Acquisition of Sociolinguistic Variation in a Dialect Contact Situation:

The Case of Palestinian Children and Adolescents in Syria

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Abstract

The present study investigates patterns of variation in the speech of 40 girls and boys (3;7-17;9) in a Bedouin speech community of Palestinian refugees outside the Syrian capital Damascus. It contributes to the knowledge on the acquisition of variation in Arabic speaking communities, especially in situations of contact and diffusion (Britain 2002). The project focuses on the emergence of variation and its development as a function of age and gender by examining speakers' use of the phonological variables (dˤ), (ðˤ), (θ), (ð), (q), and the morphophonological feminine suffix (a), which are realized differently in urban and Bedouin dialects. Patterns of accommodation and register variation in the speech of these participants are also tested to further understand their linguistic behaviour and tap into their sociolinguistic awareness.

Sociolinguistic interviews and a picture-naming task were carried out by two female fieldworkers, a local and an urban speaker, in order to elicit spontaneous data and examine variation patterns across different interlocutors and in diverse contexts.

The general linear model was used to test the effect of age, gender, and their interaction on variation, and a paired-samples t test was employed to investigate the occurrence of accommodation with the urban interviewer and register variation in the picture task. Accommodation to the urban interviewer occurred in the realization of all variables. Style variation appeared in the realization of (dˤ), (q) and the plain interdentals.

The most interesting patterns of variation were in relation to age and gender. Older speakers used the local variants more than younger speakers and girls generally favoured the urban variants. However, a further breakdown by age and gender revealed an intriguing pattern whereby gender differences were limited to speakers between the ages of 6 and 14. Use of the local variants showed a linear increase in the speech of boys older than 5. Girls, on the other hand, showed an increase in using the urban variants up to age 14 followed by a sharp decline, as older girls strongly favoured the local variants.

This pattern persisted with all variables, but the degree of variation was dependent on specific variables as one might expect (Eckert 1997; Smith *et al.* 2007). For example, interdental fricative and (dˤ) showed the greatest amount of variation, with frequency and lexical diffusion (Bybee 2002) emerging as possible forces of change in the case of (θ) and (ð). In contrast, the morphophonological feminine suffix (a) was highly resistant to variation. Realizations of (q)

showed a noticeable use of the standard variant, even when excluding lexical and phonological conditioning. This, together with an obvious awareness of the split between (dˤ) and (ðˤ), suggests a considerable influence of SA on the speech of young people in the community.

Despite the tendency for females to favour prestigious variants (Cheshire 2002), the striking shift towards local variants by the oldest female group in the study is examined from the lens of an increasing national (Palestinian) identity as a key player in the linguistic choices of adolescents in the community.

To Khan Eshieh Camp,

Others may see a puzzling piece of arbitrary space, but to us, it is a home. My brother once wrote:

مخيم..هو قطعةٌ من الجنة سقطت قبل ألفي عام, قبل ثلاثة

حين كان آدمُ طفلاً يلهو بقطعة شهد في الجنة

هو الساحة الخلفية للجنة, مرتعٌ للغزلان على امتداداته زهور للفراشات و الشرانق

هو امتداد طريق النحل بين السماء و الأرض

على أطرافه تتسابق الملائكة بخيولها الطائرة

هو قطعة من السماء سقطت رويداً رويداً لئلا توقظ الموتى الغائبين الحاضرين

هو ما تبقى من الجليل الأعلى و شاطئ يافا

أصبح المخيم الآن الفردوس الذي نسعى

The camp is a piece of heaven that fell some two thousand years ago, or perhaps three

Back when Adam was but a child playing with a honeycomb in Eden.

It is the backyard of paradise, a playground for deer, its roads are beds of roses for the butterflies.

It is where the route of bees between heaven and earth ends.

On its peripheries, angels race on the flying horses.

It is a piece of heaven that fell slowly as not to wake the ever-present dead.

It is what remains of Jaffa and the Galilee.

The camp is now our lost Paradise.

Acknowledgements

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List of Abbreviations

SA	Standard Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic
VA	Vernacular Arabic
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
GAPAR	General Authority for Palestine Arab Refugees
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
SAT	Speech Accommodation Theory
SPSS	The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
GLM	General linear model
AAV	African American Vernacular

Transcription and IPA symbols

All examples in the current thesis are transcribed phonetically using the following IPA symbols.

Consonants

Arabic grapheme	IPA	Description
ء/أ	ʔ	voiced glottal stop
ب	b	voiced bilabial stop
ت	t	voiceless dento-alveolar stop
ث	θ	voiceless interdental fricative
ج	dʒ	voiced post-alveolar fricative
ح	ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	χ	voiceless velar fricative
د	d	voiced dento-alveolar stop
ذ	ð	voiced interdental fricative
ر	ɾ	voiced alveolar trill
ز	z	voiced alveolar fricative
س	s	voiceless dental fricative
ش	ʃ	voiceless palatal fricative
ص	sˤ	voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative
ض	dˤ	voiced emphatic dento-alveolar stop
ط	tˤ	voiceless emphatic dento-alveolar stop
ظ	ðˤ	voiced emphatic interdental fricative
ع	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	voiced uvular fricative
ف	f	voiceless labio-dental fricative

ق	q	voiceless uvular stop
ك	k	voiceless velar stop
ل	l/ ɫ	voiced dental lateral
م	m	voiced bilabial nasal
ن	n	voiced alveolar nasal
ه	h	voiceless glottal fricative
و	w	voiced labiovelar glide
ي	j	voiced palatal glide
گ	g	voiced velar stop
تش	tʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
چ	ʒ	voiced palato-alveolar sibilant
ژ	zˤ	voiced emphatic alveolar fricative

Vowels

Vowel	Long	Short
High front	iː	i
Mid front	eː	e
Low front	æː	a
Low back unrounded	ɑː	ɑ
Mid back rounded	oː	o
High back rounded	uː	u

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Overview and Aims of the Study

The present study examines patterns of variation in the speech of children and adolescents in a dialect contact situation involving geographical diffusion, whereby linguistic features spread outwards from a populous and influential urban center to nearby localities (Britain 2002). It examines their acquisition of variation in relation to the social variables of age and gender drawing on the principles of accommodation communication theory, which proposes that speakers adapt their language use to that of their interlocutors (Giles *et al.* 1991) and models of contact and diffusion (Britain 2002; Kerswill 1996, 2002).

Dialect contact is argued to be at the root of language variation and change, as it is experienced by all speakers to varying degrees depending on their social mobility and sociolinguistic experiences (Kerswill 1996). Language variation and change in contact situations begins at the level of individual speakers through speech accommodation (Kerswill 2002), which makes the two topics intertwined and makes it useful to investigate patterns of accommodation in contexts of dialect contact. Moreover, patterns of accommodation are a key indicator of the social implications of linguistic behaviour (Giles *et al.* 1991; Hinskens *et al.* 2005) and examining speech accommodation helps reveal such implications as well as the linguistic knowledge and skills of speakers since the degree and level of accommodation are dependent on linguistic competence, amongst other factors (Beebe & Giles 1984; Gasiorek *et al.* 2015).

Based on these models, the present study examines patterns of variation in the speech of 40 children and adolescents (3; 2-17; 9) in a Bedouin[1] speech community of Palestinian refugees near the Syrian capital, Damascus, filling a gap in the knowledge of the linguistic behavior of young people in the vicinity of major urban centers in Arabic speaking communities (Miller 2004). Geographical diffusion of urban forms is expected to be a key force for variation and change in the community given the status of Damascus as a major urban center not only in Syria, but in the Levant in general (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Miller 2004) and the status of its

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[1] Historically, Bedouins were nomadic people who lived in the deserts of Arabia, Iraq and the Levant. However, the term now is not limited to Arab nomads as many have settled permanently. It is used in reference to Bedouin heritage, especially in terms of language use. A more detailed description is in 1.4 below.

dialect as the national standard in Syria (Miller 2004, 2007). In addition to the likely influence of the Damascene dialect, a competing source of variation and change may come from Standard Arabic (SA) in a highly diglossic situation (Miller 2005). Miller (2005: 932) notes that dialect contact in Arabic speaking communities cannot be studied without taking the effect of SA into consideration. This project aims to establish the role of SA in variation by investigating style shifting in the speech of participants. In addition to gauging the influence of SA on their speech, such an examination will also provide an insight into the development of speakers' sociolinguistic knowledge since, much like accommodation, register variation is subject to speakers' linguistic awareness and competence (Andersen 1992).

Patterns of variation and linguistic choices in the speech of participants will be explored through examining their use of six socially meaningful linguistic variables that are realized differently in Bedouin and urban dialects in Syria, namely, the phonological variables (dˤ), (ðˤ) (θ), (ð), (q) and the morphophonological feminine suffix (a). Very few studies have used (dˤ) and (ðˤ) as linguistic variables and none, that I am aware of, have studied them in conjunction with each other. Given their merger in either direction in the majority of Arabic dialects including Levantine Arabic and the dialects of interest in this current study and that the latter do not maintain a distinction between them as the one maintained in SA (Al-Wer 2003), results of their variants' distribution will give important insights into the linguistic behaviour of children and adolescents in the community under study.

Choice of the speaker sample is motivated by an interest in children's and adolescents' acquisition of variation in contact situations. It aims to uncover how children and adolescents acquire and make use of the different linguistic resources available to them in these situations, how that may be influenced by age and gender and what such choices this may imply in terms of their sociolinguistic knowledge and metalinguistic awareness. There is little research-to my knowledge-that examines the sociolinguistic development of Arabic speaking children especially in contact situations. This study, therefore, stands to make a significant contribution to the area of child language development and sociolinguistics in the Arab world. It is also the first to examine the speech of Palestinian refugees in Syria and will shed some light on some patterns of variation and change in the dialect after about 70 years of contact.

Themes relating to dialect contact, speech accommodation theory, child language and the role of gender in linguistic variation will be explored in detail in the course of the present thesis. But first, a background of the speech community and an overview of Arabic sociolinguistics are necessary to set the scene of the thesis.

1.2 Social and Linguistic Background of the Study

The following sections will provide a brief description of the social, geographical and linguistic background of the community under study.[2] An overview of the legal status of Palestinian refugees in Syria will also be presented as this will further clarify their relationship to the wider community and how it might influence their language use. A description of the local dialect that situates it within the context of Syria and the Levant will also be supplied following a brief discussion of diglossia and Arabic dialects in general.

1.2.1 Legal status of Palestinian refugees in Syria

Between 90,000 and 100,000 displaced Palestinian refugees were estimated to have settled in Syria as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war (Brand 1988). As of 2011, their number was projected to have risen to an estimated 526,744 Palestinians.[3] Services and support for Palestinian refugees in Syria are offered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which was established in 1950 in response to the Palestinian refugee crisis following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, and by the Syrian government through the General Authority for Palestine Arab Refugees (GAPAR) (Al-Mawed 1999).

Under nationality and citizenship laws in Syria, Palestinian refugees can never be naturalized citizens and remain legally stateless as will be discussed in further detail shortly (Al-Mawed 1999; Brand 1988; Kibreab 2003). However, they enjoy relatively similar rights as Syrian citizens and have achieved a good level of integration in Syria (Al-Mawed 1999; Brand 1988).

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[2] Although references to the current events in Syria will be made in the course of the current thesis, description of the speech community is limited to the situation as it was before the start of the troubles, i.e., prior to 2011.
[3] This is the number of Palestinians registered with UNRWA. However, not all Palestinian refugees are registered with the agency.

For example, Palestinian refugees in Syria enjoy free movement with no restrictions. They have full access to government services, social and health services, employment opportunities and the right to join labour unions as well as education and eligibility for scholarships (Al-Mawed 1999; Brand 1988). Moreover, Syria is the only Arab country that has drafted Palestinians into its army (Brand 1988).[4] This was achieved gradually through a series of laws that aimed to integrate Palestinians in Syria without compromising their separate Palestinian identity (Al-Mawed 1999; Brand 1988). The most important of these laws was Law no. 260 of 1956 which decreed that Palestinians in Syria are to be treated as equal to Syrians in all matters of employment, education, residence, commerce and military service without compromising their national identity (Al-Mawed 1999; Brand 1988). As per this law, Palestinians in Syria should enjoy relatively equal right to Syrian citizens, but naturalization is seen as a compromise to their distinct Palestinian identity. In 1963, Palestinians in Syria became entitled to government-issued travel documents that gave them the same rights of movement in and out of Syria as those enjoyed by Syrian citizens as well as access to Syrian embassies and consulates abroad (Al-Mawed 1999). Palestinians are not entitled to the same ownership rights as Syrian citizens, however, as their right of land and property ownership are limited to one residential house (Al-Mawed 1999). Palestinians are also restricted from voting and candidacy in parliamentary and municipal elections (ibid.).

In contrast with Lebanon, where Palestinian refugees have no access to health or social services and are subject to severe restrictions in employment, education and movement (Kibreab 2003), and Jordan, as the only Arab country that has naturalized Palestinians as citizens in large numbers (ibid.), Syria presents a model where Palestinians cannot become citizens, but still enjoy relatively equal rights to citizens. So, despite their high degree of integration, a distinct Palestinian identity is still strongly prevalent, especially in refugee camp residents (Abdul-Rahim & Abuateya 2005). The refugee camp has become focal in preserving a Palestinian identity in the diaspora as it has come to represent home away from home for Palestinians (Abdul-Rahim & Abuateya 2005; Sayigh 1977). Although the camp is not a separate or isolated entity in the context of Syria and exists as part of its surroundings like any other residential area (Al-Mawed 1999; Hanafi 2008), it has become a symbol of a distinct Palestinian identity through the collective memory of its residents and their shared experience of loss and

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[4] To my knowledge, although Palestinians can volunteer to serve in the Syrian army, they cannot be promoted above a certain rank.

displacement (Abdul-Rahim & Abuateya 2005). This central role of the camp in constructing and preserving a Palestinian identity in host communities and in the context of Syria will prove important in examining patterns of linguistic variation in the community under study as it has obvious implications for their language use in terms of identity.

1.2.2 The Locale and its relation to Damascus

The study was carried out in Khan Eshieh[5] Camp (χæ:n iʃ-ʃi:ħ) , a community of Palestinian refugees near Damascus. According to UNRWA, Khan Eshieh Camp was established in 1949 following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war to host Palestinian refugees that were displaced as a result of the war. The camp was built on an area of 0.69 square kilometres beside the ancient ruins of Khan Eshieh[6] about 25km to the south-west of the capital Damascus. Most first-generation refugees were displaced from the northern part of Palestine. As of 2011, the camp hosted about 20,000 registered refugees. UNRWA services in the camp include: four double-shift[7] schools that cover elementary and preparatory education (grades 1 through 9),[8] and a health centre in addition to other services such as a youth centre, a community centre and a food distribution centre.[9]

Khan Eshieh's population are well integrated in Syria and many of them are highly-educated and active in the Syrian labour market, which indicates a high level of mobility among adult camp residents especially in the direction of Damascus for work and education. Although no official statistics are available on commuting patterns between Damascus and surrounding localities such as the community under study (Rezk 2017), a high and sustained level of commuting between the speech community and Damascus can be assumed based on several considerations. Firstly, a major gap exists between urban and rural areas in Syria (de Chatel 2014). This gap is arguably wider in the case of refugee camps, which are reported to lag behind

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[5] This is the transliteration used by UNRWA and is, therefore, used here. Note that it is different on google maps.

[6] Historically, this khan (a roadside inn) provided an overnight shelter for travellers between Damascus and the southwest.

[7] Double shift schools operate all-boys and all-girls schools in the same building whereby girls and boys alternate attending a morning and an afternoon shift on a weekly basis. This will prove essential in dividing speaker groups as will be seen in 4.3 below.

[8] In elementary and preparatory school (from age 6 to 14), children attend school in 6 separate groups; grades 1-3, 4-6 and 7-9 each attend school together and are divided by gender. This will also prove important in dividing speaker groups (see 4.3 below).

[9] 'Khan Eshieh Camp profile'. UNRWA official website-retrieved 12-07-2017.

Syrian towns in terms of services and amenities (Abdul-Rahim & Abuateya 2005). In the early years following its establishment in 1949, education was only available through UNRWA up to preparatory school in the camp and students seeking higher education had to commute to Damascus to attend secondary school (Brand 1988).[10] A state-run secondary school became available in the camp in the early 1990's. However, university education, or indeed any education carried out after secondary school, is only available in Damascus.[11] Additionally, UNRWA runs one vocational training centre for post-secondary education for Palestinian refugees in Syria and the centre is located in Damascus (Al-Mawed 1999). Furthermore, the Syrian government agency responsible for Palestinian refugees (GAPAR) is also located in Damascus, so any civil or administrative services such as birth or death registration, issuing of ID cards or travel documents requires commuting to Damascus. People from the camp, and other nearby towns, also go to Damascus for shopping, specialist health care, and major state hospitals as well as for work, study and training. Despite the relative development of the camp throughout the years and the availability of a number of goods and services such as specialist doctor practices, pharmacies, a private hospital, education up to secondary school as well as some shopping venues, commuting patterns to Damascus are sustained, especially for work, study and administrative purposes. As mentioned above, the camp is located on the highway that links Damascus with the southwest of Syria. A bus service that operates from 4:00 am to 12:00 am links the camp to the capital city. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 below illustrate the location of the camp in relation to Damascus and the northern part of historical Palestine where most Palestinians in Syria originated.

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[10] UNRWA still offers education only up to the end of elementary school. Secondary school education is provided by the Syrian government.

[11] This is true for Syrian towns as well.

Figure 1-1 Location of the camp relative to Damascus[12]

[12] Retrieved from google maps on 27-7-2017.
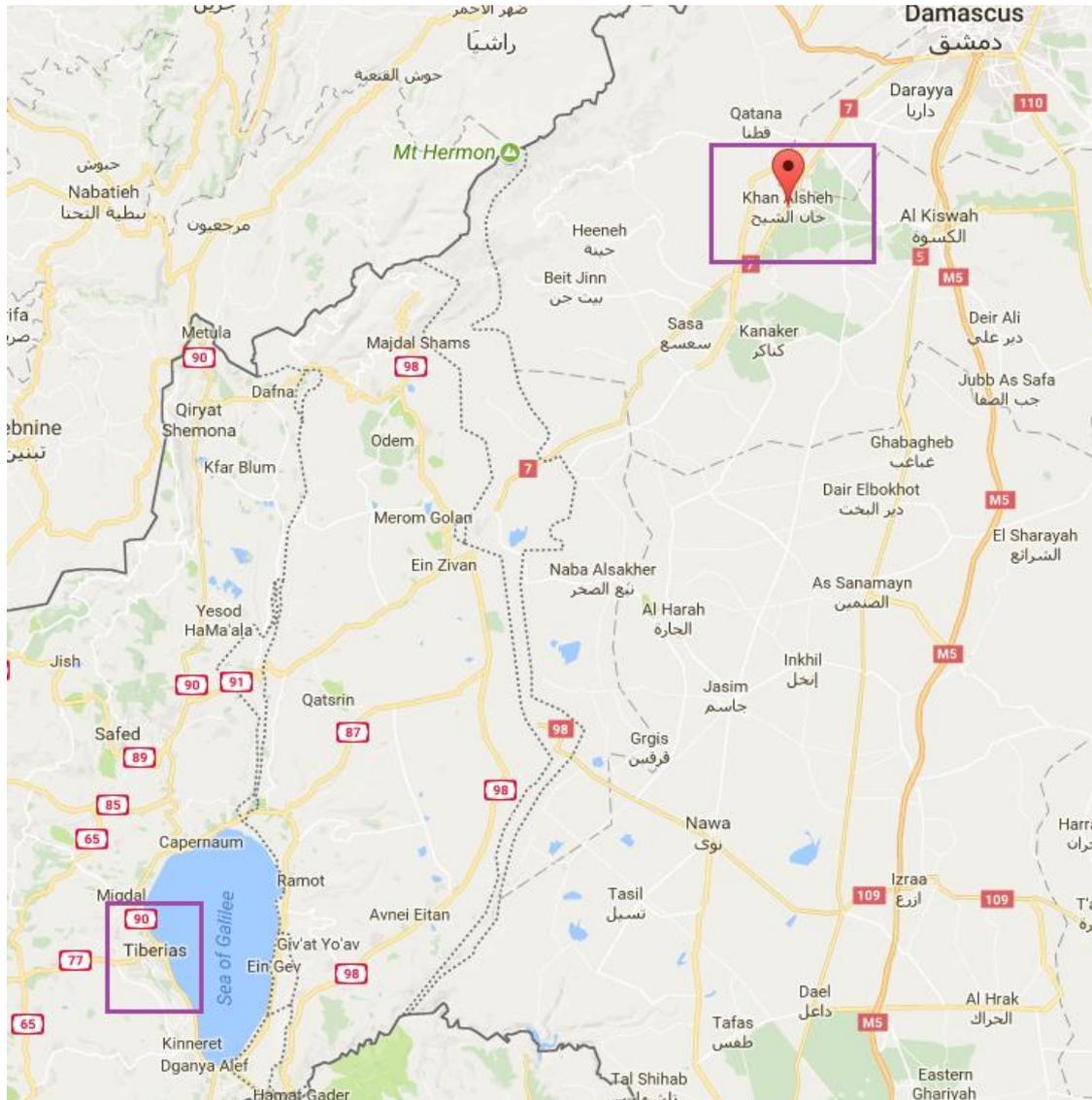
Figure 1-2 Location of the camp in relation to Northern Palestine[13]

1.3 Diglossia

No study on dialect contact in Arabic, or indeed no study on Arabic, is complete without taking the highly diglossic situation into account (Miller 2005). Arabic presents a case of classic diglossia (Ferguson 1959, 1991) where two levels of the same language exist side by side but serve largely different and complementary functions: a high form with prescribed grammar and a written literature that is preserved for formal contexts, education and administration, and a

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[13] Retrieved from google maps on 27-7-2017.

plethora of spoken vernaculars that are normally used in intimate and informal situations (Ferguson 1959, 1991). In the case of Arabic, these are Standard Arabic (SA) and spoken vernacular Arabic (VA). SA is a largely written variety and is not spoken or acquired as a native language by any speakers (Abu-Rabia 2000). It is the official language in all Arabic speaking countries and is used in education, administration and other formal domains (Miller & Caubet 2009). Spoken Arabic varieties, on the other hand, remain largely unwritten (Haeri 2000; Ibrahim 2009) and are used as a primarily spoken medium. The spoken vernaculars are acquired by children as a first language, whereas official exposure to SA comes later through formal instruction at school age (Abu-Rabia 2000; Saigh-Haddad 2003). Although standard and vernacular Arabic are related and share many features that span all aspects of the language, such as root-based morphology,[14] they diverge sharply on all levels of the language such as phonetics and phonology, syntax, morphology and lexis (Abu-Rabia 2000; Ibrahim 2009; Saiegh-Haddad 2003). The extent of diglossia between SA and vernacular varieties is such that the former is almost exclusively restricted to written communications and is hardly ever used as a spoken medium (Haeri 2000). This resulted in the emergence of an intermediate variety referred to as educated spoken Arabic (ESA) (Mitchell 1986) that is used in formal situations by educated speakers (ibid.). This form may also be used by teachers in classrooms alongside the vernacular varieties whereas SA is restricted to reading or reciting of written texts (Mitchell 1986; Saigh-Haddad 2003).

Given its diglossic nature, Arabic presents a model where two levels of competing prestige exist in the same speech communities (Abd-El-Jawad 1987; Ibrahim 1986). The prestige of SA is linked to its literary value and association with education and formality (Mitchill 1986). Additionally, SA, especially Classical Arabic, has a high level of religious prestige by virtue of being the language of the Quran and Islamic literary tradition (Versteegh 2010). It is important to note here that Modern Standard Arabic shares most of its morphology and syntax with Classical Arabic and that differences between the two are relatively small and mostly limited to phonology (Al-Wer 1997, Mitchel 1986). In fact, the majority of Arabic speakers share a popular belief that Arabic has not undergone any change. Another degree of prestige exists independently of the prestige associated with the standard form and mainly among local

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[14] Root-based morphology is a distinguishing feature of Semitic languages, such as Hebrew & Arabic (Watson 2003). The root is a semantic abstraction consisting of three, four, or, less commonly, five consonants from which words are derived (Holes 2004).

dialects along urban, rural and Bedouin divisions (Mitchell 1986; Abd-El-Jawad 1987). As such, unlike the context of most European languages, standard and prestige cannot be used interchangeably in studies of Arabic sociolinguistics (Abd-El-Jawad1987). In fact, proximity to the standard does not play a role in the prestige of spoken varieties, but rather the status of the dialect and its speech community (Abd-El-Jawad 1987; Holes 1995). This is evident in the fact that in many Arabic speaking communities, urban varieties are deemed the most prestigious despite their divergence from SA (Habib 2010b; Miller 2004). Speakers of peripheral dialects that share features with SA may abandon these features in favour of urban variants that may be distant from the standard. For example, Habib (2010b) reports that speakers of a rural dialect in Syria where the standard form of (q) overlaps with the local realization are increasingly abandoning the local variant in favour of the urban prestigious realization [ʔ] despite its divergence from the standard. Similarly, Amara (2005) finds that young female speakers in Bethlehem opt for the urban realization of (θ) as [t] in place of their local [θ] although the latter overlaps with the standard whereas the former diverges from it.

In the following section, we turn our attention to the spoken vernaculars (with a focus on those spoken in the Levant[15]), description of their general features, differences amongst them and their status in the context relevant to the study.

1.4 Arabic Dialects

A common classification of Arabic dialects, and one that is relevant in the context of the Levant and this study, classifies them into sedentary and Bedouin type dialects (Palva 2006). Arab communities have historically been divided along sedentary and Bedouin lines. Sedentary people are further divided into rural and urban based on life-style and whether they live in agricultural villages or major urban centres. Bedouins, on the other hand, were historically nomadic Arabs who inhabited the deserts of Arabia, Iraq and the Levant and moved in pursuit of water and pasture as the term Bedouin in Arabic means desert dweller (Abu-Rabia 2001). However, many Bedouins have settled into a sedentary life-style over the years in either rural villages or major urban centres while preserving some of their heritage features such as dialect and family structure as in the community under study (also see Holes 1995). As such, the above classification of dialects does not necessarily apply to speakers of the dialects as nomads or

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[15] The Levant is the region encompassing Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine

sedentary themselves (Palva 2006) as Bedouin dialects may be spoken in major urban centres due to processes of bedouinization (e.g., Holes 1995 on Baghdad). Given their relative homogeneity and conservativism, Bedouin dialects share some major features that differentiate them from sedentary dialects and allow such a classification (Palva 2006; Watson 2002). Chief amongst these features are: (i) the realization of standard (q) as a voiced velar stop [g] in Bedouin dialects,[16] (ii) retention of standard interdental fricatives, (θ), (ð) and (ðˤ) and use of [ðˤ] as a reflex of both (ðˤ) and (dˤ) and (iii) maintaining gender distinction in 2nd and 3rd persons plural of verbs, pronouns and pronoun suffixes, for example: [ʔintɑm] 'you' PL. M. and [ʔintan] 'you' PL. F.[17] (Palva 2006; Watson 2002). Urban dialects in the Levant, on the other hand, realize (q) as a glottal stop (Al-Wer & Herin 2011). They do not retain the interdental fricatives of Standard Arabic, but realize them as stops or alveolar fricatives (a fuller discussion is in 4.1.1.2) and use [dˤ] as a realization of both (dˤ) and (ðˤ) (Al-Wer 2003; Watson 2002). Lastly, no gender distinction in 2nd & 3rd plural verbs, pronouns or pronoun suffixes is maintained in urban dialects, so whereas Bedouin dialects use [ʔintɑm] 'you' for a group of males and [ʔintan] 'you' for a group of females, urban dialects use [ʔintʊ] 'you' for both males and females (Palva 2006; Watson 2002). In addition to these features, and relevant to the context of this study, no raising of the feminine marker (a) occurs in Bedouin dialects, whereas conditional raising of the variable occurs in major Levantine urban dialects, e.g., [waɾd**a**] vs. [waɾd**e**] 'flower' (Al-Wer 2007; Cotter & Horesh 2015; Palva 2006).

The heritage dialect of the speech community under study can be classified as a traditional Bedouin dialect since its first-generation speakers were semi-nomads prior to being displaced from Palestine (Blanc 1964). Indeed, in a collection of oral archive interviews, first generation refugees from the speech community described their pre-displacement communities as semi-nomadic Bedouin tribes who herded cattle and travelled in pursuit of water and pasture in northern Palestine.[18] Therefore, descriptions of Bedouin dialects in northern Palestine would serve as a good background of the dialect (e.g., Rosenhouse 1982, 1984). The oral archive interviews show that the Bedouin features described above, among others, are still the norm in the speech of first generation refugees in the camp.

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[16] Other realizations also occur subject to phonological-conditioning, e.g. [dʒ] in the environment of high front vowels as in [θidʒiːl] 'heavy', and [k] in voiceless environments of [g] as in [kital] 'to kill' (Rosenhouse 1982)
[17] Examples are my own.
[18] These interviews were carried out by *palestineremebered.com* for a project to archive Palestinian memories, and these descriptions are of their lives before they were displaced from Palestine and settled in Syria.

Being the capital of Syria, and the oldest, continuously inhabited capital in the world, Damascus is a major urban centre both in Syria and the Levant and its dialect is among the most established urban dialects of the region (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Miller 2004). It is considered the national standard in Syria and any reference to Syrian Arabic usually implies the dialect of Damascus (Miller 2004). The urban koiné of Damascus, as an old established urban centre, is believed to have stabilized as early as the second half of the 19th century (Lentin 2007). Waves of rural migration into the city are not believed to have had an impact on its dialect as rural migrants would be expected to accommodate to the urban standard and restrict use of their local varieties to an intimate home environment (Miller 2004, 2007). There is very little research on the influence of Damascus Arabic on migrant dialects (Miller 2004, 2007), however, evidence from Habib (2010b) on rural migrants' accommodation in another major urban centre in Syria, namely Homs, would apply to rural migrants in Damascus. Indeed, the only study that examines such influence is Jassem (1987) on a community of Golan Heights refugees in and around Damascus. No other studies that I am aware of examine the influence of Damascene Arabic on localities around Damascus (in a diffusion rather than migration model). This study, therefore, also contributes to more knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation in Syria.

The urban dialect of Damascus shares many of the features reported above for major urban dialects. As such, the reflex of (q) in Damascene Arabic is a glottal stop, interdental fricatives are realized as stops or alveolar fricatives, (ðˤ) and (dˤ) are both realized as [dˤ] and the morphophonemic feminine suffix (a) is conditionally raised to [e] (Al-Wer 2007; Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Lentin 2007). In the context of the Levant, the urban realizations are associated with prestige, social power and mobility (Amara 2005; Al-Wer 2003; Al-Wer & Herin 2011) despite their divergence from the standard (refer to 1.3.1 above for a discussion of standard and prestige in Arabic). Bedouin features, in contrast, are reported as isolated, minority features that are usually abandoned in favour of the urban variants especially in the speech of young women (Al-Ali & Arafa 2010; Al-Wer 1991; Amara 2005). The present study examines the phonological variables reported above in the classification of Arabic dialects, in addition to the feminine suffix (a), as they present a clear social and linguistic classification of speakers and varieties involved as table 1.1 shows. A full description of these variables will be presented in chapter 4.

Table 1-1 Major Arabic Varieties in the speech community under study

The Variety	Means of Exposure
Bedouin Arabic/BA	The local dialect of the speech community under study is a variety of Bedouin Arabic. Exposure to the traditional dialect comes primarily through 1st and 2nd generation refugees.
Damascene Arabic/DA	Damascene Arabic is the most represented in the media in Syria. Mobile, adult members of the community experience contact with Damascene Arabic through regular commuting to Damascus for work, study and other activities as detailed in section 1.2.2. Children and adolescents are exposed to it mostly through the media and visits to Damascus. They are also exposed to urban features adopted by mobile adult speakers.
Standard Arabic/SA	Standard Arabic encompasses Modern Standard Arabic/MSA and Classical Arabic/CA since the differences between the two are rather limited (mostly to phonology, see e.g., Al-Wer 1997, Mitchel 1986) and have no bearing on speakers' perception or use of the language as both varieties represent the standard form of the language for the majority of Arabic speakers. Exposure to Standard Arabic comes through formal instruction, education and worship.[19]

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the study and its aims and established dialect contact as the framework of the thesis. It has provided a description of the speech community that situates it linguistically, socially and geographically within its larger environment and gave a brief summary of issues pertaining to Arabic sociolinguistics and researching variation in an Arabic speaking context.

In light of the above, this project examines children's and adolescents' use of the linguistic variables of interest with respect to notions of prestige and models of accommodation and register variation,and investigates the role of age and gender in the emergent patterns of variation and linguistic choices.

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[19] In fact, most speakers of Arabic share the popular belief that Arabic is immune to change. For the purposes of my study (which builds on speakers' attitudes towards involved varieties), the term Standard Arabic covers both Classical Arabic (which is largely limited to the Quran as recited by trained professionals) and Modern standard Arabic (which is used in education and by untrained speakers to read the Quran).

In order to achieve that, the thesis is structured as follows. Chapter two will introduce dialect contact and discuss its role in language variation and change with a focus on geographical diffusion and patterns of contact and change in Arabic speaking communities. It will also review the literature on accommodation theory: its history, definition, motivations and the different accommodation strategies since accommodation and dialect contact go hand in hand (Britain & Trudgill 2009). Chapter three will present the social variables of age and gender and review the literature relating to acquisition of variation, second dialect acquisition, and adolescents and language use. It will also discuss the role of gender in linguistic variation and the emergence of gender differences in the speech of children as well as examine accommodation and style variation in relation to the social variables with a special focus on children and adolescents. Chapter four will present the linguistic variables examined in the present study as well as a description of the methodology employed to collect the linguistic data, the sample recruited for participation in the study and the procedures followed for transcription and coding of the data. Results on the linguistic variables in relation to the social variables of age and gender and questions of accommodation and register variation are supplied in chapters five, six and seven (chapter five presents results on the emphatics (ðˤ) & (dˤ), results on the plain interdentals (ð) and (θ) are in chapter six, and chapter seven presents the results on (q) and (a)). Each of the results chapters will be concluded with a discussion relevant to the linguistic variables covered in it. A summary of the general trends in the data will also be supplied at the end of chapter seven. Finally, chapter eight gives a general discussion of the results where specific patterns of variation in relation to linguistic and social variables will be teased apart more fully. Shortcomings of the present thesis and recommendations for further research will also be presented, and a general conclusion that revisits the research questions and reflects on how they were answered will conclude the thesis.

Chapter 2. Dialect Contact and Speech Accommodation

This chapter will review the literature on dialect contact and discuss its role in language variation and change with a special focus on diffusion as a likely force of change in the context of this study. The chapter will also review the literature on accommodation communication theory given that speech accommodation is bound to occur in situations of dialect contact (Britain & Trudgill 2009). Given that contact is not limited to that with the urban variety in the context of this study, but may also be experienced with SA (see 1.1 above), style variation will also be explored in this chapter.

2.1 Setting the Scene: Outcomes and Implications of Dialect contact

Dialect contact is a product of mobility where speakers of different, but mutually intelligible varieties come into contact with each other (Trudgill 1986). In these situations, speakers engage in various acts of speech accommodation (Giles 1973; Giles *et al.* 1991), which, sustained over a period of time, would lead to language change (Trudgill 1986). Indeed, contact may result in several forms of language change such as koineization, levelling and dialect convergence (Kerswill 2002; Trudgill 1986), as will be discussed in 2.2 below. Such change starts at the level of individual speakers through acts of speech accommodation (Kerswill 2002; Trudgill 1986). Under this model, contact is a key player in language variation and change and may be used to explain regular variability in speech as it is likely to occur with every individual speaker (Kerswill 1995). Change as a result of contact is dependent on several linguistic, social and logistic factors that determine the degree and direction of the linguistic outcome of contact (Kerwsill 2002; Winford 2003). Social factors include prestige of the varieties involved, power relations and accommodation patterns between their speakers, and attitudes and ideologies towards them (Winford 2003). Linguistic factors relate to the complexity of the varieties in contact and their linguistic distance (Kerswill 2002; Winford 2003). Logistic factors refer to the type and history of contact, its length, frequency and intensity.

2.2 Types of Dialect Contact

Dialect contact occurs as a result of mobility, which may be extreme as in the case of migration or limited in cases of commuting, visiting and other forms of short-term travel (Chambers 2002). The different scenarios and social situations that lead to dialect contact produce various levels of such contact that would, in turn, result in diverse types of language change. For example, contact may be extreme as in the case of new towns and koineization where it occurs in a new location between several varieties resulting in a new variety (Kerswill & Williams 2000 on the new town of Milton Keynes) or as in cases of national or international migration where it happens between vastly different varieties (e.g., Chambers 1992 on contact between Canadian and southern British English; Habib 2010b on rural migration to Homs). Conversely, it may happen on a smaller scale through less drastic mobility such as commuting, visiting or other forms of short travel. This form of contact usually affects small, close-knit communities as a result of increased mobility (Britain 2002) and is the one that is relevant in the context of my study (see 1.2.2 above).

This form of contact usually leads to advancement of supralocal features (Milroy *et al.* 1994) at the expense of highly localised forms (Britain 2010). Supralocal features are defined as those features that are not bound geographically within a specific region and the distinction is made between them and features that are highly local and specific to dialects and speech communities (Milroy *et al.* 1994). These supralocal features have a wider socio-spatial currency than highly localised ones and the latter are usually abandoned in favour of them (Britain 2010). Supralocalisation results from increased mobility and presents a move from the most specific to the most general forms (Britain 2010). This leads to regional dialect levelling, which is characterised by reduction of regionally distinctive features and adoption of common ones over a wide geographical area (Kerswill 2002; Torgersen & Kerswill 2004). This type of mobility and contact leads to weakening and disruption of close-knit networks and the loss of highly localised features as the input necessary for their acquisition is no longer available to children, resulting in more linguistic homogeneity (Milroy 2002: 7-8). It is important to note, however, that regional dialect levelling does not completely obliterate local features of the affected dialects (Britain 2005:1017). Britain (ibid.) argues that adoption of incoming features may weaken locally specific features, rather than overtaking them, resulting in interdialectal forms (also see Trudgill 1986).

Kerswill (2003) makes a distinction between levelling, which involves reduction of marked variants as a result of mutual convergence (Trudgil 1986) arguing that it is only possible in

small geographical areas such as new towns, on the one hand, and regional levelling, which concerns reducing local features over a wider geographical area through incoming features, on the other. Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) propose that the following processes and factors are involved in supralocalisation and regional levelling:

(i) Geographical diffusion, where features spread gradually across space from a culturally and economically dominant and populous centre to nearby localities (Britain 2002). The media may also play a role in diffusing urban features into other localities (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2013).

(ii) Levelling, as a social psychological process by which variants are reduced due to processes of accommodation in face-to-face contact. In situations of geographical diffusion, such accommodation would occur in interactions with mobile people who have adopted the supralocal variants (Kerswill 2002). Highly local and socially marked variants are usually the first to be lost as they are abandoned by speakers in favour of less marked variants (Trudgill 1986).

(iii) Non-contact factors relating to issues such as identity and ideologies. The role of non-contact or extra-linguistic factors in the process of supralocalisation usually relates to the identity of a given region and its susceptibility to change and diffusion based on speakers' attitudes towards the involved varieties, which inform speakers' choice of variants (Torgersen & Kerswill 2004).

As noted in 2.1 above, linguistic factors such as complexity and salience of linguistic features are also involved in contact-induced change. This will be discussed in further detail in 2.4.1 below.

2.3 Dialect Contact in the Context of Arabic

A general increase of migration and mobility occurred in many Arab countries in the 20th century (post-independence of modern national states) leading to more contact between urban and rural varieties (Miller 2004). A rise of mass education also occurred, which contributed to an increased contact with SA, evidenced in an increase in lexical borrowing from the standard (Miller 2004). Education, however, does not only imply contact with SA, but rather indicates speakers' mobility and social contact (Al-Wer 2002). As such, education also leads to contact between urban and rural varieties since, in most Arab countries, a pursuit of education, especially at a higher level, requires a higher level of mobility (Al-Wer 2002). In most Arab countries, urban vernaculars of the capital cities have emerged as national standards and many

of their major features have become supralocal forms adopted by speakers of other varieties (Miller 2004). In the context of the Levant and Egypt for example, the glottal stop emerged as a supralocal realization of (q) (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Habib 2010b; Miller 2005).

Several studies examined the effect of contact on variation in Arabic speaking communities. For example, Al-Wer (2007 on Jordan) reports the role of intense contact between incoming Palestinian dialects (mostly urban) and indigenous Jordanian dialects (mostly Bedouin) on the formation of the dialect of Amman. The pattern of contact reported by Al-Wer (2007) falls under that of new towns as it exhibits intense mixing between dialects leading to a new variety in an emerging urban centre. Other studies examined the influence of dialect contact on the speech of rural migrants in urban centres (e.g., Habib 2010b on rural migrants to Homs and Miller 2005 on rural migrants to Cairo; both examined rural migrants' realization of (q)). Habib (2010b) reports that use of the urban variant of (q) is higher in the speech of younger speakers and females. She also reports that speakers' residential area had an effect on their adoption of the variant whereby rural migrants who lived in an old residential area in Homs (where the majority of the inhabitants are native to the city) adopted the urban variant faster than migrants residing in a newly developed residential area that is mostly occupied by rural migrants, which indicates that the level of contact between speakers is key in determining the outcome of such contact. Miller (2005) also reports that residential areas with higher contact accelerate the loss of native linguistic forms of rural migrants. This is in line with Milroy's (2002) argument that high levels of contact weaken close-knit networks and render distinctiveness of features redundant, leading to loss of such features. Miller (2005) also reports an influence of SA on speakers' language use that was manifested by lexical borrowing from SA and use of learned sayings and expressions. Use of SA features was motivated by topic of conversation as it appeared in religious contexts for example (ibid.).

