.

    The coding procedure outlined above (3 variants) is problematic for Rbrul modelling

because of the empty cells and the nature of the variants involved in that they are discrete

variants rather than continuous (Rbrul does not handle non-binary variables with variants that

are non-continuous, see Johnson 2009). One solution is to conflate variants and to re-code the 'following sound' factors. The evidence available from other Arabic dialects that have *l-article* only suggest that assimilation occurs in more or less the same environments reported here, which increases my confidence that the assimilated tokens have an underlying *l-article*. Additionally, as we saw above (Table 5.1) there are commonalities between the two variants, /l/ and *assimilated* form*,* in co-occurrence with other sounds, viz. both of them do not co-occur with /ʤˤ/. There are, in other words, some theoretical basis for considering the tokens in which /l/ is assimilated as tokens of the variant *l-article.* It was therefore decided to conflate the two variants *assimilated* and */l/-* into one variant 'l-article'. Consequently, the variable is henceforth treated as a binary variable, and the two variants are called *l-article* (which includes *assimilated* and /l/- forms), and *m-article.*

5.2.2 Results and discussion

The first model (Model I) examined the use of the two variants (*m-article* and *l-article*) with respect to 'following sound' (six factors), 'age' (two factors), 'gender' (two factors), and 'locality' (two factors). The application value that was selected for this model is the incoming variant which is the *l-* article. The results are presented in table 5.2.

| | | | | R² = 0.117 |
| | | | | application value: *l-* |
following sound	**log-odds**	**tokens**	***l-* mean**	**Cantered factor weight**
vowel	0.585	59	0.492	0.642
labial	0.355	138	0.514	0.588
/m/	0.342	123	0.512	0.585
/l/	0.059	36	0.417	0.515
backsounds	0.046	329	0.401	0.512
coronal	-0.284	260	0.319	0.429
/ʒ/	-1.103	54	0.185	0.249
(P <8.65e-05)				
Gender				
Female	0.336	455	0.514	0.583
Male	-0.336	544	0.311	0.417
(p< 1.2e-06)				
Locality				
Highlands	0.323	589	0.480	0.58
Lowlands	-0.323	410	0.293	0.42
(P < 7.57e-06)				
Age	[]	[]	[]	[]
				Grand mean 0.403

Table 5.2: Model I: *Rbrul results of the use of m-article.*

Rbrul returned the following factor groups as significant: *following sound, gender* and *locality*. With respect to 'following sound', all factors except *coronal* and /ʒ/ favour *l-article*. The female speakers favour the incoming variant, while the male speakers disfavour it. The highland community favours the innovative variant *l-*.

Seeing as the factor weights and means of 'm' and 'labial' are identical (0.58/51%, 0.58/51%, respectively), and since /m/ is labial, I decided to run a second model with these two factors conflated as 'labial'. Table 5.3 displays these results as Model II.

				$R^2 = 0.116$
				Application value: *l-*
Following sound	**log-odds**	**tokens**	***l-* mean**	**Centred factor weight**
vowel	0.643	59	0.492	0.656
labial	0.407	261	0.513	0.6
/l/	0.117	36	0.417	0.529
back sounds	0.104	329	0.401	0.526
coronal	-0.226	260	0.319	0.444
/ʒ/	-1.045	54	0.185	0.26
(P < 3.34e-05)				
Gender				
Female	0.336	455	0.514	0.583
Male	-0.336	544	0.311	0.417
(p< 1.17e-06)				
Locality				
Highlands	0.323	589	0.480	0.58
Lowlands	-0.323	410	0.293	0.42
(P < 7.51e-06)				
Age	[]	[]	[]	[]
				Grand mean 0.403

Table 5.3: Model II: *Rbrul results of the use of m-article.*

Chi square was used to compare the two models; the difference was found to be statistically insignificant (p= 0.956 (>0.05)). In this case, the model with less DF is usually preferred. In the case at hand, Model II has a less DF value (8) than Model I (9). In Model II, the same factor groups were returned as significant (*following sound, gender, locality*); the hierarchy of the linguistic constraints remains the same: *vowel, labial, /l/, back sounds, coronal, /ʒ/.* According to this Model, factors *vowel, labial, /l/,* and *back sounds* favour *l-article,* while

coronal disfavours *l-article* and */ʒ/* strongly disfavours it (FW 0.26). Broadly speaking, this hierarchy makes sense: *l-article* and *m-article* are disfavoured when followed by homorganic (or nearly homorganic) consonants (coronal and /ʒ/ in the case of *l-article*, and labial in the case of *m-article*). The effect of 'following vowel' may be skewed by the low number of tokens in this category.

There are 123 tokens in which the article is followed by /m/, distributed almost evenly between the two variants (51% with *l-*), and in some of these items the same word was used with both variants; some of these items are listed below.

	l-article	*m-article*	*gloss*
-/m/	*l-mantˤiga*	*m-man tˤiga*	the region
	l-madrasa	*m-madrasa*	the school
	l-maɣrib	*m-maɣrib*	the dusk

This shows that although there is a general tendency (as demonstrated by the statistics) for both forms of the article to disfavour environments of a following sound at the same point of articulation, a following /m/ does not prevent the use of the traditional variant, *m-article*. Furthermore, there are no sounds that assimilate *m-article*. For instance, in the examples below, *m-article* occurs before a following labial sound; its phonetic integrity is unaffected by the contiguity of another labial or even bilabial consonant:

	l-article	*m-article*	*gloss*
-/f/	*l-farʃa*	*m-farʃa*	Farša (the village)
-/b/	*l-burr*	*m-burr*	the whole meal flour
-/m/	*l-mantˤiga*	*m-mantˤiga*	the region
-/w/	*l-wagt*	*m-wagt*	the time

Rabin (1951: 35) cites the dialect of Ẓufār in which *l-article* is used but assimilated before /b,

f, m/ (i.e. labial sounds). In his view, assimilation after *l-article* in this environment can be

explained by positing an earlier stage in the dialect where *m-article* was the form used; in

other words, he is suggesting that these assimilated forms, before labial sounds, are fossilised

forms. He thus implies that an *m-article* assimilates to a following homorganic consonant. In

TQ dialects however, there is absolutely no evidence for assimilation of *m-article* in any

environment, including a following labial sound (as demonstrated in the examples above).

If we now consider the tokens with a following /l/, there are 36 tokens in this

category, of these app. 41% occur with *l-article* (15 tokens). Similarly, this shows that *l-article* is not blocked altogether in a homorganic environment. In fact this environment is

shown as a slightly favoured environment for *l-article* to occur (FW 0.529), with a mean of

app. 41% of *l-article*. Unfortunately, there are only 36 tokens in this category, and although

the mean of occurrence of the incoming variant (*l-article*) in this category (41%) is

comparable to the overall mean (40%), i.e. there is no evidence of skewing in either direction,

it would be sensible to resolve this issue with further research in the future using a larger

database. Further, we notice that coronal sounds disfavour *l-article* (FW 0.444; log-odds -

0.226). This factor includes the following sounds: glide /j/, dental, alveolar and post alveolar.

All 10 tokens that occurred with *l-article* contain a following glide, as in *l-yawm* 'the day', *l-yaba:n* 'Japan', *l-yibil* 'the camels'. In this sense, glide /j/ behaves similarly to back sounds,

which do not assimilate the *l-article*. And there are 12 tokens beginning with /j/ that occurred

with *m-article*, as in *m-yawm* 'the day', *m-yadd* 'the hand'. This leads us to conclude that

while *l-article* is totally blocked with a following /s/, /z/, /sˤ/, /ʃ/, /d/, /t/, /r/, /n/, /tˤ/, /θ/, /ðˤ/,/ð/

(i.e. the Sun Letters), there are no categorical constraints on the occurrence of *m-article*.

