Phonetic and Phonological Variation in the Speech of Rural Migrants in a Jordanian City

By

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the phonetic and phonological variation in the speech of Fallaḥi (rural) migrants in the town of Irbid. This variationist investigation focuses on four linguistic variables: (Q), (D), (θ) and (ʤ) across four social variables: social class, gender, education, and age. The spread of non-local urban features in the speech of the Fallaḥi people living within the same area and having similar kinship, social and cultural backgrounds is the focus of investigation. This kind of analysis considers the competing status of the two extreme levels of the Arabic language continuum. Therefore, it reshuffles the images associated with Standard Arabic as the most prestigious variety in Arabic. Then, it re-examines the underlying role of education as a variable that covers some degree of outside contacts rather than being a direct and independent variable by itself. This claim goes in line with the general diglossic nature of Arabic and its competing prestigious levels. The data obtained from the 72 informants of the current study shows that gender and social class are the most important variables that have significant effect on the use of the non-local prestigious features in Jordan. Within this frame, it appears that women are more innovative than men although their degree of outside contact is surrounded by cultural, social and sometimes religious restrictions. It is also clear that the correlation between the non-local variants and social class is very high: the higher the social class the lower the local rural features. This will add a lot to the general locus of innovation that stems from the younger female informants at the higher-class level. This kind of variation gives space for the role of 'identity' as a pressure that forces especially the men to use the local indigenous features. In addition to that, it traces the domains of Standard Arabic to show that it is domain-restricted rather than being used spontaneously in different social contexts. To examine the nature of the standard linguistic variants that are also used in one of the dialects in Jordan, a lexico-phonological test is suggested. This test comes as an indicator of whether these variants are used in their standard or colloquial capacity.

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PHONETIC SYMBOLS

1-Consonants Used in the Study

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	post alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
plosive	b		t d				k g	q		ʔ
Nasal	m		n							
fricative		f	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		x ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
affricate					tʃ dʒ					
Trill				r						
approxi-mant						j	w			
lateral aproximant					l					

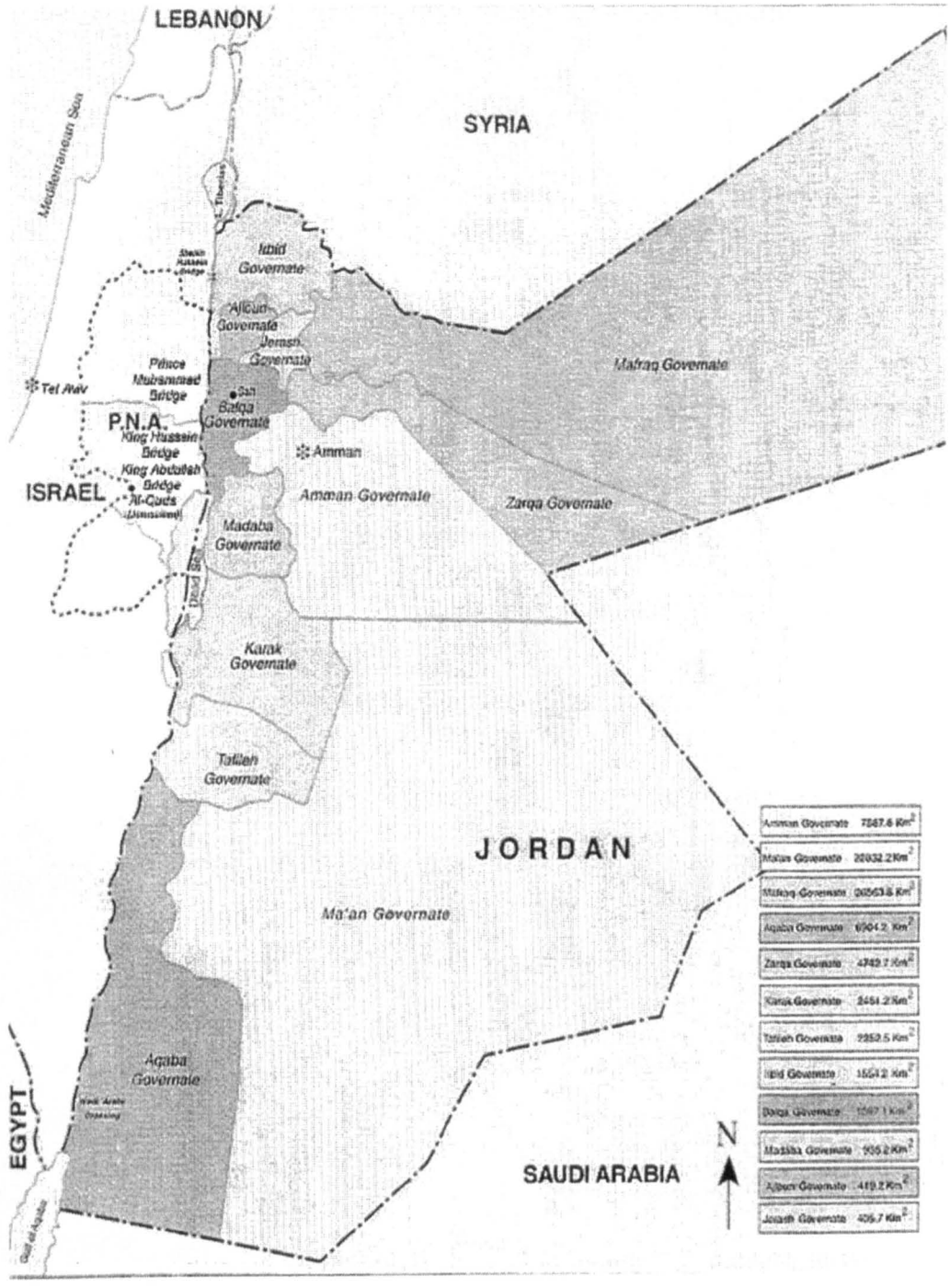
Pharyngealized consonants are marked with ˤ: tˤ, dˤ, sˤ, ðˤ, lˤ.

2-Vowels and Diphthongs Used in the Study

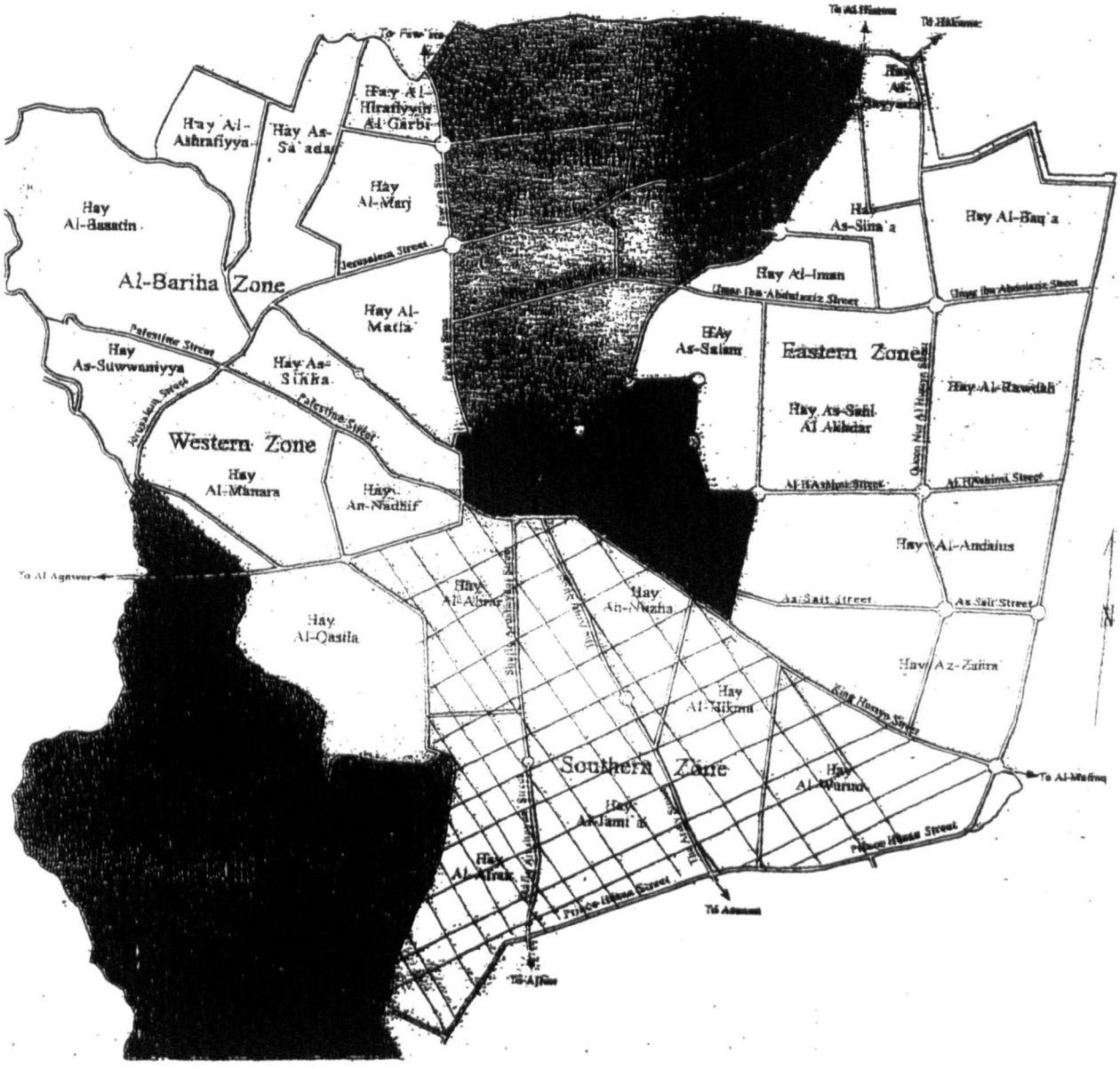
	front		central		back	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
High	ii ai	i			uu au	u
mid.	ee				oo	
Low			aa	a		

(Adapted from S. Suleiman 1985: 30)

(Map 1) MAP OF JORDAN



(Map 2) MAP OF THE GOVERNATE OF IRBID



CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background

1.0. The present study

This study investigates the phonological variation of a rural Jordanian dialect in the light of recent works on language variation. It will shed light on the variation that occurs with regard to four linguistic variables, i.e. (Q), (D), (θ) and (dʒ), in the natural and spontaneous everyday speech of rural speakers (see 2.4). These variables and a few others (e.g. (Ð) and (ð)) are frequently used by linguists (e.g. Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Jehani 1985; Al-Amadidhi 1985; Al-Khatib 1988, etc.) in the field of language variation to differentiate vertically between the standard and colloquial levels of the Arabic language continuum and to examine horizontally linguistic change across the colloquials themselves. The large amounts of data that are already provided from such studies and the data gathered for the current research are expected to help in clarifying the linguistic and extra-linguistic dimensions of language variation and highlighting the factors that govern this variation in the Jordanian speech community.

This study will be innovatory in the following ways. It is the first study in Jordan that focuses on language variation in the everyday speech of the Fallaḥi (rural) migrants in the city of Irbid in the northern part of Jordan. These rural people migrated from villages around Irbid in the late forties and settled first in an area in Irbid called *al-januubi* zone (southern). They all come originally from rural backgrounds. Their zone in Irbid is not far from their original villages; they constitute the main population in it.

In addition to that, the present study will be the first one, as far as I know, that examines the role of social class in language variation in Jordan. The importance of this social variable is better clarified by Al-Wer (2000a:7) who believes that in Jordan:

It is also possible to expect that differences according to socioeconomic status will ultimately override the significance of ethnic origin as a criterion of sociolinguistic stratification.

An attempt will be made here to set a special criterion for the establishment of social classes in our area of study to discover if there is a relation between this social variable and language variation in the speech of the community. This kind of work, which is usually approached in Western studies, will be the first in Jordan. However, social classes in Jordan differ from the Western type in that there are reciprocal inter and intra-relations between them and among the class members also. They do not build mainly on conflict between classes due to the social and cultural norms of the society (section 2.3.4.1).

What is interesting in this research is that our group of the Fallaħi people, who still have strong family relations with their relatives in their original villages, live in one of Irbid's zones, *al-januubi* zone, that represents a socioeconomic mosaic. This zone is divided into two socioeconomically different parts or areas (*aħjaa?*, plural of *ħaj*). The first one is referred to as the old area or *al-ħaj al-qadiim*. This underdeveloped *ħaj* is very close to the old city centre. It was the first base for the rural migrants from the villages to the south western part of Irbid. In addition to that, it is the area of the lower-class people to the extent that all the families who benefit from the financial support given by the Ministry of Social Development in *al-januubi* zone nowadays come from this old *ħaj*.

The second *ħaj* of the same zone is considered the base of the 'new Irbid' (*irbid al-jadiida*). It is very close to the first main university in Irbid, Yarmouk University. The design and type of houses there reflect the quality of life in this area. One can feel and notice the different aspects of modernization and technology in this new *ħaj* of *al-januubi* zone. The enormous number of internet cafés, the well decorated restaurants and the large 'party halls' in this part of the zone appear to represent the real characteristics of the aspects of the high class life there. Therefore, the study will focus on the casual speech of Fallaħi migrants who live in one zone in Irbid but with different socioeconomic situations across its two main *aħjaa?*.

What is also peculiar to the current research is that a lexico-phonological test will be devised to examine the linguistic variables whose standard variants are also used in one of the colloquials in Jordan. The assignment of variants to standard/colloquial categories has long been a difficulty in studies of variation in Arabic. The problem is that these linguistic variants might be thought of as being used at the standard level while they are merely colloquial or vice versa. Depending on the general linguistic behaviour of the speakers or on the researcher's intuitions as a speaker of the dialect to guess whether a certain variant is standard or colloquial does not help much. The speakers might change their usage of a certain linguistic variable according to its degree of salience and their social class, age, education or even gender. Therefore, what is applicable to a certain linguistic variable might be different with regard to another.

Finally, this study will be the first one that adopts a symbolic socio-political method of analysis for the (Q) variable. The reason behind this is that with this most salient linguistic variable in Arabic there is a clear sociolinguistic division between the Jordanian and the Palestinian identities. This might not be clear with the other linguistic variables; nevertheless, the (Q) variable seems to be best explained under this socio-political approach. This analysis shows that the scale of stigmatisation and prestige might be reordered when an identity linguistic symbol is under question. The rural [g] variant of (Q) has become a Jordanian symbol with its covert prestige (Trudgill 1986) though it has been always treated as less prestigious than the urban Palestinian [ʔ] variant. Al-Wer (2000a:7) states that in Jordan:

> A series of events, mainly of socio-political nature, have led to redefinitions of the social meanings of the use of various linguistic features. For instance, features previously associated with an old-fashioned lifestyle, such as (Q): [g], has [sic.] become an important symbol of 'Jordanian identity.'

This kind of study is built on certain important hypotheses. These hypotheses are related to the different domains of prestige for the two extremes of the Arabic language continuum, i.e. Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic, the importance of gender in Jordan, the important role of social class, the role of education as a variable that covers under it other social dimensions, e.g. outside group contacts, and the underlying socio-political tension with regard to the most salient linguistic variable, i.e. (Q), in the Jordanian speech community. Put simply, the following propositions will be discussed:

1- Standard Arabic and colloquial Jordanian Arabic have their own prestige that suits the domain and nature of the topic. At the functional level, the urban Palestinian dialect in Jordan might be more prestigious than the standard variety.

2- Gender and social class are the most important social variables that explain the reasons behind language variation in Jordan.

3- Education is no longer a dominant variable that plays a significant role independently in the speech of the Jordanian people. It is a social channel for outside group contacts rather than an independent variable that enhances the usage of Standard Arabic.

4- Standard Arabic is used only when the speaker wants to sound educated but mainly within the religious and literary domains.

5- A socio-political approach better explains the linguistic variation underlying the usage of (Q). This tension is lost while using other linguistic variables due to the lesser degree of salience attached to them in comparison with (Q).

6- There is a tendency for sound change in progress to be led by the younger generation while using the non-salient phonological variables. This innovation towards the urban colloquial features in Jordan comes as a result of the modernisation process that started in the late 1970s in Jordan with women participating from around the mid 1980s.

1.1. Prestigious Standard Arabic ... prestigious regional dialects

A number of studies (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Shorrab 1981; Al-Khatib 1988; Bakir 1986, etc.) claim to find that men's speech in some Arab countries is closer to the standard than the women's. The researchers have suggested a number of possible explanations for this phenomenon due to their understanding of what 'standard' speech is. Kojack (1983:39), for example, thinks that 'men approach more the prestigious classical variety of Arabic...where women are highly segregated and excluded from public life.' Another explanation is cited in Bakir (1986:6). He says:

> The structure of this Arab community is such that the place and existence space of the woman is still the house. It is the man who deals with the outside world and handles public situations. Women are not generally required to communicate with this outside world, with its cares and concerns. This is done by the men of the family. Besides, the social structure of the Arab communities is still segregative in essence. Although there are many types of institutions where men and women meet and work together, the men's society and the women's society are still separate, and women are expected not to trespass on men's grounds by doing men's jobs or assuming roles and participating in functions that the society expects men to perform.

Such a finding by Kojack and 'explanation' by Bakir seem to stem from applying the Western non-diglossic settings to the Arab diglossic communities. The two approaches are different and so are the results. To explain this, we need to see how the two approaches are different.

In Western communities, prestigious and standard varieties are often treated as interchangeable. Therefore, when Trudgill (2000:70) says that 'allowing for other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age, women on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men' he actually associates the prestigious form with the standard form that is easily learned. On the other hand, this 'high' variety in the non-diglossic community reflects the social status of women there to the extent that they 'deviate less from the prestige standard than men' (Cameron and Coates 1988:13). This generalisation about Western communities still provides us with a counter-image of how the situation is in the Arab world; though recent studies (see Watt and Milroy 1999) show that associating standard with prestige should be reconsidered.

This image of the social position of the women in the West as being 'less secure than a man's' (Wells 1982:20) or their 'concern with the pressure exerted by local norms' (Romaine 1978:156) is actually achieved in Jordan by resorting to the locally prestigious urban or 'Madani' dialect. The local or regional prestigious urban variety turns the traditional cultural hierarchy of the Arabic language continuum upside down. It does not require special training to be acquired, and it fulfils the needs of the non-Madani dialect speakers as a refuge from ridicule of the 'Madani' dialect speakers. Accordingly, when Trudgill (2000:74) believes that 'there are social pressures on speakers to acquire prestige or appear 'correct' by employing the higher-class forms'

and that 'these pressures are stronger on women' (ibid.) we find that these social pressures motivate the Arab women to shift towards a locally prestigious variety, which is not necessarily the 'Standard' one. Ibrahim (1986:125) explains this by saying:

> There is no question that S D H [Supra Dialectal High] has a certain degree of prestige and its religious, ideological, and educational values are undeniable, but its social evaluative connotations are much weaker than those of locally prestigious varieties of L [Low]. It is these varieties of L, not H, which carry most of the important social connotations that matter to most individuals in life such as socio-economic class, urban vs. rural origin or affiliation, and social mobility and aspiration.

Later on, other studies took a similar line. Abdel-Jawad (1987) gives more evidence for Ibrahim's conclusions by reviewing certain studies about the local prestigious varieties conducted in three Arab communities: West Bank, Iraq and Bahrain. He finds that the local varieties in each area are considered of equal status to Standard Arabic and sometimes override it. In Nablus (West Bank) it appears that women and the younger men prefer the locally prestigious variety to the standard one. The same goes for Baghdad and Bahrain where the local Baghdadi linguistic features and the spoken Bahraini Arabic are preferred to the standard varieties. This means that there is always a local variety in every Arabic-speaking country, which is prestigious, though non-standard, i.e. it is not the variety taught at school and considered from an official and literary point of view as more refined than other varieties. Therefore, Abdel-Jawad (1987) suggests that this deviation from the standard and variation in the prestigious standard hierarchy is better thought of in the light of three facts:

1- In sociolinguistic studies of spoken Arabic at least three levels of prestige have to be posited, that is, at least three varieties enjoy different kinds of prestige: (a) The national standard variety [MSA] with a pan-Arab prestige; (b) regional standard spoken varieties with local prestige that is competing with MSA; (c) vernacular varieties with less prestige than (a) and (b).

2- The social function of the local prestigious nonstandard features can override the influence of the prestige of MSA.

3- Speakers often abandon their vernacular forms in favour of other local prestigious features to (a) share or "koineize" with those of other dominant groups, an act of integration and a desire for upward social mobility; (b) avoid ridicule and the stigma of being stereotypes; (c) associate with the dominant social groups; (d) feel socially secure. (p.366)

In the same vain, Abu Haider (1989:471) finds in her investigation in Baghdadi Arabic that 'the prestige variety of spoken Arabic is in the direction of the standard, and that women, more than men, tend to favour this variety.' In addition to that, Daher (1998a) argues in favour of differentiating between the standards in non-diglossic and diglossic communities. In the diglossic communities, he says, 'the standard and the vernacular function as two sets of norms: men and women recognize the same standard but in terms of actual speech behaviour, they approach different norms' (p.203).

Based on the previous findings it appears that the 'standard' and 'prestige' in the Arab world are not always parallel. What is normally considered socially prestigious is the dialect of the dominating group that usually exists in the capitals of Arab countries. Standard Arabic does not always find its ground in everyday life. This standard variety may be 'high' due to its traditional, religious, and educational aspects. However, if used outside its context, it might carry less prestige and might even be ridiculed. Hussein (1980) traces the domains of Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. He finds that Classical Arabic is 'used exclusively in religion and associated with liturgical matter' (p.85). As for the modern realization of Classical Arabic, the writer finds that Modern Standard Arabic is restricted to 'inter-dialectal situations,' mass media and new genres. On the other hand, Hussein states that colloquial Arabic 'has been associated with more situations and settings than any other variety' (p.86). This is why it is true to say that 'literary Arabic does not form part of the linguistic continuum in Arabic communities but is removed from it by a gap' (Chambers 1995:142).

Accordingly, one finds that the regional prestigious everyday colloquial competes with the standard form of Arabic. This mother tongue colloquial has come to a position where the triangular shape of the Arabic language continuum should be rearranged. Standard Arabic does not control, at the functional prestigious level, the whole space of

the top of the hierarchy. If a total imaginative geometrical shape is to be suggested a double-headed peak will show up. The two extreme prestigious varieties of the language will share this position but with real differences in the number of ranges and domains that they are used in. Moreover, Standard Arabic is usually excluded from language variation, while the locally prestigious dialect is assigned as a target for the different speakers to shift to. It could also be safe to say that with regard to usage, Standard Arabic will be restricted to the education or religion-based topics mainly, while the different regional colloquials will be used in more areas of communication, even among the educated Arabs.

1.2. Women as innovators in the Arab World

In this section, the role and status of women in the Arab world in general and Jordan in specific will be considered. The importance of this discussion stems from the fact that some writers (Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1991, etc.) have recently claimed that the female speakers usually initiate language variation in Jordan. However, these innovators are surrounded by special cultural, social and religious norms that put them in a juxtaposing situation. This juxtaposition arises if we try to adopt the social network equation that builds on the belief that 'a close-knit network structure is associated with language maintenance...a loose-knit network structure is associated with language change' (Milroy and Milroy 1993:66). In the Arab world, we find that the religious restrictions, social segregation and inherent awareness of the prestigious variety motivate women to pay attention to their speech and to resort to the prestigious variety but without hurting the norms of their community. Before examining the applicability of the network equation to our Jordanian community, one needs first to draw in words a picture of the status of women in our Arab Islamic community.

In Jordan and many Arab countries, women are *ħareem* and *ʕawra*. As for *ħareem*, the word is derived from the root /*ħrm*/ (forbidden or prohibited). With regard to *ʕawra*, the social connotations of this word are best translated under the word 'imperfection.' The figurative and Islamic meaning of this word is 'genitals.' Wehr's (1974:656) well-noted dictionary includes the following words under the entry *ʕawra*: defectiveness, faultiness, deficiency, imperfection, genitals, etc. If we relate this social connotation to Islam, the word *ʕawra*, is used technically to refer to the genitals of the

two sexes and certain other parts of the body that should always be covered. However, the same word gives an important linguistic image related to how the voice of women in Islam is considered. In Islam, the voice of women is *ʕawra*. Al-Qurtubi (cited in Zaidan 1997: 279) says that 'if we say that the voice of the woman is *ʕawra* we do not mean her speech itself. This is not true. We permit foreign men to talk to women and converse with them when needed. However, we do not approve when women raise their voices, prolongate and soften their sounds... This might attract men and provoke their lust.' These warnings show how sensitive the voice of women is.

At the level of linguistics, these social forces and religious warnings might explain why women need to 'secure and signal their status linguistically and in other ways' (Trudgill 1986:401) and why they have to pay much attention to their voice that is usually associated with 'honourable manner' and 'dignity' in the Qur'an (Sura 33:32). This also builds on the social position of women in a certain speech community and the practices that surround them in this community. As a response to the social guardianship that portrays women within the frames of 'prohibition' and 'imperfectness' and as an awareness of the sensitivity and the role of their voice, women know that '...more 'correct' social behaviour is expected' of them (S. Suleiman 1985:45). The reason behind that could be also that 'women are inherently more sensitive to social prestige and social class division than men' (ibid.) or that 'women may be more insecure socially, and therefore tend to emphasize and display indications of (high) status, both material and linguistic.' (Wells 1982:20). As a result, they resort to the prestigious variety that embraces the linguistic features that suit their identity and nature in their societies.

If we relate these facts to what variationist studies find in the context of language variation in Jordan one notes that the locally prestigious urban dialect is usually associated with softness and more precisely 'women's speech.' For example, S. Suleiman (1985:44) finds that some of his informants view the locally prestigious urban variety favourably because 'it contains some pleasant sounds such as the glottal stop /ʔ/ and the fricative /ʒ/.' Al-Wer (1991:17) finds that urban Palestinian features in Jordan are 'perceived as 'soft' and therefore more suitable for women.' This 'softness' or 'pleasantness' is nothing more than a social categorisation that builds on the

femininity/masculinity differentiation and the association of prestige with the higher-class urban dialect. It might also differ from one language to another. For example, 'in Britain, a glottal stop is widely regarded as ugly and also as a lazy sound' (Wells 1982:35). Therefore 'it is the sexist character' of these societies that perceive roughness and toughness as characteristics of 'working-class cultures' and 'as having connotations with masculinity;' they are 'felt to be appropriate for men in a way they are not for women' (ibid:20).

Based on what is presented above, the religious and social norms consider the speech of women as being highly important. In Jordan, women as a whole represent the honour of the group. Therefore, women should keep their dignity and speak in an honourable manner. In this regard, we add to the idea of insecurity (Trudgill 1986) that a woman might feel another socio-psychological level that makes women careful in their speech. This carefulness goes in line with their inherent awareness of the variety that is prestigious and then more appropriate to them. However, does this inherent awareness override the social norms in the Arab world by building on the idea of loose-knit network structure with the belief that 'linguistic innovators are likely to be individuals who are in a position to contract many weak ties, and that one consequence of successful innovation is the weakening of stable, localised community norms' (Milroy and Milroy 1993:66-7)? To answer this question one needs to shed light on the norms of the society to see the possibility of weakening them.

If we relate this weakening to what Kojack (1983) and Bakir (1986) (see previous section) state or what others find it appears difficult to apply. For example, Syria is considered a liberal country in the Arab world. However, Daher (1998b:221) states that 'while recent legislation has mandated equal legal rights for men and women, Syria is no different from any other country in actual practice: in the real world, men are treated as if they are 'more equal' than women and the status of men is unquestionably higher.' Nyrop (1980:85) states that in Jordan, and other Middle Eastern countries:

> The segregation of women is closely tied to the concept of honor...and is, in part, undergirded by notions of women widely held by Middle East men. In most Arab communities, honor adheres to the descent group–the family in the first instance and in a varying extent to other entities in which it is embedded...

This honour explains the separate grounds of men and women that Bakir (1986) talks about. In addition to that, it shows why 'women have fewer social contacts outside of the domestic context' (Abdel-Jawad 1981:79).

As a result of this concept of honour and the dominance of men, 'in the Middle Eastern communities, men are the centre of activities outside the house while women are the centre of activities inside the house' (ibid.351). Regardless of the new changes related to the level of education of women or their work in the modern sectors of economy, 'the fact remains that...it is not an easy task for them to emancipate themselves from the deeply embedded concept long held by society that women are inherently inferior to men. It is still a clearly observable fact that men and women, with their different ambitions, aspirations and values form two sub-systems in one larger society' (Al-Khatib 1988:17). Therefore, the changes in the educational level of women should not be over-exaggerated. In a report issued by the National Information Centre (1999) about women in Jordan, one finds that the total percentage of employed females in Jordan is almost 14%. Moreover, it appears that the 'phenomenon' of wife beating is one of the commonest types of violence against women in Jordan. Amazingly, this is practised by different groups in the community regardless of their economic or educational levels; though this phenomenon increases among the less educated lower-class people. All these facts are best summarised by Abdel-Jawad (1989:307-8) as:

> It has been pointed out that in spite of the social, educational, and economic changes and developments, the many announced social reforms in the status of women and the canonical and civil laws that grant women their rights, there is comparatively little progress in the status of women in Arab countries.... The traditional image of women seems to be so deep-rooted and so ingrained in men's minds and society's traditions that they resist any attempt at change. The Arab woman is still captive to a set of inherited customary laws, beliefs and myths passing from generation to generation.

I do not intend here to create a gloomy image of the conditions of women in Jordan. It is an attempt to see how applicable, as discussed by the Milroys, that idea of weakening ties is to our stable community norms.

There are real social and cultural restrictions that do not give the chance for women, who are usually the innovators in our speech community, to weaken their ties

with their inner groups. Within the frame of this assumption, one should take into consideration two important facts. First, not all the individuals, mainly women, have equal network strength and belonging. Second, the contacts with the outside group do not require a weakening of the original in-group ties. There are innovators in our speech community who might follow the Milroys' strategy of language variation; these are exceptional cases in comparison with other women with close-knit network ties lead in Jordan.

In the current research, which builds on a sample of rural speakers living within a close society, one finds it difficult to generalise the Milroys' equation of language variation. Otherwise, what can we say about our female innovators who believe that marriage within the same family protects the girl (speaker 29) or who prefer to stay all their lives in *al-januubi* zone (speaker 22)? Is it not possible to have many weak ties with the outside group and through which the new linguistic features are presented without affecting the intensity and strength, remarkably at least, of the original ingroup ties? A process like this seems more natural in my speech community and does not even require looking for solutions for the way new linguistic features spread by building mainly on mobile innovators who are 'marginal to any cohesive group' (Milroy and Milroy 1985:366) and by resorting to bridges like the 'early adopters' of the innovation who are 'central members of the group, having strong ties within it, and are highly conforming to group norms.' (ibid. 367)

To sum up, as we will see in the course of this research, I find that the network analysis or its principle of language change might describe certain exceptional cases in my speech community but not the general picture of language variation there. In addition to that, the nature of this community that builds on closed circles for women does not give enough space for them to innovate according to the Western individualistic approach. The inherent awareness of the females of the suitability of the locally prestigious features to their nature as women and then their speech motivates them to change consciously their rural or less prestigious linguistic features. This variation occurs through channels of direct, and sometimes indirect, contacts and is led by speakers who have 'the largest number of local contacts within the neighborhood, yet who have at the same time the highest proportion of their acquaintance outside the neighborhood' (Labov 1980:261).

This web of inside and outside group ties might be framed within what Labov (2001:364) refers to as *expanded centrality*. In this case, 'leaders of linguistic change are centrally located in social networks which are expanded beyond their immediate locality.' The thing to be noted here is that in our speech community this centrality opposes the Milroys' marginal position of the leader of change but it does not locate 'the leaders of change in the central section of the socio-economic hierarchy' (ibid: 500). In a recently established urban centre, with an urban prestigious dialect borrowed from outside the community, the logical location of change is at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy, where the contacts and ties that build up the expanded centrality start.

1.3. The sociolinguistic development of the Arabic studies

In this review of the Arabic language studies, a brief discussion of the beginning, development and interests of these studies is presented. This will start with the aim of the early Arabic language works and their major interest to protect the language of Islam from corruption. Later on, the major linguistic approach can be divided into two major successions. The first was motivated by the impact of Ferguson's (1959) *diglossia* to develop his binary system and to include other styles and varieties of Arabic. Later, a new focus emerged on language variation within the Labovian approach. In the following paragraphs, we will see how Arabic linguistic studies developed.

Within the frame of Arabic linguistics, one finds that the studies concerning Arabic started even in the early days of Islam in the seventh century. The old Arab grammarians and philologists paid much attention to the differences that existed among the dialects at that time. They also recognized the inter/intra influences that played major roles on their 'languages.' Quraysh, for example used to choose from the speech and poetry of the newcomers their best words and purest speech' (Ibn Faris, d.1000: 23-24). This process of borrowing from other dialects was seen at its best among the poets.

Being highly eloquent, the early Arab poets created a kind of Koine that was manifested in their poetry by acquiring foreign words and using them with certain modifications that suited their pronunciation. This shows that there was a highly

stylistic and rhetorical level of Arabic that emerged among the poets around the seventh century and spread to other social domains. It seems that it was not difficult for the educated Arabs to get involved in this kind of language (the old Arab philologists used '*lughaat*' to refer to dialects) refining to reach a level of koineisation. Ibn Jinni (d.1002) claims (p. 376) in his *Al-XaSaa'iS* that when 'the two speakers of the two languages meet; each listens to the language of the other and then each adds to his language from the language of the other, so a third language will build up.' Ibn Jinni's remarkable way of thinking expresses perfectly the essence of what is recently referred to in the Western studies as dialect levelling or koineisation, which is the development of a new mixed variety that builds on dialect contact or blending.

However, that type of work was launched mainly to preserve the language of Islam and then the Qur'an from corruption and change. Therefore, 'the Quran was central to the development of Arabic linguistics and provided the basis for the development of Arabic grammar, vocabulary and syntax' (Esposito 1988:23). This close association of the language with religion has given Arabic a high level of respect and sacredness. The major reasons for maintaining the language of the Qur'an were the death of the prophet and some of those who knew the Qur'an by heart and the entrance of new non-Arab tongues into Islam. Versteegh (1997a:54), for example, believes that 'the codification of the Qur'an was a crucial moment in the development of a written standard for the Arabic language.'

The resources for the standardisation process were, in addition to the Qur'an, the Hadeeth (Prophet's sayings), the body of poetry and the Bedouins. In this regard, the Bedouins provided the Arab grammarians and lexicographers with the correct usage of a certain linguistic form. It is important to note that the city dwellers were excluded from this standardisation process. Versteegh (ibid.59) believes that '...the sedentary civilisation of early Islam was markedly different from that of the desert tribes, who had been the guardians of the special vocabulary of the pre-Islamic poems.' However, that mission of the early Arab grammarians did not succeed in protecting the elevated variety of Arabic (call it standard, classical, Qur'anic, 'arabiyya, etc.) from becoming later on a 'foreign' variety at the level of usage. Holes (1995:34) notes that:

> For most ordinary inhabitants of the empire of the thirteenth century, the 'arabiyya in its pure form, canonised and reified on the basis of

> ancient usage by the grammarians, had come to be an exclusively written, almost foreign language, even though venerated by all as the language of revealed scripture.

Of course the gap between this 'arabiyya and other colloquials increased. This gap or diglossia between the two broad extremes of Arabic expanded more during the Ottoman rule with the imposition of Turkish as an official administrative language and under the Western colonisation. I think the major thing that affected Arabic at those two phases was not only the imposition of another language on the Arabs but also the inability, because of the yoke of colonisation, of the studies on Arabic to catch up with the new linguistic approaches and theories in the world.

The situation started changing in the early years, and somewhat before, of the twentieth century with the establishment of Arab language academies in Syria (1921) and Egypt (1932). The main interest of these academies, and the other two founded later in Iraq (1947) and Jordan (1976), was the coining of new equivalents for foreign words (Holes 1995). In addition to that, and with the increase in the number of educated persons, new studies on Arabic emerged. The goal of these studies was to modernize Arabic to contain the new scientific and technological terms and to make it easier to learn. However, all that effort was faced with practical problems. The lack of clear methodology and a cooperative institutionalised academic body did not give a chance for the standard variety to be revived. On the other hand, the post-independence period flamed a sense of nationalism that eyed all the proposals for reforming Arabic with suspicion. What strengthened this 'conspiracy theory' was the fact that the calls for reforming Arabic were launched by students who were educated in the West or in Western institutions established in the Arab world.

Therefore, this 'classical/colloquial battle' (Abu-Absi 1986) ended without real solutions. Altoma (1974:306) describes the situation that this battle turned into as:

> ...most proposed solutions or measures have been greatly impaired partly because of the lack of a coordinated policy, but also because they were opposed, or restricted, by traditionalists who tend to resist changes aiming at modernizing Arabic, whether in the writing system, grammar or in matters related to the lexicon and terminology.

At that time of unresolved issues in the classical/colloquial dilemma, Ferguson's (1959) *Diglossia* appeared. It is considered the spark that launched much of the work done in Arabic later on. Holes (1995:278) states that:

> Much of the sociolinguistic work done in Arabic in the thirty years since the publication of 'Diglossia' has attempted to extend, refine or refute this outline model of the sociolinguistic structure of Arabic-speaking societies.

Ferguson uses the term *diglossia* that he borrowed from William Marçais (1930) to refer to

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in the speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p.336)

In line with this definition of diglossia, Ferguson classifies the levels of the Arabic language as being high (H) or low (L). So *al-fuSħa* is 'a superposed high variety' and *al-ʕammiyah* is 'a group of low regional dialects' (p.327). Ferguson draws the distinction between the two major categories of the language with regard to its function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and morphology.

Ferguson believes that for diglossia to come into being, three conditions should apply in a certain speech community:

1- There is a sizeable body of literature in a language of the community, and this literature embodies, whether as source (e.g. divine revelation) or reinforcement, some of the fundamental values of the community.

2- Literacy in a community is limited to a small elite.

3- A suitable period of time, in the order of several centuries, passes from the establishment of (1) and (2).

Over that period of time, a communicative tension might arise in the diglossia situation. This tension 'may be resolved by the use of a relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language...and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items of H to L' (p.322). Though he acknowledges the existence of an intermediate level, Ferguson pays more attention to the two extremes of the diglossic situation. Therefore, later studies came to add more intermediate levels or layers to Ferguson's diglossia.

It is this intermediate level that Blanc's (1960) *Stylistic Variation in Spoken Arabic* systematically studies by interviewing four educated Arab speakers (two Baghdādis, a Jerusalemite, and an Aleppine) employed at the Army language School in Monterey, California. After analysing their speech, Blanc proposes five levels, opposing Ferguson's high and low stratification of stylistic variation in Arabic. He also suggests that switching from one level to another goes through two processes: *levelling* and *classicising*. With levelling, 'the speaker may replace certain features of his native dialect with their equivalents in a dialect carrying higher prestige, not necessarily that of the interlocutor' (ibid. 82), while with classicising the educated speakers borrow some features from Standard Arabic. Blanc's (p. 85) five styles are:

1- Plain colloquial: informal or mildly formal features in the speaker's speech.
2- Koineized colloquial: levelled plain colloquial.
3- Semi-literary or elevated colloquial: plain or koineized colloquial classicised beyond the mildly formal speech.
4- Modified classical: a mixture of the Classical and colloquial Arabic.
5- Standard classical: a variety of classical Arabic styles without dialectal mixtures.

It is important to note that Blanc believes that these are not rigidly separate styles and that 'once one gets beyond homespun conversation in relaxed colloquial within a single dialect, it is the exception rather than the rule to find any sustained segment of discourse in a single one of the style varieties alluded to' (p.85). Moreover, the writer finds that 'dialectal features remain strikingly predominant in the phonology and

grammar, somewhat less so in the lexicon' (p.91). Though Blanc's study was innovatory at that time, the boundaries between the koineized colloquial and the semi-literary styles are not clear. N. Daher (1987:129) rightly states that Blanc's 'distinction between "levelling" and "classicisation"...was not made very clear, nor were the boundaries well drawn between each of the three levels separating "plain colloquial" from "standard classical."

This departure from Ferguson's original binary classification and his High/Low scale paved the way for Kaye (1970) to move a step forward and to judge Ferguson's two main extremes of the Arabic language continuum according to *well-defined* and *ill-defined* categories that build on their actual usage. Kaye claims that it is 'much easier for the linguist to say what MSA *is not* than what it *is*' (p.375). This claim is argued within the phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels of the language. Thus, Kaye builds on the results he gets from well/ill-defined analysis to raise the question of whether Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is a language or not. If the oral 'system' is the reference point then it is a language, but if the concept of 'native speaker' or 'language use' is to be thought of, then, he believes, it is not.

Kaye contradicts Ferguson in his high/low classification and proposes a hypothesis that the colloquial 'is always a well-defined system of language, whereas MSA is ill-defined' (p.377). Therefore, the frequently and naturally used forms or sentences in the colloquial Arabic have well-defined phonological, morphological, and syntactic rules since they form the mother tongues of the speakers. Other 'non-natively' learned varieties are 'ill-defined' systems regardless of what they are called. Kaye refers to the attempt of the illiterate and the highly educated people to use their MSA as dealing 'with one ill-defined system' (p. 382). He claims that this involvement in MSA and the effort spent in teaching it is the reason behind 'illiteracy' in the Arab world. Therefore, he proposes to teach a well-defined system (Damascene Arabic) and to replace the Arabic script with 'Latin-type orthography' (p.390).

Kaye's proposal to simplify the grammar of Arabic is to a certain extent reasonable. Nevertheless, Kaye's *ill-defined/well-defined* classification is rather radical. The problem with this classification is that it does not take into consideration the historical and educational facts related to the development of Arabic. In addition to that,

it is not practical because it does not offer a reasonable solution to a problem that has been in existence for ages. Ever since the very early days, at least, of Islam, there have been two levels of Arabic. Sawaie (1994:26) states:

> Ever since the pre-Islamic era in the sixth century A.D., when poets met at annual poetry conferences near Mecca to compete against each other in their grandiloquent styles, two forms of the same language have existed simultaneously. The first form was an elaborate one, characterised by a case system and "unique" poetic diction, and was revered and admired; the second form, of which very little has been recorded, was the language of everyday life.

It is difficult for any proposal that intends to solve the diglossic nature of Arabic to exclude Standard Arabic and replace it with a certain regional dialect, Damascene according to Kaye, since it embraces a huge heritage of literary and religious documentation. Rashīd (1922, cited in Holes 1995:36) believes that:

> One of the religious and social reforms of Islam was to bring about linguistic unity.... The religion preserved the language and the language preserved the religion.

The ages of canonisation due to external forces and the fragmentation of the Arab countries explain why Standard Arabic has reached a position where it is non-native to many Arab speakers. The reasons of non-nativeness are external more than internal to the Arabic language system.

Nevertheless, one has to admit that Kaye's study has some force. What I want to adopt here is his concern with the actual usage of the language rather his proposal for replacing Standard Arabic with a colloquial one. I agree with Kaye that Standard Arabic is not used by speakers natively. Ibrahim (1983:514) states that 'it is no use to go on pretending that standard Arabic is our native language when it is not.' It is not even used outside the school and 'the vernacular has creeped [sic] into domains traditionally reserved' for it (Mahmoud 1986:242). Even inside school, one should not be too optimistic about the usage of Standard Arabic (Ibrahim 1983). What is actually noted nowadays is that the increase in the educational level of the speakers results in a shift towards what is locally rather than nationally prestigious. Therefore Kaye (1994:55) believes that Modern Standard Arabic:

> ...is learned through formal education in school and elsewhere, *somewhat* like Latin (with its many pronunciations throughout the world today), Sanskrit, Biblical Hebrew, or Talmudic Aramaic.... Colloquial Arabic on the other hand, is always an acquired system, i.e., no formal teaching takes place in its acquisition, and is the medium used at home in conversing with family or friends, on radio and in T.V. soap operas and situation comedies, and other informal-type speech situations...

Based on this, the language situation in the Arab world is becoming Latin-like. So, the actual usage of Standard Arabic can be categorised as a functionally domain-restricted variety.

Kaye's ill-defined/well-defined classification did not receive much acceptance among the Arabic variationist studies, and other linguists continued following Blanc's (1960) approach of investigating the intermediate levels of Arabic. This investigation focussed on the number of these levels or the intermediate levelled variety used by the educated speakers. Badawi's (1973) and El-Hassan's (1977) studies crystallize these approaches. Badawi (1973) does not depart much from Blanc (1960) when he suggests five levels in the Cairene Arabic. These levels are:

1- Fusħat al-turath (Classical Arabic)
2- Fusħat al-'asr (contemporary Classical Arabic)
3- Ammiyyat al-muthaqafeen (educated colloquial)
4- Ammiyat al-mutanawereen (enlighted colloquial)
5- Ammiyat al-umiyeen (illiterate colloquial)

Badawi also argues that it is difficult to separate these levels from each other, but it is possible to specify these styles in terms of linguistic and social criteria. The analogy of a rainbow that he presents shows that the gradual interaction of a certain colour with the neighbouring colour does not prevent from defining each colour alone.

El-Hassan's (1977) study revises Ferguson's model and examines Blanc's (1960), Kaye's (1970) and Badawi's (1973) works. In his study that builds on data collected from interviewing educated speakers in Egypt, Syria, Jordan (including West Bank) and Kuwait, El-Hassan finds that Ferguson's diglossia is insufficiently sensitive to stylistic

variation in Arabic. He criticises Ferguson's claims about Arabic based on the following facts:

1- Ferguson's claims cannot be validated empirically.
2- Language cannot be simply classified as belonging functionally to H or L, simply because 'language is a fuzzy phenomenon that defies rigidity' (p.113).
3- The H/L classification does not explicitly recognise educated spoken Arabic as a 'level separate from H and L' (p.113).
4- Due to the impossibility of having a rigid H/L classification in terms of one language one situation, one finds it 'more meaningful instead to talk of *ranges* of appropriateness and acceptability of various uses of language to given situations' (p.116)

As it appears, El-Hassan focuses on the intermediate variety that he calls Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA). On the extremes of this variety, there are the Modern Standard Arabic and the colloquial Arabic. Therefore, his major criticism of Blanc (1960) and Badawi (1973) is related to the fact that the overlapping between the intermediate levels and their functions is highly considerable. As for Kaye (1970), El-Hassan finds that, with the differences that exist because of their age, education, religion, area of origin, gender, etc, it is unrealistic to claim that a colloquial like the Cairene is homogeneous and well-defined among the speakers. In addition to that, El-Hassan believes that Modern Standard Arabic is not different from all living languages. Therefore, it is futile to search for a homogenous Modern Standard Arabic.

1.3.1. Educated Spoken Arabic

We find that El-Hassan, who was associated with the Leeds project to identify Educated Spoken Arabic, calls for the focus on this variety within the frameworks and techniques developed by variationists like Labov. This call is reiterated by Mitchell (1980) as an attempt to set a scale for Educated Spoken Arabic or the 'middle' speech of educated Arabs. By disregarding the fuzziness of stylistic boundaries and focussing on ESA, Mitchell finds that '...it is not only possible but imperative, if the needs of adequate description are to be met, to present grammatical analysis in relation to an

accompanying framework of stylistic-cum-regional variation' (ibid.104). Educated Spoken Arabic builds on the fact that education has spread massively in the Arab world. Therefore, a 'mixed' Arabic, i.e. a mixture of written and vernacular (Mitchell 1986:9) spreads through the Arab world, especially with 'the massive use of radio and television' and with the dramatic increase in inter-Arab worker migration as well as bilateral and multi-lateral meetings' (Mahmoud 1986:246).

However, if one concentrates on the source of this variety it appears that ESA is restricted to one group or one category of the society; the educated speaker. In this regard, this variety does not represent all the speakers of the community. Abdel-Jawad (1981:21) rightly criticizes this approach that concentrates on 'one group of speakers, namely educated speakers, claiming that they are the carriers of linguistic variation in the speech community. Sociolinguistic studies so far have shown that variation exists in the speech community along the whole spectrum.' Moreover, ESA has not proven practical. There is not a single course that teaches this variety and there is no clear description of it (Badawi 1985). Mitchell (1992:27) states:

> To date, no well-defined grammar for this variety (interdialectal ESA) has been formed due to its fluid status. Lack of such grammar makes it impossible to develop balanced instructional materials that combine communication and structure, and to devise effective methods and techniques to be used in teaching it.

Though Mitchell acknowledges that ESA 'is still not well-defined', he believes that 'seeking a definition and establishing a grammar for ESA, however, should be continued' (Ibid. 28). Nevertheless, no one seems to be interested in doing that. The new sociolinguistic studies care less about this variety and focus on the variation that occurs in the speech of an Arab within the framework of the Labovian approach.

This framework examines the different speech styles that a speaker might have across the informal/formal levels of Arabic. Therefore, there seems to be not much interest in focussing on ESA as a koineised variety that might reduce the gap between the two extremes of Arabic and become a teaching/learning variety. These variationist studies were conducted in different parts of the Arab world (Schmidt 1974 in Egypt; Holes 1983 in Bahrain; Shorrab 1981 in Palestine; Altoma 1969 in Iraq, etc.). However, I would like here to pay attention to three works (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Khatib 1988;

Al-Wer 1991) done in Jordan due to their relevance and importance to the current research.

1.3.2. Related variationist studies

The following three studies are the most relevant to the current work. They will be mentioned quite often since they present historical evidence of the amount, type and direction of variation in Jordan.

1.3.2.1. Abdel-Jawad's (1981) *Lexical and Phonological Variation in Spoken Arabic in Amman*

Abdel-Jawad's study is based on the Labovian approach. It elicits data from Jordanian Bedouins, Palestinian ruralites and urbanites in Amman through a scale of four styles:

1- Public style: this represents the most formal speech that consists of public speeches, religious speeches, classroom lectures and formal meetings.

2- Formal style: this style or 'context' represents an interview that contains a range of topics and situations varying between formality and informality.

3- Informal style: in this context, the interlocutors shift to discuss some formal topics in the middle of their informal discussions and gatherings. A group of friends or members of the family are chatting, and at one point a formal topic comes out.

4- Casual Style: in the casual style the vernacular is used predominantly with no tension or sensitivity involved.

Based on the analysis of two linguistic variables, (K) and (Q), Abdel-Jawad finds that there is a strong correlation between the use of the variants and the extra-linguistic variables of the study. Style, education, gender and ethnicity correlate significantly with (K) and (Q). In this regard, the speakers seem to use the standard variant of (K), i.e. [k]

and (Q), i.e. [q], in formal situations (p.348). Moreover, these standard variants are used more by the educated speakers, who are predominantly male. In addition to that, the rural Palestinians standardise the (Q) more than the Jordanian Bedouins and the urbanites (p.349).

Abdel-Jawad's study is an innovatory one due to its methodology, sample (160 speakers), and results. However, the heavy dependence of the writer on the data he collected from 'other sources' to provide 'the most formal end of the stylistic scale' (p.50) is a shortcoming. This source of 'unscripted public speech, Friday religious speeches, press conferences, teachers in classrooms and meetings of boards of clubs and associations' (ibid.) could possibly offer some kind of formality to the level of language due to the topic itself and the atmosphere.

However, and since these styles are not used by every speaker to show the variation that occurs along the style levels of every speaker in the population of the study, they hardly examine the degree of shift that the speaker manifests in his speech from one style to another. Put simply, the researcher believes that by filling the gap of formal style through recordings of 'other sources of data' he will illustrate the different stylistic levels that all his speakers have in their speech. It was difficult for him to examine all his informants across his four styles. So, the only way for him was to have these 'other sources of data' and try to match (though this is not explicitly mentioned in his work) the styles of these speakers with the styles of others in his sample. Such a matching does not give reliable and representative results of the stylistic variation in the speech of his informants since the change in the formality of the speech does not come from the same speaker. The idea behind relying on a methodology like this is to create a formal situation where the speaker pays higher attention to his speech. He expected this 'unscripted public speech' to replace the orthography-based style, i.e. the written Arabic text, that he did not use.

The problem with Abdel-Jawad's methodology lies in the fact that it is extremely difficult to draw a clear line between the different style levels in a diglossic language that witnesses a mixture of stylistic linguistic features. In addition to that, the direction of attention in the Arabic diglossic communities usually heads towards what is locally prestigious rather than Standard Arabic. If we agree on an equation that relates attention

to careful speech and then the prestigious variety, I believe 'the maximum amount of attention' (Trudgill 1974:50) will be paid to the locally prestigious dialect. This means that Labov's styles are not clearly applicable to our speech community. Simply speaking, the Labovian style that increases the level of attention to increase the formality of the situation and then the possibility of using the standard pronunciation does not fit in our diglossic situation. Since it seems that we have a double-headed hierarchy (1.1) with Standard Arabic and the regional prestigious variety at the top, the increase of the attention might not necessarily lead to a shift towards Standard Arabic. This might result in more usage of the prestigious regional variety.

The last thing to note is that the writer uses the statistical binary system to quantify his variants. That is, if an informant produces a standard variant of the variable under study a (1) value will be assigned to him, while a (Ø) value will be assigned to him if he uses the other colloquial variants of the same variable. This approach presupposes the superiority of the standard variant of the variable and ultimately the standard level of Arabic as being more prestigious. This presupposition might not be the case and it oversimplifies the nature of variation in Arabic.