Dialect contact involving less drastic mobility was also explored in Arabic speaking communities. For example, Woidich (1997 on Egypt) investigated dialect levelling and the emergence of interdialectal forms in a rural context involving varieties in Upper Egypt and reports diffusion of urban lexical items into the speech of rural speakers. De Jong (1996 on Egypt) investigated dialect contact between rural and Bedouin varieties involving competing levels of prestige and leading to interesting patterns of change that exhibit both levelling

towards the rural variety and preserving of Bedouin features based on identity consideration and pride in tribal affiliation. Miller (2003 on Egypt) studied variation patterns in a small urban centre in Upper Egypt and examined the competing effects of Cairene Arabic (as the national standard), and regionally-based features in such variation. Issues of identity and affiliation also emerge in her investigation of variation as she reports no adoption of the supralocal (Cairo-based) realization of (q) by any speakers. Ornaghi (2010) also examined diffusion of Cairene features in Upper Egypt by studying three different localities which exhibit various levels of mobility and finds that higher levels of contact lead to higher rates of adoption of the urban features. Gibson (2002 on Tunisia) reports the diffusion of urban features characteristic of the standard urban dialect of the capital Tunis to nearby Bedouin speech communities as a result of increased mobility and education in said communities.

Based on this overview and the description of the social and linguistic background of this study, geographical diffusion is the most likely force for variation and change in the speech community of interest in the current thesis. As noted in 1.4 above, Damascus is considered a major urban centre not only in Syria, but also in the Levant (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Miller 2007). Its dialect is the national standard in Syria (Miller 2004, 2007) and would, therefore, be expected to diffuse outwards to nearby localities such as the speech community of interest. The high level of mobility exhibited in the speech community (see 1.2.2 above) is also key in adopting the urban features of Damascus. In fact, people in the community view any attempt at approximating or adopting urban features as a de facto attempt to approximate Damascene Arabic.[20] Damascene Arabic is also the most represented in the media (Habib 2011a), which may play some role in its advancement into different localities.[21] The role of the media in language change is highly debated with stress being instead placed on face-to-face interaction as a primary medium for contact and change (Kerswill 2002; Labov 2001). However, there is evidence that the media may play a role in certain cases of change such as diffusion (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2013). In their study, Stuart-Smith *et al.* (ibid.) present evidence of London features diffusing into the speech of Glaswegian youth and partly credit the London-based *EastEnders* soap for the adoption of these features by an otherwise non-mobile group. The role of the media is complemented by contacts in London and enhanced by a positive attitude toward the London

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[20] Members of the speech community under study usually use the term *yetshawwam* [jɪtʃawwam] 'to become Damascene' from *Sham* [ʃæːm] which is the popular name for Damascus in Syria.
[21] In recent years, Syrian drama (in addition to Turkish soaps dubbed in Damascene Arabic) has become popular across the Arab world not just in Syria.

features (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2013). As such, the media may play a role in accelerating the change and would certainly play a role in exposing people to certain features, but is not the cause of the change itself. Change itself results from accommodation in face-to-face interactions (Kerswill 2002; Trudgill 1986). To better understand the mechanisms of such accommodation and the outcomes of language contact as a result, we turn to a discussion of speech accommodation in the following sections.

2.4 Speech Accommodation

Speech accommodation occurs as a natural and inevitable outcome of face-to-face interaction between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties (Britain & Trudgill 2009; Trudgill 1986). As such it is useful to examine patterns of accommodation in contact situations as in the case of the speech community under study. Speech accommodation is a multifaceted and complicated process that can be manifested in different directions and can influence linguistic change and behaviour in different ways based on different considerations. It is, therefore, of paramount importance to understand the mechanisms underlying speech accommodation as a key factor in variation and change. The following sections will be dedicated to reviewing the literature on accommodation theory: its history, definition, motivations and the different accommodation strategies employed by speakers. I will then discuss the role of linguistic prestige in speech accommodation, the focus being on linguistic convergence and prestige. The last section will deal with style variation since, as noted in 1.1 and 1.3 above), contact in the context of Arabic also occurs with the standard variety.

2.4.1 Speech Accommodation Theory and Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication accommodation theory (CAT), which branched out of Speech accommodation theory (SAT), was pioneered by Howard Giles in the early 1970's to explain why people adapt and change their linguistic behaviour in different situations or with different speakers, and the social consequences that may ensue (Beebe & Giles 1984). It set out to clarify the motivations and constraints of speech in a social context (Giles *et al.* 1991). This came as a response to and criticism of the early Labovian paradigm. In his 'accent mobility' model, Giles (1973) argued that speakers' linguistic behaviour in Labovian-style interviews was directly influenced by the

interviewer as interviewees were essentially accommodating their speech to that of the interviewer rather than to the level of formality or informality as hypothesized by Labov in his early work. In this model, Giles (1973) set out to shift the focus from context to interpersonal relationships between speakers. He explains that the interviewer would also shift their style per the relevant contexts, being equally constrained by stylistic rules, which may mean that the shift in the interviewees' style is primarily to accommodate to the style of the interviewer and not to the change in context. Giles (1973) conducted his own interviews and concluded that speakers standardized their speech when speaking to him for social acceptance in interpersonal communication. Bell's model of audience design (1984) also challenges the role of context on speakers' modification of their speech and expands the role of interpersonal communication to include other audience members such as a listener or even an eavesdropper. Bell (1984) puts forward three possibilities for how speakers adapt their speech styles in the framework of audience design. The first one is that speakers examine the personal traits of their interlocutor and design their speech style accordingly; the second possibility is that they try to gauge their interlocutor's style and design their own accordingly or they listen to specific linguistic variables through which they decide which style is appropriate to use. Bell further expanded his theory to include referee design, a process by which a speaker shifts their style to be associated with a social group beyond their immediate audience. This reference group is usually absent and may be part of the speaker's network or a group they aspire to associate with. Bell (2001) further argues that since people have certain perceptions and associations between speakers and different contexts and topics, any situational shift is, in fact, underlying a shift motivated by the supposed interlocutor even when it seems to be spontaneous. As such, a speaker would adapt their linguistic norms in any given situation based on an imagined audience they associate with that situation (Bell 2001). Eckert (2004: 44) points out that, while Bell's theory rightfully embeds speakers' identity in social relations, it seems to imply that speakers' abilities to adapt to varying social styles and categories has its limitations. Indeed, the effect of context on speakers' choices cannot be dismissed. Miller (2005:930-931) presents evidence that both change of context and interlocutor play a role in modifying speech. In her study of Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo, she finds that topics on their home towns encouraged the use of native features. Topics on religion or politics generally encouraged the use of standard features, whereas topics related to Cairo encouraged the use of Cairene features.

Speech accommodation theory's early approaches to speech accommodation focused on social cognitive processes and social psychology as valuable concepts in understanding diversity of speech styles in a social setting. These processes were believed to mediate people's perception of the environment as well as their speech styles as a response to that perception. Thus, early definitions of accommodation viewed it as a sociopsychological process through which a speaker modifies their speech style to another (Giles *et al.* 1991). Later the definition expanded to give accommodation an interdisciplinary function that is not only concerned with verbal communication but works at the levels of language, communication and psychology presenting speakers with a constant supply of contextually complex communicative alternatives and morphing into the wider notion of communication accommodation theory (Giles *et al.* 1991). Accommodation can, hence, be achieved through different modes of communication, verbal and nonverbal such as choice of words, syntactic forms, phonological variants, smiling, utterance length, accent or pitch of speech (Giles *et al.* 1991).

Communication Accommodation Theory expanded to cover more communicative behaviours that may move in different directions in response to diverse constraints and motives. For instance, accommodation can be performed in varying ways and accommodative acts may be manifested in moving towards the communicative norms of the interlocutor in convergence or away from them in divergence. These strategies serve to signal solidarity or disassociation with conversational partners (Giles *et al.* 1991). Accommodative acts are usually based on underlying beliefs and attitudes towards both the interlocutor and the linguistic forms of choice in each interaction (Gasiorek & Giles 2012; Giles *et al.* 1991). These attitudes and perceptions are socially motivated and, thus, necessarily subjective and play a key role in listeners' perceptions of other speakers (Giles *et al.* 1991; Giles 2010). Giles (2010) explains that listeners may hear what they perceive their interlocutors should sound like based on their subjective attitudes and beliefs towards them and that such subjective perceptions do not always match the reality. This is evidenced by Thakerar & Giles (1981) who report that speakers who are believed to be competent are perceived to speak more standardly than they might actually do. Similarly, Williams (1976) says that African America speakers were believed to sound more non-standard than they do. Accommodative acts are essentially a manifestation of these subjective beliefs and attitudes (Garret 2010). Listeners also use speakers' speech norms, especially those that are phonological, to form their own social perceptions of them and categorize them based on those norms (Coupland 1985).

Although this subjectivity plays a role in accommodation, acts of accommodation that are measured independently are viewed as objective (Giles *et al.* 1991). Thakerar & Giles (1981) make this conceptual distinction between objective accommodation and subjective accommodation where the objective dimension refers to people's acts of accommodation while the subjective dimension refers to their beliefs regarding their speech behaviour and that of other people in relation to patterns of accommodation. Speakers may converge to or diverge from what they subjectively perceive their interlocutor's speech to be. When measured independently from their own perceptions, their accommodation acts may not correspond to their subjective beliefs of the speakers or of their own acts of accommodation (Thakerar & Giles 1981). Giles *et al.* (1987) also point out that in addition to accommodating to the expectations of others, speakers may also accommodate to where they believe others expect them to be. As such, accommodation is a cognitive response to speakers' social judgements and stereotypes of others (Hewstone & Giles 1986). Giles *et al.* (1991) address this point by saying that speakers may still converge psychologically even if they do not have the sociolinguistic experience necessary to achieve the desired convergent effect. In such cases, they would make use of what other dimensions are available to them, whether linguistic or otherwise (Giles *et al.* 1991). For example, Selting (1985) reports that a radio interviewer with a vernacular dialect different to that of her audience employed vernacular features of her dialect to converge to her audience and diverge from the standard dialect of her interviewee.

Hinskens *et al.* (2005) also make the distinction between subjective and objective accommodation by distinguishing between psychological and linguistic accommodation. They explain that psychological convergence or divergence are people's perceptions and attitudes towards other speakers, whereas linguistic divergence or convergence are the manifestations of those attitudes and perceptions. On some occasions, such attitudes and perceptions may remain non-manifested while on other occasion, linguistic manifestations may not match their underlying motives. However, according to Giles *et al.* (1991), people's subjective beliefs and their objective sociolinguistic realizations of them are often compatible. A chance of mismatch between subjective and objective accommodative acts is still likely, however. This is a result of speakers' varied abilities to manifest their accommodative acts linguistically as speakers' repertoires play a key role in determining the level of their linguistic convergence (Beebe & Giles 1984; Gasiorek *et al.* 2015). Trudgill (1986) explains that accommodation within a given speech community involves people's adaptations of familiar linguistic features over which they

already have control. On the other hand, accommodation in situations of new, unfamiliar varieties would involve learning new features. People's knowledge and linguistic repertoires can be dependent on many factors such as education or exposure to certain linguistic forms (Andersen 1992). As such, speakers may have the desire to accommodate, but lack the linguistic resources to manifest their accommodation properly. In dialect contact situations, people's knowledge and repertoire of different linguistic features can be dependent on similarities and differences between speech varieties (Hernandez 2002). Such similarities and differences would also impact upon patterns and degrees of accommodation (Hernandez 2002). Miller (2005:944) explains that in interdialectal situations, a high degree of difference that may cover multiple linguistic features would complicate the accommodation process as it would require covering all those differences. This may result in interdialectal forms whereby speakers may only adopt the most marked features (Trudgill 1986). Miller (2005) reports the occurrence of such forms as a major feature in interdialectal contexts. This was manifested in her sample by the adoption of the urban phonological variant of (q) in place of their rural [g] while keeping their native vocalic structure intact, as in [ʔiddæ:m] 'front' rather than their native [giddæ:m] or the urban [ʔuddæ:m].

As people's linguistic repertoires may vary greatly, speakers and listeners store multiple linguistic forms and access them based on social considerations (Babel 2009). Accommodation can be manifested on a large scale in the selection of a completely different mode of communication or it could simply occur in a small part or aspect of speech, but not in another (Giles *et al.* 1991). Speakers might converge to certain patterns while diverging on others. This is a unique characteristic of accommodation as it pays attention to both micro and macro communicative modes (Giles *et al.* 1991). Trudgill (1986) gives examples from processes of phonological convergence explaining that it is more about reducing differences between speakers than eliminating them completely, as it does not occur as a complete change of one's phonological system. He talks about three types of partial accommodation and argues that phonological convergence is likely to start as a change on the lexical level whereby speakers change the pronunciation of some words, so they sound similar to those of the interlocutor in a process of lexical diffusion. Speakers may also use new sounds variably with the sounds originally in their inventory. Convergence may also result in intermediate forms rather than a complete change into either of the existing forms in contact (Trudgill 1999). For example, in his research on East Anglia (1999), contact between two forms of 'boat' /bəʊt/; [bu:t] and

[bæut] produced the intermediate form [bout]. The first sounds to change in these situations are usually markers that are consciously recognized by speakers as carriers of social meaning (Kerswill 1995; Miller 2005; Trudgill 1986). Kerswill (1995) notes that forms that are different on the surface and more likely to have sociolinguistic salience are the most likely to be affected by convergence. Phonological underlying differences are also likely to be affected phonetically on the surface. He explains that surface adjustments are easier to perform from a psychological point of view than underlying complex differences (Kerswill 1995). This trend, however, is not universal as markedness may hinder accommodation when complex linguistic features such as phonotactic constraints are at play (Trudgill 1986). Miller (2005) adds that attitudes, social beliefs and identity perceptions may also interfere in the process.

The level and frequency of convergence could also be constrained by individual differences (Giles *et al.* 1991). For example, extroverts and cognitively complex communicators are more likely to converge on their listeners than introverts by virtue of being more adaptive to their listener and better at construct differentiation (Burlson 1984). Sociodemographic variables such as age and gender also play a role in the level and frequency of convergence (Delia and Clark 1977).

Giles *et al.* (1991) also explain that accommodative acts between speakers can be symmetrical, where both speakers may converge on each other, or asymmetrical, where they move in different directions. It is important to note that the key motivator remains the speaker's perception of what is appropriate or effective in a communicative event rather than the elements of the communication (be it context or other speakers). This is stressed in the framework of CAT that views accommodative acts as sociopsychological in nature.

2.4.1.1 Convergence

In the framework of CAT, convergence stems from the subconscious need to belong and integrate and the desire for social approval (Giles & Ogay 2006). This view was mainly built on notions of similarity attraction that loosely hypothesize that people regard those like them favourably (Byrne 1971). Feldstein and Welkowitz (1978) state that an increased behavioural

similarity in an important communicative device such as speech may increase speakers' attractiveness. As such, people tend to converge to those they like and respect or to those they may perceive as powerful in an attempt to be associated with them and their positive values (Giles *et al.* 1991, Giles 2008). In situations where boundaries between two linguistically distinct groups are crossable, it is argued by Hinskens *et al.* (2005) that it may be useful for speakers to converge toward the other group's linguistic system. Such convergence may be achieved by either approximating linguistic forms of the other group or by avoiding one's own marked features. People also tend to change their speech patterns when they move to new dialect areas to reflect their new community (Evans & Iverson 2007; Munro *et al.* 1999). The desire to be understood is also a key motive in dialect convergence as noted by Trudgill (1986). Gregory and Hoyt (1982) argue that convergence is important for effective communication and point out that conversations with low levels of convergence are usually filled with misunderstandings and miscommunication. The desire for an effective interaction with optimum clarity is also highlighted by Giles *et al.* (1991) and Beebe and Giles (1984). In such encounters where conversational partners come from very different dialect backgrounds, convergence aids better understanding and enhances communication effectiveness by limiting the need for repetitions or explanations (Giles *et al.* 1991).

Convergence is usually received favourably by communication partners (Giles *et al.* 1991; Soliz & Giles 2014). Giles *et al.* (1991) discuss the bilingual context of Montreal and note that convergence on the part of a speaker is usually received favourably as well as being likely to elicit convergence from the other speaker in return. However, it important to note that a match between speakers' intention and interlocutors' perception is key to receiving speech convergence positively as pointed out by Beebe and Giles (1984). When listeners believe that their conversational partners' convergence is the optimal speech behaviour, they receive it positively (Beebe & Giles 1984). Giles *et al.* (1991) point out that it was assumed early in the development of CAT that full convergence is evaluated more positively than partial convergence. This, however, was shown to be inaccurate by Giles and Smith (1979). They presented eight versions of a taped message by a Canadian speaker to an English audience. The speaker on the tape exhibited convergence and non-convergence on three different levels of communication. Listeners evaluated convergence on different levels separately, and while they appreciated convergence on separate levels, they received it negatively on all three levels as they perceived it as arrogant and condescending. These accounts rely on social motives as

explanations of phonetic convergence. However, convergence may also occur as an automatic cognitive reflex despite the lack of a social motivation. In fact, early psychological (exemplar-based) models argue that phonetic convergence is more of an automatic cognitive reflex than a socially motivated behaviour (Goldinger 1998). However, the likelihood is that social factors play a focal role in convergence as the level and nature of linguistic convergence are primarily governed by social motives (Babel 2009). Hinskens *et al.* (2005) also hold the view that accommodative acts are conscious choices of socially aware individuals. Giles *et al.* (1991) remark that the level of convergence is closely related to the speaker's desire of social acceptance. Beebe and Giles (1984) also point out that on many occasions, people make a conscious effort to accommodate their speech and that it is chosen as a communication strategy when the rewards associated with it outweigh any potential costs.

2.4.1.2 Divergence

Divergence occurs when the speaker wants to disassociate themselves from the interlocutor by highlighting their speech as well as nonverbal differences (Giles *et al.* 1991). Early studies on speech divergence were manipulated in a laboratory setting and divergence was found to occur when the listeners' identity was perceived to be threatened by their interlocutor (Giles *et al.* 1991). For example, a study was conducted on Welsh speakers who were found to diverge and accentuate their Welsh identity when the English-sounding speakers questioned their learning of a dying language in a condescending manner (Bourhis & Giles 1977). Chakrani (2014) also found similar patterns in a study on interdialectal accommodation in Arabic. When an Egyptian participant in his study expressed an overtly negative attitude towards the Maghreb variety, the Moroccan speaker responded by ignoring his request for a clarification and maintaining his dialect. Giles *et al.* (1991) point out that, like convergence, divergence could also be viewed as an act of conformity, belonging and integration. But where convergence aims to achieve that with the conversational partner, divergence is focused on a group outside of the communicative encounter. Divergence can also bring a positive sense of distinctiveness to the speaker who may believe they belong to a superior group to that of their interlocutor (Giles *et al.* 1991). This, in turn, would enhance their sense of self and their identity. Just like convergence, divergence can be demonstrated in a variety of communicative activities both verbal and non-verbal (Giles *et al.* 1991). Scotton (1985) uses the term disaccommodation in reference to instances where a listener may repeat the speaker's utterance in a different register for the

purpose of distinction. In such cases, such repetitions do not stem from a misunderstanding, but rather from a desire to mark a different identity, highlight different speech styles and maintain distance (Heritage & Watson 1980). Such acts may also be viewed as simply maintaining one's speech style and identity in different situations rather than a deliberate act of divergence. It is viewed as speech stability that is claimed to be fairly evident in speech and other modes of communication (Cappella & Planalp 1981). Giles *et al.* (1991) refer to this as sociopsycholinguistic non-event. Such speech maintenance can be viewed positively as a valued and likely conscious effort of group identity maintenance, especially in interethnic encounters (Bourhis 1984). Such efforts may also apply at the level of personal identity (Giles *et al.* 1991). Hart *et al.* (1980) approach speech maintenance on a personal level through the notion of 'Noble Selves'. They present these as individuals who are usually straightforward and spontaneous and would, therefore, view deviating from their speech style as essentially deviating from their principles of integrity and straightforwardness.

Maintenance and divergence can be perceived negatively as disrespectful or even hostile (Deprez & Persoons 1984). Giles *et al.* (1991) justify negative reactions to divergence based on the communicative implications that may ensue in such cases. As mentioned in 2.4.1.1 above, conversations with low levels of convergence can be filled with misunderstandings (Gregory & Hoyt 1982). On the other hand, some social situations may actually favour divergence (Doise *et al.* 1976). For example, divergence is received positively by the interlocutor when it maintains power-relations or other social constructs. In cases such as an employer-employee or teacher-student encounter, speakers' speech norms are expected to be different or asymmetrical and convergence would not be expected or favoured (Grush *et al.* 1975). Divergence is more likely to occur in intergroup situations than in interpersonal communication as a speaker in such a setting would draw on their intergroup repertoire and diverge from a collective speech stereotype of the counter group (Giles *et al.* 1991). Such divergence is viewed positively by members of the speaker's community Giles *et al.* (1991). This is likely because of the positive values and outcomes it may imply towards the speech community.

2.4.1.3 Outcomes of convergence and divergence

It is interesting to note that acts of convergence or divergence may still be received negatively even when they objectively achieve the target intended by the speakers (Giles *et al.* 1991). In such cases, convergence or divergence may match the speaker's social evaluation, but not achieve the desired response on the part of the interlocutor or wider audience. A case in point is the (1976) study by Giles & Bourhis. They report that black West Indian immigrants in a British city were objectively successful in converging to the speech of white locals. However, their convergence was towards a variety the locals did not wish to be associated with and was, therefore, not received as it was intended. In some cases where speakers' social evaluations mismatch the reality of their interlocutors, accommodation acts may be received negatively and do more harm than good. For example, over-convergence may be viewed as ridiculing one's interlocutor rather than conveying support (Giles *et al.* 1991). Caporeal *et al.* (1983) found that some nurses used baby-talk to some of their elderly patients based primarily on their subjective notions rather than on the patients' capabilities. When their notions did not match the reality of their patients' communicative needs, their accommodation strategies were received negatively and perceived as demeaning. In some cases, highly competent non-native speakers or perceived non-native speakers based on race, ethnicity or even a different dialect may experience this kind of over-convergence in the form of loud or slow speech or an assumed misunderstanding on the part of the interlocutor. So, in some cases different acts of accommodation may provide beneficial outcomes to one or both speakers whereas they could impact the communication negatively in other instances. Alternatively, they may not do much to the course of the conversation whether negatively or positively (Giles *et al.* 1991). In addition, since the motivation for any accommodative act is largely subjective, similar acts of accommodation will not always fulfil the same function and might alternatively fulfil different functions. For example, two speakers from different social groups may converge to each other for different reasons and purposes and their convergence may not achieve either purpose. A low-status speaker may converge upwards to a standard speaker to show competence, while that speaker may subjectively feel the need to converge downwards to aid the other speaker's understanding or as an act of misconstrued solidarity. Gasiorek & Giles (2012: 313) point out that how accommodative acts are received depends on how their motives are received. Simard *et al.* (1976) explain that convergence is likely to be received positively if perceived as motivated by an internally positive intent. On the other hand, it would be received negatively if it is attributed to external constraints. Similarly, non-accommodative acts are received less negatively if they are perceived to be non-intentional (Gasiorek & Giles 2012: 313).

It is also important to keep in mind that accommodative acts come at a cost even when they achieve the desired effect. Turner (1987) points out that social acceptance may come at the cost of identity loss. Ryan & Giles (1982) also note that standard speech may be perceived as powerful and competent, but as less trustworthy at the same time. Bourhis *et al.* (1975) tested Welsh respondents' attitudes towards different accommodation strategies of a Welsh athlete in two interviews, one with a Standard English speaker and the other with a mildly Welsh-accented speaker. They found that the respondents rated him highly on intelligence when he converged to standard speech while also rating him poorly on trustworthiness. The reverse was true when he diverged away from standard speech to welsh-accented speech, as he was rated positively in terms of warmth and kindness, but rated him negatively in terms of intelligence. In his interview with the mildly Welsh-accented speaker, he too maintained a mild Welsh accent and he was rated more positively in terms of intelligence than when he diverged into a broad Welsh accent in his interview with the Standard English speaker. This may echo Trudgill's (1972) concept of covert vs. overt linguistic prestige where moving towards one achieves an independent and different set of goals than those achieved when moving towards the other. Trudgill (1972) explains that covert prestige usually signals identity, strength and community support, while overt prestige may guarantee mobility and opportunities. Giles *et al.* (1991) also point out that accommodative acts may move upwards or downwards adopting prestigious forms or socially stigmatized forms. It is reasonable to conclude that each accommodative act whether moving upwards or downwards may benefit speakers in some respects while compromising in others.

Convergence and divergence can also have long-lasting effects on speech communities. Long-term societal and personal convergence contributes to language change (Giles *et al.* 1991; Trudgill 1986), while long-term intergroup divergence may contribute to language maintenance and survival (Giles *et al.* 1991).

Several variables such as the nature of the communication and commitment to group identity govern the nature and degree of divergence (Giles *et al.* 1991). However, such factors are often subjective and hard to measure reliably. Speakers' behaviour may be indicative of their motives, but such evaluations can also be subjective and unreliable. Other variables such as age and gender also play a role in whether a speaker might diverge or not, how much they

might diverge and how they might express their divergence (Giles *et al.* 1991). These will be discussed in chapter 3.

2.4.2 Linguistic Accommodation and Prestige

Linguistic prestige is also a major player in dialect contact situations and patterns of linguistic accommodation, especially in situations where contact occurs between high prestige and low prestige varieties as in the case of geographical diffusion relevant to the speech community under study. Linguistic prestige as a player in dialect contact and accommodation is, therefore, discussed in this section.

Linguistic prestige is a purely social and subjective notion ascribed to certain linguistic varieties for virtue of being associated with the elite in any given society. Prestigious varieties do not have any intrinsic linguistic value that makes them superior to other varieties as they merely derive their prestige from their socially or politically powerful speakers. Hence, the same linguistic variants may carry prestige in one community and lack it in another. For example, in the context of Syria and some other Arabic speech communities, [ʔ] as a variant of (q) is considered a prestige variant that is usually emulated by female speakers, especially for its perceived 'softness' and 'femininity' (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Habib 2011a). However, the same variant as a realization of (t) in some English dialects is perceived as uncouth and is linked with masculinity and roughness (Milroy *et al.* 1994; Watt 2002). Prestige varieties may start as regional dialects, but essentially become social varieties that are often adopted by different speakers aspiring to acquire the prestige linked to them. For example, RP had its roots in London and acquired its prestige due to its association with the Royals (Trudgill 2008). It gradually lost some of its local features and became a social rather than a regional dialect (Trudgill 2008). Linguistic prestige can, thus, be a key driver for speech convergence as speakers converge to more prestigious varieties for social advancement. This is in line with what Giles *et al.* (1991) call the power variable. They explain that the power variable is a key motivator in convergence as speakers strive to be associated with values of power and higher status. For example, Stanback & Pearce (1981) show that African American speakers converge to white speech patterns while the contrary does not happen given the socioeconomic advantage of white speakers over black speakers in the U.S. Miller (2005) also discusses accommodative

acts in interdialectal situations and explains that prestige and political power are among the social factors that determine the degree of loss or maintenance of linguistic features and cultural values. She notes that speakers of upper Egyptian Arabic diverge away from their dialect as it is perceived as a stigmatized variety and choose to converge to Cairene Arabic, the national prestige in Egypt. Miller (2005: 917) points out that speakers of stigmatized dialects see such convergence to the prestigious norm in interdialectal interactions as a necessity. They believe it helps with communication efficacy and social acceptance and they make an effort to diverge away from dialectal features that are quite different and are likely not to be understood. Habib (2010b) also documents convergence to a prestigious variety in her study of rural migrants in the city of Homs, Syria. She notes that convergence to the prestige norm is more likely to occur in cases of direct contact and quotes factors of embarrassment and the need to integrate in a prestigious society as drivers of convergence for many of her participants. Gregory & Webster (1996) also examined phonetic convergence as a function of prestige. They examined 25 interviews in the Larry King T.V show and found that he was converging towards guests he perceived as having a higher social status, while guests with a lower social status converged to him. In some cases, listeners who were asked to evaluate accommodative strategies perceived convergence to prestigious sounding speakers even when maintenance was the actual linguistic behaviour, which implies that they expect convergence towards prestige as the typical accommodative act (Bourhis *et al.* 1975). Similar to other forms of convergence, interdialectal convergence that is motivated by prestige is likely to be only partial. As such, speakers would increase the use of certain preferred features that already exist in their repertoires and decrease the use of stigmatized features or integrate new features (Hernandez 2002; Watt 2002). For example, Miller (2005) notes that for Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo, one of the first features to be dropped when communicating with speakers of Cairene Arabic is pausal final *imala*,[22] which is characterised by raising the feminine suffix (a) to [e] in the speech of rural Egyptian speakers, as it is readily characterised as a stigmatized rural feature that is often imitated and ridiculed in films and on television.

As convergence is primarily motivated by a desire for social advancement, speakers of prestigious varieties often tend to maintain their speech norms as they do not necessarily feel the need and pressure to accommodate to other speakers of different dialects (Beebe & Giles

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[22] This is raising which only occurs where there is a pause at the end of the word containing the suffix, hence the term pausal. Otherwise, a /t/ surfaces and no such *imala* appears.

1984; Chakrani 2014). Chakrani (2014) points out that they do not attempt to understand different dialects and expect other interlocutors to accommodate to them. These expectations are usually based on established social norms and attitudes (Chakrani 2014; Giles & Ogay 2006). Minimal or non-existent efforts towards accommodation on the part of speakers of prestigious varieties are also quite acceptable and expected (Beebe & Giles 1984; Chakrani 2014). Although prestige is a key motive for accommodation, it is important to keep in mind that linguistic accommodation can go in two opposite directions in the same speech community. This is in keeping with the basic tenets of CAT as some people may converge upwards to the prestigious variety to achieve social acceptance while others may choose to diverge from it converging downwards or maintaining non-prestigious variants for a sense of pride, challenge, solidarity or belonging.

2.5 Register Variation

In general terms, style or register refers to speech variation at the level of individuals based on context (Coupland 1985). In early Labovian studies (Labov 1963), style was directly dependent on the level of formality and speakers varied their speech style between casual and careful speech based on the formality of the speech event. However, there is no consensus on the concept of style within sociolinguistics. Style plays a central role in third-wave variation studies where variation constructs social meaning rather than simply reflecting it and the focus is on the social meaning of variables rather than viewing them based on predefined social categories such as age, sex and class in the first wave of variation studies or small, specific groups in second wave ethnographic studies (Eckert 2012). In third-wave studies, style is defined as any number of linguistic variables that indicate a social identity on the individual level or beyond (Eckert 2001). Eckert (2004:43) contends that style, much like language, is not a thing but rather a practice. People create social meanings through style and use it to manipulate and manifest those meanings (Eckert 2004: 43). As such, the choice of different variables is based on the social meanings assigned to these variables and is used to signal style shifting (Eckert 2004:42-43). These social meanings are essentially fluid and flexible and subject to constant change, making style also flexible rather than static and giving the same variables different associations in different social constructs (Eckert 2004: 43). The focus in third-wave variationist studies is, therefore, on a speaker's ability to modify their social position by manipulating their speech in accordance with any given situation. This approach to

style focuses on pre-existing social meanings that are assumed to be shared by both speakers and hearers; speakers convey meanings that are most likely to be understood by their interlocutors (Eckert 2004: 44). Style and variation in this vein embed the social associations and manifest them through language among other resources (Eckert 2004). As such, speakers' use of sociolinguistic variables in style variation indicates a conscious, intentional attempt to employ or indicate certain social meanings. This, however, is also subject to linguistic competence as discussed in relation to accommodation in 2.4.1 above. As such knowledge of multiple styles or speech patterns does not necessarily translate into the ability to use them as some people's knowledge of different register can be active while other people's knowledge is passive (Andersen 1992). Such knowledge can be governed by gender, age, and level of education or other external factors (Andersen 1992). On the other hand, speakers may style shift even without having full command of the intended style. As discussed in 2.4.1 above, speakers may resort to what they already have in order to express style shifting in a desired direction.

As discussed in 2.4.1 above, some scholars (Bell 2001; Giles *et al.* 1991) challenge the concept of style variation, stressing the role of interlocutor (or even assumed interlocutor in Bell's audience design) as the primary motivator of modifying one's speech. Evidence, however, shows that a change of context does inform speakers' choices of style (Miller 2005). Both style variation and speech accommodation play a role in speakers' linguistic behaviour and examined together, they would provide a fuller picture of variation and language use. Examining register variation is especially useful in the context of Arabic as contact is not restricted to the spoken varieties, but also occurs with SA in a highly diglossic situation (Abd-El-Jawad 1987). Speakers, as such, may be motivated to modify their speech in response to different interlocutors and contexts informed by different levels of prestige relevant to either appropriate variety. Both speech accommodation and register variation imply the same underlying process of adapting one's speech norms to accomplish what is perceived to be appropriate and socially rewarding in a given situation or with a given interlocutor whether covertly or overtly (Coupland 1985).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of dialect contact and its role in linguistic variation and change establishing geographical diffusion as the type of contact relevant to the present study, which will aid in the understanding and analysis of the results from the current research. It has reviewed the literature on speech accommodation and discussed its mechanisms, manifestations and implications on language change, providing an essential background to understanding language use with different interlocutors and what it implies in terms of attitude, sociolinguistic competence, and identity. It has also offered a brief overview of style variation and its role in understanding speakers' linguistic behaviour. A solid understanding of the theories and concepts presented in this chapter will be essential to the analysis of the results from the current study as will become clear in chapters five through eight.

Chapter 3. Social Variables

This chapter will introduce the social variables examined in the study, namely age and gender, in relation to linguistic patterns and language use in children and adolescents. It will examine age a sociolinguistic variable and discuss acquisition of variation in children. The next sections on age will focus on adolescent language use and linguistic variation. The focus will then turn to examine gender as a sociolinguistic variable in the speech of children and adolescents with an emphasis on an Arabic setting. Lastly the role of age and gender will be discussed in relation to accommodation and register variation.

3.1 Age

Age is one of the most important social variables to examine when studying language variation (e.g., Starks & Mcrobbie-Utasi 2001). However, it might be among the least examined or understood in sociolinguistic theory as pointed out by Llamas (2007:69). She argues that unlike other categories such as gender and ethnicity, age has not been approached critically and any examination of it has often been confined to the limits of biological age. An issue that the current thesis aims to rectify by looking at age categories within their social context as will be clear in chapter 4 and in the discussion of the results. This issue was also raised by Eckert (1997: 154) who notes that chronological age is used heavily in many community studies on variation. This approach is problematic since linguistic variation as a function of age is meaningful in relation to age as a social construct rather than a biological category (Eckert 1997: 152). Indeed, variation in relation to age is a direct response to forms and expectations of language use in relation to different life stages and those expectations or forms are based on social beliefs and attitudes (Eckert 1997). Therefore, in studies of variation, it is sociolinguistic age rather than chronological age that matters (Foulkes 2003), which makes defining age as a sociolinguistic variable an essential task. However, this is challenging and problematic since chronological age and sociolinguistic age are not straightforwardly related (Llamas 2001). Eckert (1997:155) argues that age as a social category is cultural-specific, which results in impacting linguistic development relevant to age differently in different cultural settings. For example, in western societies, three major periods have been defined in relation to people's speech development. Early childhood witnesses the acquisition of variation alongside grammatical forms and is usually defined by acquisition from primary caregivers (Kerswill

1996; Smith *et al.* 2007). Adolescence witnesses a shift in the vernacular towards that of peer groups depending on the strength of any given network of the speaker (Eckert 1997; Kerswill 1996). Early adulthood is characterized by a shift into more standard or covertly prestigious forms depending on the context or situation (Chambers 2009; Foulkes 2003). The general life stages of childhood, adolescence, adulthood and so forth are most frequently used in explaining people's behaviour since they are associated with people's social progression and they impact their behaviour as a response to such progression (Eckert 1997: 156).

Researching child language variation has been even more limited by comparison to research on variation in adult language (Foulkes *et al.* 2001; Kiesling 2011; Roberts 1997; Smith *et al.* 2007). Eckert (1997) notes that most studies that use age as a factor favour recruiting middle-aged participants as they are viewed to be the standard language users. Children, on the other hand, are seen as acquirers and learners who are adjusting their language use into the assumed target forms of adults. Children's linguistic behaviour is, therefore, analysed in relation to adult language use and treated as a stage in the linguistic development of speakers. Whether it is how closely they approximate adult language use or how far they diverge from it, children's linguistic behaviour is measured against the perceived standard language use of adult speakers (Roberts 1997). However, there is more to children's linguistic behaviour than measuring it against that of an assumed adult target. In many ways, children are better at making use of linguistic resources than adults. For example, young children are the best at acquiring novel linguistic features and only the youngest acquire the most complex features that exhibit both social and linguistic constraints on variation (Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996). Successful acquisition of a new dialect is claimed to be only possible by age 7 or younger, whereas, it is rarely possible after the age of 14 and people in between vary (Chambers 1992). In fact, Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007) argue that children are the only successful population at achieving this. Adults, on the other hand, are much less successful at shifting their pronunciation of whole phonemes (Kerswill 1996: 180). Trudgill (1986: 31) also argues that children are much more rapid and complete accommodators than adults. Trudgill (1988) also reports a number of changes in Norwich that have been introduced by children and have not been adopted by adults. Moreover, as Roberts (1999) and Eckert (2000) rightly observe, the foundation for adult and adolescent language is laid down in childhood. This makes studying child language a natural starting point as it would offer a much-needed perspective on language use.

Going back to the question of how to approach age as a sociolinguistic variable, Eckert (1997) argues that a more comprehensive approach to child and adolescent linguistic behaviour should consider both the developmental perspective and the mature-use perspective. She further explains that the developmental perspective should recognize development as a life-long occurrence that is not restricted to childhood or adolescence whereas the mature-use perspective needs to recognize that mature use can occur at any life-stage rather than being restricted to adulthood. As such, the use of certain linguistic forms by speakers of a given age group is appropriate for their age and sociolinguistic competence is age-specific and not a static measure (Eckert 1997: 157). Eckert (1997: 158) argues, therefore, that children's linguistic behaviour should be analysed independently from adults' linguistic behaviour rather than by comparison to it, noting that a life-course perspective actually begins in childhood, not adulthood, making it more productive to search for answers in child-specific material. Roberts (1997) argues that children's divergence from the adult pattern could offer more insight into the process of acquisition rather than indicate an incomplete process and maintains that such divergence indicates that they are not simply imitating surface forms as produced in their input, but rather acquiring variation as part of a rule-governed process following their own analysis of the relevant forms (Roberts 1997:365). Moreover, childhood and adolescence make up a major part of anyone's development, linguistic or otherwise, and it would be quite fruitful to examine the emergence and usage of sociolinguistic knowledge in children and adolescents and study them in their own right. This project was born out of this interest to answer key questions pertaining to the building blocks to a life-long use of language in society. It was designed to answer questions about the emergence of variation, in addition to examining the role of age and gender in the use of socially conditioned linguistic variables.

Section 3.1.1 below will review some of the literature on the acquisition of variation in children. This will be essential in unpacking the implications and expectations for the current research as becomes clear in formulating the hypotheses and research questions (see 4.2) around which the thesis revolves.

3.1.1 Acquisition of variation in children

Kiesling (2011) proposes a number of key questions that need to be asked when examining the acquisition of variation in children. These questions are particularly relevant to this project and have also been considered in the literature as will be discussed in this section.

1- When does the acquisition of variation start?

2- What is the nature of peer influence and when does it take over?

3- How changeable is variation across the life span?

4- Is there an order of acquisition of variation? Which constraints are learned earlier social or linguistic?

5- How are social constraints learned by children?

6- Is there any variability in the way and speed variables are acquired?

Answering the first question, especially, poses fundamental challenges as children's linguistic production is necessarily and inherently variable and more so than that of adult speakers (Kiesling 2011). A lot of this variability is developmental, and it decreases with age as children refine their linguistic productions (Kiesling 2011). That is not to assume, however, that dialectal variation does not exist in the speech of children. After all, they are not acquiring language in a vacuum and it is logical to conclude that they acquire the forms of the dialect to which they are exposed (Eckert 1997; Foulkes *et al.* 2001; Labov 1989). The challenge, then, lies in attempting to tease this variability apart and determining which part is developmental and which is part of the system being acquired. This question of dialectal vs. developmental variability was considered by Kovac and Adamson (1981) in their examination of the speech of 3-5 and 7-year-old African American and European American children. They studied deletion of finite *be* (a well-documented feature in African American English that is systematic in the speech of adults as a function of social, grammatical and phonological constraints (Labov 1969; Rickford *et al.* 1991; Wolfram 1969) and found that absence of finite *be* appeared to be developmental in European American children. However, results varied by socio-economic class for African American children. Working class African American children acquired the deletion rule before the middle-class children who acquired contraction before deletion. Roberts and Labov (1995) examined the acquisition of short –a by pre-school children in Philadelphia and found that children had not only acquired the rules of variation, but that they were participants in change in progress. Foulkes *et al.* (1999) found that 2-4-year-old children in Newcastle were successful at acquiring the constraints of (t) glottaling and even recorded instances where children had learned lexical conditioning involved in the variation. Results

from these studies and others indicate that variation is, indeed, acquired as part of the linguistic system and appears in the speech of children as early as age two or three (Andersen 1992; Kiesling 2011; Roberts 2013). Such acquisition of rule-governed variation is an essential part of the sociolinguistic competence children need to be competent speakers of their native language (Roberts 1997:354). It equips them with the communicative skills they need to be fully participant in the speech community just as acquiring language provides them with the grammatical competence necessary for speech (Chambers 2003:174; Roberts 2005: 154).