As for the use of the variants before back sounds (/ħ/, /x/, /ʕ/, /ɣ/, /g/, /q/, / k/, /h/) Table 5.3 shows that they favour the use of *l-article* (FW0. 526; mean 40%). Nonetheless, the use of the traditional form, *m-article,* is still predominant (60%) in this environment (as well as in the data overall). When followed by these consonants the article does not undergo assimilation as can be seen in the examples below.

	l-article	gloss	m-article	gloss
-ħ	*l-ħuku:ma*	the government	*m-ħila:ga*	the shaving
-ʕ	*l-ʕarab*	the Arab	m-ʕasal	the honey
-ɣ	*l-ɣuraf*	the rooms	*m-ɣazu*	the invasion
-g	*l-gahwa*	the coffee	*m-guru:ʃ*	the coins
-x	*l-xubz*	*the bread*	*m-xatˤtˤ*	the highway
-k	*l-kara:ti:n*	'the boxes'	*m-ku:ra*	the ball
-h	*l-hiwa:ya:t*	the hobbies	*m-hawa:*	the air
-q	*l-qa:ʕa*	'the venue'		

The grand mean indicates that the traditional form, *m-article*, is the form that is used predominantly (60%), and the *l-article* is making its way into the grammar of the dialect, but since 'age' was not returned as a significant factor group we cannot conclude on the basis of these statistics that there is change in progress towards the innovative feature *l-article* (but see table 5.4). This suggests that the situation currently is not about change in progress from *m-article* to *l-article* (in which one form will eventually oust the other), but rather the two forms may survive, and the new form is being integrated in the grammar. The statistics, specifically those concerning the linguistic constraints on the variation in the usage of the two forms, give us clues as to how this integration may be proceeding: *l-article* is favoured in environments other than those in which this form of the article is followed by coronal sounds (including /ʒ/), and *m-article* is being 'reallocated' to environments where the article is

followed by a coronal sound. This rearrangement of the rules –to integrate the new form- may be phonologically motivated in that both variants are allocated heterogenic (non-homorganic) phonological environments. If this is indeed what is happening, it may be considered as a form of 'complexification' of the grammar (cf. Trudgill 2011) since a form has been added, and the use of the two forms is constrained by phonological rules.

Another interesting observation which can be made from the data is that the *m*-article does co-occur with demonstratives. This contrasts with what Alfaifi and Behnstedt (2010) found in the dialect of Čabal Fayfāʾ, where they mention in their first notes on this dialect that *m-article* does not co-occur with demonstratives, and only the *l-article* is used. In the current data, there are 19 tokens of the demonstratives that co-occur with the definite article. These tokens are distributed as follows; two tokens co-occur with *m-article* as in the example below.

> *ha:ða m-faru*
>
> DEM.SGM. DEF-wool
>
> 'this (the) wool
>
> *ha:ða m-walla³⁴*
>
> DEM.SGM. DEF-new born
>
> 'this (the) new-born'

The other 17 tokens co-occur with the *l*-article as in the following examples:

> *ða:k l-wagt*
>
> DEM.SGM DEF-time
>
> 'that (the) time'
>
> *ha:ða l-yawm*
>
> DEM.SGM DEF-day

---

³⁴ It is originally *wallad*, but final consonants are usually dropped in pause.

'this (the) day'

ta:k l-mantˤiga

DEM.SGF DEF-region

that (the) region'

ha:ði l-ħuku:ma

DEM.SGF DEF-government.

'this (the) government'

With respect to the social variables, Model II shows that the female speakers and the highland speakers favour the application value (*l-article*), while male speakers and the lowland speakers disfavour it. Table (5.3) shows that there is a large and highly significant ($p< 1.17e-06$) gender distinction in the use of *l-* article; women use the innovative form *l-article* significantly more (51%) often than men (31%). Such a finding corroborates the suggestion put forward by J. Milroy et al (1994) that gender differentiated patterns show women leading in the use of linguistic features that may be described as 'supra-local' while male speakers use localised features more consistently. In our case, *l-article* may be described as a supra-local feature by virtue of the fact that it is the form found in all Arabian dialects outside this region, including all major city dialects. On the other hand, the use of the *m-article* is confined to a small group of dialects, all of which may be described as rural and isolated dialects. The interesting aspect of my finding is that it shows a similar gender pattern to that which was found in highly industrialised and highly urbanised communities in the West, as well as in heterogeneous Arab cities such as Jeddah (Al-Essa 2009), Amman (Al-Wer 2007), and Damascus (Ismail 2008).

With respect to locality, Rbrul analysis shows that the difference between highlands and lowlands speakers in the use of the innovative form, *l-article*, is highly significant ($P < 7.51e-06$); highland speakers are ahead (48%) of lowland speakers (29%) in using the innovative feature. This means that the less isolated speakers use the incoming variant more

frequently than the more isolated speakers (lowlands). This is evidence that geographical location is important. This therefore supports the main hypothesis of the present study, where locality is believed to influence the local dialect. Further details about the behaviour of different gender and age groups in the two communities are dealt with in section (5.2.3 and 5.2.4) where I look at the statistics for each locality separately. As a precursor to sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 in which the results are presented and discussed for each community separately, in Table 5 4 I present the cross-tabulation of the social variables *locality, age* and *gender*.

application value: *l-article*				
Highlands				
Gender	**old**	**young**	**total**	**Tokens**
Female	0.474	0.540	0.506	332
Male	0.533	0.324	0.447	257
Total	0.502	0.455	0.480	
Tokens	323	266		589
Lowlands				
Female	0.241	0.628	0.537	**Tokens**
Male	0.152	0.236	0.188	123
Total	0.166	0.406	0.293	287
Tokens	193	217		410

Table 5.4**:** Use of *l-article across age, gender and locality*

Looking at the cross-tabulation of age and gender in the two communities we notice that there are larger differences between old and young in the lowlands than between old (50%) and young (45%) in the highlands. The generational difference is noticeably higher in the lowland community (16% old, 40% young), particularly among the female group (24% old, 62% young). In the following section each locality is examined separately, and locality will no longer be utilised as a factor group.

5.2.3 The lowland community

This model contains the tokens of the speakers from al-Farša only. These tokens occurred in

the speech of twelve speakers; five females and seven males. The use of the definite article is

examined with respect to these factor groups: 'following sound', 'age', 'gender'. The Rbrul

summary for this model is displayed in the table 5.5.

				R2= 0.785
application value: *l-*				
Following sound	**log-odds**	**tokens**	***l*- mean**	**Cantered factor weight**
Vowel	3.034	35	0.400	0.954
Labial	2.770	74	0.378	0.941
Backsounds	2.729	144	0.278	0.939
/l/	2.690	15	0.333	0.936
Coronal	2.553	125	0.264	0.928
/ʒ/	-13.776	17	0.000	< 0.001
(P< 0.0467)				
Age				
Young	0.426	217	0.406	0.605
Old	-0.426	193	0.166	0.395
(P< 0.000843)				
Gender				
Female	0.681	123	0.537	0.664
Male	-0.681	287	0.188	0.336
(P < 3.39e-08)				
				Grand mean 0.293

Table5.5: *The lowlands' Rbrul run*.

In this model, Rbrul returned the following factor groups as significant: 'following sound',

'age' and 'gender'.

As mentioned in 5.2.1 above, /ʒ/ tokens do not co-occur with the *l-article* in this dataset. In this environment, only *m-article* occurs, as in the examples below.

m-ʒa:r	the neighbour
m-ʒabal	the mountain
m-ʒamal	the camel
m-ʒuħur	the hole
m-ʒild	the skin
m-ʒawwa	Jawwa (the village)

It is unclear why /ʒ/ and *l-article* do not co-occur in the data from this community, especially seeing as there are instances of /ʒ/ occurring with *l-article* in the data from the highland community, and /ʒ/ does not assimilate the article in these dialects (see 5.2.4.). It is possible therefore that the absence of tokens of *l-article* with a following /ʒ/ is an accident, and that a larger dataset will change the picture. One line of investigation that I tested in relation to this environment is the tokens that contained a following /g/ and /j/. The reason I thought of these sounds is based on what we know about the etymology of Arabic *jīm,* namely that it descends from *g or *gʲ which survives in many Egyptian dialects as well as some southern Arabian dialects (see Woidich and Zack (2009)), and Behnstedt (1985)). In other words, I considered the possibility that the phonology of the *m-article* may be inherited (or partly so) from an earlier state of the dialect when *jīm* was realised as [g] (assuming the palatal realisation of *jīm* in this dialect is an innovation). In this dataset there are 14 tokens with a following /g/, distributed as follows: 13 tokens co-occurred with *m-article* and only one token occurs with *l-article,* as in the following examples:

m-gatil	'the murder'
m-girsˤa:n	'the honeycombs'
m-gira:ʃ	'the livestock'
m-gahwa	'the coffee'

The one token that co-occurred with *l-article* was preceded by a demonstrative in a standard expression: *min ha:ða l-gabi:*[35] 'in this respect'. So, apparently the behaviour of a following /g/ is similar to the behaviour of a following /ʒ/, but obviously this needs to be tested in a much larger pool of data. As for the glide /j/ there are no constraints on its occurrence with either article; there are ten tokens, six of which occurred with *m-* article, and the other four tokens occurred with *l-* article.

With respect to age, Rbrul run shows that the difference between the older and younger generations' use of the innovative form, *l-article,* in the lowland community is highly significant (P< 0.000843). Nevertheless, it is noticeable that while the younger speakers are ahead of older speakers in using the innovative feature, their use of the vernacular form, *m-article*, is still predominant (60%).