In a community where language variation builds on three main things: identity conflict that sets different markers for the different ethnic groups, the association of the Bedouin dialect with pride due to its approximation to Standard Arabic and the competing prestige of the urban dialect with the standard variety, it is difficult to give prior preference to any of the varieties used there. Finally, in a close examination of the origin of the informants in Abdel-Jawad's study one finds that 117 informants out of his 160 sample come from different areas in the West Bank. At the same time, some of his Jordanian informants (number 27, 97, 106 and 107) are referred to as Bedouin although the villages that the researcher mentions to show the origin of these informants do not have Bedouin inhabitants. This means that the researcher actually focuses on the Palestinian dialects in Jordan, and that the Jordanian Bedouin and Fallaḥi dialects are not well represented or at least are mixed together.

1.3.2.2 Al-Khatib's (1988) Sociolinguistic Change in an Expanding Urban Context: A Case Study of Irbid City, Jordan

As for Al-Khatib's study, the writer traces the phonological variation in the speech of 38 informants according to five social parameters: education, age, gender, regional origin and residential area. To achieve this, Al-Khatib uses the Labovian stylistic technique by eliciting data in four styles: casual style, formal style, reading passage and word list. His findings show a strong correlation between the usages of the standard or colloquial variants of the linguistic variables (Q), (dʒ), (D), (θ), (K) and (a) across the social parameters under study. The researcher finds that 'the more educated the speakers, the more they tend to use standard lexical and phonological features' (p.350). There is a greater tendency to use these standard features among the male younger speakers. The female younger speakers favour the urban features significantly. Moreover, the rural Palestinians use the standard features more than the rural Jordanians who are more conservative.

The results of this study are very important to the current research. They provide some kind of historical evidence for the type of variation and sound change within the same area that the current research has been conducted in. The current study comes as a further step forward to provide a clearer description of Jordanian Arabic as it is spoken in a village-like area. This village-like area, or *al-januubi zone*, provides us with a unique situation of language variation in the speech of the inhabitants of *al-januubi zone* who are originally rural immigrants. This is the reason behind choosing the area of study of the current research to be like a small village, according to the origin and social norms of the speakers, within a city of different dialects and modern facilities and influences.

In spite of the importance of Al-Khatib's study, one might mention certain shortcomings. First, Al-Khatib's dependence on collecting part of his data by means of a reading passage and a word list does not suit the diglossic nature of Arabic. In Arabic, reading from an orthography-based text does not give enough space for variation in the speech of the informants. In addition to that, such an approach, though applicable in the non-diglossic languages, presupposes the superiority, in the sense of prestige, of the

written variety. What is noticed is that increasing the attention of the speakers usually leads to the regionally prestigious variety rather than Standard Arabic.

Moreover, Al-Khatib follows Abdel-Jawad's (1981) statistical analysis to codify his data. Again, giving a (1) value to the standard variant and a (ø) value to the other colloquial variants of the same linguistic variable simplifies the nature of variation in Arabic. As for the sample of the study, two things need to be mentioned here. Al-Khatib's sample consists of 38 informants. The problem here is that the sample is very small and there are many cases of empty cells in Al-Khatib's study. If we know that his study examines the usage of six linguistic variables by two rural groups differentiated according to three age levels, three educational levels, two sexes, and two origins, one might tell that many cases (or cells) are not represented by any subject at all.

1.3.2.3 Al-Wer's (1991) Phonological Variation in the Speech of Women from Three Urban Areas in Jordan

Finally, Al-Wer's study marks a new approach in the field of sociolinguistics in Jordan. Her investigation of the sociolinguistic variation of 116 women in the towns of Sult, Ajloun and Karak in Jordan with regard to the use of four phonological variables, (Q), (θ), (Ð) and (dʒ), according to age and education shows that it is the outside contacts that give the opportunity for the younger and educated women to accommodate to the prestigious urban Palestinian variants. Therefore, education proves to be a proxy variable that paves the way for people in Jordan to get in contact with other dialects. This new way of thinking goes in line with the socio-historical nature of Jordan. This interpretation suits also the diglossic nature of Arabic. Language variation in the speech of the females is also examined and analysed under two important forces in Jordan: identity and gender. Al-Wer believes that these forces 'can be seen as two types of pressure pulling in opposite directions' (p. 2). The first pressure sheds light on the differences between the Jordanian and Palestinian dialects and norms with their identity connotations. On the other hand, the second force differentiates between the indigenous variants as male norms and the urban Palestinian variants as female ones.

The locale of Al-Wer's study is significant for many reasons. Her three areas, Sult, Karak and Ajloun, represent two different dialects of Jordan (Fallahi and

Bedouin). In addition to that, the geographical position of Sult near Amman, the capital, creates different contacts with the urban Palestinian dialect prevalent there. In her discussion of the town's social network, the researcher adds more evidence to the nature of the Jordanian community. The researcher believes that 'the families who migrated to the new cities, and thus became members of different communities, generally maintain close contacts with their home towns' (p. 25). This 'double membership' offers them a chance to become 'carriers of new social standards, and perhaps new linguistic norms, from the larger communities into the communities of their home towns.' Therefore, the outside network links of these migrants are not established at the expense of their in-group ones. Al-Wer's 'double membership' draws in words a frame of interconnected circles of the in-group and out-group links of the migrants in Jordan.

In the analysis of the data gathered through individual and group interviews, Al-Wer finds that speakers of Sult adopt the innovatory variants more than her other informants. She relates this to the geographical location of Sult near Amman and the people's contacts. This kind of contact is expressed by Al-Wer as follows:

> Sult people have considerably more frequent contacts and more 'weak ties'...with people from Amman, than Karak people whose ties with people from Amman can be considered as strong – with family members and close friends- and as very limited in terms of casual and daily contacts. (p. 161-2)

The important thing to note here is that Al-Wer does not claim in this regard that these weak ties of Sult people are at the expense of their in-group contacts. She says that those Sult families who migrated to Amman 'maintain the traditional indigenous norms of social behaviour, including the linguistic norms' (p.163). However, in certain other cases, Al-Wer tries to attribute the shift of the educated speakers towards the urban Palestinian features to the social networks of the educated speakers that are typically looser than those of the uneducated speakers (p.146). In the current research, we will see that this 'typical' image cannot be generalised to become a rule that describes language variation in Jordan. It is difficult to deny the possibility of having this typical image, but it is inadequate to tailor the network analysis in a shape that disregards the social and cultural norms of our speech community.

1.4. Conclusion

It seems that the studies in Arabic started mainly with a mission to maintain the language of the Qur'an rather than to cope with the new linguistic features that resulted from the commingling of the Arab and non-Arab tongues together. Such a position did not solve the gap between the written and the spoken varieties of Arabic. The years of canonisation and inertia of the *'arabiyya* due to its confinement within the religious and educational domains made it a foreign language to many Arab speakers. This foreignness was increased more with external reasons related to the lack of teaching centres and then the lack of new methods for reviving Arabic. The diglossic gap between the written and spoken varieties of Arabic has become a multi-glossic one whether along the Arabic language continuum in general or through the different Arabic-speaking countries. Holes (1995:38) rightly states:

> The contemporary sociolinguistic situation in he Arab World is thus a complex one, though perhaps no more complex than the situation at earlier but less well-documented periods of its history. The concept of Arabic as a 'diglossic' language, if it was ever accurate, is now a misleading oversimplification: the behaviour of most Arabic speakers, educated or not, is rather one of constant style shifting along a cline at opposite ends of which are 'pure' MSA and the 'pure' regional dialect, more accurately conceived of as idealised constructs than real entities.

In the present study, we will examine closely the language situation in a single community like Jordan. It might be safe to claim that this situation mirrors language variation in the different Arabic-speaking countries. The general trend that we will adopt follows the recent approach of the studies in the Arab world and Jordan in particular. This approach examines language variation within the Labovian quantitative paradigm. It is believed that this will enable us to understand the competing prestige of the locally prestigious dialect, the exclusion of Standard Arabic from language competition and the new role of education as a channel that brings people in contact with the locally prestigious dialect rather than standardising their speech. Such general lines of discussion in addition to the role of class and gender will enable us to understand how language is actually used.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology and Data Collection

2.0. Introduction

The most difficult decision the researchers can take is when they try to find an operational methodology that builds on sufficient data gathered from a representative sample chosen objectively. Achieving these objectives is not as easy as wording them. Nevertheless, there is always an appropriate procedure for every research that gives validity to its results. This procedure has to do with the method of collecting data, the characteristics of the fieldworker, the equipment used in gathering data, and the analysis of data itself. These procedural steps need to be used within the frame of truly representative data. To make sure that these procedures fit the validity of the current research and provide it with a representative sample of speech, the present study followed the following steps.

First, a pilot study, which included 30 speakers, was conducted. In this pilot study, the researcher was able to investigate the important linguistic (2.4) and social (2.6) variables for this study. The social variables were chosen carefully after a thorough discussion with some sociologists, sociolinguists and economists in Jordan. Therefore, it is claimed that the general frame of this research suits the nature of our speech community and examines the role of the most representative social variables on the main productive linguistic variables.

Then, with the help of personnel in the Ministry of Social Development, Department of Statistics, the Municipality of Irbid and the *muxtar* (area chief) of the area of study, I was able to assign the geographical borders of this research and the socioeconomic characteristics of the sample. In addition to that, I was able to write down, with the help of the *muxtar*, the previous governmental bodies and the people of the area of the study, the names of the subjects who would fill the cells of the research and who would represent three different class levels. I started first with the old area of

al-januubi zone and interviewed different subjects. Then, I moved to the other area of the same zone to interview the higher-class relatives or townsmen of those lower-class or middle class people of the old area of *al-januubi* zone. Choosing the area of study itself, *al-januubi* zone, was the result of a thorough investigation with the Ministry of Social Development and the Municipality of Irbid. The municipality provided me with information that showed that *al-januubi* zone is one of the most populated zones in Irbid (around 20,000 persons) and that its geographical borders contain the oldest and most recent areas of Irbid. On the other hand, the Ministry of Social Development provided me with the figures that show the number and characteristics of the persons who benefit from the financial aid of the government in the old area of *al-januubi* zone. After all these extensive preparatory investigations, I was able to reach a suitable frame of the best socioeconomic indicators in the zone. That frame was the base for my other extensive fieldwork that came months after the pilot study.

2.1. The area of study

Irbid is the main city of northern Jordan with about 380,000 inhabitants. Its history is believed to go back to the Early Bronze Age (3000 B.C.). It is close to two countries in the region: Palestine and Syria. In addition to that, it forms the main gate towards Palestine to the west, Syria to the north and Iraq to the east. Today, Irbid houses a good number of industries and there are a number of public and private educational, health and recreational centres.

Irbid is often referred to as a 'mosaic' city, or a 'big village.' Waves of external and internal migration have created a special case of 'Jordanians' from various 'origins and birthplaces.'[1] This situation is not peculiar to Irbid alone. This fact reflects the whole situation in Jordan, where in different cities and urban centres many waves of external and internal migration are noticed. Nyrop (1980:53) states:

> Although many Middle Eastern societies have been described as mosaics of distinct and often conflicting groups, the East Bank situation is probably more fragmented than most because of the uprooting that so

[1] This was the common saying of His Late Majesty King Hussein.

> many of its citizens have endured. In addition to the Palestinians, who retain a strong sense of grievance and outrage at the loss of their homeland, many Transjordanians have migrated from their rural and often desert villages to urban centers in search for work, education for their children and political opportunities.

With regard to external immigration, the position of Irbid near the borders of the West Bank (Map 1) paved the way for many Palestinian immigrants in the forties and late sixties to move to it. Sawaie (1994: 8) states that with regard to Irbid:

> the biggest population increase...took place after the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars. Two refugee camps were founded in and around Irbid to settle Palestinians who fled their towns and villages.

The number of these immigrants increased after the Gulf War in 1990.

What also increased the population of Irbid was the internal migration that 'involved the movement of peoples from the Trans-jordanian countryside around Irbid into the city in search of better economic opportunities and living conditions' (ibid.). This is why Irbid was looked on as a big village. Its social and cultural norms reflected those of the villages of the internal rural migrants. Harris (1958:6) notices that:

> Like the villages, Jordanian towns are internally divided into quarters (ħarah), each of which tends to be occupied by a particular lineage.... The population of Irbid...is divided into a number of large lineages, each occupying its own quarter.

In other places, Harris shows that 'the social organization of the older towns shows a general resemblance to that of the nomadic tribe and the village. Extended families are grouped into lineages;' this 'traditional urban residence pattern of particular lineages, ethnic and religious groups congregating in special quarters has been that these quarters have functioned almost as though they were so many independent villages' (p.6). However, Harris's observation maintains relevance up to the present. What is noted nowadays in Irbid is that certain areas or quarters are named by the Irbidis after the extended family of their main inhabitants. In certain cases, these names reflect the original village that a certain clan came from.

As an example of an area that the rural Jordanian migrants inhabit in Irbid, *al-januubi* zone is considered the first and biggest one (Map 2). One can claim that this zone represents the different socioeconomic, social, and demographic structures of all the zones in Irbid. Therefore, our emphasis on this zone is because of this unique situation. In this specific area, *al-Januubi* zone, the first rural migrants who moved to its old part or *ħai* in 1940s started working as farmers. As their economic situation became better and more stable, those migrants attracted other relatives and townsmen from their different villages to move and live with them.

The old part of *al-Januubi* zone became bigger, and new services were offered to it. Therefore, that small and old *ħai* became the base of what is now the main zone in Irbid, the city. At the top of this zone or within the new higher-class *ħai* of the zone, there is the first main public university in Irbid, Yarmouk University. Near that university, there are two private hospitals and the main Sports City Centre in Irbid. To the East of the university, one can see the type of life there; Internet cafés, party halls, an amusement city and coffee shops are spread all over this area of the zone. This inverted triangle-like zone started as a base for the rural immigrants near the city centre on the main way to their villages and expanded gradually to the south of Irbid to include the main social, health, educational and recreational centres in the city. With this kind of expansion, different families from the old *ħai* of *al-januubi* zone with other people from different places in the city started moving to the new part of the zone with its modern aspects.

Although there is a noticeable change with regard to the socioeconomic structure of the rural inhabitants in the different areas of *al-januubi* zone, the social relations have not changed a lot. Their gathering within the same zone and their interest in participating in the different activities of the whole clan strengthen the ties among the different clan members. Al-Khatib (1988:9) describes these ruralites (or what he calls Horaniis) as:

> ...still being tribal in both customs and traditions. Thus while the Horaniis are classified as ruralites, they are still described by most sociologists as a tribal group of people according to a variety of social and cultural criteria. The tribal tradition is clearly manifested even in the behaviour of the Horaniis who have inhabited the city for forty years or so.

Abdel-Jawad (1986:60) also adds that:

> It is clear that traces of the tribal or village form of organization are still significant in some parts of Jordanian cities among members of all ethnic backgrounds. Each *ħamuula* 'kinship group' or 'clan' maintains a guesthouse, a club center, or raabiTa 'meeting place for the *ħamuula*'; and its members usually reside in distinguishable quarters or neighborhoods.

This situation reflects the fact that in Jordan every person acquires his power from the power of his clan. Within this tribal organisation, people find it important for them to keep in touch with the different members of their clan to stay in power. Al-Khatib (1988:10) states:

> ...the fact remains that for most Irbidian Horaniis [i.e. ruralites] the village continues to be the centre for the clan and/or tribe to which the Horani people are still obliged and loyal. Many of the Horaniis - even those of the younger generation - can trace their lineage to the first tribe in Arabia.

Therefore, within *al-januubi* zone, for example, the different clans have their own *maʤaafa* (from the root *ʤff*, visit) or guesthouses. It is sometimes called *raabitʕa* (from the root *rbtʕ*, to bring together). All the members of a clan must participate in the social activities held in this guesthouse. If there is not a major social activity, like marriage, funeral, elections, etc., a gathering in the weekend is the least to be expected. The existence of these clans in a zone like this in Irbid should not prevent them, under any circumstances, from participating in the social activities held in their original villages. Therefore, one feels that he has to prove loyalty to the clan in *al-januubi* zone, for example, and to the relatives in the original village that his family migrated from as well. These villages are also organised tribally. Nyrop (1980:68) notes that:

> In most northern villages, the decendents of a common, relatively distant ancestor form the *hamula*, translated by some authors as clan. The *hamula* ordinarily has a corporate identity; it may maintain a guesthouse, its members usually reside in a distinguishable quarter or neighborhood, and it acts in concert in village political affairs. The *hamula* is the repository of family honor and tends to be endogamous.

It could be quite right to say that the image of the social and inter-tribal relations in the village is not different from the way it is among the rural migrants in the urban centres. On the contrary, in the urban centres one needs to stress one's belonging to a clan and a village in Jordan to emphasise one's identity. It is usually noted that during the days of elections, e.g. parliamentary, the clan becomes the resort for the candidates and the village becomes the base of meetings. All these facts are better represented in *al-januubi* zone. The different socioeconomic levels of the relatives or townsmen have not created a big gap among the clan or village members themselves or between them and their original villages. Abu-Hilal and Othman (1977:144) state that in Jordan, 'individuals who progress economically tend never to feel that they have outgrown their origins. Their public behaviour will conform to the expectations of their economic status, but privately association and identification are with the clan.'

2.2. The informants

It was important to have a representative sample that would adequately cover the social variables of the study. This sample was chosen partially randomly (quota-sample) from the area of the study (*al-januubi* zone) to fill most of the cells of the research and to gather spontaneous and natural speech. The reason behind interviewing rural speakers within this area of study is to see to what degree and how these speakers maintain their village speech or shift to the urban Palestinian dialect, especially with regard to women, and what language variety is functionally prestigious to these male and female speakers with their different educational, age and class backgrounds.

In my case, I want to examine language variation in the speech of rural migrants who still have close social, cultural, ethnic, and family ties with each other, in the city of Irbid, which is 'a provincial seat in the northern part' (Sawaie 1994: 7) of Jordan. In such a situation, the majority of the inhabitants are rural speakers and the chances for outside group contacts are offered mainly through the channels of education (at the university or in schools), work or even mass media. I focused mainly on interviewing the members of the same nuclear family, their relatives, or townsmen who live along the whole zone of the study. These informants (72 speakers) are rural speakers who came originally from villages around Irbid. What is peculiar to these informants is that they

still have strong family relations among each other or their relatives in their original villages. The general characteristics of these informants are:

1- They are rural people.
2- They have been in *al-januubi* zone in Irbid for more than 25 years or were born there.
3- They have members of the same extended families or the same villages who live in the different areas of *al-januubi* zone.
4- They satisfy the requirements of the social variables of the study (see 2.6).

2.3. The interviews

In the current study, I elicited data through individual and limited group interviews. Every interview lasted for at least 40 minutes and normally about 60 minutes. The first few minutes of every interview were devoted to break the ice between the participant and me. General comments on the weather or transportation were helpful to make the participant feel relaxed a bit in order to gather data from a natural and spontaneous speech. However, I do not claim that decreasing the level of formality was something easy or even completely possible. The whole idea of interviewing persons in Jordan and recording their speech is something new and sometimes suspicious. Therefore, I had to depend on previously arranged family visits, especially when the interviewee was a female. So, one can tell that the first few minutes were about general issues.

The interviewee knew in advance, over the telephone, by personal contact or through a friend, that the interview would be recorded. Covering the tape recorder (Panasonic RN-505) in my pocket before reaching the place of the interview proved an efficient way to reduce the effect of the tape recorder. In addition to that, a long wire with a very small and highly sensitive microphone protruding slightly but unnoticeably from under my sleeve helped more in reducing that effect of the tape recorder. The only time for the participant to see the recorder would be while changing the tape (if needed). This would happen after interviewing the subject for a while. This means that the speaker would have already been more relaxed and natural in his/her speech.

The main part of the interview usually started with questions about the personal details of the speaker, i.e. his or her age, profession, income, marital status, education, etc. Then, a range of topics was discussed with different speakers: marriage customs, the role of women in Jordanian society, education, the socioeconomic situations in Jordan. However, the most important of all these topics was to ask the participants to recall something sad or horrible that happened to them or to someone they knew. At this stage, the participants were told that one of the reasons behind asking such a question was to see to what degree a person could remember the details of a horrible accident. Though this technique proved valid to make the subjects focus on remembering the details more than on their speech, I do not think it is something that I will resort to in the future. In certain cases, I felt I was so sadistic to raise a vexing issue for the sake of recording natural and spontaneous data!

The usual question here is how to solve the problem of the observer's paradox and the image of the outsider. To solve these two obstacles, I depended on the fact that I was close to the society because of living most of my life in the same zone. In addition to that, the type of family visits and sometimes the existence of a friend who was close to both the researcher and the subject were effective strategies. In the cases of female speakers, many practical, cultural, and social problems were solved by interviewing a female subject with the presence of her family member(s) and, sometimes, my wife. No serious problems happened while conducting the fieldwork. On the contrary, some persons in the area of the study even asked to be interviewed after hearing about the research.

2.4. The linguistic variables of the study

The linguistic variables that will be examined in this study are: (Q), (D), (θ) and (dʒ). The variants of (Q) are the standard [q], the rural/Bedouin Jordanian [g], the urban Palestinian [ʔ] and the rural Palestinian [k]. The (D) variable is stratified into a standard [d^{ς}] that is also used in the urban Palestinian dialect. The rural/Bedouin Jordanian dialect uses the [$ð^{\varsigma}$] variant. The (θ) variable has a standard [θ], which is also used in the rural/Bedouin Jordanian dialect. Its urban Palestinian variants are [s] and [t]. With

regard to (dʒ), the standard variant [dʒ] is also used in the rural/Bedouin Jordanian dialect, while the urban Palestinian dialect uses the [ʒ] variant (table 1).

linguistic variables	standard variant	rural variants	urban variants
(Q)	voiceless uvular stop [q]	voiced velar stop [g]	voiceless glottal stop [ʔ]
(D)	voiced alveolo-dental Pharyngealised stop [dˤ]	voiced interdental Pharyngealised fricative [ðˤ]	voiced alveolo-dental Pharyngealised stop [dˤ]
(θ)	Voiceless interdental fricative [θ]	voiceless interdental fricative [θ]	voiceless alveolar stop [t] and voiceless alveolar fricative [s]
(dʒ)	voiced alveolar affricate [dʒ]	voiced alveolar affricate [dʒ]	voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ]

Table 1. Distribution of the linguistic variables of the study

The reasons behind choosing these linguistic variables are

> First, we want an item that is frequent.... Second, it should be structural.... Third, the distribution of the feature should be highly stratified... (Labov 1972:8)

According to these three parameters and based on the informal investigation and the pilot study of this research, I believe that these linguistic variables frequently occur in the natural speech of the Jordanians and that they are distributed over the different levels of the social variables of the study.

I shall demonstrate that the Arabic linguistic system can be understood through changes within the consonantal system. Labov (2001:82-3) states:

> If the purpose of studying variation is to better understand the linguistic system as a whole, then we will be drawn to the study of variables that are most deeply implicated in that structure. Change within a vowel system typically has this character.... But when the aim is to understand

> better the way that social factors affect linguistic behaviour, we are more likely to be drawn to the relatively isolated elements that are normally the focus of social affect.

The importance of this quotation stems from the fact that the linguistic variables of any variationist study should be deeply rooted in the linguistic system of the community. If we add the role of the social factors then we need to focus on the linguistic variables that occur frequently in the natural speech of the community across its different strata. However, it is difficult to escape the fact that these deeply inherited linguistic variables tend to be vocalic in English, whereas they seem to be consonantal in Arabic. Arabic variationist studies focus mainly on the consonantal variation in their communities. This goes contrary to the general approach of the English language variationist studies. Gordon and Heath (1998:424) state:

> Although certain types of consonantal variation have been studied, the vast majority of sociolinguistic research has focused on vowels. This is partly because most vocalic variation is intrinsically gradient, while the consonantal variation is more discrete...

If this is the case in English, why is the focus of the Arabic variationist studies on the consonants rather than the vowels? Is there anything internal to the language to explain this?

2.4.1. Consonantal Vs. vocalic variation in Arabic

First, I must admit that an answer to these questions falls within the scope of assumptions rather than facts and within the frames of 'more or less' rather than a decisive conclusion. As long as we do not have empirical acoustic and sociolinguistic studies on this regard, the following assumption is no more than an observation that might lead to some sort of contention. Second, the previous quotations cited from Labov and Gordon and Heath will pave the way for us to examine the internal characteristics of the vocalic system in Arabic and to see what these characteristics mean at the level of language variation. This means one should start with a brief history of the vowel markers in Arabic.

In Arabic, the vowels are referred to as *ħarakaat* (movements). They are also called *ʕilla* (lit. weakness), while the consonants are *sˤiħaaħ* (lit. healthy). It is almost agreed upon (El Saaran 1951) that Abu Al-'Aswad Al-Du'ali (d. 688 ?) devised the vowel markers[2] in Arabic by asking a man to watch his lips while reading a Qur'anic text and to put a dot above the letter (*fatħa* /a/) if he opens his lips, beside the letter (*dˤamma* /u/) if he rounds his lips and below the letter (*kasra* /i/) if he spreads his lips. By lengthening these short vowels we get their corresponding long vowels /aa/ (alif), /uu/ (waw) and /ii/ (ya). However, these short and long vowels 'were not included among the twenty-eight ħuruuf [letters] of the alphabet' (ibid.47). In addition to that, the linguistic system of Arabic considers the consonants only as the base or the root of the word, through which the other forms are derived. The movement and changes that might occur to these vowels, the short ones especially, are not usually noticed or paid attention to by the speakers or listeners. Some of these vocalic variations tend 'to be context-sensitive rather than applying across the board' (Gordon and Heath 1998:444). So, the problem in dealing with vowels stems from the fact that their relatively limited variation is not intrinsically gradient. Although not impossible, measuring this vocalic variation is difficult to code. Therefore, one might understand why the focus has been always on the consonants rather than the vowels. The answer to why this vocalic variation in Arabic is not gradient as in English and therefore difficult to code needs to be explained under Steven's (1989) Quantal theory.

The Arabic language system has three vowels: /i, a, u/. According to Steven's quantal theory these point vowels, i.e /i, a, u/, are acoustically relatively stable and distinctive because they 'are not strongly sensitive to small perturbations or inaccuracies in the articulation. These patterns are distinctive in the sense that if some articulatory parameters cross over a threshold region there will be a significant change or a qualitative shift in the auditory response' (p.5). In this sense, we talk about acoustic regions or boundaries that separate neighbouring vowels in a language. In this regard,

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[2] Though this is a completely different approach, it is worth mentioning here that Firth (1948:126-7) believes that 'such marks are prosodic. And it is even possible to maintain that in this system of writing the diacritics pointing out the vowels and consonants in detail are added prosodic marks rather than separate vowel signs or separate sounds in the roman sense; that is to say, generalizing beyond the phonemic level, **fatħa, kasra, ðamma** [sic.], **sukuun, alif, waw, ya, taʃdiid** and **hamza** form a prosodic system.'

'the boundaries in the F1/F2 [formants 1 and 2] space would enclose distinct subareas, one for each different vowel of the language' (Rosner and Pickering 1994:97).

At the auditory level, there seems to be a wide range of permissible phonetic variation between the point vowels in Arabic before they are well recognised by the listener. This means that if a change in the acoustic qualities of the vowel, e.g. /a/, happens there is a wide space assigned to it before this change or movement results in a close approximation or occupation of the position of another phoneme or before the original position of the /a/ is occupied by another phoneme. Even in the case of such phonetic variation in the three-vowel system, the listeners are not expected to be very sensitive to it[3]. There are certain principles or theories (e.g. nearest prototype, canonical perceptual subspace, etc.) that explain how the listener perceives the vowel produced by a speaker. A relevant hypothesis to our case is the hypothesis of normalisation. It 'holds that /i, a, u/ are particularly stable and characteristic for a given speaker. The listener uses them as unique reference points in the vowel space for that speaker. This reference frame supposedly helps to normalize the speaker's entire set of vowels' (Rosner and Pickering 1994:254). Therefore, the minor changes that would happen to the production of these vowels are not sensitive according to the Quantal theory.

Sociolinguistically speaking, the vowels are not deeply implicated, in comparison with the consonants at least, in the Arabic language system. Moreover, there are psychological and social factors that cause language variation and change in a certain community. These factors result in 'forces exerted upon the linguistic forms' (Labov 1972: 123). These forces or pressures are not expected to operate within the vocalic system that gives enough space for variation within the region of a certain vowel without being sensitive to the listener or even, generally speaking, noticed auditorily by the researchers. The vowels do not seem to be 'the focus of the social affect' and they are not subject to overt comment or social reaction and are not usually used to identify dialects in the community, whereas in English they are. This is why 'it seems clear that a suitable typology of accents of English must be based upon vowel rather than consonant characteristics' (Wells 1982: 181).

[3] It is important to acknowledge that the [a]-[ɑ] phonetic difference is important perceptually for listeners to recognise emphatic consonants.

To sum up, two major points might explain why the vocalic system does not explain the linguistic system of the Jordanian community as a whole. The first has to do with the difficulty of coding the variation within the vowels since this variation is not gradient. This does not mean that it is impossible, but it simply means that a quantitative measurement would be more difficult. Moreover, and due to the quantal nature of the three-vowel system of Arabic, listeners seem to be less sensitive to the types of variation that might occur within the region of a specific point vowel.

2.5. Jordanian Arabic dialects

Cleveland (1963) was possibly the first Arabist to write about variation in the Jordanian spoken Arabic. In addition to that, Cleveland, whose data was collected during the year 1955-56, suggests that the Jordanian Arabic dialects should be divided into 'no less than three groupings, and more satisfactorily in four' (ibid.56). Although it is surprising to him to find these varieties in a small area like Jordan, the historical, social and economic realities provide enough reasons behind this fact. Even Cleveland himself associates these varieties with the 'social and economic stratification in the country, as well as to geographical zones' (ibid.). These varieties are best described ecologically and ethno-geographically. In other words, we have a clear division of what might be called urban/non-urban dialects and Jordanian/Palestinian dialects. Sawaie (1994:14-5) states:

> At the present time, however, we have two distinct linguistic situations in Trans-Jordan. On one hand, we have a 'city' dialect or 'city' dialects that is/are used in cities in Trans-jordan. On the other hand, we have a number of 'rural' dialects that are in actual use in various parts of the country.

But it is important to note that this city or urban dialect is originally a Palestinian one, while the rural dialect is an indigenous Jordanian dialect. So, the two broad ecological and ethno-geographical classifications are highly interrelated.

According to this, one can state that there are dialects *'in'* Jordan and dialects *'of'* Jordan. As for the 'dialects in Jordan,' this term includes the main four dialects that are prevalent there: the Madani Palestinian, the nomadic Bedouin Jordanian, the sedentary

Fallaḥi Jordanian and the sedentary Fallaḥi Palestinian dialects. The other term, 'dialects of Jordan', is used here to refer to the two original 'Trans-jordanian dialects' only: the Bedouin and Fallaḥi. This broad classification shows that 'the sociolinguistic situation in Jordan is unlike that in many other Arabic-speaking communities in that the sociolinguistically relevant distinctions are between Jordanian and urban Palestinian norms' (Al-Wer 1991:12). If the dialect of an individual reflects his identity (see Underwood 1988) or the group that he/she would like to be associated with, one notices that in Jordan the urban and Fallaḥi Palestinian dialects still exist even though their speakers have Jordanian nationality or have been in Jordan for most of their lives.

In Syria and Lebanon, the linguistic situation is different from the way it is in Jordan. The Palestinian immigrants to Syria or Lebanon have acquired the Syrian and Lebanese dialects. Al-Wer (1999a:41) differentiates between the linguistic situation in Jordan, where the urban dialect of the Palestinian immigrants has become the prestigious one, and the linguistic situation in Lebanon and Syria by stating:

> The Palestinians in Jordan, the majority of whom settled in urban centres...gradually came to play a major role in shaping and defining the modernisation of the country.... These dominant economic and political roles, unsurprisingly led to the rapid spread of urban Palestinian linguistic features, reinforcing the general perception of urban Levantine varieties as being socially dominant (and more prestigious than the local Jordanian dialects). It is interesting to notice that this has not happened in Lebanon or Syria, where on the whole the Palestinians assimilated to the linguistic norms of the host communities.

This classification of Jordanian and Palestinian dialects in Jordan goes in line with Jordanian sociolinguists' belief (Abdel-Jawad's 1981, 1986; Al-Wer's 1991, etc.) that 'the sociolinguistically relevant distinctions are between Jordanian and urban Palestinian norms' (Al-Wer 1991:12). Therefore, one can classify the dialects *in Jordan* into four broad groups:

2.5.1. The Madani Palestinian dialect

The word 'Madani,' i.e. urban, refers to the 'city' characteristics. So, the Madani dialect is used by the city dwellers and has its 'prestigious status over and above the

colloquial varieties' (S. Suleiman 1985:44). This rough characterisation of the Madani dialect does not take into consideration the socio-symbolic conflict in Jordan. The commonest phonological feature of the Madani dialect is its use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ for the Classical Arabic /q/. Therefore, it is usually referred to as the /biʔuul/ (say) dialect. Table 2 lists the commonest phonological features of this Madani dialect:

Linguistic Variable	Standard Variety	Madani Variety	Example (Standard forms given first)
(Q)	[q]	ʔ	/qalb/ (heart) /ʔalb/
(D)	[$d^ʕ$]	[$d^ʕ$], [$z^ʕ$]or [d]	/$d^ʕ$aabit^ʕ/ (officer) /$d^ʕ$aabit^ʕ/ or /$z^ʕ$aabit^ʕ/. /mutad^{ʕ}aajiq/ (upset) /middajiʔ/
(Đ)	[$ð^ʕ$]	[$d^ʕ$] or [$z^ʕ$]	/$ð^ʕ$ufr/ (nail) /$d^ʕ$ufr/. /$ð^ʕ$il/ (shadow) /$z^ʕ$il/
(θ)	[θ]	[t] or [s]	/θalaaθ/ (three) /talaat/. /taθbiit/ (strengthening) /tasbiit/
(dʒ)	[dʒ]	[ʒ]	/dʒabal/ (mountain) /ʒabal/
(k)	[k]	[k]	/kalb/ (dog)

Table 2. The commonest phonological Madani Palestinian features

Hussein (1980:66) believes that the reasons behind the high status of this dialect are:

1- It is spoken mostly by affluent city speakers who belong to a higher socioeconomic class.
2- It has a direct association with education since there are more educated people amongst the Madani speakers than other varieties.
3- It is associated with urban centres and cities from which innovations, cultural and artistic productions evolve.

2.5.2. The Bedouin Jordanian dialect

People usually refer to this dialect as being conservative and closer to the dialect of Arabia. It gains its high status because it is 'considered quite conservative and hence similar to the Qur'an' (Cadora 1970:12). This closeness to the Qur'an is traced in the /fasˤaaħa/ (eloquence) of its speakers. Thus, Rabin (1951:18) believes that this dialect is 'to some extent justified by the rich speech of the Bedouin and his natural rhetorical ability, and by the fact that a tradition of Classical Arabic poetry still continued among the tribes for some centuries.' I believe that 'it is part of the mythology of Arabic...that Classical Arabic...is still spoken by the Bedouin. Such statements are part of a general fact about human knowledge, which is that the further away and less accessible an area is, the more fantastic things seem to be known about it' (Ingham 1994:5).

The commonest phonological features (table 3) of this Bedouin variety, which is spoken in the eastern and southern deserts of Jordan, are:

Linguistic variables	Standard variety	Bedouin Variety	Example (Standard forms given first)
(Q)	[q]	[g]	/qalb/(heart) /galb/
(D)	[dˤ]	[ðˤ]	/dˤaabitˤ/ (officer)-/ðˤaabitˤ/
(Ð)	[ðˤ]	[ðˤ]	/ðˤufr/ (nail)
(θ)	[θ]	[θ]	/θalaaθ/ (three)
(dʒ)	[dʒ]	[dʒ]	/dʒabal/ (mountain)
(k)	[k]	[tʃ]	/kalb/ (dog) /tʃalb/

Table 3. The commonest phonological Bedouin Jordanian features

Today, many researchers state that the Bedouin variety comes second in prestige after the Madani dialect. Hussein's (1980) triglossic categorisation contains Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic. He believes that Classical Arabic and the colloquials are functionally and structurally different. Within the colloquials, Hussein finds that 'the Bedouin variety occupies an intermediate position between the Madani and Fallahi. It has been learned from several respondents that

Bedouins, unlike Fallaḥi speakers, stick to their variety and do not try to change or modify it even in the presence of speakers of other varieties' (p.76).

2.5.3. The Fallaḥi Jordanian dialect

This dialect is used by the rural Jordanian speakers in the different villages in Jordan. Many researchers (El-Hassan 1978; Hussein 1980; Abdel-Jawad 1981; S. Suleiman 1985, etc.) believe that this variety is often ridiculed by Madani speakers and its features often shift towards Madani but not vice versa. The phonological features of the dialect of the rural Jordanians or what might be called the 'settled Bedouins' are similar to the Bedouin Jordanian dialect. The differences between these two varieties are related mainly to 'details of morphology...idiom and basic vocabulary' (Cleveland 1963:58). The reason behind this close similarity, especially at the level of the consonantal system, might be that 'the indigenous varieties of Jordan are akin to the nomadic, as opposed to the sedentary norm;' simply because they come from 'earlier Bedouin tribes' (Al-Wer 1991:10).

The overall inferior status of the Fallaḥi variety comes from certain historical, educational, economic and geographical facts. In Jordan, it was difficult for village dwellers to achieve even the basic level of education. At the same time, there were not enough jobs available in their places of residence to overcome the economic difficulties they used to face. So, until the sixties of the twentieth century there was no other way for them to seek better education and jobs but to move to the cities that were geographically very close to them. That movement was not always welcomed by the Madanis (i.e. city dwellers).

The Madani people wanted to distinguish themselves from the newcomers and to create some kind of prestigious circle away from the uneducated, less civilized Fallaḥi people. The social gap between the two groups increased to the extent that the Madanis used to name those new dwellers after their villages, even though their family names might be different. In Irbid, for example, one finds many common family names that refer to the villages of these families in this main city in the northern part of Jordan, while their original family names in their villages are different. So, the socioeconomic

status of the prestigious Madani dialect and the social inferiority of the Fallaħi dialect are two main reasons behind that kind of shift from the Fallaħi dialect towards the Madani one or the feeling of ridicule that its speakers have, especially with regard to women.

2.5.4. The Fallaħi Palestinian dialect

This dialect is originally found around Jerusalem and northward of central Palestine (Cleveland 1963:58). It exhibits a high degree of stigmatisation in Jordan even more than the Fallaħi Jordanian dialect. It is usually referred to in Jordan as the /k/ dialect (or /kulit/, said, for /qult/) because of the use of the /k/ for /q/. It also affricates the /k/, i.e. /tʃ/, in words like /tʃalb/ (dog). There has been terminological confusion among researchers (Hussein 1980; S. Suleiman 1985, etc.) when referring to this dialect. The labelling of this dialect as 'Fallaħi' in Jordan, without specifying its origin as a Palestinian one, mixes two dialects together: the Jordanian and the Palestinian Fallaħis. The existence of this dialect in Jordan through the Fallaħi Palestinian immigrants necessitates us to differentiate between it and the Fallaħi Jordanian dialect and then between the dialects *of* Jordan and the dialects *in* Jordan.

It seems that all these four dialects revolve around the (Q) as a salient phonological variable that might differentiate between the two categories of the dialects of Jordan and the dialects that were exported to Jordan. The Bedouin and Fallaħi Jordanian dialects use the [g] variant, while the Madani and Fallaħi Palestinian dialects use [ʔ] and [k], respectively. In spite of the fact that the other phonological variables are also important, these variables suffer two major problems.

First, the three non-Madani dialects have the same variants for most of these variables. Second, the standard variants of some of these variables, e.g. (θ), (ʤ) and (Ð), are also used in these three non-Madani dialects, regardless of the level of education of their speakers. Even the (k) variable is rarely affricated these days by the speakers of these dialects. It seems that this affrication is lexically constrained among the older generation only. In my data, few words, e.g. /tʃeef/ (how), /tʃiðib/ (lie),

/ʔabtʃi/ (I cry), are used with the [tʃ] variant of (k) by different old male and female speakers of different educational levels. However, the same speakers used [k] for the rest of the etymological /k/ words. This phonological variable was even one of the variables under study, but when I found that its variation into /tʃ/ was rare, even among the older Fallahi Jordanian speakers, I deleted it.

2.6. The social variables

To achieve the main objectives of this research (p.4) a quantitative and social examination of certain social variables will be undertaken. This examination sheds light on the correlation between a group of selected independent variables and the phonological variables of the study. The social variables in this study have been chosen after investigating their suitability to the current research. These are age, education, gender and class.

2.6.1. The social variable of age

The age factor has proven to be used frequently in many sociolinguistic studies. Labov (1963, 1966, 1972, etc.) and other linguists have drawn special importance on the age factor to see if there is a change in progress in 'real,' if possible, and 'apparent' time dimensions. In the real time methodology, the researcher compares his findings with the findings of earlier work to see if there is an ongoing linguistic change and in what direction this change is. Labov's Martha's Vineyard study (carried out in 1961) is a good example of this methodology. He compared his data with the data collected in 1933 for the Linguistic Atlas of New England. On the other hand, the apparent time methodology examines the linguistic differences between the younger and older speakers within the same sample to see if there is a linguistic change or if this linguistic change can be predicted. This apparent time methodology cannot tell safely, as the real time methodology does, whether this change is genuine and expected to continue or whether it is a matter of *age-grading*, 'where the individual changes but the community remains constant' (Labov 2001:76) and then these changes are repeated in every generation. However, its most obvious advantage 'is that one can study results

immediately rather than waiting for 20 years or so to see what happens' (Trudgill 1988:34).

In the current apparent time study, the informants are divided into three age groups. These age groups are devised, with some modification, in line with the formal age bands that the Department of Statistics in Jordan adopts in its studies. According to these studies[4], the three chosen age bands represent 58% of the population in Jordan. The rest of the population (42%) covers those who are below 14 years old. This category is not part of the current research for two reasons. First, I generally agree with Al-Wer (1991:51) that the use of the phonological variables and the variation in this usage is 'influenced by direct and extensive contact with speakers of urban Palestinian varieties.' However, this contact need not just be direct; linguists (Al-khatib 1988) have also noted the role of mass media and mainly television on the acquisition of the Palestinian urban variants. Informally, I found during my fieldwork that the secondary class speakers (the females mainly) used these variants because of direct or indirect (i.e. mass media) contact with the urban Palestinian features. This might be related to the fact that they have become more aware at this stage of the Jordanian 'linguistic market' where 'one can see the self as the commodity that is being produced for value in the market' (Eckert 2000:13).

The second reason for choosing these age bands has to do with historical reasons (Al-Wer 1991). The urbanisation and modernisation process started in Jordan around the mid 1980s. After the 1970 confrontation with the guerrillas of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the government started paying more attention to the fact that more Jordanians from the East Bank of Jordan should be employed in the different governmental and private sectors. This process benefited male Jordanians first. Female Jordanians, who are usually found the innovators in our speech community, started participating and working in the governmental sectors, mainly the educational and health ones, after the mid 1980s. Based on these three facts, the age groups of this research are:

(1). Young (15 – 29) (2). Middle (30 – 44) (3). Old (45+)

[4] Published in Results of the General Census of Population and Housing of Jordan 1994, Volume No. 3. Subnational Report 1998.

It is important to note that no speaker is on the borders of these age bands. Simply speaking, there is no speaker who is 15, 29, 30, 44, or 45 years old. This ensures, relatively speaking, that there is no overlap between the age groups.

2.6.2. The social variable of education

Education has always been one of the main factors in similar studies done in the Arab world with its diglossic nature. This factor creates a real problem and needs careful analysis to come at a more practical way of defining what we mean by 'education.' The 'education' variable is important in our study because it will be examined to see if it is a true determinant of linguistic variation or not. In our speech community, with its diglossic nature and functionally competing lectal extremes, the level of education of the speaker might be 'a proxy variable' (Al-Wer 2000a: 3) that acts on behalf of other social variables. This is why it might be true to say that 'in Arabic speaking communities, it is not level of education *per se* which correlates with linguistic usage' (ibid).

I believe education in Jordan provides speakers with the chance to come into contact with other dialects, mainly the urban Palestinian dialect. It is a social opportunity more than an academic one. Therefore, no prior preference will be given to any lect of Arabic on a scale of 'more educated' – 'less-educated' to see what the increase in the level of education results in. The sample of the current research will be divided mainly into three substantial types:

1. **Basic (illiterate or up to six years of compulsory education)**

2. **Middle (up to high school, i.e. six years of preparatory and secondary education.**

3. **High (college or university education)**

2.6.3. The social variable of gender

With regard to gender, we usually think of this variable as being very important in the Arab world (El-Hassan 1978; Sallam 1980; Schmidt 1974; Abdel-Jawad 1981; etc.). The diglossic nature of the society and its social cultural and religious structures play important roles in the variation in the speech of the two sexes. In addition to that, women's chances of social contacts and their range of social activities are not usually equivalent to those of men. Therefore, what we normally focus on under the role of gender in language variation are the 'differences of a kind which come to light...when we consider the average scores recorded for men and women respectively on particular pronunciation variables. Holding other factors constant, it has repeatedly been found that women achieve a score significantly closer to the prestige norm than men.' (Wells 1982: 19) This prestige norm in the Arabic context might not be the high variety of the language.

This suggestion builds on the cultural and social norms of the Jordanian community. In Jordan, linguists (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1991; Sawaie 1994; etc.) have claimed that there are phonological variants, e.g. [q], [θ], [ðˤ], etc., that 'are perceived by speakers as masculine', while there are other variants, e.g. [ʔ], [t], [s], [dˤ], [ʒ], etc., that are 'perceived by speakers as feminine' (Abdel-Jawad 1986: 59). What is interesting to note is that some of the phonological variants that are used as standard or rural colloquial at the same time in Jordan are more 'masculine' than the locally prestigious urban Palestinian variants (Sawaie 1994). This might be an important reason for investigating the overall differences between the two sexes with regard to particular phonological variables.

2.6.4. The social variable of class

'Social stratification is a term used to refer to any hierarchical ordering of groups within a society especially in terms of power, wealth and status' (Trudgill 2000:25). It is not a simple procedure that one can deal with quickly. The other social variables are, relatively speaking, less complicated due to their apparent nature (e.g. gender) or direct investigation (e.g. education and age). The many definitions that deal with this variable,

the different components that many linguists use to form a multiplex (e.g. Trudgill 1974) or single-item index (Macaulay 1977) of social class, the new trends that provide alternative life-modes model (Højrup 1983), and the overlapping between social class and the social concepts like status or prestige create various levels of procedural and theoretical problems. The very definition of the term *class* and its components are controversial. Trudgill (2000:25) states:

> The whole question of social class is in fact somewhat controversial, especially since sociologists are not agreed as to the exact nature, definition or existence of social classes.

However, we would like here to examine the role of social class in Jordan. Therefore, a special social class index will be devised. This index will depend on how the classes in Jordan are recognized by social researchers. Usually, in the Middle East, the society is stratified into three major classes. Patai (1967:30) notes:

> The presence of social class is characteristic of the Middle Eastern towns, in contrast to villages and nomadic tribes.... The great majority of the townspeople belong to the *lower class*.... The thin but growing *middle class* is made up of master craftsmen, merchants, teachers, other professional people who do not belong to the great families, minor officials, small house-owners, and others of moderate means. The very small but extremely powerful *upper class* consists in each country of a few great families whose members, sometimes referred to as notables occupy key positions in many fields and are the mainstay of the feudal oligarchy.

This tri-social classification might be clearer in the Arab world today. Even the gaps between the class levels are getting wider due to the different economic difficulties in that the Arab world in general and Jordan in specific. Though this tri-socioeconomic classification is similar to the Western class structure it is important to note that all along these class levels the inter-relations are still strong, especially when we talk about people who belong to the same extended families or who come from the same ethnic background. In other words, the wealth factor is an important factor in assigning the class of individuals, but their social relations with their relatives from other social classes remain strong. These relations become very important if a wealthy person would like to run for a political position. Another thing that should be noted here is that teachers in Jordan are no more considered middle class people. If we apply Trudgill's

(2000:25) three indicators of class ordering, i.e. power, wealth and status, I believe that the teacher[5] whose income is not more than £200 *per* month has lost the traditional image that characterised him with power and status at the time of Patai (1967). Informally, it is a noted phenomenon these days for teachers to work in other lower-class jobs (grocer, taxi drivers, etc.) to secure more income.

In order to achieve a degree of objectivity, I interviewed the leader[6] of the team from the Department of Statistics, who conducted research on the socioeconomic stratification in five Jordanian cities, including Irbid. After a thorough revision of the details of the research the team conducted in 1996, it appeared that the main indicators of social class stratification in Jordan in general and the area of study of the current research would be 'income,' 'type of housing,' and 'elements used in building.' These three indices were used in the pilot study of my current research and proved valid. In my personal contacts with the people of the area of study, it was clear that they tended to agree that these three indices would be the most important social markers in Jordan. To achieve a more subclassified design and to gather enough data about these social class indicators, I took advantage of the following facts:

First, the Jordanian government usually allocates financial help to the people of limited income (*daxil maħduud*). This method of distributing welfare might be used here in the following way. The maximum financial help that the government offers goes to the nuclear families that are referred to as 'special cases.' These families do not earn more than 250 (almost £200) Jordanian Dinars (JD) monthly. In the up-to-date report of the Ministry of Social Development in November, 1999 there are 226 nuclear families who get financial help in our area of study or zone. After a thorough discussion with the social researcher assigned to this zone, it came out that all these families come from one part of *al-Januubi* Zone. This is the old *ħaj* or area. This *ħaj* contains people of the lower class not only in respect of their income but also in the type of the buildings they live in and the elements used in building these places. What is interesting is that the

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[5] A report in Assabeel weekly newspaper (13.10.2001, p. 5) discusses the status of teachers in Jordan nowadays. Under the title 'The Prestige of the Teacher in Jordan: Disappointed !,' it says that the 'teacher goes to his school and comes back disappointed... His students neither appreciate him nor respect him; they do not pay attention to his lessons.'

[6] Sincere thanks are due to Mr. David J. Magill from the Department of Statistics in Jordan.

Ministry of Social Development[7] considers the nuclear families whose monthly income is less than JD300 as poor families. Therefore, the lower-class people will be those who earn not more than JD300 *per* month[8].

As for the middle class people, the government tended to assign what used to be called 'sugar and rice support' to the Jordanian nuclear families with a monthly income that was less than JD500 *per* month. In the pilot study, I increased this figure to limit the minimum and maximum borders of the middle class monthly income between JD350 and JD550. This is because there are some subjects who live in a house (*daar*) that is made of cut stone and concrete in *al-januubi* zone and earn around JD550. To make sure that these income limits for the middle class people are accurate, I contacted the former Deputy Prime Minister of Jordan and the Editor in Chief of Economic Today in Jordan[9] who agreed that these limits are representative of the middle class in Jordan. Accordingly, the higher-class income will logically exceed this amount. They are those who earn JD600 or more. This thorough investigation was important to specify exactly the ranges of the three classes in Jordan.

Second, and in order to solve the problem of the other two indices of the socioeconomic stratification in the current research, I depended on how the Department of Statistics in Jordan provides the government with information about the housing type. This information helps the government in deciding the amount of tax that the occupier has to pay. This amount varies according to the *material* used in building and the type of the housing *unit*. Here, these two elements will be chosen to specify the social class of the informants. The material used in building in our area of study or zone could be *cut stone*, *stone and concrete* or *concrete* alone. In addition to that, the type of housing unit could be a *villa*, a *daar* (house), or an *apartment*.

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[7] In a T.V. interview with the Minister of Social Development in Jordan (reported in Alra'i Newpaper, 15.4.2001), the Minister announced this figure of monthly income for the poor nuclear families.

[8] In the 1999 Annual Report of the United Nations Resident Coordinator in Jordan, it appears that 'poverty has increased in recent years as a result of the stagnant economy and high population growth rate...and the severe drought in the 1998/1999 rainy season caused further hardship, particularly for the rural poor.... It is estimated that 33 percent of the population live below the poverty line.'

[9] Sincere thanks are due to his excellency Dr. Maa'n abu nouwar (ex-deputy Prime Minister of Jordan, 1997) and Dr. Abdulla Malki.

It appears that the social variables chosen here are in line with the nature of the community of our research. Therefore, the research will benefit from the current studies conducted by the different governmental departments and ministries in Jordan. These studies add a lot to the practicability of our social variables and ultimately the validity of our results.