Having established that children acquire structured variation as part of the linguistic system leads to another important question concerning the order of acquisition of variation (Kiesling 2011). Scholars are interested in establishing which constraints are learned earlier in the process of acquisition and the factors that may play a role in that. This issue has long been a subject of interest and debate as some argue that grammatical constraints are learned earlier while others maintain that it is acquisition of stylistic constraints that comes earlier.

Early assumptions were that children did not have the full awareness of the social value of structured linguistic patterns found in the speech of adults (Labov 1964; Lakoff 1973). In that vein, pre-adolescent children were assumed to be monostylistic speakers who only had full awareness of the social significance of speech in late adolescence despite acquiring vernacular and dialect features along with acquiring language itself in early childhood (Labov 1964; Labov 1970; Wolfram & Fasold 1974). Labov (1964) maps a developmental model of acquisition that comprises six stages from childhood to adulthood to explain that position. Figure 3.1 below demonstrates the four stages relevant to children and adolescents.

stage 1: basic grammar		stage 2: the vernacular		stage 3: social perception		stage 4: stylistic variation
•(up to age 5)	→	•between 5- 11 years old	→	•early adolescence	→	•late adolescence
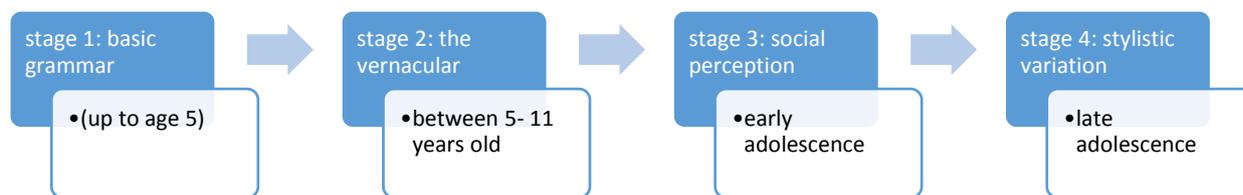
Figure 3-1 Labov's stages of linguistic development

According to this model, children acquire the grammar, phonology and the lexis of their language as it is spoken at home in the first stage, before the age of 5. In the second stage, between the ages of 5 and 12, children acquire the vernacular forms of their dialect. The primary influence on children's language at this stage shifts from the parents' input to the peers' input. These are the two stages where children are assumed to be monostylistic speakers without the full knowledge of the social significance of speech. Only in the 3rd stage of acquisition, between the ages of 14 and 15, do they acquire the social awareness relevant to language and only in late adolescence, stage 4 of Labov's model, do they start varying their speech in accordance with that knowledge. However, evidence shows that children do acquire stylistic variation and social awareness much earlier than adolescence. Some scholars contend that children acquire linguistic and stylistic forms simultaneously, noting that sociolinguistic competence and grammatical competence go hand in hand in the acquisition process (Chambers 2009; Hymes 1974). Hymes (ibid.:75) points out that sociolinguistic competence is actually part of linguistic knowledge and is acquired together with grammar and other linguistic features. He argues that children not only learn to speak, but they also learn the constraints of communication along with learning speech. Chambers (2009) also argues that children acquire variable and grammatical rules around the same time without a gap separating the acquisition of either aspect. Foulkes *et al.* (1999) contend that children acquire what is available to them and use it to navigate their language use in socially meaningful ways, which suggests that they learn social constraints along with learning other aspects of language since those constraints

are present in their input from the start. Evidence does suggest that children do, in fact, seem to learn socially significant patterns early on in the acquisition process. Khattab (2013), for example, finds that even foreign accented features in the input of bilingual children are not filtered out in the process of acquisition, but rather used in stylistically meaningful ways in their interactions. Other studies propose that stylistic constraints are learned even earlier that grammar (Foulkes *et al.* 2001; Labov 1989). For example, Labov (1989) studied the stylistic and linguistic variation for (-t, d) deletion and (ING) fronting in a small sample of children and their parents outside Philadelphia and found that by age 7, one boy had acquired the stylistic and linguistic constraints of (-t, d) deletion with the exception of treating semi-weak verbs identically to monomorphemic words. The boy had also mastered both the linguistic and stylistic constraints on the alternation of (ING). A 6-year-old only acquired the stylistic variation, whereas a 4-year-old showed no sign of acquiring the constraints on the (ING) alternation at all. Based on these results, he concluded that children acquire the stylistic constraints of variation earlier than the grammatical ones, arguing that grammar cannot be acquired in isolation of social factors (Labov 1989). This is in contrast to his earlier view presented above that assumes children to be monostylistic speakers (Labov 1964). Foulkes *et al.* (2001 on acquisition of (t) variation by Tyneside children) also provide evidence that stylistic constraints are learned earlier than grammatical constraints and argue that sociolinguistic competence precedes grammatical competence suggesting that it could, in fact, help phonological development.

Although the studies presented above present evidence that social constraints are acquired early in the acquisition process along with grammar or even earlier, counter evidence, supporting the argument for acquisition of grammatical constraints before social ones, continues to be presented. Many scholars hold the view that sociolinguistic knowledge develops with age and that older children are better at using language in socially meaningful patterns than younger children (Leaper 1991; Youssef 1993). Kerswill and Williams (2000) examined variation in (θ) fronting, (h) dropping, and (t) glottaling in the speech of children in Milton Keynes who were divided into three age groups (4, 8 and 12 years old). Results showed more style shifting with the older children by comparison to younger ones, which led them to tentatively conclude that sociolinguistic maturity is gradual as children acquire more styles that they use and perceive in an adult manner (Kerswill & Williams 2000:105). Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007:655) also argue that whereas internal constraints on variation are acquired along with

language acquisition, external constraints may lag behind until children are fully engaged members of the speech community. In their research, Canadian children living in England acquired the glottal stop earlier than the standard [t] in place of their native voiced [d] realization since the glottal stop was the local realization of (t) and was more common in their input. They learnt the internal constraints of using the variant earlier than learning the social ones, which came later in the acquisition process. Similar evidence comes from Roberts (1997) who studied patterns of (t-d) deletion in the speech of children between the ages of 2-3 and 4-11 and found that they acquired both the grammatical and phonological constraints earlier than the social constraints suggesting that sociolinguistic competence lags behind linguistic competence.

Both sides of the argument present considerable evidence to support their stance and even though the argument for acquiring grammatical constraints earlier than social ones may have some advantage, evidence of early social awareness cannot be ignored. Children engage in complex linguistic behaviour from the time they start acquiring language and are expected to be aware of any correlation between linguistic behaviour and a given social identity and to develop the linguistic skill to express that awareness at a very young age (Eckert 1997:160).

The most compelling argument in this debate is that different variables are acquired differently. Kerswill (1996:199) explains that variables are not all acquired the same way or at the same time as they are subject to different constraints, the complexity of those constraints and the child's age. As such, variation rules of a variable that is only dependant on social constraints may be learned faster than those of a variable that is subject to a multitude of social and linguistic constraints. The complexity of the constraints governing each variable also plays a key role in when the variable rules are acquired. For example, results from Roberts (1997) show that with t-d deletion, grammatical and phonological rules were acquired before social rules, but both internal and external constraints were acquired at the same time in the case of (ING). On the other hand, results from Kovac and Adamson (1981) show that internal rules on finite *be* deletion were not fully mastered even though the adult pattern of deletion was matched by children. The role of complexity in the acquisition of variable rules was discussed by Kerswill (1996) who offers a model whereby different linguistic features are acquired in order of complexity with simple rules being the first to be acquired and manifested in linguistic production. Complex rules, on the other hand, are usually subject to multiple constraints and

exceptions, which present a complication to the acquisition process especially in situations of second dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992: 682). For example, morphologically-conditioned phonological processes lag behind in the process of acquisition and are not fully acquired before the ages of 4- 7 years old. They require early and regular exposure that starts below the age of five to be acquired successfully (Kerswill 1996: 186). Lexically-conditioned phonological changes are argued to be the hardest to acquire by virtue of being unpredictable. Early evidence of the role of complexity in acquisition comes from Payne (1976, 1980) who examined the acquisition of some phonological variables characteristic of the dialect of Philadelphia by out-of-state children and children born in the city to non-native parents. She found that age of arrival was the most important predictor of acquisition as children who arrived at a younger age were more successful than those with later exposure. More interestingly, however, it was found that children born in the city to non-native parents failed to fully acquire the variable rules governing a particularly complex feature that is subject to multiple constraints in different contexts, namely the short-a. This result shows that early and regular exposure to native input from primary caregivers is crucial for successful acquisition of complex rules. Complexity of rules also applies in second dialect acquisition, which is of interest in this study, and an overview of its role is laid out in Chambers (1992). Chambers (ibid) finds that simple rules are easy to acquire even by older children as they have no exceptions and are automatic processes. In his study, Canadian children in England were successful at acquiring the simple rules of devoicing their native realization of (t) up to age 14. Complex rules, on the other hand, are harder to acquire since the multiple constraints and exceptions governing their variation present a complication to the acquisition process especially in situations of second dialect acquisition. Initial age of exposure to such features is paramount in successful acquisition as only younger children acquire complex features. Results in his study (ibid.) show that acquisition of the complex vowel backing rule in words like bath, past, and fast was irregular at best especially with older children. Chambers (1992) observes that early stages of second dialect acquisition are characterised by variability in all speakers and all rules whereby new variants are used sporadically before their rule-governed variation is internalized by speakers (Chambers 1992: 691-693). It is this rule-governed variation that is subject to complexity of the relevant rules and successful acquisition of such variation depends on age of the speaker whereby the most complex rules are only acquired by the youngest speakers while irregularity in production continues with older speakers.

This issue of complexity may also play a role in the acquisition of social constraints as these would be acquired earlier than grammatical constraints when the latter are complex. In such cases, children may be aware of the social value of speech forms but lack the linguistic resources to express that awareness (Kovac & Adamson 1981; Labov 1989). This view is expressed by Andersen (1992) who explains that people's knowledge of different styles can be passive or active depending on their linguistic repertoires and their ability to demonstrate that knowledge noting that factors such as age, gender and level of education play a role in that knowledge. It seems quite reasonable that this is most applicable to children who may learn some of the social functions of certain linguistic variables before they develop the linguistic constraints applicable to them as noted by Eckert (1997: 161). Eckert (1997) explains that in these cases, children may use these variables sporadically- especially as conscious markers in certain lexical items. Chevrot *et al.* (2000: 296) also argue that in addition to internal factors, the social value of a given linguistic variable and a conscious awareness of that value in a speech community, what they call *perceptual salience,* directly influence the age at which its social constraints are acquired. This in line with the assumption that, even for adults, when acquiring new features, the most socially and consciously marked of these are usually the first to be acquired (Trudgill 1986). Smith *et al.* (2007) point out that in some cases, children master linguistic constraints, regardless of their complexity, earlier than social constraints arguing that the latter are largely dependent on adult input. They suggest that stylistic variation is more likely to be acquired early on when children are actively instructed to vary their language use and when their input is consistent in its variation patterns (ibid.). Labov (2001) also suggests that children's stylistically constrained input is a helping factor in their acquisition of stylistic variation early on explaining that children would associate formal language with instructions and discipline and informal language with fun activities. Such controlled input is also argued to be responsible for variability in children's production (Foulkes *et al.* 2001). The social value of a linguistic variable does, in fact, seem to have an influence on the input of primary caregivers, which appears to play a role in how and when social constrains on variation are acquired. Caregivers are usually found to favour the prestige variants when interacting with their children (Foulkes *et al.* 2005; Roberts 2002). Roberts (2002) reports results from a pilot study on the variation between [aɪ] and [a:] in words such as *like* in southern US dialects and finds that mothers tend to use the standard variant more with their children than they do with other adults. One of the mothers, in particular, was actively instructing her child to use the standard [aɪ], which indicates caregivers' conscious efforts in teaching their children the sociolinguistic constraints on variation early on in the acquisition process (Roberts 2002:343).

It is important to note that the influence of caregivers' input is stronger for younger children (ages 4 and below) than older children whose input is usually peer-focused (Kerswill & Williams 2000:106).

Smith *et al.* (2007, 2013) conclude that a combination of child's age, adult input and complexity of the constraints all play a role in the process of acquisition of structured variation. They argue that both children's patterns of acquisition and adults' input are largely dependent on the linguistic variable under study (Smith *et al.* 2007, 2013). So, while children may learn the linguistic constraints of some variable before they internalize their social value, they may equally learn the social value of other variables before they master their linguistic constraints (Smith *et al.* 2013: 286). Indeed, this argument confirms an early conclusion by Eckert (1997) who advises that it is not wise to take the results from one variable and generalize them to the entire system of acquisition (ibid. 161).

3.1.2 Adolescents and language use

Adolescence as a life stage is argued to be specific to industrial societies, where institutionalized secondary education created a designated space for adolescents along the age-spectrum (Eckert 2003). This rigid link between adolescence and an adult-imposed system of education excludes adolescents from the workforce and from adult circles creating a distinct age group with distinct social practices that can be manifested through various means including language (Eckert 2003: 112). Although Eckert (1997, 2003) notes that adolescence is a western social-construct, the term could be applied in this project since school and education play a focal part in the lives of young people in Syria, especially with the advance of mass education that happened in the 20th century in the Arab world in general (Miller 2004, 2007). Additionally, as noted in 1.2.2 above, there are 4 double-shift schools in the speech community covering elementary and preparatory school in addition to one secondary school, which means good access to education in the specific community. Moreover, the term adolescence (*muɾaːhaqa*) is used in Arabic-speaking communities to refer to the same age groups defined by adolescence in western societies (Habib 2011a, 2016). Unfortunately, very little research is done on the speech of adolescents in Arabic-speaking communities (Habib 2011a, 2016), so reviewing language use in adolescents will be mainly based on a western context, though difference between the two contexts are bound to occur. For example, western communities are generally more technologically advanced than Arabic speaking communities. Such

technological advancement has normally found its way into adolescent linguistic behaviour in activities such as texting (e.g., Tagliamonte & Denis 2008).[23]

As a distinct age group, adolescents have their own distinct linguistic practices that are usually different to those of adults and speakers younger than them (Eckert 2003; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009; Tagliamonte 2016). As a distinct age group, they are usually credited with linguistic innovation and being the driving force of language change (Chambers 2009; Eckert 1997; Kerswill 1996). This innovation and change is measured against an assumed adult standard on the premise that language use stabilizes in adulthood (Tagliamonte 2016). This comes with the obvious caveat that language change is a life-long process and does not stop at a certain age. Embracing new language forms is not restricted to adolescents, and adult speakers may and do adopt new forms. The important distinction, however, is that adults only make small modification to their lexicon or phonology, for example (Yaeger-Dror 1989, 1994) that remain minimal and largely sporadic. Adolescents' innovations, on the other hand, contribute to change in progress as their use of said innovations stabilizes (for the most part) when they move to adulthood (Tagliamone 2016; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). Change in progress necessarily implies a change to adults' speech norms and raises the obvious questions of how such a change progresses, when the adult input ceases to be the primary input and what input replaces it (Tagliamonte 2016; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). As established in 3.1.1 above, in early childhood, primary caregivers (especially mothers) are the main source of language input and children at that stage learn the vernacular of their native dialect (Kerswill 1996; Labov 1989; Smith *et al.* 2007, 2013). This, however, changes in what Labov (2001: 415) refers to as *vernacular reorganization* which represents the point of departure from parents' input to a peer-oriented input and a crucial part of language change. This shift of primary input from parents to peers usually occurs after the age of 4 or 5 (Kerswill 1996; Kerswill & Williams 2000; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). It is usually linked to school and a regular access to a peer environment, one that is different from the home environment. Children at this stage start shifting to the linguistic norms of their peers as a result of face-to-face accommodation (Trudgill 1986). Although parents' input is not completely diminished in the early stages of *vernacular reorganization*, it becomes increasingly difficult to account for its influence beyond the age of 4 as children's input at this point becomes quite varied (Foulkes *et*

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[23] This is especially true for countries like Syria. At the time of the study, for example, Facebook was still novel and only one or two participants had an account. Since then, however, online communication hase become vastly more popular.

al. 2005). However, a clear departure from parents' forms appears around the age of 8 (Kerswill & Williams 2000; Labov 2001). The highest point of departure, however, is in the speech of adolescents, as their use of incoming and innovative forms is usually found to be the highest by comparison to other age groups whether younger or older (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). This frequency is assumed to stabilize around the age of 17 as they move to adulthood, which then leads to language change (Labov 2001; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009; Tagliamonte 2016).

The divergence between adolescent and adult language is usually characterized by adolescents' preference for non-standard, vernacular forms (Eckert 1997; Labov 1972). It is seen by some as a form of rebellion against socially acceptable patterns of speech (Halliday 1978). Eckert (2004: 112-113) argues that since adolescence is an independent age group largely built on peer culture, adolescent use language to construct independent social identities that identify them with peer groups rather than adult speakers. The varied input in adolescents' language and their inclination towards independent linguistic behaviour makes their speech highly variable by comparison to the speech of any other age group (Eckert 2004: 373-374). Adolescents are not only involved in setting themselves apart from adults, but also from other peer groups (Van Hofwegen 2015). This manifests in specific peer groups and affiliations within adolescence that also make use of language practices to set themselves apart. For example, Bucholtz (1999) observes that 'geek' girls in California use highly standard features to set themselves apart from another peer group, i.e., 'cool girls'. However, adolescents' language remains rather uniform amongst themselves, especially in peer groups, by comparison to other age groups since they mostly model their language use and patterns of acquisition on those of each other (Bucholtz 2000; de Klerk 2005; Thurlow and Marwick 2005) in a peer-focused model.

Gender plays a significant role in this process of change with female speakers assumed to be the innovators and leaders of the change (Labov 1990; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). As such a model of gender asymmetry (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009) emerges whereby gender differences emerge around the time of *vernacular reorganization.* As per this model, both girls and boys start off using their mothers' speech norms (Labov 2001), which implies using innovative forms that were adopted by these mothers. After the age of 4, girls continue the move towards innovative forms much more than boys (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009).

This discussion above is largely based on trends that exist in urban speech communities and do not take contact into consideration. So how would adolescents navigate their language use in a contact situation such as the one examined in the current thesis? Would their innovation manifest in adopting incoming features from other varieties? And would the same underlying trend of self-differentiation apply in adopting such features? Eckert (2003) notes that in the context of the United States, White Anglo adolescents may resort to using Latino or African American features to signal positive attributes such as 'toughness' and 'coolness'. So, it would be expected that in contact situations, adolescents would navigate the available features in accordance with the identities they want to project. Adolescents' focus on constructing independent identities and their general tendency towards the vernacular (Eckert 2004) may manifest in preserving their own dialect in a situation of contact. Indeed, it is noted that in contact situations involving minority and dominant varieties, a local/ethnic orientation is an especially strong index in peer group affiliation (Rampton 1995; Van Hofwegen 2015). This, by extension, may apply in situations involving regional or national identities such as in the case of the present study (Watt 2002). Indeed, Habib (2016) finds that identity and attitudes both play a role in pattern of variation in the speech of adolescents in contact situations. The sample and the context of her research are relatively comparable to the one in the current thesis as it examined variation in the speech of children and adolescents in a similar contact situation involving a rural community in the vicinity of Homs. Adolescent girls in her research are found to be innovative in adopting the urban realization of (q) more than any other age group in the community. Adolescent males, on the other hand, are found to strongly favour the local variant. She finds that adolescent girls and boys have different attitudes and orientations towards the village, its variety and the urban variety with a strong local orientation exhibited by the boys by comparison to a more positive view of the urban setting for the girls. Her results show both gender and identity trends that indicate that all adolescents in all speech communities are using language to navigate their place in the world. More characteristics of adolescents' speech will become clearer in the coming sections, especially in the discussion of accommodation patterns in their speech.

3.1.3 Accommodation, style variation and age

As pointed out in 2.5 above, both register variation and speech accommodation imply adapting speech in response to social motivation and both require similar social and linguistic awareness to be achieved. Therefore, this section will discuss the role of age in relation to both processes in the speech of children.

As discussed in 3.1.1 above, in early studies of child language, children were assumed to be monostylistic speakers and full awareness of the social function of language was believed to only appear in adolescence (Labov 1964; Lakoff 1973). There is evidence, however, that accommodation starts at an early age (Lieberman 1967; Street 1983). Several studies on the linguistic skills of children found that children as young as two or three years old can adapt their speech norms to the communication needs of different interlocutors (Andersen 1984; Berko-Gleason 1973; Lanza 1992; Montanari 2009; Sachs & Devin 1976; Shatz & Gleman 1973). Street and Cappella (1989) examined accommodation patterns in 3-6-year-old children to an adult female in dyadic interviews and reported that they accommodated to her in pauses, turn taking and speech rate. In addition to varying their speech to accommodate different interlocutors, children have also been found to vary their styles depending on perceived contexts as young as two or three years old (Leaper 1991; Paugh 2005; Youssef 1993). Paugh (2005) examined code-switching in the speech of 2-4-year-old children in a context of unbalanced bilingualism between Patwa (a French based creole) and English. She concluded that children were able to demonstrate appropriate stylistic use of both languages in their role play, which indicates an awareness of the role and association relevant to each of them. African American children were also found to decrease the use of vernacular features in their speech when they go to school (Van Hofwegen & Wolfram 2010; Houston 1969), which implies an awareness of the association between Standard English and a school setting. Early studies that examined variation in the speech of children also observed interesting patterns of social, stylistic and linguistic variation in their speech (Fischer 1958; Purcell 1984; Reid 1976). For example, Fischer (1958) found social variation in the alternation of [in] and [ing] in the speech of 3-10-year-old children. Girls were found to use the [ing] more than boys. He also noted stylistic variation in the speech of a 10-year old boy who used the [ing] more in the formal interview than in the informal one. Purcell (1984) examined the use of a number of variables by 5-12-year-old speakers of Hawaiian and general American English and likewise found social and stylistic variation in their productions. Romaine (1978) observed age, gender and stylistic variation in the production of word-final –r in Scottish English in 6-8 and 10 years old

children. Reid (1978) found style variation in 11- year-old boys in Edinburgh in the production of the glottal stop and the alternation of (ING). These results provide early evidence of children's awareness of social and stylistic factors. However, they need to be approached with caution as some of the researchers failed to break down their age groups making it difficult to determine the exact age at which children were acquiring different features of language variation.

Khattab (2013) also discusses accommodation patterns in children who are exposed to varied input. In her study, she examined the accommodative strategies of bilingual children who are exposed to multiple varieties of English in addition to their parents' native Arabic. She finds that children as young as 5 years old make use of their linguistic environment in their communication. They acquire a variety of linguistic forms including their parents' non-native accented forms and they employ this varied repertoire and manifest it in convergence or divergence strategies in different communicative situations. She notes that mechanisms of accommodation are essentially the same for bilingual, monolingual and bidialectal children (Khattab 2013: 469). It would, therefore, be reasonable to generalize such findings and conclude that children at that age have the appropriate sociolinguistic knowledge to manipulate whatever linguistic forms they have at their disposal for effective communication with different interlocutors and in varying situations.

The studies reported above give evidence that accommodation and style variation may appear in children as young as 3 or 4 years old. However, it would still be expected that older children may be better at accommodating and style shifting than younger children. This is because the sociolinguistic knowledge and ability to control the cognitive, social and psychological mechanisms that determine the degree and level of accommodation is a skill that develops with age (Leaper 1991; Youssef 1993). Indeed, as noted in 3.1.1 above, speakers' knowledge of style may be active or passive depending on their linguistic competence (Andersen 1992) and since children do not have access to the full range of styles in language (Kerswill 1996), it is likely that their ability to accommodate and style shift would develop as their linguistic competence develops. Babel (2009) proposes that socially motivated accommodation may develop with age as children's social and psychological abilities mature, while cognitive automatic stimuli for speech accommodation start as early as the babbling stage. This is based on Westermann and Miranda's (2004) model that motor neurons governing speech production

and perception develop during the babbling stage. These neurons are responsible for both phonetic convergence and the acquisition of new sounds in second language learning by initiating the perception-production link in speech behaviour.

Additionally, in dialect contact situations, like the one examined in the current study, the ability to accommodate would require knowledge of the variety involved (Hernandez 2002). Hernandez (ibid.) notes that speakers who arrive at an early age into a new dialect community are much more likely to acquire the new dialect features perfectly (see also Chambers 1992; Starks & Bayard 2002). Young children are also more likely to adopt new linguistic forms as a desire to fit with their peers and belong in their new community (Chambers 2002). The contact model presented in the present study, however, is one of geographical diffusion where young children are expected to be the least mobile. Any patterns of accommodation that may appear in their speech would, therefore, be complicated by their degree of familiarity with the urban dialect. This would also apply in the case of older children whose knowledge of the urban dialect is also expected to be incomplete. Attitudes and identity considerations may play a role in the accommodation patterns of adolescents as will be discussed further in 3.2.4 below.

3.2. Gender

Speaker sex is another important social variable in the study of linguistic variation (Eckert 1989). However, as was noted for age in 3.1 above, it is the social construct of sex, which is gender, rather than the biological binary division that matters in analysing linguistic variation (Eckert 1997). Gender expresses how social and cultural trends highlight and express sex differences and embodies the cultural and social expectations and roles of men and women (Cheshire 2002). Analysing sociolinguistic variation in relation to speakers' sex, therefore, is focused on how men and women use their language to project their socially constructed gender identities. As such, speakers' linguistic choices are assumed to be dictated by their gender (Eckert 1989). As the current study is designed to examine the social expression of speakers' sex through linguistic choices, it is concerned with gender more so than sex as a social variable. However, in many sociolinguistic studies gender identities are assigned based on biological sex (Coates 2006; Eckert 1989; Llamas 2006). As Wardhaugh (2006: 315) points out, although gender is a social construct, it is heavily grounded in biological sex. Cheshire (2002) also notes that the lines between gender and sex are often blurred in many variationist studies and that

modern thinking in the humanities acknowledges the fact that a rigid dichotomy cannot be maintained between the two concepts as gender is heavily related and reliant on biological sex as the latter has been an important part of constructing identities. Labov (2001: 263) advises that unless there is specific information on participants' gender identities, it should be assumed that their gender corresponds to their biological sex. Based on the above, participants' gender in the current thesis is assumed to correspond to their biological sex. Although public discourse on gender identity has advanced greatly in various societies since these publications, this is not yet the case in most of the Middle East. Given this and my lack of detailed information about my participants, I have therefore taken Labov's advice.

3.2.1 Overview of gender in variationist research

There is ample evidence in sociolinguistic literature that men and women use language differently. Labov (2001) presents three general principles that differentiate male and female speech and constitute his gender paradox.[24] The first states that in the use of stable sociolinguistic variables, women tend to use more prestigious variants than men and, in turn, they use less stigmatized variants. Numerous studies on the role of gender in linguistic choices do suggest that women favour the use of prestigious variants (Gordon 1997; Holmes 1991; Trudgill 1972). Trudgill (1972) finds that women in Norwich use the prestige variant [ɪŋ] of the (ING) variable more than men especially in the lower middle-class group. He finds that men use the prestige variant less than women even in formal style. Women also tend to over-report using the prestige variants more than men. Trudgill (1972) finds that about 68% of the women in his study over-reported using the prestige variants, which indicates an active awareness of the social value of these variants and a conscious effort to use them and to avoid the stigmatized variants. Labov (1966) refers to the social pressure to use the standard as prestige awareness.

Such findings that women regardless of other social factors such as age and social class tend to use more prestige variants than men have been among the most consistent in sociolinguistic research (Cheshire 2002; Romaine 2008). Fasold (1990) refers to this as the 'gender pattern'.

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[24] These three principles constitute principles 2,3 and 4 of Labov's principles of sound change. However, for purposes of presentation, they will be referred to as the 1st, 2nd and 3rd principle.

Labov's first principle of the gender paradox is also based on such findings. Women's tendency to favouring prestige forms is also argued to make them more prone to hypercorrection in the direction of the prestige forms than men especially in the lower middle class (Romaine 2008: 102). Hypercorrection is exhibited through radical style shifting and it is most likely to occur in the speech of lower middle-class speakers whose use of the prestigious forms may exceed the use of higher class speakers in the most formal styles (Coates 2004; Romaine 2008). An obvious issue with the assumption that women hypercorrect is that it implies measuring their speech against an assumed standard, which in this case is men's language use (Coates 2004). Coates (2004) further criticizes the assumption as biased and inaccurate. Moreover, Milroy *et al.* (1994) reject the notion that women favour prestigious variants arguing that women's use of variants is what gives these forms their overt prestige. Various explanations were offered for the consistent finding that women use less stigmatized and more standard and prestigious forms than men. Early studies such as Trudgill (1972) argue that using overtly prestigious forms is a medium by which women achieve a higher status in communities where gender roles are traditional, and women have limited access to the workplace. In such situations, men's social power is measured through their economic achievements whereas women lack such power. Women were, therefore, believed to use prestigious language in an attempt to be associated with the social status and power that prestigious language represents. Trudgill (1972) also argues that vernacular forms carry notions of strength and masculinity and are, therefore, preferred by men. On the other hand, appropriate speech for women is associated with the prestige variants that are said to carry values of femininity. Such justifications seem consistent with traditional gender stereotypes in a more conventional setting than that of modern times. Women's social status was assumed to be more dependent on appearances and other symbolic signals such as speech. Therefore, women needed to use language as a means of projecting a more sophisticated social status (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1972). However, such explanations, Trudgill (1972) notes, are only speculations with no empirical evidence. In fact, even at a time when women have been increasingly moving into the job market and have different means of asserting their status, they still seem to favour the overtly prestigious variants. Such patterns were even found in communities were gender equality was relatively established as the norm. For example, Nordberg & Sundgren (1998) compare sociolinguistic surveys done in Sweden two generations apart- in 1967 and in 1997. They find that differences in the use of most variables across gender have been maintained or increased and that for the vast majority of variables, women were using the standard prestigious variants more than men. Comparable results were found in Arabic speaking communities where a different model of

standard and prestige exists as discussed further in 1.3 above. For example, Abd-El-Jawad (1986) examined variation in a number of phonological variables in two cities in Jordan and finds that female speakers in both cities use the prestige variants more than male speakers. Al-Wer (1999) also finds that Jordanian young educated females, especially, favour the use of prestigious variants more than males. Women in Baghdad are found to use the more overtly prestigious variants than men from the same class and same level of education (Abu-Haidar 1989). Amara (2005) also finds that women in Bethlehem prefer prestigious variants more than men.

Men are conversely said to favour non-prestigious variants as the results from the studies presented above show. Trudgill (1972) finds that men under-report using the standard prestigious variants while they over-report using the local, vernacular variants. In his study, 50% of the men over-reported using the local stigmatized variants and under-reported using the standard forms. In order to explain men's assumed preference of stigmatized forms, Trudgill (1972) presents the notion of covert prestige that may exist alongside overt prestige. Unlike overt prestige, which is usually synonymous with standard forms in western contexts and associated with correct language use, education and intelligence, covert prestige is ascribed to non-standard, vernacular variants that are overtly stigmatized. Its values come through its association with ideals of pride, identity and solidarity. Moreover, the association between the vernacular and working-class speech gives it values of 'strength' and 'masculinity' as opposed to the 'softness' and 'femininity' associated with standard speech. As such, men favour what they perceive as the 'masculine' forms to the 'soft' 'feminine' forms whereas women favour the sophisticated forms to what they view as the 'rough', 'harsh' 'masculine' forms. This shows how the same variants carry two sets of values that may be perceived as either negative or positive depending on the speaker. Habib (2011a) reports similar associations among a rural speech community in the vicinity of Homs where young boys (after the age of 8) avoid using the prestigious urban variant of (q) so they are not subject to ridicule due to its association with 'soft', 'feminine' speech. The girls in the community are explicitly encouraged and expected to use the overtly prestigious form, on the other hand.

However, some scholars reject the notion of an assumed correlation between gender and the use of standard forms and dismiss it as over simplistic (Foulkes 2006). Although women were

overwhelmingly found to favour prestigious variants more than men, exceptions did occur (Al-Hawamdeh 2016; Eckert 1988; Milroy 1987). Even in Trudgill (1972), 22% of the men over-reported using the standard variants and 14% of the women over-reported using the stigmatised vernacular variants, which indicates a different dimension of pressure for using one linguistic form or the other that is not directly relevant to gender. A better explanation is, therefore, required to understand the differences in language use between men and women. Milroy (1980) and Milroy and Milroy (1985) directed attention towards social networks rather than gender and discussed the difference between women's and men's speech in terms of local vs. non-local forms rather than standard vs. non-standard. They note that denser social networks tend to favour and preserve the local vernaculars, while weaker networks are more likely to adopt new, incoming linguistic forms. As standard forms are usually supra-local (Milroy *et al.* 1994), they are more likely to be adopted by women. This explanation rests on the assumption that men's networks can be denser and that they answer to values of group solidarity, whereas women have weaker networks prompting them to adopt incoming variants, which again implies social pressure on speakers toward linguistic forms that validate their identities in society. The pressure here is applied on both men and women relevant to their networks, which allows for more flexibility in analysing their behaviour. As such, based on Milroy & Milroy's (1985) model of network, it would be safe to assume that if a female speaker belonged to a dense network, she would use more local than supralocal forms and the reverse would apply to men. Ismail (2007), in a study that examined innovation in the realization of (r) across two residential areas in Damascus, an inner-city district and a new suburb, presents evidence that supports this assumption. She finds that although young women lead the change in the new suburb, it is young men rather than young women who lead the change in the traditional inner-city district. This pattern was a result of the employment situation at the time of the study that resulted in different networks for men and women in the traditional district. All the women in the traditional district were unemployed and had minimal contact outside of their locality, whereas all the men from the district were employed in retail, which implied a high level of mobility and a loose network causing them to innovate and adopt the new incoming feature (see 2.2 and 2.3 above for a further discussion). Eckert (1988) also offers a different perspective on the variation that does not focus on gender as the deciding factor in variation. In her Jocks vs. burn-outs study, females were found to be the lead in either end of the spectrum of standard vs. vernacular use, which indicates that gender is not the deciding factor in variation and that variation across gender is not as neat as it is presented in other studies. Vernacular forms were most used by the burn-out girls in her study who used them even more than burn-out boys. She

explains the variation through the concept of communities of practice and the linguistic market. As such, one's social group is the main motive of linguistic choices rather than a simple categorization of gender. Burn-outs were locally oriented rather than school oriented and did not plan to leave their town after school. Consequently, they favoured the vernacular forms to reflect their loyalty and their constructed identities. Jocks on the other hand, were school-oriented and did not have a strong connection to their locality. Their linguistic choices, therefore, reflected their chosen identities and they favoured the use of standard forms. Eckert (1989) also presents the concept of linguistic market to explain why jock girls and burn-out girls use the linguistic forms associated with the group more than boys in the same group. She argues that, through their power in the actual world, male speech norms and actions are what defines a given category or community of practice. As such, they are at the centre of the linguistic market and their linguistic behaviour forms the standard against which belonging to a given community of practice in measured. Females, on the other hand, are at the margin of the linguistic market and need to do more in way of establishing their chosen identity. Jock girls, therefore, use more standard forms than jock boys and burn-out girls use more vernacular forms than burn-out boys to respond to the higher degree of pressure placed on them in order to conform. Although Eckert (1989) offers a different pattern of language use in males and females rejecting the correlation between standard use and gender, her explanation still implies varying degrees of power between men and women that are exhibited through their linguistic choices. Females are still assumed to use language as the only available means of portraying power and status in a world where they lack actual power. However, the level and aspects of pressure on men and women may be different based on differently-constructed gender norms and they do not always function in the same direction as assumed by many scholars. Different social contexts may present different models of speech based on different expectations for men and women. For example, Herbert (2002) presents a model from a non-western culture where women favour their local variety despite its lack of overt prestige as it gives them a sense of power and identity. The study explores language use among women in the Thonga community in South Africa where language contact occurs amongst Thonga and Zulu speakers. In that community, Zulu is the prestigious variety for various political and ethnic reasons. Men in the Thonga community shift their language use and in some instances their ethnic identity to Zulu. Women, on the other hand, favour the use of their ethnic language despite its lack of overt prestige. Women enjoy more respect in Thonga culture than in Zulu culture, which creates an association between Thonga speech and an identity of power and respect for them (Herbert 2002). Such examples highlight the importance of considering all other factors that may play a

role in informing men's and women's language use in any given context as any one-dimensional discussion would fall short of explaining such a complicated phenomenon (Eckert 1989). Gender as a variable does not necessarily function in isolation from other factors such as class, context and interlocutor as assumed in the generalizations made by various scholars (Bassiouny 2009). Women, like anyone else in a speech community, use language as a means of projecting the appropriate identity in a given context and in achieving the goals of any communicative event.

The second and third principles in Labov's gender paradox state that women are often the innovators in language use. Eckert (1989) notes that women often play a role in introducing language change by adopting new forms more readily than men. Labov (2001) argues that this is the case in both change from above and change from below in his second and third principles of the gender paradox. Change from above is characterized by incoming prestigious variants or the redistribution of prestigious features in the speech community (Labov 2001:273-4). It is highly subject to social factors and happens above the level of consciousness and first appears in careful speech and is detached from vernacular forms (Labov 1966, 2001). For example, Gal (1978) examined the shift towards monolingualism in a bilingual community in a border town on the Austrian-Hungarian borders. The community presented a model of stable Hungarian-German bilingualism. However, Hungarian was increasingly linked to peasant life while German was offering a new, socially higher status. Young women were further along in using only German than older people and young men. Their marriage choices were increasingly favouring German speakers and, with time, German monolingualism was taking over (Gal 1978). Women's preference for German in that community shows a preference of the values it carries and the lifestyle it represents, and the overt prestige ascribed to it. This principle is also based on the generalization that women favour prestigious variants more than men, but as we have seen above, that assumed generalization does not come without exceptions. It may, however, be said that if all else is constant women would generally be the first to adopt incoming socially attractive features.

Women are also said to use more innovative forms than men in change from below (Labov 1990, 2001). Contrary to change from above, change from below is motivated by internal factors and happens within the linguistic system (Labov 2001). It happens below the level of

conscious awareness and first appears in the vernacular (Labov 2001:279). Change from below also tends to start in the vernacular. In order to justify all three principles, Labov (2001: 293) suggests that women conform to overtly prescribed norms more than men, which explains their higher rates of prestige variants and their adoption of incoming prestige variants more readily than men. On the other hand, they conform less to norms that are not overtly prescribed, which explains their openness and progressive attitude towards new forms in general and their lead in change from below. Woods (1997) offers a new perspective on women's adoption of new variants through communication accommodation theory. She argues that women's inclination to accommodate to speakers in face-to-face communications more than men means that they would be more open to acquiring and using new forms. Although men are believed to accommodate less than women (Giles & Ogay 2006; Lelong and Bailly 2011; Namy *et al.* 2002), accommodation as a factor in their linguistic choices cannot be ruled out completely. As such, men's adoption of stigmatized vernacular forms does not necessarily have to be explained in terms of a different kind of prestige that needs to be assigned to those forms as they could simply be accommodating their speech to show solidarity, warmth and pride towards the speech community of these variants. For example, Holes (1995) points out that rural Muslims speakers who migrated to Baghdad and internalized the use of [k] in place of their rural [tʃ] would often be mocked when visiting their relatives in the south for putting on 'city' behaviour. These speakers are, therefore, under two opposing pressures as they have to accommodate to the overtly prestigious variety in a public domain and conversely accommodate to a more localised variety in the appropriate context.

All accounts that try to pinpoint and explain differences in the speech of men and women indicate that they use their language either to conform to what is socially expected of them along gender lines and different social contexts or to express a certain identity or belonging to a specific social group. As such, they both use language to project and manipulate their chosen or expected identities in their social contexts and any differences in language use between male and female speakers would, therefore, be expected to correspond to differences in speakers' social realities or social pressures.

3.2.2. Women, standard and prestige in the context of Arabic

Given the highly diglossic nature of Arabic (Abu-Rabia 2000; Ibrahim 2009; Haeri 2000; Saigh-Haddad 2003), the issue of diglossia has surfaced in many studies on variation and gender in Arabic. In early sociolinguistic work on Arabic, the universal generalization that women use more standard forms than men was challenged in many studies that found the reverse to be the case (Bakir 1986). It was speculated that better access to the public sphere for men, by comparison to women, may have created an association between the standard and the speech of men (Bakir 1986). Those accounts, however, failed to acknowledge that standard and prestige are not equivalent in the case of Arabic, but rather exist in competing levels in the same speech community (Abd-El-Jawad 1987; Ibrahim 1986). Taking this differentiation into account shows that women do, in fact, favour the prestige variants more than men in many Arabic-speaking communities (Al-Ali & Arafa 2010; Amara 2005). Some of the studies that reach such conclusions were mentioned in 3.2.1 above and will be reviewed in more detail in this section in chronological order.