With reference to gender, the data shows that the difference between men and women in their use of *l-article* is statistically highly significant (P < 3.39e-08) (table 5.5). The innovative feature is used significantly more frequently by women (53%) than by men (18%). We can conclude from these results that in the lowland community there is change in progress towards *l-article* and that this change is led by younger women, which is a similar pattern to the general pattern of gender-differentiation in cases of language change in progress elsewhere in the world and in other languages. The mirror image of the women's behaviour in respect to this variable is that the men preserve the traditional feature more consistently. In order to be more specific of the behaviour of the different age and gender groups, let us look at the cross-tabulation of these two variables, which is presented in table 5.6 below.

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[35] In this dialect, final consonant is often dropped, as in this example; gabi:l > gabi.

	Age		application value: *l*-	
Gender	old	young	total	tokens
Female	0.241	0.628	0.537	123
Male	0.152	0.236	0.188	287
Total	0.164	0.406	0.291	
Tokens	193	217		410

Table 5.6: *Cross-tabulation of age and gender in the lowlands.*

Table 5.6 shows that while women of all ages in the lowlands are ahead of men in adopting the change from the dialectal article *m-* to the innovative article (53%), it is specifically the younger women who are the leaders of this change; they are more advanced (62%) in their use of the innovative article than the older women (24%) and younger men (23%) from the same community. On the other hand, we notice a strong resistance towards the use of the innovative article among men, particularly the older men (15%). The difference between the different generations' use of the innovative article is noticeably higher among the female group than the male group. Indeed there is only a small difference between the older and younger men's use of the standard article (15% old, 23% young).

This finding echoes that of Susan Gal's findings in Oberwart, a German-Hungarian bilingual community in Austria (Gal 1978). Gal argues that the innovative linguistic behaviour of the women in this community, shifting from Hungarian to German, is one way for them to signal their participation in "social change" (Gal 1978: 14). In Oberwart the use of Hungarian is for the most part associated with peasants and farm work, and thus receives negative evaluation among younger women. The lives of peasant women, and those of the wives of peasant men, in Oberwart are very demanding and usually revolve around their local community or farm work. She found that the younger women reject the lifestyle of peasants and even refuse to marry local men who work in agriculture. This rejection is expressed

through shift from Hungarian to German language, which is the language associated with non-peasant lifestyle. Young men, however, do not have the same attitudes toward the peasant lifestyle. They think that "farming can be an occupation … like any other" (Gal 1978: 11). Gal argues that the tendency of women to shift from Hungarian can be explained as a social reaction against the hard lifestyle (peasant) that is associated with the use of Hungarian. She states:

> "In their stated attitudes and their marriage choices the women evaluate peasant life more negatively than the men and reject the social identity of peasant wife"
>
> (Gal 1978: 14)

What we find in the present community is a very similar situation. In the lowland community, women are expected to contribute to work on their family farms. This work is hard and demanding. During the fieldwork in the lowlands younger women made several comments about how they dislike their tough job in animal husbandry, and others have even mentioned that they do not want to wear the traditional costumes on their wedding day. Young women in the lowlands tend to evaluate the traditional lifestyle and their role in the local community negatively. On the contrary, for men, the lifestyle of the local community provides them with stable income and does not restrict their movement in any way. As a symbol of rejection of the local lifestyle, the women diverge from using features that are characteristic of the local dialect, such as *m-article*. It is much less costly for women to diverge from the local dialects since, in Gal's words, they have "less to lose" (Gal 1978: 14).

For men, on the other hand, life in the local community holds positive associations. The traditional life does not restrict their movements or freedom. Therefore, not only can we notice resistance towards the use of the standard article among men but also high rates of preservation of the dialectal article *m-* (82%). Young men in the lowlands are not affected by the same pressures younger women usually experience in terms of finding jobs, improving

their lifestyle or their personal movements. They have more chances than women to move outside their communities either for short or long term. They seem to be "less-interested" in changing lifestyle. They in fact glorify the local community and its traditional symbols including its dialect. One young man mentioned in his interview that their community and its dialect are 'unique' and distinguish them from the rest of the kingdom. For most men, particularly younger men, the preservation of the traditional dialect represents the preservation of their social identity. The idea of 'uniqueness' and 'originality' tends to be appreciated among younger men than among younger women because the local community functions in their favour. This is indicated by the younger men's relative linguistic conservatism, and can in turn answer the question as to why they preserve local linguistic features. Younger women, on the other hand, are less interested in the uniqueness of their traditional community and its dialect, but are much more interested in improving their life prospects and their social positions, which is symbolised through higher rate divergence from local features.

The change affecting the definite article in this community seems to be an example of a change from above (Labov 1994). This type of change usually occurs with high levels of social awareness, and is usually in the direction of a prestigious feature. There is no doubting the fact that *l-article* is a standardised and prestigious feature that is used by the majority of the population of Saudi Arabia in both formal and informal situations. It is possible that the use of standard article in the vernacular has been introduced to the lowland community through the newcomers who speak different dialects and with whom the locals interact frequently.

It is also worth mentioning the impact of the physical movements of Tihāmi individuals from the two communities during the summer and winter vacations. During the

winter vacation a large number of Tihāmi families in the highlands move to visit their

relatives and friends in the lowlands where the weather tends to be warmer, and they reside

there during the holiday season. The opposite happens during the summer vacation;

lowlanders move to the highland community where the weather is cooler. Through this

movement and through communication between the two communities, a number of new

linguistic features, including the innovative article *l-*, are introduced.

5.2.4 The highland community

The analysis presented in this section is based on the data obtained from sixteen speakers

from al-Jawwa; six males and ten females. The use of the definite article is examined with

respect to the 'following sound', 'age' and 'gender'. Rbrul run for this model is displayed in

the table 5.7.

| | | | | R² 0.045 |
| | | | | **Application value**: *l-* |
Following phone	log-odds	tokens	*l- mean*	**Centred factor weight**
vowel	0.653	24	0.625	0.658
labial	0.411	187	0.567	0.601
back sounds	0.131	185	0.497	0.533
/l/	0.046	21	0.476	0.512
coronal	-0.389	135	0.370	0.404
/ʒ/	-0.852	37	0.270	0.299
(P<0.000707)				
Age	[]	[]	[]	[]
Gender	[]	[]	[]	[]
				Grand mean= 0.48

Table 5.7: *The highlands' Rbrul run.*

As the results shows, Rbrul returned 'following sound' (i.e. linguistic environment) as the

only significant factor group with 'vowel' as the most favoured environment for *l-article* to

occur and /ʒ/ as the least favoured environment.

Contrary to the data from al-Farša (see section 5.2.3), in this case /ʒ/ occurs with both

articles *l-* and *m-* as in the following examples:

m-ʒawwa	'Jawwa' (the name of the village)
m-ʒma:l	'the camels'
m-ʒawwa:l	'the mobile phone'
l-ʒanna	'the paradise'
l-ʒadir	'the wall'
l-ʒa:mʕa	'the university'

In this run age and gender were found to be statistically insignificant. This suggests

that the definite article in the speech of the highland community is not undergoing change in

progress, and maybe in a situation of stable variation. Not every case of variation in

sociolinguistic studies indicates change in progress (Chambers 1995). It is therefore quite

possible that the definite article in the highlands is involved in linguistic variation but not

necessarily undergoing change, at the present time. For the purpose of the current discussion

the cross-tabulation of the highlands community is repeated below.

| | Age | | | application value: *l-* |
Gender	old	young	total	Tokens
Female	0.474	0.540	0.506	332
Male	0.533	0.324	0.447	257
Total	0.502	0.455	0.480	
Tokens	323	266		589

Table 5.8: *Cross-tabulation of age and gender in the highlands*

Table 5.8 shows the cross-tabulation between age and gender in the highlands with respect to

the use of the *l-article*. If we look at the total usage of *l-article* among young and old

speakers, we notice that they show similar rates of usage. Interestingly, the incoming variant

is used slightly higher (50%) by the older speakers than by the younger speakers (of both genders) (45%). The difference between men and women is not very large, but the women use the innovative feature more often (50%).