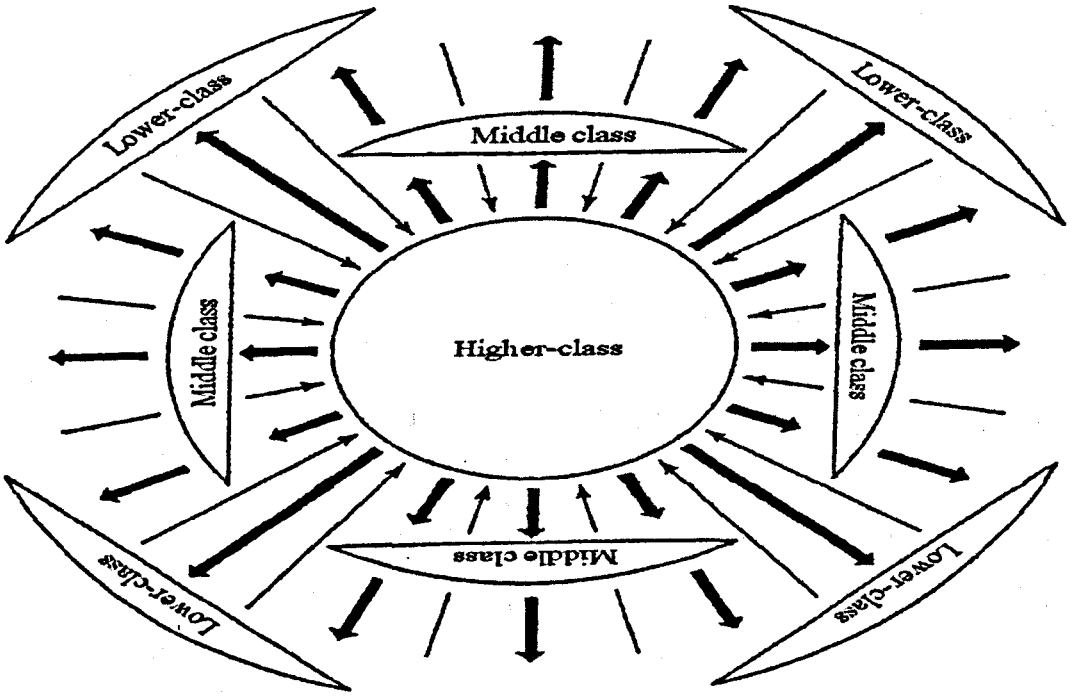
There are three main issues that need to be shed light on here. These have to do with how I managed to get access to the information about the income of the subjects, why class as a social variable has been neglected in the variationist studies in Jordan and finally how I quantified the information to produce a social index. We will start with the first two issues. A separate section of the statistical analysis will be devoted for the issue of coding and quantifying the data gathered from the subjects.

2.6.4.1. The class and income of the speakers

What I did with regard to the information about the income of the subjects was ask every speaker to locate himself within one of the three income levels of the research. One of the differences between the Arab world and the West is that a question like this does not create any kind of sensitivity or embarrassment. In the pilot study that I conducted in May 2000 I asked every speaker to choose an income level (the information was read to the illiterate) that they thought they belonged to from a paper presented to them; it turned out that this paper was not really necessary. Therefore, I did not find it important to use a paper like this in the major fieldwork that was conducted months after the pilot study. Nevertheless, a paper like this was available during the major fieldwork in case I had to use it.

To answer why class as a social variable has been neglected in Jordan in spite of the different changes that occurred there, one has to shed light on certain demographic and economic changes and to underline the indirect or embedded remarks of main sociolinguistic studies in Jordan. The importance of this issue relates us to a bigger question. Does the absence of socioeconomic variationist studies in Jordan mean that there are no clear class divisions, if any? To start with, it is important to note that social classes in Jordan are not always conflict-based. The main indicator or what might be

called membership condition is wealth, however the relations between classes are not antagonistic. Moreover, the reciprocal relationships that stem from the family, tribal, ethnic, religious, cultural and social norms make it possible for the different class members to have inter and intra-class ties (fig. 1). Following Bill's (1972) and Trudgill's (2000) definition of class, one might say that classes in Jordan are interrelated aggregates of individuals united by similar social and/or economic characteristics. That idea of reciprocal relationships among the different class levels is



(Figure 1. Social class hierarchy in Jordan. Adapted from Bill 1972)

what is important to us here. The existence of these relations made some linguists (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Khatib 1988, etc.) believe that classes are not easily traced in Jordan. This is inaccurate, especially if we bear in mind the different demographic and economic changes that happened in Jordan.

The massive influx of immigrants to Jordan in 1948, 1967 and 1990 made it impossible for a small country like Jordan with a limited budget that depended mainly on the financial support of the Arab oil countries to cope with the social and economic requirements of the new residents. In addition to that, the economic growth that Jordan witnessed in the 1970s and mid 1980s due to the financial aid provided by these Arab oil countries was governed by different international and pan-Arab political and

economic circumstances that affected Jordan in 1971 and 1990. Therefore, a sharp socioeconomic gap was clear after the Gulf war in 1990 where the 'poverty gap increased between 1989-1993 to include 21% of the whole population' (Shteiwi 1998:45). This high percentage of poverty that has increased more now (around 33%) is concentrated mainly 'in the three big cities in Jordan: Amman, Irbid and Zarqa' (ibid:47).

These economic and financial facts explain the socioeconomic classification and ultimately its correlation with language variation in Jordan. So, the neglect of this social variable by linguists in Jordan could be due to the difficulty attached to the nature of analysing it or the sociolinguistically controversial ideas related to the social class approach but not to the unsuitability of this social variable in the sociolinguistic analysis in Jordan. Nevertheless, one can trace certain glimpses regarding the correlation between the socioeconomic classification and language variation in different variationist studies in Jordan.

For example, in 1963, Cleveland noticed that in Jordan the 'linguistic groupings correspond, though not precisely, to social and economic stratification in the country, as well as to geographical ones' (p. 58). Such a remark, made almost fifty years ago, and before the other socioeconomic changes that happened later on means that the emergence of social classes was creeping slowly even though the whole country was still under creation. Cleveland's classification is further stressed indirectly by Hussein (1980:68) when he attributes the prestigious status of the Madani dialect in Jordan to the fact that 'it is spoken by affluent city speakers who belong to a higher socio-economic class.' Abdel-Jawad (1981:73) finds it difficult to draw clear-cut socioeconomic borders between the classes in Amman due to certain cultural and regional backgrounds and to the fact that 'most of the rich people in the city acquired that richness recently.'

Nevertheless, the author admits that 'living within certain geographical areas in Amman can make a difference in the linguistic behaviour' (Ibid). These areas are divided into three types representing the 'first class area' (p.73), middle and lower class areas (p.76). These classes are divided mainly according to income, housing and standard of living. Although author does not provide any kind of numerical or even social evidence to support his preliminary generalisation, he concludes his discussion by

admitting that 'however, one can rightly expect that living, for instance, in area (H), high class, will influence linguistic performance towards change' (p.78).

Two relevant remarks are worth mentioning here. First, the cultural and regional backgrounds that Abdel-Jawad talks about strengthen the ties between the members of the different social classes, especially the relatives, within the frame of the reciprocal relationships that we discussed before but do not veil the economic classification that exists in the society. Second, Labov (2001:270) notes that 'in Amman, for all social classes, men favored the use of the *qaf* prestige form more than women (Abdel-Jawad 1981); this pattern was replicated in Nablus (Abdel-Jawad 1987).' The problem in this context is that in his 1981 study, Abdel-Jawad does not examine the social class variable of the speakers. In addition to that, his 1987 study of Nablus encompasses the factors of age, sex, and mobility from the city only!

As for another example, Al-Wer (1991:16) believes rightly that the dominant economic and political role of the Palestinians 'led to the rapid spread of urban Palestinian linguistic features.' Though the following quotation was used in a previous context (p.1) in this study, its importance in this context stems from the fact that Al-Wer stresses clearly the importance of class by stating that:

> Although origin (in terms of Jordanian versus Palestinian) as a social parameter continues to exert influence on the linguistic situation, and is undoubtedly important in social stratification, other parameters such as gender have become prominent. It is also possible to expect that differences according to *socio-economic* status will ultimately override the significance of ethnic origin as a criterion of sociolinguistic stratification. (2000a:7, italics mine)

Moreover, in his 'Linguistic Variation and Speaker's Attitude' Sawaie (1994) criticises Abdel-Jawad's (1981) ecological trichotomy, i.e. urban, rural and Bedouin, because it 'misrepresents the reality of the ecological situation in the area of his study' and 'lumps together disparate groups from a linguistic viewpoint' (p.31). Sawaie therefore isolates the dialects of Trans-Jordan and Palestine according to 'geographical zones and socio-economic and ecological factors,' (p.32) believing that:

> If we accept the aforementioned parameters, and if we start with a discussion of Trans-jordan, we speak theoretically, then, of northern,

> southern or central dialects by applying the geographical parameter. If we apply the socio-economic and ecological set of variables, then we can speak of city dialect versus village dialect, sedentary versus Bedouin dialects, *high versus low socio-economic class dialect,* and so on. Similarly, a comparable map of Palestinian Arabic could be drawn using the same parameters. (ibid., italics mine)

We find that in recent sociolinguistic studies that started mainly in the early 1990s, the social class variable has started gaining attention but not thorough variationist analysis. Therefore, Y. Suleiman (1993:1) describes the three colloquial dialects in Jordan and concentrates on the speaker's attitudes by correlating 'these attitudes principally with the socioeconomic conditions of their respective communities.' This general review of the social, historical, and demographic facts in Jordan, together with the general claims of most variationist studies shows that the social class variable is a relevant if not the most important factor.

2.7. The coding of the social index values

Each social variable of the study was assigned a code from (01) up to (03) depending on the number of its sub-classifications. That is to say, the age factor was divided into (01) young, (02) middle and (03) old. As for education, it was given the same three codes: (01) low, (02) middle and (03) high. The only difference was with gender of course. The two codes that we had for gender were: (01) male and (02) female. With regard to social class, its three sub–categories were treated in the similar way: (01) low, (02) middle and (03) high. These sub-categories of the social class variable were judged according to three indices: income, type of housing and elements used in building. After that, all these codes were inserted into an SPSS sheet to see if there is a significant correlation between the social variables and the linguistic variables of the study and to locate at what level of every social variable this correlation is.

Actually, the statistical analysis of data in the current research depended on the ANOVA and Tukey HSD tests. The ANOVA, or analysis of variance, is used to determine 'if there are any statistically significant differences among the means of two or more sets of scores.' (Tilley 1993:225). If there is no significant correlation between the linguistic variable and a certain social variable then the F-ratio (short for the late

British statistician Fisher) should be close to 1. If there is a significant correlation then the F becomes larger than 1. This F is the most important test within the ANOVA that shows whether there is or there is not significant correlation between the linguistic variable and the social variable. Once the F becomes larger than 1, the significant correlation becomes apparent under the column headed 'sig'. (or P, sometimes). In our case, this significant correlation is less than or equal to .05. After we find that there is a significant correlation between a linguistic variable and a social variable, one needs to know at what level of the social variable this significant correlation is. So, a *post hoc* test is applied (represented in the different figures we have in the study). One of these *post hoc* tests is the Tukey HSD, short for Honest Significant Difference. This test 'allows you to calculate the minimum difference between means that is necessary to count as significant' (ibid. 238). In the case of social class, for example, one needs to know at what level, i.e. low, middle or high class, the significant correlation with a certain linguistic variable is.

As for the indices of social class, we assigned a (01), (02) and (03) value that covered the low, middle and high classes, correspondingly. Simply speaking, the income index was classified into three levels: (01) 0– 300, (02) 350 - 550, and (03) 600+. This also goes for the type of housing: (01) apartment, (02) house, and (03) villa. The last index, elements used in building, includes: (01) concrete, (02) concrete and cut-stone, and (03) cut-stone (see p.24). Therefore, our social index is actually a score out of 9. Mixtures between these indicators are possible (table 4).

As a major step towards a socio-linguistic analysis of the correlation between social class and language variation, I had to tackle an important issue related to splitting up the class continuum into '...more discrete groups which are relatively unified in their linguistic behaviour, and which reflect the class structure of society as a whole' (Trudgill 1974:58-59). Therefore, Trudgill believes that 'the first step is to look for clusters of scores, or for breaks in the continuum of scores which may well reflect breaks in the social class continuum itself' (ibid. 59).

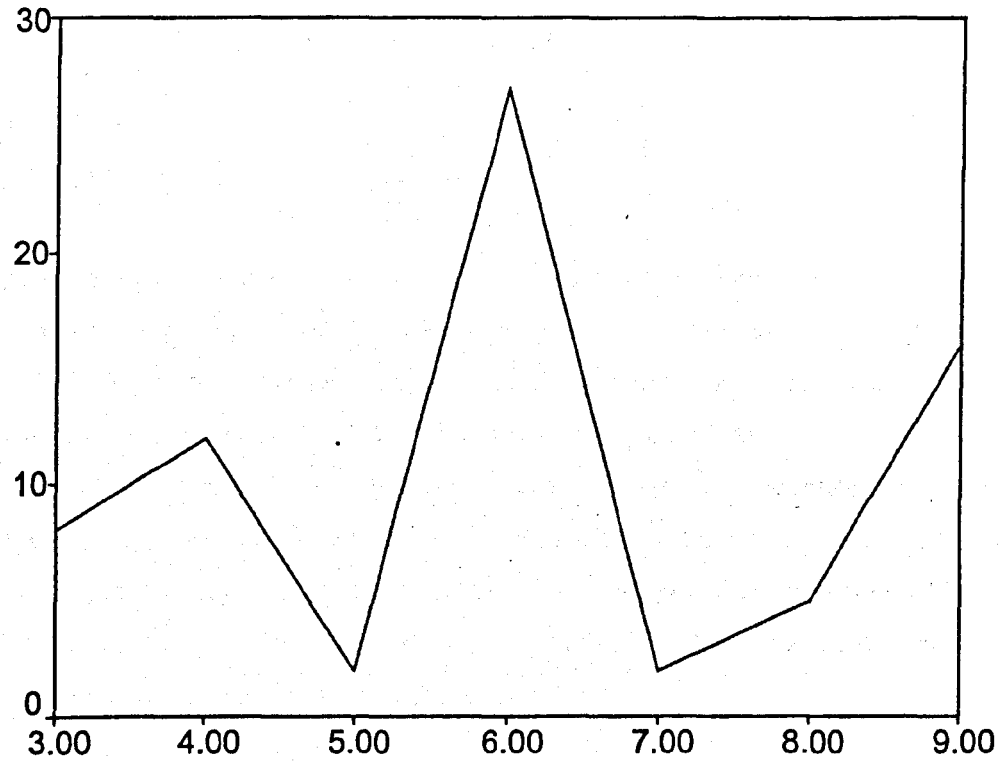
In my research, it appears that these breaks divide the whole speech community into three major classes (fig. 2). In addition to that, the clustering of scores meets these breaks. Therefore, the 'lower-social class' group includes the informants (22 speakers)

1- AGE	(01) Young (02) Middle (03) Old	(01) 15 – 29 years old (02) 30 – 44 years old (03) 45+ years old
2- EDUCATION	(01) Low (02) Middle (03) High	(01) illiterate or 6 years (02) up to high school (03) college or university
3- SEX	(01) Male (02) Female	
4-SOCIAL CLASS	(01) Low	(01) JD0 – 300 (01) concrete (01) apartment
	(02) Middle	(02) JD350 –550 (02) concrete + cut stone (02) house
	(03) High	(03) JD600+ (03) cut stone (03) villa

Table 4 The overall coding of the sub-categories of the social variables

with the social class scores of 3, 4, or 5. The 'middle social class' group (29 speakers) clusters around the scores 6 or 7, while the 'higher-social class' group (21 speakers) is represented by the scores 8 or 9. These breaks or classes include enough representative informants. This could be due to the fact that the sample that was collected quasi-randomly covered most of the cells of the study (see appendix 2). These boundaries appeared to be representative of the speakers' class. The limits of 3 to 5 for the lower-class speakers clearly include all those who earn less than JD300 with a clear gap

between them and the middle class members. The same goes for the socioeconomic gap between the middle class and the higher-class speakers.



(Figure 2. Social Class characteristics of the sample of the study)

CHAPTER THREE

The (Q) Variable

3.0. Introduction

In Modern Spoken Standard Arabic, the phoneme corresponding to the letter ق is /q/. It is a voiceless uvular stop. Its reflexes show a considerable amount of diversification along the parameters of standard/colloquial, prestige/stigma and urban/non-urban. These levels of classification might be added to another region-specific parameter that stems from the socio-political tension and identity conflict between the two major groups in Jordan: the East Bank Jordanians and the West Bank Jordanians. In other words, the usage of /q/ might differentiate clearly between the original inhabitants of Jordan (formerly known as Trans-Jordan) and the Palestinians who immigrated to Jordan and became Jordanian citizens.

In this chapter, the variable (Q) will be studied to trace its historical development in Arabic. This historical socio-phonological tracing leads to a more detailed analysis of two relevant issues: the re-introduction of /q/ in Arabic after its historical merger with another sound, e.g. /ʔ/, and the linguistic conditioning of Q-variation. What follows is a further quantitative analysis of the co-variation of (Q) with social class, gender, age and education. This analysis paves the way for a general section that discusses and explains the findings of the quantitative results.

Though certain findings will be explained within the frame of symbolic sociolinguistics, it is hoped that this analysis will lead to a new approach for examining language variation in Jordan. In addition to that, the findings of this chapter will argue that class as a social variable in variationist studies in Jordan is important. It is also claimed that education as an independent variable in Jordanian variationist studies requires a new definition that exceeds its siamesic twinning with Standard Arabic to include its real social dynamics of outside group contacts. In other words, education does not always result in a higher usage of Standard Arabic. This entails that the

diglossic, or even multiglossic, nature of Arabic and the competing prestige of the urban regional dialect in Jordan give enough space for language variation within the colloquial varieties and exclude the standard variants even among the highly educated speakers.

3.1. Historical background

Tracing the historical development of this variable or any other variable in Arabic is not an easy task. Garbell (1958:305) believes that:

> It is extremely difficult to determine the exact time in which a given change has taken place. Any division of the material into 'stages' must therefore be somewhat arbitrary and at any rate approximate. A special difficulty with regard to the dating of phonetical and/or phonological changes in Arabic dialects in general is caused by the constant – and in recent times increasing– borrowing of lexemes from the literary language.

Still, such a diachronic analysis will be attempted. It is believed that (Q) has been the most salient phonological variable since the very early days of Islam. Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) distinguishes in his Al-Muqadima (The Prolegomena) between the pure Arabs and the foreigners or the urbanites according to their 'pronunciation of /q/' (Vol. III:348). Nowadays, this variable, with its various reflexes: [q], [g], [k], [ʔ], [dʒ], [d] and [ʃ] (Mitchell 1993) is usually used by linguists (e.g. Hussein 1980; Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Amadidhi 1985; Al-Wer 1991; Blanc 1964; Garbell 1956, etc.) to mark the 'striking dichotomy' (Blanc 1964:28) that exists throughout the Arab world.

The diversification of (Q) into more than two reflexes started around the 8th century, after the spread of Islam into different countries and the increase in the number of urban centres. As a result, 'contacts between speakers of different *Arabic varieties*, and indeed between speakers of *different languages*, such as Arabic/Persian, Arabic/Syriac, or Arabic/Berber were intensified' (Al-Wer 1991:60, italics mine). This kind of dialectal contact between the different 'Arabic varieties' was due to the migration of different Bedouin tribes from the Arabian Peninsula to live within the borders of the new Islamic land in Arabia. Therefore, new forms and dialectal features that differentiated between the sedentary, nomadic or Bedouin and semi nomadic or semi sedentary groups were recognised (Rosenhouse 1984).

The above-mentioned type of contact between the different varieties of Arabic marked the first stage of the diachronic development in the phonological variation of (Q). Two main variants resulted from that dialectal contact. Ibn Khaldun notes in his Al-Muqadima that the /q/ was realised as a voiceless uvular stop in the cities and urban centres, while Ibn Jinni (d. 1002) believes that it was a voiced /g/ or /G/. Therefore, the dichotomy started with at least two variants of (Q) that distinguished the speech of the Bedouins from that of the city dwellers: a Bedouin voiced /g/ and an urban, Madani, voiceless /q/. Ibn Khaldun states that:

> A characteristic feature of the language of the present-day Arab (Bedouins), wherever they may live, is the pronunciation of *q*. They do not pronounce it as the urban population pronounces it and as it is indicated in works on Arabic philology, namely, where the hindmost part of the tongue meets the soft palate above it. Neither is it pronounced as *k* is pronounced, even though *k* is articulated in a place below that where *q* is articulated in the vicinity of the soft palate, as it is (when properly articulated). It is pronounced somewhere between *k* and *q*. This is the case with all Arab Bedouins, wherever they are, in the West or the East. (1985. Vol. III: 348)

What is interesting here is that Ibn Khaldun realises, even at such an early date, the social connotations attached to the pronunciation of /q/. He criticises (Vol. 111:350) the Arab philologists who stigmatise and denounce the Bedouin variant [G]:

> ...as an ugly, un-Arabic sound, as if they did not recognize that (the way in which it was pronounced) was the pronunciation of the early Arabs. As we have mentioned, it belonged to (Arab) linguistic tradition, because (the Arabs) inherited it from their ancestors, generation after generation, and it was their particular symbol. That is proof that (the way in which it is pronounced) was the pronunciation of the early Arabs and the pronunciation of the Prophet, as has all been mentioned before.

So, the social conflict underlying the different realisations of (Q) is not something peculiar to the present time. Abdel-Jawad (1981:171) believes that 'such linguistic attitude is of course, closely related to the general feeling and attitude of their Bedouin who thinks that the nomads are superior to the sedentary population.... An attitude which can still be traced in many parts of the Arabic – speaking world.' The social connotation that draws a line between the stigmatised and prestigious realisations of (Q) is also stressed by many linguists in different Arab countries. However, this does not mean that the same reflexes have the same social characterisation all over the Arab

world. Simply speaking, if a certain variant is stigmatised and less prestigious than another variant in a certain Arab country, this does not mean that the same stigmatisation for this variant is found in every other Arab country. For example, the rural variant [g] is stigmatised in Tunisia where [q] is the prestigious urban variant (Jabeur 1987). The Christian variant [q] in Iraq (Blanc 1964) and the Baharna variant [k] in Bahrain (Holes 1987) are less prestigious than the [g]; in Jordan, the urban Palestinian [ʔ] is more prestigious than the rural Jordanian [g], which is more prestigious than the rural Palestinian [k] (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Hussein 1980; Sawaie 1994).

The second stage in the historical development of (Q) started in the eleventh century as a result of contacts between the speakers of Arabic and other languages. Garbell (1958:311–13) assumes that under the effect of Aramaic, the uvular stop /q/ merged with /ʔ/ due to the progressive weakening of this glottal stop. This process resulted in omitting /ʔ/ or changing it into a glide /j/ or /w/ (Daher 1998b: 80). This kind of change resulted in a complete merger of /q/ with /ʔ/ in all positions, which was completed mainly by the 18th century. Al-Khatib (1988:83) schematises the changes in the classical Arabic (CA) /q/ at this stage as follows:

CA /q/ → [ʔ] during or after CA /ʔ/ had split into [∅], [j/w] or remained /ʔ/

To sum up, it seems that right from the very beginning of the Arab Islamic state (as a single practical unit), (Q) received a symbolic sociolinguistic significance that differentiated between the Bedouins and city dwellers. In addition to that, the spread of Islam to other areas outside its base increased the contact with new languages, which resulted in widening the diglossic gap between the two extreme levels of Arabic. That contact added other reflexes to the Bedouin [g] and the urban [q]. Recently, we have many reflexes of (Q). Mitchell (1993:34) states:

> In the cities of Egypt and the Levant, uvular plosion is, in the majority of lexical items, 'replaced' by glottal plosion, that is, the CA [Classical Arabic] /q/ reflex is phonetically similar to /ʔ/, but elsewhere widely differing reflexes occur: [g], a sign of Bedouin or rural origins and with contemporary significance in Jordan; [k] in Lebanon and often among Palestinian villagers

> for whom [q] is unexpectedly stigmatised, and also in Iraq in a few lexical items... [dʒ] and even [d] in Gulf and other forms of Arabian Arabic; finally, [ɟ], palatal plosive, in some forms of Gulf Arabic south of Kuwait.

3.2. The reversal of merger and linguistic conditioning as possible explanations for dialectal variation

From this short historical background, one cannot escape commenting on two important points. These points might be misunderstood due to the diglossic nature of Arabic and the high level of variation at the phonological level. First, the /q/ that started with two reflexes and ended with about seven variants has never been completely deleted or replaced by the /ʔ/ or any other colloquial reflex, like [g] in Jordan. Second, this change is linguistically unconditioned. As for the first point, it appears from the previously mentioned criticism by Ibn Khaldun of the Arab philologists who stigmatised the Bedouin [g] that we had at that time two realisations of /q/: the Bedouin [g] which was the pronunciation of the prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) also and [q] which was the marker of the city dwellers.

Versteegh (1997a:42) believes that the /g/ 'became standard practice in early recitation manuals' since this is how it was realised in the language of Quraysh. If we stress this 'early,' we find that the later standardisation process included the voiceless /q/ that was transported to the Hijazi Arabia, i.e. the Qurayshi language, from the Eastern dialects or Aramaic (Rabin 1951). So, that Eastern pronunciation of the /q/ was adopted by the city dwellers in Mecca and Medina (as we might elicit from Ibn Khaldun) and was kept through the standardisation process by using it in literary styles and the later recitation or *tajweed* of the Qur'an. Rabin (ibid:125) notes that:

> It is still doubtful how far we may take the rules of early *tajwīd* as being representative of Hijazi pronunciation. It differs from Hijazi in its treatment of *hamza* [i.e.glottal stop] and may have differed in many other respects. Thus the ڭ of early *tajwīd* was a voiced uvular plosive as it is to-day in Bedouin colloquials ...

This process, i.e. standardisation, through which the standard /q/ was and is still recalled to suit the literary and religious style of the speech has gone hand in hand with

another process for keeping the /q/ from deletion. This is the process of lexical borrowing through which certain lexical terms are borrowed from Standard Arabic and used in the everyday speech due to their religious, technical, literary, etc, connotations and associations. Therefore, the two processes of *standardisation* and *lexical borrowing* revolve around the nature of the topic or the lexicon itself. However, it is important to note that the reason behind choosing the voiceless urban /q/ rather than the Bedouin Qurayshi voiced /g/ could be understood under what Corriente (1985:76) hints at as the stabilisation of the dialectal reflexes and diachronic changes for the urban dialects. In his words:

> ...sibilants, as well as dentals and interdentals, perhaps qaaf too, were in a state of flux for sometime before and after Islam, where dialectal reflexes and diachronic change make it difficult to determine the situation for a given area and epoch. The situation became more stable for urban dialects since the ninth and tenth centuries, while Bedouin Arabic... exhibits significant hesitation until today in back phonemes, because of further palatalisation of kaaf and qaaf.

The importance of this highly stylistic and religious connotation of the /q/ proves that within certain language domains the /q/ was not deleted from the speech of the Arabs, though it went under different levels of socio-linguistic diversification and phonological realisations. However, if we try to rank these religious and literary styles according to their importance, it seems that the former is stronger than the latter in preserving the /q/. While the literary style was restricted to the educated elite the religious style was open to the non-educated also. In her Egyptian context, Haeri (1996:103) states:

> ...the qaf is an example of a Classical Arabic sound that continued its existence for some speakers in restricted domains. For those who engaged in religious or other scholarly studies, the qaf remained present in the texts they read and wrote, and perhaps in some of their conversations to each other. While the majority of speakers were outside of this reading-writing elite, the qaf most probably remained in their recitations of daily prayers, and of the Quran and was heard in sermons and public speeches.

This religious domain might be stronger if we bear in mind the amount of language variation and change that Arabic has witnessed since the very early days of Islam. A question that I will not answer in this context is that, had it not been for that 'sacred' twinning between Arabic and Islam (Abdel-Jawad 1981) what would have happened to (Q), for example, after that high level of diversification? In a more

imaginative way, 'if the Quran had been translated into, published, and disseminated in the non-classical varieties of Arabic; if the daily prayers had been passed on from generation to generation in non-Classical Arabic; and if scholarly production had been carried out in the latter, the sociolinguistic situation today would have been different' (Haeri 1996:18) and the standard variant [q] would have been replaced by one of its colloquial variants.

Turning now to linguistic conditioning, it seems that what we usually understand from the expression 'linguistic conditioning' is that there are internal or external linguistic rules that favour the application of certain phonological, grammatical or lexical factors while using a variable or a lexical item (Al-Khatib 1988). With regard to (Q) colloquialization in Arabic, most of the variationist studies in the Arab world agree that these rules are mainly external and that the shift from the standard level of the language to its colloquial level is phonetically unconditioned. This change that Schmidt (1974) refers to as Q-colloquialization in the context of Cairene Arabic, i.e. the standard [q] becomes colloquial [ʔ], is subject to lexical and sociolinguistic constraints only. Although the author finds that in a few words (e.g. qaahira 'Cairo') this Q-colloquialisation rule does not apply, he generalises that:

> Q-colloquialization is subject to two kinds of constraints which are external to the rule, however. The first of these is lexical inhibition of the rule. Some lexical items always or nearly always undergo Q-colloquialization, while some other lexical items never or nearly never do.... The other kind of constraint on Q-colloquialization is socio-linguistic.' (pp. 128-129)

Similar views are found in Haeri (1991) who believes that in the Egyptian dialect there is more evidence of a lexical borrowing or analysis than a phonological one. Actually, one can mention a long list of other linguists (Abdel-Jawad 1980; Al-Khatib 1988; Shorrab 1981; Haeri 1996, etc.) who agree that (Q) variation is linguistically unconditioned. However, two Arabic variationist studies do not fall in line with emphasizing the role of the external factors in language variation in the Arab world. Sallam (1980) and Daher (1998b) believe that this kind of variation in the Arabic speech communities is linguistically conditioned. The arguments of these authors are worth examining. Sallam's ideas are clearly criticised by Abdel-Jawad (1981). Some of Abdel-Jawad's ideas might be repeated here. However, Daher's proposals have not received enough attention yet.

Sallam states that 'in the same word-form containing [-a: ʔ], [q] is not at any time pronounceable as [g] or [ʔ]' (p.84). He schematises this rule as follows:

Q → [q] / (a) — aaʔiC
(b) Caaʔi—
(c) —aCaaʔiC
(d) ʔil—aaʔ #
-Q-Q → [-q-q]/Ca aaʔi—

After examining Sallam's rule, one finds that his phonological constraints are merely stylistic restrictions. In his first rule, Sallam disregards the historical fact that the change of /q/ into /ʔ/ was preceded by the change of /ʔ/ into a glide /w/ or /j/ or even by deleting it from the word (Garbell 1958). Therefore, his standard examples, can be 'colloquialized' by applying the initial changes that happened to /ʔ/ before its merger with /q/. In other words, Sallam's standard examples: /qaaʔim/ (existing), /ʕaaʔiq/ (barrier), /laaʔiq/ (suitable) or /raqaaʔiq/ (laminas) can be changed into colloquial forms by applying the concomitant historical linguistic variation of /ʔ/ into /w/, /j/ or zero. So, these examples might become in the Jordanian Arabic with its rural [g] and urban [ʔ] as: /gaajim/ or /ʔaajim/, /ʕaajig/, /laajig/ or /laajiʔ/ and /ragaajig/. /ʕaaʔiq/ and /raqaaʔiq/ are used in the urban dialect with other derivatives of their roots, e.g. /ʕaajiʔni/ (bothering me) or /irʔiiʔa/ (thin).

With regard to the second environment or rule, Sallam says that '[ʔ] and [g] are incompatible with word-final adverbial –an ('nunation')' (p.48). It appears that some of Sallam's examples can be given colloquial alternatives whether by deleting the word-final adverbial –an or by giving lexically similar colloquial items. For example, the word /naqdan/ (in cash) also appears as /nagd/ or /naʔd/ in colloquial Jordanian Arabic. But it is interesting to note that if we delete the nunation and keep its standard [q], as /naqd/, the word is usually understood and used to mean 'criticism ' more than 'in cash.' In other cases of Sallam's rule, the colloquial alternatives can replace the standard forms. For example, the word /ʔitˤlaaqan/ (never) is replaced by the colloquial form /ʔabadan/ or /bilmarra/. In his critique of Sallam's phonological constraints and

examples, Abdel-Jawad (1981:198) states that 'in both Sallam's constraints, every item which has the phonological shape to meet these conditions is a pure standard word.'

As for the second study, Daher (1998b) notes that (Q) occurs in the speech of his Damascene informants in three types of words:

> **Type I: involves words with one instance of the variable (Q), e.g., /qadeem/ (old)**
> **Type II: involves words with two instances of (Q), e.g., /ħaqeeqa/ (truth)**
> **Type III: involves words with one instance of the variable (Q) along with an original glottal stop /ʔ/, e.g., /ʔaqal/ (less)**

Based on these three types, Daher (p.166) hypothesizes that in words that contain an original glottal stop /ʔ/ and 'one instance of the variable (Q), it is more likely for (Q) to be realised as [q] than [ʔ].' This rule reminds us of Sallam's previous rule. In addition to what is stated above concerning Sallam's rules, Daher's conditioning rules need more emphasis.

The problem with Daher's 'more likely' is that it contains enough data for opposite examples. The very example that Daher uses, /ʔaqal/ (less), has corresponding colloquial forms with [ʔ] or [g] that replace [q] in this example. At the same time, Daher puts another hypothesis where the '[q] would be more likely to occur prevocalically, i.e., in syllable onset position, than preconsonantally (i.e., in syllable coda position)' (P.191-92). Within the same 'more likely,' one cannot get clear linguistic conditioning for the phonological environment of the (Q) as the author claims. The lack of examples and the absence of clear-cut phonological rules make it difficult for one even to examine the author's claim.

The author actually presents separate tables of the computer analyses that show the percentage of tokens within the three types of words mentioned before, the two phonological environments for the occurrence of [q] and the correlation of [q] with the social variables of the study. This kind of probability or frequency of occurrence does not help in stating that such results show the 'contribution of the linguistic and social factors to the probability of the use of the [q]' (p.187). Without considering the topic of discussion, the social characteristics of the informants, the role of the field worker (his

field worker is a female journalist) and other methodological issues, I do not think that one can generalise even with 'more likely' that there is linguistic conditioning within the phonological environment, which could be a tendency rather than a rule.

To sum up the two previous points, it seems that the re-introduction of the /q/ in the Arabic dialects today as a reversal of merger is due to *standardisation* and *lexical borrowing*. These mechanisms apply as a response to 'extra-linguistic' factors. At the same time, the occurrence of certain phonological cases that show some kind of conditioning do not provide enough examples for formulating internal linguistic rules. In Abdel-Jawad's (1981:170) words:

> The continuous processes of classicism and dialect mixture often make it difficult to identify the linguistic conditioning factors. In some cases the exceptions are much more numerous than the regularities and therefore the rule is no more useful or general.

Therefore, this social or extra-linguistic distribution of the realisations of (Q) will be the core of my analysis of all the phonological variables under study. Such an analysis meets the historical development of (Q) and the diglossic nature of Arabic. As for the historical facts, it seems obvious that the diversification in the pronunciation of the /q/ started as a response to the extralinguistic dimensions that divided the Arabic speaking groups into urban/non-urban and native/non-native speakers. This kind of social characterisation is still prevalent nowadays. Holes (1995:61) states that 'the OA [Old Arabic] phonemes */k/* and */q/* developed differently in the city, rural and Bedouin dialects.'

On the other hand, and due to the diglossic gap between the two extremes of Arabic there is a tendency to examine the variation that exists in Arabic from two angles. The first one has to do with the comparison between Standard Arabic and the other colloquials, on the one hand, while the second angle examines the different lects of the vernaculars themselves according to a scale of stigmatisation, urbanization, loyalty to the group (Al-Wer 1991) or even inter-ethnic conflicts (Y.Suleiman 1993, 1999). Therefore, there are vertical and horizontal directions of analysis, respectively. These facts should be analysed under the co-variation of (Q) with the social variables of the study to become clear. The following section presents such an analysis.

3.3. The co-variation of (Q) with the social variables

In Jordan, the variable (Q) has four major variants. These variants are: [q], [ʔ], [g] and [k]. Sociolinguists (Hussein 1980; Abdel-Jawad 1981; S. Suleiman 1985; Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1991; Sawaie 1994, etc.) believe that these variants are realised according to the social and extralinguistic norms they reflect. The general distribution of the variants of (Q) in Jordan maintains that [q] represents the Standard Arabic or the speech of the educated speakers. This level of usage adds some kind of national or historical prestige to this variant. As for [ʔ], there is a consensus that it is the urban prestigious variant used originally in the major cities of the West Bank of Jordan and was transported to Jordan after the 1948 and 1967 events (Y. Suleiman 1993). In addition to these Palestinian waves, other Syrian groups entered Jordan and had an important role in the educational sectors. Their urban dialect is similar to that of the Palestinians with regard to (Q).

As for [g], it appears that this variant is used by the rural Jordanians in the Jordanian villages or cities and among the Bedouin tribes. Therefore, it is looked at as being the linguistic shibboleth of the 'East Bank Jordanians.' It has been traditionally considered by the urbanites as less prestigious than [ʔ]. With regard to [k], it is used by the rural Palestinian speakers in Jordan. It is not used by the East Bank Jordanians and is usually abandoned and suppressed even by its original speakers from the West Bank due to its highly stereotypical stigmatisation (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Sawaie 1994; Y. Sulaeiman 1999, etc.). Nevertheless, some writers (e.g. S. Suleiman 1985) refer to [k] as a rural Jordanian variant without specifying the above-mentioned distinction clearly.

The analysis of these variants and their correlation with the social variables of the study contributes to study of language variation in Jordan on one hand and to the realisation of (Q) on the other. The analysis falls into two parts. The first part sheds light on the co-variation of (Q) with social class, gender, education and age. The second part includes the sociolinguistic interpretation of the quantitative findings under the co-variation of (Q) with the social variables of the study. This will be included in a separate section to explain what these results mean within the context of the Jordanian speech community. Certain questions and issues that arise while analysing the statistical results

are explained and interpreted in that separate section. The reason behind adopting this style of presenting the quantitative results first and commenting on these results in a separate section has to do with the special nature of the (Q) variable. The overall picture of the Q-variants is best understood in the context of the socio-political attitudes of the two main segments of the Jordanian population. Though the Jordanian citizenship melts the West and East Bank Jordanians to live within the borders of 'Trans-Jordan,' the [g]/[ʔ] socio-linguistic tension has another dimension that should be tackled under what might be called symbolic socio-linguistics. Therefore, and due to the transitional nature of this analysis that moves from one variant to another, this analysis will be dealt with under one seperate section.

3.3.1. Social class

In so far as this is the first time that the role of social class in language variation in Jordan is examined, the following analysis of the co-variation of (Q) with this social variable will depend on the findings of our current study only. There is no previous variationist study in Jordan that we might compare our results with. The traditional view was in favour of avoiding social class due to its unsuitability in such studies. However, I do not know how such an overgeneralization has been adopted since no one tried before to prove it. In our current study, we hope to prove that social class is one of the most important factors that should be considered to understand the direction and type of language variation in a rapidly developing state like Jordan.

If we turn to what we find under the statistical runs, it appears from table 5 that (Q) has significant correlation with social class under the colloquial rural [g] (.000) and the colloquial urban [ʔ] (.000) only. The standard [q] does not have significant correlation (.249) with class, while the rural Palestinian [k] does not show any correlation at all. Therefore, what we are talking about here is a significant correlation for social class with the urban Palestinian [ʔ] and the rural Jordanian [g]. These two colloquial variants represent two dialects in Jordan. The lack of significant correlation between the standard [q] and social class proves that the direction of variation or

ANOVA

Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(Q)	[q]	1.419	.249
	[g]	9.395	.000*
	[ʔ]	11.702	.000*
	[k]	.	.

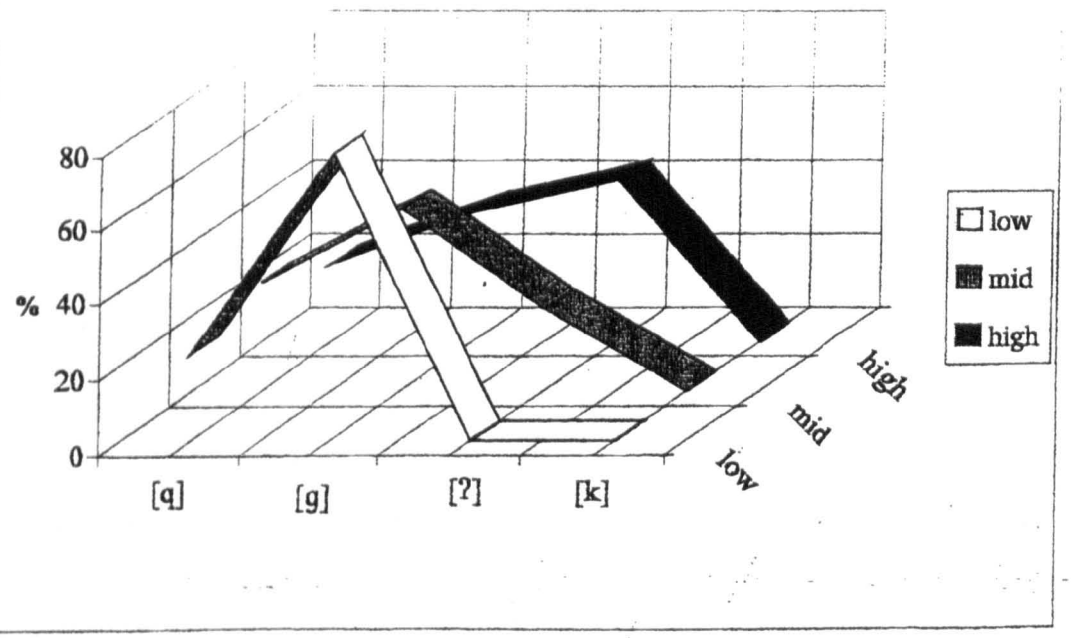
The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Significant correlation asterisked.

Table 5. The use of (Q) by social class

innovation with regard to social class in Jordan is not towards the standard level of Arabic. In addition to that, the lack of any correlation between [k] and social class is actually due to the non-occurrence of a single [k] variant in the speech of our rural Jordanian subjects in the three classes of the study.

To know in what direction the social classes move while using (Q), one needs to see how frequently [q], [g] and [ʔ] are used within the three classes in Jordan (fig. 3).

Figure 3. Use of (Q) by class



If we start with the variants that have significant correlation with class, it appears that [g] is used by the lower-class speakers more than any other social class. This high usage by the lower class decreases sharply when one moves towards the middle class and then the higher-class speakers. Therefore, this variant is a marker of the speakers from the lower class in the speech community of this study. In addition to that, [ʔ] is used by the higher-class people significantly with a constant decrease towards the middle and then lower-class informants. Accordingly, up to this point what we have is a contrary direction of occurrence of [g] and [ʔ] across the social class levels.

With regard to [q], it appears that the middle class speakers use it more than the other social classes. Even the lower-class people use it slightly more than the higher-class speakers. This means that if we relate [g] and [ʔ] variants to certain social classes, [q] hardly stands out as a basic characteristic of one class. This finding adds a lot to what we mean by the standard and its national prestige and to variation and social class in Jordan. The traditional view of Standard Arabic seems to lose its ground in the higher-social class, which is generally associated with high prestige. The competing prestige of the urban [ʔ] with the usage of the rural Jordanian [g] reduces the occurrence of [q]. This standard variant seems to appear when the nature of the topic requires standardisation or borrowing of certain lexical items from Standard Arabic.

To sum up, one might highlight the following findings for the correlation between (Q) and social class:

*** Class has significant correlation with [g] and [ʔ] only.**

*** The higher social class use the standard [q] less than the other social classes.**

*** The [k] variant is not used by the rural Jordanian speakers.**

*** Within the three levels of social class, [g] and [ʔ] are used completely differently.**

*** The prestigious urban [ʔ] is a characteristic of the higher class, while the rural [g] characterises the lower-class speakers.**

3.3.2. Gender

We turn now to gender to analyse its correlation with (Q). It is actually of real importance that we have such an analysis immediately after the social class variable. This significance will be clearly understood when we trace the innovators in our study across social class and gender and find that these social variables mirror each other. With regard to the results of the Oneway ANOVA test, it seems that gender goes hand in hand with social class in its significant correlation with the [g] and [ʔ] variants (table 6), but it deviates from social class by having another significant correlation with [q]. As for [k], it appears that it does not have any kind of correlation with gender since it is not used at all by the rural Jordanian speakers in their everyday natural speech.

ANOVA

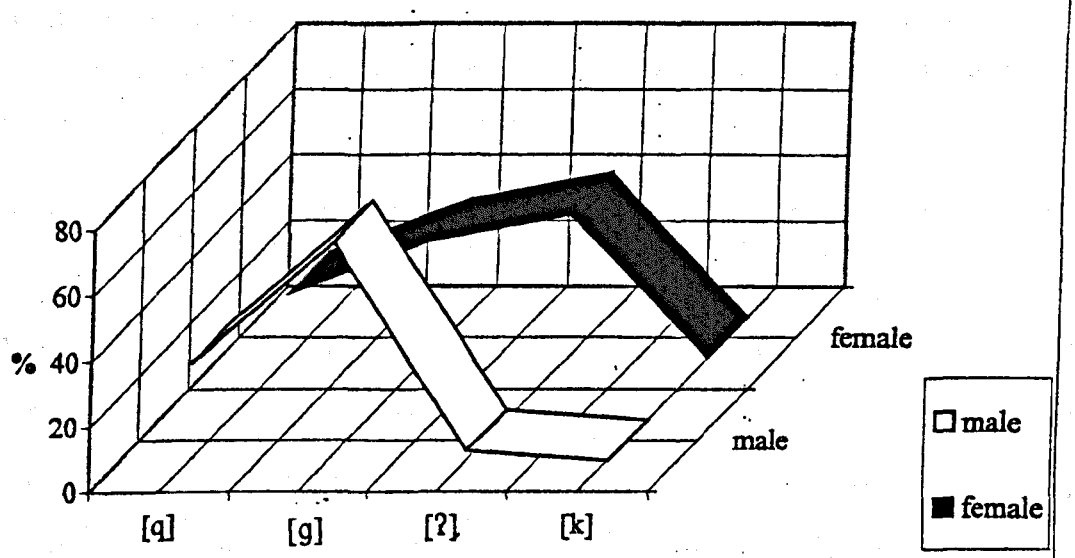
Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(Q)	[q]	4.957	.029*
	[g]	16.699	.000*
	[ʔ]	39.476	.000*
	[k]	.	.

The mean difference is significant at .05 level. Significant correlation asterisked.

Table 6. The use of (Q) by gender

With regard to [q], the significant correlation (.029) shows that the two sexes approximate the standard variety differently. This idea applies also to [g] and [ʔ]. The identical significant correlation (.000) of these two variants sheds light on their preference by the female and male speakers, differently. To know these differences in usage for these three variants, one has to compare their frequency of occurrence across the two sex groups in this study (fig. 4). The comparison of frequency of usage for [q] shows that the male speakers use this standard variant more than the females in Jordan. In addition to that, [g] is used by the male speakers almost twice as much as the females. Therefore, it is the male speakers who use the standard [q] and the rural [g] more than the females. [ʔ] is the only variant that the female speakers use remarkably more than the males.

Figure 4. Use of (Q) by gender



If we compare the [ʔ]/[g] variants under gender we find that they behave as they did with class. In other words, if we compare the difference in occurrence between [q], [ʔ] and [g] across gender the competition or linguistic change in Jordan seems to embrace the colloquial [ʔ]/[g] variants mainly. The difference in occurrence of [q] between the two sexes is not as strong as it is in the case of [ʔ]/[g] variants. This usage of [ʔ]/[g] proves that the overall underlying practices and norms of women and men in the Jordanian community head towards what suit their social image and status. For women, this is achieved linguistically through acquiring and sometimes imitating the dialect of the elite who are found in the higher-social class of our community.

These findings raise questions about the differences between the Western and Arabic variationist studies with regard to the approximation of women to the 'prestigious standard variety' in the West and the approximation of men to this level of the language in the Arab world. What we usually have is that women in the Western societies are usually found to be innovators by their approximation to the standard level of the language. In Jordan, a different model is found. Women shift towards a different

urban colloquial variety, while men approximate the standard relatively more than women but without decreasing the occurrence of the phonological features of their rural colloquial variety. In the interpretation section (3.4.2), one needs to know why men and women behave differently in Jordan. In addition to that, one needs to understand what the urban variety means to women and why men approach the standard without decreasing the level of the colloquial. For the time being, the main findings under the correlation of gender with (Q) might be summarised as follows:

*** The significant correlation between gender and (Q) is at the level of [q], [ʔ] and [g] variants.**

*** Males use the standard [q] and the rural [g] more than the females.**

*** The females use the prestigious urban [ʔ] remarkably more than the males.**

*** The rural colloquial [g] is used twice as much as the standard [q] by men.**

*** The prestigious urban [ʔ] is used twice as much as the standard [q] by women.**

*** The increase in the occurrence of the standard [q] in the speech of men does not entail a clear decrease of the rural colloquial [g]**

3.3.3. Education

Turning now to education, one finds it necessary to bear in mind two broad questions related to the role of education in language variation in Jordan. First, does the increase in the level of education lead to an increase in the occurrence of the standard variant [q] at the expense of the colloquial variants? Second is 'education' as a social variable an independent and real variable, like gender, or just a proxy variable that covers under it other social realities related to the norms of the Jordanian community where attendance at academic institutions is the main way to make contacts outside the family (see 3.4.3)?

These questions are raised because education is examined in this study according to what it really entails rather than what it must result in. Simply speaking, though the increase in the level of education should result in a higher approximation by the speaker towards Standard Arabic, what we actually find is not always so. This assumption is

based on the fact that Standard Arabic and the written texts are inseparable from education. To prove these claims and to find answers to the previously asked questions, one needs quantitative data to depend on.

Table 7 shows that education has two significant correlations with (Q). These significant correlations are with the standard [q] (.000) and rural Jordanian [g] (.001). As for the other variants, [ʔ] does not show significant correlation (.670) and [k] is not used at all. This significant correlation of education with [q] is expected since the standard level of Arabic is learnt mainly through education, be it formal or informal.

ANOVA

Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(Q)	[q]	23.869	.000*
	[g]	8.482	.001*
	[ʔ]	.402	.670
	[k]	.	.

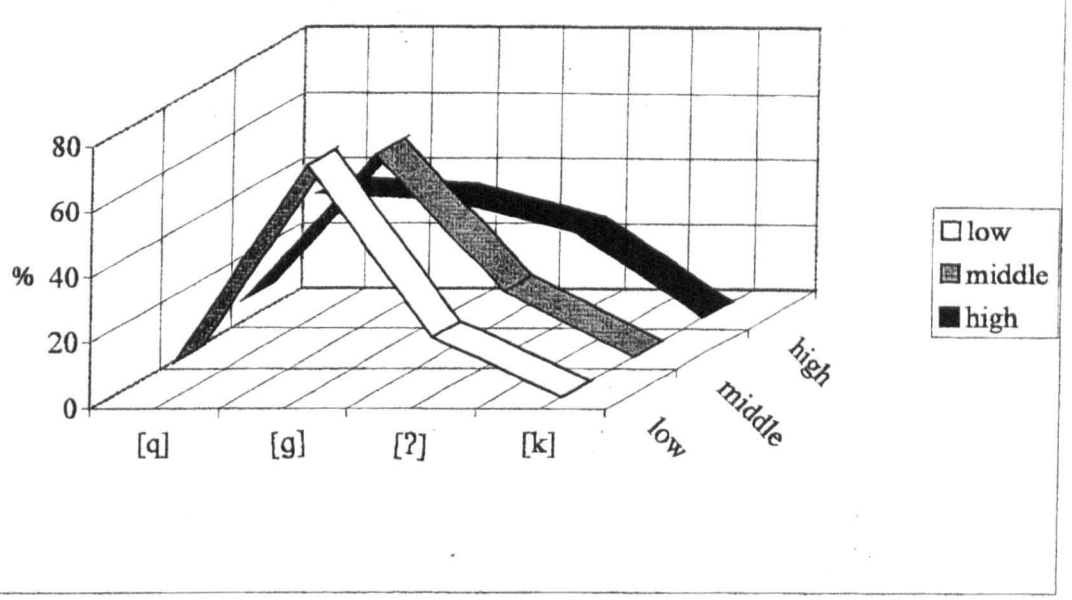
The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Significant correlation asterisked.

Table 7. The use of (Q) by education

In other words, this level is acquired through schools and other academic institutions or in religious settings. But the amazing thing to see is that education has significant correlation with [g] also. Does this significant correlation mean that the increase in the usage of [q] results in a remarkable decrease in the usage of [g]? The frequency of usage of these variants across the three levels of education clarifies the picture more.

A close look at figure 5 reveals that [q] is used mainly by the higher-educated speakers. These speakers use this variant almost twice as much as the middle educated speakers who use it in turn more than the lower-educated speakers. Therefore, we have a remarkable gap in the usage of [q] between the middle and higher-educated speakers. This might be temporarily related to the role of education since it is inseparable from

Figure 5. Use of (Q) by education



Standard Arabic. Thus, one finds that the lower and middle educated speakers use [g] significantly instead of [q].

With regard to [g], the direction of variation becomes different from the way it is with [q]. The lower-educated speakers use this rural Jordanian variant more than the middle educated speakers and the higher-educated ones. As for [ʔ], a different direction of variation is found. The lower-educated speakers use this urban variant less than the middle educated and then the higher-educated speakers. This means that there is a tendency for this urban colloquial variant to increase when the level of education increases. It seems that what is strikingly important here is to focus on the significant correlation of education with [q] and [g]. [g] is used almost as much as [q], which is in turn used more than [ʔ] by the higher-educated speakers. If we compare the results under [q] with the results under [g] vertically, we find that the remarkable gap or difference between the three groups in using these two variants exists between the lower and middle educated speakers on one hand and the higher-educated speakers on the other. However, this is not the whole story.