Abd-El-Jawad (1986) examined variation in five phonological variables in Irbid and Amman, which at the time of his study were emerging urban centres in Jordan. His analysis is based on variation patterns of the same variables I examine in the current study in a relatively comparable context of competing prestige and the social/linguistic values associated with each variety/variant in the context of Jordan and the Levant in general. His results show that people in Amman are further along in adopting the urban variants and that female speakers in both cities use the prestige variants more than male speakers. Al-Khatib (1988) examined the variation of the same variables in the speech of two groups of rural migrants in the expanding urban centre of Irbid in Jordan and finds that with all variables, young, highly-educated women favour the prestigious urban variants more than men. The same group was also the lead in change from stigmatized colloquial variants to prestigious urban variants. Al-Ali & Arafa (2010) examined variation patterns of some of the same variables in the same locality, i.e. the city of Irbid and find similar results in relation to gender. In Syria, Habib (2011a) examined the use of (q) in the speech of children and adolescents in a rural community near Homs. She finds that while boys and girls start off using the urban variant under the influence of their mothers, the pattern shifts around age 8 and boys adopt the local [q] while girls continue using [ʔ]. In all of these studies, urban variants were adopted despite their distance from Standard Arabic while local variants were abandoned despite their overlap with SA. Results from these studies suggest that women favour overtly prestigious variants more than men in an Arabic

context. It was speculated that this preference is due to an association between urban forms and 'softness' and 'femininity'. However, Al-Wer (2013) rejects these notions as superficial and lacking in covering the scope of variation. She notes that the fact that [ʔ], a variant that is traditionally described as 'soft' and 'feminine', is being adopted by male speakers from a [g] speaking background in Amman means that there is more to the pattern than a simple masculine/feminine divide. She argues for Milroy *et al.'s* (1994) local vs. supra-local explanation saying [ʔ] as a variant of (q) represents values of mobility and openness and appeals to a young generation of both men and women who are eager for new opportunities. Results from Habib (2010b) validate such an argument. Habib (ibid.) examined variation in the use of (q) in the speech of rural migrants in Homs and finds that age and place of residence, but not gender have an influence on the variation. Young educated speakers, in areas of maximal contact favour the urban [ʔ] and avoid using their local [q], which indicates a preference among both males and females for a non-localised variant that will grant them more access to city life and a wider community. This view into the different social values of linguistic variants does offer a fuller picture of the variation. However, it should not be taken as a complete dismissal of traditional notions of feminine vs. masculine speech as those views are in many cases based on speakers' attitudes and are worth taking into consideration in studies built primarily on speakers' behaviour.

Results from the studies presented above suggest that SA does not play a role in variation and change in spoken Arabic. So, when the highly educated and most mobile speakers abandon [θ] as a variant of (θ), for example, they are abandoning their local realization and not the standard realization in favour of a non-localised, urban realization (Al-Wer 2013). These results also show that when all else remains constant, educated young women especially do favour the use of prestigious variants more than men and that they lead in the change towards prestigious, non-localised variants more than men (Al-Wer 2013).

However, it remains interesting to examine the early assumptions that men use the standard variants more than women in Arabic-speaking communities especially since some of these assumptions, while taking into account the prestige/standard divide in Arabic, are still believed to be true (Miller 2005). Sallam (1980) examined the phonological variation of (q) in the speech of educated men and women from the Levant and Egypt. Results show that men use the standard more than women who, in turn favour the use of the urban variant [ʔ]. Bakir (1986) investigated the use of [k] and the passive voice and finds that men use the standard variants

of all variables more than women. Daher (1997) finds that men use [q] more than women who favour the use of the urban variant [ʔ]. It was assumed that this pattern was related to men's and women's place in society at the time of the studies. Men had more access to power, education and public life than women, so they favoured the use of standard linguistic forms. However, women's awareness of status and prestige was not completely dismissed. It was rather argued that two separate concepts of standard and prestige existed for men and women. Men's standard approximated classical Arabic. It indicated values of power and education and was associated with the public sphere and its formality. Women's standard, on the other hand belonged to colloquial Arabic and was often the urban variety of the capital city, such as Cairene in Egypt, Damascene in Syria and so forth (Al-Khatib 1988; Bakir 1986; Daher 1997). However, these results need to be taken with caution as the analysis that led to the assumed pattern had a number of issues. Most notably, the overlap between standard and local variants in many cases meant that it was quite difficult to disentangle standard variants from local variants. Some studies assumed that men's choice of the local variant was in fact a choice of the standard variant. For example, Al-Khatib (1988) argues that men preserve their local variants when they correspond with the standard, but abandon them when they do not. Miller (2005 on rural migrants in Cairo) bases her conclusion on a higher frequency of lexical borrowing and use of standard forms in the speech of male speakers in her sample. Different results come from Bassiouny (2009) who examined the use of SA in the speech of highly educated men and women hosting four talk shows in an Egyptian context. Two of the shows are exclusive to either gender, while the other two feature both men and women. She analysed speakers' use of phonological, lexical, and morpho-syntactic features and examined their stylistic variation as speakers' choice of code in different contexts conveyed the identity they are trying to project. For example, one of the shows focused on domestic issues where guests normally carry out the discussion in Cairene Arabic, the national standard in Egypt (Miller 2005). The female presenter plays the role of the judge and concludes the show by giving her ruling on the issue under discussion. Bassiouny (2009) finds that the presenter gives her ruling exclusively in SA to convey a sense of assertiveness and finality and denote an identity of power and authority. Her results show that women have the same access to SA as men and in some cases, use it even more than men, but she notes that her findings are not generalizable and are merely to prove that women and men of a similar educational background have similar access to the standard variety. Further examination of speakers' use of SA is, therefore, needed as it is an important stylistic resource that cannot be ignored. Such examination should consider variables whose SA and vernacular realizations are explicitly distinct in addition to examining

intra-speaker variation in different contexts using all available details to determine the degree of standard use. The present study aims to achieve this by examining variation across different contexts in addition to considering a variable, the realization of which does not overlap with any relevant variants in the context of the study, i.e., (q). Further details are discussed in 4.4.3.

3.2.3. Gender differences in children and adolescents

Gender differences in language use have been found to appear as early as age three or four and increase with age (Robertson & Murachver 2003; Sheldon 1990; Staley 1982). It is argued that sex-based differences in adult speech have their root in childhood (Holmes 1991). Eckert (1997) suggests that this is likely due to the fact that gender is one of the first categories to be imposed on children. Al-Amadidhi (1989), on the other hand, argues that sex-related linguistic differences are acquired at an early age as an essential part of acquiring language itself as they are, in his view, part of our linguistic competence, which encompasses appropriateness of language use as part of communicative ability. He bases his argument on the premise that, while taking cultural differences into account, sex differences are amongst that most salient in society and, therefore, it is expected that sex-related linguistic differences be also among the most evident in speakers' linguistic behaviour. Differences at this early stage, which Robertson & Murachver (2003:321) argue can be minimal or even non-existent, are usually related to general communication strategies such as turn taking, agreement with conversational partners and so forth (Eckert 1997). They are likely a product of how gender is constructed in society so that girls are encouraged to be nice, attentive and soft spoken whereas boys are encouraged and expected to be tough and aggressive (Eckert 1997; Robertson & Murachver 2003). These differences are manifested in ways that reflect this socially constructed gender identity. For example, pre-school age girls are more likely to use collaborative communicative modes than boys (Leaper 1991, Sheldon 1990). They avoid confrontation and tend to be more attentive to the communicative needs of their interlocutors than boys (Leaper 1991, 1994, Maccoby 1998). Boys, on the other hand, are inclined to be more assertive and aggressive in the way they use language to express their social needs (Leaper 1991, 1994, Maccoby 1998). Before these differences emerge, both male and female children are found to follow patterns that are typical of the speech of women (Foulkes *et al.* 1999). This, as discussed in 3.1.1 above, is a result of primary caregivers input being mostly female-oriented (Kerswill 1996, Labov 2001). As discussed further in 3.1.1 above, mothers have been found to be conscious of using prestige

variants with their children (Foulkes *et al.* 2005, Roberts 2002). This pattern has also been found to be dependent on the gender of the child, which would implicitly indicate the social values of linguistic forms. For example, Foulkes *et al.* (2005) examined the use of (t) in child-directed speech of working-class caregivers in Tyneside and find that women use the standard variant [t] more than the local, stigmatized variant [ʔ] when addressing their children and that they especially tend to use the standard variant with girls more than they do with boys. They also find that mothers of girls tend to use [t] than mothers of males. As gender differences in variation patterns emerge, girls are usually found to favour prestige variants more than boys, who use more non-standard and localized features in their speech (Eckert 1997). Girls are believed to lead in change in progress in the direction of non-localised features and their participation in the process starts when gender differences emerge. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2009) describe this as gender asymmetry in change in progress whereby after *vernacular reorganization* (Labov 2001), adoption of innovations increases in the speech of girls until it reaches its peak in adolescence and stabilizes. As discussed in 3.1.2 above, in dialect contact situations, this pattern is likely to manifest in girls adopting incoming variants especially if they carry linguistic prestige and boys would tend to adhere to their local dialects. Habib (2011a) finds such a pattern in the speech of children and adolescents between the ages of 6 and 18 in a rural community near Homs, Syria. Both girls and boys in the sample show variation patterns similar to those of their urban mothers before the age of 8 as they both use the urban realization of (q) in their speech with minimal differences. After the age of 8, girls retain the urban realization and their use of it increases throughout to adolescence whereas boys shift to using the rural variant and keep using it increasingly until they are in their adolescent years. Differences between them are most pronounced in the 15-18-year-old group. The results indicate children's awareness of the social values and gender associations of these variants in their community and use them accordingly. Note that in Habib's study, thanks to their urban mothers, both girls and boys start with urban features in their speech rather than features from the native dialect of their village, which further supports the strong influence of mothers' input in early childhood. Gender differences appear to be most pronounced in adolescence as peer influence is strongest at this stage and adolescents are engaged in constructing their identities around peer group affiliations, which in many cases centre around gender identities (Corsaro 1997; Eckert 2000, 2005). Van Hefwegen & Wolfram (2010) report another pattern involving dialects in contact, but one where gender is not found to be significant. They find that for African American children, use of African American vernacular (AAV) features shows an interesting correlation with age whereby use of AAV is mostly strongest in early childhood,

but recedes significantly as they go to school. For some features, another peak is reported in pre-adolescence (between 11 and 13 years old) before their use of the features drops again at 15 years old. Other features show an increase in both pre-adolescence and adolescence years. However, no gender differences are reported in their study. This may be due to the fact that their investigation is centred around school. This shows that children and adolescents, much like adults, negotiate their linguistic resources to fulfil their social needs in any given contexts. So, it is important to take other social factors in consideration when analysing their linguistic variation in terms of gender.

3.2.4 Accommodation and gender

In mixed-sex interactions, both men and women may choose to converge towards the opposite sex interlocutor in order to reduce gendered language differences (Robertson & Murachver 2003:321). The main tenets of Communication Accommodation Theory discussed in chapter 2 above would apply in the choice of accommodative behaviour in an interaction for both men and women. For example, if men wanted to assert a male identity and isolate women, they would choose to maintain a masculine speech norm, whereas they would try to converge by toning down the differences if they wished to reduce dissimilarities between them and their female interlocutors. However, in very general terms, female speakers converge more than male speakers especially in mixed-sex interactions (Giles & Ogay 2006; Lelong & Bailly 2011; Namy *et al.* 2002). Namy *et al.* (2002: 23) also note that both men and women accommodate less to female interlocutors. Speakers' accommodation towards their conversational partners is based on their perception of the interlocutor's speech based on gender stereotypes (Bilous & Krauss 1988; Limbrick 1991). Although gender differences play a role in how accommodation is manifested, when gender and style are experimentally controlled, speech style appears to play a bigger role in controlling accommodative acts for both men and women (Hannah & Murachver 1999; Thomson & Moore 1999; Thomson *et al.* 2001). Men with traditional attitudes and a strong stereotypical masculine identity would still be more likely to act on gender differences rather than on speech style, however (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1995).

As discussed in 3.2.3 above, gender differences appear as early as 3 years and increase with age (Roberston & Murchver 2003; Sheldon 1990). Pre-school age girls are more likely than boys to use collaborative communicative modes (Leaper 1991; Sheldon 1990). They avoid confrontation and tend to be more attentive to the communicative needs of their interlocutors

than boys who are inclined to be more assertive and aggressive in the way they use language to express their social needs (Leaper 1991). As children get older, they start converging to the other sex in mixed interactions and their accommodation strategies become similar to those of adults (Robertson & Murachver 2003: 323). Accommodative communication in mixed-sex interaction were reported even before school age (Killen & Naigles 1995; Leaper 1991). Boys were found to use fewer commands when interacting with girls who, in turn, used more directives and assertive language when interacting with boys (Killen & Naigles 1995; Leaper 1991). Robertson & Murachver (2003) also found that children between 6-11 years old accommodated their speech based on the gender of their interlocutor. In order to examine the full extent of gender's role in accommodation, they designed an experiment where children and the interlocutors used different puppets in a number of interactions that alternated the gender of the puppet with that of the child and interlocutor. The interlocutors further manipulated their speech style to fit a gendered[25] stereotype that either matches their own or that of the puppet. The gender of the child was not found to have an effect on their accommodative behaviour and, similarly to what has been found in relation to accommodation patterns in adults (Hannah & Murachver 1999; Thomson & Moore 1999; Thomson *et al.* 2001), speech style was found to have more of an effect on accommodation patterns than the gender of either the child or the interlocutor. In other words, children accommodated to stereotypically gendered speech rather than to the gender of the interlocutor when these were manipulated differently (Robertson & Murachver 2003:330). However, boys with a strong masculine identity were still found to be much less likely to accommodate to female-gendered speech (Robertson & Murachver 2003). This is argued to be a result of boys having a stronger sense of in-group identity than girls and may feel socially threatened if they are perceived to converge to female speech especially (Leaper 2000). Indeed, Robertson & Murachver (2003:331) point out that boys in their study show some reluctance to use female puppets whereas girls had no problem in using male puppets. As noted earlier, children's gender did not have much of an effect on their accommodation. They note that this may be due to the controlled nature of the experiment arguing that if children were to freely choose their play activities, language differences would have been more likely to appear (Robertson & Murachver 2003:331). Van Hofwegen (2015:31) also notes that when gender is not salient in the interaction, it does not

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[25] The female-preferential speech style was characterised by more tag questions and compliments whereas the male- preferential speech style involved more disagreement, negative comments and assertiveness (Robertson and Murachver 2003)

play much of a role in the linguistic choices of speakers. However, as gender and constructing gender identities is of key importance to adolescents (Eckert 2005), it is important to consider it in accommodation studies (Van Hofwegen 2015). Van Hofwegen (ibid.) examined the accommodation patterns in same-sex peer dyads in African American children and adolescents between the ages of 11-15 years old. She notes that although children's accommodation patterns in her study were highly influenced by interlocutor across all age groups, significant differences between boys and girls were found (Van Hofwegen 2015: 37). Girls accommodated more than boys in same-sex dyads and their accommodation patterns were consistent across all age points (Van Hofwegen 2015:37-38). Accommodation patterns for boys, on the other hand, were significantly influenced by age as their convergence increased at the age of thirteen but decreased again at the age of fifteen where they show a strong tendency to diverge from their interlocutor (Van Hofwegen 2015: 37-38). She argues that when boys interact with an unfamiliar peer, they tend to diverge rather than converge as they would with a friend (Van Hofwegen 2015: 37-38). The familiarity with the peer interlocutor did not play a significant role in the accommodation patterns of girls. There was a trend for them to accommodate more with strangers than with friends (Van Hofwegen 2015: 41). Another difference between girls and boys was the features they chose to accommodate or not accommodate towards. Girls were highly accommodative with ethnically-salient features, features characteristic of AAV such as copula absence and third-person singular –s absence, regardless of the interlocutor, whereas boys did not accommodate such features with unfamiliar interlocutors (Van Hofwegen 2015: 39-41). On the other hand, boys did accommodate formality related features, which related to nasal fronting in the context of their study, with unfamiliar interlocutors. This may suggest that girls are more concerned about belonging and drawing on a shared identity than boys. Indeed, it is argued that girls use language to create and maintain relationships (Maltz & Broker 1982). Boys on the other hand, do not have the same motivations and pressures to conform and accommodate their language (Van Hofwegen 2015: 42). Goodwin (1990) also points out that boys' same-sex interactions are hierarchical and competitive and as such, they are likely to diverge or maintain their speech as a manifestation of independence. Van Hofwegen (2015: 42) argues that this is more likely to be the case when they are not familiar with their interlocutor. Van Hofwegen (2015:41) concludes that boys and girls accommodate differently as a function of interlocutor and linguistic features. She argues that the strong identity practices and peer pressure in adolescence that manifest in divergence from adults' speech norms (Garret & Williams 2005) are likely to manifest in extreme convergent or divergent behaviour within dyads and with other peer groups as each group may choose to associate with or create a

different persona from other peer groups and express this linguistically (Van Hofwegen 2015:28-30). This echoes Eckert's argument of communities of practice and how adolescents use language to construct an identity and express belonging to a certain social group (Eckert 2003).

In the context of this current study, which involves dialect contact between a Bedouin and an urban variety with varying prestige, identity considerations may play a role in accommodation patterns in the speech of adolescents, especially boys. Such considerations will also prove important in the case of female speakers as will be clear from the results. This will have interesting implications for the relationship between language and gender and highlight the importance of taking such factors into consideration when analysing the linguistic behaviour of the individual rather than restricting the analysis to presumptions based on static social categories such as age or gender. The emerging patterns of accommodation that will be uncovered in the results will shed light on the attitudes of participants towards the varieties involved and further the understanding of their linguistic behaviour.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of the social variables of age and gender and discussed issues relating to acquisition of variation, development of sociolinguistic knowledge and linguistic practices in adolescents. An overview of gender in variationist research was also offered with a focus on the sociolinguistic situation in Arabic. Gender and age were also discussed in relation to accommodation and style variation.

Chapter 4. Methodology

This chapter will start by presenting the linguistic variables examined in the study and review their historical and sociolinguistic description as well as their status in Syria and the speech community under study. It will move on to the research questions, selection of the participants and a description of the data collection procedures used to obtain the data necessary for the analysis. A description of the data, transcription and coding will follow before the chapter is concluded.

4.1 A General Overview of Linguistic Variables

Defining a linguistic variable is not straightforward. Any definition needs to define what makes its variants distinct enough to constitute variants and what makes them similar enough to be variants of the same variable (Campbell-Kibler 2011:424). In its simplest definition, the linguistic variable refers to different linguistic forms expressing the same referential meaning (Chambers & Trudgill 1980). These different forms are the variants of the linguistic variable. This definition relies on the function of these linguistic forms to define their similarity. Earlier definitions were focused on what makes these variants different especially in terms of their social and linguistic conditioning (Campbell-Kibler 2011). Labov (1966) defines the variable as a class of variants that are ordered along a single continuum. The position of these variants along the continuum is determined by social or linguistic variables. In Labov's definition, the sociolinguistic variable is treated as a methodological unit without implying a real status in the world. The variants' similarity is expressed by ordering them along a single continuum (the variable) and their differences are determined by external factors, both linguistic and social. Social meaning based approaches (Eckert 2000; Zangh 2005) view the sociolinguistic variable as an object in the social world. In this respect, speakers, as well as hearers, view different linguistic structures as conveyers of social information and identities (Campbell-Kibler 2011). A classic example of a linguistic variable in English is the (ING) variable and its variants include [ɪn] and [ɪŋ]. Traditionally, [ɪŋ] is viewed as the standard variant that conveys a higher social class and implies a higher level of education, whereas [ɪn] is associated with lower classes and casual informal speech.

Labov (1972) introduces a number of criteria that make a linguistic form appropriate for examination as a linguistic variable. It should occur commonly enough in natural speech and it should have clear variants that are socially and/or linguistically conditioned to qualify for examination as a sociolinguistic variable. Labov's principle of accountability (1972) also necessitates studying all variants of any given variable as he argues that a rigorous study of variation is not complete if the focus is only on marked or nonstandard forms. Labov (1972b) makes a distinction between linguistic variables as indicators, markers and stereotypes. This distinction is based on a social perception of linguistic variables and views indicators as linguistic forms that do not have any social significance. Markers are forms that do have a social value attached to them. Stereotypes are forms that have a publicly perceived social value that may be ridiculed or stigmatized. Variants of such variables may often be commented on publicly whether positively or negatively.

4.1.1 The Variables

In this study, I chose to examine the use of a number of linguistic variables that are commonly used to classify Arabic dialects into sedentary and Bedouin varieties, as discussed in 1.4 above, since they present an obvious social and linguistic classification in the communities involved. These variables are represented in table 4.1 below. The following sections will present the history and description of these variables from a linguistic and social perspective.

Table 4-1 Linguistic variables and their most common variants in the relevant dialects

Variable	Urban	Bedouin
(q)	[ʔ]	[g]
(dˤ)	[dˤ]	[ðˤ]
(θ)	[t], [s]	[θ]
(ð)	[d], [z]	[ð]
(ðˤ)	[dˤ], [zˤ]	[ðˤ]
(a)	[e]	[a]

4.1.1.2 Overview

Grammarians of Classical Arabic paid a lot of attention to the study of speech sounds. They talked about their place of articulation and their features in great detail and also described phonological processes in relation to these sounds. Sibawayh's Al-kitab eighth century work is an extensive study of speech sounds even by today's standards (Al Fawzan 2007; Owens 2006). However, their approach to the study of language was more prescriptive than descriptive (Corriente 1976). Based on that, grammarians always consulted Quran reciters as authorities on the correct pronunciation and phonological processes as adhered to in reciting the Quran (Owens 2006). They did not pay much attention to dialectal variants of speech sounds and were solely interested in describing and preserving the sound system of classical Arabic. Any mention of other variants was in the context of warning against them as faulty pronunciations of the original correct sounds (Owens 2006). This is still the case in teaching *tajweed* (the proper recitation of the Quran). Modern tajweed teachers still adhere to the description of these early scholars and follow in their steps when teaching speech sounds for the purpose of reciting the Quran. This is also true for some modern Arabic phoneticians who even use the same terminology used by those early scholars when talking about place of articulation and speech sound features (Al Fawzan 2007). A diagram that shows the place of articulation of classical Arabic sounds is still used in teaching Quran recitations today. Sources on historical phonology that describe speech sounds from a descriptive, variationist point of view are, therefore, scarce.

4.1.1.3 The variable (Q)

In Modern Standard Arabic, /q/ is a voiceless uvular stop (El-Salman 2003). In Classical Arabic, it is described as a voiced uvular plosive by Sibawayh with a place of articulation further back than /k/ (Al Fawzan 2007). In Modern Standard Arabic, it is described as a voiceless uvular plosive. According to Al Fawzan (2007), it is a voiced sound in Quran recitations. Some modern phoneticians believe that it may have had both voiced and voiceless realizations in Classical Arabic (Al Fawzan 2007). (q) is highly variable across all Arabic dialects and has up to six variants, which include [g], [ʔ], [k], [ɣ], [q] and [dʒ] (El-Salman 2003). (q) is described by Al-Wer & Herin (2011) as the most salient variable in eastern Arabic dialects. This is attested to by the fact that its variants are often used to label different dialects and isoglosses such as the *qeltu* and *gilit* dialects in Iraq and [ʔ] dialects such as the dialects in Jerusalem and Damascus (Al-Wer & Herin 2011). Palva (2006) also points out that reflexes of /q/ were the primary linguistic features used to classify dialects into Bedouin and sedentary. In

Syria, variants of (q) may be used with a value judgment to ridicule relevant dialects (Habib 2011a, 2016 on negative attitudes towards rural [q]).

As noted by Al-Wer & Herin (2011), (q) variants are used to classify different dialects and speakers in many Arabic speaking countries. As such, [g] is traditionally associated with Bedouin varieties (Abd-El-Jawad 1981; Al-Wer 2003; Watson 2002). It is used by Bedouin and semi-Bedouin speakers in southern Iraq, and the Jordanian and Syrian deserts (El-Salman 2003). It is also used by sedentary Bedouins in the north and south of historical Palestine (present-day Israel) (Rosenhouse 1982). The variant was referred to as a reflex of (q) in Bedouin speech by Ibn Sina in the 11th century and Ibn Khaldoun in the 14th century (Blanc 1964). In some Bedouin dialects, [dʒ] occurs as a phonologically-conditioned variant of (q) near high front vowels in words such as 'pot' [**dʒ**idiɾ] and 'heavy' [θi**dʒ**iːl] (Jassem 1987; Rosenhouse 1982). [k] also occurs as a phonologically-conditioned variant of (q) in unvoiced environments of /g/ in words like 'time' /wa**k**it/ and 'kill' /**k**ital/ (Rosenhouse 1982). The urban variant [ʔ] is a typical feature in the speech of major urban centres in the Levant such as Damascus, Beirut, Aleppo and Jerusalem (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Palva 2006). In Syria, it is also the typical variant in the speech of many towns neighbouring Damascus (Jassem 1987 Miller 2007; Palva 2006). This variant is viewed as a supralocal (Milroy *et al.* 1994) variant in the Levant and Egypt (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Miller 2005). The variant [g], on the other hand, is considered to be a localised variant in the Levant although it is present in many dialects in Southern Syria (Al-Wer & Herin 2011). It is speculated that the glottal stop may have started as a local feature in the dialect of Jerusalem and later spread to urban and rural dialects in the east Mediterranean (Garbell 1958). [q] and [k] occur as rural variants in various localities and dialects in the Levant. For example, Habib (2010a, 2010b, 2011) reports that [q] is the rural variant of (q) outside the city of Homs in Syria. It also occurs as the rural variant of (q) in various other Syrian dialects such as the dialect of the Syrian coast on the west and the dialect of the mountainous villages in the south west.

The standard variant of (q) may occur in all dialects in certain contexts that are resistant to variation such as lexical borrowings and phonologically conditioned environments. For example, in words that have a glottal stop like 'poems' /qasˤɑːʔɪd/, the standard pronunciation of (q) is used (Jassem 1987). This was challenged by Abd-El-Jawad (1981) who contends that

conditioning is purely lexical and is limited to lexical borrowings from the standard. However, phonological conditioning seems in fact to be the better explanation in the case of words that contain the glottal stop as other variants of (q) can usually never be used in these words unless the glottal stop is realized as a vowel or a glide. Hence, a word like 'read' /jɑqɾɑʔ/ would be realized as [jiʔɾa] or [jigɾa] but never *[jiʔɾaʔ] or *[jigɾaʔ]. The same applies to 'poems' /qɑsˤɑːʔid/ above as it may be realized as [gasˤɑːjɪd] or [ʔasˤɑːjɪd] but never as *[ʔasˤɑːʔɪd] or *[gasˤɑːʔɪd].

From a sociolinguistic point of view, the different variants of (q) have varying levels of prestige depending on the context and speech community where they occur. For example, in Jordan, [g] is viewed as the indigenous local variant and carries a certain level of prestige related to identity and political power (Al-Wer 2007). It is favoured by men in public domains and political contexts to denote a Jordanian identity (Al-Wer 2007). The variant [ʔ] came to Jordan through urban Palestinian refugees (Abd-El-Jawad 1981; Al-Wer 2007; Al-Wer & Herin 2011). It is usually favoured by young females who may perceive it as a prestige marker by virtue of its association with major urban centres in the Levant (Al-Wer & Herin 2011). Both variants played a role in the formation of the dialect of Amman as a new urban centre and their variation spread across different localities and social groups (Al-Wer 2007; Al-Wer and Herin 2011). Al-Wer & Herin (ibid.) remark that a change from [g] to [ʔ] may be underway and may in fact have been completed amongst female speakers. As such, in the Jordanian context, especially in Amman, the two variants are not juxtaposed in terms of prestige where one is stigmatized, and the other is prestigious (Al-Wer & Herin 2011). They both carry social value and are used equally by the same speakers, especially males, depending on the social context (Al-Wer & Herin 2011). In Syria, Habib (2010b, 2011) notes that the urban variant [ʔ] carries more prestige that the rural variant [q]. Jassem (1987) also reports that the [ʔ] carries more prestige than the Bedouin variant [g]. Unlike the case of Jordan, urban centres and the dialects that represent them are firmly established in Syria (Al-Wer & Herin 2011), and [ʔ] carries more prestige than the variants that are associated with rural or Bedouin speech. In my research, [g] is the local variant of the speech community of interest.

4.1.1.4 The variables (θ) and (ð)

Both sounds are interdental fricatives and are produced in the area between the tip of the tongue and the tips of the middle incisors. These sounds have been preserved in Bedouin dialects and some rural sedentary dialects in Syria and Palestine and other parts of the Arabic-speaking world (Palva 2006; Watson 2002). In urban and some rural dialects in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, /θ/ and /ð/ have merged with the dental stops /t/ and /d/, respectively (Watson 2002). They are also realized as /s/ and /z/, respectively, in these dialects (Habib 2011b). This split has garnered a lot of attention and was explained historically and linguistically by a number of scholars as will be discussed shortly.

It was hypothesized by Cantineau (1938) that /t/ and /d/, as reflexes of /θ/ and /ð/, were due to the influence of Aramaic, which was spoken in the Levant before the advancement of Arabic, and appeared in the 9th century. This was argued against by Ferguson (1954) who pointed out that the interdental fricatives were actually preserved in Aramaic. In any case, a complete merger between the stops and the interdentals was completed around the fourteenth century (Daher 1998). The variants [s] and [z] came at a later stage as realizations of (θ) and (ð) in the period between the 17th and 18th century (Garbell 1958). Garbell (1958) argues that this was a result of the influence of Turkish, which became the official language at that time following the Ottoman occupation of the Levant. Another account argues that [s] and [z] were used as realizations of (θ) and (ð) after the fourteenth century as a result of extensive lexical borrowing from Standard Arabic (Birkeland 1952; Schmidt 1986). This explanation is based on the argument that speakers whose phonemic inventory did not include the standard interdentals used the closest sounds available to them and those were /s/ and /z/ (Habib 2011b). Habib (2011b) proposes that using these variants was leading to a second merger that was set to replace the first merger. She maintains that it has affected many words that used the stops and changed them into using the fricatives. However, it was not completed and did not affect the most frequent words leading to the current split in realizing these variables, which she views as a stable lexical split (Habib 2011b). Some scholars (Abd-El-Jawad 1981; Amara 2005) argue that the split in using these variants can be due to lexical conditioning and social factors, as such, using the stops is attributed to the first historical merger and they are considered more colloquial, whereas using the fricatives is claimed to be restricted to lexical borrowings from the standard. Use of the fricatives in lexical borrowing from Arabic presents a convincing case and is attested to by the fact that words that are realized with the stop in their colloquial forms are usually realized with the alveolar fricative when the standard form is attempted. For

example, the colloquial [toːɾ] 'ox' would be realized as [səwɾ] when a standard form is approximated. Habib (2011b) exemplifies this with the word for 'wolf' /ðɪʔb/ and notes that when [z] is used, the standard vocalic structure is also used, whereas when [d] is used, the vocalic structure of the standard word changes by substituting a long vowel for the glottal stop [diːb]. This should not be taken as an exclusive explanation, however, as it does not account for the split on the colloquial level where some words are realized with the alveolar fricatives and others with the stops and variation never occurs. In fact, this occurs in the realization of words that share the same root but have different meanings and such words may form minimal pairs based on realizing the interdental fricative in them differently. For example, the word (ðəwq) (taste, propriety) is the root for two groups of verbs that have different meanings and are each realized with either variant, i.e., the verb for 'have shame' is [zuːʔ] and the verb for 'taste' (food) is [duːʔ]. Similarly, the word (θaːnja), which means 'second' (as an ordinal number) and 'second' as part of a minute is realized with [t] to refer to the former, but with [s] to mean the latter. It could be argued that second (meaning the ordinal number) is connected to 'two' (ʔiθnaːn), which is realized with [t] in urban dialects, and is, therefore, realized with [t] as well. However, semantically connected words are not always realized with the same variants. For example, [mətal] 'proverb' and [masalan] 'for instance' are realized with the different variant of (θ). These examples show that use of the alveolar fricatives is not exclusive to approximating the standard, but may also occur in colloquial dialects. Using the stops, however, seems to only occur in the vernacular as the same words that are normally realized with the stops would be realized with the alveolar fricatives when the standard realization is attempted. As such, a comprehensive explanation of the use of alveolar fricatives as a realization of the interdental fricatives should take both considerations into account. A convincing argument that considers both points is presented by Habib (2011b) who argues that there is a stable lexical split in the realization of the interdental fricatives whereby certain lexical items are realized with the stops, [t] and [d], and others are realized with the alveolar fricatives [s] and [z] and variation never occurs. This split in realizing the interdental fricatives, whereby use of either variant is lexically-conditioned, only occurs in colloquial dialects, whereas approximating the standard seems to always resort to using the alveolar fricatives.[26] This split will be taken into account in the examination of these variables in the study since

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[26] This is not to say that all urban speakers would categorically resort to using the alveolar fricatives for the standard realization. Some urban speakers, especially highly-educated speakers, do actually use the standard interdental fricatives rather than approximate them using the closest available sound. This, of course, is dependent on individual competence.

lexical conditioning is considered a complex rule in acquisition by virtue of its unpredictability (Kerswill 1996).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Al-Wer (2003) notes that the interdental fricative variants do not seem to be stereotypes in Jordan. However, use of the urban realizations seems to be favoured, especially in the speech of young female speakers in Jordan (Al-Ali & Arafa 2010). Amara (2005) also finds that young women in Bethlehem favour the use of the urban variants. The only analysis of these variables in Syria, in a comparable context to the one in the study, was carried out by Jassem (1987) who noted early stages of variation in the use of the variables in the speech of rural migrants in Damascus (his analysis was carried out on the speech of adult speakers after about 15 years of contact with Damascene Arabic). Younger speakers were found to frequently adopt the urban realizations.

4.1.1.5 The variables (ðˤ) and (dˤ)

When researching the history and features of these sounds, it was found that they were connected to each other in various ways. In classical Arabic, they are described as having all of the same features except for place of articulation (Al Fawzan 2007). /ðˤ/ is a pharyngealized interdental fricative (Brierley *et al.* 2016) and /dˤ/ was described by early Arab grammarians as a voiced, pharyngealized lateral fricative (Al-Azraqi 2010; Brierley *et al.* 2016). In Sibawayh's al-Kitaːb, use of [ðˤ] as a variant of (dˤ) is mentioned as a bad pronunciation. It is assumed to be an easier pronunciation adopted by people who were unable to produce the classical /dˤ/ (Al-Nassir 1985). Indeed, Quran recitation instructors often warn against realizing (dˤ) as [ðˤ] and quote this as the easiest mistake to make giving the great similarities between the two sounds. According to Newman (2005), both sounds are rare in world languages and their geminate forms are unique to Arabic. /dˤ/ proved to be the most problematic variable to describe in this current study, as it seems to have gone through linguistic changes throughout the history of Arabic. In many modern Arabic dialects, including varieties of Levantine Arabic, it is a voiced emphatic apico-alveolar stop and not a lateral fricative (Brierley *et al.* 2016). In fact, the modern pronunciation of this sound as an emphatic /d/ was referred to as an incorrect pronunciation of the lateral /dˤ/ described by classical Arabic grammarians (Watson & Al-Azraqi 2011).

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It is very interesting, as noted by Al-Wer (2003), that the distinction maintained between (ðˤ) and (dˤ) in SA does not exist in the majority of Arabic dialects. Indeed, in Bedouin dialects and some rural dialects, where standard interdentals are retained, [ðˤ] is used as a realization of both variables (Palva 2006; Watson 2002), whereas urban dialects that do not preserve standard interdentals realize both variables as [dˤ]. [zˤ] also occurs as a realization of (ðˤ) in urban dialects. The only known exception to this generalization is reported by Watson and Al-Azraqi (2011) for a handful of South Western Saudi Arabian dialects. However, not only do those varieties maintain the split between these two variables, they actually retain the classical lateral sounds rather than the interdental (ðˤ) and alveolar (dˤ) of MSA and modern dialects. Garbell (1958) hypothesizes that the merger into /dˤ/ in urban dialects may have occurred between the 11ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ centuries following the definite change from /ð/ to /d/. She (ibid.) reports that [zˤ] as a variant of (ðˤ) appeared in the period between the 17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ century. In her report (ibid.), she assumes that the same process by which /ð/ was merged into /d/, as explained in 4.1.1.4 above, would have also led to merging /ðˤ/ and /ðˤ/ in the relevant dialects. This may be plausible since /ðˤ/ and /ð/ are counterparts where one is an emphatic and the other is a plain consonant. Moreover, many of the observations on using [z] and [d] as two variants of (ð) apply to using [dˤ] and [zˤ] as two variants of (ðˤ). For example, [dˤ] is commonly the colloquial variant, while [zˤ] is more likely to be used when the standard is attempted, so a word like 'glasses' (naðˤðˤaːɾa) is realized as [nadˤdˤaːɾa] in Damascene Arabic, but it would normally be produced with a [zˤ] if the speaker is approximating the standard. Al-Wer (2003) rejects this assumption and proposes that two distinct processes are responsible for realizing the interdentals as stops in urban varieties, that is, a merger in the case of the plain interdental, but simply a phonetic change in the case of the emphatic interdental. She bases her argument on the classical description of /dˤ/ as a lateral fricative, pointing out that an emphatic stop did not exist in the system for the assumed merger to take place. However, Watson & Al-Azraqi (2011) observe that the emphatic stop was actually recorded by classical grammarians as an incorrect pronunciation of the classical sound, which makes a later merger between /ðˤ/ and / dˤ/ (similar to the merger between /ð/ and /d/) quite plausible.

Merging the two sounds into /ðˤ/ in Bedouin dialects is quite peculiar at first sight since a similar process that merges plain stops with plain interdentals does not occur. Corriente (1974) relies on the classical description of /dˤ/ as a lateral fricative that is highly marked and difficult to be acquired to explain the Bedouin realization. The difficulty of the classical sound is

assumed to have prompted the change into /ðˤ/, which is close in place of articulation and preserves friction and is relatively easier to produce. This is in line with the classical description of the two sounds as sharing all properties apart from place of articulation (Al Fawzan 2007). Moreover, as mentioned above, /ðˤ/ is reported as a 'bad' pronunciation by Sibawayh in the 8th century (Al-Nassir 1985), which makes Corriente's (1974) explanation of the merger very plausible. Al-Wer (2003) proposes that the merger stopped here in Bedouin dialects, but proceeded to reduce /ðˤ/ into an emphatic /dˤ/ in urban dialects since they lacked interdental sounds. However, different processes may have occurred in realizing the sound in Bedouin and urban varieties from the start based on their native phonologies. So, while Bedouin dialects realized it as [ðˤ], only changing its place of articulation, urban dialects reduced it further into an emphatic stop since they lack interdental fricatives.

Al-Wer (2003) argues that since no distinction between the two sounds currently occurs in any native dialect, such a distinction may have never existed in classical Arabic and the two sounds may have existed in variation in old Arabic dialects rather than being recognized as two separate sounds. This, however, does not explain the split in Modern Standard Arabic especially that the distinction is maintained and highly prescribed in teaching Quran recitation, which is solely based on classical Arabic sounds. Moreover, [zˤ] occurs as a realization of (ðˤ) in urban dialects, but not as a typical realization of (dˤ). Exceptions are limited to words that share that root /dˤbtˤ/ and include 'precise'/zˤɑ:bitˤ/ and 'correct' /mɑzˤbu:tˤ/ (Cleveland 1963; Jassem 1987). Cleveland (1963) proposes that these words first occurred in the dialect of Jerusalem as a possible effect of Turkish and later spread to other urban dialects. These words do not constitute a generalizable rule since they are limited to just one root (Cleveland 1963). On the other hand, minimal pairs with /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ in the standard are very scarce and are limited to two roots only, i.e. 'to stray' /dˤdˤɑɬɑ/ and 'to stay' /ðˤðˤɑɬɑ/.

In conclusion, Classical /dˤ/ is realized as an emphatic alveolar stop in MSA and urban dialects of the Levant. It is realized as [ðˤ] in Bedouin dialects and some rural dialects in the Levant including the dialect of the speech community under study. (ðˤ) is realized as [dˤ] and [zˤ] in urban dialects of the Levant including the dialect of Damascus and is preserved in Bedouin dialects and some rural dialects in the Levant such as the dialect of the speech community in this study. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Al-Wer (2003) concludes that [ðˤ] as a realization of either sound is a highly stigmatized stereotype and is losing ground to [dˤ]. Given the overlap of their variants and their social classification, examining variation patterns of these

variables in the community under study would give an insight into speakers' linguistic behaviour and competence in dealing with these variables.

4.1.1.6 The morphophonological feminine suffix (a)

In this study, I am also concerned with the variable (a), which represents the morphophonological ending of feminine nouns and adjectives in Arabic (*taa-marbouta*), e.g., /tˤɑːwil**a** kabiːɾ**a**/ 'big table'. In the context of this study, variation of this variable concerns the conditional raising from /a/ to [e] that occurs in many urban and rural dialects in the Levant, including Damascene Arabic (Al-Wer 2007; Lentin 2007). Such raising never occurs in Bedouin dialects (Al-Wer 2007). As such in the local dialect of the speech community, (a) is always realized as [a] whereas it is realized as [e] in environments that allow raising in the Damascene dialect, e.g., /ħulwa/ 'pretty' is realized as [ħilwe] in Damascene Arabic and as [ħilwa] in the Bedouin dialect of the speech community under study. This section will discuss this variable, the process of conditional raising it undergoes in urban dialects and its sociolinguistic status in the Levant.