There are some interesting observations to be drawn from these cross-tabulations. Whilst we find younger women to be ahead (54%) of older women (47%) in the use of *l-article*, among men the pattern is reversed; older men tend to use *l-article* more frequently (53%) than younger men (32%), and older women (47%). The older speakers' usage of the *l-article* is closer to that of the younger women. Such a result is rather unusual and disagrees with the pattern that is found in most sociolinguistic studies, whereby the younger generations tend to show higher use of innovative features than the older generations. In a number of studies certain groups of speakers are indeed found to be more conservative than expected; in such cases, the explanations are drawn from analyses of local issues that the local community feel strongly about, and observations regarding network structure. For instance, in Martha's Vineyard (Labov1963) the relative conservatism of the young fishermen from Chilmark, who were found to adhere most consistently to the traditional pronunciation of the diphthongs /ay/, /aw/, was attributed to their rejection of what they considered to be 'exploitation' of their island by outsiders (summer visitors). The centralised variants were used, in other words, as a symbol of islander identity (being native) and as a symbol of rejection of outsiders who were buying up much of the land on the island. In Wolfram's research in Ocracoke, North Carolina (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995) it was found that the highest incidents of the local pronunciation /oi/ for /ai/ in words such as 'high' and 'tide' not among the oldest speakers but among a middle-aged male-exclusive group called the 'Poker Game Network' who showed the most extensive use of the traditional pronunciation /oi/. In Al-Wer (2002) she reports a particularly conservative linguistic behaviour among a group of young women who formed a locally oriented tightly-knit social

network group. In most such cases, the use of the vernacular forms seems to be connected with local issues of some sort.

In the present study, the younger men from both communities use the traditional form, *m-article* (68% highland, 77% lowland), considerably higher than the overall mean of the usage of this form by the whole group (52% highland, 71% lowland) (see Table 5.4). The communities under study suffer economically, similarly to most villages in the area. We have mentioned earlier that younger men usually leave school to search for jobs, especially in the trading of livestock and honey, in the hope of bettering their income. These kinds of jobs, especially the honey trade and beekeeping, are traditional and symbolic of the Tihāmi community. Outsiders are aware of the quality of the Tihāmi products, and sometimes travel to Tihāmi villages searching for good and 'original' honey. Young Tihāmi men in the highlands depend mainly on these jobs just like their fathers and grandfathers have done before them. They try to promote their products in the markets in different areas, especially during the summer vacation. One way of doing so is to preserve their dialect features as an indication of the originality of their products. All of the younger men in this dataset are uneducated (except for one young man who was in high school) and some work in the honey and livestock trade. This generation express the view that these kinds of jobs do not limit their freedom and at the same time guarantee a stable income. One might have expected of salesmen to be motivated to converge their speech to that of their clients (cf. Coupland 1980). Indeed, in Ismail's study in Damascus (Ismail 2009) she found the young men of Shaghoor, who for the most part worked as salesmen in local sweet shops, to be in the lead in the use of the innovative pronunciation of /r/ (approximant), which she attributes to the nature of their jobs, serving clients from suburban communities, where the innovation was at a fairly advanced stage. In these studies, what seems to motive the linguistic convergence on the part

of the employee towards the speech of their customers is the desire to gain the clients'

approval and thus sell the product (see also Bell 1984). In the case in hand, the same desire

exists. The young men of Tihāmat Qaḥṭān want to promote their products and to gain their

customers approval. In our case, promoting the product involves convincing the clients of its

authenticity as a product from Tihāmat Qaḥṭān, and therefore maintaining a local way of

speech has considerable rewards, it becomes a commodity and a 'stamp of authenticity'.

Some speakers also mentioned that they dress in the traditional way when they go on their

trading trips to the city, which is also part of the 'style' they adopt in order to sell their

products. Thus, the more they appear 'original' the more products they sell. We see therefore

that the local way of speech has economic as well as symbolic values. For younger Tihāmi

men, the independent business they have and the good money they make from their trade give

them further reasons to maintain the local dialect or salient features thereof, such as *m-article.*

The predominance of the *m-article* among younger speakers can also be explained as

an indication of asserting a 'tribal'/local identity. There is a tendency among men, especially

the younger generation, in ʿAsīr to exaggerate the use of the tribal dialect in order to

showcase their masculinity and pride in their tribal membership. The more local dialect

features they use, the more 'masculine' and 'proud' they appear. The Tihāmi community in

the al-Jawwa is surrounded by non-Tihāmi villages; in this sense they are a minority in the

region as a whole. To most outsiders the Tihāmi dialect is 'strange', and is the subject of

sarcastic comments. The Tihāmis of the lowland location on the other hand live in a region

which is dominated by Tihāmis who speak the same dialect, and are thus not subjected to

similar pejorative comments as the highland Tihāmis. It is therefore reasonable to expect a

stronger reaction on the part of the highlanders, since they are the ones confronted with what can be considered an attack on an element of identification (their dialect) of their sub-Qaḥṭāni tribal identity. As a reaction, the young men fight back in order to protect the tribe's pride and traditions. It is possible that the relatively high rate of usage of this marked local feature, *m-article,* is a symbol of this reaction. The evidence that the younger men in particular are consciously fighting back comes from a number of comments made by the speakers. It is therefore useful to turn to some sort of qualitative analysis of some of the interviews, which is the subject of the next section.

5.2.4.1 Examples of the behaviour of individual speakers and further comments on the social meanings of variation

For the analysis presented in this section, I selected those speakers who during the interviews expressed strong views about their community and outsiders. Their individual scores with respect to the use of *l-article* are displayed in figure 5.1

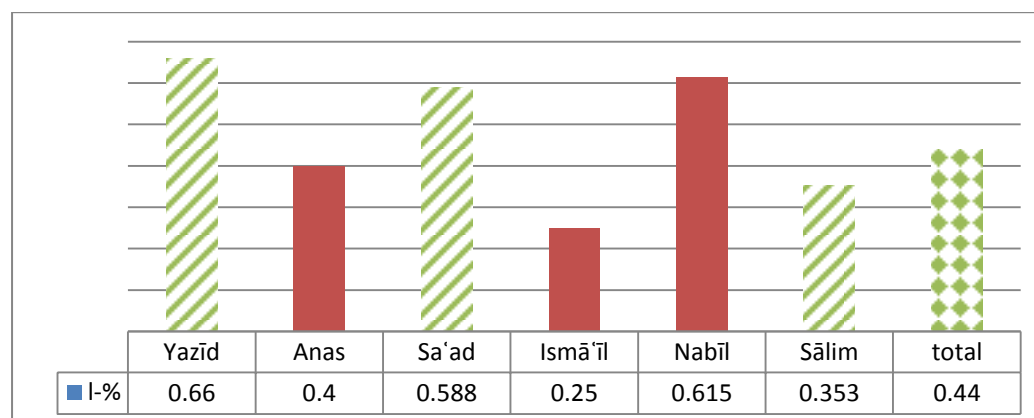|	Yazīd	Anas	Saʿad	Ismāʿīl	Nabīl	Sālim	total
l-%	0.66	0.4	0.588	0.25	0.615	0.353	0.44

Fig 5.1: *The use of the l-article among male individual speakers in the highland*

The plain bars in the above figure show the younger group (Anas, Ismāʿīl, and Nabīl) while the striped bars show the older group (Yazīd, Saʿad, Sālim). The graph dotted bar indicates

the total usage of *l-article* among male group in the highlands. The table shows that the use of the innovative article is lowest in the speech of Ismāʿīl . He is uneducated and works as a beekeeper. He usually travels from the highlands to different places in the lowlands that are suitable for beekeeping. During the interview, he talked about the nice weather in the lowlands and about different kinds of trees that bees prefer, and states that *our land is good there*. He even criticizes insiders who leave the community of the lowlands and start losing the skills of beekeeping.

Another speaker who disfavours the use of *l-article* is Anas who is also uneducated speaker. He talked during the interview about his future letting project in the lowlands. He explained that he did not originally hold a positive attitude towards the lowland community, and did not even intend to invest in the lowlands due to the lack of paved roads and basic services such as electricity. However, his attitude changed when the services started to reach the lowland community. He talked proudly about the nice climate and green lands in the lowlands and even recommended others to invest there, saying *we love Tihāma, especially 'we' the inhabitants of al-Jawwa*.

The two examples above indicate that despite those younger speakers living in the highlands; their feeling of belonging tends to be towards their mainland 'Tihāma' and towards their local tribe. The community of the lowlands seems to act as a "reference group" to younger men in the highlands (cf. Labov 1972: 37). They see their traditions, past and values in this group. They find it hard to fit into the modern communities in the highlands, and sometimes show resentment towards people in the highlands who do not understand their lifestyle or their dialect.

If we look at the use of *l-article* in the speech of Yazīd (Fig 5.1), we notice that he is ahead of the older and younger groups. Yazīd is the only speaker in my sample who holds a higher degree of education. He is a 45-year-old teacher and has children who study in the community. During the interview he criticizes the lack of education of most young people in the community, stating that education was better in his generation. He also criticizes the economy and low employment rates of the community, and talks about his future plans to move to Riyadh for better job opportunities and a better lifestyle for his family. He seems to hold negative feelings towards the poor education levels and poor local economy, and sees his future as lying outside of the community.