It is not true that showing the two extremes of the lower and higher-educated speakers proves that the educated people shift to the standard variant because they are the educated elite. If we do this, we actually follow what linguists usually believe that 'since the SA [Standard Arabic] variety is learned only through formal education, it is not surprising that the factor of education shows a higher degree of correlation with the choice of variants' (Daher 1998b:168). Simply speaking, in Arabic variationist studies linguists think that since Standard Arabic is learnt mainly through education, then education means a necessary and automatic shift towards that high level of Arabic. Nevertheless, this might not be the case. Though the main way (there are the religious settings also) for an Arab to learn Standard Arabic is through formal education, it is not necessary for that level of education to lead to a higher usage of Standard Arabic. This might be difficult to find even with the standard variants of certain non-salient variables, e.g. (D) (See next chapter).

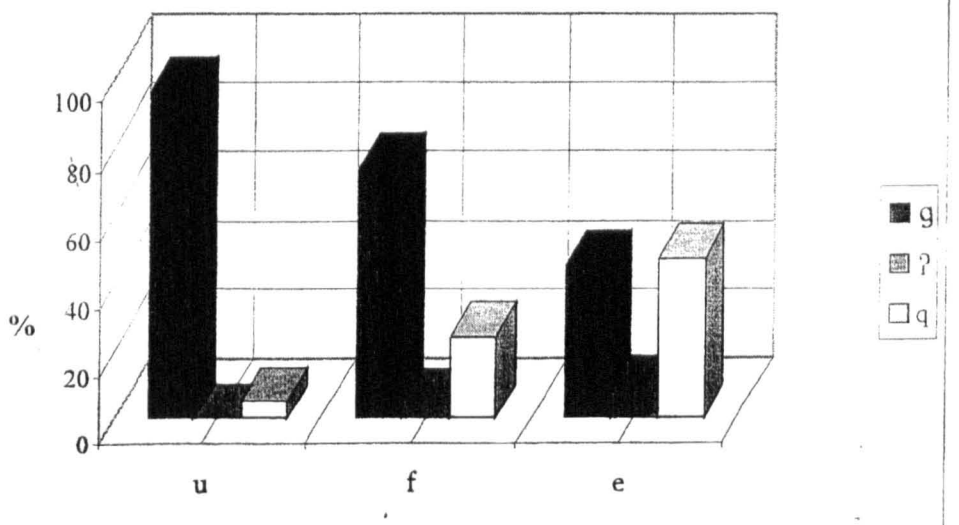
To give evidence to what we claim above we need to see how the higher-educated speakers use [q] and [g], respectively. A closer look at figure 5 shows that even though the higher-educated speakers use the standard [q] more than the other educational groups, they also use the rural Jordanian [g] variant as much as they use the standard [q]. Put simply, if we put forth a logical equation between education and variation this means that, relatively speaking, the higher the level of education the lower the use of the colloquial variants is, and vice versa. What we see through a cross sectional analysis of the data for the standard [q] and the rural [g] is that within the same higher-educational group the rural variant [g] is used remarkably hand in hand with the standard one.

So, where is the role of education in Jordan if the shift from one level to another does not entail a real difference in the usage of the rural colloquial [g] and the standard [q] at the higher-educated level (see 3.4.3)? If we look at the middle educated group in figure 5, we find that [g] is strikingly more frequent than the standard [q]. What does this mean? Is it logical to claim that [q] is moving in the direction of lexical differentiation where it appears only when the lexicon is borrowed from the standard level by the highly educated speakers, i.e. those who are more acquainted with Standard Arabic, due to the nature of the topic or the word? In this case, does this borrowing entail two forms that differ with regard to the variants of (Q) and then differ in the

meaning although they originally have one meaning and two levels of occurrence; standard and colloquial? If yes, does this prove that the standard usage of [q] words is recalled in certain domains and that the prestige associated with this high variety is about to be restricted to a specific circle related to the historical, religious, and national circumstances of this variety? However, before we answer these questions in the interpretation section (3.4.4), let us see if we can find any helpful data from previous studies on the role of education on using (Q).

In Abdel-Jawad's (1981) and Al-Khatib's (1988) studies, one does not find clear numerical data that presents the (Q) variants together. As for Al-Wer (1991:116), one can infer from her results (fig. 6) that a conclusion similar to ours might be drawn.

Figure 6. [q], [ʔ] and [g] across education. Adapted from Al-Wer (1991)



Within the same higher educational level that Al-Wer refers to as 'educated' (e), the difference in the usage of [q] and [g] is hardly noticed. At the same time, within the middle educated group or what the author calls 'fairly educated' (f) the remarkable difference in usage between [q] and [g] goes in line with our findings.

To sum up, the following findings might be highlighted:

*** The significant correlation for (Q) with education is within the standard [q] and rural [g].**

*** The frequency of occurrence of [q] among the higher educated is similar to that of [g].**

*** There is a tendency for [ʔ] to increase with education.**

3.3.4. Age

Age has been an important factor in many variationist studies. Labov's (1966) study of peer groups in Harlem and Trudgill's (1974) in Norwich found that the adult and young speakers approximate more than other age groups to the vernacular rather than the standard. However, these results are not always consistent or universal. Labov's (1966) investigation of the (r) with its new form [r] and traditional pronunciation as [∅], i.e. r-less, among the New Yorkers from different age groups, led him to revise his hypothesis that the old people were not expected to use the [r] and the young people were expected to use it due to the 'surprising' and 'puzzling' findings. He found that the change seemed much more observable in the middle age groups, while the older generations used the [r] even more than the younger ones.

What adds to this inconsistency and difficulty in generalising the results of certain areas of research over other areas with regard to age the fact that linguists usually do not have real time data to verify their results. Therefore, it seems difficult to reach a clear interpretation of the linguistic variation among the different age groups in many studies. Romaine (1994:113) believes that:

> Variation in relation to age...may reflect a passing fad...or simply be repeated anew in each generation...or may represent change in progress. This can only be determined by comparing the usage of speech communities at two points in time.

This is why it was so helpful for Labov (1972) to compare his results in Martha's Vineyard with the data collected for the Linguistic Atlas of New England in 1933. In addition to that, Trudgill's 1988 and Cedergren's 1984 revisits to Norwich (1974) and Panama (1973) are well-known examples of studies that benefited from the factor of

real time. This even helped Trudgill, for example, to test some of his previous claims of possible change in progress in Norwich and to find other possible suggestions for why his expected change, e.g. the centralisation of (e), failed to spread with time.

In the Arab world, many studies include the age factor as an important one within the frame of language variation. Nevertheless, the majority of these studies, at least the ones conducted in Jordan, find that age by itself does not show significant correlation with their linguistic variables. Therefore, these studies analyse right from the very beginning the age factor in relation to other social variables, e.g. education or gender.

Similar to what we have in our current study, Al-Khatib (1988:123-24) finds that for (Q) 'the percentage score indicates a slight but consistent rise as one proceeds from the older age group through to the younger age group.' Therefore, he notes that 'the relation between age and language is a matter of 'more or less' rather than 'either/or'. To put it another way, 'this patterning shows that no age group in the city is immune to variation' (p. 124). So, we find that the author later on keeps on associating education with age due to the 'clear-cut overlapping and interaction' (p.130) between them in his speech community to interpret that 'slight but consistent' change. Daher (1998b:149) also finds in Damascus that 'a less pronounced distinction in relative importance is seen in the factor of age group.'

As for the present study, the statistical results (table 8) show that age has no significant correlation with (Q) variants. There seems to be slight tendency for correlation with [q] (.779), [g] (.373) and [ʔ] (.181). But this correlation, which is

ANOVA

Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(Q)	[q]	.250	.779
	[g]	1.000	.373
	[ʔ]	1.751	.181
	[k]	.	.

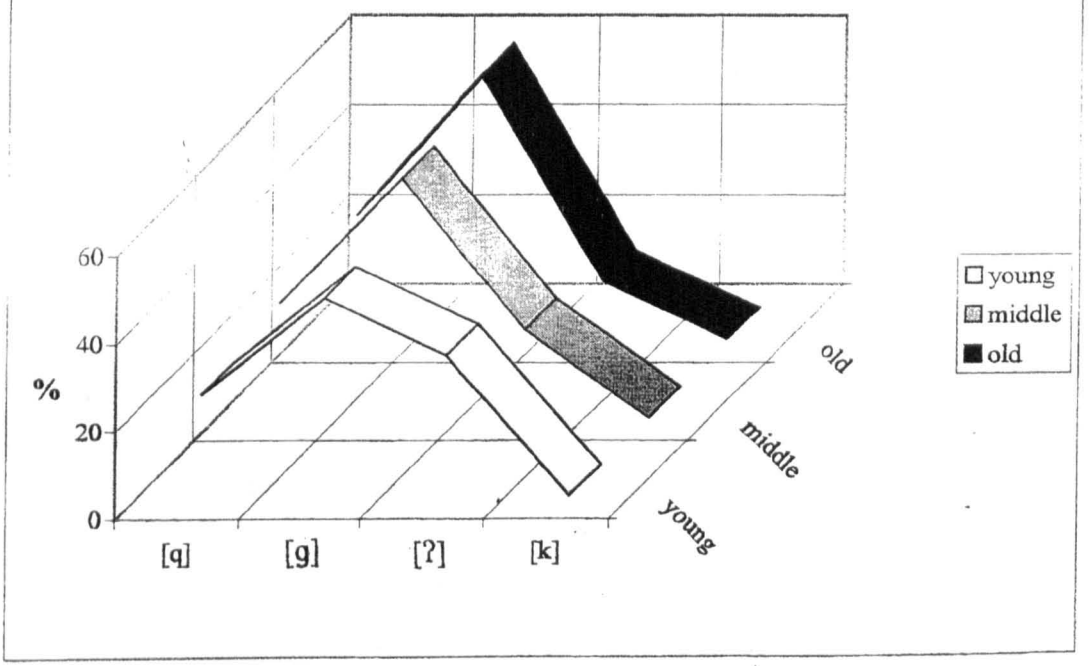
The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 8. The use of (Q) by age

similar to Al-Khatib's (1988:124) 'slight but not significant correlation,' seems to contradict Al-Khatib's findings. In his detailed analysis of this kind of correlation, Al-Khatib finds that 'the younger and middle age speakers use the SA [Standard Arabic] [q] more frequently, but the older age group, on the other hand, show a stronger tendency towards using the colloquial variants' (p.129). In the present research, I would like to apply a similar detailed examination on the levels or groups of the different ages by comparing the frequency of occurrence of (Q) for every age group to see where this stronger tendency for any of the variants exists (fig. 7).

As for [q], it appears that the older generation in this research use this standard variant more than the middle age group who in turn use this variant more than the younger generation. But, it is important to note here that this slight difference sheds light on the fact that the standard variant [q] is not any more restricted totally to one

Figure 7. Use of (Q) by age



group more than the other. We no more have a sharp distinction between the three age groups to claim that it is the younger-generation who use this variant more than the other age groups because of their high level of education (Al-Khatib 1988). Put simply,

there is no evidence that the younger generation use this standard variant because they are (as it is the case in my sample of speakers) better educated.

Generally speaking, a result like that has to do with the fact that education is now accessible to every one in Jordan. In addition to that, the older generation who were usually viewed as illiterate are becoming more educated with time. This also means that we can imagine that the younger and middle aged groups at the time of Abdel-Jawad's (1981) or Al-Khatib's (1988) studies are older now. Therefore, their usage of [q] at that time because of their accessibility to education should continue even though they are older now. Accordingly, with the new younger and middle-aged generations, the gap of education is decreasing, because of the better accessibility of education now, and the usage of [q] is becoming similar. This special explanation for age here has to do with the fact that [q] is the only variable in Jordanian Arabic that is learned through formal teaching or religious settings since it is not used as a colloquial variant in any of the dialects in Jordan. This finding that [q] is not a clear-cut marker of any age group needs to be focused on. Due to its importance, we need to tackle it in a separate sub-section (3.3.4.1) after we finish highlighting the findings under the correlation of age with [ʔ] and [g].

With regard to the urban variant [ʔ], it is used by the younger generation more than the middle age group or the older speakers. As for [g], the older generation use this rural variant more than the middle age speakers who use it in turn more than the younger speakers. It seems that the high usage of [g] by all age groups means more than what the statistical runs present. Though the older generation use it more than the other age groups, its high usage also by the younger and middle age groups means sociolinguistically that we are talking about a phonological feature or shibboleth that people in general do not stigmatise. Even the fact that it is used by the younger group more than [ʔ] does not suggest that this urban [ʔ] is increasing to the extent that it might prevail more than [g] in the Jordanian community. In the analysis and interpretation section (3.4), we will find that the socio-political tension in Jordan does not give space for the urban Palestinian [ʔ] to prevail more than the rural Jordanian [g] in general.

To summarise the major points under the age factor, one might highlight the following findings:

*** Age has no significant correlation with any of (Q) variants.**

*** The standard [q] is not a distinguishing marker of any age group, though the older generation use it slightly more.**

*** The rural [g] is the most frequent variant in the speech of the younger generation, though they use it less than the middle and old generations.**

3.3.4.1. The unrestricted usage of [q] across age

The claim that [q] is not a distinguishing marker of any age group (3.3.4), i.e. no sharp or real differences between groups in the usage of [q], finds evidence in the statistical results that we have in our study and other studies. In addition to that, this claim benefits from the fact that [q] is used through the standardisation and lexical borrowing processes. These two processes have to do with the nature of the topic or the lexicon. Therefore, when the lexicon is used because it has special religious or technical connotations or associations, all age levels are expected to use it with its standard [q]. Otherwise, the same speaker will shift towards the colloquial variant. For example, the word /qalb/ (heart) was used by one speaker (# 5) with standard [q] when it was associated with the word /ʕamalijjat/ (surgery), but it lost its standard variant and shifted to its colloquial [g], i.e. /galb/, when another speaker (# 9) used it to refer to 'stomach;' though the two words derive from one root. So, this standard usage which is recalled for certain associations is not restricted to a certain age with the increase of education and with the nature of the word if the speaker knows it.

In spite of the problems we face sometimes with reading what the figures present in other variationist studies in Jordan due to the lack of clear tables that include the percentage of the usage of (Q), one can infer (though not precisely) results that are similar to ours. Al-Wer's (1991:117) figure shows that [q] is used by her first three age groups 18-28, 29-39, 40-60 around 30%, 25%, 28%, correspondingly. So, there is no

clear gap among these three groups which parallel the three age groups of the current research.

Simply speaking, some of the studies conducted in Jordan (see also Al-Khatib 1988) claim that the younger generation has the tendency to use the standard [q] more than the other age groups due to their better accessibility to education. However, these percentages do not show remarkable differences in general. On the other hand, these younger groups are expected to be older with time and to have the same, if not higher, level of education that they had before. Thus, it seems that with time and due to the spread of education, which is an essential step towards acquiring [q] or its standard domain and the association of [q] with certain lexical items because of their technical, religious, literary, etc. connotations, this [q] will be used similarly by the different age groups and relatively more the more these speakers grow up. Informally, it seems that this religious or literary domain of the Q-item is what motivates, more than the level of education, the speakers to be standard in their speech. Another explanation for the lack of clear differences between the age groups or even for the inability of age to explain the Q-variation in Jordan stems from what Abdel-Jawad (1981:267) believes that it

> Has been in existence for centuries and therefore, age cannot be taken as a factor governing the (Q) variation or change

These suggestions might add to the fact that it is the urban [ʔ] that the younger generation, especially the females, seem to favour due to its association with modern lifestyles. If not, [g] suffices these younger speakers since it embraces the identity and masculinity connotations.

3.4. Analysis and interpretation

Although this is not the norm in Arabic variationist studies, I would like to launch the sociolinguistic analysis and interpretation of the previous findings with the variant that has the lowest or zero frequency of occurrence in my speech community; the [k]. At the very beginning of this research, I had the intention to delete this variant from my study but it appeared that examining or at least commenting on this variant entails

linguistic as well as socio-political facts. In addition to that, starting with this variant makes it easier for me to establish my method of argument.

It is apparent that the rural Palestinian [k] is completely absent in the speech of our Jordanian rural informants regardless of their social class, gender, age or level of education. The low usage of the [k] by the rural Jordanian speakers should set a clear distinction between the Palestinian and the Jordanian ruralites and their different dialects in Jordan. The absence of the variant [k] in the speech of the rural Jordanian speakers (0 %) is due to the fact that it is a highly stigmatised variant (Abdel-Jawad 1981, 1986; Al-Wer 1991). S. Suleiman (see also Hussein 1980:70) states that:

> Due to the lower status of the 'Fallaḥi' variety [Palestinian rural dialect] in the eyes of some 'Fallaḥi' speakers, several respondents admitted that in some instances, especially in the presence of the 'Madani' speakers, they tend to suppress some of their linguistic features (the variants /tʃ/ which corresponds to CA, Classical Arabic, /k/, and /k/ which corresponds to CA /q/) in order to avoid unfavourable responses from their listeners.' (1985:48)

Because of the high level of awareness attached to this variant, the [k]-speakers usually monitor their speech and modify it. It could be logical to assume that this high level of awareness not only leads the rural Palestinian speakers to abandon the [k] variant but also the other dialect speakers not to accommodate to it. One of the informants (# 36) in this study told the researcher about one of his teachers in the preparatory stage. That teacher was in charge of the canteen in school. Our informant was one of the students who participated in selling refreshments and stationery to other students during the break. This informant reached a point where he started mocking the speech of his teacher who happened to use the rural Palestinian dialect. He said:

> *kaan ʔustaað ʤamaal jiħki "bi-truuħu ʕal-ma[k] sˁaf wi-btouxðˁu l-manaa[k]iiʃ wi-[k]laam li-rsˁaasˁ ʕa-ssaaħa barra. il-man[k]uuʃe ħa[k]ha ʃilin wil-[k]alam ħa[kk]u [k]irʃeen"*
>
> *Our teacher, Jamal, used to tell us, "go to the canteen and take the sandwiches of thyme and the pencils to the yard. The sandwich costs five piasters and the pencil costs two piasters."*

The amount of laughter that this informant created among the other members of his family by mocking the speech of his teacher and using the rural Palestinian [k] for [q] does not only entail a social stigmatisation of the [k]. The very fact that this informant chose to criticise his teacher by mocking his [k] dialect requires an analysis that goes beyond the social dialectal representation, reflects a symbolic dimension and highlights the identity tensions underlying the Jordanian society with its two main segments.

Y. Suleiman (1999) prefers to add to that general stereotypical stigmatisation of the [k] a new symbolic socio-political dimension. This concept means analysing 'socio-symbolic variants on the grounds that they serve to symbolize things about the relative status of the conversants and their attitudes towards each other' (Fischer 1958:51). Y. Suleiman believes that the rural Palestinian [k] gained its symbolic values, in addition to other variants e.g. [tʃ] and [ʔ] [of (k) and (Q), respectively], mainly after the 1970-1971 clashes in Jordan between the Jordanian Army and the forces of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) to distinguish between the East Jordanians and the Jordanians of Palestinian origin. He puts it straightforwardly (1993:17-18) that:

> The seventies in Jordan are now data for the historians, but their reverberations in various fields are still present with us. Initially, their most damaging impact was the sad polarisation of the Jordanian citizenery into Jordanian versus Palestinian. The linguistic situation in Jordan quickly responded to this polarisation.... Although the intensity of this polarisation has greatly abated, it has not disappeared altogether. The linguistic situation in Jordan over the last quarter century faithfully reflects this reality.

This tension is also expressed by the former minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Jordan[10] (1993-97) as a competition between the elite who are Jordanians from Palestinian origins and the poor majority of the 'Jordanian Jordanians.' Therefore, what we have in Jordan is a socio-political competition between the East Jordanian majority who have the key administrative positions and the Jordanians of Palestinian origins who control the economic power. Such a fact results in a linguistic variation that heads towards different dialects by building on the dialectal features of the economically elite

[10] In an e-mail that he sent to me in 28 August, 2000, His excellency Dr. Maan Abu Nouwar believes that 'political competition between Jordanians and Palestinians goes back to the thirties and to the end of the 1948 war as well as from then on until today. It is a competition between the elite not the majority of the people. Economic power is in the hands of the Jordanians from Palestinian origin at this time and the majority of the Jordanian Jordanians are poor.'

group on one hand and on the linguistic identity markers of the politically dominant group on the other. Thus, the vernacular double-headed code-switching in Jordan embraces the prestigious Palestinian urban dialect as a marker of prestige, femininity and softness and the rural Jordanian variety as a marker of identity and masculinity at the same time.

3.4.1. The socio-political tension in Jordan

Within this frame of analysis, the colloquial variants of (Q) will be analysed to clarify the image of the socio-political tension in Jordan. Our focus here will be mainly on the Jordanian shibboleth [g]. However, it is important to highlight how the East Bank Jordanians view the Palestinian dialect. This is why we need to start with [k], which has become the marker that the east bank Jordanians use to refer to all the Palestinian dialects. As for the urban [ʔ], the fact that it is shifted to by our female speakers necessitates us to study it with a wider context that embraces the role of gender in the socio-political conflict in Jordan (3.4.2).

3.4.1.1 The [k] variant

This new symbolic socio-political dimension of analysing the dialectal code switching in Jordan is resorted to here to understand 'the complex way in which linguistic, social, political and economic factors interact in influencing patterns of linguistic variation' (Al-Wer 1999a:53). I believe that the association between the politically subordinate Palestinian group and the stigmatisation of some of their dialectal markers, mainly the [k], is logical and apparent in Jordan. This salient marker of the rural Palestinian dialect has become the code used by the East Jordanians to refer to all the Palestinians or the Jordanians of Palestinian origins regardless of their real dialect. It seems that what is happening nowadays is some kind of social reversal that puts the East Bank Jordanians in a circle where they feel that they need to stress their identity linguistically as being the Jordanians. This is achieved linguistically through highlighting the phonological marker of the other group. Therefore, [k] is not a rural

Palestinian variant only. It is also the counter phonological marker of [g] which purely reflects the East Bank Jordanian identity.

3.4.1.2.The [g] variant

This new attitude explains and leads us to understand the other part of the linguistic tension in Jordan. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977:337) suggest that:

> If a dominant group perceives that the subordinate group is acquiring their characteristic speech style, which can mean a loss of positive distinctiveness, then it is possible that they can actually change the nature of their language in order to maintain sociolinguistic superiority.

This fact is better clarified if we move to the phonological variant [g]. Linguists (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Hussein 1980; Sawaie 1994; etc.) tend to consider the [g] as the marker of the East Jordanian dialect since the Bedouin and Fallahi Jordanian speakers use this variant. In his discussion of some of the linguistic features in Jordan, Abdel-Jawad (1986:59) believes that:

> Speakers often believe that their local varieties are no less important than the other varieties.... Speakers, especially males, from all dialectal back-ground seem to be adopting [g], characteristic of Bedouin and rural Jordanian varieties.

Abdel-Jawad believes that 'feelings of local identity, pride in origin, and solidarity motivate the retention of this [g] among the Bedouins and rural Jordanian speakers' (Ibid). So, [g] is a salient marker of identity in the Jordanian linguistic repertoire. Al-Wer (1991:75) believes that 'the use of [g] symbolizes Jordanian identity.... The threat to their identity is perceived to come from non-indigenous social groups.'

This 'threat' is better explained in Sawaie's (1994:117) study that elicits the attitudes of listeners towards some phonological variables as:

> the mosaic of populations in Amman and Irbid, and their diversity particularly at the linguistic level, makes them fertile soil for sociolinguistic inquiry. Conceivably, the tension between groups of

varying backgrounds- and, at times, of conflicting interests- tease out attitudes of these groups towards each other.

Therefore, the covert prestige (Trudgill 1986) that this variant holds among the Jordanians is manifested in the fact that Sawaei's Jordanian listener-judges perceive [g] with more pride than [ʔ] or [k]. One finds in figures 5 and 7 that the high usage, though less than the other levels, of [g] by the higher educational level and the slight differences in its usage across the different age groups prove that this dialectal feature has started gaining a new sociolinguistic characterisation of group identity rather than being a stigmatised rural Jordanian variant or less prestigious than the urban Palestinian dialect. This rural variant is almost used as much as the standard [q] by the higher-educated speakers (fig.5).

To explain the [g] identity conflict, one needs to go over certain individual cases in this research and other supportive pieces of evidence from similar variationist studies in Jordan. Informant (# 28) is a high-class bank manager. He completed his university education in Beirut and got married to an ex-head teacher in Irbid. His wife speaks the Madani dialect and so do his daughters. In the interview, he talked about the death of his father, his education in Lebanon, the differences between the quality of education in the past and nowadays, the economic situation and some historical facts in Jordan. While talking about the Syrian and Palestinian immigrants to Irbid, he kept referring to them, especially the higher-class people, as /taaʕuun l-ʔaal/ (those who use the urban [ʔ] for [q] in /qaal/, (i.e., said). Part of his speech could show what [g] reflects in the Jordanian linguistic system. He said:

itʕallaʃ ʕal falasʕtʕiinjiin hassa. maaskiin kul lil-balad...bas tara maa axaðna minhum iʃi ɣeer hal ʔaal illi tʃallamuuha banaatna. ħatta miʃ-kulhin. jaʃni banaati axaðuuha min umhin wil-madaaris. ħatta haaj il-ʔaal sʕaʃba ʕal urdunijiin jigalduuha. ʔana nafsi ma bastaʃmilhaaʃ maʃ inni bagdar bas maa biddiiʃ. lamma badʒtamiʃ maʃ taaʕuun ʕammaan ir-raqjiin bagdar ʔaħki bil-ʔaal bas maa biddiiʃ. maahuu maa ðʕal lilna ɣeer hal gaal.

Look at the Palestinians nowadays. They control the whole country...but, by the way, we have acquired nothing from them but that [ʔ] that our daughters learned. Not all of them even. My daughters acquired it from their mother and the schools. Even this [ʔ] is difficult

for the Jordanians to imitate. I myself do not use it though I can, but I do not want to. When I have a meeting with the high people of Amman, I can use the /ʔaal/ (said), but I do not want to. Nothing left for us but this /gaal/.

It could be difficult for a while to believe that the sociolinguistic variation in Jordan is due to a dialectal conflict that sets the indigenous varieties away from the urban Palestinian dialect, or that (Q) can bear all this linguistic socio-political analysis. But the fact that (Q) is the most salient phonological variant that sets the two dialects and then groups apart is clear in Jordan. Even the example cited above (# 28) might be better understood if we relate it to the findings of certain variationist studies in Jordan. Al-Wer (2000b), who calls for a new proper analysis of data in Jordan that 'accounts for the evolution in the social meanings of sounds in order to understand their patterns in social space' (p.32), believes that:

> ...analysis of data from Jordan in terms of this general dichotomy [i.e. urban/rural] would be inadequate. Before Amman grew into a large city, Jordan did not have any large urban centres, nor a truly urban population to speak of. The socio-political and demographic shape of the country was largely determined by the displacement of one and a half million Palestinians (most of whom sought refuge in Jordan) in the aftermath of the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948 and 1967, and by the history of the Jordanian-Palestinian relations. The impetus to language change in Jordan's new urban centres was, in the first place, precipitated by the contact between Jordanian and Palestinian dialects, and thus the competition between the linguistic features stereotypical of these dialects. (p.30)

Therefore, shedding light on the identity conflict underlying the diversification of (Q) leads to what might be the proper analysis of the data regarding this variable.

In his recent study, Y. Suleiman (1999) questions 'code-switching' in Jordan as it affects the two variables (Q) and (k). He believes that 'traditionally speaking, [ʔ] is regarded as symbolic of Palestinian urban speech, [k] of /q/ and [tʃ] [the rural variant of /k/] are regarded as symbolic of rural Palestinian speech; and [g] as emblematic of East Jordanian, Bedouin speech' (p.13). So, within the context of his review for the findings of other studies regarding these variables, the author finds that this symbolic socio-political analysis of (Q) is better than the traditional method of explaining language variation in Jordan according to gender. To prove the weakness of the gendered account

of code-switching in Jordan, Y. Suleiman lists two social facts with their sociolinguistic realisations. He believes that this traditional method cannot account for:

> (a) the sudden popularity of the red-checkered kuffiyah as symbolically relevant East Jordanian head cover for young men in comparison with the black checkered kuffiyah worn by Palestinian as represented by Yaser Arafat, and (b) the emergence at the time of the boundary setting ethnolinguistic label, baldʒiikyyiin (lit. Belgians), to refer to Jordanians of Palestinian origin by East Jordanians. (p. 15)

Although the writer seems to underline the role of the East Bank Jordanians in creating such an ethno-socio-political conflict, stressing the existence of this conflict is what is important for our previous analysis. Within a socio-political interpretation for the physical and ethno-linguistic labels or signs that Y. Suleiman mentions, one finds that almost 'all life' coexistence between the two groups in Jordan under one citizenship has not overcome the sociolinguistic classifications as 'insiders' and 'outsiders.'

To conclude this link between (Q) and identity conflicts, it seems logical to say that the maintenance of [g] by the East Bank Jordanians cuts across the other social variables for the prior importance of its symbolic meaning. It stands for 'masculinity' but more importantly for 'pride' (Sawaie 1994). It cuts across the different age groups with their different levels of education and social class. The exception here is gender. More precisely, it seems that this intriguing socio-political analysis fails to explain why female speakers from the higher-social class, mainly, are not involved in such a conflict. The following section will encounter this point.

3.4.2.Gender and the socio-political conflict in Jordan

To tackle this fact, one should ask two questions:

1- Are the female speakers in the Jordanian speech community unaware of the symbolic representations of [g]?
2- Are their social conditions sufficiently similar to those of the men to participate similarly in this identity conflict?

To answer these questions that might be added to questions we raised before (3.3.2) it could be helpful to cite certain examples from the speech of some informants in this study. In addition to that, these examples can be compared with the data from other studies.

Informant (# 22) is a female speaker studying pharmacy at Jordan University of Science and Technology in Irbid. While talking to the researcher, she expressed how much she would like to join the army after graduation. I asked her about the reason behind choosing the army, although other sectors might be more profitable; she said:

> *maa baʃraf...baħib iʒ-ʒeeʃ...baʃraf innu miʃsahl bas xalliini ʔaʒarrib. ʔana ktiir baqraʔ maqalaat biʒʒariide ʃanhum.*
>
> *I do not know...I like the Army ...I know it is not easy, but let me try it. I often read articles in the newspaper about it.*

Her Madani pronunciation of /dʒeeʃ/ (army) as /ʒeeʃ/ with the standard forms /baqraʔ/ (read) and maqalaat (articles) encouraged me to ask her about her Madani dialect and the use of some standard forms in her speech. She said:

> *ʔana baħki bil-ʔaal sˁaħ bas ʔana tʃawwadit. baʃraf iħna l-ʔurduniʃiin bniħki bil-gaal bas muu ħilwe ʃal-bint. ʃa-ʃʃab ħilwe... baʃdeen fii ʔaʃʃjaaʔ maa btinħaka bil-ʔaal. zaj maqaale. ʃuu biddak ʔaħki maʔaale... maa btinlafizˁ ɣeer heek maa ħada bistasiiɣha.*
>
> *I use the /ʔaal/, right. But I got used to it. I know that we, the Jordanians, use the /gaal/, but it [the /ʔ/] is nice for the girl. It [the /g/] is nice for the young man... Also, there are certain words that are not pronounced as /ʔaal/ [using the /ʔ/ for the /q/]. Like /maqaale/, article. You want me to say /maʔaale/... It cannot be pronounced but like this. Nobody likes it.*

This example, coming from a high-class female speaker, shows that women in Jordan are aware of the distinguishing dialectal markers between the urban Palestinian dialect and the rural Jordanian one. Her answer as 'we, the Jordanians' with an emphasis on the [g]/[ʔ] variants proves that (Q) variation is almost the main phonological feature for that ethnic and identity differentiation. Accordingly, it is not a matter of which group knows more about that socio-political tension in Jordan. It is a

question of what is 'more appropriate' for men or women separately. Al-Wer (1999a:46) states that her 'speakers also unanimously evaluate the [ʔ] as 'more appropriate' for women because it is 'softer,' whereas [g] is evaluated as 'tough,' 'appropriate for men,' and a 'symbol of local and indigenous Jordanian identity.' Sawaie's (1994:87) attitudinal study at Yarmouk University in Irbid finds that 'Jordanian females are more aware of the social significance of [ʔ] and are trying to indicate the importance of this linguistic signal.' Abdel-Jawad's (1981:176) speaker 53 uses the [ʔ] although her father and brothers use the [g] because she believes 'that the variant [ʔ] is more gentle, more feminine and therefore it is not suitable for men. On the other hand, [g] is a tough masculine feature and so it is not good for women.'

This means that within the Jordanian sociolinguistic analysis one cannot claim that women are unaware or even less aware than men of the underlying socio-political tension between the [ʔ] and the [g] dialects, or that women are less interested than men in showing solidarity and local identity. But it seems that there is also (in addition to the linguistic socio-political competition) a sociolinguistic market in Jordan that classifies the dialects there into what is suitable for men and what is suitable for women. In other words, it is also a gender-based dimension that offers the males a masculine [g] and the females a feminine [ʔ]. Mitchell (1993:38) states:

> Jordan is a good example of profound change overtaking the Arab world in terms of population movement and mingling, of the search of norms and for a place in the modern world, all of which is reflected in linguistic usage and...in Jordanian 'Q'-variation.... Urban variants are again regarded as prestigious and modern. Usage tends to separate the sexes quite clearly. Thus, most males tend to use [g] or otherwise use [ʔ] only variably with [g]; female speakers, however, use [ʔ] more frequently than males, though they, too, also use [g] variably with [ʔ].

The question here is why? Why do we have this kind of classification since we are talking about an identity conflict and an indigenous dialect?

This fact relates to the second question raised at the beginning of this section about the social conditions of women and their position within the modernisation process in Jordan. If these conditions are similar, then the question of language variation

is a complex one. However, if these conditions are different then we are talking about different scales and ultimately different resorts for achieving these social aspirations. Most of the studies in Jordan agree that women there do not play a significant role in its development (see section 1.2). Even though some of these studies (Al-Khatib 1988) feel the need to highlight the emergence of new social attitudes that consider the women as active as men because of the spread of education mainly, the fact remains that in Jordan all human beings are equal but men are more equal. Nyrop (1980:85) states that in Jordan:

> It is more likely that women are confined to the home and their social contacts and interests limited to an exclusively feminine sphere.... The segregation of women is closely tied to the concept of honour (ird) and is, in part, undergirded by notions of women widely held by Middle East men.... Fundamentally, honour is lost through women, specifically through the failure of sisters and daughters to behave properly.

Abdel-Jawad (1981:328) adds to this view that:

> The cultural and social expectations require women not to take an active role in communicating with the outside world. They are not expected to talk, argue or discuss things with men, especially strangers.... Women are expected to keep their voices down in the presence of men and not to interrupt men while talking even in family gatherings.

These deeply embedded concepts are reiterated by Al-Wer (1991) within the frame of paradoxical conditions of new employment and education chances for women and on-going social restrictions. This indicates 'that deeply rooted traditional patterns have not substantially changed, despite the relaxation of some traditional values' (p.29). Thus, the social norms within the new development process in Jordan set different routes for the two sexes to take. It is not an equal process and it exhibits a superior role for men over women.

Therefore, one might expect ultimately different linguistic outputs. Put simply, gender-based language variation cannot be examined with the same linguistic tools and then given the same explanations. Gal (1978:1) believes that differences between men's and women's speech are no longer thought to be characteristic only of exotic languages. If we stress the word 'only' here then we can build on Gal's two other main views that

'men's and women's ways of speaking are viewed as the results of strategic and socially meaningful linguistic choices which systematically link language change to social change' (p.2) and 'to understand these differences it is necessary to go back to the activities from which the languages derive their meanings and evaluations' (p.11). So, the presentation of the previous findings of certain sociolinguistic works in Jordan and the highlighting of the cultural norms of women there show that the hareem (women) are not given a chance to advance within its social system. What is left for them is the linguistic qualities through which they might imitate the dialect of the elite in the Jordanian socioeconomic hierarchy.

This resemblance or imitation includes the linguistic features of the higher classes and the more developed circles. This is why we see that the most educated innovators (female speakers) in Jordan shift towards the urban dialect rather than Standard Arabic. The 'education' of these women has become a means for them to discover what the outside world is. It has been reported (S. Suleiman 1985; Holes 1995) that these women, even in their higher academic institutions shift remarkably to the urban dialect rather than using Standard Arabic or maintaining their rural dialect. The reason behind this is that 'for indigenous Jordanian women, urban Palestinian women represented 'finesse;' they appeared liberated and modern, and were better educated, and hence the way these women spoke also appeared attractive' (Al-Wer 1999a:41). So, the imitation or code switching that women show in this salient variable represents an imitation of the speech of a more urbanised group. This dialectal shift is even socially motivated (even by the parents, sometimes) as being more suitable to the nature of women. It also comes as a reflection of the general belief of the community that puts much pressure on women to sound 'soft.' Trudgill (2000: 79) states:

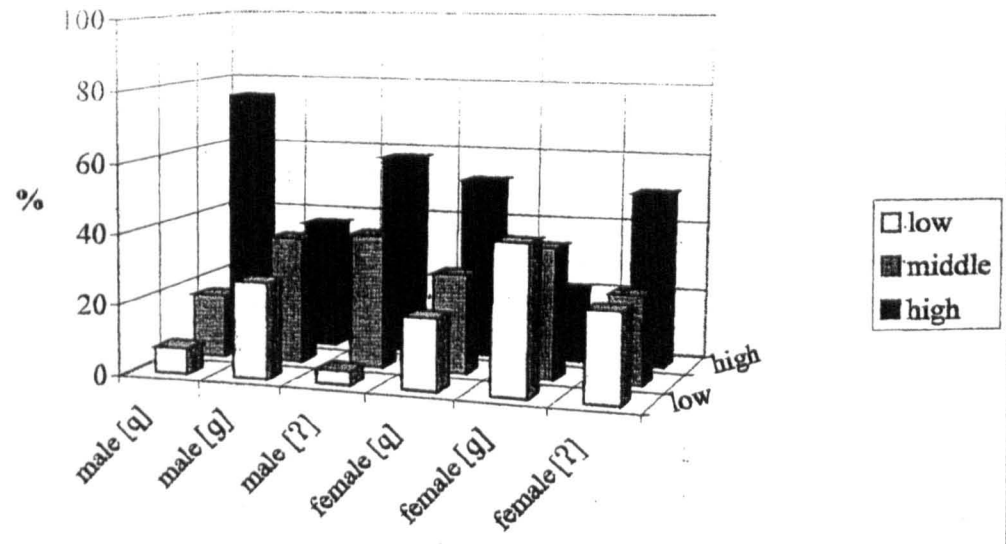
> Gender differentiation in language...arises because...language, as a social phenomenon, is closely related to social attitudes. Men and women are socially different in that society lays down different social roles for them and expects different behaviour patterns from them. Language simply reflects this social fact.

3.4.3. The role of education in language variation in Jordan

Until now, we claim that the identity conflict that (Q) covers and the gender-based differentiation have been explained clearly. What is left is the most difficult question raised during presenting the statistical results (3.3.3) and their relation to the level of education. In other words, what is the real role of education in language variation in Jordan?

To recapture some of the previous results, we found that the [g] variant was used by the lower-educated people (fig.5) more than the other educated groups. This finding goes in line with the fact that those who are less educated have the most colloquial variants in their speech. Within the same results of the frequency of occurrence of (Q) across the three levels of education, we find that the most significant correlation is among the higher-educated persons in their use of the standard [q] and that the same group use the rural [g] similarly. What is important also is that when we further analyse the role of education (figure 8) we find that the increase in the level of education for

Figure 8. Use of [q], [g] & [ʔ] along gender and education



men and women does not entail a decrease in [g] and [ʔ], respectively, especially at the higher educational level for the two sex groups. If we look at [q] for the two sexes, we

see that it is used by the higher-educated speakers more than the other educational groups. However, the higher-educated male speakers still use [g], and even [ʔ], more than the other educational male groups, and the higher-educated females still use [ʔ], and [q] also, more than the other educational female groups.

These findings show that the increase in the use of [q] is not indicative of change from the male [g] or the female [ʔ] into [q]. What does this mean? Can we claim that education is a significant variable in shifting towards the standard level of Arabic? If yes, the results do not help here. On the contrary, the results prove the opposite. What really seems to be going on in the Arab world or, to be more precise, in Jordan is a different association or social domain for education. Education is a major means for communication rather than learning. It is the first circle for outside group contacts that include the two main colloquial dialects in Jordan. Therefore, the clearest place where one finds variation in the speech of women is in schools or universities. This kind of shift is sometimes surprising due to the rural background of the female or her recent enrolment at the university. Holes (1995:78) says that:

> It was reported to me on a visit to Yarmouk University, Irbid, in 1989 that first year women university students from (B) [central Palestinian villages, ruralite] or (C) [East Jordan, Bedouin] dialectal backgrounds rapidly shift to the 'urban' /ʔ/ pronunciation during their first semester, at least in publicly observable speech contexts.

At the same time, S. Suleiman (1985:45) finds in his research that was conducted at Yarmouk University in Irbid that:

> Throughout the interviews it was noticed that the greatest majority of girls (80%) tend to use the 'Madani' variety in their everyday life. Interestingly enough, a good number of this group has been known to come from towns and villages where the dominant colloquial variety is the 'Fallahi' and not the 'Madani.'

So, where is the role of education here? If in these high academic institutes in Jordan the females shift so remarkably towards the urban dialect and the males preserve the rural dialect one should wonder about the real role of these institutes. What we have here is that language variation in Jordan includes the two main colloquial variants even among the highly educated speakers. One might ask, what about those [q] forms (fig.5)

that the higher-educated groups use? An answer to this question links us with the earlier claim that these [q] forms are used mainly in lexical borrowings that suit the topic of discussion and the religious or technical association of the word (section 3.2).

This claim needs evidence. Presenting the findings of some variationist studies in Jordan and then certain tokens used by some speakers in my research will help us in clarifying what we mean by restricted lexical borrowing of certain [q] forms and, more surprisingly, an emerging lexical conditioning in the usage of some of these forms. If we prove that these [q] forms in the speech of our subjects arise mainly because the nature of the topic requires standardisation or dialect borrowing and not because of the subjects' high level of education, then it becomes clear that education has to be assigned a new role. This role suits its social outside group contacts rather than an automatic way towards standardising the language of the speaker. Although this analysis will lead us to a wider domain of investigation on the emerging [q]/ [g] or [ʔ] minimal pairs, I will restrict it to what I consider education in Jordan mainly indicates.

3.4.4. Lexical conditioning in the usage of [q]

Al-Khatib (1988:110) states that:

> The lexical status of the word containing the variable was the most important conditioning factor on the alternation between the standard variant [q] and the colloquial variants [g,ʔ and k]. (ibid.)

Abdel-Jawad (1981:268) also finds that:

> Given the fact that (Q) variants have been in existence for centuries and that not all educated speakers favor the application of (Q) standardization (cf. educated women), we do not think that the standard pronunciation [q] will spread to the level of substituting all local variants. It is true that educated speakers tend to use the standard pronunciation more than the other group, but these speakers will go on using their local variants variably with the standard one. (P. 268)

Further straightforward and clear evidence that the increase in the level of education does not mean a decrease in the usage of the other colloquial variants comes from Al-Wer's (1991:113) study:

> The choice of CA (Classical Arabic) lexical items which contain (Q) determines the maintenance of /q/, i.e. speakers do not replace /q/ by /g/ or /ʔ/, but rather treat it as a separate phoneme. In other cases, speakers do vary between [q] and [g] / [ʔ] in the same lexical items (with the same semantic value). In such cases, the item is used with [q] in contexts where speakers are approximating to CA, whereas it is used with [g] or [ʔ] in colloquial speech. The topic of discussion is another factor which influences speakers' choice of lexical items.

Therefore, these studies stress the role of the nature of the topic of discussion in the choice of a lexical item with a [q] variant. Some of these writers categorise these words under labels as: pure standard, cognate–identical, cognate non-identical, and pure colloquial (Abdel-Jawad 1981). Others have almost similar categories like pure standard, shared standard-colloquial items and pure colloquial (Al-Khatib 1988) Al-Wer (1991) adds some more detailed classifications as: technical terms, modern political and economic concepts and modern medical terminology. I believe these categories cover the wide range of occurrence of (Q) in my data also. I do not intend to suggest new categorisation, but I think one more category is about to emerge in Jordanian Arabic. This category includes [q] and [g] or [ʔ] forms that stem from the same root but differ in meaning. In other words, what we have here is the beginning of minimal pairs that should be treated separately even within the statistical analysis of the data.

Accordingly, the sociolinguistic dimension of these terms should be considered to label the [q] forms as lexically conditioned terms due to their special meaning. Moreover, the level of education that we usually rely on in interpreting the occurrence of such terms should be reconsidered. Al-Wer (1991) could not elaborate on this point because of the nature of her corpus. She states:

> Since our corpus consists of free interviews, in which speakers' choice of vocabulary was not constrained, it does not enable us to draw any firm conclusions concerning the range of cases in which the use of /q/ is lexically determined.... Thus, although evidence strongly suggests that some instances of /q/ are lexically determined (i.e. /q/ in these cases is not a sociolinguistic variant of (Q)) the limitation of our evidence

prevent us from making a clear distinction between these cases and others... (105)

In my data, I could cite similar and other examples that might add to Al-Wer's pioneering idea. Table 9 includes items that come from different speakers regardless of their social characteristics. The only difference is that the standard variant is used

Speaker number	Standard usage	Meaning	Speaker number	Colloquial usage	meaning
7	qadˤaaʔ	fate, judgment	7, 63	[g]aðˤa wagt tˤawiil, ʔadˤa ʕala ħajaatu	spent long time, destroyed his life
6	qasam-an bil-laah	swear by God	6, 32	[g]asam, [ʔ]asam	divided
5	qalb	heart	9	[g]alb	stomach
4	mawqif	attitude	36, 35	maw[g]if, maw[ʔ]if	park
22	maqaalaat	articles	14	ma[g]aalaat	sayings
1	ʕaqid	contract	1	ʕa[g]id	old big house
38	ħaq	right	8	ħa[g]	look closely

Table 9. Items that use [q] and [g]/[ʔ] variants with a change in the meaning

because of the literary, religious, technical, etc. association, while the speakers shift to the colloquial variants to give another meaning. This is why we believe that the increase in the level of education does not entail a decrease in the usage of the colloquial variants of (Q). The educated and religious speakers will use the standard [q] to deliberately sound educated in certain formal contexts or abide by the religious and technical nature of the word. At the same time, these speakers might use the same (Q)- word with its colloquial variants in other contexts and, sometimes, to express other meanings. Our focus here is on the [q] variant only. A list like the one in table 9, which comes from speakers of different levels of education, age sex and social class, helps a lot in our

previous claim about the lexical restriction of [q]. A similar case concerning the restricted domain of [q] is found in Jassem (1993). He states:

> In the Arabic dialect of Damascus City, /q/ is replaced by /ʔ/.... The phoneme /q/ is retained in only a few borrowings from the standard.... such as the word /qurʔaan/ 'Qur'an.' (pp. 96-7)

The exact date for this alternation in Jordan is beyond the scope of this research. At the same time, this early finding needs a special research devoted mainly for examining this claim even across different regional dialects in the Arab world. What is important for us here is that it is difficult to claim that the increase in the level of education is a definite and even an indicative step towards the increase in the occurrence of [q], and that this [q] will replace the other colloquial variants. It is true that these educated speakers have a wider range of and better access to these standard terms more than other speakers, but it seems that language variation in Jordan does not include the standard [q] as one of its lectal markers. I believe that this analysis suits the diglossic nature of Arabic and the differences in the domains between its two levels. What we have in Jordan in particular and the Arab world in general is a socially and culturally interesting case where:

> ...it is not level of education *per se* which correlates with linguistic usage, rather that level of education is actually an indicator of the nature and extent of the speakers' social contacts. It just so happens, that, in the Arab world, access to education, especially at the higher level, and often even beyond primary schooling, involves significant alterations to individuals' socialisation patterns. (Al-Wer 2000a:3)

3.5. Summary

To sum up, in this section we have discussed the role of identity conflict in Jordan. It seems that socio-political tension in Jordan is a major factor behind the need for re-ranking the scale of stigmatisation and prestige there and re-labelling the rural Jordanian dialect with pride and prestige. This identity conflict reminds us of Labov's islanders in Martha's Vineyard whose increasing usage of centralisation indicates loyalty to the group. In Labov's (1972:36) words:

> It is apparent that the immediate meaning of this phonetic feature is 'Vineyarder.' When a man says [rɐit] or [hɐus], he is unconsciously establishing the fact that he belongs to the island: that is he is one of the natives to whom the island really belongs.

The interesting thing in Jordan is that it is also those original 'Vineyarders' who need to stress their identity to show that they still exist. Their high usage of [g] has acquired a new feature of being a marker of the Jordanians or, in Mitchell's (1993:38) words, 'a Jordanian shibboleth.' If we look closer at the previous statistical results, we find that the increasing usage of this [g] by male speakers mainly proves that we can no more talk about a hierarchy of nationally prestigious standard [q], regionally prestigious urban [ʔ] and stigmatised rural Jordanian [g]. If we put aside the standard [q] for what we presented before as a special case of dialect borrowing or standardisation restricted to the nature of the topic or lexicon, we find it more appropriate to adopt the labels of overt prestige for the urban [ʔ] and covert prestige for the rural [g].

This identity conflict cuts across the linguistic market in Jordan to give the chance for female speakers to fulfil their aspirations by acquiring and imitating the urban prestigious dialect that reflects a high degree of 'finesse.' This is why we find that these innovators in the Jordanian speech community shift towards the prestigious urban [ʔ] rather than acquiring the standard [q] or maintaining their [g]. If we accept the idea that innovation means simply acquiring new features without building entirely on the Milroys' view of how innovations occur and diffuse (1985), then women, especially the higher class younger speakers, are the innovators in Jordan since they acquire new linguistic features that enjoy regional prestige. These new features, with their association with urban and modern lifestyles, do not mean that women are less aware of that identity conflict in Jordan than men. They simply prove that they know what sociolinguistically suits their speech. So, it is a matter of sociolinguistic ranking rather than group disloyalty.

Finally, this chapter tackles the underlying structure of education in Jordan. The findings of the previous variationist studies, the possible emerging of [q]/ [g] or [ʔ] minimal pairs and the exclusion of [q] from language variation even while attending higher academic institutes in Jordan lead to a new method of analysing such a social

variable. The traditional view that education necessarily leads to an acquisition of Standard Arabic is no more valid. In the Western studies, the higher level of education usually means a shift to the prestigious RP. Though new Western studies (Foulkes and Docherty 1999) prove that this is not always the case, in the non-diglossic communities such a shift towards a higher level of the language is usually expected. In Arabic, the idea is completely different.

Since Standard Arabic is necessarily acquired through education, many linguists shift this equation to read education necessarily leads to Standard Arabic. Though the educated speakers have a better chance to use Standard Arabic, this does not mean that this is what we really have in Jordan. The findings of this study prove that the usage of the standard [q] does not mean a replacement of the 'masculine' rural Jordanian [g] or the urban [ʔ]. What seems to occur is that due to the high salience (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1986) of (Q), certain religious, literary, technical, etc. terms keep their [q] variants in the speech of some speakers.

CHAPTER FOUR

The (D) Variable

4.0. Introduction

In this chapter, the variable (D) will be discussed to investigate its correlation with the social variables of the study. In Modern Spoken Standard Arabic, the phoneme corresponding to the letter ض is /dˤ/. It is a voiced alveodental emphatic obstruent. The variants of (D) in Jordanian Arabic are: the standard and urban [dˤ] and the Bedouin and rural [ðˤ]. This classification differentiates between what is nationally standard and what is regionally prestigious, i.e. [dˤ], and what is stigmatised, i.e. [ðˤ]. The approach in the previous chapter of social identity and socio-political analysis is not expected to apply here. This has to do with the fact that (D) is a marker rather than a stereotype; therefore, it is less salient in the Jordanian speech community. In addition to that, the existence of the two variants of (D) as originally separate phonemes in the Arabic language system and their historical merger with each other reduce the amount of tension and then the identity conflict among the different speakers in Jordan. In other words, these facts make it less appropriate to treat (D) as a very socially sensitive variable.

What is also of real importance in this chapter is that it presents a historical socio-phonological analysis of the reasons behind the re-introduction of ض /dˤ/ into Arabic after its merger with ظ /ðˤ/. This historical socio-phonological analysis argues that standardisation and accent divergence were the two main mechanisms behind splitting the merger of /dˤ/ with /ðˤ/. It even suggests that the second mechanism was more important than the first in this regard.