This process by which feminine /a/ is raised to [e] or even as high as [i] in some dialects (Cotter & Horesh 2015; Durand 2011) is known as *imala* in Arabic. Imala, which means inclination, is defined linguistically as the process by which the low back vowels /a/ and /a:/ are raised to [e] or [i] (Al Mashaqba 2015; Habib 2012). The process was first described by Sibawayh in his Al-Kitab (Al Mashaqba 2015), and it occurs in many Arabic varieties, including CA and some recitations of the Quran. It can occur word-initially, medially or finally depending on the phonology of different dialects. For example, 'door' /bæːb/ is realized as [beːb] in Lebanese Arabic and some rural dialects in Syria (Habib 2012). 'Ahmad' is realized as [ʔiħmad] in some rural dialects of Palestinian Arabic.

The raising that affects the feminine marker in urban Levantine dialects, the variable of concern in this study, is phonologically conditioned (Al-Wer 2007; Durand 2011; Versteegh 2001). This is commonly referred to as conditional raising whereby raising is inhibited in the environment of back constants (pharyngeal, glottal, emphatics, and post-velars) which favour a low vowel (Al-Wer 2007; Versteegh 2001). As such, whereas [e] is considered the default variant in urban Levantine dialects, [a] is used in the environments that inhibit raising, e.g.,

/wɑɾɑqɑ/ 'paper' would not exhibit final imala and would be realized as [waɾʔa] in Damascene Arabic. Additionally, raising may be inhibited in the environment of /ɾ/, e.g., [leːɾa] 'Syrian currency' (Durand 2011). For the purposes of this study, only environments that allow raising will be examined as these are the environments that show variation between the Bedouin dialect of the community and the Damascene dialect.

Conditional raising of the feminine suffix is a characteristic feature of major urban centres in the Levant such as Damascus (Lentin 2007), Amman (Al-Wer 2007), Beirut (Naïm 2007), and Jerusalem (Rosenhouse 2007). Al-Wer (2002) reports that raising occurs in the formation of the dialect of Amman as a result of contact with urban Palestinian dialects. She notes further that a raised realization maybe considered a supralocal (Milroy *et al.* 1994) feature in the Levant whereas non-raising dialects are localised and peripheral. In the context of the study, phonological conditioning of the features is expected to hinder its advancement in the community (Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996).

4.2 Hypotheses and Research Questions

In order to examine children and adolescents' acquisition of variation and language use in relation to accommodation and register variation, my thesis is designed to answer the following research questions:

1- What patterns of variation appear in realizing the variables in table 4.1 above and do age and gender play a role in the variation?

2- If gender has a role in patterns of variation, when do gender differences appear?

3- Do children and adolescents accommodate their speech to different interlocutors? If so, do age and gender play a role in their accommodation?

4- Are speakers capable of varying their registers appropriately and do age and gender play a role in that too?

To answer the research questions, and based on the literature presented in the previous chapters, a number of hypotheses were formulated. These are ordered as to correspond to the research questions as follows:

1- Older participants are hypothesized to be better than younger children at navigating the use of the linguistic variables under examination since, as discussed in 3.1.1, variation with a clear social association is argued to only appear at primary school age and become evident in pre-adolescence (Eckert 1997:161).

2- Female speakers are expected to be more inclined towards the urban variants than male speakers based on previous research that reports female speakers' tendency to favor overtly prestigious forms (Foulkes *et al.* 2005; Roberts 1997; Watt 2002).

3- Since language prestige plays a role in accommodation patterns (see 2.4.2), it is expected that participants will converge to the urban interlocutor.

4- It is expected that the picture task will prompt participants to style shift and encourage the use of Standard Arabic forms.

5- Accommodation and register variation will appear in the youngest age group as these have been shown to emerge in the speech of children as early as the age of two or three (Anderson 1984; Berko-Gleason 1973; Lanza 1992; Sachs & Devin 1976; Shatz & Gleman 1973), as discussed in 3.1.3.

6- Older participants will be better at accommodating their speech and varying their style than younger children as the sociolinguistic knowledge that governs these processes develops with age (Leaper 1991; Youssef 1993).

7- Based on previous literature (Roberston & Murchver 2003; Van Hofwegen 2015), speech accommodation is expected to be higher in the speech of girls.

4.3 Participants

Forty boys and girls between the ages of 3 and 17 years old were recruited for the study. They are all typically developing, monolingual speakers of Arabic. They are all native to the speech community under study and were born and raised in the community to parents who were also born and raised there. All participants attended school locally. Exposure to the Damascene dialect comes primarily from the media and to a lesser extent from urban teachers who teach in the local schools. Participants and their parents were contacted in person or via telephone prior to the data collection to obtain their consent. Short descriptions that explained the general aim of the project to the participants and their parents were also provided prior to data collection. Different versions of these descriptions were designed to be appropriate to

participants' age groups as well as to parents. For the purposes of analysis, participants were divided into five age groups and further divided according to gender, as table 4.2 below shows.

Table 4-2 Participant groups

Age group	3-5	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-17
Boys	4	4	4	3	4
Girls	5	4	3	4	4

In a study where age is a key factor, dividing speakers into age groups that will explain their linguistic behaviour in relation to their sociolinguistic age is quite challenging since chronological age and sociolinguistic age are not straightforwardly related (Llamas 2001) and age as a variable is not readily categorisable into sharply defined groups as discussed in 3.1. As noted in 3.1, Eckert (1997) proposes that chronological age should be used in conjunction with its social associations to be a meaningful measure in variation as certain age stages may correspond to different milestones in the lives of individuals. For children and adolescents, school has a profound impact on networks and, in turn, on linguistic behaviour. Therefore, it was decided to follow the educational system in Syria in dividing the participants into age groups where each group corresponds to a well-defined stage in the system. Recall from 1.2.2 that between the ages of 6 to 14 (corresponding to grades 1 through 9), children attended school in 6 separate groups that were divided by gender. Assigning age groups to participants in this age ranges relined on this same division, whereby the 6-8, 9-11 and 12-14 age groups correspond to grades 1-3, 4-6, and 7-9 respectively. The youngest age group (3-5-year-olds) are the pre-schoolers and the oldest (15-17-year-olds) represent secondary school participants (grades 10-12). Note that, unlike in primary and preparatory schools, where girls and boys attended school separately, secondary school in the community is mixed. This division will prove important in the analysis. For example, national exams at the end of secondary education are a turning point for every student in Syria as they determine their future after leaving secondary school. This may may invoke topics of school and future education for participants in the oldest group, especially with the urban interlocutor.

By encompassing a wide range of ages with fine-grained and narrow division along clearly defined lines, the current study will allow us to draw more accurate results for different age

groups and contribute to the general understanding of the linguistic behaviour of children and adolescents.

4.4 Data Collection

In a study that examines linguistic choices in relation to social factors, it is imperative to obtain the most natural form of speech. This is based on the principle proposed by Labov (1972, 1981) who has stated that: '[T]he vernacular provides the most systematic data for linguistic analysis'. He notes that it is the most relevant speech style to the evolution of language and defines it as the naturally acquired and perfectly learned form of language (Labov 1972). The vernacular is the most natural linguistic production with the least attention paid to speech (Labov 1972, 1981) and it is argued, therefore, to give the best insight into variation as it is governed by more systematic rules of variation than those governing more formal styles acquired later in life. Milroy and Gordon (2008) also note that analysing linguistic behaviour in sociolinguistics is primarily based on the analysis of empirical data. Sankoff (1982) similarly points out that spontaneous speech is the primary source of data for sociolinguistic research.

Data collection for this project was planned with this principle in mind and a combination of methods were employed to obtain the most viable data to answer the questions proposed in section 4.3 above. Sociolinguistic interviews and play sessions were used to elicit spontaneous speech and a picture-naming task was used to guarantee the occurrence of the linguistic variables of interest and examine the emergence of any register variation. As a major part of the present study is concerned with examining accommodation patterns in the speech of children and adolescents, sociolinguistic interviews were carried out by two female fieldworkers: a local speaker and an urban speaker. I could not be present due to the unrest in Syria during data collection, but I was in constant contact with the fieldworkers throughout the process. Prior to data collection, they were instructed closely on how to perform a sociolinguistic interview and carry out the other tasks associated with the research such as ensuring optimum recording conditions and obtaining accurate demographic information from the participants. Research material such as pictures for the picture task and sample interview questions for the sociolinguistic interviews were sent to the fieldworkers prior to data collection. They were also made aware of ethical issues and in that regard, consent forms were

sent to parents and participants along with project descriptions and the fieldworkers were instructed to give them to participants and their parents prior to data collection (see appendices A & B). Both fieldworkers lived in the camp and were known to most of the participants and all their parents. The first fieldworker is a native of the community and speaks the Bedouin dialect of the community. This is my sister-in-law and she was born and raised in the community. She was 25 years old at the time of the recording and was attending university.[27] The second fieldworker is married into the community and speaks an urban dialect.[28] This is my mother and she had been teaching biology for about 17 years in the community's high school. Many of the participants' parents were former students of hers. She was 58 years old at the time of the recording and had been living in the camp for 29 years. In a close-knit community, almost all parents and some of the participants knew the fieldworkers and the researcher and they were happy to help with the research. A detailed description of the methods used in this research is presented in the following sections.

4.4.1 Sociolinguistic interviews

Sociolinguistic interviews were used starting with the 6-8-year-old group. Labov (1981) proposes that a face-to-face interview is the only way to obtain linguistic data for quantitative analysis. A Labovian sociolinguistic interview is loosely structured with the aim of obtaining quantifiable speech data from participants (Schilling-Estes 2008). Therefore, the interview task was designed to obtain spontaneous speech to test children's linguistic choices. However, many scholars, including Labov himself, have pointed out weaknesses in the sociolinguistic interview. In his earliest work (Labov 1966) he notes that the interview situation creates a level of formality and is not guaranteed to elicit the vernacular. The level of formality in an interview situation coupled with a feeling on the part of the participant of being observed along with the presence of a recording device leaves the researcher with the issue of the observer's paradox (Labov 1972). Wolfson (1976) argues that the interview itself is an unnatural speech event and cannot therefore elicit the most natural speech production and Milroy (1987) maintains that the

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[27] She was a third-year student in English language and literature at Damascus University.

[28] It should be noted that her production of the interdental fricatives was not categorically urban. This may be a result of prolonged contact with the community in addition to being a teacher and regularly reading the Quran so that she actually produced the standard sounds, which overlap with the local variants. Her realization of (a) where conditioning allows (see 4.1.1.6) was categorically urban and her realization of (q) was also categorically urban apart from instances of lexical borrowings from SA.

interview as a speech event does not guarantee natural speech as it introduces an unequal power paradigm between fieldworker and interviewee. Schilling-Estes (2008) contends that the sociolinguistic interview is a valuable tool for obtaining a range of speech styles, but argues against the assumption that a sociolinguistic interview needs to elicit the most unselfconscious linguistic production as people shift their linguistic styles in their normal daily speech anyway. As such, a sociolinguistic interview can capture a variety of speech style and be successful at approximating real everyday life speech patterns. Wolfson (1982) also challenges the concept of a single linguistic form being the most natural as every linguistic style is natural in its appropriate context.

The sociolinguistic interview remains the only practical method of eliciting sociolinguistic data according to Llamas (1999). Rickford (1987) also credits the sociolinguistic interview as a valid method of collecting spontaneous speech when employed correctly despite its shortcomings. He maintains that researchers need to improve on the sociolinguistic interview rather than eliminating it and trying to invent new techniques of data collection (ibid.). Llamas (1999) also argues in favour of improving the sociolinguistic interview as a valid method of eliciting viable data. She notes that it is essential to make the interview experience as casual as possible and make it an enjoyable event for participants to elicit their most spontaneous production (Llamas 1999). Scholars have proposed many techniques to overcome the issues of formality in an interview situation. For example, in order to counter the effect of the observer's paradox, open-ended questions are suggested to encourage the interview to go into a conversational style of communication allowing the participant to elaborate on their answers (Dick 2006). This helps the researcher to obtain spontaneous, natural speech and quantifiable data.

A number of goals should be achieved in a sociolinguistic interview in order to obtain the most viable linguistic data for quantitative analysis (Labov 1981). A full range of demographic information from the participants should be obtained in order to utilise that information in the analysis of the influence of social factors on linguistic production. The researcher should also try to elicit participants' overt attitudes towards language (Labov 1981). Demographic information was elicited at the start of the interview in the current project.

Participants in the current study were interviewed individually by the fieldworkers in the presence of a parent or carer (mostly mothers). In order to reduce the effect of an interview situation on the spontaneity of participants' speech, the fieldworkers were instructed to focus on topics of interest to the participants and to ask open ended questions to encourage extended answers and personal narratives allowing the participants to lead the conversation and keeping their own input as minimal as possible (Dick 2006; Labov 1981). For example, when participants mentioned games they liked to play, the interviewers asked them to explain the games to them. Similarly, when participants mentioned TV shows they liked, the interviewers asked them about the plots and characters. Some participants said they liked cooking, so they were asked about the recipes in an enthusiastic and encouraging manner. Participants were also encouraged to talk about their interests and hobbies and narrate fun stories and memories. Participants in the oldest group talked about school and career plans and discussed social issues. The local fieldworker was especially good at connecting with speakers in the oldest groups. She pandered to the males and their ego calling them young men, asking about their outings and enthusiastically engaging as they talked about future plans. She drew on a group affiliation with the girls in the group as she was not much older than them saying thing like 'us girls should change the status quo' when the girls complained about the patriarchal society. Although the same rapport was not created with the urban speaker given the age difference, the different dialect and her preachy attitude on certain occasions,[29] participants in the group talked at length about school given her status as a retired teacher at the time of the recording.[30] They discussed the status of the local secondary school, struggles they were facing given the security situation, and talked about the teacher who replaced her and any difficulties they were having with biology (the subject she taught at school).

Sample interview questions were drafted by the researcher and sent to the fieldworkers (see appendix E). These were loosely based on Tagliamonte (2006), which covers questions on demographic information and provides a list of 25 major topics for open ended questions such as family life, neighbourhood life and issues, travel, school, birthdays, memories, dating and a variety of other subjects, some of which are specifically geared towards adolescents. These

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[29] One of the boys in the group said he wanted to become a hairstylist and she told him it was *ħaram* (religiously forbidden) and suggested he should become a barber instead!

[30] Due to this status, participants (in the oldest group especially) may have also seen her as an authority figure. Although she did not teach any of the participants, she had taught most of their parents and any older family members who had attended the local school.

topics were modified to fit with the speech community under study. It goes without saying that topics geared towards an adult sample were not used, e.g., work, historical events, folk remedies. The local context of the study was also taken into account, so dating and relationships were not thought to be a productive topic in a relatively conservative community, for example. Questions were mainly on pastime activities, birthday parties, school trips, friends and family, Eid activities. A major focus was also on life in the camp and participants' attitudes towards it, their relationship to Damascus, whether they visit it, like it, or would prefer to live in it. In many cases; however, individual interviewees yielded their own questions following the situation at the time of the recording. Labov (1981) points out that when eliciting personal narratives of experience, certain topics may be culture specific. In this study, the war in Syria proved to be a recurring topic of conversation in many interviews even with the youngest children. The younger children repeatedly talked about how life changed for them during the war. They also spoke of their experience of the war itself. They talked of activities they used to do before 'the troubles started', or how they hoped to resume their normal lives when the 'troubles' end. This topic was not introduced by the researcher, but proved much more relevant and immediate during the interviews and yielded a lot of narratives. It was also surprising that the participants were comfortable enough talking about such a sensitive topic. Many of the narratives told were of incidents of great danger, but they were narrated as funny incidents. For example, a 9-year-old boy narrated how shooting started as he and a couple of friends were buying shawarma wraps, so they started running and eating at the same time.

(4.1)   *haðiːk al-maɾɾa ʔidʒiːnə kinna   mæːskiːn laffat aʃ-ʃæːwiɾma   w*

         that   the-time came.1P were.1P holding   wraps the-shawarma and

        duːv tˤatˤatˤa   ninbatˤiħ   nimsik laffat aʃ-ʃæːwiɾma w

        (imitates shooting sounds) 1Plie down 1Phold wraps the-shawarma and

        ninbatˤiħ noɾkoðˤ ɾkaːðˤ ʕa-d-daɾadʒ kol waːħad gæːʕid

        1Plie down 1Prun   running on-the-stairs each one   sit (discourse marker)

        jihniʃ   laft-o   w   huwwa minbatˤiħ (laughter)

        3S.bite wrap-his and he   lying down

'The other day we came, we were holding our shawarma wraps and (imitating shooting sounds). We lay down! We held our shawarma wraps and lay down! We ran on the stairs. Each one eating his wrap as he lay down!'

Fieldworkers closely followed the instruction to minimize their input in the interviews, but that proved challenging in some cases. Some participants were not talkative enough and the fieldworker had to make considerable efforts at different points in the conversation to elicit speech data from reticent participants. For example, she would ask the participant if he/she would like to talk about something else or if they liked telling a story and would rather tell her a story. The sample for the present study included very young children and it has been noted by many scholars that recording with this age group can be a very challenging task and is not guaranteed to produce comparable amounts of data among individual children (Roberts 1997). Surprisingly, that was not always the case. Difficulty did not always correlate with the age of the participants as would be expected and some of the youngest participants were much more talkative than some of the older participants. Some of the older speakers were self-conscious and shy and answered with yes and no even to open-ended questions. Younger speakers on the other hand were easily excited about many topics and were eager to speak about them. For example, a 7-year-old boy got so excited telling the local fieldworker about his latest snow experience that he called her 'mom' because he was wrapped up in the narrative and forgot that she was not a family member, while his 12-year-old brother was giggling shyly during his interview. Both boys are equally familiar with the interviewer, who is a close family friend.

As mentioned above, a major goal of this project is to investigate accommodation patterns in the speech of participants. To achieve this, the interview was divided into two sections that were each carried out by one of the fieldworkers. The first half of the interview was conducted by the local Bedouin speaker. This is argued to help elicit their most common realizations when interacting with community members. Rickford (1987) suggests that being a native to the Guyanese community where he was carrying out his fieldwork helped him elicit natural speech. Tagliamonte (2006) also identifies this as a technique that approximates the dialect of the informants and minimizes accommodation to the interviewer. Therefore, it was expected that the Bedouin fieldworker would be more successful at eliciting the participants' vernacular. The urban fieldworker would then take over the interview casually by telling the Bedouin

interviewer that her baby needed her and that she would like to talk to the participants. This introduced a different, more prestigious dialect and was expected to trigger speech accommodation by the participants. Labov (1972) refers to this as a problem of vernacular shifting where speakers of a less prestigious variety would shift towards the more prestigious one when they come into contact with it. The second fieldworker is also much older and has taught in the local high school for a very long time. This, according to Labov (1981), would give her more authority in the interview situation and increase the effects of the observer's paradox. For the purposes of this study, it is hoped that introducing a new context would help explore the extent to which speakers of all ages may accommodate their speech to the urban interviewer's accent. Rickford (1987) notes that varying the interlocutors plays a very important role in obtaining a fuller scale of informants' linguistic competence. He argues that varying the interlocutors would obtain more varied linguistic production than varying the topic or context of the interview. Issues of vernacular shifting and the observer's paradox (Labov 1981) are actually quite helpful for the purpose of the current study as they give quite an insight into speakers' awareness of prestige and the social context and their linguistic choices in relation to them.

4.4.2 Play sessions

This was carried out with the 3-5-year-olds in the sample. Working with children poses many methodological challenges. It is difficult to obtain sufficient data for statistical analysis at the early stages of language acquisition when the child is still not talkative enough to produce the appropriate amount of data for examining the emergence of any structed variation (Roberts, 1997). Therefore, it was necessary to use a method that is guaranteed to elicit speech from very young informants. Roberts (1997) refers to the play-interview as a modified form of the sociolinguistic interview used with the younger children in her sample. Play-sessions are also used in other studies on the acquisition of variation (Foulkes *et al.* 2001). This method was, therefore, used in the current study to elicit as much natural speech as possible from the youngest children in the sample. This activity included playing with building blocks and animal toys while encouraging the child to narrate stories about the activity. Play sessions were also divided into two sections with the urban fieldworker taking over the second part of the play session in order to note speech accommodation patterns. Interestingly, unlike in the case of

older speakers (the oldest group especially), the urban speaker was better at eliciting speech from children in the youngest group.

4.4.3 Picture-naming task

Miller (2005) notes that no study on contact in an Arabic context is complete without considering contact with SA. SA is an important stylistic resource for Arabic speakers and contact with SA is best examined through register variation. Moreover, Labov (1981) states that the sociolinguistic interview should also obtain specific information on linguistic structures through formal techniques such as reading texts and word lists as this would help examine speakers' register variation in response to change of context. The reading texts and word lists could not be used in the current study as the sample included very young children who still cannot read. Moreover, reading texts and word lists are not appropriate for a study on Arabic dialects as they introduce Standard Arabic, which is a largely written variety and hence is not relevant in an oral sociolinguistic setting (see 1.3 for a further discussion). Therefore, it was necessary to use a different elicitation technique that would obtain specific linguistic information on the use of the linguistic variables under investigation. Picture-naming was used in studies on acquisition and linguistic development (Amayreh & Dyson 1998; Dyson & Amayreh 2000) as well as studies on the acquisition of variation in English (Foulkes *et al.* 2001). It was also employed in sociolinguistic studies with adult speakers (Taqi 2010). The picture-naming task is usually used to guarantee the occurrence of all variables of interest; however, the goal of using the task in the current study was twofold. In addition to ensuring the occurrence of all variables of interest, it was also used to examine any register variation in participants' speech. The task was expected to imply a level of formality as it may be associated with a school setting in the minds of the participants. It was administered by the local interviewer following her portion of the interview as to keep the interlocutor constant and only introduce a change of context. Crystal (1976) observes that phonological markers are among the most discernible markers of register variation, so the task was expected to produce fruitful results in the examination of register variation. However, given the overlap between the standard and most of the local realizations, other indications of variation in response to the context will be considered.

A list of pictures of familiar animals and household objects was prepared by the researcher and sent to the fieldworkers (see appendix D). A pilot test of the task was performed by the researcher to determine that the pictures were in fact appropriate especially for the youngest participants. The list of pictures contained both token and distracter items. The distracter items, which were six in total, proved unnecessary as the token items were arranged randomly. Some variables are not very common, so it was difficult to find many familiar items featuring them. There were 46 token items that featured the variants of interest in different syllable positions. One item had to be excluded after listening to the data as it introduced lexical variability and did not always elicit the required answer. This was the word for 'jar' /qɑtˤrami:z/ and it was used to elicit (q) variants. Many participants, however used the word /mɑɾtˤɑbɑːn/. Some tokens included more than one variant since some variants are more common than others. The (q) variable was the most common and occurred nineteen times. It occurred with other variables in many words. There were eight tokens to elicit (dˤ) variants, six tokens to elicit (θ) variants. Only four tokens were used to elicit (ðˤ) variants as this variable is very uncommon. Eleven tokens were used to elicit (a) variants. This variable only occurs word-finally. Some items actually elicited different responses that in some cases included variables of interest. For example the word for 'pacifier' /lahæːjja/ was included to elicit (a) variants. Some participants used the word /ɾɑdˤdˤɑːʕə/ and that introduced (dˤ) variants instead.

Participants were shown the pictures on a slideshow and were simply asked to name them. Younger speakers enjoyed the task very much and liked seeing the pictures. Older speakers also seemed to enjoy it, but they found it a bit amusing to be asked to name such familiar objects. Most importantly, the task was found to exert a level of formality and an association with school was obvious in the responses of participants as will become clearer in the discussion of the results.

4.4.4 Recording

All sessions were recorded using a TASCAM DR-05 digital recorder with built in microphones. Audio files were in WAV format. Each participant was recorded individually for approximately 30 to 45 minutes. The fieldworkers were advised to record in a quiet room away

from any outside noise and were instructed to turn off their phones. Recording took place in a guest room in the homes of the participants.

4.5 Data Filtering

Due to difficulties faced during carrying out the fieldwork and transferring the finished recordings to the researcher, some recordings were incomplete or not up to the standard initially hoped for.[31] For example, some participants' involvement in the tasks was very minimal, rendering very small token numbers. This is an inherent challenge in researching child language variation. Roberts (1996) reported that around 8-14 hours of child interview time was needed to collect data on (-t, -d) deletion comparable to that collected in a 1- to 2-hour adult interview. This is because children do not often produce prolonged spontaneous speech or enough tokens to be examined. However, it was decided that the speech of all participants should still be analysed even if their tokens were limited as their production would be analysed within that of the group. Roberts (1997) notes that it is vital in a study of variation and acquisition to analyse individual data in order to note individual behaviour and analyse it against group behaviour. It is also important to do that since it is difficult to control for the number of tokens of each participant in a study that relies on analysing spontaneous speech data (Roberts 1997).

Data collection was carried out over a period of four months between February and May 2013. This was at the start of the troubles in the community.[32] The fieldworkers and the participants all seemed to enjoy the tasks as they were a distraction from the unfortunate situation they found themselves in. The data collection gave them a chance to socialize again and the opportunity to talk about their memories before the war, their feelings about the war and their hopes for when it was over.

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[31] The data was transferred on to DVD's, but due to the large size of the audio files, some of them were lost or incomplete. In fact, the urban interviewer (the author's mother) had recruited three extra speakers, but all their recordings were lost.

[32] The situation in the camp started to deteriorate before the start of the data collection and some people had already left for nearby towns or outside of Syria.

4.6 Transcription

Transcription is a very time-consuming activity that could be very tedious and boring. It is important before the mission is attempted to decide how much of the data needs to be transcribed for the purposes of the research (Tagliamonte 2006). Since I was not present at the time of data collection, data was listened to in full before attempting transcription. This helped me acquaint myself with the data and note speakers' attitudes to linguistic forms and note any emerging patterns. Data was transcribed using ELAN 4.7.1 (Wittenburg *et al.* 2006). It is an annotation software for audio and video material that offers a number of useful features when transcribing linguistic data (Brugman *et al.* 2004). It allows segmenting the audio files into manageable utterances for transcription with a playback option. ELAN's search features also allow searching for single variables and listening to them (Brugman *et al.* 2004). Tagliamonte (2006) notes that analysing phonological variation necessarily involves listening to the data multiple times. She argues that orthographic transcription is more practical as it makes searching for the variables of interest easier when coding them. She recommends that a transcription protocol is put in place to make the mission easier and more effective and make the transcription readable. I used orthographic transcription in all contexts that included variants of interest. ELAN allows orthographic transcription in Arabic and I found that much more time efficient. For my transcription protocol, I used an asterisk to mark my variants of interest when the letter representing them was the orthographic representation of another variable. For example, an asterisk was used with [t] as a variant of (θ) to differentiate it from (t). Urban and Bedouin variants of (ðˤ) and (dˤ) overlapped in the data, for example, [ðˤ] is a variant of both (dˤ) and (ðˤ), and [dˤ] is a variant of both (ðˤ) and (dˤ). I used the asterisk when one was a variant of the other and not when the variant was the same as the variable. Transcription in ELAN could be exported as a text file and stored separately. Data transcription took about four months to complete. While transcribing the data, I made notes of interesting trends or remarks made by the participants that would be necessary for the discussion and any qualitative analysis.

4.7 Coding

Realizations of the six variables were quantified and coded according to speakers' gender and age groups (as outlined in 4.3 above) in addition to all three contexts: (i) the interview with the

Bedouin interlocutor; (ii) the interview with the urban interlocutor and (iii) the picture task. Given the importance of Labov's principle of accountability (1972) described in 4.1 above, every possible occurrence of a token was recorded across the entire data set and for each individual task. Given that the data analysed for the project is mostly spontaneous speech, the number of tokens for any given variable varied greatly amongst speakers. As such, statistical analysis was run on percentages rather than raw numbers as the latter do not offer an accurate representation of production in relation to the social variables. Percentages were calculated for each variant out of all possible occurrences in each task and for the overall use of a given variant out of the possible occurrences across all tasks. For example, if 100 environments occurred for (q) across all three tasks and [q] was used a total of 10 times, it would constitute 10% of the overall realizations of the variable. In the same example, suppose that 40 environments for (q) were in the local interview context and [q] was used 3 times, it would represent 7.5% of (q) realizations in the local interview context and so forth.

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the data. The general linear model was employed to test the effects of age and gender and their interaction on the use of different variants in diverse tasks as it allows testing the effect of more than one independent variable and their interaction with the independent variable (Griffith 2010). A paired-samples t test was then used to examine accommodation across the urban and local interview contexts and style shifting across the sociolinguistic interview and picture-naming task as it allows for a statistical comparison of mean values across tasks (Griffith 2010).

4.8 Adult Sample

As noted in 1.1, this is the first study on the speech community and no description of the current linguistic situation is available. Therefore, it was decided to collect a supplementary data set from adults in the community to serve as a point of reference when discussing the results of my current study. Data collection was carried out by the researcher who is a native member of the community (myself) through sociolinguistic interviews with a sample of speakers that would roughly correspond in age to the participants' parents. The youngest was 33 years old at the time of the recording and the oldest was 46. The sample was made up of 4 women and 5 men who came to the United Kingdom following the crisis in Syria. Recordings were carried

out between November and December 2015 and speakers had lived in the U.K for two years at most at the time of the interviews. All of them are native members of the speech community under study who were born and raised in the community to native parents of the dialect. A dialect attitude questionnaire was also carried out at the end of each interview. Speakers were asked what they thought of their native dialect and the dialect of Damascus, their level of contact with Damascene Arabic and when they first came into contact with it. Some of them expressed pride in the dialect and the community, while others complained that it is too 'Bedouin', meaning an association with Bedouin life that lacks modernity. All speakers apart from the 33-year-old reported first sustained contact with the urban dialect in secondary school.[33] They were also asked whether they would accommodate their speech when interacting with an urban speaker and why they might do that. Some of them maintained that they would not out of pride, while others said that they usually do and view it as a necessity. Speakers who had a negative attitude towards the dialect reported discouraging their children from using marked features of the dialect such as the local realization of (q). In fact, I spent two days with one of the families I interviewed and visited another family with them for the purpose of data collection. During that time, I observed their language use with their children and wrote down in field notes in order to aid with the analysis. In a contact situation involving geographical diffusion where mobile adults are responsible for advancing incoming features, this information is quite useful. Their data was coded following the same procedure as that on the data produced by the participants of the study, but only percentages were produced, and no further analysis was carried out. These are reported in appendix F.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter presented the linguistic variables of interest with a review of their history and development. It discussed their linguistic features and their social status relevant to the context of the study. The chapter also introduced the research questions and hypotheses around which the analysis will be built. The sample recruited for the study was also described in relation to the social variables of age and gender. A review of the data collection procedures and justifications for using them was also provided. Finally, the chapter discussed how the data was transcribed and coded for analysis.

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[33] Speakers over 40 had attended secondary school in Damascus before one opened in the camp.

The following three chapters will present the results and analysis of the linguistic variables in relation to the independent variables of age and gender and the examination of accommodation and register variation.

As explained in 4.4 above, the data collected in the current study can be divided into two main types: (i) spontaneous speech data that was elicited in sociolinguistic interviews and (ii) semi-formal data that was collected through a picture-naming task. The sociolinguistic interviews were carried out by two fieldworkers, an urban and a Bedouin speaker so as to examine any accommodation patterns that might be associated with different interviewers. As pointed out in 1.1, a key goal of the present study is to examine accommodation patterns in the speech of children and adolescents as this would help to investigate their sociolinguistic awareness and sensitivity to linguistic prestige and help unveil their attitudes towards the urban variety (Hinskens *et al.* 2005). Based on previous findings that accommodation occurs in interdialectal interactions, especially those involving varieties with different linguistic prestige (Giles & Ogay 2006; Miller 2005), it was expected that accommodation towards the urban interviewer will occur in the speech of participants.

The thesis also studies style variation in the speech of youngsters in the community to further examine the development of their linguistic awareness in addition to uncovering any effect of Standard Arabic on their linguistic choices. A picture-naming task was, therefore, carried out by the local interviewer in order to introduce a different context and examine any style variation that might occur as a result of this. The picture task was designed to elicit controlled data and token numbers were expected to be the same across all speakers. However, some items produced different responses that included variants of interest and those were coded for as noted in 4.4.3 above. The number of tokens across speakers remains relatively comparable, however. Use of urban variants is expected to be lower in the picture task by comparison to the interview context. A purely quantitative measure of such variation will be tricky in the case of interdental fricatives given the overlap between the local and standard variants. Therefore, other indications are going to be qualitatively analysed to complement the discussion of register variation and establish any patterns of its occurrence.

As further detailed in 4.7 above, realizations of the variables were quantified and coded according to speakers' gender and age in addition to all three contexts: (i) the interview with the Bedouin interlocutor; (ii) the interview with the urban interlocutor and (iii) the picture task.

As noted in 4.7 above, the general linear model was used to test the effects of age and gender and their interaction on the use of different variants in diverse tasks and a paired-samples t test was then employed to examine accommodation and style shifting as it allows for a statistical comparison of mean values across tasks. The following chapters will present a breakdown of the results for each variable and examines them in relation to issues of prestige, linguistic accommodation and dialect acquisition in situations of dialect contact. First, variant distribution across all data will be presented in raw numbers and proportions. The use of the variants across all tasks in relation to the social variables of age and gender will then be discussed. A comparison between the interview contexts will follow to examine the emergence of any accommodation patterns, which will later be discussed in relation to age and gender. This will be followed by an investigation of register variation by comparing the interview context and the picture-naming task. This will also be examined in relation to age and gender. A summary and discussion of the results will follow for each variable.

Chapter 5. Results for (ðˤ) and (dˤ)

This chapter presents variation results of the emphatic interdental fricative (ðˤ) and the emphatic stop (dˤ) given their merger and overlap in the varieties involved (refer to chapter 4 for a fuller discussion). Each of the variables is examined in relation to the independent variables of age and gender, as outlined in chapter three and to the examination of accommodation and register variation, as discussed in chapter 2.

5.1 Analysis of (ðˤ)

5.1.1 Descriptive Statistics and Variant Distribution

As table 5.1 below shows, three main variants were found for (ðˤ) in the data: the local Bedouin [ðˤ] and the urban variants [dˤ] and [zˤ], in addition to some non-target productions in the speech of the youngest age group, as will be discussed further in 5.1.2 below. The local variant was the most frequent in the data at 72.5% followed by the urban stop variant [dˤ] at 21%. The least common variant was the urban fricative realization [zˤ] at just 6%. It is important to remember here that the split in the urban realizations of the standard interdentals is not balanced. The stop variants are more frequent and some scholars (Al-Wer 2003) hold the view that only the stop variants represent the dialectal realization, whereas the fricative realizations are limited to borrowings from Standard Arabic as previously discussed in 4.1.1.5. Therefore, it is expected that the stop realizations would be more frequent in this study. Use of the urban variants followed the urban split pattern even on the few occasions when [zˤ] was used.[34] However, the relevant infrequency of the urban variants and the very sporadic use of [zˤ] in their speech makes such a conclusion quite tentative. Mean and standard deviation of (ðˤ) variants reveal a lot of variability in the production of speakers. Participants produced 70.46 (SD = 35.86) tokens of [ðˤ] with some speakers producing none at all and others using the variant categorically. They produced 23.95 (SD = 31.85) tokens of [dˤ] and 4.40 (SD = 12.69) tokens of [zˤ].

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[34] Unless otherwise noted, the urban variants of all interdental fricatives were used according to the urban split. In fact, only use of the variants that adhered to the urban split pattern was coded as an urban realization. Any use of the urban variants that did not adhere to the urban pattern was considered a non-target as will become clear in 5.2 below.

Table 5-1Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across data

Total (ðˤ) tokens	Local [ðˤ]		Urban [zˤ]		Urban [dˤ]		Other	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
415	301	72.5%	25	6%	87	21%	2	0.5%

 The next sections will examine the variation of (ðˤ) variants by age and gender and their interaction across all tasks.

5.1.2 Variation of (ðˤ) in Relation to Age

Means and standard deviations showed a lot of variability in the use of (ðˤ) variants across age groups and revealed more homogeneity and stability in the speech of the oldest group by comparison to younger speakers. Although the local variant, [ðˤ], is found to be the primary variant in the speech of all age groups, as table 5.2 and figure 5.1 below demonstrate, a general pattern emerges whereby use of the local variant increases with age. It starts at a little over 50% in the speech of the youngest group and increases to near-categoricity at 99% in the speech of the oldest group. This increase is linear despite a slight dip in the production of the variant in the 12-14-year-old group. Alternatively, use of the stop urban variant [dˤ] decreases with age. It is most used by the 3-5-year-old group at 44.1% and least used by the 15-17-year-olds at merely 1%.

Table 5-2 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants by age group

Age group	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	59	Local [ðˤ]	31	52.5%	51.30	36.53
		Urban [dˤ]	26	44.1%	44.90	32.46
		Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Non-target	2	3%	-	-
6-8	76	Local [ðˤ]	53	69.7%	67.56	37.67
		Urban [dˤ]	22	28.9%	31.43	37.40
		Urban [zˤ]	1	1.3%	1.01	3.030
9-11	82	Local [ðˤ]	55	67.1%	62.31	42.50
		Urban [dˤ]	22	26.8%	31.22	35.97
		Urban [zˤ]	5	6.1%	6.47	11.05
12-14	99	Local [ðˤ]	64	64.6%	74.21	33.48
		Urban [dˤ]	16	16.2%	8.37	14.30
		Urban [zˤ]	19	19.2%	17.43	25.27
15-17	99	Local [ðˤ]	98	99%	99.17	2.36
		Urban [dˤ]	1	1%	.83	2.36
		Urban [zˤ]	0	0%	.00	.00
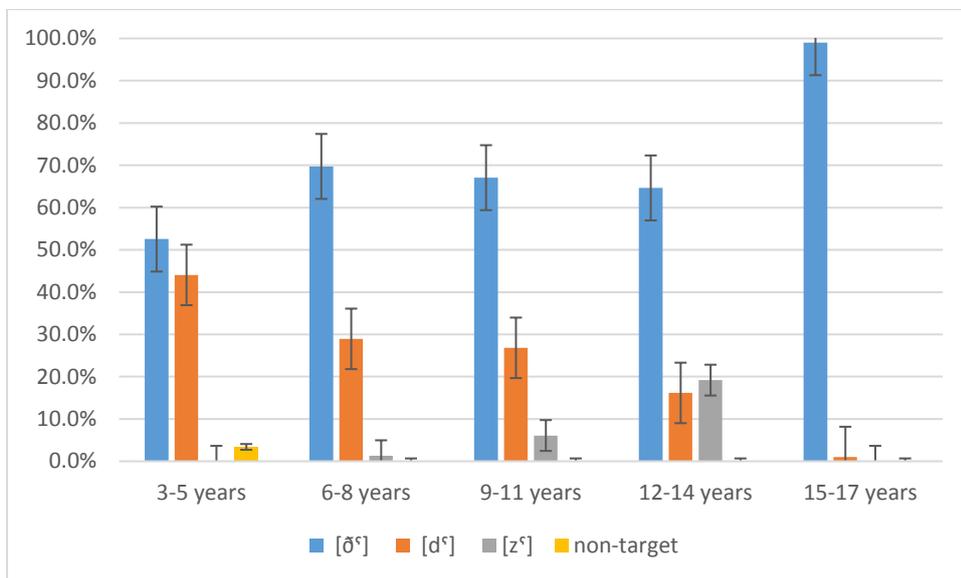
Figure 5-1 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants by age group

Differences in the use of [ðˤ] and [dˤ] appear larger between the youngest and oldest speakers in the sample as evident in the tables and figure above. Indeed, although GLM revealed an overall highly significant effect of age on the use of the local variant [ðˤ]: $p = .013$ and the urban variant [dˤ]: $p = .005$, significant differences in the use of these variants were only

between the youngest (3-5-year-olds) and the oldest speakers (15-17-year-olds) at $p = .011$ for the local variant and $p = .008$ for the urban variant. As such, it can be concluded that use of the local variant increases after the age of 5. The fricative urban variant [zˤ] occurs only sporadically in the data, but it is used at 19.2% in the 12-14-year-old group and 6.1% by the 9-11-year-old speakers. Differences in the use of the variant, therefore, only appeared between the 12-14 olds and all other groups apart from the 9-11 cohort, as shown in table 5.3 below.