When Labov, in his Martha's Vineyard study, examined the correlation between locals' attitudes towards the island and their centralization levels he found the two factors to be connected; those who hold positive attitudes towards the island and do not intend to leave it use more centralised forms while those who intend to leave the island and have negative attitudes towards it use less centralised forms. The above examples can be explained in the same fashion, younger men in the highlands who tend to have a positive orientation towards their mainland and towards their tradition are more likely to preserve the dialectal article in their speech than those who do not.

It is also noticed from table 5.8 that while there is not a large gender difference among the older group (47% women, 53% men) in the use of the innovative article, the gender distinction among the younger group is considerably bigger; younger women tend to use the innovative article more frequently (54%) than younger men (32%). They are even ahead of all other groups in the use of *l-article*. However, Rbrul did not find this distinction to be statistically significant. It is possible that in a larger sample this distinction becomes significant.

When we compare the use of the innovative article among younger women in the two localities, we find that while younger women in the highlands are ahead (54%) of all other groups in their community in adopting *l-article*, in fact the younger women in the lowlands exceed (62%) all other groups in the two localities in adopting the innovative article (see table 5.4). The social pressure that younger women in the highlands are under tends to be considerably less than in the lowlands. Younger women in the highlands have more opportunities to continue their education and find jobs in neighbouring towns. They also have more chances to join the university and colleges in the province. Importantly, fieldwork notes indicate that awareness of the importance of women's education tends to be higher in the highlands. There seems therefore to be a positive relation between 'isolation and less opportunity' and the use of the non-traditional feature among younger women, viz. the less opportunities they have the more likely it is that they will diverge from local speech. The lifestyle of women in the lowlands is much more challenging than that of those who live in the highland communities. Women in the lowlands usually leave school early and start their own families at young age. They rarely engage in any public sector jobs, despite their desire to do so. Besides, the job opportunities available to women in their local community are very low. Women in the lowlands are mostly housewives, and help with farm work, including the milking and feeding of animals. During the fieldwork a number of younger women in the lowlands mentioned that they wished for their community to improve and gain access to the facilities available in other villages in the province.

In the following figure (Fig 5.2) I looked at the use of *l-article* among individual female speakers. The plain bars show the younger group while the striped bars show the older group. The graph dotted bar indicates the total usage of *l-article* among female group.
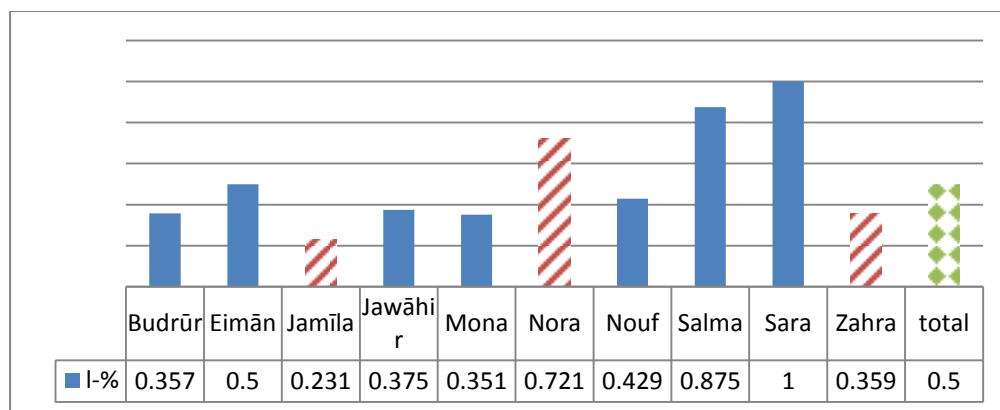
l-%	Budrūr	Eimān	Jamīla	Jawāhir	Mona	Nora	Nouf	Salma	Sara	Zahra	total
	0.357	0.5	0.231	0.375	0.351	0.721	0.429	0.875	1	0.359	0.5

Fig 5.2: *The use of the l-article among female individual speakers in the highlands*

Nora a 50-year-old mother who works as a babysitter in the school talked about her daughters and how she wanted them to continue their education before they get married. She also talked about the engagement party that she prepared for her daughter, which is considered unusual and not traditional in the community. Nora is different from other women in her age group (Jamīla and Zahra, the striped bars in Fig 5.2) in the sense that she tends to adopt a more 'urban' lifestyle and detach herself from the traditional community. Besides, she is keen to establish a new social role for her and her daughters. Interestingly, her use of the *l-article* is very high (72%) and even higher than younger women in the same community.

Another interesting observation from figure 5.2 is the use of *l-article* in the speech of Sara. She is a student in her college year. Her speech does not contain any tokens of the dialectal article. During the interview, she expressed her feelings towards the lowlands (where she comes from originally), and mentioned that she disliked it and disliked its weather. She showed resentment towards the hard lifestyle of women who work in animal husbandry. She also discussed her future plans to continue her education and run her own beauty salon. Her ambitious plans and desire to better her social position in the community are reflected in her linguistic choices; in the case of this variable, she abandons the traditional feature totally.

The above examples of correlation between ambition and linguistic behaviour are very much along the lines of what Ladegaard found in a Danish rural community. Ladegaard argues that the traditional theories, such as the status-consciousness theory and social network theory that are used to explain gender differences, cannot adequately explain the differences between women's and men's linguistic attitudes and behaviours in the community he examined. He attributes gender differences in the use of non- standard forms to the differences between men's and women's social identity. In this rural community men tend to have ambitions that can easily be achieved inside the local community, whereas women's ambitions with respect to jobs and education are more likely to be achieved outside of the community. Ladegaard further suggests that women and men tend to develop gendered identities according to the differences of the social contexts in their community including their ambitions, roles and attitudes. Ladegaard writes:

> "The majority of boys in this rural community seem to possess a "stable" identity in the sense that they have positive feelings about the area and its vernacular; on the other hand, a majority of the girls seem to be looking for a "new" identity"

(Ladegaard 1998: 19)

5.3 Summary of the results

In this chapter I presented the analysis of the variable *m-article.* The findings are summarised below.

- In the sample as a whole, the statistics do not indicate change in progress towards the *l-article,* but when the data were calculated for each community separately, 'age' was returned as a significant factor in the lowland community, thus indicating change in

progress, which is led by younger women, whose use of the innovative article is the highest (62%) among all groups.

- Highland speakers (less isolated) have been found to use the innovative article significantly more often (48%) than the lowland speakers (29%).

- Women are ahead of men in the use of use the innovative feature, and the difference between the two gender groups is significant.

- The hierarchy of the linguistic constrains is as follows (*l-article* (with /l/ or assimilated): in descending order vowel > labial > /l/ > back sounds > coronal > /ʒ/.

- The variant *m-article* can occur in all environments.

- The variant *l-article* does not co-occur with a following lateral fricative /ɮˤ/.

- The variant *l-article* assimilates to a following /s/, /z/, /sˤ/, /ʃ/, /d/, /t/, /r/, /n/, /tˤ/, /θ/, /ðˤ/ /ð/.

- In the lowland community all factor groups were returned as significant. The hierarchy of the linguistic constraints is as follows: vowel > labial > back sound > /l/ > coronal > /ʒ/

- In the highland community, only linguistic environment was returned significant. The hierarchy of linguistic constraints is identical to the hierarchy found in the lowland: vowel > labial > back sound > /l/ > coronal > /ʒ/.

- The cross-tabulations in the highland community indicate that the younger women use the innovative article more often than any other group in the community of the highlands. Younger men, on the other hand, are score highest than any other group in the use of the traditional feature. These results are interpreted with reference to the speakers' activities (daily pursuits, careers, ambitions, etc.), as well as the social meanings of the use of the variants, especially in relation to issues of identity.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The Tihāmi Qaḥṭāni (TQ) dialect in southern Arabia has thus far remained largely

unexplored. The present thesis has focused on investigating variation and change in the use of

two of the most salient traditional features in this dialect, within the framework of variation

theory and following the methods of quantitative sociolinguistics. The current situation with

respect to these variables is examined in relation to linguistic, social and spatial variables. As

hypothesised, space, in the sense of geographical location, is an important constraint on

variation. In the present research, its effect is demonstrated through *amount* of variation

found, and the extent to which linguistic innovation has influenced the two localities.