Analysing the co-variation of (D) with the social variables of the study, it will emerge that the results are in line with the findings in the previous chapter about (Q). They show the primary importance of social class and gender. Moreover, the age factor highlights the possibility of sound change in progress. With regard to education, its

insignificant correlation with (D) and the results of the *lexico-phonological* (4.4.3.1) test prove its secondary role in language variation in Jordan. This lexico-phonological test is used for the first time, as far as I know, in the Arabic variationist studies in general and in Jordan specifically. Its significance stems from the fact that there is a need to separate the standard and regional prestige and then the standard and colloquial usage of [dˤ] to see to which level the speakers actually shift while using it. This test solves the problem of the traditional view of the combined prestige of [dˤ] as being standard and urban. It shows that it is the regional prestige rather than the standard usage that the female speakers aim at when they use [dˤ]. The advantage of this test is that it solves the problem of those phonological variables (e.g. (dʒ), (θ), etc.) whose standard variants are also used as colloquial realisations in one of the dialects in Jordan.

4.1. The (D) variable: Historical background

Reading in the Arabic language heritage, one finds that the old Arab philologists considered the ض */dˤaad/* as a difficult sound to pronounce. They even believed that it was found in the language system of the Arabs only. This (dˤ) was 'very differently pronounced and still is so in Arabia and Mesopotamia' (Gairdner 1925:20). The *dˤaad* in Arabic was first a voiced pharyngealised alveodental lateral fricative /ɮˤ/. 'In order to facilitate its realisation, lateralisation was inhibited...and instead there may have been a relaxation of dental occlusion, which necessarily led to a continuant with an articulation very close to or identical with /ðˤ/' (Corriente 1978:51).

The result of that change would have been Sibawayhi's */dˤaad dˤaʕeefa/* (weak). We understand from Sibawayhi (vol. 4: 432-33) that this */dˤaad dˤaʕeefa/*

> Is pronounced with force on the right-hand side; if you want you can produce it with force on the left-hand side and this is lighter; it is lidded from the edge of the tongue because you have combined in it the force of lidding /itˤbaaq/ with removing it from its place ... It is lighter because it is from the edge of the tongue and it mixes with the place of articulation of others after its articulation. It then elongates when it mixes with the tongue-letters; shifting it to the left becomes easy because it becomes on the edge of the tongue in the left [side] similar to how it was in the right [side]; it then slinks away gently from the left

[side] till it joins with the tongue-letters, just as it was on the right [side].

Ibn Ya'eesh (vol. 2: 1463, cited in El Saaran 1951:250) describes Sibawayhi's */dˤaad dˤaʃeefa/* by saying that

> The weak ض is in the dialect of folk who find it [i. e. the proper ض] too difficult for them. So, they sometimes pronounce it as ظ [ðˤ] –because they produce it from the tip of the tongue and the edges of the central incisors—and sometimes attempt to pronounce it [i. e. the proper ض] from its proper place [of articulation], but, finding this impracticable, pronounce it between ض and ظ.

What might be understood from these descriptions of the weak ض and the nature of contact between the tongue and the teeth is that for the proper lateral ض this contact is asymmetrical with complete lateral closure [ɮˤ]. According to Sibawayhi (ibid), the proper lateral ض is produced 'between the beginning of the edge of the tongue and the molars that adjoin it.' This means that this ض has unilateral articulation with complete closure made by the contact of one edge of the tongue with what adjoins it of the molars. The original stricture of the proper [ɮˤ] is 'elongated' in the case of the weak ض, giving the space for the friction of the weak ض to slink away and join the tongue-letters. This could mean that it keeps the lateralization of the proper [ɮˤ] but without complete closure between the edge of the tongue and the molars. This could be the reason why Sibawayhi calls it */dˤaʃeefa; weak/*. So, it is a mid way between the loss of lateralisation through the elongation (i.e. spatial elongation) of the original stricture and the merger with /ðˤ/ because of its mixture with the place of articulation of the tongue-letters. Steiner (1977:61) states:

> Most scholars, however, take ʔistitˤāla [elongation, lengthening] as a spatial property, referring to the long muxraj [outlet] of ضَ... These scholars are certainly on the right track...

The other feature of this weak ض is that it has a higher degree of emphasis or lidding than that of the proper [ɮˤ]. This is why Sibawayhi says that this weak ض is 'pronounced with force' /tutakallafu/. The reason behind this could be its pronunciation as ظ or between ض and ظ. To recapitulate the image of this weak ض, we find that we

are talking about a lateral sound (from the edge of the tongue) that is pronounced without closure between the edge of the tongue and the molars (this is why it is 'lighter') and which has a higher degree of emphasis (in comparison with the proper [ɮˤ]), because of its pronunciation as ظ or between ض and ظ, and that 'slinks away gently from the left [side] till it joins with the tongue-letters'. In other words, shifting the pronunciation of the old lateral /ɮˤ/ from the position of the contact between the edge of the tongue and the molars towards a more front position by relaxing spatially this contact results into a degree of emphasis higher than the one that we might have in the case of proper /ɮˤ/. Obrecht (1968:20) states:

> The most interesting items from the standpoint of synthetic speech research are those involving a front articulation in conjunction with velarization or pharyngealization, since they will be more productive of information on the acoustic effects of a back coarticulation than would be those in which the picture is clouded by their already backed location.

As we understand from Ibn Ya'eesh (mentioned above), the point of articulation of this weak ض was between that of ض and ظ. So, the gradual development of the merger of ض with ظ went through that weak ض. Since it changed its original place of articulation towards a more centralised position, one might assume that, later on, the place of articulation of the weak ض shifted towards that of the ظ and merged with it to result in a complete front articulation. If we relate Ibn Ya'eesh's assumption that it was 'impracticable' for the speakers to pronounce the [ɮˤ] to the 'principle of the least effort,' then we can conclude that these speakers ended with a complete loss of lateralization and the pronunciation of the weak ض became from close to that of ظ. This principle of least effort might be a sound explanation for the merger between ض and ظ. Labov (2001: 26-7) states:

> In historical comparative linguistics, "sound change" is almost equivalent to merger.... Whether the principle of least effort applies to such mergers is an interesting question; I do not know of any discussion of the topic.... One might argue that a merger is a conceptual type of least effort, just as the perseverance of variables or concord of number or gender may be argued to facilitate speech production.

Actually, that original value of lateralisation continued to a late date in the speech of some Bedouin tribes in South Arabia (Corriente 1978), South Semitic languages, e.g.

Akkadian, (Versteegh 1997a) and 'in Islamic Spain where in words borrowed into Spanish it often appears as –ld-, e.g. alcalde = القاضي [judge]' (McDonald 1974:40).

The gradual relaxation of articulation of /dˤ/ was an important initial step for the new non-Arab Moslems or *mawaalee* to whom 'the nuances of the pronunciation of *dˤ*, the letter which the Arabs regarded as one of the *xasˤaaʔisˤ*, special characteristics of their tongue, were alien' (Bosworth 1972:154). Later on, and due to that difficulty in articulating /dˤ/, the contacts between the Arabs and the *mawaalee* resulted in a complete merger of */dˤ/* with /ðˤ/. Heselwood (1996:29) states that this lateralisation was preserved 'up to and including the time of the renowned Arab grammarians of the eighth century because of the descriptions they gave it...but it began to lose it and to become confused with the voiced interdental non-lateral pharyngealised fricative [ðˤ] in the aftermath of the Arab conquests.'

So, it seems that the historical phonetic development of /dˤ/ moved from a lateral ض towards a weak ض and finally a merger with the interdental emphatic fricative /ðˤ/. This merger was almost completed between the 9th and 10th centuries (Garbell 1958). That historical development was first due to external or outside group contacts with the new non-Arab tongues for the sake of facilitating the articulation of that phonetically difficult sound. Then, this relaxation resulted in the merger of /dˤ/ with /ðˤ/ and became an important base of sociolinguistic differentiation between the urbanites and Bedouins. The urbanites differentiated themselves from the non-urbanites by adopting the non-lateral /dˤ/ and leaving the merger for the others. So, a stigma/prestige scale based on that ecological differentiation started appearing at that time. What is interesting to know is that this classification is still witnessed in the Arab countries nowadays.

With this background on /dˤ/ and its merger with /ðˤ/, one needs to know how the merger was reversed. In other words, we need to step beyond the fact that there was a complete merger, except in the speech of the urbanites, at a certain time to know the mechanisms that re-introduced /dˤ/ into Arabic and preserved it from deletion. Therefore, it is illuminating to present some historical facts cited by well-known Arab

grammarians and Arabists to validate our claim. The following section is devoted to such an analysis.

4.2. The (D) as a special case of merger

In Arabic, (D) is one of the phonological variables (in addition to (Q), (Ð), (θ) and (dʒ)) that witnessed almost a complete level of merger in different Arab countries at a certain point of time. This is why we need to shed light on the historical merger of /dˤ/ with /ðˤ/ and the mechanisms behind the reversal of this merger. In the following sections, we would like to comment on these two points.

4.2.1. The historical development of the merger of /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/

With regard to the historical development of the merger between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/, it seems that this merger had its roots even in the early days of Islam. For example, the second Caliph of Islam was amazed when he heard a man mixing /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ in the word /ðˤabi/ (gazelle). Ibn Aljazari (d. 833 A.D.) reports that within the readings of the Qur'an some well known readers (e.g. Ibn Kathir, Ibn Amr and Al-Kisa'i) read a verse that includes the word /dˤaneen/ (meagre) with /ðˤ/, though the meaning would be different (i.e. suspicious). Gradually, that kind of merger became very apparent in the 9th and 10th centuries and even an accepted fact later on. In the 12th century, Ibn Makki (1981:105) realised that /dˤ/ was deleted from the speech of the people at that time and described it as:

> A symbol that was wiped out, and a sign that was effaced from the expressions of all the people, the educated and common people.You hardly ever even find someone pronouncing a /dˤ/ by differentiating it from the /ðˤ/…. The only one to produce it (the /dˤ/) from its place of articulation is the proficient and sharp-witted while writing or reading the Qur'an only. The common people and most of the educated ones do not differentiate between them in a book or Qur'an.

Based on this historical fact, the merger between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ phonemes resulted into a complete deletion of /dˤ/ from the speech of the people, almost regardless of their level of education or eloquence.

4.2.2. The mechanisms behind the reversal of the merger

The intriguing question in our study relates to how that merger between these two phonemes was reversed. In other words, what were the mechanisms behind the re-introduction of /dˤ/ in Arabic since this symbol 'was wiped out and effaced from the expressions of all people?' These questions are not easy to tackle due to the need for historical tracing that might far exceed the limits of this research. In addition to that, I do not claim that I can survey the features of the old Arabic dialects and their relation to each other due to the nature of my research. Nevertheless, I will try to shed some light on the relevant issues that might give possible answers for these questions, or at least open the way to further investigation in this regard. This analysis will build on the notion of *linguistic distinctiveness* through *accent divergence* that was initiated and developed by Bourhis and Giles (1977), Bourhis, Giles, Leyens and Tajfel (1979) and Giles and Powesland (1975). This analysis proposes that linguistic distinctiveness might better explain how /dˤ/ was saved from extinction after its apparently complete merger with /ðˤ/.

Ibn Makki and other scholars (Garbell 1958; Bosworth 1972; Heselwood 1996; etc.) report about the complete merger of /dˤ/ with /ðˤ/ that started in the seventh century and spread more in the eighth century till it became a remarkably noticed feature in the twelfth century. These studies provide plentiful historical evidence that this merger took place at a certain point of time. However, these scholars did not look at the other side of the coin to tell us how we still have the /dˤ/ sound in our dialects and how the reversal of this merger happened. Bearing in mind what they presented, one might link these facts with comments from other researchers to show that *standardisation* and *accent divergence* could have been the two main mechanisms for the re-introduction of /dˤ/. The former mechanism is similar to what we have previously

seen with /q/ (3.2), but it does not have here the same rank of importance that it had in the previous case.

The quotation cited above from Ibn Makki shows that most of the educated people were unable to pronounce /dˤ/ even while reading the Qur'an. This fact puts a big question mark on the role of standardisation and education since they are inseparable in Arabic. It even shifts the focus from the traditionally unquestioned role of standardisation towards the role of the urban centres in preserving /dˤ/ through a mechanism that might be labelled as 'accent divergence.' To prove the importance of that newly emerging force one has to prove first the decline of the role of standardisation or at least its limited momentum. Standardisation has always been the magic lantern through which all language variation in the Arab world is usually seen.

4.2.2.1. Standardisation and the role of the Bedouins

The standardisation process motivates the speakers to abandon automatically 'their local forms in preference for the standard' (Foulkes and Docherty 1999:13). In the case of (D), this preference was motivated mainly by liturgical forces. However, a warning by Ibn Makki in the 12th century that the prayers of those who confused /dˤ/ for /ðˤ/ in the *faatiħa* (the verse that Moslems must always recite in their daily prayers) would not be accepted by God should have been enough to make people careful about their pronunciation, at least while reciting the Qur'an. That warning, as we understand from the same scholar, was unable to exceed the circle of the 'proficient and sharp-witted' persons while dealing with the holy book only. So, where is that role of education or standardisation since it failed to maintain unaltered the speech of the educated persons while reading the Qur'an? This fact is extremely important if we know that writing down and codifying the Qur'an is the most important step in standardising Arabic. Such religious warnings were sometimes preceded or, more usually, followed by other literary efforts that did not succeed also.

The publication of books that started around the 11th century to teach people how to differentiate between the words written with ض and those with ظ and the composition of poetry that was meant to include the words written using both ض and ظ did not help

much in purifying the Arab tongues, even among the Bedouins themselves. El Saaran (1951:251) states that:

> the confusion between ظ [ðˤ] and ض was very common, so that many different treatises were written to distinguish the difference between them, as the 'Urjuzah [poem] attributed to Ibn Kutaybah, and as the works of Ibn Malik and Abu Hayyan in this respect.

This common condition was preceded by continuous complaints by the Arab grammarians about the decline of the eloquence of the Bedouins. Interestingly, they attributed this decline to the Bedouins' contacts with the urbanites and the influence of the urban centres. Versteegh (1997b:159) states:

> Very soon, however, and certainly within the first centuries of the Islamic era, they [grammarians] were forced to admit that most Bedouin tribes had been affected by sedentary speech. From now on the language of the Bedouin...became an idealized construct.

Around the end of the 10th century, Ibn Jinni (vol. 2: 5) stated that 'in this epoch of ours, we cannot find an eloquent Bedouin any more; even if we find some kind of eloquence in his [a Bedouin] speech, it does not fail to be blemished by faults and shortcomings.' Versteegh (1997a:63-4) explains this new situation by stating that:

> In the course of the centuries, the Bedouin tribes increasingly came into the sphere of influence of the sedentary civilisation, and their speech became contaminated by sedentary speech. In his description of the Arabian Peninsula, al-Hamadani (d. 334/945) sets up a hierarchy of the Arab tribes according to the perfection of their speech. He explains that those who live in or near a town have very mediocre Arabic and cannot be trusted; this applies even to the Arabs who live near the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina.

These quotations that come from Ibn Jinni and Versteegh help us here in two things. First, the role of the Bedouins who were considered the only trustworthy informants to be resorted to in any linguistic issue declined. This fact also entails a sharp decline in the role of standardisation in preserving the /dˤ/ sound. Its efforts failed even at the Qur'anic level, and it lost its source of correctness, i.e. the Bedouins. At the risk of generalization, one can state rightly that those Bedouin speakers were not active in the re-introduction of /dˤ/ because they lost it completely.

The other thing that the previous quotations help us with is that the influence of the urban centres started increasing. The best to quote in this context is Blau (1965). His focus on the emergence of Judaeo-Arabic sheds light on what is called Middle Arabic and then the role of the urbanites and city dwellers on the emergence of this level of Arabic. He believes that Middle Arabic started with the great Arab conquests during the seventh century A.D. and became apparent in the eighth century. This level of the language differed from Classical Arabic (the super-tribal poetic language that emerged in the sixth century) mainly by dropping the flexional endings on the words. It 'originated among the indigenous urban population' (p. 4) and it then became 'the language of the urban population in general, including even the highest strata of Arab society' (p. 8). However, the spread of the urban dialects and their effect on the Bedouin dialect meant for the old Arab grammarians a corruption of the Bedouins' language.

Nevertheless, the emergence of those urban dialects meant, linguistically, a new dialectal categorisation that differentiated between the 'language' of the urban speakers and the 'language' of the Bedouins rather than focussing on the Bedouins alone and examining their degree of purity according to their approximation to the Qur'anic Arabic. Simply speaking, we started having a horizontal ecological categorisation that differentiated between what was urban and what was Bedouin rather than focussing on the purest speech among the Bedouin tribes alone. The linguistic division of Arabic around the eighth century onwards started building on 'analytically Middle Arabic urban vernaculars as against synthetic Classical Arabic and Bedouin dialects' (Blau 1965:10). However, it seems that such a categorisation was not a welcome phenomenon at that time. The following statement by Ibn Khaldun in the fourteenth century highlights that ecological linguistic comparison, inspired by the Bedouins' purity though it was. He states:

> Sedentary people are much concerned with all kinds of pleasures. They are accustomed to luxury and success in worldly occupations and to indulgence in worldly desires. Therefore, their souls are colored with all kinds of blameworthy and evil qualities ... Many of them are found to use improper language in their gatherings as well as in the presence of their superiors and womenfolk ... Bedouins may be as concerned with worldly affairs as (sedentary people are). However, such concern would touch only necessities of life and not luxuries or anything causing, or calling for, desires and pleasures.... As compared with those of sedentary people, their evil ways and blameworthy qualities are much less numerous.... Thus, they can more easily be cured than sedentary

> people...It has become clear that Bedouins are closer to being good than sedentary people. (Vol. I:254-5)

If we read these lines within the frame of the psychological aspirations of the old Arab grammarians or within what Versteegh (1997a:50) describes as a mode of thought 'symptomatic of the generally nostalgic attitude towards the Bedouin past and the desert,' one must admit that the urban dialect became very influential at that time. Those stories of the superiority and purity of the Bedouin dialects might come:

> ...as a part of the general idealization of early Islamic society, due partly to a romantic craving for the primitive, and...also out of a flair for paradox, since the superiority of the uncouth Bedouin to the refined citizen was not without a paradoxical touch. In addition, in some cases Bedouin boasting must also be taken into consideration. (Blau 1965: 10)

So, we no more had to talk only about the linguistic defects of certain Bedouin tribes, the purity of Quraysh for socio-religious reasons or even the sacredness of Arabic as a God-gifted language. The situation at that time included another sociolinguistic approach based on the urban/non-urban dichotomy. That dichotomy was the result of group differentiation rather than acculturation. At least, this linguistic differentiation separated the urbanites and the Bedouins rather than differentiating between the Bedouins themselves, even though they were different in their closeness to the Qur'anic Arabic. Since Ibn Khaldun claims that their concern with worldly things would not touch luxuries or unnecessary things, acculturation among the different Bedouin tribes was possible more than between these tribes and the urbanites.

The previously noted quotation by Ibn Khaldun shows that the sedentary people were looked on as being 'coloured with all kinds of blameworthy and evil qualities.' Their 'corrupted' language was a source of criticism by the old Arab grammarians. Ibn Faris (d. 1005; cited in Rabin 1951:22) clearly states that 'under no circumstances is a settled Arab ever accepted as an authority on matters of correct speech.' Rabin (1951:18) states:

> It seems that this view of the linguistic superiority of the Bedouin was corollary of the theory which attributed everything that was considered incorrect to the influence of foreign languages on the speech of the settled population. This was part of the general idealisation of early

> Islamic society and corresponds to the romantic hankering after the primitive in other urban societies.

The institutional or armchair criticism of the urban speech was accompanied by a socio-psychological admiration of the 'language' of the Bedouins as being more prestigious for and closer to the language of the prophet. Versteegh (1997b:104) states that the old grammarian's point of departure was:

> ... a fixed corpus of linguistic utterances consisting of the text of the Qur'an, the pre-Islamic poems, and the idealized speech of the Bedouin. Once the Bedouin had become affected by the speech of the urban population they could no longer be trusted as guardians of the pure Arabic language, so that the grammarians could rely only on texts that had been codified for all times.

Therefore, as we will see later, this attitude did not give space for the urban dialects to be listed within the circle of the dialects that were worthy of study. It did not even credit the urban dialect with the preservation of /dˤ/ in Arabic and its influence on the Qur'anic readings themselves. To understand this attitude we would like to resort to the *linguistic distinctiveness* notion with its *symmetrical* type of interaction. This symmetrical interaction is believed to better describe the relation that prevailed among the sedentary and non-sedentary people at the time of the merger between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ and through which the non-lateral /dˤ/ was re-introduced to Arabic. The result of this process of symmetrical distinctiveness would be *accent divergence*[11].

4.2.2.2. Accent divergence

Bourhis and Giles (1977:129) state that accent divergence emphasizes one's 'identity and allow[s] an ingroup speaker to feel psychologically distinct from an outgroup member.' This attitudinal differentiation has to do with the fact that language is 'any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers' (Ryan and Giles 1982:7). These reactions or attitudes appear as a 'state of readiness rather than an observable response' (Fasold 1984:147). Accordingly, what we are talking about here is a sociolinguistic attitude of

[11] Sincere thanks are due to Barry Heselwood for suggesting adopting this line of analysis.

inferior groups towards the traditionally superior group. The reason behind this attitudinal differentiation or psycholinguistic distinctiveness is that:

> If group members considered their inferior status to be illegitimate and the intergroup situation to be unstable, they would redefine their group attributes, socially and psychologically, in a more positive direction. They might also do this linguistically, and hence in interaction with a member of the outgroup might accentuate their own ingroup characteristics by means of speech divergence. In such an interaction, one might expect the dominant group member to adopt reciprocal strategies of divergence in an attempt to retain his own positively valued distinctiveness. (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens & Tajfel 1979:159-60)

Therefore, one might witness what Giles and Powesland (1975:178) call symmetrical accent divergence. In this type of divergence the two parties are 'motivated to dissociate themselves from each other.... But external pressures might force them to continue their mutually hostile conversation' (Ibid.). This symmetrical accent divergence is claimed to explain how /d^{ς}/ was re-introduced into the Arabic language system.

If we relate all these sociolinguistic speculations to the situation that prevailed after the death of the Prophet, Peace be upon him, one can assume that this accent divergence was responsible for the re-introduction of /d^{ς}/ in Arabic. At that time, and even before, the dialect of the urban centres was looked at as a degradation of pure Arabic. Its corrupted level made the old Arab grammarians abandon referring not only to the urban dialects but also to the speech of the Bedouins who lived in the urban centres or near them. Since the influence of these centres was possible on those Bedouins, their dialect was also neglected. What adds more to this sociolinguistic harassment is that those Arab grammarians used to refer to those non-Bedouin or, more precisely, non-Qurayshi dialects with words like 'bad,' 'weak,' 'improper,' or 'abnormal.' Al-Jundi (1983:117) states that:

> Because they [old Arab grammarians] respected the dialect of Quraysh for the Prophet was one of them, they studied nothing but its dialect. If they changed their method and registered a dialect that was not from Quraysh, you would start with lists of descriptions for these dialects, such as: 'bad or ugly language,' 'abnormal,' weak and bad,' 'rare,' or 'corrupted.'

Based on this, one might imagine the kind of sociolinguistic tension that was common between the emerging urban centres and the traditionally trustworthy Bedouins. What is important to us here is that this tension pushed the urbanites to differentiate themselves from the Bedouins by stressing their own linguistic repertoire and by keeping the sound /dˤ/ in their dialect. In Corriente's (1985:77) words the urbanites kept the 'received pronunciation of *dˤad*, while retrieving the current Bedouin reflex of /ðˤ/ in a compromise designed to avoid merger.'

So, that linguistic distinctiveness that the urbanites initiated through accent divergence was a socio-psychological response to the linguistic inferiority they felt by the Bedouins. But what is interesting to notice is that this accent divergence not only preserved the /dˤ/ that was an 'urban creation' from deletion but also benefited the *tajweed* which Bosworth (1972:154) defines as 'the art of Qur'anic recitation' and lists it within the category of 'careful articulation.' Corriente (1978:51) states that:

> It is not at all surprising that the phonemic system of the *tajweed* picked up at once this urban creation [the /dˤ/] and adopted it as the "correct" realisation of *dˤaad*, since it allowed the reinstatement of a distinction which was lacking and must have caused considerable discomfiture to scholarly and religious circles, so attached to the ideal of utter perfection of the text of the Qur'an; in this manner, the inconsistency of two graphemes for one and the same phoneme was cleared from the system. (underline added)

The idea behind shedding light on the effect of accent divergence on the careful recitation of Qur'an is to show how active it was and how plausible our claim is. However, this needs evidence to prove correct. Two pieces of evidence help in proving that the rules of *tajweed* for the pronunciation of the /dˤ/ benefited from accent divergence of the urban centres. In other words, the *tajweed* picked up the urban creation of the /dˤ/. The first evidence is historical, while the second is analogical.

First, the traditional early Islamic /dˤ/ had some lateralisation, and so did the *tajweed*. However, with the contacts of the Arabs with the new non-Arab Moslems, that lateralisation was lost. The only ones to keep a simplified nonlateral form of that old pronunciation were the urbanites and some tribes in South Arabia; there were different kinds of contact, commercial mainly, between the speakers of these dialects and the

Arabs in Mecca and Medina, mainly. So, the new version of *tajweed* should have acquired that new nonlateral /dˤ/ sound that the urbanites in the centre of the Islamic Empire kept or created as Corriente believes. It is taken for granted that the main reason for the nonlateralisation of the /dˤ/ was to relax its pronunciation for the non-Arab Moslems and later on for the Arabs themselves. Logically speaking, this means that this process happened at a later stage of the Islamic conquests (Heselwood 1996). Accordingly, we are talking about a historical fact that builds on the chronological development of the /dˤ/. After that historical development the new nonlateral version of /dˤ/ in the *tajweed* was an urban creation.

Although this line of investigation needs further historical analysis to prove it valid, it might also build on the case of (Q) as a second piece of analogical evidence for the active role of accent divergence in affecting the careful recitation of the Qur'an and then its preference over standardisation. This fact stems from the way the old Arab scholars categorised the (Q) variable. For example, Ibn Jinni and Sibawayhi state that [g] or [G] was a Bedouin variant, and Ibn Khaldun notes that [q] was realised in the urban centres. If this was the case, why did not the *tajweed* (and then Standard Arabic) pick up the Bedouin pronunciation, i.e. /g/, as being more standard and pure than the 'corrupted' urban [q]? Even when Ibn Khaldun criticises (see section 3.1) the Arab philologists for stigmatising the Bedouin [g], why did not that 'pronunciation of the early Arabs and the pronunciation of the prophet' appear in the tajweed of the Qur'an and in Standard Arabic? What we had instead, and still have, was that urban [q] that was not used by the Bedouins, who were considered the source of pure Arabic, or Qurayshi dialect. Rabin (1951:126) states:

> The voiced *qāf* of *tajwīd* would then be a true continuation of the Prophet's own pronunciation. But as *tajwīd* rarely represents a pure Hijazi tradition...the voiced *qāf* must have been used outside the Hijaz as well, especially in those archaic Najdi dialects which provided the basis of Classical Arabic. The voiceless sound used in the Eastern dialects can, therefore, not have been old-inherited.

If we know that it was the urbanites who started inheriting this voiceless /q/, as Ibn Khaldun notes, then the tajweed and later on the standardisation process benefited from the settled urban speech in codifying Arabic with the most salient sounds, i.e. /q/, and

/dˤ/, that differentiate between the Arabs and non-Arabs, and according to which Arabic is called the language of the /dˤ/.

However, at the orthographic level there was no problem for the readers to pronounce the /q/. Therefore, standardisation and the 'school system' (Labov 1994: 345) domains preserved it from deletion after its merger with the glottal stop or the voiceless and voiced velar stops in different Arab countries. Such preservation of /q/ and its lexical forms, religious mainly, is 'attributed to a familiarity with Classical Arabic forms that is the product of the traditional Muslim educational system. We might therefore point to this example as one that shows the conditions under which the reversal of a merger is possible' (ibid. 346). As for the /dˤ/, its special orthographic representation and the 'school system' that differentiated it from the /ðˤ/ did not, as it is the case today, help in reversing the merger. Though the orthographic system shows a difference between ض, i.e. /dˤ/ and ظ, i.e. /ðˤ/, people usually confuse them, depending on their dialect, even while reading a written text. Therefore, it is claimed that it is the settled urban speech that has been ever since the first century of Islam the force behind preserving /dˤ/ from deletion.

What one is driven to conclude here is that the two major forces for splitting the merger between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ were standardisation and accent divergence. Due to the 'choose-and-select' method that the old Arab scholars applied in accepting what they considered correct and refusing what they considered corrupted, the role of the urban dialect and then accent divergence was never focussed on. Therefore, the standardisation mechanism was taken for granted by Arab sociolinguists due to its religious entailments or historical heritage.

The accent divergence mechanism was never focussed on even to a later stage. I claim that with regard to the re-introduction of /dˤ/ in the Arabic language system, this mechanism was more active than standardisation. Its symmetrical beginning put every speech party aside. So the urbanites created, in Corriente's (1978) words, the nonlateral /dˤ/ and the Bedouins diverged towards /ðˤ/. Even the present synchronic rules operating in the Arab communities almost entirely with regard to the usage of /dˤ/ seem to stem from that traditional dichotomy. Al-Khatib (1988:183-84) states that:

> The importance of this variable lies in the fact that it can be used as a criterion with which to identify linguistically the urban from non-urban speakers of Arabic. For instance, in the dialects spoken in the major urban centres such as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Beirut.../*dˤ*/ and /*ðˤ*/ are always pronounced as /*dˤ*/, whereas in the dialects spoken by the Bedouins and the ruralites in many parts of the Arab world, the two phonemes are heard as /*ðˤ*/.

The line of discussion followed above supports our claim. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it does not tackle all the necessary angles. I also believe that this line of discussion opens the way for a vicious circle of questions that require more historical investigation. But this goes beyond the limits of our current research. However, the pieces of evidence and discussion presented above suffice to substantiate the claim we have concerning the mechanisms behind the re-introduction of /dˤ/ in Arabic. It started as a psycholinguistic attitude towards a social condition, and it is manifested nowadays as a marker of urbanisation[12] among the socioeconomically prestigious elites. This is the first time, as far as I know, that such an investigation is adopted with regard to the re-introduction of /dˤ/ in Arabic. Therefore, and due to the lack of previous studies that apply this accent divergence notion, the only way to validate this approach is by shedding light on the current realisation of the (D) variable in the language system of Jordan and other Arab countries. This will be followed by an examination of (D) under the social variables of the current study.

4.3. The (D) in Jordan

In Jordan, the (D) variable has two main variants: [dˤ] and [ðˤ]. What I mean by 'main' here is that there are two other variants for (D) in Jordan; [zˤ] and [d]. These two other variants are rarely used. Put simply, the [zˤ] and [d] variants are used in two words only. [zˤ], a voiced alveolar velarized sibilant, is used in the Madani dialect under the Turkish influence (Cleveland 1963) with words derived from the root /*dˤbtˤ*/ (exact, grab), while [d], a voiced alveodental stop, is used in the same dialect with words derived from the root /*dˤjq*/ (angry, narrow). For example: /*middaaji?*/ and /*dajji?*/ (for

[12] Thanks are due to Paul Kerswill who suggests (based on what I explained to him) that the shift of the speakers to [dˤ] in my speech community could be due to urbanisation more than dialect levelling.

/mutadˤaajiq/ and */dˤajjiq/*, correspondingly), and */zˤaabitˤ/* and */zˤabatˤ/* (for */dˤaabitˤ/* and */dˤabatˤ/*, correspondingly). These are the only two words in which [zˤ] and [d] variants are used in this study. They are even used by the urbanites only. The occurrence of these two words was extremely rare. Therefore, in this study, these two variants will be excluded. What adds to this reason is the fact that most of the variationist studies in Jordan and other Arab countries focus on [dˤ] and [ðˤ] and rarely, if ever, mention [zˤ] and [d]. For example, Cleveland (1963:59) believes that:

> The problem of the phoneme(s) corresponding to the Classical Arabic "emphatic" interdental spirants ض (voiced) and ظ (presumably surd at some early stage)...is somewhat complicated. In most modern dialects of Jordan these phonemes have fallen together as the sonant of the pair, i.e., as a velarized correlative of ð, but in the *medenī* speech, the first mentioned is regularly the velarized dental stop dˤ, and the second, while most commonly fallen together with dˤ, often appears as a velarized sibilant zˤ ... Exceptions in the first case are so rare as to be regarded as aberrancies; the only two common ones are zˤaabitˤ, "(army) officer," and mazˤbuutˤ, "right, correct," for literary dˤaabitˤ and madˤbuutˤ, both from the same root.

Even Driver's 1925 study of the colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine lists the variants of (D) as [dˤ] and [ðˤ] and finds that 'owing to Turkish or Persian influences ض is sometimes pronounced like an emphatic z (written z ʕ) or, more rarely, like z' (p.7). The only example that Driver mentions for this rare usage is the previously mentioned */dˤaabitˤ/* (officer). More recently, Hussein (1980) lists [dˤ] and [ðˤ] as the only variants of (D) and Al-Khatib (1988) reiterates the same diversification in Irbid, Jordan.

In other Arab countries, Jassem (1993) finds that in the dialect of Damascus (D) has kept its standard realisation, and that his rural immigrants from the Golan Heights mainly replace [dˤ] with [ðˤ]. Although there are cases of [zˤ] and [d], 'they are very rare' (p.115). These cases come from the root /dˤbtˤ/ for /zˤ/ and /rkdˤ/ for /d/. Therefore, they are not accounted for in his study. In Iraq also, one notices that /dˤ/ has merged with /ðˤ/ and no other diversification is noted (Altoma 1969). In Bahrain, there are no reflexes for (D) except [dˤ] and [ðˤ] (Holes 1987) and in Mecca, Alahdal (1989) finds the same kind of variation.

These Labovian variationist studies almost agree that it is the urban/non-urban or, more precisely, prestige/stigma base that maintains this distinction between the dialects. In the Jordanian colloquial variety, /dˤ/ retains its standard-like pronunciation in the urban dialect and in very restricted and careful Qur'anic and scholarly readings, while it merges with /ðˤ/ in the Bedouin and rural dialects. These Bedouin and rural speakers do not usually differentiate between these two variants even while reading from a text. They merge the two sounds together, though they know from the orthographic symbols for ض and ظ that they are different realizations. However, the fact remains that the urban speakers also use [dˤ] for both the etymological ض and ظ words, exclusively. Most of the Arabic variationist studies report the same case in their regions. These studies also agree that the distinction between these two reflexes is better maintained through the social dynamics of urbanization and modernisation that differentiate between what is urban and what is not.

For example, Cleveland (1963) uses this classification for what she calls 'modern dialects of Jordan' or the 'Madani speech' (p.171) with its original Palestinian features to classify the realisations of the two phonemes /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/. Hussein (1980) keeps the same base of classification in Jordan where the variant [ðˤ] exists in the Fallaḥi and Bedouin varieties, while the Madani variety uses [dˤ]. Al-Khatib (1988:185) agrees with this classification in Jordan in spite of the fact that he stresses the cross-border distribution of (D) among the different varieties there due to the 'linguistic contacts' and 'the spread of education.' Although the notion of education needs to be carefully verified, this urban/non-urban base of contrast is clear also in other Arab areas like Damascus (Jassem 1993), Bahrain (Holes 1987) and Mecca (Alahdal 1989).

It seems for a while that the present urban/non-urban or prestige/stigma scale is similar to what we had in the case of (Q). The fact remains that this similarity is not expected to revolve around the same socio-political connotations that we had with (Q). This belief is to be explained in the light of three main facts. First, the standard usage of [dˤ] decreases to a certain extent the amount of identity conflict that a Jordanian rural speaker might feel. Its occurrence as a separate phoneme in Standard Arabic and as the original correct post-Islamic realisation that reverses the merger decrease the salience

attached to it as being a special marker of the Palestinian urban dialect alone (as in the case of [ʔ]). So, when a rural Jordanian speaker shifts from his [ðˤ] variant towards [dˤ] he is much less likely to be criticised overtly as he would be if this shift were from the rural Jordanian [g] towards the urban Palestinian [ʔ].

The second fact that explains why the high (Q) tension between the indigenous Jordanian varieties and the Palestinian urban dialect in Jordan is not expected to be seen here has to do with the nature of [ðˤ]. The actual occurrence of /ðˤ/ in the phonetic system of Arabic does not make it attract the same degree of attention that [g] attracts. This means that it does not need, contrary to [g], that socio-psychological covert prestige to stress identity and loyalty to the group. What adds more to these is a third fact related to the commonly accepted merger between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ even at the level of reading due to the difficulty in pronouncing the former. This articulation difficulty has created an incontrovertible case of two dialectal groups in the Arab world as a whole. Therefore, this historical merger between the two phonemes even at the level of Standard Arabic makes them much less sensitive to the sociolinguistic and socio-political norms in Jordan.

So, the actual occurrence of /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/, separately, in the Arabic phonetic system, and the widely accepted historical merger between these two sounds decrease the level of sensitivity or salience with regard to the linguistic variation of (D). These facts will be clear while presenting the statistical runs of the co-variation between (D) and social class, gender, education and age.

4.4. The co-variation of (D) with the social variables

This section is devoted to examining the correlation between the social variables of the study and [dˤ] and [ðˤ] variants. It will start by setting forward the quantitative results of the Oneway Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) for the correlation of every social variable with these two phonological variants. The idea behind this is to see if this correlation is significant. Then, and by comparing the frequency of occurrence of every phonological variant under the levels of every social variable, the locus of

significant correlation will be clear. All the social variables will be treated the same to come out with a general result of the position of correlation for these two phonological variants under all the social variables.

4.4.1. Social class

With regard to the correlation between the social class of the speaker and (D), our data supports the significant role that this social variable plays in the variationist studies in Jordan. Table 10 clearly shows that [dˤ] and [ðˤ] are highly significant in their correlation with social class (.000).

ANOVA

Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(D)	[dˤ]	11.330	.000*
	[ðˤ]	11.330	.000*

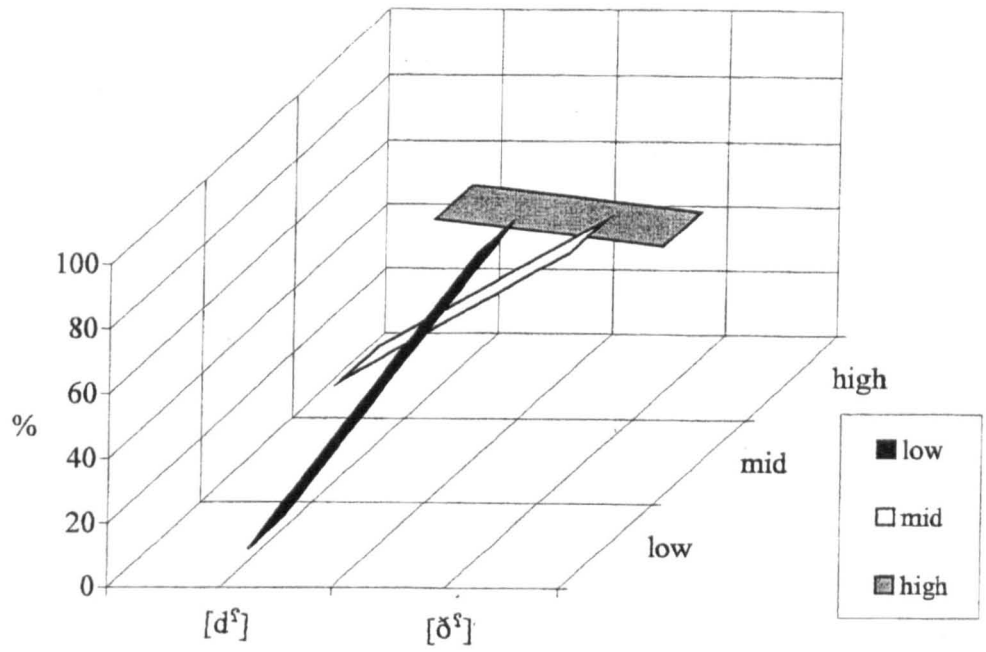
The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Significant correlation asterisked.

Table 10. Use of (D) by social class

The hypothesis put forward with regard to [dˤ] and [ðˤ] is that these two variants of (D) react contrarily on the social class scale. In other words, the occurrence of [dˤ] increases with the increase in the speaker's level of class, while the occurrence of [ðˤ] decreases in this upward socioeconomic movement.

To locate the centre of significant correlation between (D) and the social class variable, it appears from the frequency of occurrence (fig. 9) that the higher-social class use [dˤ] twice as much as the middle class and, remarkably, more than the lower-class people. The opposite goes for [ðˤ]. It is the lower-class speakers who favour [ðˤ] more than the middle class and then the higher-class speakers. So, the hypothesis that we put forward regarding the correlation between social class and (D) seems to be logical. This correlation is centred in the higher-class level for [dˤ] and among the lower-class people for [ðˤ].

Figure 9. Use of (D) by class



To highlight the main findings, one might state that:

* **There is a significant correlation between class and (D).**

* **The occurrence of the urban [dˤ] increases with class, while the occurrence of the rural Jordanian [ðˤ] decreases with class.**

4.4.2. Gender

Gender is expected to have a significant correlation with (D). Such a claim usually faced real criticism in the traditional Western variationist studies, but it is interesting to see that Watt and Milroy (1999:41) find in certain phonological features of their Newcastle study that 'the social class contrast mirrors the gender contrast.' With regard to our quantitative analysis, table 11 shows that the correlation between (D) and gender is highly significant (.000). This correlation is just like its correlation with social class above or even like the correlation between gender and the urban and rural variants of

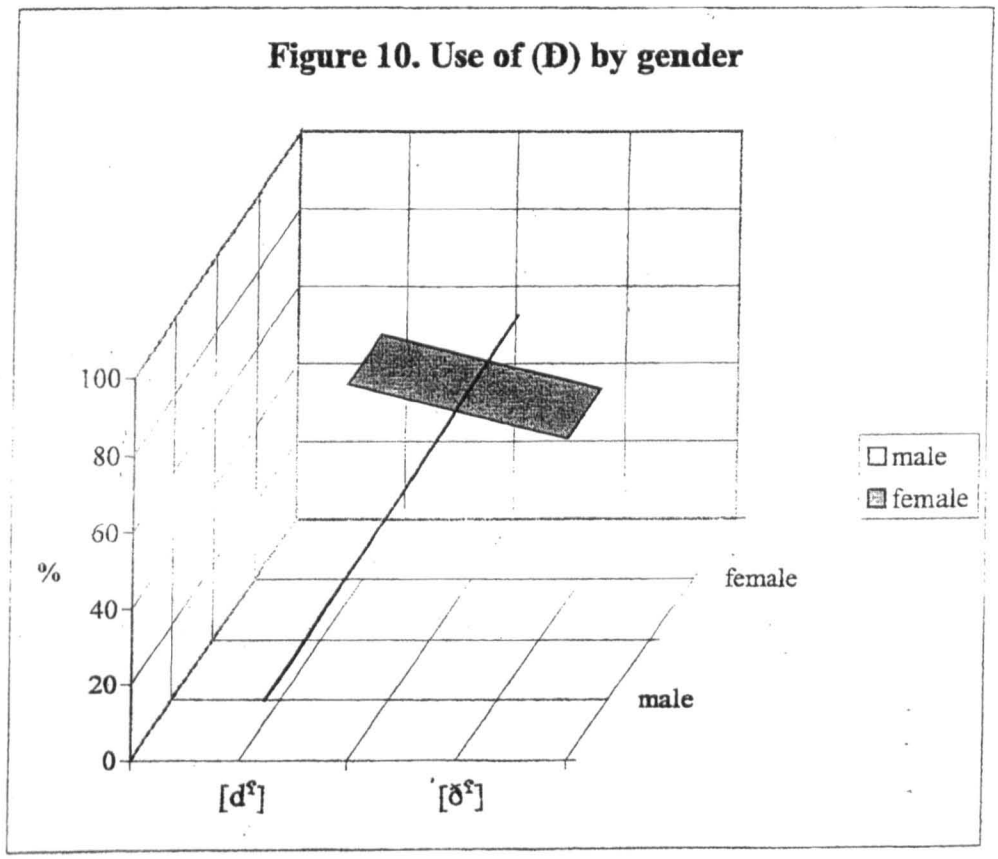
ANOVA

Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(D)	[dˤ]	42.551	.000*
	[ðˤ]	42.551	.000*

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Significant correlation asterisked

Table 11. The use of (D) by gender

(Q) in the previous chapter (table 6). At the same time, and by building on the female/ male dichotomy, the frequency of occurrence (figure 10) shows that it is the



female speakers who favour [dˤ] more than the male speakers. The male speakers use [ðˤ] more than the females.

So, it is clear that the male speakers favour the rural [ðˤ], while the female speakers use [dˤ]. If we link this finding to class (4.4.1) we get that the higher-class

female speakers use [dˤ], while the lower-class male speakers use [ðˤ]. Actually, this finding is not surprising at all. Al-Khatib (1988:191), finds that in Jordan 'there is a greater tendency on the part of the female speakers to use the urban-standard variant [dˤ]. Women used it twice as often as men.' In Syria, Jassem (1993:223) states that within the context of (D) variation among the Golan Immigrants to Damascus 'women make more use of the standard form [dˤ] than men.' So, the main findings here are:

*** There is a significant correlation between gender and (D).**

*** The females use [dˤ] more than the rural [ðˤ], while the males maintain their original rural [ðˤ] more than the females.**

A close examination of figures 9 and 10 shows that the class contrast mirrors the gender contrast. Therefore, we would like to interpret the results for these two social variables together.

4.4.2.1. Interpretation of class and gender results

Based on the previous findings under class and gender, one might attribute the significant correlation that we have between (D) and these two social variables to the urban/non-urban dimension that differentiates between [dˤ] and [ðˤ] as being prestigious and stigmatised, correspondingly. Two main points should be highlighted here. First, our findings are similar to the results we had under the significant correlation of [ʔ] and [g] with class. This similarity leads us to wonder whether this correlation between (D) and this social variable is at the standard or urban level of [dˤ] since it is at the urban and rural levels that (Q) correlates with class. In other words, since the correlation between the salient variable (Q) and class is at the colloquial level only is it also possible to generalise the same conclusion to (D) and say that it is the colloquial [dˤ] that the speakers use rather than the standard one? Second, the (D) variable is not very sociolinguistically salient in the Jordanian speech community. It does not reflect the symbolic identity conflict that (Q) reflects.

The broad parallelism between (Q) and (D) shown under class (tables 5 & 10) and gender (tables 6 & 11) actually depends on the similarity in usage of [dˤ]/[ðˤ] and [ʔ]/[g]. [q] stands outside this patterning because it is used mainly by the males who are not the innovators in the Jordanian speech community. In addition to that, it is used with words borrowed from Standard Arabic or when these words have literary or religious connotations. In other words, it does not come as an automatic result of the increase in the level of education. With regard to (D), the 'standard' and colloquial variants have a correlation with class and gender, while it is at the colloquial level only that (Q) correlates significantly with class. With regard to gender, the colloquial variants of (Q) also correlate significantly with it. Even the significant correlation of the colloquial variants of (Q) with gender is stronger than the way it is with [q]. If it were the standard [dˤ] that the speakers use then they would use it, relatively speaking, as frequent as the standard [q] rather than the urban [ʔ]. The standard [q] is more salient than [dˤ]. Nevertheless, the speakers use [dˤ] as much as [ʔ] rather than [q]. The reason behind relating [dˤ] to [ʔ] rather than [g] is that [dˤ] and [ʔ] are used in the urban dialect while [g] is a rural variant.

This means that we need to think of a more subtle way to tell whether this correlation of (D) with class and gender is at the 'standard' or the 'urban' level. The problem that we face with (D) is that there is no clear phonetic or phonological distinction between the two national and local prestigious reflexes. In other words, one cannot tell from the outputs of the statistical results if the occurrence of [dˤ] in the speech of certain social class of people is because of its national standard prestige or because of its regional colloquial prestige. This peculiar case of (D) sets a challenge for our whole approach for giving preference of influence to urbanisation over standardisation or education.

If this [dˤ] is the standard one that the speakers use, then it will challenge our analysis (even for (Q)). However, if this usage of [dˤ] is for the sake of its association with modernisation and urbanisation rather than standardisation (exactly like [ʔ]), then our whole approach will be further verified. This approach builds on three facts: the role of education as an independent variable is decreasing, the prestige of the urban

colloquial is competing with the prestige of the standard variety and the social evaluation of the urban colloquial is parallel to, if not more than, that of the standard. Such a dilemma about the 'standard' or 'urban' [dˤ] needs thorough investigation. The problem here is that it cuts across the role of education on (D). Therefore, it will be examined after we examine (4.4.3.1) the social variable of education.

For the time being, we can hypothesize that it is the urban [dˤ] rather than the standard one that the speakers use. The reason behind this is the low degree of salience that (D) has in the Jordanian speech community in comparison with (Q). However, this explanation which builds on the general behaviour of the speakers with most of the phonological variables in the study is similar to that offered by other investigators (e.g. Al-Khatib 1988). According to this general linguistic behaviour, one can tell whether a speaker is standard or rural in his usage of a variant like [dˤ]. Such an approach might not be precise. It might not be always true that if a speaker does not use the standard variant of a certain phonological variable (e.g. (Q)) he is not expected to then use the standard variant of another one (e.g. (D)) and vice versa. Therefore, this claim will be discussed separately to find evidence for such a conclusion.

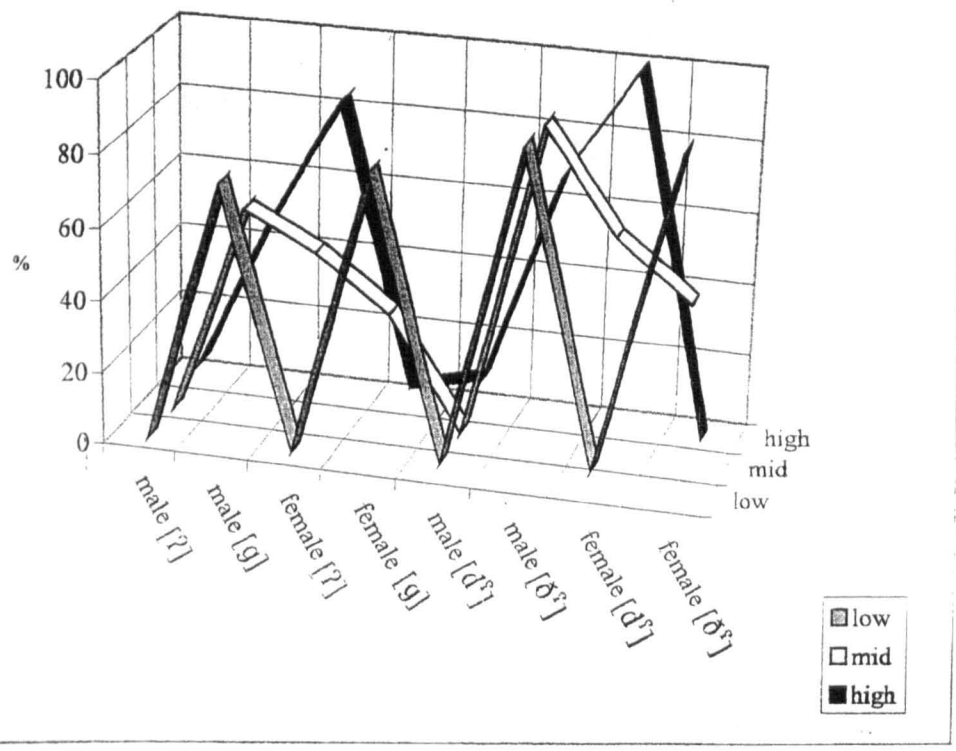
As for the idea that (D) is not as sensitive as (Q) in the Jordanian speech community, the difference in the usage of (D) and (Q) by male and female speakers from the three social classes entails a socio-cultural awareness that these two variables are best viewed as a marker and a stereotype, correspondingly. Linguistic variables can be classified into 'indicators,' 'markers' and 'stereotypes' according to linguistic changes and the social awareness attached to them with the degree of correlation they have with other social variables. Labov (2001:196) states that these changes might start as:

> ...*indicators*, stratified by age group, region, and social class. At this stage, they show zero degrees of social awareness, and are difficult to detect for both linguists and native speakers. As they proceed to completion, such changes usually acquire social recognition as linguistic *markers*, usually in the form of social stigma, which is reflected in sharp social stratification of speech production, a steep slope of style shifting, and negative responses on subjective reaction tests. Ultimately, they may become *stereotypes*, the subject of overt comment, with a descriptive tag that may be distinct enough from

actual production that speakers do not realize that they use the form themselves.

According to this, the high degree of salience underlying (Q) makes it more sensitive to the socio-cultural norms that classify its speakers' identity according to its [ʔ]/[g] classification. Figure 11 shows that the identity conflict between the [ʔ]/[g] and [$d^{ʕ}$]/[$ð^{ʕ}$] is apparent across the different social levels for the female and male speakers.

Figure 11. Use of [ʔ]/[g] and (D) by gender and class



However, the urbanisation factor cuts across this identity conflict at the higher class level and decreases the usage of the rural Jordanian [g], though not as much as [$ð^{ʕ}$].