Table 5-3 Significant differences in the use of the local variant [ðˤ] by age group

Age group	Age groups	*P* value
12-14 years	3-5 years	.008*
	6-8 years	.013*
	9-11 years	.214
	15-17 years	.010*

In addition to the main variants presented above, /t/ occurred as a non-target production in the speech of participants in the 3-5-year-old group. For example, the word (ʔiðˤfiɾ) 'nail' was realized as [ʔitfiɾ] in the speech of a 3;5-year-old boy. Non-target productions in the youngest group were expected as /ðˤ/ is classed as a difficult sound in Arabic phonology (Amayreh & Dayson 1998). It is an emphatic sound that requires secondary articulation for its production where the root of the tongue is retracted towards the back wall of the pharynx (Shahin 1996). Fricative sounds are also classed as difficult and usually come later in the acquisition process (Ingram 1989). Amayreh & Dayson (1998)[35] report acquisition of this sound only in their oldest group (6;4 years old). However, results from the present study indicate that acquisition of this sound can occur at an earlier age. Indeed, only 2 non-target productions out of 59 tokens occurred in the speech of this group at 3%. Furthermore, an obvious shortcoming of Amayreh and Dyson's research is measuring acquisition of different consonants based on the standard despite taking into consideration what they call acceptable dialectal variants. This is problematic because in the case of many dialects, the standard realization is not part of the phonemic inventory and initial exposure often only occurs at school age. Such late exposure would explain its occurrence at such a late stage in the speech of some of their participants. This late exposure may also be a complicating factor in the acquisition of a difficult sound

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[35] It should be noted that their participants do not have [ðˤ] in their native dialects and are only exposed to it at school age, unlike children in the community under study.

where early and frequent exposure is key for successful acquisition of the sound and its variation patterns (Payne 1980; Trudgill 1974). In the case of the speech community under investigation, the local realization of (ðˤ) corresponds to the standard. In addition, this sound occurs as a realization of the standard emphatic stop (dˤ) due to the merger mentioned above as in (ʔardˤ) 'earth', which is realized as [ʔarðˤ] in the dialect. It also occurs as a variant of the non-emphatic fricative counterpart (ð) in a group of frequently-occurring lexical items, namely, demonstrative words, which will be discussed further in 6.1. Accurate production of the sound with only a few non-target productions also occurs in those contexts, which shows that, for the most part, speakers in the group have successfully acquired this difficult sound. This is likely because, although the variable (ðˤ) itself is rather infrequent in Arabic (Al-Wer 2003), /ðˤ/ occurs in different contexts in the local dialect thus making it more frequent in the input. Such frequency considerations can be helpful in the process of acquisition and it is argued that a sound may be accurately produced earlier than expected if it occurs frequently in the input (Ingram 1989; Beckman & Edwards 2000). So, in spite of the relative infrequency of the variable (Al-Wer 2003) and the small token numbers elicited in this group, taking all contexts of this sound into consideration attests to its successful acquisition. It is also worth noting, that speakers in this group use the stop noticeably more than the fricative in their realization of all interdental fricatives as well as (dˤ). This is likely due, in part, to the ease of articulation of stops vs. fricatives (Eblen 1982; Mowrer & Burger 1991). The 9 speakers in this group ranged in age between 3;2 to 5 and intra-group variation due to developmental consideration is to be expected. This was explored further by dividing them into two groups: (i) 3;2 to 4;5 with an average age of 3;8 (5 of the children were in this group); (ii) 5-year olds (4 children were in this group). This division was based on literature that reports later acquisition of interdental fricatives and reports stopping as a common substitution strategy in the production of these sounds for children under the age of about 4-5 years (Eblen 1982; Mowrer & Burger 1991). Non-target productions occurred in both groups and it was found that, indeed, the youngest children used the stop realizations noticeably more than the older children in the group, as table 5.4 and figure 5.2 below show.

Table 5-4 Production of (ðˤ) variants by 3-5-year-old speakers

Age group	Local [ðˤ]		Urban [dˤ]		Non-target		Total tokens
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
3;2-4;4	10	30.3%	21	63.6%	2	6.1%	33
5	21	80.8%	4	15.4%	1	3.8%	26
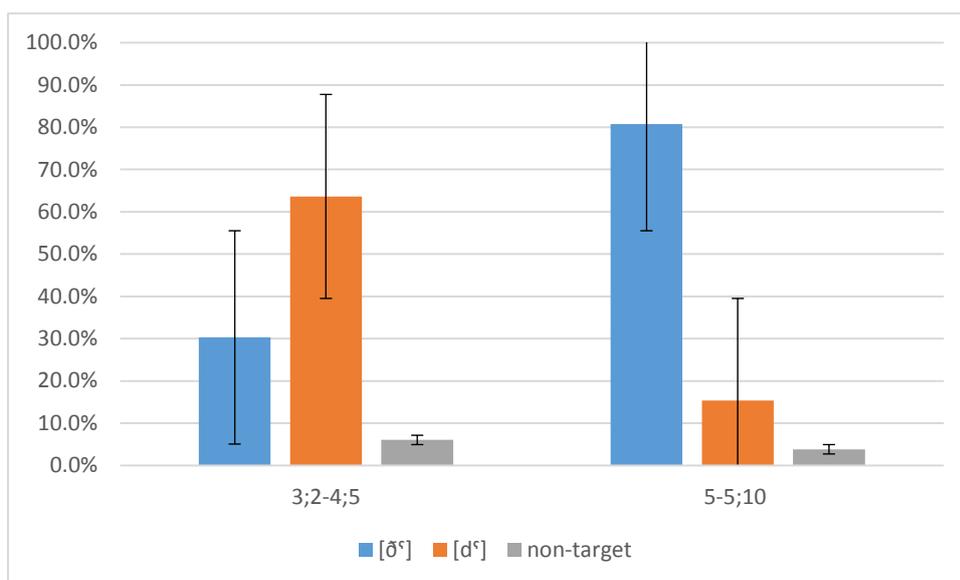
Figure 5-2 Production of (ðˤ) variants by 3-5-year-old speakers

This division will only be applied in the argument of acquiring the sounds, but not in the general discussion of variant distribution by age and gender. It should, however, be remembered when reading the results of variant distribution by age and gender that the overwhelming use of stop variants by speakers in the 3-5-year-old group is, at least in part, developmental.

5.1.3 Variation of (ðˤ) in Relation to Gender

Table 5.5 and figure 5.3 below show that the local variant, [ðˤ], was the most frequent in the speech of both male and female speakers. However, males' use of the variant (M = 83, SD = 28.4) is noticeably higher than that of females (M = 59.1, SD = 38.7). Female speakers, in turn, used the urban variant, [dˤ] (M = 32.50, SD = 36.24) more than males (M = 15.16, SD = 23.79). The urban fricative, [zˤ], was only used by females (M = 8.40, SD = 16.71).

Table 5-5 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants by gender

Gender	Local [ðˤ]		Urban [dˤ]		Urban [zˤ]		Non-target		Total tokens
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
Male	195	86.7%	28	12.4%	0	0	2	0.9%	225
Female	106	56%	59	31.1%	25	13%	0	0%	190

103
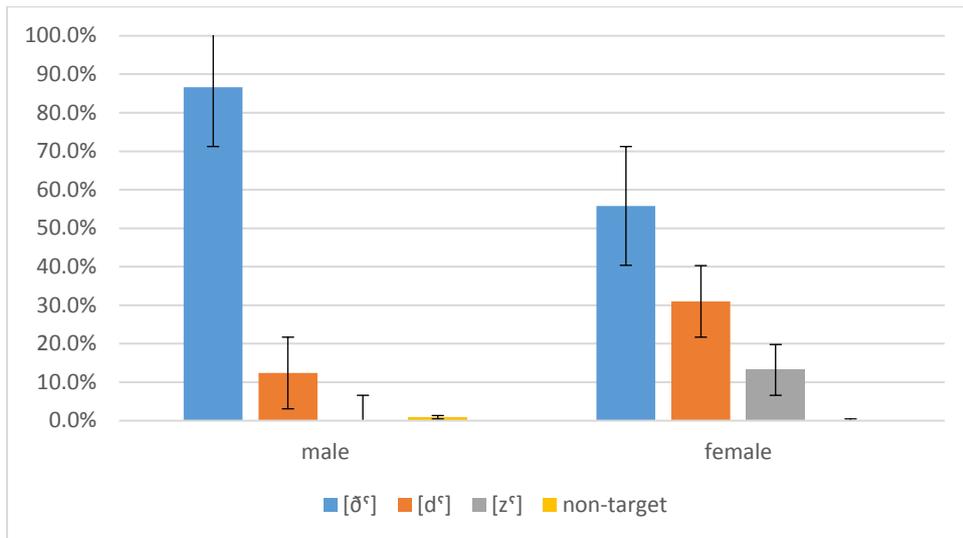
Figure 5-3 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants by gender

GLM revealed gender as highly significant in the use of these variants as male speakers used [ðˤ] significantly more than females at *p* = .007. Alternatively, female speakers used [dˤ] and [zˤ] significantly more than males did: *p* = .029, *p* = .004, respectively.

5.1.4 Variation of (ðˤ) in Relation to The Interaction between Age and Gender

The results above revealed a general trend, whereby older speakers used the local variant more than younger speakers and males used it more than females. This section breaks the results down by age and gender showing the differences between male and female speakers in each age group as well as the differences within each gender across age groups giving a more accurate and fuller picture of speakers' linguistic behaviour in specific groups.

As can be seen from table 5.6 and figure 5.4 below, increase in the use of the local variant, [ðˤ], and decrease in using the urban variant [dˤ] after the age of 5 is more consistent in the speech of male speakers in comparison to that of female speakers.

Table 5-6 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	29	Local [ðˤ]	13	45%	40.43	36.23
			Urban [dˤ]	14	48%	51.01	27.53
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.000
			Non-target	2	7%	-	-
	female	30	Local [ðˤ]	18	68%	60.0	38.37
			Urban [dˤ]	12	32%	40.01	38.36
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.000
6-8	male	35	Local [ðˤ]	32	91%	90.36	13.47
			Urban [dˤ]	3	9%	9.64	13.47
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.000
	female	41	Local [ðˤ]	21	55%	49.32	42.03
			Urban [dˤ]	19	43%	48.86	42.50
			Urban [zˤ]	1	3%	1.82	4.07
9-11	male	52	Local [ðˤ]	50	96%	95.66	5.39
			Urban [dˤ]	2	4%	4.34	5.39
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	30	Local [ðˤ]	5	17%	17.84	13.63
			Urban [dˤ]	20	67%	67.06	21.60
			Urban [zˤ]	5	17%	15.10	13.08
12-14	male	54	Local [ðˤ]	45	82%	90.63	16.24
			Urban [dˤ]	9	18%	9.38	16.24
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	45	Local [ðˤ]	19	42%	61.90	39.92
			Urban [dˤ]	7	16%	7.61	15.22
			Urban [zˤ]	19	42%	30.50	27.32
15-17	male	55	Local [ðˤ]	55	100%	100.00	.00
			Urban [dˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	44	Local [ðˤ]	43	98%	98.33	3.33
			Urban [dˤ]	1	2%	1.67	3.33
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
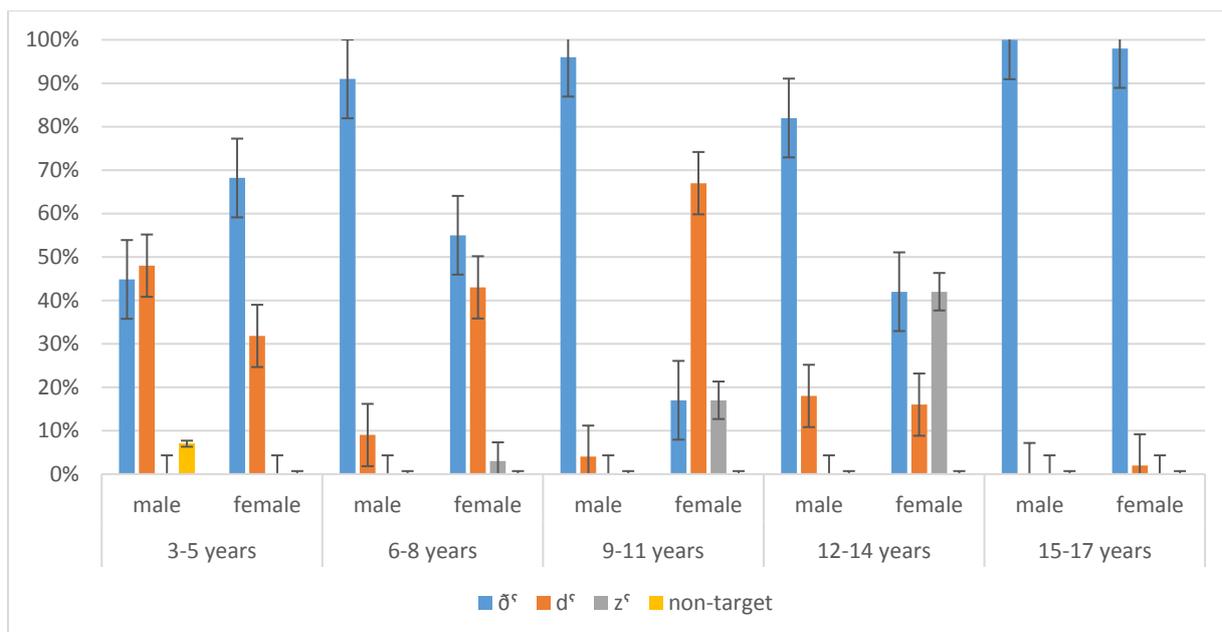
Figure 5-4 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants by age and gender

All male speakers older than 5 years old strongly favour the local variant, [ðˤ]. It is used categorically by 15-17-year-old males and near-categorically in the speech of 9-11-year-old males. Moreover, differences in the use of the variants are revealed as significant between 3-5-year-old boys and boys in all other groups. Boys in the youngest group used the urban variant, [dˤ], significantly more than males in all other groups, and, in turn, used the local variant, [ðˤ], significantly less, as table 5.7 below exhibits.

Table 5-7 Significant differences in the realization of (ðˤ) by male speakers across age groups

Variant	Age group	Age groups	*P* value
Local [ðˤ]	3-5 years	6-8 years	.017*
		9-11 years	.008**
		12-14 years	.027*
		15-17 years	.004**
Urban [dˤ]	3-5 years	6-8 years	.049*
		9-11 years	.022*
		12-14 years	.072
		15-17 years	.011*

A different pattern appears for female speakers as use of the local variant in their speech decreases between the ages of 6 and 14 and is lowest in the speech of 9-11-year-old girls. It increases drastically after age 14 and reaches near-categoricity in the speech of 15-17-year-old

girls. As such, participants' realizations of (ðˤ) seem to diverge between the ages of 6 and 14 whereby female speakers move towards the urban variants and male speakers move towards the local variant.

Means and Std. deviations of the variants (see table 5.6 above) reveal few differences between males and females in the youngest group and show a lot of variation in their speech. They, similarly, show even less difference between male and female speakers in the oldest group and reveal a lot of stability in their speech. However, they show considerable differences between male and female speakers between the ages of 6-14 and indicate more homogeneity in the speech of male speakers by comparison to female speakers. Indeed, differences between males and females in the 6-8 and 9-11-year-old groups were found to be highly significant as boys in both cohorts used the local variant, [ðˤ] significantly more than girls who, in turn, used the urban variant, [dˤ], significantly more than boys in these groups. Significant differences in the use of the variant [zˤ] were only between male and female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14 age groups, as shown in table 5.8 below.

Table 5-8 Significant differences in the realization of (ðˤ) within age groups by gender

variants	age groups	gender	gender	*P.* values
Local [ðˤ]	6-8	male	female	.036*
	9-11	male	female	.001*
Urban [dˤ]	6-8	male	female	.027*
	9-11	male	female	.003*
Urban [zˤ]	9-11	male	female	.044*
	12-14	male	female	.000*

In conclusion, use of the local variant [ðˤ] is overwhelming in the speech of all male speakers over the age of 5. Overall use of the variant is noticeably lower in the speech of female speakers with the exception of 15-17-year-old girls who use the variant near-categorically. Gender differences appear around the age of 6 and are concentrated between the ages of 6 and 14. Girls in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups, especially, show a very strong tendency towards the use of urban variants. They were the only two groups whose use of the urban variants [dˤ] and [zˤ] is higher than use of the local variant. The local variant is lowest in the speech of 9-11-year old girls at only 17%, whereas the urban stop variant occurs as a majority variant in their speech at 67%.

This pattern is quite consistent in all different tasks. Details of the variation in individual tasks will, therefore, only be discussed when they are different to this general pattern of variation. The next sections will focus on differences in the realization of (ðˤ) across different tasks.

5.1.5 Accommodation and (ðˤ) variants

A key goal of the present study is to examine accommodation patterns in the speech of children and adolescents. For that purpose, interviews were carried out by local and urban interlocutors to examine the emergence of such patterns as a by-product of the interview context as discussed earlier. This section, therefore, will focus on the analysis of interview data and examine the difference in (ðˤ) realizations as a function of the interviewer.

Considerable variation occurs in the usage frequencies of all variants in both interview contexts as revealed by means and Std. deviations, as shown in table 5.9 below. However, as predicted

by hypothesis 3 and as table 5.9 and figure 5.5 below exhibit, the local variant [ðˤ] was used more with the local interviewer, whereas, the urban variants [dˤ] and [zˤ] were used more with the urban interviewer., indicating variable degrees of accommodation towards the urban speaker. A paired-samples t-test revealed a significant interviewer effect on the use of the local variant: $p = .031$ and on the urban stop variant [dˤ]: $p = .004$. There was no significant difference in the use of the urban variant [zˤ].

Table 5-9 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interview contexts

Interviewer	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
Local	141	Local [ðˤ]	111	78.7%	69.6	44.2
		Urban [dˤ]	21	15%	22.7	38.1
		Urban [zˤ]	9	6.4%	7.8	24.7
Urban	99	Local [ðˤ]	54	54.5%	55.0	47.9
		Urban [dˤ]	31	31.3%	41.1	47.0
		Urban [zˤ]	14	14.1%	3.9	15.1
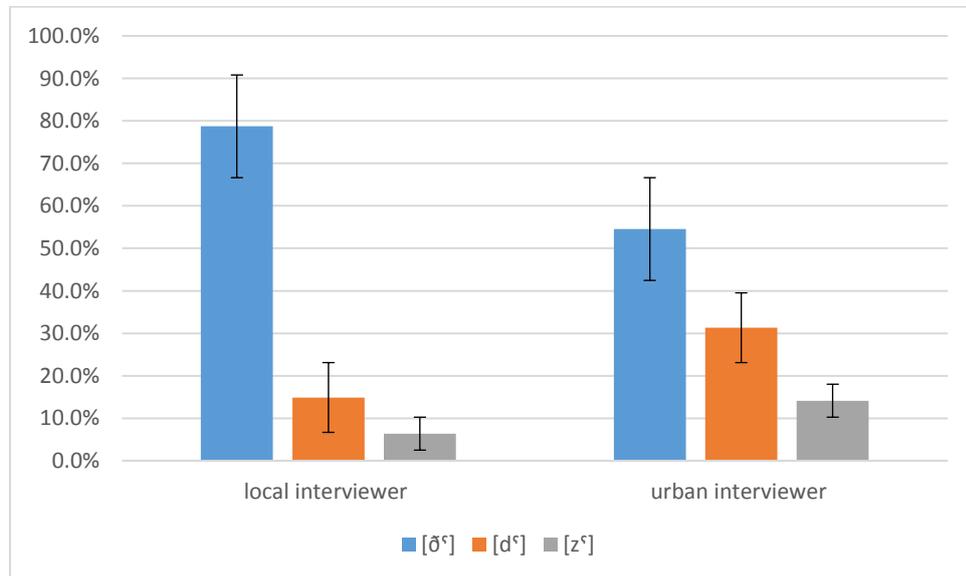
Figure 5-5 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interview contexts

5.1.5.1 Accommodation and (ðˤ) variants: age

The previous section established that accommodation towards the urban interviewer occurs in the speech of participants in the study as use of the local variant decreases in the interview with

the urban interlocutor and use of the urban variants increases. This section examines this accommodation in relation to age and attempts to establish the influence of speakers' age on accommodation patterns in this community.

As discussed in chapter 3, although accommodation to different interlocutors has been shown to occur in the speech of children as young as 2 or 3 years old (Andersen 1984; Berko-Gleason 1973; Lanza 1992; Montanari 2009; Sachs & Devin 1976; Shatz & Gleman 1973), socially motivated accommodation is expected to be greater in the speech of older participants given that sociolinguistic knowledge advances with age (Leaper 1991; Youssef 1993).

Figure 5.6 and table 5.10 below indicate that, apart from the oldest speakers, who used the local variant near-categorically throughout the data, varying levels of accommodation occur in the speech of all groups as their use of the local variant decreases in the interview with the urban interlocutor and their use of the urban variants increases. Means and Std. deviations, however, show noticeable differences only in the speech of 3-5 and 6-8-year-old groups.

Indeed, significant differences were only found for the youngest group at $p = .044$. It is important to note; however, that their small token numbers do not allow a clear pattern to emerge. No significant differences were revealed for any other group. While this may indicate no accommodation in the speech of the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups, small token numbers[36] as well as the general pattern of variation in their speech need to be taken into consideration when looking at such a result.

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[36] (ðˤ) is rather infrequent in Arabic, thus, producing small token numbers, especially in the interview contexts, and rendering comparisons less reliable.
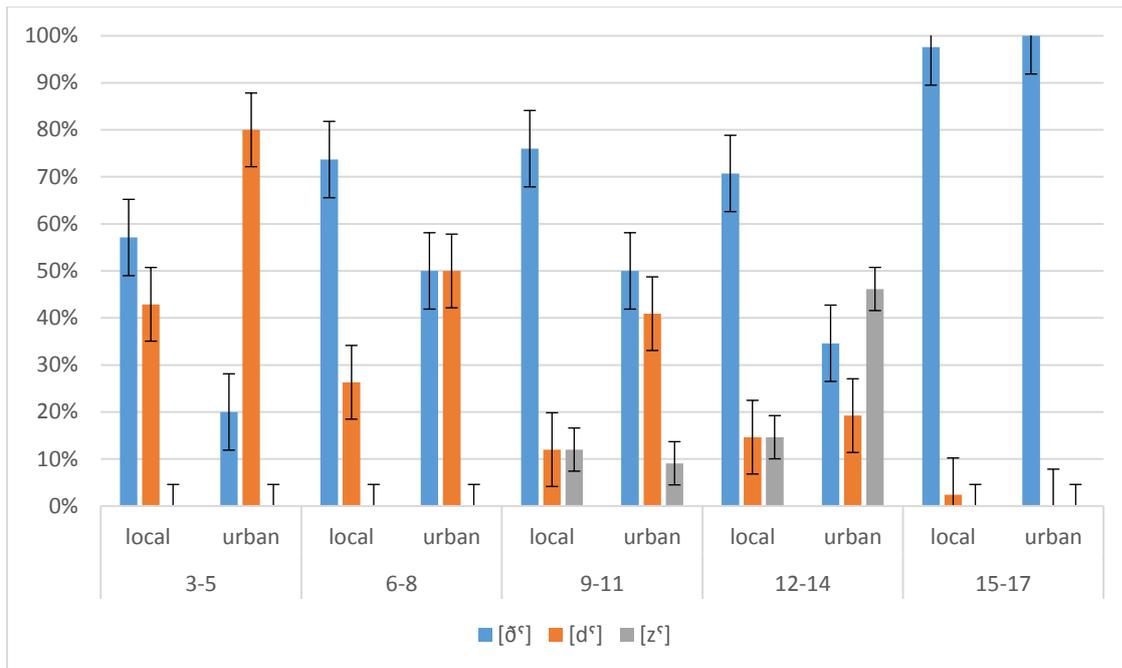
Figure 5-6 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interviews by age groups

Table 5-10 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interviews by age groups

Age group	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Local	14	Local [ðˤ]	8	57.1%	52.78	50.69
			Urban [dˤ]	6	42.9%	47.22	50.69
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	10	Local [ðˤ]	2	20%	16.67	35.36
			Urban [dˤ]	8	80%	83.33	35.36
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
6-8	Local	19	Local [ðˤ]	14	74%	71.11	42.56
			Urban [dˤ]	5	26%	28.89	42.56
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	18	Local [ðˤ]	9	50%	40.74	49.38
			Urban [dˤ]	9	50%	59.26	49.38
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
9-11	Local	25	Local [ðˤ]	19	76%	57.14	53.45
			Urban [dˤ]	3	12%	21.43	39.34
			Urban [zˤ]	3	12%	21.43	39.34
	Urban	22	Local [ðˤ]	11	50%	57.14	53.45
			Urban [dˤ]	9	41%	38.78	49.29
			Urban [zˤ]	2	9%	4.08	10.80
12-14	Local	41	Local [ðˤ]	29	71%	68.94	47.52
			Urban [dˤ]	6	15%	8.20	15.45
			Urban [zˤ]	6	15%	22.86	40.71
	Urban	26	Local [ðˤ]	9	35%	69.05	41.31
			Urban [dˤ]	5	19%	12.59	25.15
			Urban [zˤ]	12	46%	18.37	32.43
15-17	Local	42	Local [ðˤ]	41	98%	98.21	5.05
			Urban [dˤ]	1	2%	1.79	5.05
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	23	Local [ðˤ]	23	100%	100	.00
			Urban [dˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00

5.1.5.2 Accommodation and (ðˤ) variants: gender

Based on previous research (Giles and Ogay 2006; Lelong and Bailly 2011; Nam *et al.* 2002), it was expected that female speakers would accommodate their speech more than male speakers, especially in a situation that involves an overtly prestigious variety given females' preference for overtly prestigious forms (Romaine 2008; Cheshire 2002; Trudgill 1972).

Figure 5.7 below gives the impression that, indeed, more accommodation occurred in the speech of females. However, means and Std. deviations reveal larger differences in the speech of male speakers across interviews, despite an obvious trend of accommodation in the speech of female speakers, as seen in table 5.11 below.

Indeed, a paired-samples t test showed that the difference in using the local variant across interview contexts was significant only in the speech of males who used it significantly less in the interview with the urban interlocutor at *p* = .017.

Table 5-11 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interviews by gender

Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
male	Local	89	Local [ðˤ]	81	91 %	87.24	31.48
			Urban [dˤ]	8	9 %	12.76	31.48
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	47	Local [ðˤ]	37	78.7%	65.79	44.61
			Urban [dˤ]	10	21.3%	34.21	44.61
			Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
female	Local	52	Local [ðˤ]	30	57.7%	53.61	48.48
			Urban [dˤ]	13	25%	31.63	42.01
			Urban [zˤ]	9	17.3%	42.01	14.76
	Urban	52	Local [ðˤ]	17	32.7%	45.24	49.76
			Urban [dˤ]	21	40.4%	47.28	49.31
			Urban [zˤ]	14	26.9%	7.48	20.39
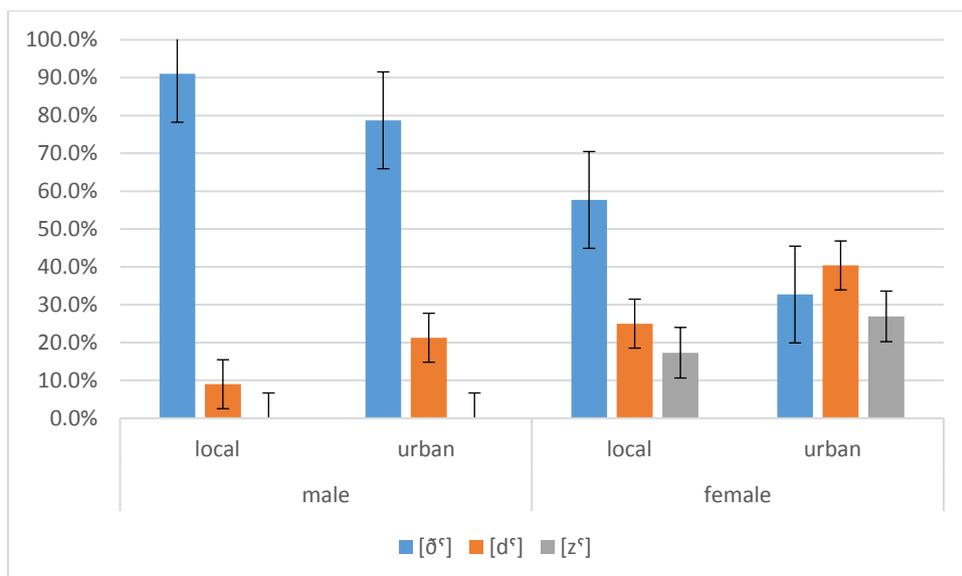
Figure 5-7 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interviews across gender

Given their overall preference for the urban variants, female speakers' use of the local variant was relatively infrequent even in the local interview context. In fact, a GLM test revealed that girls used the local variant significantly less than boys in their speech to the local interlocutor at $p = .003$. This, in addition to the large variation in the production as indicated by Std. deviations in table 5.11 above, very likely, rendered the visible decrease in their use of the local variant in the interview with the urban interlocutor statistically insignificant. Interestingly, no difference was found between girls and boys in using the local variant with the urban interlocutor, which serves as another indication of male speakers' accommodation towards the urban speaker.

5.1.5.2 Accommodation and (ðˤ) variants: The Interaction between Age and Gender

A fuller picture of accommodation patterns emerges when results are broken down by both age and gender. Table 5.12 and figure 5.8 below show accommodation occurring in varying degrees in the speech of all participants apart from the oldest. Note, for example, that 6-8 and 9-11-year-old boys use the local variant [ðˤ] categorically in their speech with the local interviewer, whereas they use the urban variant [dˤ] to some degree, albeit small, in the urban interview context. This indicates an effort to accommodate their speech to the urban interlocutor despite the lack of a significant difference in using the variants across interview

contexts, likely due to small token numbers and wide Std. deviations as evident from the tables below,[37] and is true for all groups who make efforts to accommodate.

These results also show that patterns of variation across the interview contexts in relation to age and gender are mostly consistent with the general pattern found across the data. Female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14 age cohorts show the most preference to urban variants in both interview contexts. The significant differences that were found between boys and girls in the 6-8 and 9-11-year-old groups only occur in the interview with the local interlocutor, which, in addition to giving another indication of male speakers' accommodation to the urban interlocutor in those groups, show how stable their use of the local variant is with the local interviewer as opposed to females in the same groups, who use a striking proportion of urban variants even in the local interview context.
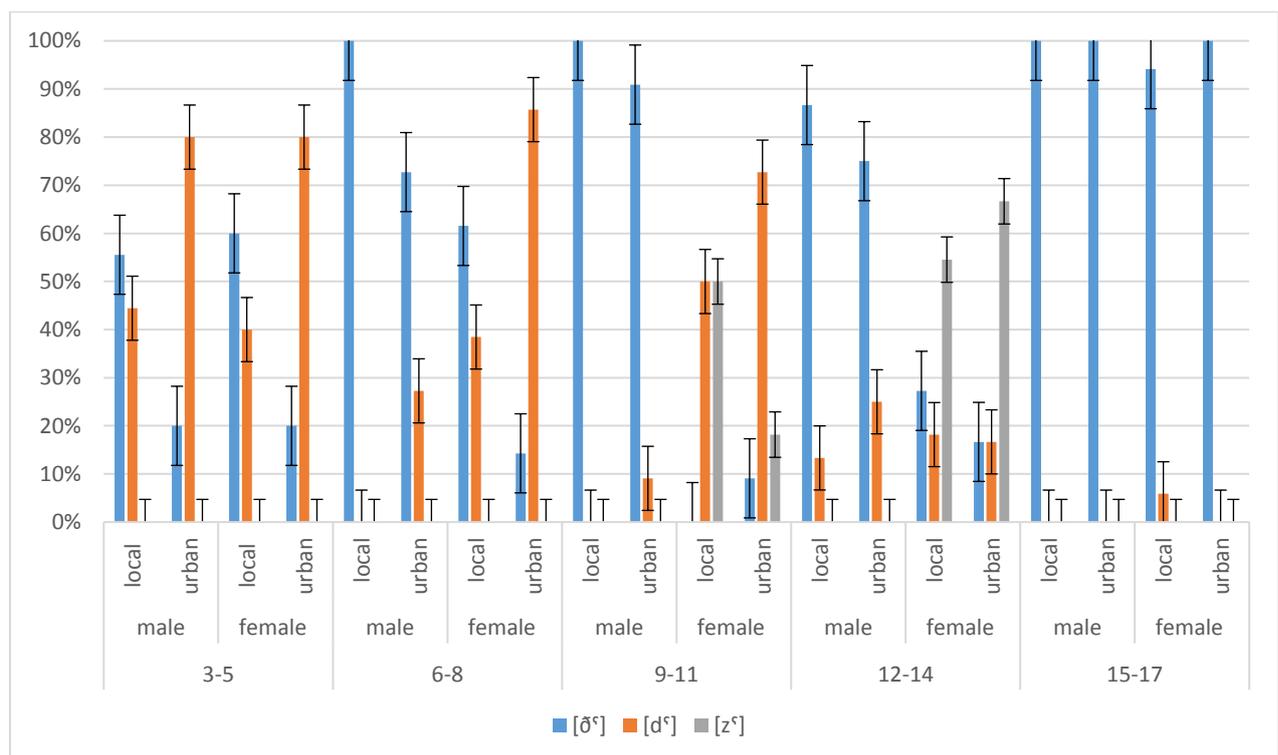
Figure 5-8 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interviews by age groups and gender

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[37] Despite small token numbers, a general pattern of variation as a function of age and gender emerges in the realization of all variables under study, which gives more confidence in the results of (ðˤ) variation patters.

Table 5-12 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across interviews by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Local	9	Local [ðˤ]	5	56%	43.75	51.54
				Urban [dˤ]	4	44%	56.25	51.54
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	5	Local [ðˤ]	1	20%	12.50	25.00
				Urban [dˤ]	4	80%	87.50	25.00
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Local	5	Local [ðˤ]	3	60%	60.00	54.77
				Urban [dˤ]	2	40%	40.00	54.77
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	5	Local [ðˤ]	1	20%	20.00	44.72
				Urban [dˤ]	4	80%	80.00	44.72
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
6-8	male	Local	6	Local [ðˤ]	6	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [dˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	11	Local [ðˤ]	8	73%	66.67	47.14
				Urban [dˤ]	3	27%	33.33	47.14
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Local	13	Local [ðˤ]	8	62%	48.00	46.04
				Urban [dˤ]	5	38%	52.00	46.04
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	7	Local [ðˤ]	1	14%	20.00	44.72
				Urban [dˤ]	6	86%	80.00	44.72
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
9-11	male	Local	19	Local [ðˤ]	19	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [dˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	11	Local [ðˤ]	10	91%	75.00	50.00
				Urban [dˤ]	1	9%	25.00	50.00
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Local	6	Local [ðˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
				Urban [dˤ]	3	50%	50.00	50.00
				Urban [zˤ]	3	50%	50.00	50.00
		Urban	11	Local [ðˤ]	1	9%	33.33	57.73
				Urban [dˤ]	8	73%	57.14	51.51
				Urban [zˤ]	2	18%	9.52	16.50

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
12-14	male	Local	30	Local [ðˤ]	26	87%	94.20	10.04
				Urban [dˤ]	4	13%	5.80	10.04
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	8	Local [ðˤ]	6	75%	77.78	38.49
				Urban [dˤ]	2	25%	22.22	38.49
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Local	11	Local [ðˤ]	3	27%	50.00	57.74
				Urban [dˤ]	2	18%	10.00	20.00
				Urban [zˤ]	6	55%	40.00	48.99
		Urban	18	Local [ðˤ]	3	17%	62.50	47.87
				Urban [dˤ]	3	17%	5.36	10.71
				Urban [zˤ]	12	67%	32.14	38.90
15-17	male	Local	25	Local [ðˤ]	25	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [dˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	12	Local [ðˤ]	12	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [dˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Local	17	Local [ðˤ]	16	94%	96.43	7.14
				Urban [dˤ]	1	6%	3.57	7.14
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	11	Local [ðˤ]	11	100	100.00	.00
				Urban [dˤ]	0	0	.00	.00
				Urban [zˤ]	0	0	.00	.00

5.1.6 Register Variation and (ðˤ) Variants

In addition to examining accommodation patterns in the speech of children and adolescents, the present study aims to investigate their register variation. In order to achieve this, a picture-naming task was carried out by the local interviewer to introduce a new context and examine any style variation that might occur as a result, as discussed further in 4.4.3. The picture-naming task was expected to imply a level of formality and invoke standard-like productions as stated in hypothesis 4.

Use of the urban variants is expected to be less frequent in the picture task. However, measuring such variation based on the use of [ðˤ] would be tricky given the overlap between the standard

and the local realizations of (ðˤ). Other indications of register variation will, therefore, be qualitatively analysed in 8.3 to complement the discussion of register variation and establish any patterns of its occurrence.

At first sight, it appears that use of the local variant is higher in the interview context, and use of the urban stop variant is higher in the picture task as illustrated in table 5.13 and figure 5.9 below. However, means and Std. deviations of [ðˤ] across contexts reveal that its use was, in fact, higher in the picture task (M = 76.85, SD = 33.72) than in the interview context (M = 69.58, SD = 44.18). Means and Std. deviations of [dˤ] also indicate that it was less frequent in the picture task (M = 20.57, SD =31.75) by comparison to the interview context (M= 22.67, SD = 38.12). These differences were not found to be significant, however.

Table 5-13 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across contexts

Context	SA [ðˤ]		Urban [dˤ]		Urban [zˤ]		Total tokens
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
Interview	111	78.7%	21	15%	9	6.4%	141
Picture task	136	77.7%	35	20%	2	1.1%	175
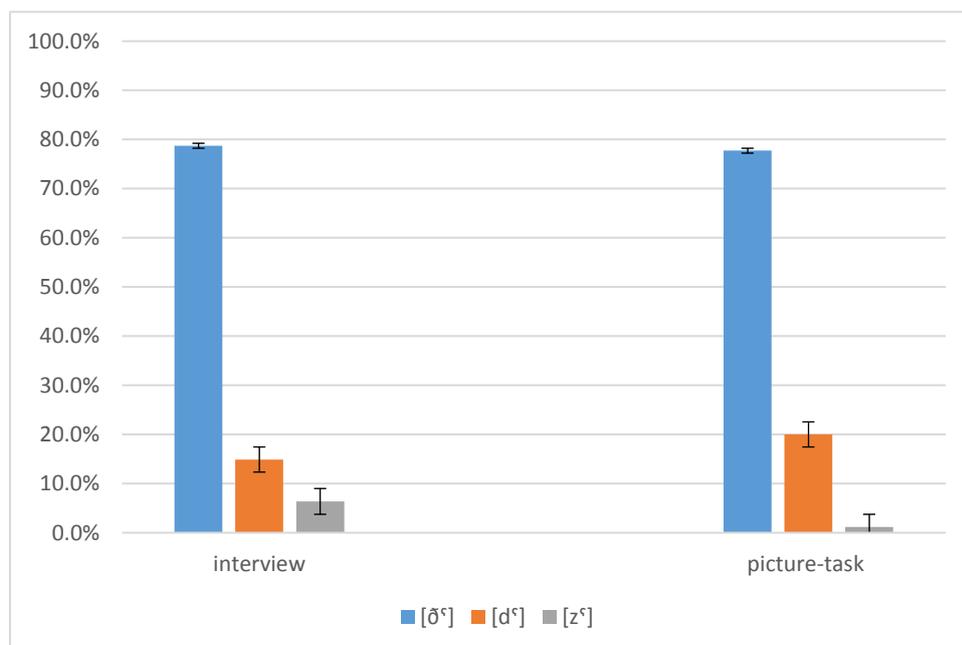
Figure 5-9 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across contexts

No significant differences occurred in the use of the variants across contexts for any speaker groups. However, interestingly, gender had no effect on using [ðˤ] and [zˤ] in the picture task-unlike what has been found for the overall data- which may indicate that girls used [ðˤ] more in the picture task. Their use of [zˤ] was noticeably less frequent in the picture task though there was no statistically significant difference. Figure 5.10 illustrates the use of (ðˤ) variants across contexts by age and gender.
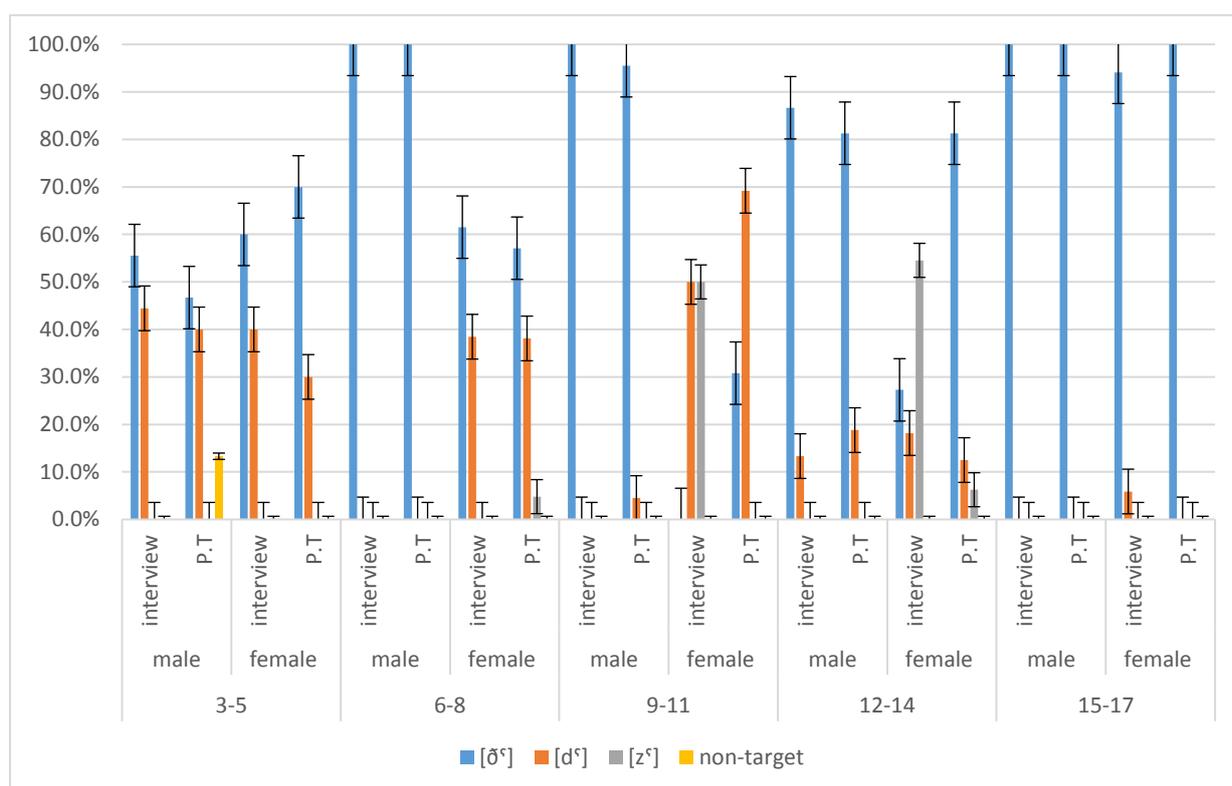
Figure 5-10 Distribution of (ðˤ) variants across contexts by age and gender

5.1.7 Summary and Discussion of (ðˤ) results

Only a handful of studies used (ðˤ) as a sociolinguistic variable (Al-Wer 1991, 2007; Abd-El-Jawad & Awwad 1989; Al-Khatib 1988; Jassem 1987).[38] All these studies reported a change in the direction of the urban stop realization of the variable. Since those studies were carried out at least 20 years before this current study, their result may indicate a more advanced change in the direction of the urban realization in those communities. Results from the present study

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[38] All were carried out in Jordan apart from Jassem 1987, which was conducted in Syria.

show that the local variant is still the majority variant in the speech of participants. It is most used in the interview with the local interviewer at 78.7% and least used in the interview with the urban interviewer at a little over 50%. This difference proved statistically significant, as we have seen, indicating overall convergence towards the urban speaker.