Predictably, the statistics show a higher rate of usage of the traditional variants in the more

isolated location (al-Farša). The results are summarised below:

- With respect to *ḍād*, the results show that both variants, [ɭˤ] and [ðˤ], are used in

  words that descend from both *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ,* and there is change in progress towards

  the interdental variant. This result in itself is unsurprising, given the prevalence of this

  'merger' in the majority of Arabian dialects. The interesting aspect of the current

  development in TQ is the linguistic *mechanism* through which it is happening, viz.

  lexical items from both etymologies are used variably with both sounds, which is a

  strong indication that the speakers treat these sounds as allophones of the same

  phonological unit. It is possible that this is the same mechanism that operated in other

  Arabic dialects over the centuries, and which merged *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ*. The change

  affecting *ḍād* in TQ is led by the younger women in both localities; the women in

general are way ahead of the men in this development, although the older women are the most conservative group. With respect to the linguistic conditioning factors, the incoming variant (the interdental) is favoured when preceded by obstruent and followed by sonorant sounds. The findings confirm the observation made by Steiner (1976) that the lateral fricative does not co-occur with /l/, but disagree with Watson and Al-Azraqi in that there is no constraint on its occurrence with /r/. I suggested that the co-occurrence with /r/ may be seen as an aspect of the progression of the merger, viz. as the merger progresses the linguistic constraints which may have governed co-occurrence at an earlier stage are breaking down.

- With respect to the second linguistic variable (*m-article*), the quantitative analysis of *m-article* shows that the difference between the lowland community (more isolated) and the highland community (less isolated) in the use of *l-article* is statistically significant. This finding agrees with the initial research hypothesis. Further, *m-article* is undergoing change in progress towards *l-article* in the lowland community, and the leaders of this change are younger women. This is not the case in the highland community however, where Rbrul has returned the 'following sound' as the only significant factor group. The most interesting finding, and possibly one that has significant theoretical implications, is that both forms survive in TQ; they appear to be in stable variation with the each of the variants being allocated a certain phonological environment. In other words, TQ is now in the unique position of having two forms of the definite article. Viewed from the perspective of Trudgill's theory about the relationship between sociolinguistic structure and linguistic complexification, this development seems to lend support to Trudgill's suggestion that the development of linguistic complexification is associated with low contact language varieties (Trudgill 2011).

- A general finding in the present study is the linguistic behaviour of the younger women in the two communities as opposed to their male counterparts. Younger women in this study have been found to be in the lead in using the innovative features. This finding makes a contribution to the study of language change and gender differentiation in general. The interpretation adopted in this thesis is derived from the realities of women's position and prospects in the local community (see chapters 4 & 5). More specifically, it lends support to Eckert's observations in this field that 'marginalisation' is key to understanding women's linguistic behaviour. For instance, my analysis shows a positive relationship between marginalisation and linguistic innovation; this is demonstrated through the younger women's linguistic behaviour in the lowlands with regard to their rate of usage of *l-article*; their overall usage surpasses all other groups in both communities. Additionally, the young women in the lowlands show a relatively high rate of usage of the (innovative) interdental variant, which is close to the rate of usage found among the younger women in the highland community. On the other hand, the younger men show considerable conservatism, and their rate of usage of the innovative feature is extremely similar to the usage of the older male speakers; in the case of *m-article* the younger men show high rate of conservatism than their older counterparts. This finding reflects the fact that the prospects of the men in these communities are not hampered by the local norms; on the contrary, the traditional way of life empowers them socially and economically.

- Bearing in mind the methodological limitations discussed in section (3.4.1.6) namely that the women were interviewed by myself, and therefore their linguistic behaviour might reflect a *register* change rather than a *historical* change, whereas the men had the opportunity of actually interacting with a local man the present data indicate that

the women are leading the language change. If this is indeed the vernacular or close enough to the vernacular of how these women usually talk then this is what these data suggest.

- Older women were found to be more conservative than younger women. Their linguistic behaviour is in line with younger men. This can mean that; (a) the younger women are more conscious of the social significance of adopting these new features (b) that they actually can use them i.e. they have the linguistic ability to speak like that. Older women, on the other hand, are less conscious of the social significance of using the innovative features and they do not have the linguistic ability to use them. All of these are valid points, but there is the point that the older women seem not to accommodate to me maybe because they do not have the linguistic ability to do so and maybe because they felt that I was not a total outsider. In hindsight, it might have made sense to actually train a local woman in order to compare women's linguistic behaviour with men's linguistic behaviour.

The present research and findings emphasise the importance of connecting insights from different disciplines within linguistics (cf. Owens 2013). The quantitative variationist analysis of the lateral fricative, in the present research, in particular is a good example of the benefits that can be reaped from such a connection. As we saw in chapter 4, the merger that is currently under way in these dialects has the potential to provide us with a credible scenario of the events that happened in the past, affecting most Arabic dialects outside southern Arabia, which is one of the most important applications of modern sociolinguistic quantitative methods of analysis, namely to enable us to use the present to explain the past (cf. Labov 1978).

In addition to historical linguistics, sociolinguistics is a closely related discipline to dialectology – both approaches focus on the study of variation. In the words of two of the most notable dialectologists of Arabic, Manfred Woidich and Peter Behnstedt:

> "Arabic dialectology is closely connected with a number of other disciplines of Arabic linguistics such as historical linguistics and sociolinguistics including urban linguistics. In fact, it constitutes an indispensable prerequisite as it provides these with the necessary data"

(Behnsted & Woidich 2013: 300)

From the same stance, Al-Wer (2013) argues that two of the problems that have prevented Arabic data from being used to formulate theoretical principles in modern sociolinguistics are: (i) failure of Arabic sociolinguistic research to anchor its findings in Arabic dialectology; and (ii) failure to present Arabic data in a fashion that is suited "to the objective scientific study of language" (Al-Wer 2013: 251). She writes:

> "… early Arabic sociolinguistics and Arabic dialectology have proceeded almost totally independently of each other, although dialectological descriptions of various Arabic dialects have been available since the second half of the 19th century, and until the advent of sociolinguistics, dialect descriptions and dialect geography were the only sources of data about modern Arabic dialects."

(Al-Wer 2013: 243)

In this thesis, I have tried to address the issues pointed out by seasoned Arabic dialectologist and sociolinguists by integrating the insights available from previous works in dialectology, historical linguistics as well as sociolinguistics into my analysis from the earliest stages. The analysis I presented followed state-of-the-art methods in quantitative analysis, as developed by theoreticians in the field, without losing sight of the fact that the communities and dialects under investigation have their own peculiarities. At the same time, I hope that by presenting my analysis within the framework of a 'classic' quantitative sociolinguistic model, these data can be used to benefit theoretical formulations in sociolinguistics.

Further Research

The two examined linguistic variables are both marked sounds in the traditional dialects. Their change towards the standard form is what would usually be expected in the time of urbanization and digital media. However, it would be much more interesting for further research to conduct a more detailed sociolinguistic investigation for these marked variables with respect to the context and interlocutor (formal vs. informal) or vocabulary (localized vs. non-localized) which will enhance the understanding of the mechanism of their linguistic variation.

Additionally, the TQ dialect contains a number of traditional and interesting linguistic features that require further investigation, such as the dropping of the final consonants in pause. This dropping seems to affect the stem as in *nagi > nagi:l* 'we take nap' and the suffix as in *intagala > intagalat* 'she moved' (see dialect description in chapter 2).

The discussion of the two linguistic variables in chapter 4 and chapter 5 has shown that dialect change tends to be activated first in the Tihāmi village that is less isolated and has more access to other urban communities. It is therefore important to investigate the dialect of the Tihāmi communities in larger urban areas such as Riyadh, Jeddah or Dammam in order to examine dialect variation/maintenance in these communities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Samples of speech

Speaker 1: old, male, highlands.