If we examine figure 11 we find that the rural Jordanian [g] and [$ð^{ʕ}$] are used more than the urban [ʔ] and [$d^{ʕ}$] by the lower-class male and female speakers. When the social class rises, the female speakers in the middle class start focusing on the urbanisation factor more than the identity conflict (3.4.2). Therefore, they start using the

urban [ʔ] and [dˤ] more than the rural [g] and [ðˤ]. The middle-class male speakers do not differ a lot from the lower-class male speakers in their usage of the rural variants. At the higher class, the female speakers show a remarkably strong preference for the urban Palestinian variants over the rural Jordanian ones. As for the higher-class male speakers, they use [dˤ] more than [ʔ]. In addition to that, it is clear that they use the urban [ʔ] and [dˤ] more than the other male speakers in the lower and middle social classes, but not to the extent of preferring them to the rural Jordanian [g] and [ðˤ]. Does this mean that men are more loyal to the group than women?

It is important to note that the females from the higher class still use the rural Jordanian [g], though less than the other social classes. At the same time, the higher-class females do not use the rural Jordanian [ðˤ] at all. Since we believe that (Q) is more salient than (D) and that it attracts overt comment more than (D), why do the females keep on using this non-urban [g] variant? Why do not they delete it from their speech just as they do with [ðˤ]? It is even reported by Al-Wer (1991:158) that due to the difficulty in reversing the merger between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/, it is linguistically difficult for the speakers 'to maintain a consistent use of [dˤ]' over [ðˤ] because they have lost this urban variant in their native dialect. Nevertheless, when we examine this usage of (D) under class and gender, we find that the higher-class female speakers are capable of reversing the merger between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ and using the phonetically difficult urban [dˤ] consistently. Labov (2001:75, fn.1) states that 'though mergers are normally irreversible, some combinations of social pressures may be strong enough to achieve such a reversal.'

The explanation suggested here stems from the fact that this Jordanian shibboleth cannot be neglected completely even by the higher-class female speakers. If it were not for that socio-symbolic representation, [g] would not be more frequent than [ðˤ]. At least, there is no phonetic difficulty in using the urban [ʔ] consistently. Moreover, the merger between /q/ and its other variants is not as strong as it is between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/. This merger of /q/ is usually reversed while reading from an Arabic text or borrowing from Standard Arabic. However, in the case of (D) the merger of /dˤ/ with /ðˤ/ is not reversed in these domains.

Such a finding strengthens our claim (3.4.2) that the females are not less aware than the males of the socio-political conflict in the Jordanian speech community. If they were not aware of such a conflict they would not use [g] more than [ðˤ]. Nevertheless, when the prestige factor cuts across the identity conflict, they suppress the variants that do not hurt the Jordanian identity, e.g. [ðˤ], and maintain a considerable usage of the variant that reflects this identity. This maintenance suits their loyalty to the group, but it also gives enough space to the features, e.g. [ʔ] and [dˤ], of the sociolinguistic market in the Jordanian speech community. This means that even the higher-class female speakers cannot escape completely the social pressure related to the usage of (Q) as they might do with (D). Al-Khatib (1988:188) states that '[dˤ] as a standard variant is not subject to the same amount of social pressure as the (Q) variable.' Therefore, it seems that in the Jordanian linguistic system the [dˤ] and [ðˤ] variants do not manifest a high degree of sensitivity.

Until now, we have not split this mixture between the 'standard' and 'local' with regard to the usage of [dˤ]. Is it the standard [dˤ] that women use here or is it a 'soft' (i.e. socially, more feminine) and 'modern' [dˤ] that these speakers use regardless of its phonetic resemblance to the standard form? Although Al-Khatib suggests that it is the urban rather than the standard form that women use, his analysis does not present clear-cut evidence to his claim. He builds his view on how the two groups behave in other phonological variables. Al-Khatib (1988:193) believes that:

> Once an individual has shown a stronger tendency toward the use of a number of colloquial (stigmatised) variants of certain variables, it is less unlikely that he will exhibit a similarly strong tendency towards the use of standard (prestigious) variants of other variables to the same degree.

This idea needs further investigation and analysis especially since [dˤ] bears that standard/colloquial classification and national/regional prestige at the same time. The general tendency of women not to use the standard variants does not prevent one from claiming that in this variable, i.e. (D), women are aware of the two types of prestige it has, and they use its standard variant more than men. This might be a sound claim if we know that /dˤ/ is not associated with the masculine speech as it is the case with /q/. As

long as we do not have valid counter evidence, and one cannot tell what is in the brain of the female speaker; I can see no reason why not to claim so.

This claim might even build on the Labovian salience parameter (1972) and state that with regard to the (Q) variable women are less standard than men because it is a stereotype, while with (D) it is the standard form that women use because it is not a salient feature. To complicate the issue more, this claim might be supported further by Abdel-Jawad and Awwad's (1989:265) comparison of (Q) and the voiced interdental emphatic fricative (Ð). They state that 'various linguistic variables may behave differently in the community, and exhibit different levels of variation because they differ in their sensitivity to stylistic and social factors.'

Moreover, the same idea might build on Trudgill's (1986:39-53) analysis of the diffusion of certain features of RP-type pronunciation into the speech of his Norwich sample. This diffusion proves that some features or variables spread differently and more than others, 'depending on the degree of salience and the number or strength of inhibiting and/or accelerating factors' (ibid. 34). In other words, the salience parameter might work both ways. It might help in explaining why some features diffuse very fast since they are highly marked as stereotypes (as in the case of (Q)). But at the same time, it might prove due to the unmarkedness or less salience and social awareness of the (D) variable that it is the standard [dˤ] that women use more than men, who in turn show higher frequency of usage for [ðˤ]. There is no reason why not to claim so since there is no clear quantitative or substantial counter evidence.

To break this vicious circle, I believe that this double prestige should be further tested to argue for the previously raised issues about whether it is standardisation and urbanisation together or urbanisation mainly that women have in their minds while using [dˤ]. This means that the presentation of the statistical findings of the co-variation between education and the (D) variable should include a certain method that examines whether it is a matter of combined prestige values of [dˤ] or different hierarchical ranks with the urbanisation given the priority over standardisation. This is what we will call after we finish our discussion of the co-variation between education and (D) the '*lexico-phonological test*' (4.4.3.1). Though it is applied for the first time, as far as I know, in

variationist studies in Jordan, at least, its importance builds on the need for a valid tool to examine the role of education and standardisation in the speech of the speakers.

4.4.3. Education

The way 'education' is tackled in this research shows that its underlying social domains are more important than its direct academic outputs. In other words, education appears to act sociolinguistically as a major opportunity in Jordan for outside group contacts rather than enhancing one's educational level. Linguistically speaking, this outside group experience results in language variation favouring increased use of the urban prestigious features rather than the standard level of Arabic or the intermediate varieties. This belief is verified by the findings of the current research and other variationist studies in Jordan, where it seems that the innovators in this community, the women, shift towards the prestigious colloquial variants regardless of their level of education or even while they are at certain high academic institutions.

Table 12 shows that education does not have any significant correlation with (D) at all. Even if one wants to examine the linguistic variation of the different educational

ANOVA

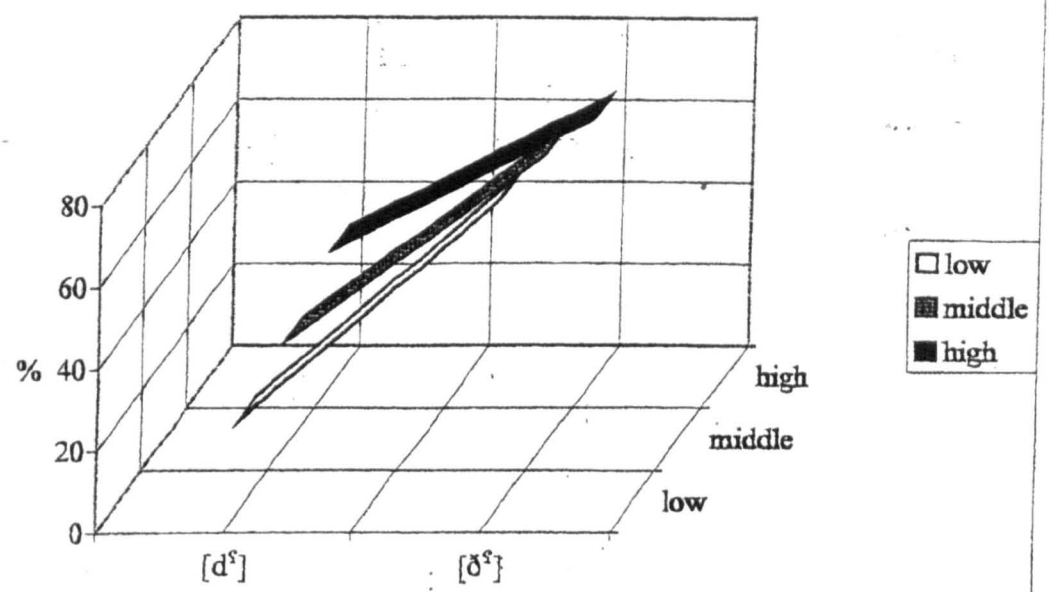
Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(D)	[d^{ς}]	.569	.569
	[$ð^{\varsigma}$]	.569	.569

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 12. Use of (D) by education

groups with regard to (D) it appears (fig. 12) that there are no remarkable differences between the middle and higher-educated groups in their usage of [d^{ς}]. A close look at figure 12 reveals something interesting. The higher-educated group use the non-urban colloquial [$ð^{\varsigma}$] more than the 'standard' or 'urban' [d^{ς}]. Even the gap between the

Figure 12. use of (D) by education



groups in using these two variants is almost similar. This means that:

*** There is no significant correlation between (D) and education.**

*** The increase in the usage of [dˤ] along the higher and middle educational groups is not remarkable and the occurrence of [ðˤ] is twice that of [dˤ].**

These statistical runs prove two things. First, [dˤ] and [ðˤ] are used with almost the same degree of frequency among the different speakers, regardless of their level of education. This may be attributed to the fact that (D) is a marker rather than a stereotype in the Jordanian linguistic system. This finding adds more to the previous findings under social class and gender. In other words, the (D) variable is not very sensitive to the social norms in Jordan. Second, it seems that standardisation that motivated the educated male speakers mainly to shift towards [q] due to the lexical status of the word does not apply here since there is no significant correlation between (D) and education.

This second frame of discussion relates us to that vicious circle that we reached (4.4.2.1) while trying to know whether this [dˤ] is the 'standard' one that the speakers use or the 'urban' one. At that point, we hinted at a new '*lexico-phonological test*' that

examines the real importance of education in the so-called combined prestige that [dˤ] manifests. Put bluntly, this test intends to distinguish the [dˤ] of Standard Arabic from the [dˤ] of the urban colloquial. It will examine the speech of a selected sample of male and female speakers from the different educational, age and class levels. Then, it will focus on the speech of certain female speakers who show the highest usage of [dˤ] across the other different social variables of the study. This test or tool will be used with most of the phonological variables of double-membership because their standard variants are also used in the regional urban or non-urban dialects. So, it is hoped that it will be applicable not only to see if the females use the standard or the urban [dˤ], but also if the males also use a certain variant, e.g. [θ], [dʒ] etc., because of its standard realisation or because of its occurrence in the rural Jordanian dialect (chapter 5).

4.4.3.1. The lexico-phonological test

The reason behind thinking of this test is that with regard to certain phonological variables linguists usually do not highlight the differences between their standard variants and colloquial reflexes especially when these 'standard' variants are also used in one of the colloquial dialects in a certain speech community. For example, (D) has the variant [dˤ] as both standard and urban reflexes in Standard Arabic and the urban dialect in Jordan. Moreover, the standard variant of (θ) is also used in the rural Jordanian dialect. This mixture creates a problem at the statistical level and at the socio-linguistic level as well. When it is a matter of counting the frequency of occurrence of a certain variant like [dˤ], how can the researcher know whether this variant is used here as a standard or urban colloquial variant? The general stylistic level of the speaker might not always help. Actually, this problem has to do with most of the consonantal phonological variables that exhibit variation in the Jordanian Arabic. The only exception is (Q). Its standard variant is not used as a colloquial realisation in any of the Jordanian dialects. This means that what the researcher might count as a standard variant for these variables could be merely urban or rural. This entails incorrect generalisation and explanations at the sociolinguistic level.

To solve this problem, a lexico-phonological test is suggested here. What we actually want to do is some kind of examination of the phonological variable and its variants at the level of the lexicon itself and the context also. In other words, this test will study the lexical item of a certain linguistic variable. After we separate this lexical item with the linguistic variable under study, e.g. (D), we need to know its standard variant, e.g. [dˤ], that is also used in one of the colloquials in Jordan. At this point, we need to distinguish the Standard [dˤ] from the urban colloquial [dˤ]. To do this we should resort to a reference point. This linguistic reference point is the variable (Q). We need (Q) here because it will serve as a device that shows the degree of the formality of style.

It is generally agreed upon that (Q) is the most salient variable in Arabic. Al-Wer (1991:58) states:

> ...the variable (Q) has been for at least six centuries a sociolinguistic variable which is marked by high degree of saliency, most probably the most salient among all variables in many Arab communities.

Al-Khatib (1988:81) adds that the variable (Q):

> ...is the most salient phonological feature by which speakers of any of the colloquial Arabic varieties can be identified.

This means that this stereotype should be the base for judging whether a certain variant is standard or colloquial. We claim that if a speaker wants to sound educated with a linguistic marker it is more likely for him to use the standard [q] of the stereotype (Q) hand in hand with the other standard variant of the other variable, e.g. (D). Bearing in mind all that socio-linguistic association of (Q), a speaker cannot standardise the *marker* (D), for example, and use the colloquial variants of the *stereotype* (Q) in the same lexical item or syntactic phrase. Thus, it is very difficult for the speaker to use the colloquial variant of a stereotype, e.g. [g] or [ʔ] of (Q), and the standard variant, e.g. [dˤ], of a marker within the same lexical item or, to a lesser extent, syntactic phrase. There are two steps that we can take to examine the occurrence of (D) (or any other less salient variable) in the speech of the speaker.

The first step locates these (D) words that are used with [dˤ]. Then we see if the speaker uses the standard [q] in this (D) word. This 'same lexical item step' is indicative of the stylistic level of the word. If it is the standard [q] that the speaker uses then [dˤ] is more likely to be standard also. If we find that the speaker uses the prestigious urban [ʔ] (since [dˤ] occurs in the urban dialect), then this [dˤ] is more likely to be the urban colloquial. However, certain phonological variables, e.g. (dʒ) do not co-occur with the variable (Q) in the same lexical item in Arabic because of historical homorganic relation of ج (dʒ) and ق (Q) (Greenberg 1950). Therefore, we resort to the 'same context step'. Although this step is not so decisive, its advantage becomes clear when we know that some sounds, e.g. /dʒ/, do not occur with (Q) in the same lexical items in Arabic. Otherwise, the 'same lexical item step' is enough even when we have few examples to build on.

In the 'same context step,' we locate the phonological variable under study and see if the speaker uses another immediately preceding or following etymological /Q/ word. If the speaker uses the standard [q] in this etymological /Q/ word which comes immediately after or before the target lexical item, i.e. the lexical item of the phonological variable under study, then the variant under study, e.g. [dˤ], [dʒ], [θ], etc., is more likely to be standard. If not, then these variants are more likely to be colloquial. In certain cases, the two steps might be applied, though the 'same lexical item step' is highly indicative.

To simplify things, we suggest the following stages and we use [x] to refer to the linguistic variant (i.e. the target variant) that is used as standard and colloquial (i.e. double membership) in the Jordanian Arabic. We also use S to mean Standard, C to mean colloquial, ∃ to mean 'if exists,' ∄ to mean 'if does not exist' and ∴ to mean 'then'. These linguistic variants might be [dˤ] which is standard and urban colloquial or [θ] and [dʒ], which are used in the standard variety as well as the rural colloquial. The schematisation of these two steps might be:

Step I: same lexical item step. ∃ #–[q]–[x]–# ∴ [x] is S, ∄ C.

Step II: Same context step. ∃ (#–[q]–#) #–[x]–# (#–[q]–#) ∴ [x] is S, ∄ C.

The first rule reads: if, within the same lexical item, a standard [q] exists then the target variant is standard, if it dose not exist, i.e. /ʔ/, /g/ or /k/ rather than [q], then the target variant is colloquial. The second step reads: if the target variant is preceded or followed immediately by a lexical item that contains a standard [q] then the target variant is standard, if not, e.g. /ʔ/, /g/ or /k/ rather than [q], then the target variant is colloquial.

This lexico-phonological test is expected to solve our terminological dilemma by abandoning terms like 'urban-standard' (Al-Khatib 1988) and to provide us with practical evidence about what the speakers really use. This will make us abandon depending on our intuitions as informants in our speech communities or the general linguistic behaviour of the speakers. Actually most of the variationist studies in Jordan and the Arab world resort to the second refuge of the general linguistic behaviour of the speakers to state their beliefs and views when a mixture between the standard and the colloquial with certain phonological variables happens.

We turn now to our analysis of the variable (D) to see how we can apply our lexico-phonological test. Following Altoma (1969) and Abdel-Jawad (1981:119), the pure or standard words in Arabic are those words that 'do not have equivalents in the colloquial variety and so they flow continuously from the standard variety as a result of education' or mass media. Such words might be religious, cultural, technical, political, and economic concepts. In the case of /q/, for example, 'speakers borrow these items from the classical variety and use them either in a completely CA [Classical Arabic] shape, or with some phonological modifications (assimilating to the vernacular while consistently using /q/)' (Al-Wer 1991:101). The same rule applies to /dˤ/. However, we need to decide whether this [dˤ] is the standard one or the colloquial one. This means that the ultimate goal of our work here will be to know the stylistic level of [dˤ].

It seems that in order to examine the role of education on the maintenance or shift towards /dˤ/ one should locate these different types of pure standard items and see how they are used by the different speakers. To achieve this, the speech of 32 informants, a randomly selected sample, out of the 72 ones in this research was re-examined. A similar procedure of selecting a sample out of the total population of the study was used

by other sociolinguists in the Arab world (Al-Jehani 1985; Al-Khatib 1988; etc.). Choosing a reasonable sample of informants for the sake of examining some data saves time and provides authentic and reliable results. It is important to note here that the significance of this lexico-phonological test is not to present the lexical categories of (D) but to test the role of education on the maintenance or use of the different types of the pure standard /dˤ/ category only. Therefore, the researcher examined the first 20 etymological /D/ words that occurred in the speech of every one of these 32 informants. The overall number that I had was 640 tokens.

The analysis of the tokens provided in the speech of the selected sample shows that no word in the pure Arabic category keeps its standard pronunciation across the different speakers. In other words, although the following list of words (table 13) comes from the pure standard category every word is likely to be pronounced with the two variants of (D) regardless of its lexical status or the educational level of the speakers. For example, these words include the pure standard items that are used by the speakers of the small sample (32 speakers) with both [dˤ] and [ðˤ] variants. These items were found to occur in the speech of a certain speaker as [ðˤ] words only and another as [dˤ] words. The main parameters of differentiation were gender and class.

All these examples are pure Arabic words that were pronounced with [ðˤ] by the male speakers mainly, regardless of their level of education. Nevertheless, this finding presents half the truth. It provides evidence for the secondary role that education plays on the male speakers only. In addition to that it proves that the analogy approach that we presented at the beginning of our analysis (p.132), to expect the linguistic behaviour of the males to be towards the standard level based on their standard usage of the (Q), is not very precise. If we examine figure 13 we find that the occurrence of [dˤ] among the three male educational groups is not remarkably different. In addition to that, the rural colloquial [ðˤ] is used frequently by the higher educational groups. If we want to apply the general linguistic behaviour of the speakers then the males should use the standard [dˤ] frequently as they did with [q]. The general linguistic behaviour of the male speakers in the usage of (Q) is that they use the standard [q] more than the females. Accordingly, they are expected to use the standard [dˤ] here more than the females. What we have here is that the females are the ones who shift towards [dˤ]

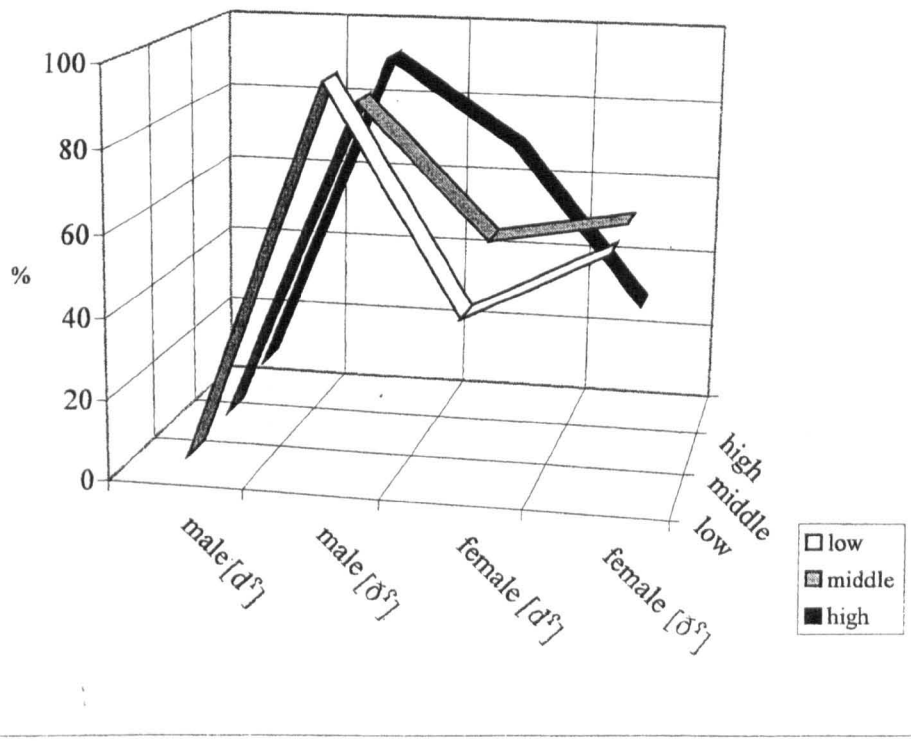
Word Type	Standard Arabic	Meaning	Urban dialect	Rural dialect
Religious words	*ramadˤaan*	the fasting month in Islam	*ramadˤaan*	*ramaðˤaan*
	fardˤ sˤalaa	obligatory prayers	*faridˤ sˤalaa*	*fariðˤ sˤalaa*
	rawdˤat l-rasuul	the area where Prophet Mohammad is buried	*rawdˤit r-rasuul*	*rauðˤit r-rasuul*
Technical or specialised terms	*rijaadˤijjaat*	mathematics	*ʔrjaadˤijjaat*	*ʔrjaaðˤijjaat*
	mudˤaad ħajawi	antibiotics	*mudˤaad ħajawi*	*muðˤaad ħajawi*
	muħaadˤara	lecture	*muħaadˤara*	*muħaaðˤara*
	qaadˤi	judge	*ʔaadˤi*	*gaaðˤi*
	dˤamaan idʒtimaaʕi	social security	*dˤamaan iʒtimaaʕi*	*ðˤamaan idʒtimaaʕi*
Socio-cultural words	*ħadˤaara*	civilisation	*ħadˤaara*	*ħaðˤaara*
	ʕirdˤ	honor	*ʕaridˤ*	*ʕariðˤ*
	ħadˤratuka	a form of address	*ħadˤirtak*	*ħaðˤirtak*
Political, economic and financial words	*qabadˤ*	catch	*ʔabadˤ*	*gabaðˤ*
	wadˤʕ sijaasi	political situation	*wadˤiʕ sijaasi*	*waðˤiʕ sijaasi*
	taxfiidˤaat	reductions	*taxfiidˤaat*	*taxfiiðˤaat*
	dˤamaana	guarantee	*dˤamaana*	*ðˤamaani*

Table 13. Pure Standard Arabic /D/ words pronounced as [ðˤ]

and suppress the stigmatised [ðˤ]. This means that this general linguistic behaviour of the speakers cannot be applied here, simply because certain variants in Arabic are used as standard and colloquial and these standard or colloquial variants are usually classified

by speakers generally as being masculine or feminine. For example, [q], [θ] and [dʒ] are standard and masculine, while [dˤ] is standard and feminine.

Figure 13. Use of (D) by gender and education



As for the female speakers who mainly use the variant [dˤ] as a marker of urbanisation, one should think of a complementary method of analysis for the data presented under the lexico-phonological test. To prove our claim, the female speakers in the previous selected group were re-examined alone. The researcher found it more indicative and explanatory to examine the speech of the female speakers who used /dˤ/ in their speech a hundred percent. These /dˤ/ items were found to be either variants of the variable (D) or the variable (Ð). In other words, some words were pronounced correctly with their /dˤ/ sounds and some other words exhibited phonological variation by suppressing the stigmatised /ðˤ/ sound and shifting towards [dˤ], although these words are etymologically /Ð/ words. So, two groups of /dˤ/ sounds were found in the speech of the female speakers:

1- Etymological /Đ/ items pronounced with the variant [dˤ] by the urban speakers to suppress the stigmatised [ðˤ]. For example:

[dˤ]ahir (back), ma[dˤ]alljje (umbrella), [dˤ]aalim (tyrant), etc.

2- Etymologically /D/ items pronounced 'correctly' with the variant [dˤ]. For example:

ma[dˤ]rab (racket), [dˤ]amiir (conscience), rijaa[dˤ]ijjaat (mathematics), etc.

With regard to the first type of words, one can easily prove that the occurrence of the variant [dˤ] is a marker of urbanisation since it is not the correct pronunciation in the etymologically /Đ/ items and since [dˤ] is more prestigious than [ðˤ]. These items were excluded from our account because our focus was on the second type of words. They are mentioned here to show that the variant [dˤ] used with these words prove that the urbanisation motive is what seems to be effective in the speech of the urban female speakers.

But this second type of word creates a further problem. Their occurrence in the speech of the female speakers requires us to resort to the 'same lexical item step' or the 'same context step' in our lexico-phonological analysis that takes into consideration the other phonological variables in the same lexicon or context that might witness variation. The base for our analysis is the occurrence of the variable (Q). As for the same context, not a single [q] item was found in the speech of our female speakers. What I mean by the same context is the immediate adjacent [q] word that follows or precedes the [dˤ] word. Actually, one might test other (Q) words that are around or near the [dˤ] word, but this will create real practical problems with the definition and limits of these 'around' or 'near.' The researcher then re-examined the etymological /D/ items that were used by the female speakers only. These speakers used [dˤ] 100% in their speech. The focus now is on the items that have (D) hand in hand with the variable (Q), i.e. the same item step. Two facts became clear:

1- These etymological /D/ words in the speech of these female speakers witness variation at the level of their (Q) variable towards the urban and locally prestigious variant of this other variable, i.e. the [ʔ]. For example:

[ʔ]a[$d^ʕ$]ijje (case), [ʔ]aba[$d^ʕ$] (to seize), ti[ʔ][$d^ʕ$]i (to spend) i[ʔ][$d^ʕ$]aame (peanuts).

2- What adds more to that urbanization preference is that there are certain lower-educated speakers (e.g. # 63 and # 65) who use [$d^ʕ$] as frequently as the highly educated female speakers and more than the highly educated male speakers.

Actually, this urbanization motive is found in many variationist studies in the Arab word in general and Jordan specifically. Alahdal (1989:204) finds in Makkah that the tribal/non-tribal classification (with age and sex) accounts for the distribution of tribal [$ð^ʕ$] and non-tribal [$d^ʕ$] with 'education coming last in relative significance.' In his study of the 1967 movement of immigrants from the Golan Heights to Damascus, Jassem (1993) finds that women use [$d^ʕ$] more than men. What is interesting in his findings is that 'females of all educational groups are not distinguished. The uneducated women are separated by less than 5% from the university-educated women' (ibid.224). As for Jordan, one might elicit from Al-Khatib (1988), based on the general linguistic behaviour of the different groups, that it is urbanization mainly that operates in the usage of [$d^ʕ$].

Though Al-Khatib believes that education plays an important direct role in language variation in the Jordanian speech community, his claim faces practical challenges when he finds that 'surprisingly enough, a considerable number of the highly and moderately educated informants were unable to distinguish between items that could be pronounced with [$ð^ʕ$] and those that could be pronounced with [$d^ʕ$]' (p.207). This finding which he considers 'surprising' because of his great expectations about the effects of education leads him to undermine the role of this social variable and to shift towards the socioeconomic factors that he almost neglected at the beginning of his study. He states (p. 211):

> Although the educated speakers appear to have registered higher percentage use of the standard-urban variant [dˤ] than the uneducated, admittingly it is extremely difficult to prove whether this pattern of differentiation is the result of education per se as a formal means of acquiring the standard forms, or the result of education as a socio-economic factor through which a person can be exposed to a greater number of people in schools, universities or work and, as such, be able to learn new linguistic forms.

So, it appears from the lexico-phonological test that, at the functional level, labelling /dˤ/ in the speech of the female speakers with words like 'standard-urban' or 'combined prestige' is inaccurate. The urbanisation force that motivates these speakers to use the /dˤ/ sound relates them to the fact that this is an urban sound that is associated with 'more prestigious lifestyles' and considered 'soft,' 'liberal' and 'modern' by the speakers (Al-Wer 1991:140). Such an association does not give much space for education to interfere. The previous lexico-phonological test proves this fact and the lack of significant correlation between this social variable and the variable (D) in the current study and most of the variationist studies in Jordan adds more evidence to this claim.

4.4.4. Age

In the earlier section on (Q), age was found to play no significant role, whereas gender and social class did. That finding was in line with the results of other variationist studies in Jordan (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Khatib 1988; etc.). These studies analysed the tendency in the variation of (Q) across age even though it was not significant. With regard to (D), the present study (table14) confirms the findings of these earlier studies.

ANOVA

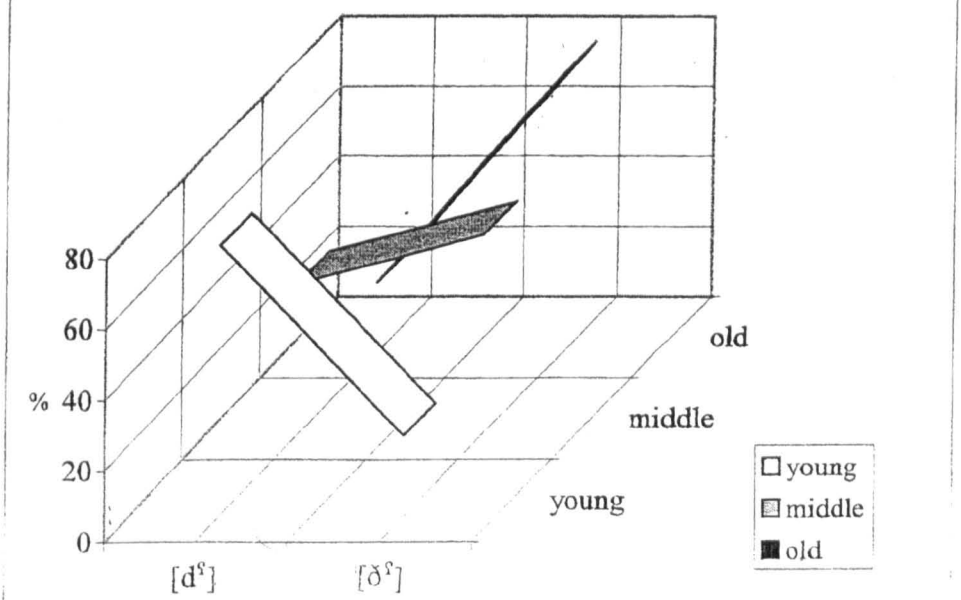
Variable	Variants	F	Sig.
(D)	[dˤ]	2.864	.064
	[ðˤ]	2.864	.064

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 14. Use of (D) by age

This finding is similar to Al-Khatib's (1988) and Al-Wer's (1991) conclusion. Their general tendency procedure might be applied here to see the differences in the usage (fig. 14) of (D). The frequency of usage for [dˤ] shows that the younger generation use [dˤ] almost twice as much as the middle age group and the older speakers. As for [ðˤ], it seems that the opposite direction of distribution is occurring. The wide gap that exists between the different age groups, especially the older and younger generations suggests

Figure 14. Use of (D) by age



that the occurrence of [ðˤ] decreases with the decrease in age. At the risk of generalisation, it seems clear that the main difference with the two variants occurs between the younger generation on one hand and the middle and old generations on the other. The direction of change in the speech of the younger speakers is completely in the opposite direction of that of the middle-aged and old speakers.

4.4.4.1. Interpretation of age results

This finding of the correlation of age with (D) will be discussed here from a very broad angle. This has to do with the wide gap in the usage of (D) between the younger

speakers on one hand and the middle and older-speakers on the other. Such a usage suggests possible change in progress. This change is enhanced by the fact that the cross sectional or horizontal comparison of the figures under [dˤ] and [ðˤ] supports more what the current research and other variationist studies in Jordan claim (Al-Wer 1991). These studies suggest that these two variants are markers rather than stereotypes in the Jordanian Arabic. This means that the accommodation to the urban [dˤ] does not raise any overt socio-political comment.

With regard to our previous claim, it seems that although the correlation between age and the variable (D) is not significant, the gap that exists between the generations suggests a linguistic change in progress. This gap is large to the extent that what we actually have is a direction of language variation that differentiates between two clearly separate groups. A similar conclusion is stated by Al-Khatib (1988:209), who finds that 'the (D) variable seems to be involved in a sound change in progress, and that the standard-urban variant [dˤ] is very much on the increase.' This approach of expecting a sound change in progress because of the remarkable gaps between two major age categories out of the different age bands in the study is followed by Trudgill (1974). Therefore, Trudgill's 1974 and 1988 studies of speech in Norwich will be used as a background to the discussion in the current research.

Trudgill builds on the pattern of age differentiation that exists between two major age groups out of his seven age bands to claim that there is a change in progress for the (e) variable towards increasing the degree of centralization. He finds this differentiation between those who are below 30 years old (10-19 and 20-29) and the other five age groups. So, he generalises that 'centralization of (e) is more prevalent among younger speakers, and is becoming increasingly so' (p.105). But it is important to know that in his revisit to Norwich (1988), Trudgill finds 'surprisingly that this change appears to have halted' (p.46), except in the reading-passage style and word-list style.

By following the same tendency of remarkable difference between the younger generation, on the one hand, and the middle and older generations on the other, Trudgill's 1974 line of thinking seems more applicable to our Jordanian speech community. Generally speaking, one might claim that this linguistic change of [dˤ] is not expected to be halted. To support this claim, we need to present the reasons Trudgill

suggested first for the spread of the linguistic change he found in 1974 and the explanations he put later (1988) for the failure of these expectations. In his 1974 research, Trudgill expected a linguistic change in progress with regard to (e) in the casual speech of the upper members of the working class because they were privileged groups since he claimed that the lower working class 'as a relatively 'under-privileged' group, is isolated from innovating tendency' (p.104). Later on, Trudgill (1988) discovered that this change was halted due to a linguistic merger of the centralized /ɛ/ with /ʌ/ before /l/. What happened was that:

> ...centralisation of /ɛ/ in this environment has now gone so far that tokens of /ɛ/ are now identical with, and presumably therefore are capable of being perceived as tokens of /ʌ/. That is, total merger of /ɛ/ with /ʌ/ before /l/ has been achieved, so that, for example, *hell* and *hull* are now identical.... Exactly why the phonological merger means the halting of a phonetic change in progress is not entirely clear. (p.46)

In an attempt to read things according to what we have in the Jordanian linguistic system, one might follow the same steps of Trudgill's (1974) preliminary suggestion for that expected linguistic change. If we know that what we have in Jordan, within the etymological /D/ words, is a reversal of merger led by the 'privileged' younger female speakers from the higher social class, then one would expect that this is the beginning of that linguistic innovation or change. This change is towards splitting the two merged variants, [$d^{ʕ}$] and [$ð^{ʕ}$], due to the competing factors of urbanization and prestige rather than merging /$d^{ʕ}$/ with another sound as it is the case with Trudgill's (e).

To present real-time evidence, it seems that this linguistic change has become more apparent than at the time Al-Khatib (1988) conducted his study in Irbid, Jordan. At that time, the researcher found that 'the younger age group shows a greater tendency than the middle-aged group to use the urban variant of (D). In turn, the middle aged speakers show a greater tendency than the older age speakers to the use of the same variant.' (p.205) What we have in the present research is that this greater tendency between the middle and older age groups has been reduced to give more space for the gap between the younger generation and the other two age groups to increase. The frequency of usage of [$d^{ʕ}$] by Al-Khatib's younger generation is similar to its frequency

of usage by the middle-aged group in our current research. This simply means that there is a one generation gap between the time Al-Khatib conducted his study and the time of our current research.

Another example could be found in Al-Wer (1991:156). The following table (15) shows the quantitative results of Al-Wer's correlation of the [dˤ] and [ðˤ] variants with age. If we compare these statistical runs with the ones that we have under figure 14 in this study, we find that the direction of change that we have in our research for the two variants is similar to Al-Wer's findings. But what is more remarkable is that the gaps between the groups in our research are expanding and [dˤ] is clearly prevalent among the younger speakers. What is clear in the comparison of these two groups of results is that the middle-aged group in our current research (see fig. 14) use [dˤ] as much as Al-

Age Groups	[ðˤ]%	[dˤ]%	N	
18-26	79	21	646	
29-39	80	20	636	
40-60	82	18	603	
61+	94	6	574	T 2459

Table 15. Based on Al-Wer (1991) correlation of [ðˤ] and [dˤ] with age

Wer's younger speakers. This simply means that our younger speakers are almost one generation ahead in their preference of [dˤ]. This is why there might be sound change in progress.

According to these facts, one might claim highly that this linguistic change is increasing rapidly. The external factors that relate /dˤ/ to the speech of the 'privileged' groups facilitate this change in the speech of the younger generation. In addition to that, the extra-linguistic features that mark [dˤ] as being more modernised and urban than [ðˤ] motivate the younger speakers to shift towards it more than the other age groups. The fact that this feature is low in salience, not socio-linguistically sensitive and not founded in group identity conflicts, makes it likely that the change will proceed unhindered.

To sum up, in this analysis of the co-variation of (D) with the social variables of the study, we find that the two factors that play significant role on the usage of (D) are social class and gender. Even when we study the correlation of all the social variables of the study together to see their effect on (D), we find that the two social variables that have significant correlation together, just as they do individually, are class and gender (table 16). The education factor does not show the traditionally expected importance,

Test of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Significant
Gender * class for [dˤ]	.001
Gender * class for [ðˤ]	.001

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

Table 16. Significant interaction of social variables over (D)

and the results for age suggest a linguistic change in progress. Education and age do not have significant correlation with (D) either individually or when they are combined to other social variables. We even find sometimes that some lower-educated female speakers use [dˤ] more than highly educated male speakers. To give an example of this fact, the case of two speakers will be discussed here. These two speakers represent the extreme opposite in education, but their usage of [dˤ] does not reflect their level of education.

4.5. Individual cases

Although this study follows the Labovian approach that focuses on the groups as a whole and their variation in the use of certain phonological variables across a number of social variables, the fact remains that commenting on the speech of specific individual cases is inevitable. Abdel-Jawad (1981), Al-Khatib (1988), Al-Wer (1991) and others found it necessary to include extended discussion of the sociolinguistic behaviour of certain speakers in their studies. Some of these writers used this trend to highlight 'some invisible psychological and sociological differences between individuals which might not have been taken into account,' (Al-Khatib 1988:142) In our present research, the

focus on the speech of certain individuals is meant to bring more evidence to our claims rather than deviation from our findings. Such an approach will be used here to reinforce the claim that education does not play a significant role in the use of the variable (D).

In the following paragraphs, the cases of two extremely different speakers will be highlighted. Informants 37 and 63 come from different educational levels and use (D) completely differently. These two extreme cases are focused on for the sake of generalisation rather than exception. In other words, if we prove the validity of our approach by analysing the speech of the two extremes in our study, then it is very likely that the conclusions are generally valid.

The reason behind selecting these two speakers is to present a case of a highly educated male speaker (# 37) who, on the one hand, used the high level of Arabic in his speech almost consistently and the standard [q] more than (75%) any other speaker of the total population of the study. However, on the other hand, this highly educated and religious speaker was unable to provide more than two [dˤ] variants during his interview. The other case represents the complete opposite situation. Speaker 63, a low educated higher-class female speaker, used the colloquial urban variety during the interview and was unable to provide more than three tokens with the standard [q]. Nevertheless, this speaker managed to use the variant [dˤ] consistently. The following is a general presentation of the kind of language variation manifested in the speech of these two informants with special focus on the variable (D).

Informant 37 is a highly educated retired army *mufti* (official expounder of Islamic law) from the low class. He is 43 years old, and he holds a master degree in Islamic studies. He worked in the field of Islamic counselling in the army for twenty-four years. The recent death of his mother, the years of studying in Saudi Arabia, the nature of his previous work as a *mufti* and his current extra-curricular activities as a preacher in one of the mosques of our area of study, *aljanuubi zone*, were the major topics that this informant talked about. The atmosphere of the interview was almost friendly since the interviewer knows this informant in person. This means that his usage of [dˤ] for etymological /D/ words might be highly expected since we talk about a person with the previous characteristics in addition to the fact that he used the standard [q] in his speech more than any other speaker in the whole population of the study.

At the beginning of the interview, this informant started talking about his late mother. She had died in hospital without receiving the sufficient medical treatment. The only two cases in which this speaker used [dˤ] in etymological /D/ words were when he prayed for his mother */al ʔlˤa jirdˤa ʕanha/* (may God be pleased with her), and when he said that he */dˤaħħa/* (slaughtered) a lamb after her death. What is interesting with this informant is that all through the interview he kept a high stylistic level of Arabic that reflected his high level of education. But at the same time, and even with /D/ words that co-occur with the (Q) variable, he standardised the (Q) but used the rural variant [ðˤ] instead of [dˤ]. Here, we will present two sets of examples. These include the words that have (D) and (Q) together (same lexical item) and (D) in one lexical item and (Q) in an adjacent lexical item (same context). Although there are other etymological /D/ words that are also confused with [ðˤ], I would like to focus on the (D) and (Q) words only, which are underlined here.

(1) *il-insaan fi l-ɣurba jaʃʕur <u>bi[ðˤ]ii[q]</u> l-nafs. walaakin baʕdeen asˤbaħat al-ʔumuur afðˤal. wsˤaar l-maw[ðˤ]uuʃ ʕaadi dʒiddan.*

A person feels annoyed when he is away from home. But after that, things became better, and the situation became very normal.

(2) *fi l-waðˤiifa jataʕarraf iʃ- ʃaxsˤ ʕalaa <u>[q]a[ðˤ]aaja</u> l-naas. walaakin it-taqaaʕud raaħa lilfikr wi[ðˤðˤ]amiir*

At work, the person knows about the cases of people. But retirement is a relief for mind and conscience.

Actually, these are but a few examples of what might be listed under this category of same lexical item step. Though he uses high level of Arabic and correct and careful syntactic and grammatical rules, this informant uses the colloquial [ðˤ] for [dˤ]. His nearly consistent standard [q] does not entail the application of the same standardisation rule on the variable (D). For example, the expression *ðˤiiq l- nafs* (annoyed) is used by this informant with its colloquial [ðˤ], while the standard [q] is retained in the same

word, i.e. *ðˤiiq*. The whole expression is highly literary. The second example includes a similar case where the word *qaðˤaaja* (cases) is used with both the standard [q] and colloquial [ðˤ] for [dˤ].

The other set of examples represents the same context step. Here we will see how the speaker varies in the usage of (D) and (Q) in two adjacent words.

(1) *wafaatha tarak aθar kabiir, waxaasˤsˤatan baʃda sˤiraaʃin maʃ l-mara[ðˤ] liquraabat sabiʃ sanawaat. al-ʔamr aħdaθa sˤadma lii. ħatta ðˤahara fii wa[ðˤ]i isˤsˤiħħi.*

Her death affected me a lot, especially after struggling with the disease for about seven years. It shocked me and affected my health.

(2) *baʃda xamsati ajjaam lil-ʃilaadʒ l-mukaθθaf maa kaanu ʃarfiin ħaqiiqat mara[ðˤ]ha ʃilman innu i[ðˤ]baaritha ʃindhum wma tˤtˤalaʃu ʃaleeha.*

After five days of concentrated medical treatment, they did not know the real nature of her disease, though they had her record but they did not look at it.

The speech of this informant creates a wide space for discussion. Nevertheless, we will focus here on the context of (D) items of the underlined words only. In the first example, the informant uses the word */maraðˤ/* (disease) with the [ðˤ] variant rather than the standard [dˤ]. This happens even though he uses the standard [q] in the following word, e.g. */liquraabat/* (for about). In addition to that, the second example contains the word */maraðˤha/* (her disease) which the speaker uses with the colloquial [ðˤ], though it is immediately preceded by the standard */ħaqiiqat/* (true nature). Thus, with regard to our first and second steps of the lexico-phonological test, it appears that the level of education does not play a strong or even noticeable role in preserving the

standard [dˤ] even when the most salient phonological variable in Arabic, i.e. (Q), is kept standard.

Actually, the speech of this highly educated and religious male informant could provide us with a list of examples that prove that the level of education does not necessarily entail an automatic shift towards a high level of Arabic with all its phonological variables. What seems to occur here is that the level of awareness attached to the variable decides the type of language variation that this variable might exemplify. With certain phonological variables (e.g. (Q)), the speaker cannot escape using the standard form to sound educated, while with others this rule is usually neglected. Therefore, it seems that the position of the variable in the scale of salience mirrors the degree of its variation among the different educational groups. This scale of salience includes the cultural and social norms that might differentiate between what is a stereotype and then should be used carefully by the speakers and what is a marker and then the speakers do not need to be too careful to use it. To provide another example of what we claim here, the speech of the opposite extreme of our informants will be focused on.

Speaker 63 is a low educated higher-class female speaker. She is 27 years old. She works as a hairdresser. At the very beginning of my fieldwork, I did not expect to find young or middle aged low educated speakers. This has to do with the fact that formal regular teaching in Jordan is spreading very fast. But while conducting the fieldwork, I was told by the people of the area (especially her aunt, informant 7) an interesting story about her and her family. I thought it would be suitable to interview members of this family, especially when I knew about their level of education. So, I arranged for an interview with speaker 63 through her aunt.

At the beginning of the interview, I asked her questions about her age, work, income, and education. She provided me with the information I needed and laughed when she told me that she left school very early (in the primary stage). I asked her about the reason behind that and she told me that it had to do with 'some previous personal problems.' Her mother was courageous enough to tell me that her late husband did not care much about school, and that the 'atmosphere of the house was almost like hell.' It seems that they knew that speaker 7 told me about their story.

The father of this informant was an addict to alcohol. His other extra-marital affairs pushed his wife to ask for divorce and to live in a house she inherited from her father. This informant started her training as a hairdresser and then had her own salon opened four years ago. The training she received at one of the well-known hairdressing salons in Irbid made her proficient in her work. She was engaged to a relative of hers two years ago, but they broke up before marriage.

While interviewing her, she preferred to talk about her work and some of her clients. Her urban dialect was extremely clear; though she lives with her mother and among her relatives who use the rural dialect. The acquisition and imitation of the urban dialect could be due to her daily contacts in her salon with different types of people who use different dialects. This became apparent when she told me that:

> *sˤaalouni zai madiineh zˤyiireh. issittaat biiʒu min kul makaan. baʃ[dˤ]hum biddaaja? lamma bjittisˤlu wmaa bikuun fii maʒaal jiħʒu nafs il juum. bas bifhamu ʔaddeeʃ maʃyuuleh.*
>
> *My salon is like a small city. Ladies come from everywhere. Some get annoyed when they call and find it impossible to make reservation for the same day. But, they understand how very busy I am.*

While analysing the speech of this informant I found that her /dˤ/ sounds were allophones for both the etymological /D/ and /Ð/ words. So, the idea of standardisation was out of question. But when we compare her 'correct' [dˤ] tokens with the examples cited in the speech of the male informant (# 37) who used the standard [q] more than any other speaker, we would conclude, mistakenly, that she is more educated than him. A thorough analysis of her speech shows that her urban dialect is clear in her urban variants for the (Q), (θ), (ðˤ) and (dʒ) variables. In addition to that her low level of education does not explain her consistent use of the 'standard' [dˤ].

In the example cited above the word */baʃdˤhum/* (some of them) is used in its 'correct' [dˤ] variant. But, the following word, i.e. */biddaaja?/,* serves us here in two ways. First, its (Q) is colloquialised by using the urban colloquial [ʔ]. So, the context of

[dˤ] word shows that it is followed by an urban [ʔ] variant. Therefore, the word */baʕdˤhum/* does not use the standard [dˤ]. The other thing that the */biddaajaʔ/* serves us with is that it uses the rarely used [d] variant for the (D) instead of [dˤ]. This informant (and also informant # 29) used this word with its [d] variant. Had it been for standardisation this informant would have standardised (D) or even (Q) in this word. In addition to this example, this informant uses, in her criticism for her father, the expression */[ʔ]a[dˤ]a ʕala ħajaatu/* (destroyed his life). In this */ʔadˤa/* (for standard */qadˤa/*) the role of urbanisation rather than standardisation is very clear. In this example, the word */ʔadˤa/* (destroy) confuses the standard [q] for the urban [ʔ] though [dˤ] is used here.

To conclude, the two cases presented above not only tell us about the limited role of education in maintaining [dˤ] in the speech of those who use it heavily. They also add a lot to the fact that the parameter of salience might be an important motive in the minds of the speakers to sound educated, urban or rural. So, if a certain phonological variable is a stereotype, e.g. (Q), it receives a degree of attention different from the markers or the indicators. In this regard, the educated speakers might standardise the stereotype and pay less attention to the other types of linguistics variables. This higher degree of attention is attached to the stereotype especially when the word its word reflects a religious or literary connotation. In the case of less salient phonological variables (e.g. (D)), it seems that education does not play a significant role. The urban speakers show their linguistic distinctiveness by using the regional prestigious variant and the rural speakers, especially the higher-class female speakers, fulfil their social aspirations by suppressing their original rural phonological features and shifting towards the urban one.

4.6. Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the historical development of /dˤ/ from a lateral sound before the time of Islam to a nonlateral sound in the early days of Islam and then after the spread of Islam. The change was accompanied by the fact that the traditional

guardians of Arabic were unable to keep the codified standard pronunciation of /dˤ/ in their speech. This paved the way for a wider discussion of the two main mechanisms that helped in preserving /dˤ/ from disappearance through merger. The standardisation and accent divergence mechanisms were tested critically to hypothesize that the latter mechanism had the upper hand in the re-introduction of /dˤ/.

The result of that socio-phonological case was an ecological classification that is still witnessed in the Arab countries nowadays. The urbanites use [dˤ] to differentiate themselves from the non-urban speakers who keep [ðˤ]. In the past, they were inferior to the other dialect speakers. But nowadays, their dialect is the most prestigious in the urban centres in the Arab world. Therefore, /dˤ/ has kept its distinctiveness through the prestige it is associated with as a marker of urban speech.

This urbanisation factor became well understood under the analysis of the co-variation of (D) with the social variables of the study. Its significant correlation with social class and gender highlights its prestige. In addition to that, its remarkably higher usage by the younger speakers as compared with the other age groups of the study suggests a linguistic change in progress. Actually, this statistical analysis shows that social class is an important variable in the context of language variation in Jordan. Such a social variable that has been neglected completely in Jordan gives a new frame for the type of variation in Jordan within its different ethnic groups and class levels. This class classification even suits the prestige that speakers seek by shifting towards the urban dialect that reflects the lifestyles of the elite. Mitchell (1991:38) states that in Jordan 'urban variants are again regarded as prestigious and modern. Usage tends to separate the sexes quite clearly.'

As for education, it seems that the findings in this chapter add more to the general claim that education is a proxy variable that conceals other social factors. Its insignificant correlation with (D) and the findings under the lexico-phonological test show that it is used by the urban speakers for the sake of its regional rather than national prestige. What we have until now is a significant correlation for education with (Q) only. In the other non-salient phonological variables the speakers do not appear to feel the need to sound educated. This sheds light on an important fact. The idea of the

national prestige of Standard Arabic should be revisited. If prestige has to do with actual usage then the standard variants play, if at all, a minor part in language variation in Jordan. Moreover, if prestige reflects status, then the higher social class in Jordan seems to have chosen a different variety to express and mark this status.

CHAPTER FIVE

The (θ) and (ʤ) Variables

5.0. Introduction

In this chapter, two linguistic variables will be discussed together. Investigating these two variables together has to do with the claim that (θ) and (ʤ) have, relatively speaking, a similar level of salience and require similar analysis. Therefore, analysing these variables together helps in avoiding repetition and focussing on more pieces of evidence that support our findings and claims. What adds more to the similarity in the degree of social awareness attached to these two linguistic variables is the fact that they both have standard variants that are also used as non-urban realisations. The rural Jordanians use [θ] and [ʤ] in their rural dialect also (see table 1).

The interesting point here is that we have another case of standard variants that are used as colloquial but in a non-urban dialect rather than an urban one as is the case with [dˤ] (see previous chapter). Following the traditional approach, we expect the male speakers to use the standard variants of (θ) and (ʤ) because they are claimed to approximate the standard variety more than the females. However, the question that needs to be tackled is: is it the standard variant of each of these two linguistic variables that the male speakers use or the colloquial one? This is where we need to resort to our lexico-phonological test to examine the stylistic level these variants are used in.