With the exception of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old girls and children below the age of 5, the local [ðˤ] is the primary variant in the speech of all speakers, although to varying degrees. And while use of [dˤ] in the speech of children below 5 is, at least partially, due to developmental considerations, 9-11 and 12-14-year-old females' preference for the urban variants is arguably a matter of choice and preference. Their choices indicate a positive attitude towards the overtly prestige urban variety and are in line with previous research that shows females' general preference for these forms (Cheshire 2002; Romaine 2008). It is also in line with the studies that examine this variable reporting women's tendency to favour the urban form (Al-Khatib 1998; Al-Wer 1991, 2007).

Gender differences in the realization of (ðˤ) in the community under study emerge around age 6, which is the school age in Syria. This corroborates previous research that shows gender differences emerging around school age (Sheldon 1990; Robertson & Murachver 2003). Previous research illustrates that such differences increase with age (Habib 2011a, 2014; Robertson & Murachver 2003). However, a strikingly different pattern occurs in the present study whereby gender divergences completely disappear in the oldest group. As the results show, use of the urban variant is highest in the speech of the youngest group with slight disparities between girls and boys.[39] When boys and girls diverge in their language use-between 6 and 14 years old-girls expectedly favour the urban variants whereas boys strongly favour the local variants. Girls in the oldest group, however, behave similarly to boys in the same group in strongly favouring the local variant. They behave differently to other girls in the sample, especially those in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. This is in stark contrast to the reported avoidance of this variant in the speech of young women as a markedly stigmatized variant (Al-Wer 2003, 2007). In fact, Al-Wer (2003) reports near completion of the change in the direction of the urban variant in the speech of young women based on data collected 10

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[39] Girls are slightly leading in use of the local variant in this group since their mean age is higher than that of boys, introducing a developmental consideration, as discussed above.

years apart (1987, 1997) in the same locale in Jordan. Different results to the ones reported in these studies are reported in a recent study on young Palestinian refugee women in a relatively close-knit community in Jordan (Al-Shatarat 2015). Al-Shatarat reports a strong preference for the local variant of (dˤ) at about 87% in the speech of young women between the ages of 18 and 28. Although these results are reported for (dˤ) rather than (ðˤ), it is safe to assume that high use of [ðˤ] as a variant of (dˤ) would most definitely indicate a high use of [ðˤ] as a variant of (ðˤ) given the merger of the two variables in the direction of /ðˤ/ in the speech community. Al-Shatarat (2015) explains this unexpected pattern as signifying a pride of identity and expression of loyalty in a close-knit community. I argue that, for speakers in the oldest group, a sense of pride in their identity and locale is a likely explanation for their choices. This is explored further in 8.1 since it is a recurrent pattern with all variables under study and not exclusive to (ðˤ).

5.2 Analysis of (dˤ)

5.2.1 Descriptive Statistics and Variant Distribution

This variable is not part of the phonemic inventory of traditional Bedouin dialects where a merger between the two variables (ðˤ) and (dˤ) in the direction of /ðˤ/ occurs (Al-Wer 2003; Watson 2002). The merger in urban dialects, on the other hand, is in the direction of /dˤ/ (Al-Wer 2003; Watson 2002). Use of [dˤ] by speakers of dialect backgrounds that lack the variant has been assumed to be as a result of the influence of urban varieties (Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 2007). The variable is examined in the present study to discover its patterns of variation in the community given the above reported merger. Since the two variables (ðˤ) and (dˤ) are connected in more than way (refer to 4.1.1.5 for a fuller discussion), results of their variation are presented following each other so that their patterns of variation can be compared.

Two main variants were found for this variable in the data, i.e., the local Bedouin [ðˤ] and the urban variant [dˤ]. Additionally, [zˤ] occurred as a lexically-conditioned realization of (dˤ) in two words [zˤɑːbitˤ] 'precise' and [mɑzˤbuːtˤ] 'correct'. Such lexically-conditioned realizations are reported in the literature to be limited to words that share the root /dˤbtˤ/ (Cleveland 1963; Garbell 1958; Jassem 1987). These realizations were excluded from the analysis. Additionally, non-target productions occurred in the speech of the 3-5-year-old group as will be discussed further in 5.2.2 below.

The local variant [ðˤ] was the most frequent in the data at 54% with a mean of 52.85 (SD = 33.533), and the urban variant [dˤ] occurred at 45.4% with a mean of 46.46 (SD = 33.41). When compared with the results of (ðˤ), a more balanced distribution of the variants in the case of (dˤ) can be seen, as demonstrated in table 5.14 below and as will be seen in the breakdown of results by social factors. This finding will be revisited in the discussion chapter to understand what it entails socially and linguistically in the case of the speech community.

Table 5-14 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across all tasks

Total (dˤ) tokens	Urban [dˤ]		Local [ðˤ]		Other	
	Raw	%	Raw	%	Raw	%
831	377	45.4%	449	54 %	5	0.6%

5.2.2 Variation of (dˤ) in Relation to Age

As in the case of (ðˤ) above, use of the local variant [ðˤ] as a realization of (dˤ) increases after the age of 5, while use of the urban variant [dˤ] decreases. However, a more balanced variant distribution than the one seen for (ðˤ) was found in all age groups apart from the oldest and the youngest, as seen in table 5.15 and figure 5.11 below. An obvious increase in the use of the urban variant, [dˤ] as a realization of (dˤ), is evident in the speech of all groups including the 15-17-year-old group by comparison to results for (ðˤ) above. Although speakers in the oldest group used the local variant substantially more than they did the urban variant as a realization of (dˤ), their use of it was not categorical here as it was in the case of (ðˤ). The youngest group used the urban variant almost twice as much as the local variant in the case of (dˤ), whereas, they used the local variant slightly more than its urban counterpart in the case of (ðˤ).

Similar to what was found for (ðˤ) above, although age was found to have an overall highly significant effect on the realization of (ðˤ) at $p = .018$, significant differences were only between speakers in the oldest and youngest age groups at $p = .012$ in the use of the urban variant [dˤ] and $p = .008$ in the use of the local variant [ðˤ].

Table 5-15 Distribution of (dˤ) variants by age group

Age group	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
3-5	133	Urban [dˤ]	88	66.2%	63.28	27.91
		Local [ðˤ]	43	32.3%	34.89	26.92
		Non-target	2	1.5%	-	-
6-8	190	Urban [dˤ]	89	46.8%	44.11	28.29
		Local [ðˤ]	99	52.1%	55.07	28.29
9-11	177	Urban [dˤ]	90	50.8%	51.64	39.77
		Local [ðˤ]	86	48.6%	47.79	40.13
12-14	149	Urban [dˤ]	80	53.7%	55.27	39.54
		Local [ðˤ]	69	46.3%	44.73	39.48
15-17	182	Urban [dˤ]	30	16.5%	17.92	17.68
		Local [ðˤ]	152	83.5%	82.08	17.68
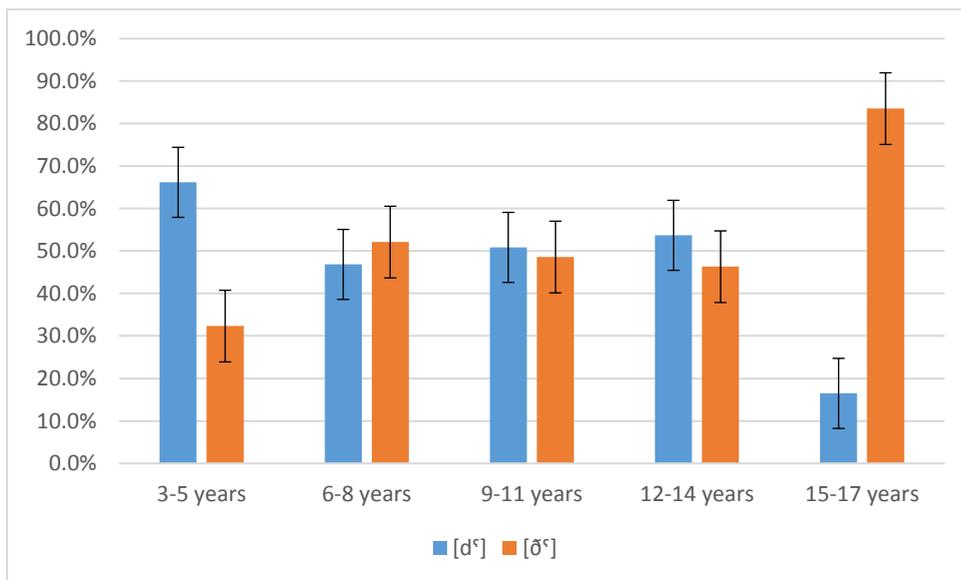
Figure 5-11 Distribution of (dˤ) variants by age group

Non-target productions in the speech of the 3-5-year-old group occurred mostly in the form of de-emphasizing the sound /dˤ/, therefore using its plain counterpart [d]. This process simplifies the production of the sound by removing its secondary articulation and is described as one of the most common processes in the development of Arabic phonology in Dyson & Amayreh (2000). As discussed with (ðˤ) above, non-target productions are to be expected in realizing these difficult sounds (Amayreh & Dayson 1998). However, acquisition of these sounds in the

study appears to be happening at an earlier age than reported in their research (ibid.). Only 3 non-target productions out of 133 tokens occurred in the speech of this group as realizations of the variable, at 2.3%. Such successful acquisition is also reported by Ayyad (2011) on Kuwaiti children. The argument for the successful acquisition of (ðˤ) stands here as well. Even though this sound is not part of the traditional dialect, it occurs as a realization in three contexts in the current study as outlined with (ðˤ) since the two sounds occur as realizations of each other in all three variable contexts,[40] thus making it more frequent and possibly more accessible (Ingram 1989). Moreover, /dˤ/ is easier than /ðˤ/ by virtue of being a stop rather than a fricative (Eblen 1982; Mowrer & Burger 1991). The only assumed difficulty here would be the secondary articulation involved in producing an emphatic sound, a process that- though complicated- occurs in the production of other variables in the dialect and is, therefore, frequent enough to be acquired at least to some degree by speakers in the youngest group in this sample. Three non-target productions in the form of overgeneralization occurred in the speech of two girls in the 9-11 and 6-8-year-old groups, who incorrectly used [zˤ] as a realization of the variable in the words /baidˤ/ 'eggs' and /haudˤ/ 'tank'. It is clear they are attempting an urban pronunciation and is further proof that the two variables; (ðˤ) and (dˤ) are closely related since [zˤ] occurs as an urban realization of (ðˤ) and not (dˤ), except in the lexical items noted in 5.2 above.[41]

5.2.3 Variation of (dˤ) in Relation to Gender

A similar pattern to what we have seen for (ðˤ) above was also found for (dˤ) in relation to gender although both males and female used the urban variant of (dˤ) more than they used the urban variant of (ðˤ), indicating that [dˤ] as a realization of (dˤ) has more currency in the speech of participants than as a realization of (ðˤ) in the community, a pattern that will prove important in the discussion of linguistic choices and variation patterns in the speech of children and adolescents in the community.

Despite considerable variation in using (dˤ) variants in the speech of both males and females, use of the urban variant is noticeably higher in the speech of female speakers (M= 57.8, SD=

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[40] [dˤ] occurs as a realization of (dˤ) and (ðˤ), as well as realization in the context of demonstrative pronouns as will be discussed further in 6.1 below.
[41] This will be discussed further in 8.1 below.

28.3) by comparison to male speakers (M= 33.91, SD= 34.83). Conversely, male speakers' use of the local variant (M= 65.80, SD= 35.18) is higher than that of females (M= 41.12, SD= 27.83), as evident in table 5.16 and figure 5.12 below. A GLM test revealed that the differences between males and females were highly significant at $p = .005$ for the urban variant and $p = .004$ for the local variants.

Table 5-16 Distribution of (dˤ) variants by gender

Gender	Urban [dˤ]		Local [ðˤ]		Non-target		Total tokens
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
Male	143	33.3%	285	66.4%	1	0.9%	429
Female	234	58.2%	164	40.8%	4	0%	402
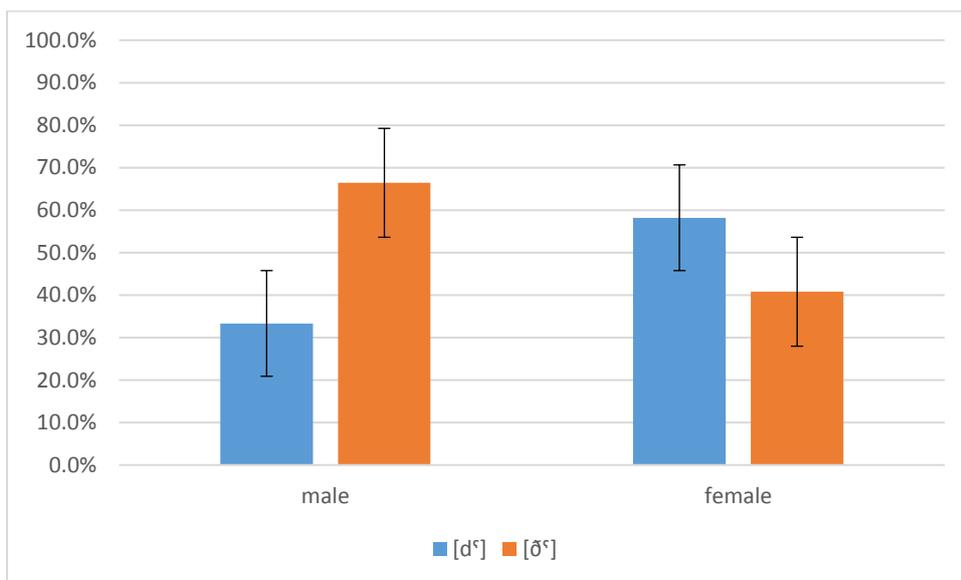
Figure 5-12 Distribution of (dˤ) variants by gender

5.2.4 Variation of (dˤ) in Relation to the Interaction between Age and Gender

When breaking the results down by age and gender, a relatively comparable pattern to what we have seen with (ðˤ) emerges in the case of (dˤ), whereby increase in using the local variant is generally more consistent in the speech of boys than girls. Girls' use of the local variant increases slightly in the 6-8-year-old group, but drops drastically in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old group to increase again in the speech of girls in the oldest group as seen in table 5.17 and

figure 5.13 below. Significant differences between male and females were only found for 9-11 and 12-14-year-old speakers. In both groups, boys use the local variant significantly more than girls at p = .004 for the 9-11-year-old speakers and at p = .027 for the 12-14-year-old speakers.

Table 5-17 Distribution of (dˤ) variants by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
3-5	male	60	Urban [dˤ]	42	70%	69.93	34.09
			Local [ðˤ]	17	28.3%	28.75	34.38
			Non-target	1	1.7%	-	-
	female	73	Urban [dˤ]	46	63%	57.97	24.63
			Local [ðˤ]	26	35.6%	39.81	22.24
			Non-target	1	1.4%	-	-
6-8	male	87	Urban [dˤ]	35	40.2%	36.96	38.11
			Local [ðˤ]	52	59.8%	63.04	38.11
	female	103	Urban [dˤ]	54	52.4%	49.82	20.47
			Local [ðˤ]	47	45.6%	48.69	19.91
			Non-target	2[42]	1.9%	-	-
9-11	male	103	Urban [dˤ]	25	24.3%	24.49	27.25
			Local [ðˤ]	78	75.7%	75.51	27.25
	female	74	Urban [dˤ]	65	87.8%	87.85	13.75
			Local [ðˤ]	8	10.8%	10.82	11.44
			Non-target	1	1.3%	-	-
12-14	male	89	Urban [dˤ]	33	37.1%	28.37	41.18
			Local [ðˤ]	56	62.9%	71.62	41.18
	female	60	Urban [dˤ]	47	78.3%	75.43	27.06
			Local [ðˤ]	13	21.7%	24.57	27.06
15-17	male	90	Urban [dˤ]	8	8.9%	8.45	6.03
			Local [ðˤ]	82	91.1%	91.55	6.02
	female	92	Urban [dˤ]	22	23.9%	27.39	21.30
			Local [ðˤ]	70	76.1%	72.61	21.30

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[42] Non-target productions in the speech of this group and the 9-11-year-old group occurred in the form of overgeneralization of [zˤ] as discussed in 5.2.1 above.
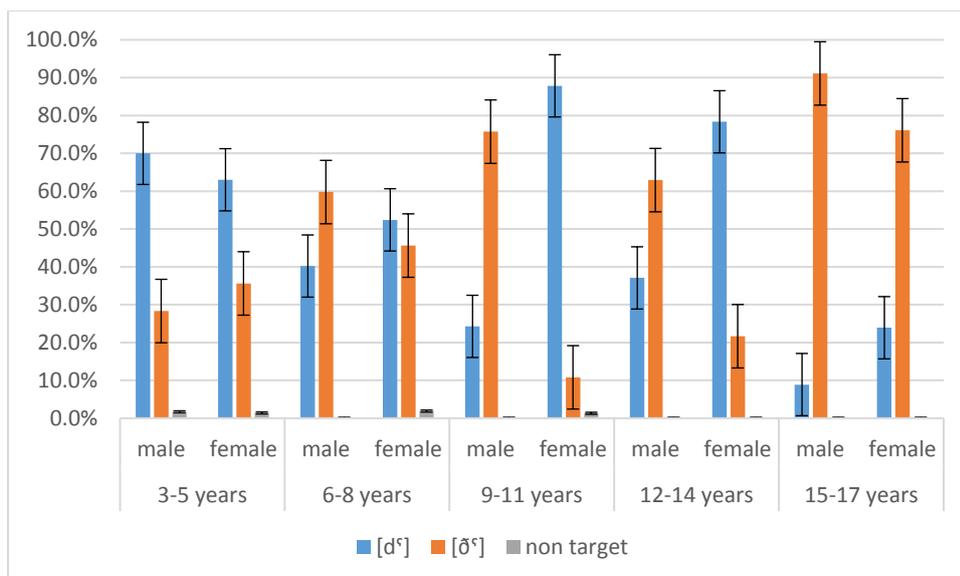
Figure 5-13 Distribution of (dˤ) variants by age and gender

Although this pattern is similar to what has been found for (ðˤ), some note-worthy differences in the realization of the two variables appeared in the speech of most groups. The starkest differences were in the speech of boys between 6 and 14. For example, 6-8-year-old boys used the local variant overwhelmingly at 91% in the case of (ðˤ) but used it noticeably less at 59.8% in the case of (dˤ). In the case of 9-11-year-old boys, use of the local variant drops from 91% in the case of (ðˤ) to 76% with regard to (dˤ). 14-year-old boys' use of the variant drops from 82% in the context of (ðˤ) to 63% in the case of (dˤ). Discernible differences also appear in the speech of 15-17-year-old female speakers who use the local variant near-categorically with respect to (ðˤ) but use it less than 80% of the time in (dˤ) contexts. Figure 5.13 above shows that the local variant [ðˤ] was used most by male speakers in the 15-17-year-old group- though not categorically as in the case of (ðˤ) - and least by female speakers in the 9-11-year-old group.

5.2.5 Accommodation and (dˤ) Variants

As hypothesized in 4.2 (hypothesis 3), and as can be seen from table 5.18 and figure 5.14 below, use of the urban variant [dˤ] was higher in the interview with the urban interlocutor than it was in the interview with the local interviewer and, in turn, use of the local variant was higher with the latter indicating obvious accommodation to the urban interviewer. A paired-samples t test revealed these differences to be statistically significant. Use of urban [dˤ] was higher in the

urban interview context at $p = .036$ and use of local [ðˤ] was higher with the local interlocutor at $p = .046$.

Table 5-18 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across interviews

Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. deviation
Local	363	Urban [dˤ]	126	34.7%	38.45	36.03
		Local [ðˤ]	236	65%	60.30	35.52
Urban	229	Urban [dˤ]	126	55%	47.86	40.49
		Local [ðˤ]	101	44.1%	51.14	41.28
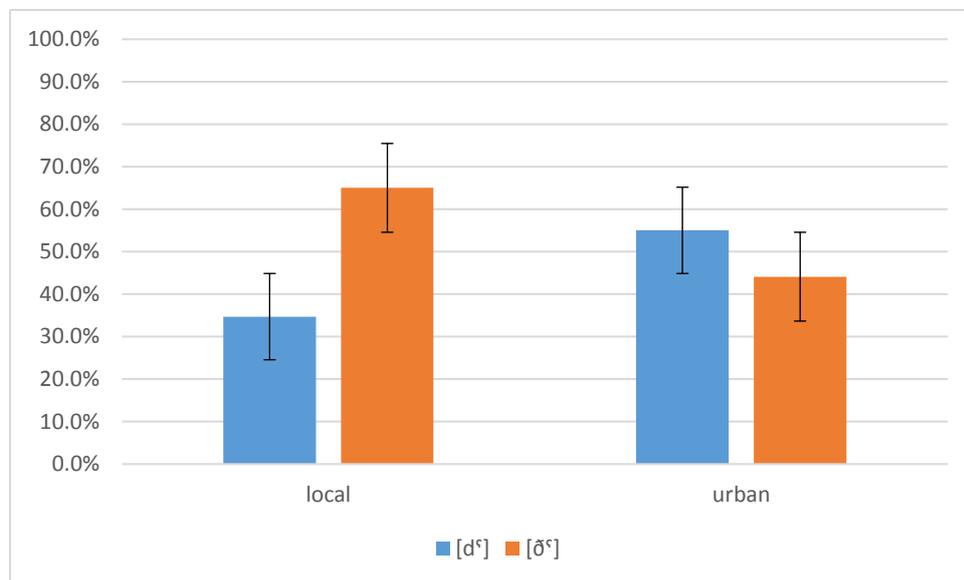
Figure 5-14 Distribution of (dˤ) variant across interviews

5.2.5.1 Accommodation and (dˤ) variants: age

Accommodation towards the urban speaker appeared in varying degrees in all groups, but most noticeably in the 3-5, 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. The least degree of accommodation occurred in the speech of the oldest group in an overall pattern that is similar to what has been revealed in the realization of (ðˤ), as evident from table 5.19 and figure 5.15 below.

Significant differences in the use of the variants across contexts were only revealed for speakers in the 3-5-year-old participants who used the urban variant significantly more with the urban

interlocutor: $p = .015$. Although no significant differences were found in the speech of other groups, the trend of accommodation towards the urban speaker is obvious, especially in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old speakers. Moreover, small token numbers in the speech of the youngest group do not allow a clear pattern to emerge even though such a pattern, however unstable, should not be dismissed. It is evidence of children's emergent ability to navigate their linguistic resources appropriately.

Table 5-19 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across interviews by age group

Age group	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Local	36	Urban [dˤ]	20	55.6%	49.50	34.69
			Local [ðˤ]	15	41.7%	44.95	29.37
	Urban	45	Urban [dˤ]	37	82.2%	75.88	26.08
			Local [ðˤ]	8	17.8%	24.12	26.08
6-8	Local	88	Urban [dˤ]	36	40.9%	32.39	32.04
			Local [ðˤ]	52	59.1%	67.61	32.04
	Urban	43	Urban [dˤ]	20	46.5%	41.85	40.49
			Local [ðˤ]	21	48.8%	53.70	44.70
9-11	Local	75	Urban [dˤ]	25	33.3%	45.24	44.84
			Local [ðˤ]	50	66.7%	54.76	44.84
	Urban	58	Urban [dˤ]	41	70.7%	58.93	42.52
			Local [ðˤ]	17	29.3%	41.07	42.52
12-14	Local	76	Urban [dˤ]	35	46.1%	52.25	39.82
			Local [ðˤ]	41	53.9%	47.75	39.82
	Urban	29	Urban [dˤ]	20	69%	50.79	48.80
			Local [ðˤ]	9	31%	49.21	48.80
15-17	Local	88	Urban [dˤ]	10	11.4%	14.81	22.86
			Local [ðˤ]	78	88.6%	85.19	22.86
	Urban	54	Urban [dˤ]	8	14.8%	10.83	11.89
			Local [ðˤ]	46	85.2%	89.17	11.86
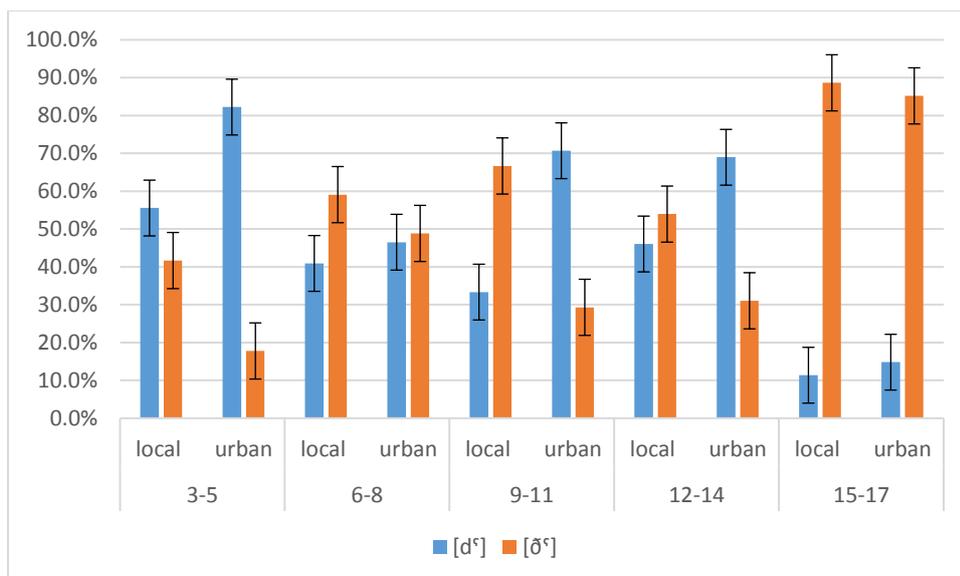
Figure 5-15 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across interviews by age group

5.2.5.2 Accommodation and (dˤ) variants: gender

Accommodation towards the urban interlocutor appears in the speech of both male and female speakers. They both use the urban variant [dˤ] noticeably more with the urban interlocutor than with the local interlocutor, as can be seen in table 5.20 and figure 5.16 below.

Significant differences, however, only occurred in the speech of male speakers at *p* = .050. As noted in the case of (ðˤ), use of the urban variant in the speech of female speakers is relatively high even with the local interlocutor. Similar to the case of (ðˤ), girls use the urban variant significantly more than boys in that interview context (*p* = .015), which explains why no significant differences appear in their speech across interviews despite a clear trend towards accommodating to the urban interlocutor. No difference appears between girls' and boys' use of [dˤ] in the urban interview context giving another indication of male speakers' accommodation to the urban interlocutor.

Table 5-20 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across interviews by gender

Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
Male	Local	206	Urban [dˤ]	49	23.8%	27.37	34.44
			Local [ðˤ]	157	76.2%	72.63	34.44
	Urban	103	Urban [dˤ]	44	42.7%	36.78	43.14
			Local [ðˤ]	59	57.3%	63.22	43.1
Female	Local	157	Urban [dˤ]	77	49%	48.47	35.23
			Local [ðˤ]	79	50.3%	49.15	33.45
	Urban	126	Urban [dˤ]	83	65.1%	57.88	36.057
			Local [ðˤ]	42	33.3%	40.21	37.21
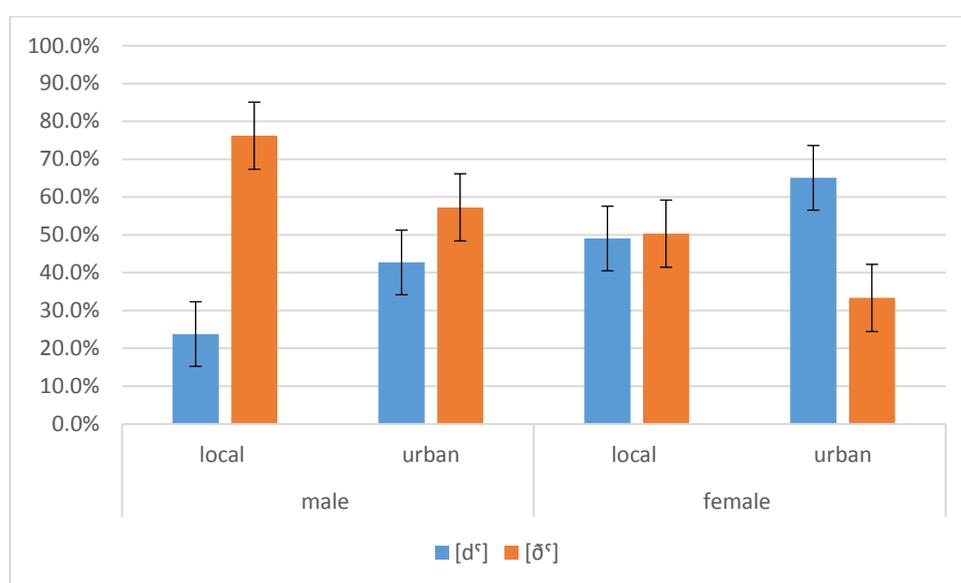
Figure 5-16 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across interviews by gender

5.2.5.3 Accommodation and (dˤ) variants: the interaction between age and gender

A breakdown of the results by age and gender shows varying degrees of accommodation occurring in the speech of most participants. These were most noticeable in the speech of 3-5-year-old females as well as 9-11 and 12-14-year-old males. Significant differences across the contexts only appeared in the speech of female speakers in the youngest group, however. They used the urban variant [dˤ] significantly more with the urban interlocutor than they did with the local interlocutor: $p = .025$. Not much accommodation occurred in the speech of females in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups who used the urban variant overwhelmingly in both interview contexts. Girls in these group used the urban variant significantly more than their male peers in the local interview context at $p = .009$ for the 9-11-year-old group and $p = .043$ for the 12-

14-year-old group, but no significant difference appeared between them and boys in using the variant with the urban interviewer, which simply shows that male speakers are accommodating to the urban interviewer. Less accommodation occurred in the speech of both male and female speakers in the oldest age bracket. Speakers in this group used the local variant predominantly within both interview contexts, as illustrated in table 5.21 and figure 5.17 below.

Table 5-21 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across interviews by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Local	16	Urban [dˤ]	11	68.8%	67.92	31.72
				Local [ðˤ]	5	31.3%	32.08	31.72
		Urban	19	Urban [dˤ]	15	78.9%	77.68	35.76
				Local [ðˤ]	4	21.1%	22.32	35.76
	female	Local	20	Urban [dˤ]	9	45%	34.76	32.28
				Local [ðˤ]	10	50%	55.24	25.94
		Urban	26	Urban [dˤ]	22	84.6%	74.43	19.88
				Local [ðˤ]	4	15.4%	25.55	19.88
6-8	male	Local	35	Urban [dˤ]	12	34.3%	22.77	37.67
				Local [ðˤ]	23	65.7%	77.23	37.67
		Urban	24	Urban [dˤ]	8	33.3%	29.17	47.87
				Local [ðˤ]	16	66.7%	70.83	47.87
	female	Local	53	Urban [dˤ]	24	45.3%	40.10	28.66
				Local [ðˤ]	29	54.7%	59.90	28.66
		Urban	19	Urban [dˤ]	12	63.2%	52.00	35.63
				Local [ðˤ]	5	26.3%	40.00	41.83
9-11	male	Local	52	Urban [dˤ]	5	9.6%	12.50	25.00
				Local [ðˤ]	47	90.4%	87.50	25.00
		Urban	25	Urban [dˤ]	12	48%	40.62	44.92
				Local [ðˤ]	13	52%	59.38	44.92
	female	Local	23	Urban [dˤ]	20	87%	88.89	9.62
				Local [ðˤ]	3	13%	11.11	9.62
		Urban	33	Urban [dˤ]	29	87.9%	83.33	28.87
				Local [ðˤ]	4	12.1%	16.67	28.87
12-14	male	Local	53	Urban [dˤ]	17	32.1%	25.25	36.15
				Local [ðˤ]	36	67.9%	74.75	36.15
		Urban	14	Urban [dˤ]	8	57.1%	29.63	51.32
				Local [ðˤ]	6	42.9%	70.37	51.32
	female	Local	23	Urban [dˤ]	18	78.3%	72.50	32.02
				Local [ðˤ]	5	21.7%	27.50	32.02
		Urban	15	Urban [dˤ]	12	80%	66.67	47.14
				Local [ðˤ]	3	20%	33.33	47.14

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
15-17	male	Local	50	Urban [dˤ]	4	8%	7.91	13.07
				Local [ðˤ]	46	92%	92.09	13.07
		Urban	21	Urban [dˤ]	1	4.8%	5.00	10.00
				Local [ðˤ]	20	95.2%	95.00	10.00
	female	Local	38	Urban [dˤ]	6	15.8%	21.71	30.35
				Local [ðˤ]	32	84.2%	78.28	30.35
		Urban	33	Urban [dˤ]	7	21.2%	16.67	11.79
				Local [ðˤ]	26	78.8%	83.33	11.79
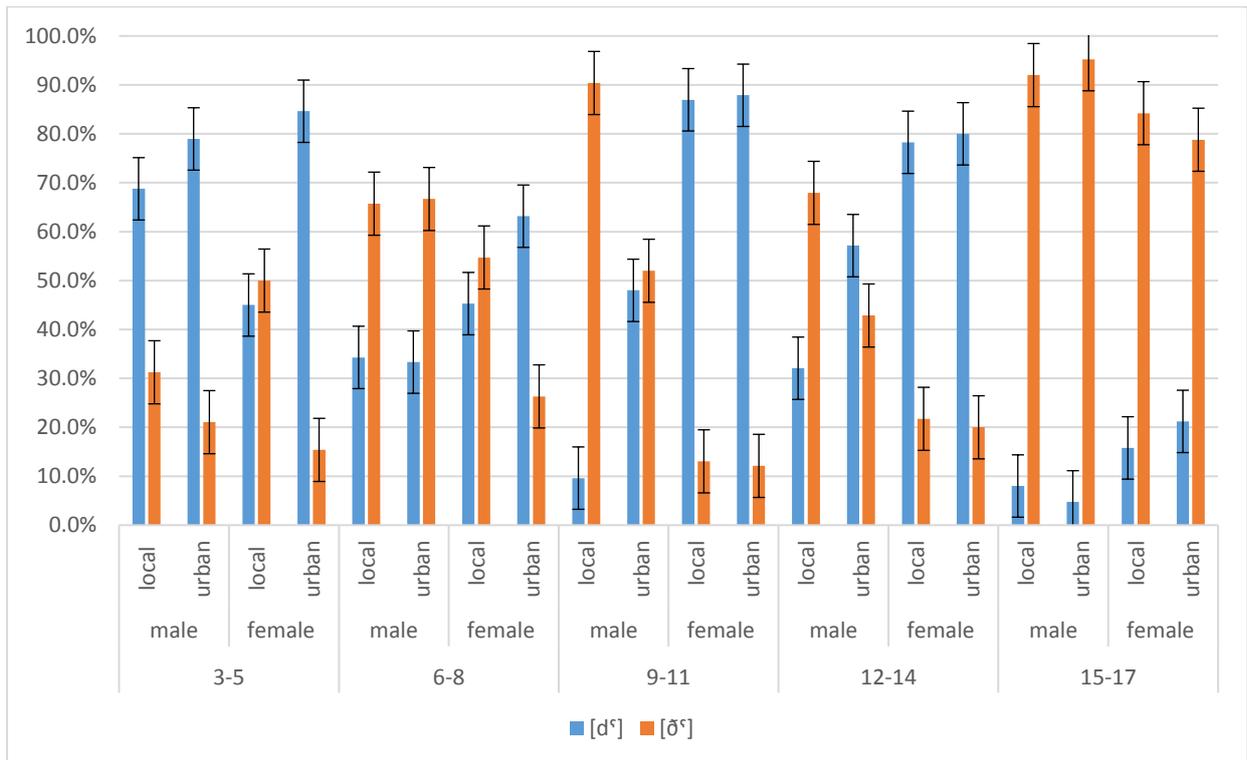
Figure 5-17 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across interviews by age and gender

5.2.6 Register Variation and (dˤ) Variants

The previous sections examined variation as a function of interviewer and showed that varying levels of accommodation to the urban speaker occurred in the speech of most participants in the study. This section investigates style variation as a function of context by examining variation patterns across two different contexts with the same interviewer, namely, the interview with the local speaker and the picture task. It will be remembered that the picture task was hypothesized to elicit more standard-like productions by invoking the formality of a

school setting. The standard realization of (dˤ) overlaps with the urban realization of the variable, which makes it difficult to disentangle the two at first glance. However, similarly to the analysis of (ðˤ) above, other clues will be taken into account when examining register variation in the realization of the variable as a significant increase in the use of the standard variant in the picture task is only one such indication of said variation.

Table 5.22 and figure 5.18 below demonstrate that the standard variant [dˤ] was noticeably used more in the picture task than in the interview context, whereas the local variant [ðˤ] was used more in the interview context. A paired-samples t test revealed the difference in using the variants across contexts to be highly significant: $p < .001$.

Table 5-22 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across contexts

Context	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
Interview	363	SA [dˤ]	126	34.7%	38.45	36.03
		Local [ðˤ]	236	65%	60.30	35.53
PT	239	SA [dˤ]	125	52.3%	51.81	34.65
		Local [ðˤ]	112	46.9%	47.33	35.33
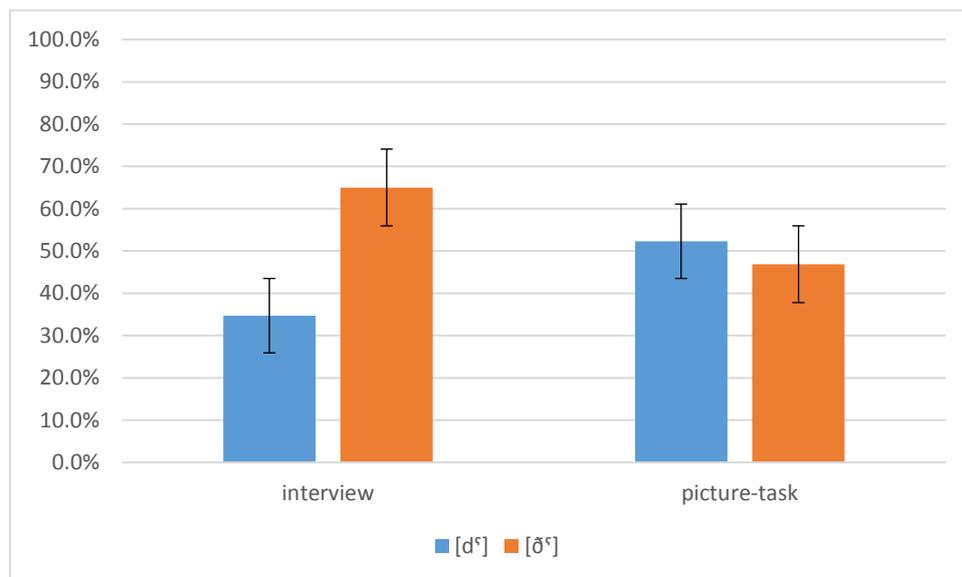
Figure 5-18 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across contexts

5.2.6.1 Register variation and (dˤ) variants: age

Varying levels of style variation occurred in the speech of all participants, but most noticeably in the speech of participants in the 6-8, 9-11 and 15-17-year-old age cohorts, as illustrated in table 5.23 and figure 5.19 below. Significant differences, however, only appeared in the speech of 6-8-year-old participants as they used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task than in the interview context at $p = .013$. Interestingly, age had no effect on the use of [dˤ] in the picture task, in a stark contrast to the general pattern of variation and the pattern of variation in each interview where use of the variant decreases with age. This indicates that the increase in using the variant in the speech of the older speakers is likely an approximation to the standard, especially as it is larger than the increase we have seen in using the variant with the urban interlocutor.