ʔamma ðalħi:n ʃla ʔaxtalafa . gid iddaʕwa gru:ʃu. **baʕʤ^ʕuhum** yiʃtrit^ʕ fi:ha: sayya:ratu.wgid hna: ħafla:tu wgid hna: s^ʕa:la:tu. wgid l-wa:ħid yidʕi ʔaxwiya:h , wagid l-wa:ħid yidʕi ʒama:ʕatah wgidho yidʕi maʕa:rifa.

baʕð^ʕ z-zawaʒa:t yiʒtamʕu:n le:n ʔarbaʕmiyah, baynama: ko:n ʔawwal yimkin ma: yitʕadawn xamst^ʕa:ʕiʃ. ʔawwalan yiʕtawnu, **im-miʕris** ðalħi:n yimkin ma: yilħaga yiku:n ðabi:ħa wa:ħida. ʒa:rah ʒe:b wa:ħida , wibin ʕammah b-wa:ħida, ws^ʕihrah b-wa:ħida. ħasab **m-ʤ^ʕi:fa:n** hamin **m-ʤi:fa:n** wasʕ , zawwadu: winhim gili:lin ʔagallu:.yaku:n **fim-bayt**, la: maxyam wala: gid hina: gara wala: gid ʕama:yiru. biyu:t ʃaʕbiya wayla: ʕiʃʃa wayla: taħt ʃaʒara.

wummaha: tʒahhiz laha: ħa:ʒa:tin. fitʒahhiz laha: ma: yiʒlusu:n ʕaliyh. illi hi yisammu:nha: maθalan ʒild **m-bagra** ʕas^ʕi:mu, aw **m-ʒama** bawwa. aww illi hi **ʤ^ʕa:n** yisammunha: baha. wal-ɣanam bsabi:ga, ha:ði ʃarʃ lahum wummaha: masu:lahin ʕanha:, witraħħilah ʕala: ʒamalu.

haða **m-faru** difa:, **m-faru** yiʒmaʕu:n sittin aw sabʕu. aw arbaʕu illi yiku. **m-ʤ^ʕa:n** kba:ru fimkin ʔarbaʕin takʃi winhi s^ʕɣa: ʃħut^ʕt^ʕu:nha: li sitt, sabʕu.

wummaha: masu:lahin ʕanha: txayyit^ʕ laha:. yisammu:nha: farwin, difa:. haða ʕaʃʃaha:. kuʕda illi hi **lim-sam tamuʤ^ʕ** fi:ha: **m-laba**. ħadaʒhin ʔas^ʕɣar min **m-dibya** min nafs ħaʒm **m-diba:** la:kinnha: s^ʕaɣi:ra tħallib **m-ɣana** fi:ha:. ha:ða yit^ʕawwil ʕumrak kull ha:ði l-umu:r masu:la ʕanha:

But, nowadays it has changed. The matter has become more about money. Some [parents] ask for cars, expect large parties in rented halls and many friends and relatives are invited.

In the past wedding guests would not exceed fifteen, while nowadays they might reach up to four hundred. People used to share the wedding duties, including the feasts expenses. At the maximum the groom might only pay for one feast while his neighbours, in-laws and cousins pay for the rest of the feast expenses, depends on the number of the guests. The wedding party used to take place at home; houses used to be simple built of straw or the wedding would take place under tree.

For the bride, her mother usually prepares the handmade furniture from the local resources [The speakers lists examples of the animal skins traditional names which were used in local furniture as follows: *ʕasˤiːmu* 'cow skin', *bawwa* 'camel skin', *baha* 'lamb skin', *sabiːga* 'sheep skin'], and then the bride is taking to her groom on the back of a camel.

To make a blanket, it will always depend on the size of the sheep; if it was a lamb, then it will take up to six or seven lambs to make one blanket while up to four large sheeps are needed to make one blanket.

The bride's mother prepares for her daughter's furniture including the handmade blankets, which are made of wool, and kitchen appliances such as the churn (made of goat skin).

Speaker 2: Old, male, lowlands

ʔawwalan fa tiha:ma ba:diya. tiha:ma ba:diya min awwalha: r-riʕi wil-aɣna:m wma: ila: ha:ða. fa ku:nah ʕa:da:tna: xasˤu:sˤan fil-ʕa:da:t wa t-taga:li:d. ku:n **lim-ʒ:r** ʃru:tˤ walah ʔaʃya:n taxusˤˤah. w **li-mɮˤayf** ke:la, **wlim-sami** ke:la. ku:n **m-ʒa:r** , ya: raʒʒa:l, **m-ʒa:r** lah ħugu:gin wasʕaa.

binnisbah lahl tiha:ma fa ku:nu ba:diya min ʒabalin fi ʒabalu w ma:lhim ʔiblu w ɣanamu. w**im-ibil** w**im-ɣanam m-zawa:ʒ** minha:, w**im-rifdah** minha:. kul ʃay minha:. wa ko:nu yiʕtamdu:n ʕala: allah subħa:nah wa taʕa:la θim ʕala:ha:ði sˤ-sˤinfayn min l-ħala:l.

z-zawa:ʒa:t ʔakθarha: ʕurs la: fi:h xitˤbah wala: fi:h miθl mal-ʕarab yiʒawwdu:n. ko:n ma: ɣe:r yiħa:ki fila:n fi fila:nah. wa ʔaʕtˤe:him fi:ha: saʕfu wa ʒawwad lah baytu wa ʒawwad lah **ħaɮˤanu** wa sˤa:r ya tˤiwi:l il-ʕumr ħa:llu miθil ʔay we:ħidu. ma: fi:h min it-taka:li:ʃ ðih il-ʕarab yiʒawwdu:n ðalħi:n walah, kullaha: ʕa:yidiyya.

ʔahamm me:him yihtammu:n bih **m-ɮˤayf**. ko:n **m-ɮˤayf** yiʒi le:n gudda:m **im-ħaɮˤan**. irraħħabu: bah ʔahl **im-ħaɮˤan** wadxxalau:h ge:l, wayla: ra:ħ. watama: zall wagt **im-ɮˤi:fa:n**, kana wagt **im-ɮˤi:fa:n** lahum wagtu min ʃuru:g **im-ʃams** le:n yidfuru:n **im-ɣanam**. xalf ða l-wagt ma: ʕa:dah yigi:l wala: ʕa:dah **yiɮˤi:ʃ**.

kunna nahab **im-ɮˤi:fa:n** maʕa: wayla nigsimhum nisˤfayn wa na:hab luhum **ɮˤumah**. ma: ko:nah sˤuħu:n ma:ɣe:r na:hab **ɮˤumah**. ngatˤtˤiʕ min **im-ʕuɮˤa:h,** min ru:s **m-ʕuɮˤa:h** imma ʔaθab wayla salaʕ wa nahbha ʕind **im-ɮˤi:fa:n.**miθil ma:ntum tʒawwdu:n ðalħi:n **m-sˤuħu:n** wa na:hab **im-laħm** ʕale:h, maʒmu:ʕahin hinyah wa maʒmu:ʕahin hinyah.

binnisbah li **m-barari:d** ʃma: l-bara:ri:d. ko:n ħa:ʒa:tin yijawwdu:nha min **im-tra,** yisˤnaʕu:nha: min **im-tra:b** yisammu:nha: tˤiħalu. wi **m-fanaʒi:l** minha:, wa **m-gudu:r** minha:. wa gali:lin min il-ʕarab ða:hi ʕindah, gali:lu.

First of all, Tihāma is a Bedouin region which preserves Bedouin traditions such as keeping animals as well as preserving Bedouin social etiquette such as respecting neighbours' privacy and hospitality towards guests.

The Tihāmi people are nomadic and settle in the mountains. Their wealth is dependent upon the size of their livestock. They use livestock to exchange goods and to pay bride dowry.

As for the traditions of the marriage, once they [the parents] agree on the man who proposed for their daughter's hand they plan for the wedding to take place soon after . Unlike the other Arab traditions, they don't pay attention to the wedding expenses; if the groom cannot afford to pay the dowry straight away he resides with his in-laws until he can afford the dowry and can move to his own house with his bride.

One of the most important things which they care for is hospitality. The guest means a lot for them and they have specific visiting rules. The guest should arrive during the day any time, between sunrise and sunset; after sunset a guest is not welcome to visit or to stay. The guest is received and provided with a place to sleep if needed.

Guests usually gather in one place in the host's house, and we used to divide them into groups if there were many people .In the past, we used to serve the food in something that looks like the plates and we call it '*ʛʕumah'*. The *ʛʕumah* is made of different types of grass such as *ʔaθab* and *salaʕ*. We then shape it until it looks like a plate and we put the meat on it. As for the tea pots, the coffee cups, and the bowls we used to make it from clay and only few people have them in their houses.

Speaker 3: young, female, highlands.