Another issue that will be shed light on is related to Schmidt's (1974) phonological rules that operate on the variable (θ) chronologically. In this context, we need to see if these rules that changed /θ/ into /t/ and then /θ/ into /s/, after the completion of /t/, operate chronologically in Jordan, as is the case with well-established urban centres, e.g. Cairo or Damascus, or simultaneously. What is of relevant importance here is the claim that [s] is a quasi-standard (i.e. it is used with literary (θ)-words in an attempt to sound educated) variant used by the educated speakers in these

urban centres. Is this [s] variant expected to exceed its quasi-standard level and to be used in other colloquial terms in the future or not? These and other relevant issues related to the role of the social variables on the use of (θ) and (ʤ) will be the focus of our analysis in the following sections.

5.1. The (θ) and (ʤ) variables

In Modern Spoken Standard Arabic, the phoneme corresponding to the letter ث is /θ/, while the phoneme corresponding to the letter ج is /ʤ/. ث is a voiceless interdental fricative, while ج is a voiced post-alveolar affricate. Old Arab grammarians mentioned different cases of the fluctuation of the sound /θ/ with /t/, /s/ and /f/ and the sound /ʤ/ with /k/, /ʃ/ or /j/ (see Jassem 1993). Some scholars (e.g. Jassem 1993) claim that /k/ was actually /g/ and /ʃ/ was /ʒ/ in the past. The old Arab grammarians did not use symbols to refer to these (i.e. /g/ and /ʒ/) sounds due to the lack of orthographic representation in Arabic and to the existence of these pronunciations in words borrowed from Persian. Whether these claims are true, especially in view of Sibawayhi's statement about /ʤ/ which El Saaran (1951) understands as being /g/ or Ibn Sina's description of /ʤ/ in the eleventh century which appears to Kaye (1972) most likely that it was /ʒ/, or not, our focus will be on the fact that these two realisations (and others) are still used at the present time in different Arab countries. This also goes for two of the above-mentioned realisations of /θ/: [t] and [s].

5.1.1. The case of (θ)

/θ/ merged with the voiceless dental stop /t/ and the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in different parts of the Arab world (Mitchell 1993) as a result of two phonological rules that operated sequentially (i.e. after the first one was completed) at different times in the past (Schmidt 1974). Schmidt believes that these two phonological rules changed the interdentals into stops first and then changed the interdentals into fricatives. Schmidt's θ-colloquialization rule can be schematised into two chronological steps as:

1- /θ/ ⇒ /t/ (earlier) 2- /θ/ ⇒ /s/ (later)

Garbell (1958) claims that the merger of /θ/ with the stop, i.e. /t/, happened between the 9th and 10th centuries due to the influence of Aramaic while its merger with the fricative, i.e. /s/, happened between the 16th and 18th centuries due to the influence of Turkish. It is important to note that the non-urban realisation of (θ), i.e. [θ], coincides with the standard pronunciation in different parts of the Arab countries. In addition to that, linguists (e.g. Schmidt 1974; Holes 1995, etc.) believe that although the urban prestigious [t] and [s] are colloquial realisations of (θ), the words with the colloquial fricative [s] are more literary than those with the colloquial stop [t]. Holes (1995:60) believes that:

> In the city dialects of Syria, Jordan and Egypt a more recent trend in the speech of educated speakers has been the performance of interdental fricatives which occur in neologisms imported from MSA [Modern Standard Arabic] (and now more generally in 'dialectal' words also) as corresponding dental fricatives /s/, /z/ and /zˤ/.

5.1.2. The case of (dʒ)

The colloquialization or merger of /dʒ/ with /ʒ/ in the urban dialects of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine happened later on between the 18th and 20th centuries due to the influence of Turkish. Schmidt (1974) claims that the colloquialization rule that operated on this Standard Arabic sound produced two colloquial reflexes in Egypt: a voiced velar stop /g/, which is a marker there, and a voiced post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/. This fricative rather than the velar reflex is in turn the marker of many parts of the Levant, e.g. Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem, and the Maghrebs. Holes (1995:61) believes that in the Levantine pronunciation, /ʒ/ corresponds to the regional Cairene standard /g/. Therefore, Holes states that with regard to the realisations of the standard /dʒ/:

> ...it is the dialectal pronunciation heard in the major centre of population, political power and economic strength in each country or area which has acquired the status of regional dialectal 'standard' for those subject to its influence, and the label national dialectal stereotype for those from outside who come into contact with it. (p.62)

Actually it is very clear that /dʒ/ has reached a level of completion in its colloquialization in different parts of the Arab world (the Levant mainly), depending on its degree of salience in these areas, to the extent that its regional dialectal marker is used in the formal language contexts. In Jordan, the urban colloquial variants of /dʒ/ have not been substituted for its standard variant yet, as is the case in Syria, Lebanon, Jerusalem or Egypt. This is due to the fact that (dʒ) is a non-salient variable in Jordan. Al-Wer (1999a:47-8) states that:

> The variable (dʒ) in Jordan is not particularly salient: it is never used to identify varieties, and rarely in imitation... one can argue that the phonetic differences between its variants [dʒ] and [ʒ] are relatively small, in comparison with [dʒ] vs [g] in Egypt, and [dʒ] vs [j] in the Gulf. Nor are its variants involved in the maintenance of phonological contrast: the replacement of [dʒ] by [ʒ] does not result in mergers, since [ʒ] does not exist as a separate phoneme (in contrast to /j/).

Therefore, what we have in this chapter are two phonological variables that witness a considerable amount of variation across the different Arab countries. In the following sections, it is worth commenting on some of the issues mentioned above. These issues have to do first with the synchronic distribution of (θ) and (dʒ) in Jordan and certain Arab countries to see how the two phonological rules that change (θ) into /t/ or /s/ and (dʒ) into /ʒ/ are realised. Second, the literary base of the [s] variant and the relation between the urban dialects of Jerusalem and Syria and that of Jordan need also be examined.

5.1.3. The synchronic distribution of (θ) and (dʒ) in Jordan

It seems that while some countries (e.g. Egypt, Syria, etc.) have reached the level of completion in the first phonological rule which merges /θ/ with /t/ and even the second phonological rule which changes /θ/ into /s/, some other countries (e.g. Jordan) lag behind in this merger. Even with regard to /dʒ/, its realisation as [ʒ] in Jordan has not been completed, as is the case in the urban centres of the Levant. This is simply because the urban centres and then city dialects in these leading countries have been in existence for a long time. In addition to that, these urban centres like Cairo, Damascus,

Jerusalem and Beirut have gone through a naturally gradual development of urbanisation. What does this naturally gradual development mean?

In Jordan, the main urban centres came into existence after the rapid and massive immigration of urban Palestinian groups, some Syrians, Chechens and Circassians (Al-Wer 1991; 1999b) who formed the elite among originally Bedouin and rural inhabitants. Therefore, the application of Schmidt's rules among the rural population in Jordan seems to be different from that in the neighbouring urban centres. Thus linguists (Cantineau 1960; Ferguson 1957, etc. See Daher 1998b) usually find that /θ/ has completely disappeared from the urban dialects in Egypt and Syria and have been replaced by /t/ or /s/. In Egypt, Schulz (1981:42) states that nearly every Egyptian is at least capable of pronouncing the /q/, whereas many find it difficult for him or her to pronounce the /θ/. In Syria, Jassem (1993:128) finds that /θ/ in Damascus and its neighbouring areas is 'altogether absent in people's usual everyday conversations.' Recently, Daher (1998b:251) finds that /θ/ is not part of the phonological inventory of Damascus Arabic in general. With regard to (dʒ), Al-Wer (1991:176) claims that its change into '[ʒ] seems to have been completed in the major urban dialects in the Levant...'

Contrary to this, /θ/ and /dʒ/ are still part of the phonological inventory of Jordanian Arabic. If we start with the variable (θ), we find that Schmidt's second rule of changing the interdentals into the sibilant /s/ is not as active as the first rule that changes it into /t/ in Jordan. Therefore, linguists in Jordan (Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1991, etc.) find that the first rule has not stopped yet to give chance for the second rule to operate. Other Jordanian linguists (Abdel-Jawad and Awwad 1989) claim that this first rule has recently stopped, while the second rule has started operating. Al-Wer (1991:134-35) states that 'currently, the changes from interdentals to sibilants are much more frequent in Egypt and Syria...than the changes from interdentals to stops. By contrast, in Jordan...stop changes are more frequent than sibilant changes.' This means that we are talking about countries that are within the domain of the second sibilization rule after the completion of the change of the interdentals into stops and countries where the first rule has not been completed yet. Therefore, though these two phonological rules operate on one Arabic sound, their actual realisation is different from one country to another.

The variants [dʒ] and [θ] are still used in the standard and rural Jordanian Arabic and the urban [ʒ] or [t] and [s] variants are used in the urban dialect in Jordan.

5.1.4. The literary rank of [s]

The other issue that needs to be explained here is related to the different literary ranks of the [t] and [s] variants of (θ). In this regard, one needs first to see why Schmidt believes that the [s] items are quasi-standard or more literary than the [t] items. According to Schmidt, θ-colloquialization happened in the following order. At some point, the first rule which changed /θ/ into /t/ ceased to operate. 'Words which were then borrowed (or re-borrowed) into the Egyptian Colloquial lexicon from CA[13] [Classical Arabic] instead underwent a new colloquialization rule merging the interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ with the sibilants /s/ and /z/' (p.91). It is the literary usage and association of these [s] words that is important to us here. However, the question that we need to answer first is: what is the relation between such phonological changes in Egypt and Jordan?

A simple and direct answer to this question is found in Shorrab (1981). Shorrab's study of Palestinian Arabic is important to us here because in this case we are talking about the geo-dialectal source of the urban dialect in Jordan. Thus, what is applicable to the urban dialect of Palestine may be also applicable to the urban dialect in Jordan. The urban Palestinian dialect in Jordan is a non-indigenous dialect. Its main sources are the urban centres in Palestine and Syria. Therefore, one cannot escape comparing the degree of language variation that the urban dialect in Jordan has with the dialects of these two main urban centres in the Levant. Shorrab believes that the changes in Egypt 'may be adapted to the case of the Madani dialect of Palestinian Arabic' (p. 162). The author lists two factors that support this claim. He states that:

1- The two phonological rules apply to the urban varieties in Egypt and Palestine.

[13] Schmidt uses CA to mean 'modern Classical Arabic.' Though he mentions some other expressions like Modern Arabic, Contemporary Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic he thinks that the 'vagueness of 'Classical Arabic' is not wholly undesirable (ibid.225).

2- The colloquials in Egypt and Palestine come from the same ancestor- Eastern Arabic.

In Syria, Daher (1998b) finds that Schmidt's phonological rules are also applicable to the Damascene Arabic. Moreover, Cleveland (1963:59) states that 'phonetically, the manner in which the historical interdental spirants appear in Jerusalem Arabic constitutes the greatest single variation found between any of the two dialects in Jordan.' Therefore, if Schmidt's phonological rules explain language variation in Jerusalem and Damascus, then one can freely state that they also account for the non-local urban dialect in Jordan. But what is important and of relevance to our main issue of the different literary ranks of [t] and [s] is that Cleveland (1963:58) believes that the 'interdental spirants θ and ð have fallen together with t and d (although attempts to imitate the spirants have produced s and z respectively in certain words).' This idea of imitation of the interdentals is what we need to focus on in the following paragraphs. /θ/ has been lost in these urban centres or dialects and the attempt of the educated speakers to re-introduce it ended with /s/. Therefore, [s] is considered more literary than [t] but less standard than [θ].

Many a researcher in the Arab world adopts this notion of the literary rank of the [s] words. Gairdner (1925:31) states that:

> Arabic interdentals undergo change in colloquial along *two* parallel and alternative lines, and become (a) dental-plosives or (b) sibilants. The explanation is probably this:- the true spontaneous change was to dental-plosive; the sibilants being probably the result of an attempt to classicise, i.e. to imitate the interdentals of literary Arabic, on the part of semi-educated people. (underline mine)

Schmidt (1986:57) also believes that some:

> lexical items- those that have not been in the colloquial vocabulary for a long time, including newly coined technical terminology and older words that are generally acquired by native speakers only through formal education, retaining their character as learned words – cannot now be colloquialized with stops, but any Arabic word with [θ] ... may be colloquialized by sibilant substitution. (underline mine)

In Jordan, Abdel-Jawad and Awwad (1989:267) also find that the sibilant realisations in these words are 'competing with the standard fricatives in the most formal style,' but they claim that this change is not nowadays restricted to the official and educated lexical items. What they find is that 'the sibilant variants of interdentals are actively spreading from formal and standard lexical items to their corresponding dialectal realisations' (ibid.266).

Abdel-Jawad and Awwad (1989) is the only study in Jordan, as far as I know, that focuses on [s] as a possible realisation of (θ) in Jordanian Arabic. The other studies in Jordan exclude this variant because it rarely occurred in their data. Al-Khatib (1988:227) states that 'due to the infrequent use of the sibilant [s], our investigation will be confined to the variation between SA [Standard Arabic] variant [θ] and the urban variant [t].' Al-Wer (1991:124) also finds that in her data 'the sibilant variant [s] occurs in two items only ... Consequently, the variant [s] is not considered a variant of (θ) in this study.'

I agree that this variant is not used as much as [t] in Jordanian Arabic simply because the first phonological rule is still very active while the second one has just started. However, excluding it from the data of any variationist study in Jordan is not the right decision. Since what we have is a phonological rule that is expected to be active at any time in Jordan and that this rule is claimed to be an attempt by the educated or semi-educated persons to imitate the interdental /θ/, then one cannot exclude [s] from analysis. The examination of the [s] items under its co-variation with education mainly (section 5.2.3) will reveal that they are still used as imitation of the Standard Arabic words only. These items might appear with [t] also, but this has to do with the recent application of the sibilization rule, i.e. changing /θ/ into /s/, in the Jordanian Arabic rather than the spread of this rule to non-standard or quasi-standard words.

To sum up, certain main points have been focussed on here. First, there are two colloquialization rules that operate on the interdental /θ/ and change it into /t/ or /s/. The other colloquialization rule changes /dʒ/ into /ʒ/. Second, these rules apply differently in different parts of the Arabic speaking countries. Third, and with regard to the θ-

colloquialization rule, it is claimed that its change into /s/ is initiated by the semi-educated or educated speakers in an attempt to imitate the interdental. However, Schmidt's (1974) belief that the change of /θ/ to /s/ occurs after its change into the stop /t/ has reached the level of completion might not be accurate with regard to the Jordanian speech community. This chronological order might be correct with regard to the naturally developing urban centres; one might be suspicious in this regard though. If the change into [t] has reached its completion even at the reading level [i.e. reading in literary texts] then where is the input for the second rule, which comes later on and changes [θ] into [s]?

In the case of the newly emerging urban centres like Jordan, where the urban dialect is a non-indigenous one, these two rules seem to overlap. This is why it seems more realistic and logical to consider the application of the second phonological rule, which changes [θ] into [s] as a matter of borrowing from other dialects that still have [θ] in their phonological systems rather than borrowing from Standard Arabic. What is important here is that the overlapping of the occurrence of the two phonological rules in the Jordanian context is not expected to be at the expense of the original goal of the sibilization process. In other words, the second rule of the change of /θ/ into /s/ is expected to be restricted to the literary items only.

5.2. The co-variation of (θ) and (dʒ) with the social variables

In this section, the co-variation of (θ) and (dʒ) with social class, gender, education, and age will be examined. Some cases of comparison and contrast with the findings in the previous chapters are essential. The general aim here is to see how the non-salient phonological variables in Jordan behave in their co-variation with the social variables of the study. In addition to that, we want to see if our claims about the importance of social class analysis in Jordan are valid. This goes hand in hand with our beliefs that class is inseparable from gender; education as a social variable needs a new definition that focuses on its social domains rather than restricting it to academic knowledge. Finally, there is a possibility of sound change with regard to the non-salient phonological features in Jordan.

5.2.1. Social class

As we have seen in the previous chapters on (Q) and (D), social class usually has significant variation with the locally prestigious variants of these variables. The higher social class usually shift towards the locally prestigious variants and leave the other colloquial variants or even the standard ones to the other classes to shift to. However, due to the different levels of salience attached to every variable this generalisation should be cautiously accepted. The (Q) variable is highly sensitive to the socio-cultural norms of the Jordanian community; therefore, its correlation with class is different from the way (D) correlates with this social variable.

As for (θ) and (ʤ), it seems that these variables are not very sensitive in comparison with (Q). Nevertheless, their association with modernisation keeps a distinction between what is urban and locally prestigious and what is non-urban and less prestigious. Within the Jordanian community it is difficult to state that the non-urban variants of (θ) and (ʤ) are stigmatised. Simply because the merger of /θ/ with /t/ and /s/ and /ʤ/ with /ʒ/ has not been completed yet, the indigenous Jordanian dialect is a [θ]/[ʤ] dialect and these variants (except for [ʒ]) are also standard in the Arabic language system.

With this introduction, one needs to see how (θ) and (ʤ) correlate with social class. Table 17 shows that all the variants of these two variables have similar significant

ANOVA

Variables	Variants	F	Sig.
(θ)	[θ]	19.728	.000*
	[t]	18.260	.000*
	[s]	15.542	.000*
(ʤ)	[ʤ]	15.411	.000*
	[ʒ]	15.411	.000*

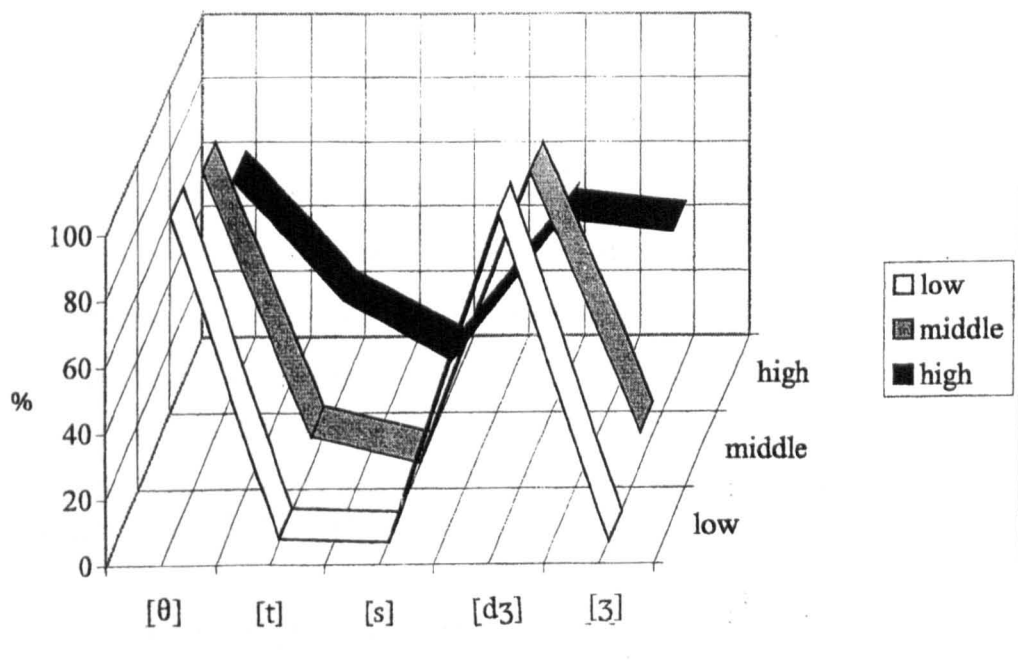
The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Significant correlation asterisked.

Table 17. Use of (θ) and (ʤ) by class

correlation with social class. This highly significant correlation (.000) proves that we are talking about different class markers and then prestige levels. These results of highly significant correlation remind us of the correlation of (D) with social class (table 10).

But, the point here is that with (D) we could prove that it was the locally prestigious variant that the higher-class speakers adopted rather than the standard one. This simply means that this preference of the urban [dˤ] by the higher-class speakers is for the sake of what is socio-linguistically suitable for them. However with (θ) and (ʤ), the standard and non-urban realisations coincide with each other. So, why do we have this significant correlation? Does this mean that the higher-class speakers shift towards the standard [θ]/[ʤ]? If yes, why do (θ) and (ʤ) behave differently from the previous variables, where the higher-class speakers did not appear to shift to the standard variants? This means that we need to see how every social class behaves with regard to (θ) and (ʤ). But this presentation of the frequency of usage of every variant along the three class levels (fig. 15) in Jordan should be considered within the frame of the salience parameter that shows that (θ) and (ʤ) are not salient phonological features in

Figure 15. Use of (θ) and (ʤ)by class



the Jordanian speech community. Moreover, the two phonological variables themselves might even appear to have different degrees of salience.

The findings in figure 15 prove that these variants are not very much stigmatised in the Jordanian community, though it is the lower-class speakers who use [θ] and [ʤ] most of the times. These speakers hardly use the urban [t] and never use [s]. Nevertheless, the decrease in the occurrence of [θ] and [ʤ] in the middle class is not very remarkable. It is clear that there is a higher degree of occurrence for [t] and [ʒ]. The middle class speakers are not very much different from the lower class in their usage of the urban [s]. With regard to the higher-class speakers, one finds a remarkable difference between this class as one group and the other two classes as another group. The higher-class speakers use [θ] and [ʤ] less than the other class levels, though these two variants are standard. But the fact remains that these two variants are also used in the non-urban dialects in Jordan. In addition to that, the higher class use [t], [s] and [ʒ] more than the other social classes.

The following major findings can be highlighted:

*** (θ) and (ʤ) variables have highly significant correlation with class.**

*** The remarkable difference in the usage of [θ] and [ʤ] is between the lower and middle class speakers on one hand and the higher-class speakers on the other.**

*** The decrease in the usage of [θ] and [ʤ] by the higher-class speakers is substituted for by the increase in the usage of the urban [t], [s] and [ʒ].**

*** The higher-class speakers are the initiators of the quasi-standard [s] in the Jordanian speech community.**

5.2.1.1. Interpretation of class results

These results pave the way for two possible explanations. First, though there is a remarkable difference between the higher-class speakers as one group and the other two

classes as another, (θ) and (ʤ) have similar levels of salience in the Jordanian speech community. Informally speaking, I even believe that (θ) is relatively more salient than (ʤ). This means that (ʤ) does not raise the same degree of overt comment that (θ) raises. They are markers rather than stereotypes. [θ] appears to be used (figure 15) more than [ʤ] and its generation of another urban prestigious variant, i.e. [s], proves that there is a focus on (θ) more than (ʤ). However, these two phonological variables are less salient than (D) and, hence, than (Q).

If I were to set a scale of salience for these phonological variables, I would suggest that (Q) is on the top of this scale with (D) next and (θ) and (ʤ) following. This scale is based on the usage of these variables by the speakers across the three social classes. (Q) is agreed upon that it dominates the scale of salience with regard to Arabic phonological variables, while it appears that the difference between (D) and (θ)/(ʤ) is located in the fact that their standard variants coincide with different dialects in Jordan. The first one is used in the urban dialect, while the other two are used in the rural dialect. Therefore, the urban [dˁ] is more prestigious that the rural [θ] and [ʤ]. This scale needs to be tested more under gender to prove valid.

The second possible explanation for the previous quantitative findings with regard to the decrease in the occurrence of [θ] and [ʤ] is related to the increase in the usage of the urban colloquial variants: [t]/[s] and [ʒ]. We will start first with the urban variant [t]. If we focus on figure 15 we find that there is a difference in the usage of [t] across the three social classes. This urban variant is almost absent among the lower class and rarely used by the middle class speakers. On the other hand, the higher-class speakers use this locally prestigious variant three times more than the other two groups together.

This finding shows that Schmidt's (1974) first phonological rule that changes the interdental into a stop is operating actively among the higher-class speakers in the Jordanian community. If we bear in mind that our research focuses on the rural Jordanian speakers only, this means that the rural Jordanian higher-class speakers shift towards the locally prestigious [t] more than [θ], though the latter is one of the markers of their original rural Jordanian dialect. However, it is important to note that this first

phonological rule has not reached the level of completion, as is the case in the other urban dialects like Damascus, Egypt or Jerusalem. This is evident from the high percentage of occurrence of [θ] across the three social classes.

What is left here is the third variant of (θ). The [s] variant is completely absent in the speech of the lower-class speakers and rarely used by the middle class speakers. Since the higher-class speakers use it more than the other classes, it is highly possible that these are the initiators of Schmidt's second phonological rule for the sibilization of the interdentals in Jordan. If we relate this variant to the urban dialects of Jerusalem, Damascus and Cairo, then we claim that this second phonological rule has just started and is still at its very early stages. Its occurrence among the higher-class speakers proves that this variant, contrary to what Al-Wer (1991) believes, exhibits a high degree of prestige in our speech community. Its prestige is almost equivalent to that of [t].

With regard to [ʒ], which is realised categorically as an urban variant of (dʒ) in the Levant, it appears that it occurs frequently in the speech of the higher-class participants. Schmidt's (1974:79) dʒ-colloquialization rule which changes this post-alveolar affricate into the colloquial [ʒ] (and [g], but the fricative is what is relevant to our speech community) is initiated by the higher class, though it has not reached the level of completion as is the case with Damascus or Jerusalem. Jassem (1993:119) believes that /dʒ/ is absent from the phonological inventory of the dialect of Damascus and has been replaced by /ʒ/. As for Jerusalem, Shorrab (1981) notices the occurrence of this variant in the urban dialect even at the reading level.

Up to this point, I feel that the quantitative results here are fully explained. But these results should be further analysed under the other social variables of the study. This important analysis paves the way for discussing different issues related to the differences between men and women in using (θ) and (dʒ), the role of education in the usage of their standard variants and the standard-like [s] and finally the possibility of change in progress with regard to the differences in age.

5.2.2. Gender

Since I believe that gender mirrors to a high degree social class in Jordan, certain significant correlations similar to the ones that we have with social class and the two linguistic variables here or even most of the linguistic variables in this study are also expected. The highly significant correlation that (θ) and (ʤ) have with gender (table 18) is identical to that with social class (table 17). All the variants of (θ) and (ʤ)

ANOVA

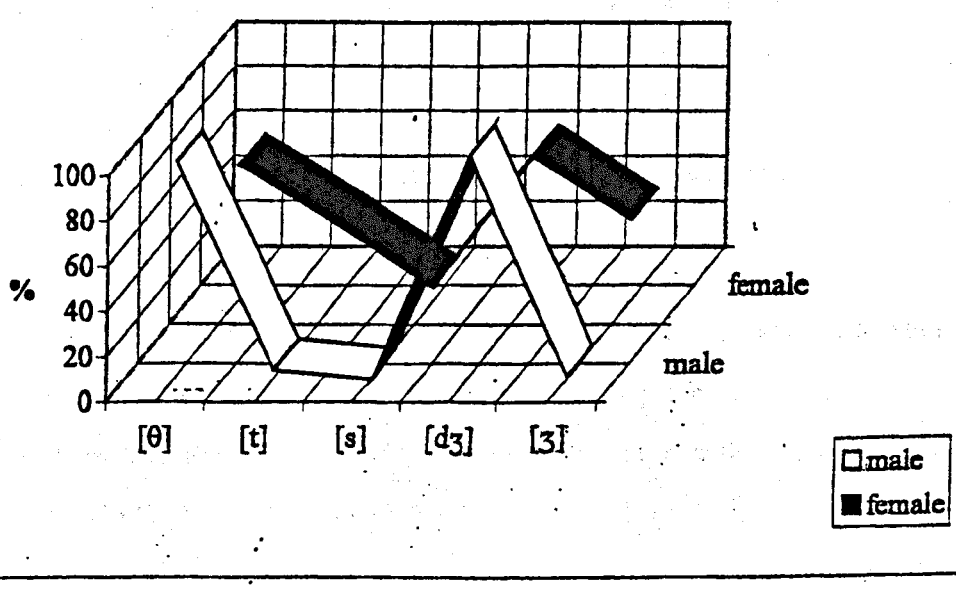
Variables	Variants	F	Sig.
(θ)	[θ]	28.735	.000*
	[t]	29.543	.000*
	[s]	14.736	.000*
(ʤ)	[ʤ]	22.733	.000*
	[ʒ]	22.733	.000*

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Significant correlation asterisked

Table 18. Use of (θ) and (ʤ) by gender

show significant correlation with gender. This means that there are real differences

Figure 16. Use of (θ) and (ʤ) by gender



between the two sexes in using these variants. Based on the frequency of usage of these variants (fig. 16) in the speech of the male and the female speakers, one finds that the male speakers use the variants [θ] and [dʒ] remarkably almost to the exclusion of the other [t], [s] and [ʒ] variants, while the female speakers are more evenly distributed. The female speakers do use [θ] and [dʒ], but they use them less than the males. In addition to that, the urban [t] and [ʒ] variants occur in the speech of women similarly. It is clear that the [s] variant is initiated by the females, but weakly.

The main findings under the co-variation of gender with (θ) and (dʒ) are:

*** Gender has highly significant correlation with (θ) and (dʒ).**

*** The [θ] and [dʒ] variants are markedly used by men.**

*** The variants of (θ) and (dʒ) are more evenly distributed in the speech of women.**

*** Women initiate the quasi-random [s] variant and use the urban variants more than men.**

5.2.2.1. Interpretation of gender results

The high maintenance of the [θ] and [dʒ] variants by the female speakers is due to the fact that these variants are not very much stigmatised. The explanation for this finding should stem from the general belief that women are more conscious than men of the socio-linguistic norms of regional prestige and modernisation in our society. Accordingly, the occurrence of [θ] and [dʒ] in the speech of the female speakers goes in line with the findings of other variationist studies (Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1991, etc.) in Jordan that they are not sensitive to the social norms of our community as is the case with (Q) or, to a lesser degree, (D).

To highlight the other findings of the statistical results of (θ) and (dʒ), one notices that the urban [t] and [ʒ] are used remarkably heavily by the female speakers. Men rarely use them. The other urban variant [s] is almost absent from the speech of the male speakers, while the female speakers show a higher level of usage. This proves that (θ) is

more salient than (ʤ). The occurrence of [θ]/[ʤ] and [t]/[ʒ] are similar in the speech of women. What is added is the urban [s]. Its initiation by women, who are very much aware of the social norms of prestige, shows that this linguistic variable, i.e. (θ), raises a certain amount of overt comment higher than (ʤ). Therefore, women tend to pay attention to (θ) more than (ʤ). So, the linguistic markers (θ) and (ʤ) are not as salient as (Q) and (D) and (θ) is more sensitive to the social norms of the Jordanian community than (ʤ).

The weak occurrence of [s] variant is further evidence that proves that the Jordanian speech community is still within the frame of the first phonological rule that changes the interdentals into stops, while the second rule of sibilizing the interdentals has just started. This means that Schmidt's θ-colloquialization rule, which changes /θ/ into /t/ or /s/, overlaps in our speech community rather than occurs chronologically as is the case in Cairo (Schmidt 1974), Jerusalem (Shorrab 1981) and Damascus (Daher 1998b). With regard to Schmidt's (1974) ʤ-colloquialization rule, it seems that the female speakers are also the ones who initiate it due to its prestige and association with the higher-class people.

What I have in mind while stating these claims is the fact that women in Jordan initiate language variation towards the locally prestigious dialect. This is a fact proved by the results of this study and the findings of most of the previous variationist studies in Jordan (Abdel-Jawad 1981; S. Suleiman 1985; Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1991, etc.). However, this innovation should highlight the fact that it heads towards the locally prestigious dialect rather than the national level of Arabic, i.e. Standard Arabic. In some neighbouring countries, e.g. Palestine (Shorrab 1981) and Syria (Jassem 1993; Daher 1998b), it is also the female speakers who lead this language variation towards the non-standard variants of (θ). However, the difference between these two areas and Jordan is that [θ] is still used by the innovators in our speech community.

So, /θ/ is still used in Jordanian Arabic. The innovators in Jordan seem to apply Schmidt's (1974) (θ) and (ʤ)-colloquialisation rules simultaneously but with the preference and upper hand given to the (θ)-colloquialization rule. The reason behind

this is that the colloquial variants [t] and [s] have higher prestige than [ʒ]. This claim contradicts Al-Wer's (1991) belief that the low level of prestige of [s] is the reason behind its rare occurrence in the speech of her female informants rather than the fact that Schmidt's sibilization rule, which changes /θ/ into /s/, has just started. Al-Wer believes that the accommodation of our Jordanian speakers to [s] is inhibited because it lacks prestige in Jordan. Although the author suggests certain reasons for the rare occurrence of [s] in her data, what is worth commenting on in the context of our discussion of the role of gender on (θ) is her idea about the prestige of [s]. She states (p.125):

> ...the stereotype associated with the sibilant sounds as variants of the interdental sound might be even greater than that associated with the variant [ʔ] of (Q). Recall that even though the variant [ʔ] is also perceived as a stereotype of a non-local variety by our speakers, and is used in imitating speakers of other varieties, some of our speakers use it categorically, a phenomenon which we accounted for in terms of social prestige associated with the use of [ʔ] by female speakers. On the other hand, the informal evidence presented above suggests that the variants [s] and [z^{ς}] lack associations of prestige and may even carry a social stigma, thus inhibiting accommodation to them...

The idea of [s] being a stereotype of a non-local variety is completely illogical, simply because the whole trend of language variation in Jordan is towards non-local varieties. So, one cannot find any sound evidence that supports this claim. However, the author suggests an explanation for this by claiming that the difference in prestige between [ʔ] (the urban Palestinian variant of (Q)) and [s] could be the reason behind the accommodation of the female speakers to the first rather than the latter. I am afraid that Al-Wer's informal evidence is not precise enough for the following reasons.

The urban dialect in Jordan is a non-local dialect. Most of the previous studies (Abdel-Jawad 1981, 1986; Al-Khatib 1988, etc.) believe that people accommodate to this urban Palestinian or Syrian dialect to fulfil their social aspiration of prestige and better life styles. These lifestyles reflect the long-time modernisation of these urban centres. Even Al-Wer (1999a: 41) describes Syria (and Lebanon) as being 'highly urbanised, with a relatively well-trained and educated indigenous population.' In addition to that, the author also states that '...for women, features originally associated

with the urban Levantine and urban Palestinian norms are regarded as prestigious and the indigenous varieties continue to be stigmatised' (ibid.42-3).

Within the frame of these quotations that come from the same author, how can we believe that [s], which is a feature of these urban Levantine areas, lacks prestige? Well, one might claim that the [s] variant lacks prestige or is not as prestigious as [t] in Jordan alone because of certain region-specific social norms or even in those urban cities themselves. Two counter-pieces of evidence might help us in this regard. Sawaie (1994:5) finds that in Jordan [t] and [s] 'are viewed as prestigious, perhaps because of their association with the city speech variety.' The other evidence comes from Daher (1998b:221) who believes that [s] reflects a high level of prestige in Syria mainly because of its proximity to Standard Arabic [θ].

What we conclude this discussion with is that the low level of occurrence of [s] in the everyday Jordanian Arabic cannot be squeezed within the frame of stigmatisation and non-locality of the feature. What we are talking about here is an urban variant that the female speakers will logically shift to due to its prestige and low level of sensitivity. Otherwise, why do we find in our current research that it is the females from the higher class who initiate the sibilization rule of the interdentals in Jordan? Had Al-Wer (1991) or even Al-Khatib (1988) included class as a social variable in their studies, they would have noted how this variant that they excluded completely from their analysis would have correlated significantly with it.

The only possible explanation for the lack of data with the [s] variant is that this variant which comes as a result of Schmidt's (1974) sibilization rule is not as active as the rule that merges /θ/ with /t/, though this sibilization rule has started applying to the interdentals in Jordan. In addition to that, the restriction of [s] words to a certain lexical category in Arabic decreases the amount of its occurrence in comparison with [t]. Sawaie (1994:5) notes that '...[t] has wider distribution than [s]. The use of [s] is generally restricted to certain lexical items...' As we will see under the next section, these lexical items are standard.

I expect the female speakers from the higher social class to start using this [s] with more words in the Jordanian Arabic. Nevertheless, this gradual increase in the usage of

[s] by the higher-class female speakers does not mean that it will exceed its original context of the literary lexical items. In other words, though Abdel-Jawad and Awwad (1989:266) believe that the 'sibilant variants of interdentals are actively spreading from formal and standard lexical items to their corresponding dialectal realisations' in Jordan, I do not believe that the sibilant variant of the interdental (θ) is likely to spread from formal to informal lexical items. This general belief should be examined under the effect of education on (θ).

5.2.3. Education

To keep some kind of consistency in our work two main points might be brought from our previous discussion of the co-variation of class and gender with (θ) and (ʤ). These points are related mainly to the fact that men use the [θ] and [ʤ] variants more than women on the one hand, and that the [s] variant is more literary than [t] and is used by educated persons in an attempt to imitate the standard [θ]. If this claim is plausible, these educated persons who seek this kind of innovation are mainly the female speakers in our current research and even in the study of Abdel-Jawad and Awwad (1989). But does this mean that men use [θ] or [ʤ] because they approximate the standard variety more than women? If yes, then why do the higher-class female speakers bother to imitate the standard [θ] in their usage and, as a result, initiate the quasi-standard [s] variant for the terms borrowed form Standard Arabic? Where is the role of men who are usually considered more standard in their speech than women in the Arab world? In addition to that, does the increase in the level of education entail a decrease in the usage of the urban variants [t], [s] and [ʒ]? These points will be focussed on in our analysis of education.

With regard to the quantitative results of the co-variation of (θ) and (ʤ) with education, one finds (table 19) that neither variant has significant correlation with this social variable. It is important to see that all these variants, regardless of their standard, i.e. [θ]/[ʤ], or quasi-standard, i.e. [s], nature are not significant when the speaker's level of education is examined. This is again similar to what we had in the previous

ANOVA

Variables	Variants	F	Sig.
(θ)	[θ]	.423	.657
	[t]	.383	.683
	[s]	.508	.604
(dʒ)	[dʒ]	.066	.936
	[ʒ]	.066	.936

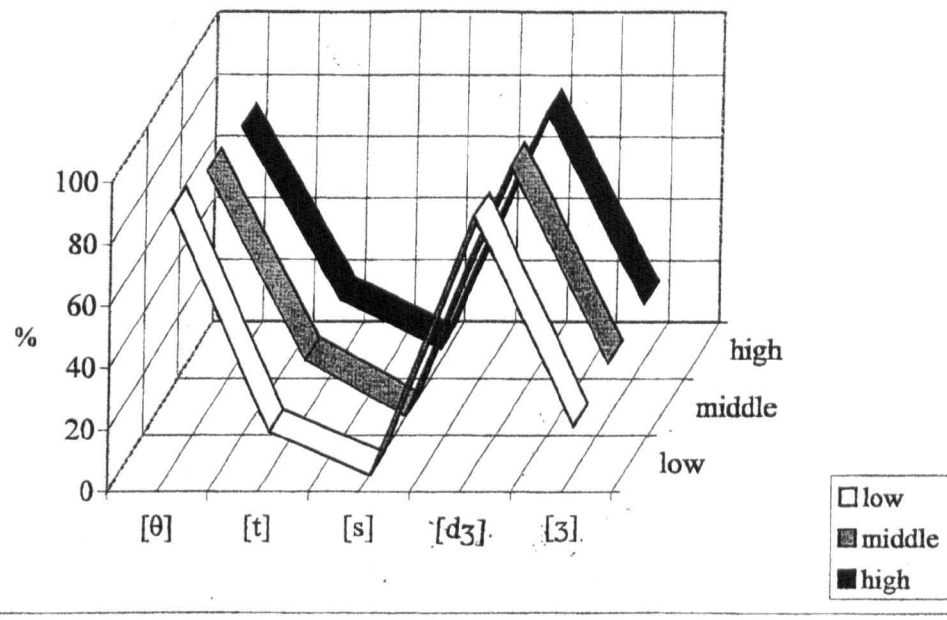
The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

Table 19. Use of (θ) and (dʒ) by education

chapter with regard to the co-variation of (D) and education (table 12).

So, at this point we stress our general approach that with regard to the less salient linguistic variables or the variables that are not stereotypes (i.e. all the linguistic variables except (Q)), education is not very active. The only standard variant that raises overt comment is [q] because '...by using it speakers signal a *deliberate* raising of their speech style, for whatever reason' (Holes 1995:66, italics added). With regard to (D), (θ) and (dʒ), there is no need to sound educated even in certain highly literary and religious domains. The interesting thing that adds to this general claim here is that when we examine the differences of usage of the standard [θ] and [dʒ] along the three educational levels (fig. 17) we find that [θ] and [dʒ] decrease when the level of education increases. Though slight, this decrease is worth shedding light on because it is not expected. For example, with (D) there was no significant correlation with education, but the usage of its [dˤ] increased slightly with the increase in the level of education. What can we say here? The results show that the lower-educated speakers use [θ] and [dʒ] slightly more than the middle and then the higher-educated speakers. If one wants to claim that the difference in usage of [θ] and [dʒ] by the higher-educated speakers and the other two groups is slight and marginal this shows that education does not entail a higher usage of the 'standard' [θ] and [dʒ].

Figure 17. Use of (θ) and (ʤ) by education



The main findings under the co-variation of education with (θ) and (ʤ) are:

*** Education does not have significant correlation with (θ) or (ʤ).**

*** [θ] and [ʤ] tend to decrease when the level of education increases.**

*** The urban [t], [s] and [ʒ] tend to increase when the level of education increases.**

*** No educational group is sharply differentiated from the other with regard to the usage of the 'standard' [θ] and [ʤ]**

5.2.3.1. Interpretation of education results

The possible explanation that might be suggested here for the unclear difference in the usage of [θ] and [ʤ] across the three educational levels is that people usually use the colloquial variant rather than the standard one. The reason behind this is that these are non-salient 'standard' and 'rural' variants. This means that it is not the level of

education that motivates the speakers to keep the [θ] or [dʒ] variants. It is their colloquial system motivated by the fact that these variants are not highly sensitive in the Jordanian speech community. To prove this, we resort to our previous lexico-phonological test. The reference point here is (Q). That is, if the speakers use the standard [θ] or [dʒ] to sound educated, then it is more likely for them to use the standard [q] within the same word or context.

The problem here is that with regard to [dʒ], I could not find any single lexical item that contains this variant and (Q) at the same time. This could be due to the fact that such a combination of the two sounds in one word is extremely rare. Greenberg (1950) lists one case only of a root containing /q/ and /dʒ/ in Arabic. However, speaker (# 28) has one lexical item that contains (dʒ) and (Q). The word */ʔadʒgam/* (stubborn) is rural colloquial, but this is all that we have in our data. Therefore, we resort to the context of the [dʒ] variant, where we find the (dʒ) variable in a word followed or preceded immediately by another etymological (Q) word. In a situation like this, i.e. when the lexico-phonological test is not applicable to the same lexical item step, one can resort to the same-context step, which is the second step in our lexico-phonological test that examines the stylistic level of a certain lexical item. Otherwise, The first step is more adequate and enough even if there are few cases of the same lexical item step.

What we have here is the same selected sample of the 32 informants whom we had in our previous chapter. A list of examples (table 20) comes from the highly educated male and female speakers who use the [dʒ] variant here. Actually, I can list too many similar examples. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a few counter-examples are also witnessed. The expressions */ʃaqd zawaadʒ/* (# 1; contraction of marriage), */muraafiq dʒalaalit l-malik/* (# 7; the companion of his Majesty the King) and *lqiblat l-masdʒid/* (# 37; recess in a mosque indicating the direction of Ka'ba for prayers) are used with their standard [q]. However, the special religious and technical usage of these examples is clear. This might be the reason behind this standard [q].

With regard to [θ] and [q], we are talking here about a marker and a stereotype, respectively. Logically speaking, if the marker appears to be standard, then with greater

Speaker identity	Example	Meaning
28	/mu[ʤ]tamaʕ[g]arawi/	a rural community
4	/[g]aʕadna [ʤ]anb l-baasˁ/	we sat near the bus
15	/[g]aajid [ʤ]eeʃ/	Army commander
7	/[ʤ]aar [g]adiim/	old neighbour
12	/[g]assam [ʤ]amaaʕtu/	he divided his people
25	/[g]iddaam l-[ʤ]aam ʕa/	in front of the university
16	/taa[ʤ]er [g]adiim/	old merchant
37	/[ʤ]altˁa ʕal-[g]alb/	heart jolt
31	/tii[ʤ]i n-[g]uum/	shall we go
18	/[g]isˁsˁa [ʤ]naan/	unbelievable story

Table 20. (ʤ) and (Q) in the same context

reason, the stereotype should appear standard too. While going over the data provided by some highly educated speakers, I could find the following list of examples with both (θ) and (Q) variables. These examples are presented here (table 21) according to how the (Q) and (θ) words are pronounced in their context.

Speaker identity	Example	Meaning
13	/ilkursi kan [θ]a[g]iil/	the chair was heavy
18	/[θ]aggal dammu /	he was unpleasant
28	/ʔakalit [g]i[θθ]aaje/	I ate a cucumber
36	/rafaʕt iidu kaanat [θ]a[g]iile/	I raised his hand, but it was heavy

Table 21. (θ) and (Q) in the same word

It is important to note that speakers 13 and 15 used the words *θiqa* (trust) and *θaqaafa* (culture) with the standard variant [q]. However, these words are highly literary. Since we have cases of lexical items that have (Q) and (θ) at the same time, there is no need to

apply the context step here. The reason behind this is that the same lexical item step is more indicative than the same context step.

What adds to the plausibility of our claim that it is the rural [θ] or [ʤ] which the speakers use mainly rather than the standard ones is the similarity between our findings here and Al-Wer's (1991:144) and Al-Khatib's (1988) findings. Al-Wer states that:

> ...the use of the local and CA [Classical Arabic] variant [θ] decreases as the level of education of the speakers increases. This is accompanied with an increase in the use of the non-local and non-CA variant [t].

She even finds with regard to (ʤ) that 'the higher the educational level the more frequent use of the urban variant [ʒ]' (ibid.183). In addition to that, Al-Khatib finds that 'the highly and moderately educated speakers favour the urban variant [ʒ] more often than the non-educated, who appear to utilize the standard-colloquial variant [ʤ] more frequently' (p.159). Though, I do not agree with this 'standard-colloquial' expression if it refers to the actual usage rather than the phonological classification, it might help us to note that since the highly educated speakers use [ʒ] then, generally speaking, education and standardisation are hardly found in the speech of the lower-educated speakers. Therefore, we cannot claim any more that it is the 'standard-colloquial' [ʤ] that the lower-educated speakers use. The explanation Al-Wer (1991:144-45) rightly suggests for such results is that:

> In the Middle Eastern communities, educated speakers are more aware of social values than uneducated speakers because they have had more contacts with outside communities.... The majority of our educated speakers obtained their degrees from universities or colleges outside their hometowns. If we assume that speakers usually tend to behave linguistically in the 'best possible way,' especially in a recorded interview, our data would indicate that for the group of speakers who are most sensitive to, and most aware of social values, the variant [θ] is not 'the best choice'.

If we add this explanation to my own findings and general belief that even those who use [θ] or [ʤ] do not seem to have the standard variant in mind this means that the insignificant role of education over the usage of these two variants and the decrease in their occurrence with the increase in the level of education is plausible. What is worth

mentioning also is that the lower-educated speakers in my population use [θ] and [dʒ] even more than the highly educated speakers. This simply means that those who are least likely to be influenced by Standard Arabic and standardisation use them more.

Nevertheless, some statements that come from Abdel-Jawad and Awwad (1989) with regard to the important and significant role of education on (θ) are too strong to the extent that one fears to think of counter-evidence. For example, the authors state (264) that:

> It is worth mentioning at this point that our examination of the data reveals that excepting education, other social factors seem to be less significant than the context of situation and the sex of the speaker in the distribution of the interdentals. By deduction, we may assume that educated speakers, who usually have wider stylistic ranges and more daily contacts with the standard variety, tend to use the interdental standard variants more often than uneducated speakers do.

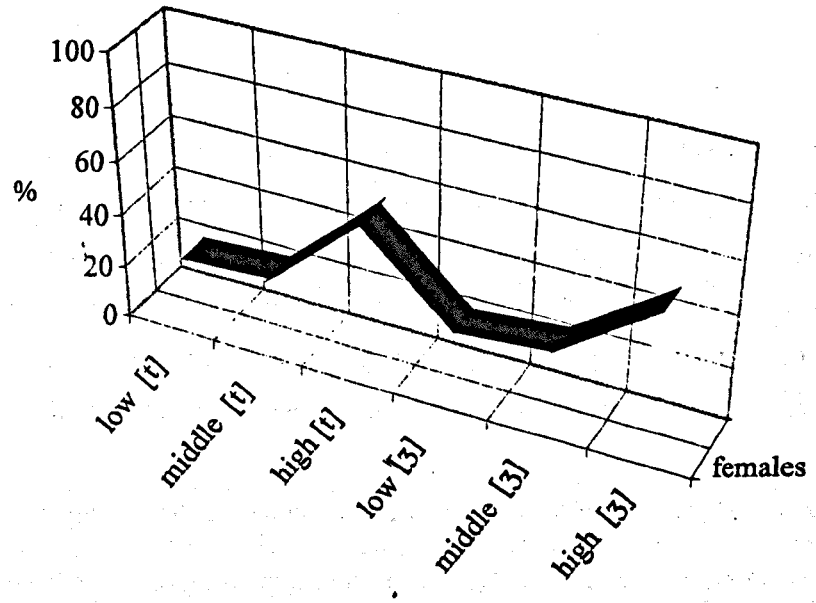
It is good to see that this expectation of the ideal educated speaker in Jordan is based on deduction mainly. The problem here is that we are still dealing with what education is expected to lead us to rather than what it really entails. In the previous discussion and presentation of some examples of etymological /θ/ words containing (θ) and (Q) we could prove that these 'daily contacts with the standard variety' do not seem to result in a real usage of the standard, unless it is deliberately intended. To be more precise, though this should be the norm it seems that education does not really necessitate this automatic shift or approximation to the standard level of Arabic. Until now, we have found that the standard variants are almost excluded from the whole process of language variation in Jordan.

This detailed analysis answers the first question that we raised at the beginning of our discussion (5.2.3) of the co-variation between education and (θ) and (dʒ), which has to do with the claim that the speech of men is more standard than that of the women because of their awareness of the national prestige of standard variants of these two phonological variables more than women. We find that though the male speakers use [θ] and [dʒ] more than the females they do not usually intend to do so because of the standard level of these variants. What motivates the male speakers to use these variants is their actual occurrence in their rural dialect and the fact that they are considered more

masculine in Jordan than the other colloquial variants. So, the decrease in the usage of [θ] and [dʒ] is possible with the increase in the level of education because we are talking now about other locally prestigious variants that the educated speakers will acquire through their out-group contacts. This paves the way for the analysis of the other urban colloquial variants here: [t]/[s] and [ʒ].

I will start here with [t] and [ʒ] because they have similar correlation with education, and because [s] has a different story with education and gender mainly. We will focus on the female speakers since they show (figure 16) remarkably higher usage of these urban variants than the male scores. It is clear from figure 18 that [t] and [ʒ] are used remarkably by the higher-educated female speakers. Therefore, the increase in the

Figure 18. Use of [t] and [ʒ] by the females across education



usage across the three levels of education is on the side of these speakers. This is attributed to the fact that education gives the chance for women in our community to get in contact with new linguistic features to acquire and accommodate to. But this fact should be considered within the frame of what Holes (1995:78) notes that this accommodation occurs very fast in Jordan to the extent that the female students at Yarmouk University in Irbid shift to the urban dialect during their first semester. This

rapid shift to the urban features makes one wonder if it really follows Milroy's (1985) network mechanism of new ties at the expense of the original in-group ties. What we see is that these educated women become aware of the social prestige of these phonological features and accommodate to them rapidly.

In this regard and under their discussion of the interaction of education and (θ) or (dʒ), Al-Wer (1991) and Al-Khatib (1988) claim that these outside group contacts have to do with the nature of the educated women's networks in our community. Al-Khatib rarely adopts this network analysis. To pursue the idea of the role of networks on language variation in Jordan, let us focus first on Al-Wer, who states that:

> In relation to the local community, the educated speakers' social networks are typically looser than the uneducated speakers', whose contacts with the local community are typically dense and frequent.... In the case of this study, the educated speakers establish links with speakers of different dialects, which make them more susceptible to accommodate to new forms.... They are also more conscious of the social values which are assigned to the use of various linguistic norms. (p.146)

To refute this claim of the typical loose ties of the educated speakers, I would like to present counter evidence from Al-Wer's own study. Bearing in mind that Al-Wer's population consists of females only, how can we accept this idea of innovation and loose network ties when we read at the very beginning of her research what she says about women in our society specially those who have changes in their lifestyles by working at the educational, governmental and health centres. Al-Wer states:

> Such apparent changes, however, do not necessarily mean that there are fundamental changes in the social value system. Studies ... indicate that social value systems and cultural conditions are less prone to change than economic realities. This is supported by responses of many of our speakers to various issues which were raised during the interviews. For instance, while many speakers express strong objections to marriages between cousins (mainly to avoid genetically passed diseases), they preferred marriages between local families. Others defended a woman's rights to be treated equally to men, yet find it, in their words, 'degrading' for their husbands and sons to participate in household duties. (p.28)

The point here is that if we have the right to read this statement within the frame of Al-Wer's 'many' and the context of working in the educational sector and being aware of the genetically passed diseases and women's rights, how can we accept her first claim that the educated speakers' networks ties are typically looser than the uneducated? If these 'typically looser' ties cannot get them outside the traditional approach of getting married to persons from the local families (i.e. strong network ties) and taking responsibility for all the household duties (i.e. traditional role of women), to what degree will they succeed with the Milroy's mechanism of linguistic innovation to acquire new phonological features? Well, even with the claim that this belief can be considered relatively in comparison with the uneducated speakers, this linguistic behaviour is not that productive, i.e. in shifting towards the urban linguistic features, in our speech community.