ʒa: ʔabi ʔams yidug ʕala l-ʒawwa:la:t , mgaffala tˤabʕan Ahmad **mitwaðˤðˤif.** yidug ma: yirudu:n yibɣa: yirawwħu:n ʕammati. ʕaʃa:n maʃɣu:l. la:zim yitˤlaʕ tiha:ma, ʕind tiha:ma ɣanmu, **fim-farʃa** ɣanam. ʔakθar miya wakiða. ʔaħya:n tinzil ʔummi wwa:ħda maʕaha:, tˤallib **m-ɣanam**. maʕna: ɣanam hinyh w ɣanam taħt.

tˤabʕan ʔabi tama: yibɣa ðabi:ħa, min ʕindana:. ðalħi:n , la ma niʃtri, ħatta **m-aʕya:d** kul ʃay, bass la:zim il-laban niʃtri. bass innah yixsar xasa:ra ʕale:ha:. walla inna yitʕa, ʃiʕi:r wkul ʃay. ħatta iʃʃbu:k ti, yifasˤsˤilha:. ħatta **ramaðˤa:n** yaʕni nistayrib minna. tama ga:la ʔummi ʔalla kamm tihtamm **fim-ɣanam** mant **tgaʤˤʤi** sˤaħħ zay l-bayt.

iða: tzawwaʒ wa:ħid la:zim yiʒi:b lah ɣanam. iða: wa:ħid ʕindah walad, ħifa:d nsammi:h ʕindana: ħfa:d, yiʒi:b lah ɣanmna:. kull raʒʒa:l yiʒ:b ʃo:h yiðbaħu:nha:, yiħaffdu:n sawa

ʕindana: masˤri ʔabi kafala isma abu-ħasan. yihtamm fi:h tʃu:fi:na ʔibn la. yigu:llah tibɣa: ʔai ʃay , tˤalaba:t . ga:l ʔabi yalla bsurʕa taɣadda xuð abu-ħasan wadda **yitgaʤˤʤʕa** min l-ʒawwa. yihtamm ʕaʃa:nhum fi ðimmatah.

tˤabʕan ħo:ʃna: ʕama:ra, baʕdyn ħo:ʃin kiði, ħo:ʃ ʕala **m-ʕama:ra** wa ħo:ʃin da:xila. tˤabʕan, ħo:ʃ nusˤsˤa mazraʕa bas ma gid ʔabi ʒadara.

yaʕni **xuðˤa:r**, ma: kunt ʔatˤbax. la:zim titˤbaxi:n ʔanti ðaħi:n xalasˤ daxalti **im-matˤbax.** gala ʔummi xalasˤ. ʕaʃa tˤaʃʃi:na kabsa. ki:f majawwid ti l-kabsa? ma:ni ʔaʕraf. l-muhim, iða: ma: ʔaʕtanayt fi:ha: titˤlaʕ tʒannin, iða: ʔaʕtanayt wgatˤtˤaʕt titˤlaʕ la walla. ink l-layla inni xalasˤ ʕazamt inni ʔatˤbax. bass inħin wasʕ. marra:t niʒi ʔummi gid tˤabxa, wmarra:t ʔaxwa:ti gid tˤabaxu.

Yesterday, my father tried to call my brothers but he couldn't get through- one of them is employed- because he wanted them to give my aunt a left home. He is quite busy and he has to go to Tihāma regularly because he has a large number of livestock in al- Farša. Sometimes my mother and one of my sisters go with him to Tihāma to milk the animals because we have livestock here [al-Jawwa] and in Tihāma.

Well, if we need meat we get it from our own flock even for the meals prepared during Eid. In general, all that we buy from shops is dairy products. Yet, animal husbandry is really expensive; my father has to get all the material to build the animal sheds and yards and to provide their food. We notice that he [her father] cares about the animals very much even in Ramaḍān (the holy month). My mother often says to him that you do not pay that attention to the house holds as much as you do to the livestock holds. In celebrations such as marriage and the birth of a child, my father provides the food from our livestock. In celebration of the birth of a child, people gather to slaughter the animal together.

We have an Egyptian handyman his name is abu-ħasan and he works with my father. My father looks after him as if he is his own son. My father once pushed my brother to finish his lunch early so he could give abu-ħasan a left to do some shopping in al-Jawwa.

We have a front yard around the house. Half of this yard is a farm, but my father did not build a wall around it yet.

I used not to cook but vegetables. My mother says that I have to start learning how to cook. Once; I had to cook *kabsa* [a traditional Saudi meal] for dinner and I did not know how to do it. I noticed that whenever you follow the exact recipe and you care more about following the instructions of preparing that meal you don't find yourself pleased with the results. However, if I don't pay attention to the recipe I find myself with a better result. We are a big family so it is either my mother or any of my sisters who usually cooks.

Speaker 4: young, female, lowlands

yaʕni θawbin ʔaswad yiʕmalu: fi:h xaraz yitʕlaʕ ħilw wa yilbasu:n **mðʕalla.** ʔi:h mzaxrafah, yiħlu:nha: w yizayynu:ha: taɣdi ʒami:la.

il-waza:r la:zim tʕawi:l, tiʕrifi:n illi biʕmalu:n mħatˤtˤa. yiʒi miθl dara r-ra:s, tiʕrifi:n dara r-ra:s? kull ma: dari:ti:h ʕukad, ha yiʕmalu:n miθlah wbaʕde:n yizayynu:nah nsammi:h ʕina:ʒ. ħatta fi:hin yiʕmilna, nsammi:h illi biʕmilnaha: fi z-zafa:f gitʕaʕ. yaħli:nha: ħatta tsˤi:r ħilwa, bil-xaraz baʕde:n nahabha: ʕala: ru:sana wbaʕde:n yiɣtʕu:nha: zay l-ɣutˤwa. ma: la:zim yiku:n ʕale:ha: ɣatˤa **ʔabyðˤ.**

winti xabbri:ni? baʕrif ʒawazkum tilbasu **ʔabyaðˤ?.** ma: nilbas, fi **baʕðˤ** n-na:s, tiʕrafi l-bugʕa? **ħaʒˤart** ʕindhum: bilbasu:, lamman bitʒawwazu: wa:ħid bilbasu fasa:ti:nu.

ma: bħibb ʔalbass l-fusta:n, la:. ħatta: lamma ʔaʃu:f fi **ʕarðˤ** l-azya ʔaʃu:f l-waħdah ku:d inha: timʃi. lamma yiʒi **ʕarðˤ** ɣe:r bħibba, la:kin biʒi fasa:ti:n l-ʕurs wa **taðˤall** kiða timʃi **taðˤall, taðˤall** ħatta: tusˤal il-maka:n illi hi fi:h.

il-waħdah illi la:zim bil-baʕi:d, la:zim yisawwu:n laha: zafa:f kbi:ru. wħtta: biz-zafa:f la:zim s-sayya:ra:t yizayynha:, wla:zmin sˤ-sˤa:lu:n ħagg l-ʕaru:s **ʔabyaðˤu:** wʕale:h ward ʔay lu:n. wla:zim yiku:n xams sayyara:t walla ʔarbaʕah ʕale:ha: nsammi:ha: ħatˤtˤa, ʒild min l-ɣanam. yiʕmalu:nha: n-na:s ʕindana:, ħatta: ʔummi gid ʕamaltha:.

il-ʕaru:s tugʕud fi **ħaʒˤan** ahlaha kθi:r, kθi:r sini:n. ʒa:b kul ʃay. la:kinnha: ʕa:dha ʕind ʔahlaha:. wa baʕd ma: yiħaddidu:n mawʕid tru:ħ **ħaʒˤan** ʒawzaha: baʕdi:n yiħaddidu:nah wa yiʕmalu:n ħaflu kabi:ru. ma: tru:ħ ʕind baʕlaha illa maʕaha walad walla waldayn.

(the following passage is the speaker's response on the question "what is the traditional dress for Tihāmi women?").

A black dress and a traditional headdress which are all designed with beads to make them look nice and attractive.

They also wear a long piece of garment that is called *waza:r*. They design it with something looks like braids and is called *ʕina:ʒ*. In weddings, brides usually wear a piece of garment that is called *gitʕaʕ* and is also designed with beads. It is worn above the head and on the face as a veil, hence the bride's veil is not necessarily white.

"What about you?" -the speaker asked me (the interviewer)- tell me about your weddings, usually our brides do not wear white dresses but, I know that the brides in your region do so. I heard that some brides [in Tihāma] do wear the white dress too; do you know al-Bugʕa? I attended some of their weddings and the brides used to dress in white.

I do not like to wear the white dress, because when I watch the fashion shows on T.V I can see that the models cannot walk properly. I like other dresses in the fashion shows, but I do not like the wedding dresses because the model stand still like this [the speaker imitates the model's way of walking] until she reaches her place.

When the bride is married to an outsider, her family usually prepare a big party. In the wedding ceremonies all the cars are decorated. The Saloon car for the bride should be white and is usually decorated with flowers. Additionally, there are about four or five cars during the ceremonies they are all decorated with what we call *ħatʕtʕa* which is made of animal's skin, my mother used to make the *ħatʕtʕa* herself.

The bride usually lives in her parents' house for many years. The husband brings her dowry while she is still in their house. They [her parents] then decide on a date for a big party as

when their daughter moves to her husband's house. It might take a while until the bride is

able to move to her husband's house sometimes until she already has one or two children.