Though this is logically true, I do not think that this relatively loose relation can result in all that language variation and then change in our speech community. The 'relativity' case should be considered as an exception rather than a springboard to jump into the network analysis. Bearing in mind what Holes (1995) reports about the rapid shift of the female students at Yarmouk University in Irbid in their first semester, do our female speakers go according to the network approach in their innovation by building new multi-ties and then loosening their in-group ties? I do not think the extremely short time that Holes (1995) or S. Suleiman (1985) mentions with the heavily rooted cultural, social and religious norms fit these psycho-socio-linguistic mechanisms. Therefore, I believe that the network ties do not loosen as fast as the accommodation of the females to the new urban linguistic features.

5.2.3.1.1. [s] as a quasi-standard variant

What is left hanging in our previous discussion is the last variant that is supposed to cover not only education but also gender and class. The [s] variant has special importance here because of Schmidt's (1974) belief that the phonological rule that changes the interdentals into sibilants happens after the completion of the first phonological rule that changs the interdentals into stops. The motive for the occurrence of this rule is the classicisation of certain items borrowed from Standard Arabic. This is

done by educated or semi-educated persons in an attempt to imitate the interdental [θ]. We will examine the [s] variant to see if it is really used with literary items only as Schmidt 1974; Gairdner 1925; Cleveland 1963, etc., have claimed or if it is also found in informal colloquial ones (Abdel-Jawad and Awwad 1989).

The quantitative results show that the [s] variant hardly appears among the lower and middle educated speakers (fig. 17). Even the higher-educated speakers use it rarely. Though this variant rarely appears among the highly educated speakers, one cannot deny that it is one of the variants of (θ) in Jordan and that it may be at its early stage. Therefore, Schmidt's (1974) sibilization rule, which changes /θ/ into /s/, may have just started in Jordanian Arabic. However, this is not the only reason for this slight occurrence of the [s] items in the speech of our population in this study. What I also suggest is that the [s] items are restricted to a certain lexical category that decreases the amount of its occurrence in comparison with the other two variants of (θ). This belief completely contradicts Abdel-Jawad and Awwad's (1989:266) claim that it is the [t] items that have become restricted and 'are not used in newly introduced lexical items but only occur in a very limited and almost closed set of lexical items,' and that the [s] variant occurs with non-literary items.

To prove that the [s] items are lexically restricted and that they are not expected to occur in nonliterary items, I want to do two main things. I would like to examine Abdel-Jawad and Awwad's data and then examine my own data to see how [s] is actually used. With regard to Abdel-Jawad and Awwad, the authors collected their data from natural conversations with 46 Jordanian speakers by using the Labovian model, TV talk shows, discussions, and interviews with 6 Jordanians, 5 Egyptians and 8 Syrians, a word list with the interdentals given to the respondents to pronounce them and finally some earlier references that described dialects in the region. They classified this data according to three styles: high formal, formal, and informal style.

We just want here to focus on the authors' [t]/[s] or [s] items and see how they might be lexically categorised. All their [t] and [s] items, i.e. those that occur with the two variants, are Standard Arabic words. In Jordanian Arabic, these items are borrowed from Standard Arabic and assimilated into the Jordanian dialect usually with phonological changes or by having other non-(θ) equivalent colloquial forms. For

example, the following few items that come from Abdel-Jawad and Awwad can be commented on to see how [s] behaves.

1-*ʔunθa* (female) is a pure standard word. People usually say *binit* (girl) or *mara* (woman) for the same term. Nevertheless, *ʔunθa* is also used, but with its standard status or by pronouncing it as *ʔinθa*. In the urban dialect, it is usually *ʔunsa*.

2-miθil (similar, proverb, or example etc.). This word with its other lexical forms is also borrowed from Standard Arabic. When people want to use the colloquial equivalent to give the meaning of 'similar' they say *zaj*. The interesting thing is that the derivatives for 'proverb' or 'for example' do not have pure colloquial equivalents.

3- *baʕaθ* (send, resurrect, etc.) In addition to being standard, this word is highly religious or technical. Its colloquial equivalent is */wadda/* (send), unless it means 'resurrect.' Other meanings that are expressed by the standard form only, e.g. */biʕθa/* (scholarship), */mabʕuuθ/* (representative), etc.

4- *θaar* (stir, rebel, raise, etc.) Again, here we are talking about a standard item that even the authors list one of the derivatives of its root, i.e. *θawra* 'uprising,' under the category of the words that occur with the [s] variant only.

These are but a few examples of what might be listed under Arabic lexical terms, which are borrowed from Standard Arabic, sometimes assimilated to the phonological rules of the colloquial, by the speakers in their everyday speech. What I like to conclude here is that, though there are certain words that might be used with [t] and [s] variants this does not mean that the sibilant is spreading across the different style levels in the Jordanian Arabic. This proves that the two phonological rules of changing the /θ/ into /t/ or /s/ might overlap but within the frame of words that are borrowed from Standard Arabic. It is an indication that Schmidt's (1974) first rule is at an advanced stage in Jordan but his second rule of sibilizing /θ/ has just started; this change does not exceed the literary items of the (θ) words. So, when the authors show that certain items are used with [s] more frequently than [t], this might indicate that the second phonological rule

has started separating itself and appearing, though weakly, as a distinct rule in the words borrowed from Standard Arabic only.

With regard to our data, we have examples almost similar to the ones in Abdel-Jawad and Awwad's. But it is interesting to see that in my data some of the authors' [t] or [s] items occur with [s] only. For example, */maθalan/* "for example" is exclusively used with [s] by the higher-class females. It is not used with the [t] variant at all. One of the highly educated higher-class female speakers uses this word with the [θ] variant once and with [s] twice. The word */nataħaddaθ/* (talk) is used in the researchers' data with the two variants, but in my data there is not a single occurrence for the [t] variant. In addition to the fact it is a standard word, the existence of an original /t/ sound in the word itself reduces if not deletes the variation of /θ/ to /t/. This is found with other similar examples in my data, e.g. */i[s]baat/* 'evidence,' */ji[s]abbit/* 'fix,' */t[s]uur/*, 'to rebel against.'

This suggests that there these words are phonologically determined. So, the words that take [s] rather than [t] might be lexically determined, being formal, and phonologically determined. The other derivatives of the root */ħdθ/* (talk) are also used with the [s] variant. The same goes for the root */θwr/* (rebel); almost all of its derivates are used with the [s] variant. The only exception here is */θaur/* 'bull'. It is used only once as */[t]our/*. With regard to Abdel-Jawad and Awwad's */θnj/*, this root is used to mean mainly two things: 'seconds' for time and 'secondly' for order; for time reference, contrary to what the researchers have, the speakers use */saanje/*, while for 'secondly' the same word is used with [t] only.

What we conclude from this is that the [s] items follow Schmidt's (1974) belief and are used as a classicisation of the words borrowed from Standard Arabic. However, the rule that produces them overlaps with the stops rule in our speech community. In addition to that and contrary to what Abdel-Jawad and Awwad (1989) believe, this overlapping is still within the frame of the literary words. Moreover, it seems that certain words that occurred in Abdel-Jawad and Awwad's data have started restricting themselves to the [s] variant in my data. This suggests that the [s] items are literary and quasi-standard. Once the rule of sibilising the interdentals becomes active, I expect

these literary [t]/[s] items to swerve towards the [s] variant gradually but not completely. There are literary [t] items that do not shift to [s]. Thus, not all the literary items are expected to shift to [s] in the future, but all the [s] items are expected to be literary only.

Since we believe that the urban dialect in Jordan is non-local, we can examine our claim of the restriction of [s] to literary items with another neighbouring urban centre that is ahead in the application of the sibilization rule. This might be a real time anticipation of what might happen to the urban dialect in Jordan. The most recent study in this regard is the one conducted in Damascus by Daher (1998b:222). The author finds that there is,

> ...a distinction in the degree of prestige enjoyed by [s]/[z] and [t]/[d]: [s]/[z] is approximating SA [Standard Arabic] [θ]/[ð] more closely than [t]/[d] does: [s]/[z] is commonly accepted as a "quasi-SA" variant...the prestige enjoyed by the [s]/[z] results precisely from the re-introduction of [θ]/[ð] into the dialect or, more accurately, the attempt by speakers accustomed to producing only the [t]/[d] to imitate the SA [θ]/[ð] learned in the course of formal education.

If we think of the process of language variation in Jordan as moving towards how the urban features are realised in a place like Damascus or other neighbouring urban centres, then Daher's findings support our expectation and reflect what [s] items will be like in the future in Jordan.

5.2.4. Age

What is left here is the fourth social variable and its co-variation with (θ) and (ʤ). Again, we find that age is not significant in its correlation with these phonological variables (table 22). It seems clear that age is not significant with all the phonological variables that we have discussed until now. This is not strange since we talk about a non-local urban dialect that people have recently started shifting to especially with regard to the non-salient phonological variants. This is supported by the fact that the urban centres in Jordan were not created in a manner similar to the other urban cities in the Arab world.

ANOVA

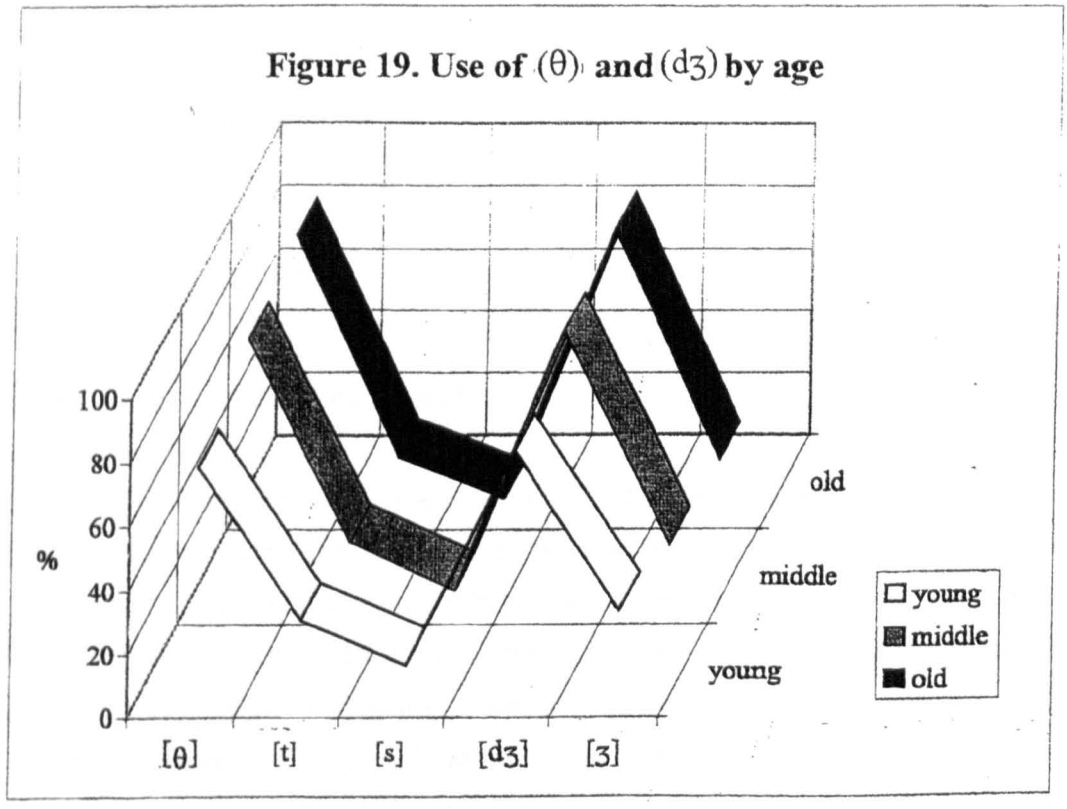
Variables	Variants	F	Sig.
(θ)	[θ]	1.213	.304
	[t]	1.303	.278
	[s]	.735	.483
(dʒ)	[dʒ]	.646	.526
	[ʒ]	.646	.526

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

Table 22. Use of (θ) and (dʒ) by age

When we study the frequency of occurrence (fig. 19) of (θ) and (dʒ), we find that the younger generation use [θ] less than the middle generation and older one. As for [dʒ], younger generation also use it less than the middle age and old speakers. What seems to happen here, similar to (D), is a difference between the younger generation on one side

Figure 19. Use of (θ) and (dʒ) by age



and the middle and older generation on the other. This difference is not very clear since we are dealing with non-salient phonological variants. However, the fact that the younger generation use [θ] less than [dʒ] is a further evidence that it is more salient than [dʒ].

As for the urban variants, the younger generation, the females mainly, tend to use [t], [s] and [ʒ] more than the other age groups. If we relate this finding to our previous claim about the increasing gap between two major age groups with regard to the prestigious urban variants, we find that [ʔ], [dˤ], [t], [ʒ] and even [s] are markers of the younger generation who use them more than the middle and older generations. The usage of these urban variants increases in the speech of the higher-class females who have outside group contacts through the educational institutes.

The findings of the co-variation of age with (θ) and (dʒ) can be summarised as:

*** Age is not significant in its correlation with (θ) and (dʒ).**

*** [θ] and [dʒ] tend to increase with age.**

*** The urban [t], [s] and [ʒ] variants tend to decrease with age.**

*** There is a tendency for the younger generation to differentiate themselves from the linguistic behaviour of the middle and older speakers in these non-salient phonological variables.**

5.2.4.1. Interpretation of age results

What I suggest for the lack of significant correlation between age and all the phonological variables is the difference in the creation of the urban centre in Jordan and other neighbouring areas. The establishment of the kingdom of Jordan and the massive implantation of the urban dialects in it created socioeconomic imbalances that became part of the new hybrid community. These imbalances shaped later on the main three classes in Jordan. With regard to the rural community of Jordan, the upper socioeconomic class in Jordan has become the model of their linguistic variation and

shift. This started late, mainly after the 1970s. The old picture of unity and coexistence was re-shaped after the seventies. The political and military conflicts at that time led the government to stress the role of the indigenous community in the modernisation process; this did not change the fact that the urban Palestinians were the elite who had their prestigious dialect and better life styles. At the risk of generalisation, it is right to say that the elite in Jordan have always been mainly urban Palestinians.

So, after the seventies the rural Jordanian speakers, the females mainly, started considering the other side of the coin, which reflected the urbanisation status of the elite. This linguistic effect of the urban Palestinian dialect on the other dialectal groups of Jordan became more effective later on through the social channels of education and employment. Actually, Al-Wer (1999a:42) believes that the process of modernisation in Jordan started after 'Jordan's recognition of the PLO in 1974 as the sole representative of the Palestinians.' Therefore, and through that modernisation process the innovators in the Jordanian speech communities had different types of contacts. The urban Palestinian dialect became the tongue of the elite and then the model for others to imitate.

However, when we mention the innovators who are usually the females in our speech community we should know that they were excluded from this modernisation process in the seventies and mid eighties at least (see Al-Wer 1999a). Thus, such insignificant correlation between age and the phonological variables of the study is expected. The standard variants are not part of language variation in Jordan, and the urban features have recently become the focus of the other non-urban dialect speakers due to the late process of modernisation and dialectal contacts. Therefore, it is not surprising that what we have with age sometimes are two main age groups that include the middle and older-generation on one side and the younger generation on the other. Bearing in mind that our younger generation includes those who are between 15 and 29 years old, or what I call the generation of the late modernisation process, the tendency for language variation is expected to start here.

The other issues that might be raised here are related to the finding that the younger generation (the generation of the late modernisation process) is usually the locus of innovation in our speech community. This might be attributed to the fact that they are in contact with outside group norms and that there is social motivation for this

innovation even from their immediate families. This social motivation has to do with what is linguistically suitable for these female innovators. Al-Khatib (1988) reports similar findings with regard to (θ) and (ʤ). He finds that [t] is increasing gradually and that 'the younger age group of women appeared to be more innovative than any other group' (p. 232). Therefore, he rightly expects a sound change in progress. As for (ʤ), the author finds that the younger generation use the urban variant [ʒ] more than the other age groups and that 'there is a sharp distinction between the younger age group on the one hand, and the middle-aged and the older age groups on the other' (p.170).

To bring a real time evidence for this possible sound change, we can compare our data here with Al-Wer's (1991) findings. The problem with Al-Khatib (1988) in this regard is that the author does not present clear and straightforward results for all the variants of (θ) and (ʤ) across age. Therefore, we cannot include his findings under this real time comparison. With regard to Al-Wer (1991), another important fact should be highlighted. The researcher does not consider [s] as one of the variants of (θ) in her research. Therefore, there is a major difference in the distribution of the overall usage of (θ). However, if we compare her results (table 23) with our findings (figure 19) we find

Age Groups	[θ]	[t]
18-28	79	21
29-39	82	18
40-60	84	16

Table 23. Al-Wer's (1991) usage of (θ) by three age groups

that the frequency of the usage of [θ] by her first three age groups is higher than its usage by the three age groups of the current research. This means that the occurrence of [θ] is decreasing in the speech of the younger speakers. As for [t], its frequency of occurrence is almost similar in the two studies, though my younger speakers use it slightly more than Al-Wer's younger speakers. Bearing in mind that (θ) in our current research stratifies into an urban [s] also, this means that the younger generation decrease the usage of [θ] for the benefit of the urban colloquial [t] and [s].

As for (dʒ), the first three age groups of Al-Wer use [dʒ] more than our three age groups do. Her younger generation use this variant (83%) less than the middle-aged speakers (85%) and then the 40-60 year old speakers (93%). The occurrence of [ʒ] in the speech of these three groups, 17%, 15% and 7%, correspondingly, is lower than its occurrence in the speech of our three age groups. This also indicates the possibility of change in progress with regard to these two linguistic variables in the speech of the Jordanian community.

5.3. Summary

In this chapter, two linguistic variables have been analysed. The (θ) and (dʒ) variables are analysed together due to the fact that their standard variants are also used in the rural Jordanian dialect and that these two linguistic variables have similar degree of social awareness. However, a precise comparison between these two variables shows that (θ) is more salient than (dʒ). In this regard, it could be right to say that a hierarchical ordering of the linguistic variables of this study locates (Q) on the top of this hierarchy, followed by (D), (θ) and finally (dʒ).

With regard to the major findings under the correlation of the social variables with (θ) and (dʒ), we have found that the two linguistic variables have similar significant correlation with class. The higher-class speakers use the urban variants [t], [s] and [ʒ], while the other social classes use [θ] and [dʒ]. However, these two variants are still frequent in the speech of the higher-class speakers since they do not attract a high degree of social awareness.

These findings are almost repeated under the correlation of gender with (θ) and (dʒ). The significant correlation between gender and these two linguistic variables is similar to that under class. It is the female speakers who use the urban variants remarkably more than the males. A close analysis of the usage of these two linguistic variables by the females shows that they still maintain a considerable degree of the non-

urban [θ] and [dʒ]. This relates us also to the above-mentioned assumption of the low degree of social awareness that these two linguistic variables raise.

As for education and age, one notices the general pattern of insignificant correlation for these two social variables with the linguistic variables of the study. Education does not have significant correlation with (θ) and (dʒ). Age does not show significant correlation with these two linguistic variables, though it is the older and middle-aged speakers who use [θ] and [dʒ] heavily. The embedded contradiction here is with the findings that the females initiate the quasi-standard [s], while the males maintain [θ] and [dʒ]. It was difficult for us to label these last two variants with terms like 'standard,' 'rural' or even 'standard-rural' until we used the lexico-phonological test to show that it was for their colloquial association that the male speakers maintained [θ] and (dʒ). This simply means that, in comparison with the females, the speech of men is not more standard but conservative. The term 'conservative' in a diglossic language like Arabic means maintenance of the original dialect, be it prestigious or not, rather than a shift towards the nationally Standard Arabic or the regionally prestigious colloquial.

Within the frame of language variation in the Jordanian speech community, the higher-educated younger female speakers shift towards the locally prestigious urban dialect. Though we usually claim that these speakers have better access to education, in comparison with the other age groups, it seems that the standard variety is not part of their language variation. Whether this finding has to do with the social attitude attached to the standard variants as being masculine, e.g. [θ], [dʒ], etc. or feminine, e.g. [dˤ], or with the competing prestige of the urban colloquial and the fossilisation of the standard variety, this finding raises a more important question of what we actually mean by 'prestige' in the Arabic variationist studies. Since education, which is the major source that feeds Standard Arabic, does not lead to an automatic shift towards the standard variety one should reconsider the real prestige of this variety.

In this regard, one finds that the institutional support of Standard Arabic has not given it a functional prestige to become the target of the highly educated speakers. The traditional claim of the standard level of the males' speech has been proved through the

lexcio-phonological test to be maintenance of the original colloquial rather than the standard variants of the double-membership variants, i.e. those used in Standard Arabic and one of the colloquials. Therefore, I suggest a re-labelling of the terms to become a 'functionally prestigious regional colloquial' and a 'domain-restricted prestigious Standard Arabic'. The reason behind restricting the prestige of Standard Arabic to certain religious and literary domains goes in line with the insignificant participation of the standard variants in language variation in this study and other studies (see Al-Wer 1991).

Moreover, the assumption that education does not lead to an automatic shift towards the standard variety or even the decrease in the usage of certain colloquial variants, e.g. [g] of (Q), proves that the standard variants are used only when the speakers want to sound educated or to deliberately elevate their speech. Bearing in mind that change in language systems does not originate in the monitored styles, which 'tend to be affected by public and even literary norms' (J. Milroy 1992:148), and that this change is usually attributed to 'prestige' then one should apply this equation to the diglossic languages carefully. In this regard, we find that change that originates in the everyday non-monitored or non-self-conscious styles shifts usually towards the urban or 'capital city' dialect of the Arabic speech communities. If we add to this finding the fact that learning Standard Arabic has become like learning Latin to a French or an Italian (Ibrahim 1983) and that the regional standard variety is spreading to new areas (Ibrahim 1986) then the labels 'functionally prestigious regional colloquial' and a 'domain-restricted prestigious' Standard Arabic are plausible.

CHAPTER SIX

Overview and Conclusion

6.0. Overview

This research intended to study the phonological variation that occurs in the natural uncontrolled everyday speech of the Fallaḥi people in Jordan. Four linguistic variables were examined: (Q), (D), (θ) and (dʒ). A sample of the population was chosen quasi-randomly to be as representative as possible. The subjects of the study were divided into different sublevels according to their class, gender, education and age. The correlations between the linguistic variables and the social variables were examined within the frame of the assumptions suggested at the beginning of the study (p.4). In the following sections, we would like to pull the strands of this research together. We intend to summarise the findings under the social and linguistic variables of the study. Then, the validity of the assumptions of the research will be questioned to see if they fit within the general findings of the research.

6.1. Summary of the main findings under the social variables

In this research we have adopted a general belief built on the fact that 'a theory of variation as a social practice sees speakers as constituting, rather than representing, broad social categories, and it sees speakers as constructing, as well as responding to, the social meaning of variation' (Eckert 2000:3). These social and cultural meanings are usually reflected in language. They even constitute the principles and rules that govern language variation. They 'take the form of social and stylistic constraints like socio-economic class, age, sex, ethnic identity...' (Jassem 1993:277). Therefore, our aim in the course of this research has been to highlight the social factors underlying language variation in Jordan. These factors revolve around the fact that

> the interpretation of data from Jordan cannot (and should not) ignore the impact of the major political events which have determined the socio-political shape of Jordan ever since it existed as a separate state.

> The events on the other side of the River have caused a social upheaval in Jordan resulting in major demographic changes and the emergence and further manifestation of a local Jordanian identity. The novel aspect of this approach lies in recognising the evolution of the social meanings associated with the use of various linguistic forms. (Al-Wer 1999a:53)

In this regard, we understand how linguistic variables might differ in their degree of salience and amount of variation. These linguistic variables embody the social and cultural meanings of the speech community with their interplay with the different class, sex, education and age groups of the community. In the following paragraphs, we intend to highlight the findings under the social variables of this study.

6.1.1. Class

It has become clear that class as a social variable is an important factor to be examined with variationist studies in Jordan (2.6.4.1). For all the linguistic variables, it is apparent that the higher-social class speakers among the ruralites in Jordan shift towards the prestigious urban variants that they acquire from the urban Palestinian dialect (3.3.1, 4.4.1 & 5.2.1). The borrowing of these linguistic features is attributed to two facts. First, the economically powerful group in Jordan is the West Bank Jordanians who use the urban Palestinian dialect. Second, 'the Palestinians in Jordan, the majority of whom settled in urban centres...gradually came to play a major role in shaping and defining the modernisation of the country... [T]hey were better trained to take over business and public sector jobs' (Al-Wer 1999a:41). The result was that 'these dominant economic and political roles, unsurprisingly, led to the rapid spread of urban Palestinian linguistic features...' (ibid.). The higher-social class Jordanian ruralites have acquired and borrowed these new urban features to suit their socioeconomic status.

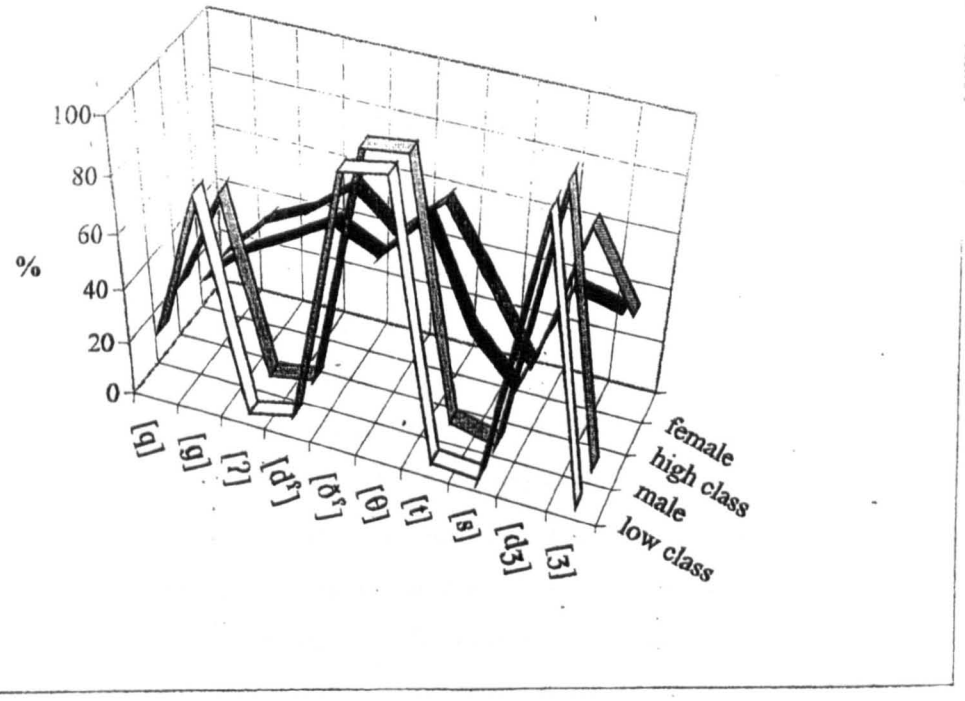
6.1.2. Gender

Gender patterns in this study show that the female rural speakers are the innovators in the Jordanian speech community (1.2). They acquire the urban Palestinian dialect since they regard it as more modernised and prestigious. The male speakers do not show as strong a movement towards the urban Palestinian dialect as the females.

This has been attributed to two facts: the socio-political conflict in Jordan and the social and attitudinal realisations underlying the linguistic variables as being masculine and feminine (3.4.2).

In this regard, we find that class and gender cut across each other. They are the most important social factors that correlate significantly with the linguistic variables of the study. It is also interesting to find (fig. 20) that across all the linguistic variants there is a strong similarity in the linguistic behaviour of the male speakers and the lower social class and the females and the higher social class. This is why we think it is important for any sociolinguistic study in Jordan not to ignore the above-mentioned socio-political factors and masculinity/femininity dimensions of language variation in Jordan.

Figure 20. Use of all linguistic variables by class and gender



6.1.3. Education

In this research, we have argued that education as a social factor does not correlate independently with language variation in Jordan (3.4.3). Simply speaking, the increase in the level of education does not entail a direct increase in the usage of the standard phonological variants in Arabic. This has been attributed to the fact that the diglossic or multiglossic nature of Arabic has widened to the extent that Standard Arabic rarely participates in language variation in Arabic. The only standard phonological variant that seems to be explained by education (3.3.3) is [q]. However, the usage of this variant is restricted to certain lexical items borrowed from Standard Arabic for their religious, cultural...etc. nature (3.4.4). As for the other linguistic variables, their standard variants are also used in one of the dialects in Jordan. Therefore, it seems that with the application of the lexico-phonological test (4.4.3.1) one can conclude, at the risk of generalisation, that these variants are markers of a colloquial rather than a 'standard' level.

6.1.4. Age

With regard to age, certain variationist studies (e.g. Al-Khatib 1988) found that the younger generation were more educated because of their better access to all categories of educational institutions. In the current research, we have found that the younger generation use the locally prestigious variants more than the standard ones, especially with regard to the most salient phonological variant [q] (3.3.4.1). This general finding sounds logical when we consider that for these younger speakers education or entering schools or universities is looked on as a social means for contact with other groups. When we relate this assumption to the finding that the younger female speakers are the innovators in our speech community and that the urban linguistic features are considered more suitable to them, then we understand why these younger speakers shift towards the urban features more than the standard ones.

6.2. Summary of the main findings under the linguistic variables

With regard to the linguistic variables of the research, there seems to be a clear-cut difference between the urban and rural linguistic features. The findings under the linguistic variables of the study show that this bi-dialectal continuum in Jordan leans on three major bases: the degree of overt criticism attached to certain linguistic variables, the possibility of sound change in progress and the role of class and gender. The reason behind stressing the role of class and gender in language variation in Jordan stems from the fact that they are the only two social variables that have significant correlations with all the linguistic variables of the current study.

6.2.1. The (Q) variable

The usage of this linguistic variable stratifies the Jordanian speakers into two major groups: the urbanites and the ruralites. This generalisation does not take into account the fact that the standard variant [q] correlates significantly with the sex (3.3.2) and education level (3.3.3) of the speaker. The reason behind this is based on the finding that the innovators, i.e. the females, in the Jordanian speech community do not use this variant significantly and that the increase in the usage of [q] does not mean that it replaces the colloquial [g] or [ʔ]. This makes the usage of [q] subject to lexical conditioning (3.4.4). 'The lexical conditioning in the use of [q] is not peculiar to Jordan, and has been found elsewhere in the Arab world, but the Jordanian case is particularly clear since there is no local dialect whose normal reflex of (Q) is [q]. Strictly speaking, the variation in the use of (q) in Jordan involves [g] and [ʔ] only' (Al-Wer 2000a:14-15, fn. 3).

Usage of the variants [g] and [ʔ] generally stratifies the speakers into users of the urban dialect and users of the rural dialect. The urban speakers, mainly the higher-class females, use the urban Palestinian [ʔ], while the rural speakers, mainly the males, maintain the rural Jordanian [g]. The question of language identity might be better understood if we know that [ʔ] is viewed as more feminine and suitable to women, while [g] is more masculine and suitable to men. In this regard, even certain lower-class

female speakers were found to use [ʔ], while the males from the different class levels maintain the Jordanian shibboleth [g]. The high degree of salience attached to this linguistic variable, with the fact that even the higher-class female speakers (fig. 11) use this variant more than the other rural Jordanian variants, does not indicate that there is a possible sound change towards the locally prestigious Palestinian [ʔ].

6.2.2 The (D) variable

As for the variable (D), the two social variables that correlate significantly with it are class and gender (4.4.2.1). The urban variant [dˤ] increases with higher class, especially among the female speakers at the expense of the rural [ðˤ]. However, this linguistic variable is not as salient as (Q). Therefore, it does not receive overt comment as much as (Q). The younger female higher-class speakers do not use its rural variant [ðˤ] as much as they use the rural [g] and the younger male speakers use [dˤ] more than they use [ʔ].

Based on these findings it is claimed that there is a possible sound change in progress (4.4.4.1) with regard to (D). This change, which is towards the urban [dˤ], is led by the females and is not subject to criticism by the community when the male speakers participate in it. The finding (fig. 14) that the younger generation use [dˤ] almost twice as much as the middle-age group and the older speakers supports this claim. The comparison of the findings of the current research with the findings of previous studies (4.4.4.1) shows that the younger speakers in our research are one generation ahead of the younger speakers in Al-Khatib's (1988) and Al-Wer's (1991) studies. The reason behind this claim is the similarity in the frequency of usage of [dˤ] by our middle-aged group to that found in Al-Khatib's and Al-Wer's younger speakers.

6.2.3 The (θ) and (dʒ) variables

With regard to (θ) and (dʒ), it is clear that the same line of urban/rural stratification found in the other linguistic variables is repeated here. The higher-social class females shift towards the urban [t]/[s] and [ʒ] (5.2.1.1 & 5.2.2.1)). Moreover, the males participate, though not remarkably, in the shift towards [t]. The [s] variant is still at its early stages, but its initiation by the females coincides with the usage of [t]. In other words, the phonological rules for changing /θ/ into /t/ or /s/ operate together rather than successively. Moreover, /θ/ is still a phonemic entry in the phonological system of the Jordanian dialect. This has been attributed to the fact that the urban dialect in Jordan is not an indigenous dialect (5.1.3). Its spread in the urban centres in Jordan came as a result of the massive waves of external immigration rather than a natural internal process of modernisation.

There is no identity conflict underlying the usage of (θ) and (dʒ). In addition to that, the belief that [s] is a quasi-standard variant (5.2.3.1.1) strengthens the claim that a process of sound change is more likely to happen. In this regard, [s] is used as an urban quasi-standard variant instead of [θ]. This goes hand in hand with the shift towards the other urban variants [t] and [ʒ]. This indicates that there is a general process of sound change led by the females and expected to operate on the non-salient linguistic variables.

6.3. The validity of the assumptions of the research

In the course of this research, we have tried to examine language variation in the natural speech of rural Jordanians within the frame of six assumptions laid down (p.4) at the very beginning of the study. If we shuffle these assumptions, we find that they fall in four broad categories. In this section, we intend to question the validity of these four broad assumptions in the light of the findings of the research.

6.3.1. Standard Arabic and colloquial Jordanian Arabic have their own prestige

It is for the sake of brevity that this first assumption does not include what we stated at the beginning of the study that even at the functional level, the urban dialect in Jordan might be more prestigious than the standard variety. To justify this assumption, I will highlight the statistical findings under the social variable of education and re-examine what the term 'prestige' functionally means.

With regard to most of the phonological variables, education has been found to play no significant correlation with them. The only exception is (Q). As a salient variable one needs to remember that [q] seems to be lexically conditioned (3.4.4). Its borrowing from Standard Arabic suits the religious and literary status of the lexicons used by speakers to signal a deliberate raising of the style of their speech (Holes 1995:66). As for the 'standard' variants of (D), (θ) and (ʤ), we have found through the lexico-phonological test (4.4.3.1 & 5.2.3.1) that their double-membership nature and their usage as colloquial variants in the urban dialect, e.g. [dˁ], and rural dialect, e.g. [θ] and [ʤ], might be the reason behind their frequent usage by the speakers. The hypothesis that we argued for was that if there were a linear correlation between higher education and increased use of the standard variants, this use would not be restricted to one variant over another variant within the same lexical item or syntactic phrase. In this regard, the speaker who deliberately wants to sound educated cannot but use [q]. What we found was that with the double-membership variants, i.e. standard and colloquial, speakers use them with the colloquial variants of (Q). Then one can hardly say that they are used as a direct result of the increase in the level of education.

With regard to 'prestige,' this term is usually associated with Standard Arabic (1.1). However, Arab linguists are aware of the competing prestige of the colloquial dialect. Therefore, they tend to differentiate between Standard Arabic as nationally prestigious and colloquial Arabic, usually the urban or national capital dialect, as locally prestigious. This, and other studies (Ibrahim 1983; Kaye 1994) have noted that Standard Arabic has become Latin-like to students and that its standard phonological variants do not play a role in language variation in Jordan (Al-Wer 1991). Therefore, one needs to redefine the terms 'prestige' and 'standard'. If we view 'variation as a function of attention paid to speech' with 'an emphasis on poles of prestige and stigma' (Eckert

2000: 213), then one should start thinking of what might be labelled as functional prestige and domain restricted prestige (5.3).

Within the functional prestige, the urban dialect serves as a target for the innovators to shift to. Regardless of their level of education, the phonological variation in the speech of the innovators in our speech community, the females, is towards the urban dialect. Therefore, we have found (1.1) that due to the diglossic nature of Arabic a double-headed triangle should be suggested to locate the urban dialect as well as Standard Arabic in an equal position. In this regard, I tend to ignore the historical, religious and cultural roles of Standard Arabic. The reason behind that is the fact that these nostalgic attitudes do not arise when we deal with language variation in Arabic. After all, 'sociolinguistic research...has established reasonably clearly that change in language systems generally originates in casual and everyday usage rather than in the more monitored and self-conscious styles' (J. Milroy 1992: 148). Therefore, our focus in language variation should be on what speakers actually use in their everyday language rather than what the literary norms motivate them to deliberately elevate their styles to. In this regard, we find that the prestige of Standard Arabic is domain restricted. Such a claim might irritate some traditionalists and remind them of Kaye's (1970) ill-formed/well-formed classification. Though I disagree with Kaye's generalisation and proposal for solving the problem, I still believe that at the functional level Standard Arabic has become Latin-like and its prestige is domain restricted.

As for the term 'standard', what might be suggested here is that the phonological variants that are referred to as standard variants, e.g. [q] of (Q), [d^{ς}] of (D), [θ] of (θ) and [ʤ] of (ʤ), might be labelled as 'prescriptive' variants rather than 'standard' variants. Such a term reminds us of the fact that the 'high' variety of Arabic is used in very formal contexts. It is taught at schools and other religious settings, and it is used, mainly, when the speakers want to sound educated. It is not used by speakers outside these formal or religious contexts, and language variation in Jordan does not include Standard Arabic as one of its competing varieties. Moreover, the term 'prestige' that is usually associated with the standard variety in the Western context will be better understood when we refer to these variants, e.g. [q], [d^{ς}], [θ], [ʤ], etc, as 'prescriptive' variants rather than 'standard' ones. The thing that this 'prescriptive' term helps us with here is that those double-membership variants, i.e. the variants that are used in Standard

Arabic and one of the colloquial dialects also, will become well split. If the term 'prestige' is usually associated with 'standard', then we can say that the variety that is usually functionally prestigious in Jordan, due to the shift of people towards it, is the prestigious and nationally standard urban one. Then its variants will be referred to as the nationally standard urban variants, e.g. [d^{ς}]. As for the prescriptive variant of (D), it might be called the prescriptive [d^{ς}] variant.

This means that the term 'prescriptive' will solve more than one problem. At the terminological level, one might be able to make a split between the urban and prescriptive levels of the variants that have double membership. Moreover, such an approach will fit within the general trend in the sociolinguistic studies of associating 'standard' and 'prestige' with each other. The only thing to be added here is 'national' due to the diglossic nature of Arabic and the fact that its 'high' variety has always been the media for writing. A question that might arise here is that: is a certain variety prestigious because of being standard or standard because of being prestigious? If we bear in mind that it is the speakers who make any language alive and it is the usage of this variety that determines whether this variety is functionally prestigious or not in comparison to other varieties then it is prestige that makes a certain variety standard rather than the opposite. The history of Arabic, and other languages as well, prove that the standardisation process comes after a certain variety is chosen by certain speakers to become a supra-dialect and then standard. Therefore, a term like 'nationally prestigious standard variant' denotes that this variant is used by its speakers because of having a high level of prestige and because of being sensitive to the social norms of a certain speech community.

6.3.2. Gender and social class explain language variation in Jordan more than the other social variables

As we have found out, age seems to be relatively unimportant in the process of language variation in Jordan. There is a tendency for change across age, but this tendency is not remarkable. This fact confirms the findings of other linguists (e.g. Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Khatib 1988) in the area. It is important that lack of significant correlation with age means that the process of language variation with regard to age is

still going on but has not reached the level of completion yet. The growing difference between age groups in the usage of the linguistic variables examined in this study shows that there is a tendency for correlation and that this tendency might turn out to be significant in the future. With regard to education, the way it has been examined shows that it is a proxy variable that covers other social factors. The difficulty in examining the role of class in language variation in any speech community stems from the fact that the researcher finds himself dealing with more than one thing at the same time. He/she should design a suitable indicative scale that builds on socioeconomic indicators, which might reflect as neatly as possible the linguistic behaviour of the speech community. If we add to this the fact that in the Arab world classes are better seen as socially interrelated circles rather than hierarchically interest-based layers one finds it easier to examine other social variables rather than class. However, when it comes to language variation it seems that half the truth of language variation in Jordan is related to the role of class.

We have found that class has a significant correlation with all the linguistic variables in the study. The importance of class in our research suits the general conclusion that within the diglossic nature of Arabic there are two 'prestigious' varieties at the top of the hierarchy. If we exclude Standard Arabic from language variation in Jordan, then what is left is the prestigious urban variety. The main reason behind the speakers' shift towards this variety is prestige. This notion is usually related to status hierarchies. So, the role of class cannot be disregarded. By examining the role of class in language variation in Jordan, one finds that the notion of 'prestige' is closely associated with the regionally prestigious urban variety rather than Standard Arabic as has been traditionally claimed in earlier studies. What adds more to the significance of class is the important role of gender.

If we check figure 20 we find that there is a strong similarity between gender and class. Focusing on the leaders of innovation in our speech community, we note that the females copy to a great degree the higher class. It is important to note that even a few lower class female speakers use some linguistic features of the urban dialect, i.e. the higher-class dialect. Therefore, it is believed that the status of this dialect is inseparable from class and that females are influenced by class and move towards the dialect associated with the higher class. With regard to males, their unremarkable participation

in language variation in Jordan reflects certain cultural and social factors that frame the men with the image of masculinity and toughness. This is why it is socially more suitable for them to be conservative, i.e. making more use of the rural dialect, than innovative.

6.3.3. Education is no longer the dominant variable that plays a significant role independently in the speech of the Jordanian people

In the course of this research, we have shed light thoroughly on the validity of this claim. The statistical results have proved no significant correlation between education and most of the linguistic variables of the study. The only exception is (Q) for special literary reasons discussed above (6.3.1). Two facts explain why education is a proxy variable rather than an independent social variable. First, we have found that the educated rural speakers, the females mainly, are the ones whose speech varies phonologically towards the prestigious urban dialect. This entails that education functions as a social means for outside group contacts rather than enhancing the speakers' linguistic level towards Standard Arabic. Second, the traditional claim that the speech of the males is more standard because of their better access to education has been refuted by the finding of the lexico-phonological test. In this test, we have found that the males' speech is more conservative, i.e. rural, rather than standard. This means that their usage of the variants that co-occur in the standard and the rural variety is for the sake of their colloquial status rather than standard level.

6.3.4. A socio-political approach better explains the linguistic variation underlying the usage of (Q)

The (Q) variable 'is the most widely investigated of the phonological variables in Arabic. It has the greatest number of phonetic realisations...and each variant carries distinct connotations relating to prestige and social identity' (Daher 1998b:151). However, one needs to know that in different Arab Levantine countries the variants of (Q) have been locally used in their indigenous dialects. For example, in Palestine, Syria, Egypt...etc., a person might find an indigenous dialect that uses [ʔ] and another

indigenous dialect that uses [g], matching a separation between urban and non-urban indigenous dialects. In addition to that, these countries have gone through a natural process of modernisation in the course of which an indigenous dialect has acquired gradually greater prestige due to its increasing socioeconomic status. No historical conflict has set the two urban and non-urban dialects in a sociolinguistic tension.

When it comes to Jordan, however, the situation appears to be different. The indigenous dialect of Jordan is a Bedouin/rural dialect. The city dialect was created after the massive waves of immigration from Palestine. So, an ethnic factor can be traced in this linguistic stratification. This ethnic factor has been further strengthened due to the 1970 bloody confrontation between the Jordanians and the guerrillas of the Palestinian Liberation Movement. This simply means that a social identity factor has been added to the ethnic stratification in Jordan. As a result, language is expected to mirror these sociolinguistic contrasts.

This is why we see that (Q) has a special socio-political story in Jordan (3.4.1). 'In Jordan, as well as in many other Arabic-speaking communities, variants of (q) are used as labels to identify dialects; speakers are stereotyped as belonging to one or another ethnic group depending on which variant of (q) they use, whereas none of the other variables investigated are used in this manner' (Al-Wer 1999a: 45-6). However, it seems that none of the Arab countries, as far as I know, has witnessed the facts that we have mentioned above. This is why there seems to be socio-political conflict manifested in the usage of (Q).

6.4.Conclusion

What one might conclude here is that the linguistic situation in Jordan has reached a level where the colloquial is expanding to circles traditionally preserved for Standard Arabic. Again, a critical review of what education means shows that the major source for Standard Arabic is acquiring a new social dimension. Education has become a means for outside group contacts rather than enhancing the usage of Standard Arabic. Moreover, there is a possible process of sound change with regard to the non-salient linguistic variables. With regard to the salient linguistic variable (Q), its identity conflict

shows that it is rather difficult for the rural [g] to be replaced, in the speech of the males mainly, by the urban Palestinian [ʔ].

Though I know that the goal of this research is to study language variation in Jordan rather than the varieties of the Arabic language continuum or ways for solving the diglossic nature of Arabic, it seems important to note that the diglossic nature of Arabic is becoming multiglossic. In the long run, the variety that will prevail is the variety that the speakers actually use. Therefore, and for a simplified Standard Arabic to be functionally prestigious new methodologies and approaches for reviving Arabic should be considered. These methodologies should come as a result of fieldwork research that accepts the colloquials as varieties that people use and elevate them towards a simplified standard variety.

Moreover, the techniques and methodologies for investigating language variation in the Arab world should be revisited. The problem with most variationist studies conducted so far in the Arab world is that they copy the Western methodologies and terminology and apply them to the Arab context where things are importantly different. Though the current study has followed the Labovian approach, it has tailored the social class variable in a shape that suits the social and ethnographic patterns of the Jordanian community. Moreover, it has modified the Western view of education as a means towards the standard variety in a nondiglossic community to a social means of outside group contacts in a diglossic community.

The sociolinguistic condition of women in Jordan or the Arab world is an area that has not been studied thoroughly. However, one should be careful in exploring the innovative role of women in Jordan within the frame of the Western networks approach. In this regard, we do not want to force the sociolinguistic facts of the Jordanian speech community into the straightjacket of the Western network approach. Our community has its own cultural, social and religious norms that do not give space for women to loosen their ingroup ties; they encourage them to sound feminine, though. The linguistic behaviour of women in this regard might be an aspiration towards the 'genderlect' that suits them rather than a revolution against their norms.

6.5. Projects for future research

While working on the current research, I found certain topics that need to be considered in the future. These might be:

1- The investigation of other linguistic aspects of language variation in Jordan. In this regard, more studies should be conducted at the different linguistic levels of language variation in Jordan.

2- The investigation of the vocalic variation in Jordan in the light of the quantal nature of speech. The reason behind this is to see to what degree the wide acoustic space between the few vowels in Arabic affects language variation in Jordan and then the listeners' awareness of this variation. Informally, I believe that the type of variation that one might have with regard to the three, or five, vowels in Arabic is not noticed by the listeners and is not expected to spread. However, this claim needs further acoustic and perceptual investigation that analyses the speech of a selected sample to prove plausible.

3- The investigation of what 'prestige' means to native speakers of Arabic. This requires designing a special tool for testing the attitudes of native speakers of Arabic towards their own dialect and towards Standard Arabic.

APPENDIX 1

The Participants					
Number	**Gender**	**Age**	**Education Level**	**Class**	**Profession**
1	Male	85	College	Middle	Retired teacher
2	Male	48	College	Middle	Technician
3	Female	63	5 years	Low	Housewife
4	Male	23	University	Middle	Student
5	Female	58	4 years	Low	Housewife
6	Female	25	5 years	Low	Housewife
7	Female	61	College	Middle	Headmistress
8	Male	70	4 years	Low	Shopkeeper
9	Female	75	Illiterate	Middle	Housewife
10	Male	57	8 years	Middle	Bakery owner
11	Female	47	9 years	Middle	Housewife
12	Female	35	College	Low	Teacher
13	Male	67	University	Middle	Retired teacher
14	Female	56	10 years	Middle	Housewife
15	Male	37	University	Middle	College lecturer
16	Male	32	University	Middle	Teacher
17	Male	34	University	Middle	College lecturer
18	Male	28	University	Middle	Engineer
19	Female	27	University	Middle	Housewife
20	Female	35	College	Middle	Housewife
21	Female	23	University	Middle	Teacher
22	Female	21	University	High	Student
23	Female	18	High school	High	Student
24	Female	22	University	Middle	Student
25	Male	33	College	Low	Technician
26	Male	39	4 years	Low	Baker
27	Male	17	Secondary class	Middle	Student
28	Male	58	University	High	Bank manager
29	Female	49	College	High	Retired teacher
30	Male	33	3 years	Low	Driver
31	Male	59	University	High	Company manager
32	Female	50	College	High	Retired teacher
33	Male	16	Secondary class	High	Student
34	Female	20	University	High	Student
35	Female	21	University	High	Student
36	Male	24	University	Middle	Student

37	Male	42	University	Low	Retired preacher
38	Male	32	University	Low	Lawyer
39	Male	55	10 years	Low	Shopkeeper
40	Female	51	9 years	Low	Housewife
41	Male	31	University	High	University lecturer
42	Male	31	High class	High	Garage manager
43	Female	32	High school	High	Secretary
44	Male	35	University	High	Accountant
45	Male	27	5 years	Low	Driver
46	Female	35	3 years	Low	Cleaner
47	Male	25	High school	Low	Soldier
48	Female	26	10 years	Low	Housewife
49	Male	33	Secondary class	Low	Policeman
50	Female	35	College	Low	Teacher
51	Male	28	College	Low	Army trainer
52	Female	27	College	Low	Babysitter
53	Male	47	University	Low	Prayer leader
54	Female	46	University	Low	Teacher
55	Female	16	Secondary class	Middle	Student
56	Male	31	4 years	Middle	Barber
57	Female	32	5 years	Middle	Tailor
58	Male	78	5 years	Middle	Farmer
59	Female	28	Secondary class	Middle	Housewife
60	Male	34	High school	Middle	Sales manager
61	Female	31	10 years	Middle	Housewife
62	Male	28	5 years	High	Internet café owner
63	Female	27	3 years	High	Coiffure
64	Male	42	6 years	High	Store owner
65	Female	33	6 years	High	Nursery owner
66	Male	65	4 years	High	Farms owner
67	Female	61	5 years	Middle	Retired midwife
68	Female	46	High school	Middle	Nurse
69	Male	62	Secondary class	High	Retired nurse
70	Male	22	University	High	Student
71	Male	28	6 years	Middle	Contractor
72	Female	33	University	High	Dentist

APPENDIX 2

Summary breakdown of the 72 Participants by social variables												
							Gender					
					Male				Female			
					Age			Total	Age			Total
					young	middle	old		young	middle	old	
	low	Class	low	Count	1	2	1	4	1	1	2	4
				Row%	12.5	25.0	12.5	50.0	12.5	12.5	25.0	50.0
			middle	Count	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	4
				Row%	14.3	14.3	14.3	42.9	14.3	14.3	28.6	57.1
			high	Count	1	1	1	3	1	1		2
				Row%	20.0	20.0	20.0	60.0	20.0	20.0		40.0
		Total	Count		3	4	3	10	3	3	4	10
			Row%		15.0	20.0	15.0	50.0	15.0	15.0	20.0	50.0
Education	middle	Class	low	Count	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	3
				Row%	16.7	16.7	16.7	50.0	16.7	16.7	16.7	50.0
			middle	Count	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	5
				Row%	12.5	12.5	12.5	37.5	12.5	12.5	37.5	62.5
			high	Count	1	1	1	3	1	1		2
				Row%	20.0	20.0	20.0	60.0	20.0	20.0		40.0
		Total	Count		3	3	3	9	3	3	4	10
			Row%		15.8	15.8	15.8	47.4	15.8	15.8	21.1	52.6
	high	Class	low	Count	1	3	1	5	1	1	1	3
				Row%	12.5	37.5	12.5	62.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	37.5
			middle	Count	3	3	3	9	3	1	1	5
				Row%	21.4	21.4	21.4	64.3	21.4	7.1	7.1	35.7
			high	Count	1	2	2	5	3	1	2	6
				Row%	9.1	18.2	18.2	45.5	27.3	9.1	18.2	54.5
		Total	Count		5	8	6	19	7	3	4	14
			Row%		15.2	24.2	18.2	57.6	21.2	9.1	12.1	42.4

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