Table 5-23 Distribution of (dˤ) variant across contexts by age group

Age group	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Interview	36	SA [dˤ]	20	55.6%	49.50	34.69
			Local [ðˤ]	15	41.7%	44.95	29.37
	Picture task	52	SA [dˤ]	31	59.61%	58.83	31.29
			Local [ðˤ]	20	38.46%	39.58	31.56
6-8	Interview	88	SA [dˤ]	36	40.9%	32.39	32.04
			Local [ðˤ]	52	59.1%	67.61	32.04
	Picture task	59	SA [dˤ]	33	55.93%	56.85	30.41
			Local [ðˤ]	26	44.07%	43.15	30.41
9-11	Interview	75	SA [dˤ]	25	33.3%	45.24	44.84
			Local [ðˤ]	50	66.7%	54.76	44.84
	Picture task	44	SA [dˤ]	24	54.55%	54.20	35.44
			Local [ðˤ]	19	43.18%	42.94	38.54
12-14	Interview	76	SA [dˤ]	35	46.1%	52.25	39.82
			Local [ðˤ]	41	53.9%	47.75	39.82
	Picture task	44	SA [dˤ]	25	56.82%	59.78	42.62
			Local [ðˤ]	19	43.18%	40.22	42.62
15-17	Interview	88	SA [dˤ]	10	11.4%	14.81	22.86
			Local [ðˤ]	78	88.6%	85.19	22.86
	Picture task	40	SA [dˤ]	12	30%	29.17	33.61
			Local [ðˤ]	28	70%	70.83	33.61
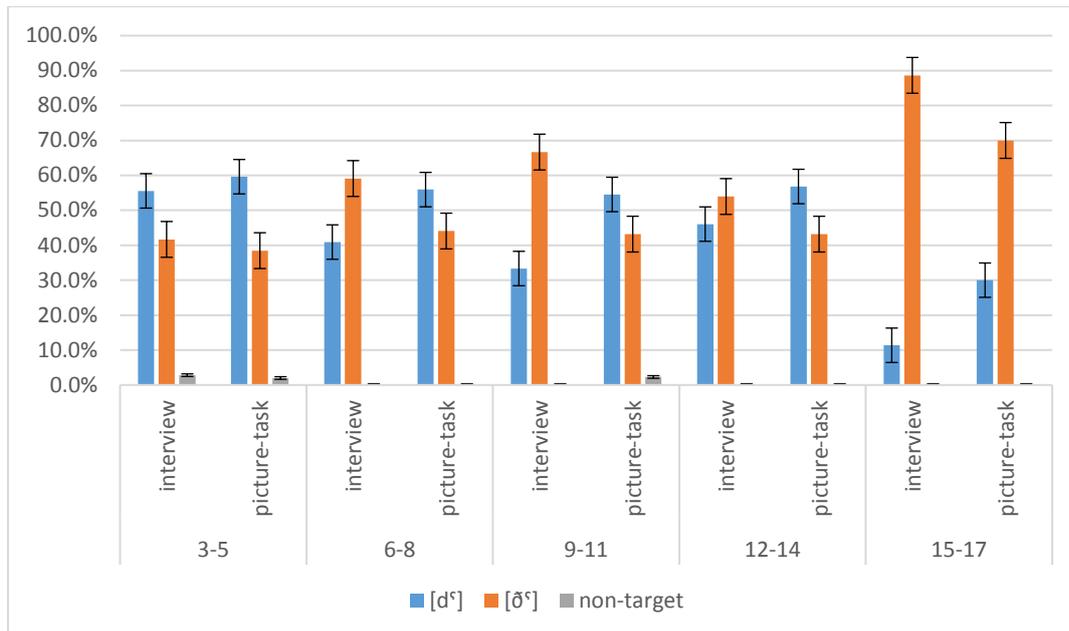
Figure 5-19 Distribution of (dˤ) across contexts by age

5.2.6.2 Register variation and (dˤ) variants: gender

Style variation in the realization of (dˤ) occurred in the speech of both male and female speakers who both used the standard variant [dˤ] more in the picture task than in the interview context, as demonstrated in table 5.24 and figure 5.20 below.

These differences were found to be significant for both boys and girls at $p = .047$ for boys and $p = .003$ for girls. Although male speakers used [dˤ] more in the picture task than in the interview context, significant differences between them and female speakers in using the variant in the picture task still occurred as girls used it significantly more than boys here: $p = .017$.

Table 5-24 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across contexts by gender

Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
Male	Interview	206	SA [dˤ]	49	23.8%	27.37	34.44
			Local [ðˤ]	157	76.2%	72.63	34.44
	Picture task	120	SA [dˤ]	50	41.7%	39.47	35.53
			Local [ðˤ]	69	57.5%	59.77	36.07
Female	Interview	157	SA [dˤ]	77	49%	48.47	35.23
			Local [ðˤ]	79	50.3%	49.15	33.45
	Picture task	119	SA [dˤ]	75	63.03%	62.97	30.50
			Local [ðˤ]	43	36.13%	36.08	31.36
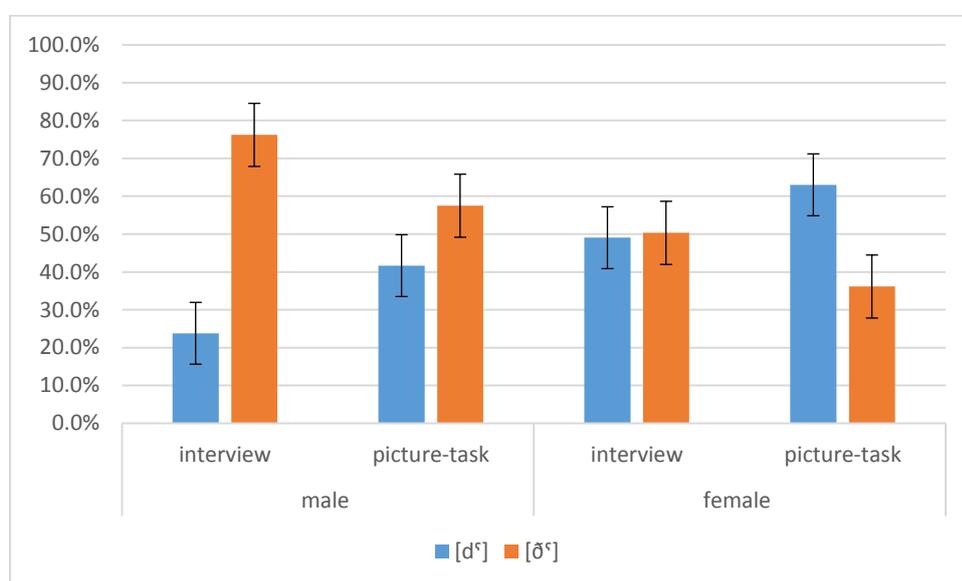
Figure 5-20 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across contexts by gender

5.2.6.3 Register variation and (dˤ) variants: the interaction between age and gender

Some variation across contexts occurred in the speech of most participants. However, it was most noticeable in the speech of female speakers in the youngest group and in the speech of male speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. No significant differences in using the variants across contexts occurred in the speech of any group. However, a clear trend of such variation is evident in the speech of many groups. The interaction between age and gender had no effect on the use of different variants in the picture task, indicating an overall relative similarity across participants. Table 5.25 and figure 5.21 below show the use of (dˤ) variants across contexts by age and gender.
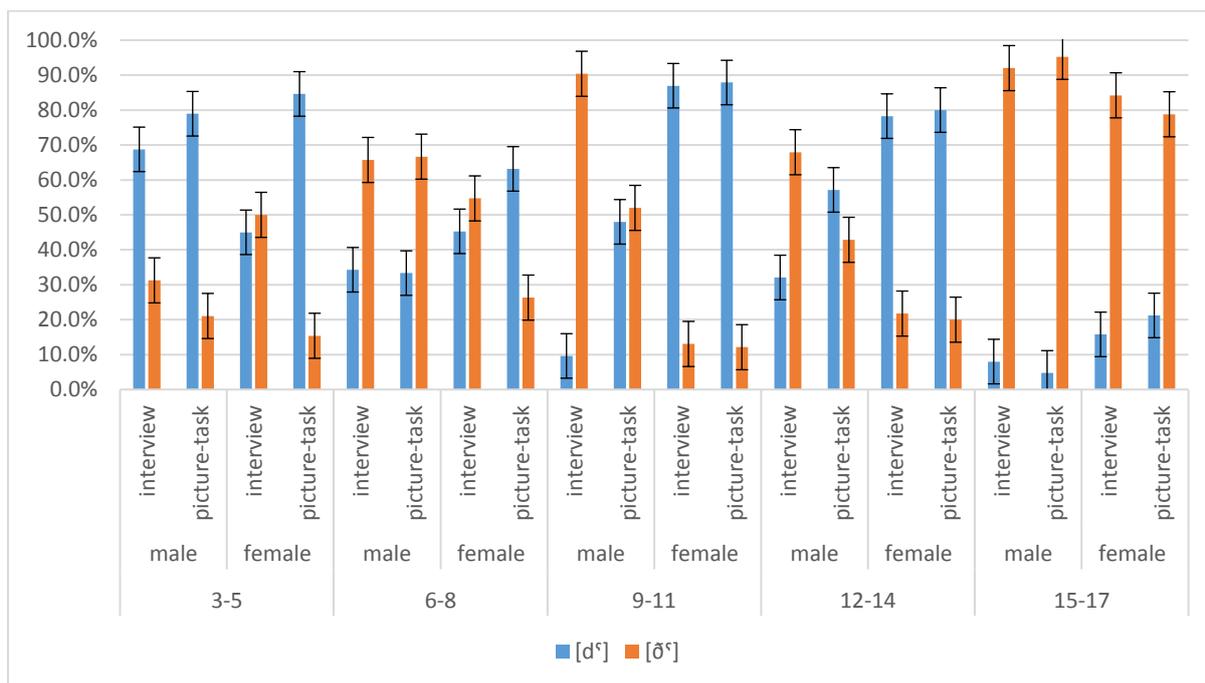
Figure 5-21 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across contexts by age and gender

Table 5-25 Distribution of (dˤ) variants across contexts by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Interview	16	SA [dˤ]	11	68.8%	67.92	31.72
				Local [ðˤ]	5	31.3%	32.08	31.72
		Picture task	25	SA [dˤ]	16	64%	64.88	36.75
				Local [ðˤ]	8	32%	31.55	36.44
	female	Interview	20	SA [dˤ]	9	45%	34.76	32.28
				Local [ðˤ]	10	50%	55.24	25.94
		Picture task	27	SA [dˤ]	15	55.56%	54.00	29.66
				Local [ðˤ]	12	44.44%	46.00	29.66
6-8	male	Interview	35	SA [dˤ]	12	34.3%	22.77	37.67
				Local [ðˤ]	23	65.7%	77.23	37.67
		Picture task	28	SA [dˤ]	15	53.57%	53.75	43.47
				Local [ðˤ]	13	46.43%	46.25	43.47
	female	Interview	53	SA [dˤ]	24	45.3%	40.10	28.66
				Local [ðˤ]	29	54.7%	59.90	28.66
		Picture task	31	SA [dˤ]	18	58.06%	59.33	20.38
				Local [ðˤ]	13	41.94%	40.67	20.38

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Age group	Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
9-11	male	Interview	52	SA [dˤ]	5	9.6%	12.50	25.00
				Local [ðˤ]	47	90.4%	87.50	25.00
		Picture task	26	SA [dˤ]	8	30.77%	28.42	19.35
				Local [ðˤ]	18	69.23%	71.58	19.35
	female	Interview	23	SA [dˤ]	20	87%	88.89	9.62
				Local [ðˤ]	3	13%	11.11	9.62
		Picture task	18	SA [dˤ]	16	88.89%	88.57	10.30
				Local [ðˤ]	1	5.56%	4.77	8.25
12-14	male	Interview	53	SA [dˤ]	17	32.1%	25.25	36.15
				Local [ðˤ]	36	67.9%	74.75	36.15
		Picture task	22	SA [dˤ]	8	36.36%	33.93	46.94
				Local [ðˤ]	14	63.64%	66.07	46.94
	female	Interview	23	SA [dˤ]	18	78.3%	72.50	32.02
				Local [ðˤ]	5	21.7%	27.50	32.02
		Picture task	22	SA [dˤ]	17	77.27%	79.17	31.55
				Local [ðˤ]	5	22.73%	20.83	31.55
15-17	male	Interview	50	SA [dˤ]	4	8%	7.91	13.07
				Local [ðˤ]	46	92%	92.09	13.07
		Picture task	19	SA [dˤ]	3	15.79%	15.00	19.15
				Local [ðˤ]	16	84.21%	85.00	19.15
	female	Local	38	SA [dˤ]	6	15.8%	21.71	30.35
				Local [ðˤ]	32	84.2%	78.28	30.35
		Urban	21	SA [dˤ]	9	42.86%	43.33	41.63
				Local [ðˤ]	12	57.14%	56.67	41.63

5.2.7 Summary and Discussion of (dˤ) results

By comparison to the results of (ðˤ) above, the overall distribution of (dˤ) variants is more evenly balanced in the speech of most participants across age groups and gender. The local variant remains the most frequent in the data, but only at a little over 50%. It was most used in the interview with the local interlocutor at 65% and least used in the interview with the urban interlocutor at 44.1%. The urban variant, by comparison occurred most frequently in the interview with the urban interviewer at 55%. Similar overall results in relation to age and gender are associated with (dˤ). Older speakers overwhelmingly favour the local variant. Female speakers, by contrast, preferred the urban variant. Moreover, female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups strongly favour the latter.

The apparent difference in variant distribution between (ðˤ) and (dˤ) is especially interesting given the overlap in the realizations of these variables. It is clear from the results of (dˤ), that [dˤ] is readily available in the speakers' linguistic repertoire, which poses the question as to why it is not used as much as a realization of (ðˤ). It is unlikely that the choice is only influenced by the vernacular distribution of these sounds. MSA may play some role in the choice of these variants and how they are distributed. Results on register variation in the realization of (dˤ) were highly significant, indicating a level of awareness of the distribution of its variants across varieties. Speakers who used the local variant categorically or near-categorically in the realization of (ðˤ) (such as male speakers in the 6-8, 9-11 and 15-17-year-old groups and female speakers in the 15-17-year-old group) used [dˤ] in the realization of (dˤ) especially in the picture task, which indicates that some influence beyond the vernacular may be at play. The idea that this realization is the 'proper' and 'correct' realization may have informed their choice of the variants. For example, a boy in the 9-11-year-old group expressed just that in one of his responses to the picture task. The target picture was /qunfuð/ 'hedgehog' and it was used to elicit realizations of (q) and (ð). He mistakenly identified the animal as (dˤɑb) 'a desert lizard'. In his response, he initially used the local realization of (dˤ) and immediately switched to [dˤ] invoking *Dˤa:dˤ* as a letter of the alphabet and producing the phrase in Standard Arabic.

(5.1)   *Ha:ðˤa ðˤab ħarf   idˤ-dˤab   ħajawæ:n idˤ-dˤab*

        This   lizard letter the-lizard animal   the-lizard

        'This is a lizard..the letter lizard the animal lizard'. [43]

Given the overlap in the realizations of these variables, much emphasis is placed on disentangling them in schools in SA contexts (Al Fawzan 2007). As noted in 4.1.1.5, reciting the Quran in the approved manner is usually invoked by Quran instructors to stress the importance of realizing the variables 'correctly'. Learners are often warned that confusing these sounds might change the word of God!

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[43] He likely meant to say the letter *Dˤa:dˤ* , as in 'dˤɑ:dˤ for dˤɑb'.

It can be argued that the overlap between the urban and the standard in the case of (dˤ) may be an aiding factor in using the stop by some speakers. Evidence of SA influence on the realization of (ðˤ) was also found even though the overlap is between the standard and the local and no significant difference occurred in its realizations as a function of context. For example, [zˤ] was only used twice in the picture task. This is not to discount the obvious influence of the urban variety in the speech community. After all, the same speaker groups show a clear preference for urban variants, but a possible influence of SA is very likely as well.

Results of the plain interdental fricatives are presented in the next chapter followed by a discussion of variation patterns of the interdental fricatives and (dˤ) in the community.

Chapter 6.   Results for (ð) and (θ)

This chapter presents the results for the plain interdental fricatives (ð) and (θ) followed by a summary of the results for the four variables covered in the last two chapters, namely, the interdental fricatives and (dˤ) as their status and variation patterns are quite similar and comparable in Arabic sociolinguistics (refer to chapter 4 for a fuller discussion).

6.1 Analysis of (ð)
6.1.1 Descriptive Statistics and Variant Distribution

Five variants occurred as realizations of this variable in the data. The local [ð] and the urban [d] and [z] were the main variants in addition to [ðˤ] and [dˤ] that were limited to demonstrative pronouns only as in [hɑ:ðˤɑ]/ [hɑ:dˤɑ] 'this', [hɑðˤɑ:k]/ [hɑdˤɑ:k] 'that' and [hɑðˤo:l]/ [hɑdˤo:l] 'those'. Jassem (1987) reports a similar pattern in a Bedouin dialect of Syrian Arabic, though only [ðˤ] is reported in his study. Use of the emphatic in the context is a result of the low back vowel /ɑ:/ preceding it as the environment of this vowel is known to spread emphasis to adjacent consonants such as /l/, /b/, /g/ and /χ/ in a process that is usually referred to as secondary emphasis whereby these segments only show such emphasis in the environment of this vowel (Bellem 2007; Davis 2009). Variation in the context of demonstrative pronouns was generally comparable to variation of (ðˤ) in distribution and in relation to age, gender and accommodation. The discussion here will be limited to the three main variants and will not address the emphatics. The local variant was the most common at 53.5% followed by [z] at 23.5% and [d] at 22.7%, as seen in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6-1 Distribution of (ð) variants across the data

Total (ð) tokens	Local [ð]		Urban [z]		Urban [d]		Other	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
759	408	53.8 %	175	23.1 %	173	22.8 %	3	0.40

When coding the data for variation of (ð), it was found that two lexical items were realized almost invariably with [z] across all speakers regardless of age or gender. These were /ʔiða/ 'if', which was realized with [z] 87% of the time and /ʔustæ:ð/ 'teacher' along with its plural and dual forms /ʔasæ:tiða/ 'teachers' and /ʔustæ:ðe:n/ 'two teachers', which were realized with [z] 95% of the time. These items were relatively frequent, which explains the large proportion of [z] by comparison to [d] in the variant distribution. The opposite would normally be expected since change on the colloquial level is mostly from fricative interdentals to stops (Al-Wer 2003). Excluding the tokens that were invariably realized with [z], produces an expected pattern where the stop variant [d] is more common than the urban fricative [z] and reveals that the urban fricative [z] was used only sporadically outside of these contexts, as Table 6.2 shows.

Table 6-2 Distribution of (ð) variants- excluding invariable realizations with [z]

Total (ð) tokens	Local [ð]		Urban [z]		Urban [d]	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
591	408	69 %	7	1.2 %	173	29.3 %

The items exclusively realized with [z] will also be excluded from the discussion of variation in relation to age and gender, accommodation and style variation since they were not subject to any of those external factors.

6.1.2 Variation of (ð) in Relation to Age

The local variant [ð] is the majority variant in the speech of most participants in the sample apart from speakers in the youngest group who use it less than 40% of the time. The ease of production argument presented in the case of (ðˤ) above applies here as well. Indeed, the youngest children in the group (3-4-year-olds) produced the variant only at a rate of 16.7% by comparison to the 50% produced by 5-year-old children in the group.

Use of the local variant increases notably with age, and the increase is mostly linear although a slight dip in using the variant appeared in the 12-14-year-old group, as we have seen in the case of (ðˤ) above. It is employed most by the oldest speakers who used it near-categorically at 97.7% and least by the youngest age group at 36%, as table 6.3 and figure 6.1 below show.

Table 6-3 Distribution of (ð) variants by age group

Age group	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
3-5	114	Local [ð]	41	36%	31.62	25.53
		Urban [d]	68	59.6%	61.43	23.36
		Urban [z]	2	1.8%	1.76	3.84
		Non-target	3	2.6%	-	-
6-8	130	Local [ð]	68	52.3%	53.47	29.62
		Urban [d]	61	46.9%	46.07	29.52
		Urban [z]	1	0.8%	.46	1.39
9-11	128	Local [ð]	103	80.5%	76.01	25.31
		Urban [d]	25	19.5%	23.99	25.31
		Urban [z]	0	0%	.00	.00
12-14	88	Local [ð]	68	77.3%	77.45	25.57
		Urban [d]	17	19.3%	18.86	23.55
		Urban [z]	3	3.4%	3.70	7.00
15-17	131	Local [ð]	128	97.9%	97.65	3.63
		Urban [d]	2	1.5%	2.00	3.71
		Urban [z]	1	0.8%	.35	.98
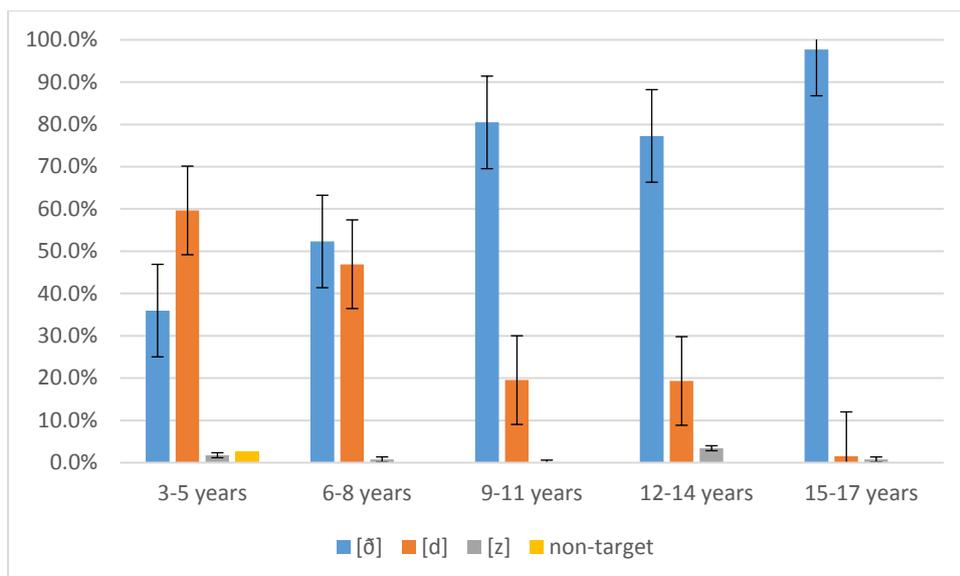
Figure 6-1 Distribution of (ð) variants by age group

GLM revealed that age had a highly significant effect on the realization of the variable.[44] Older speakers use the local variant [ð] significantly more than younger speakers: p < .001. Significant differences were between 3-5-year-old speakers and those in the 9-11, 12-14 and 15-17-year-old age brackets, as table 6.4 below illustrates.

Table 6-4 Significant differences in the realization of (ð) between age groups

Variant	Age group	Age groups	*P* value
Local [ð]	3-5 years	9-11 years	.006*
		12-14 years	.004*
		15-17 years	.000**
Urban [d]	3-5 years	9-11 years	.017*
		12-14 years	.005*
		15-17 years	.005*

Significant differences also occurred between speakers in the 6-8 and 15-17-year-old groups. The younger participants used the local variant [ð] significantly less than older speakers at *p* = .004 and, in turn, used the urban variant significantly more with a *p* value of .003.

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[44] Significant differences only appeared for [ð] and [d] as the use of [z] was quite sporadic in the data.

In addition to the main variants presented above, some non-target productions occurred in the speech of the youngest group. As discussed in 5.1, such occurrences are to be expected in the case of fricative sounds as these are classed as difficult sounds that are acquired later in the acquisition process (Ingram 1989). However, only a handful of non-target productions occurred in the speech of this group at 2.6%. Similar to what has been argued in the case of (ðˤ) above, the sound /ð/ exists in children's native input as it corresponds to the local realization of the variable. This sound would also be arguably easier than /ðˤ/ since no secondary articulation is involved in its production.

6.1.3 Variation of (ð) in Relation to Gender

Both male and female speakers use the local variant [ð] predominantly in their speech. Use of the variant is higher in the speech of male speakers, as illustrated in table 6.5 and figure 6.2 below. However, differences in realizing the variable between male and female speakers were not found to be significant.

Table 6-5 Distribution of (ð) variants by gender

gender	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
male	298	Local [ð]	224	75.2%	70.26	35.65
		Urban [d]	72	24.2%	28.80	34.79
		Urban [z]	1	0.3%	.58	2.55
female	293	Local [ð]	184	62.8%	61.25	30.06
		Urban [d]	101	34.5%	35.06	27.26
		Urban [z]	6	2%	1.79	4.30
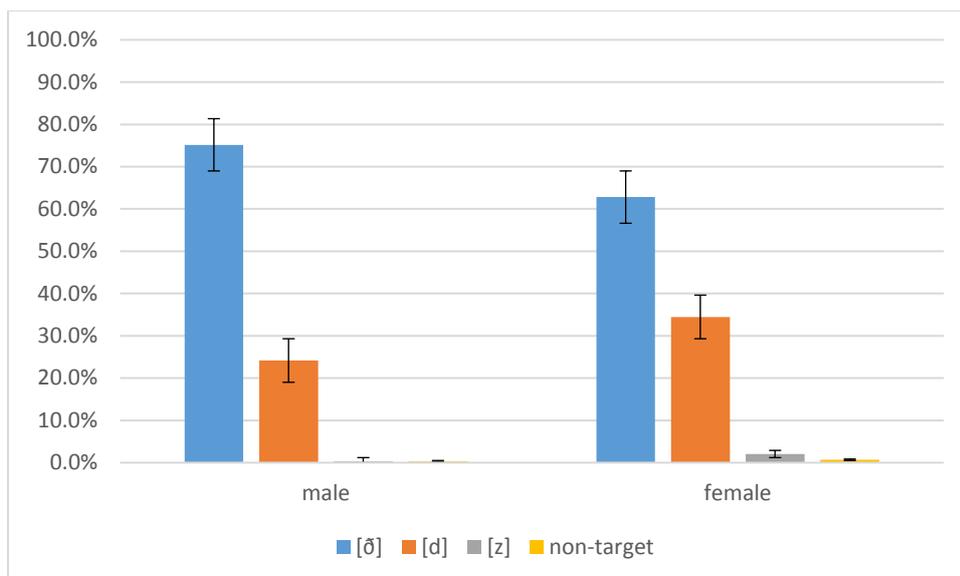
Figure 6-2 Distribution of (ð) variants by gender

6.1.4 Variation of (ð) in Relation to the Interaction between Age and Gender

Table 6.6 and figure 6.3 below illustrate that the local variant [ð] was most frequent amongst male speakers in the 9-11, 12-14 and 15-17-year-old groups and amongst females in the 15-17-year-old range. Males in the oldest group used the variant categorically throughout the data and their female peers used with very high frequency at 95.7%. It was used least by male speakers in the youngest age group. Recall that 3 out of the 4 boys in this group are under 5, so this pattern is probably developmental on account of the stop being easier to produce than the fricative (Eblen 1982; Mowrer & Burger 1991).

The interaction between age and gender had no effect on using any of the variants of (ð). Differences between male and female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups are noticeable, but were not found to be significant.

Table 6-6 Distribution of (ð) variants by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	52	Local [ð]	9	17.3%	18.61	19.06
			Urban [d]	41	78.8%	76.94	24.30
			Urban [z]	1	1.9%	2.78	5.56
			Non-target	1	1.9%	-	-
	female	62	Local [ð]	32	51.2%	42.03	26.95
			Urban [d]	27	43.5%	49.02	14.69
			Urban [z]	1	1.6%	.95	2.13
6-8	male	49	Local [ð]	29	59.2%	58.48	32.18
			Urban [d]	20	40.8%	41.51	32.18
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	81	Local [ð]	39	48.1%	49.45	30.55
			Urban [d]	41	50.6%	49.71	30.48
			Urban [z]	1	1.2%	.83	1.86
9-11	male	90	Local [ð]	83	92.2%	87.91	17.14
			Urban [d]	7	7.8%	12.09	17.14
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	38	Local [ð]	20	52.6%	60.16	28.66
			Urban [d]	18	47.4%	39.84	28.66
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
12-14	male	46	Local [ð]	42	91.3%	91.67	14.43
			Urban [d]	4	8.7%	8.33	14.43
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	42	Local [ð]	26	61.9%	66.78	28.55
			Urban [d]	13	31.0%	26.74	27.87
			Urban [z]	3	7.1%	6.47	8.61
15-17	male	61	Local [ð]	61	100%	100.00	.00
			Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	70	Local [ð]	67	95.7%	95.30	4.00
			Urban [d]	2	2.9%	4.01	4.63
			Urban [z]	1	1.4%	.69	1.39
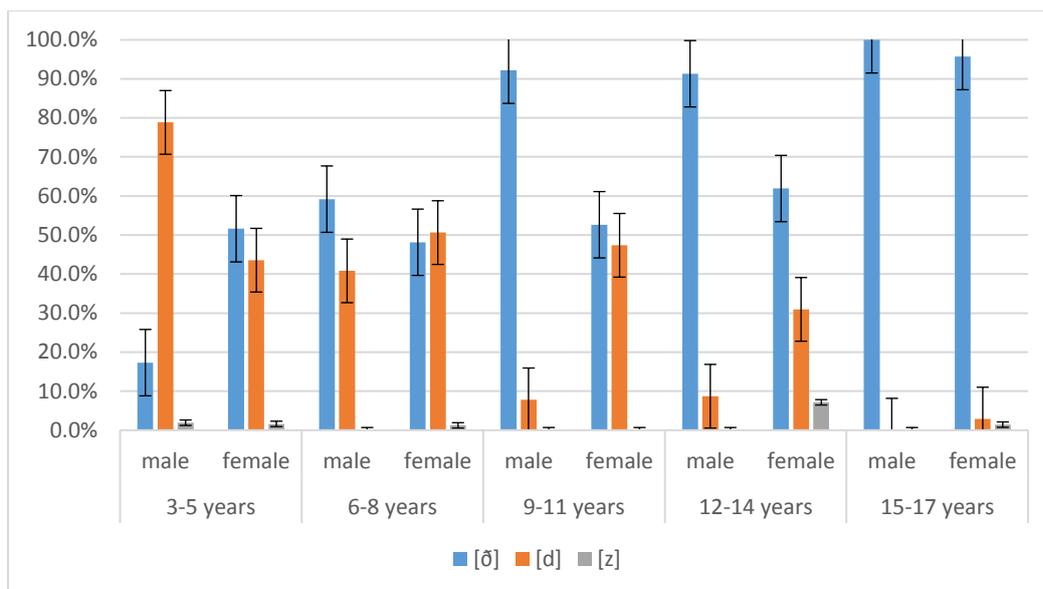
Figure 6-3 Distribution of (ð) variants by age and gender

Significant differences between age groups within each gender were revealed between girls in the 3-5-year-old group and girls in the oldest group as the youngest girls used the local variant significantly less than girls in the oldest group: *p* = .050. They were also found between the youngest boys and those in the 9-11, 12-14 and 15-17-year-old groups. Boys in the youngest group used the local variant significantly less than those in the older age brackets, as table 6.7 shows.

Table 6-7 Significant differences in the realization of (ð) in the speech of male speakers by age

Variant	Age group	Age groups	*P* value
Local [ð]	3-5 years	9-11 years	.002*
		12-14 years	.002*
		15-17 years	.000**
Urban [d]	3-5 years	9-11 years	.005*
		12-14 years	.006*
		15-17 years	.001*

6.1.5 Accommodation and (ð) Variants

As hypothesized, the local variant [ð] was used more in the local interview context than in the urban interview context whereas the urban variants [d] and [z] were used more in the latter, as

shown in table 6.8 below. However, no significant differences were found for using any of the variant. Despite the lack of significant differences in using the variants across interviews, an obvious trend of convergence towards the urban speaker does occur in the speech of participants, as figure 6.4 below demonstrates.

Table 6-8 Distribution of (ð) variants across interviews

Interviewer	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
Local	240	Local [ð]	167	69.6%	61.45	40.27
		Urban [d]	71	29.6%	35.69	38.92
		Urban [z]	1	0.4%	.36	2.26
Urban	156	Local [ð]	85	54.5%	52.24	42.27
		Urban [d]	65	41.7%	41.76	41.00
		Urban [z]	5	3.2%	3.5	12.05
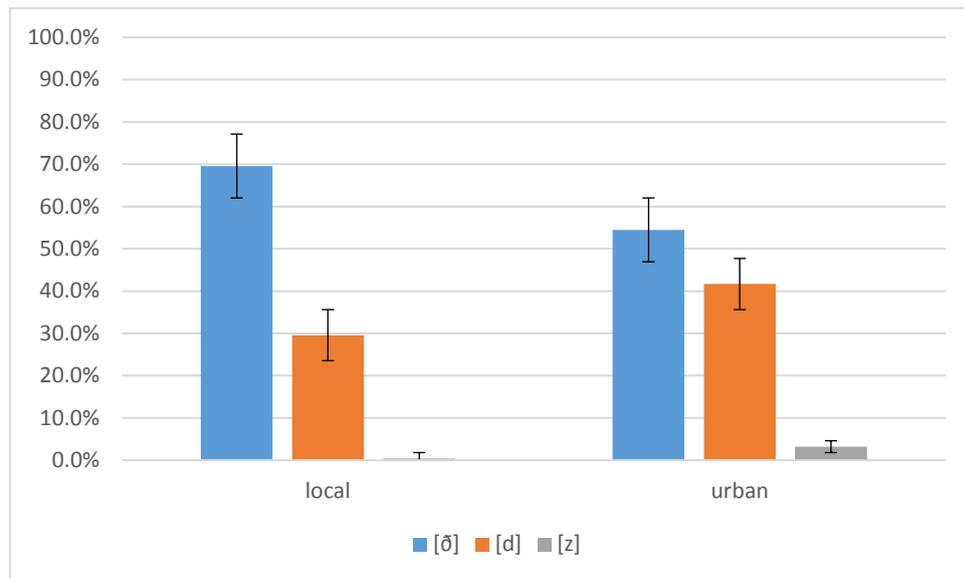
Figure 6-4 Distribution of (ð) across interviews

6.1.5.1 Accommodation and (ð) variants: age

Some accommodation towards the urban speaker occurred in the speech of most participants and this was especially noticeable in the speech of 3-5 and 6-8-year-old speakers, as can be

seen from table 6.9 and figure 6.5 below. However, there were no significant differences in the realization of the variable in the speech of any specific age group.

Table 6-9 Distribution of (ð) variants across interviews by age group

Age group	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Local	42	Local [ð]	17	40.5%	35.35	36.70
			Urban [d]	24	57.1%	53.53	39.68
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	29	Local [ð]	5	17.2%	17.40	26.97
			Urban [d]	22	75.9%	65.93	36.39
			Urban [z]	1	3.4%	5.56	16.67
6-8	Local	53	Local [ð]	27	50.9%	45.54	36.75
			Urban [d]	26	49.1%	54.45	36.75
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	35	Local [ð]	9	25.7%	35.02	39.37
			Urban [d]	25	71.4%	61.26	37.16
			Urban [z]	1	2.9%	3.70	11.11
9-11	Local	60	Local [ð]	47	78.3%	56.67	42.56
			Urban [d]	13	21.7%	43.33	42.56
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	33	Local [ð]	23	69.7%	67.74	40.30
			Urban [d]	10	30.3%	32.25	40.30
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
12-14	Local	31	Local [ð]	22	71%	76.19	38.32
			Urban [d]	8	25.8%	21.77	33.68
			Urban [z]	1	3.2%	2.04	5.40
	Urban	21	Local [ð]	13	61.9%	60.71	45.32
			Urban [d]	6	28.6%	32.14	47.25
			Urban [z]	2	9.5%	7.14	18.90
15-17	Local	54	Local [ð]	54	100%	100	.00
			Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	38	Local [ð]	35	92.1%	89.38	18.27
			Urban [d]	2	5.3%	9.38	18.60
			Urban [z]	1	2.6%	.833	2.36

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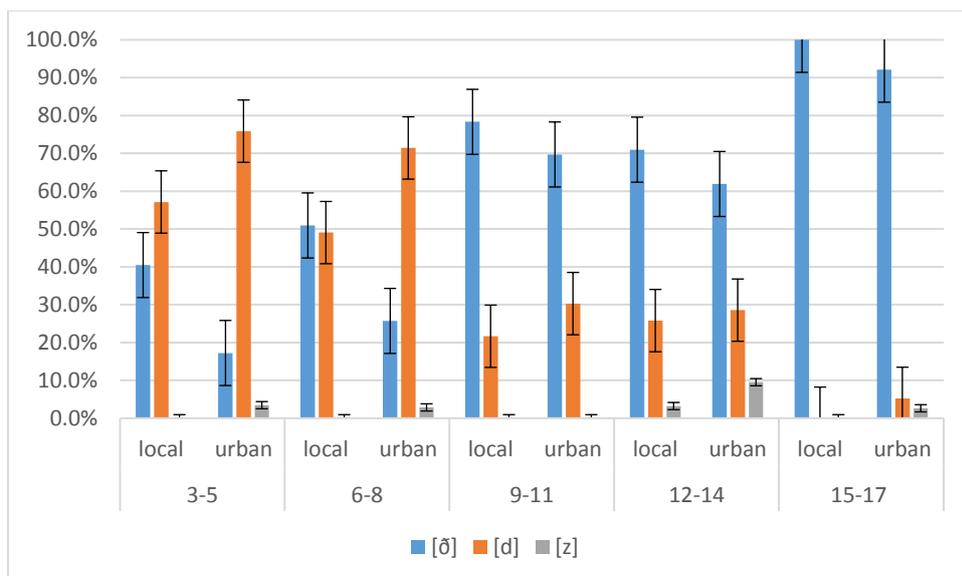
Figure 6-5 Distribution of (ð) variants across interviews by age group

6.1.5.2 Accommodation and (ð) variants: gender

Even though there were no significant differences in the speech of either male or female speakers across interview contexts, a trend of accommodation towards the urban speaker appeared in their speech, as evident in table 6.10 and figure 6.6 below. The difference is more noticeable in the speech of male speakers since use of the local variant is relatively infrequent in the speech of female speakers even in the interview with the local interlocutor.

Table 6-10 Distribution of (ð) variants across interviews by gender

Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
male	Local	122	Local [ð]	101	82.8%	69.56	39.54
			Urban [d]	21	17.2%	30.43	39.54
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	77	Local [ð]	46	59.7%	59.36	46.47
			Urban [d]	30	39%	38.01	44.29
			Urban [z]	1	1.3%	2.63	11.47
female	Local	118	Local [ð]	66	55.9%	54.12	40.44
			Urban [d]	50	42.4%	40.44	38.68
			Urban [z]	1	0.8%	.68	3.11
	Urban	79	Local [ð]	39	49.4%	45.9	38.06
			Urban [d]	35	44.3%	45.16	38.56
			Urban [z]	4	5.1%	4.29	12.79
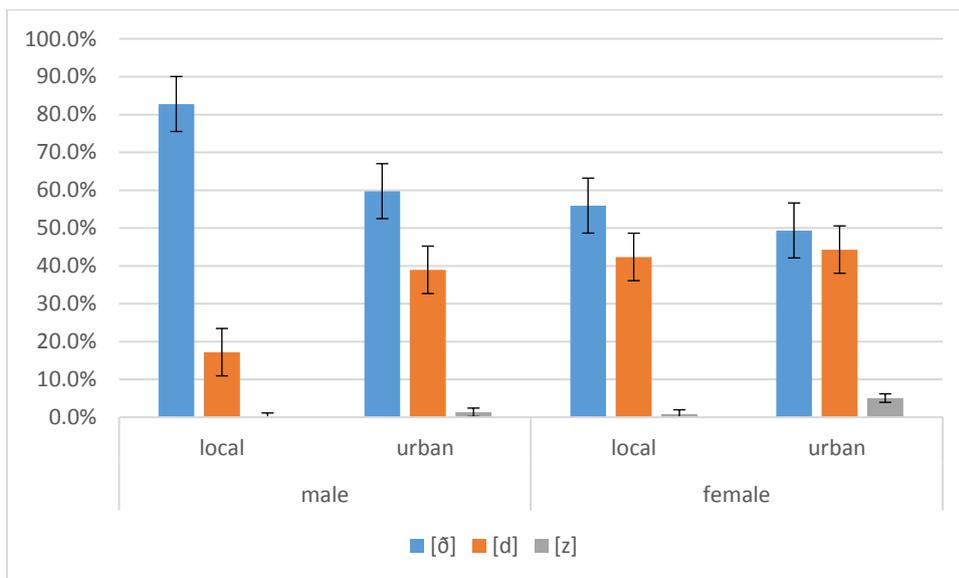
Figure 6-6 Distribution of (ð) variants across interviews contexts by gender

6.1.5.3 Accommodation and (ð) variants: the interaction between age and gender

Apart from male speakers in the oldest group who use the local variant [ð] categorically, some accommodation towards the urban speaker occurred in the speech of most speakers in other age groups. A surprising rise in the use of the local variant with the urban interviewer occurs

in the speech of female speakers in the 9-11-year-old group. However, this is likely to be due to the small number of tokens. Use of the local variant in the speech of girls in this group and in the 12-14-year-old group is actually relatively low overall. In fact, girls in the 9-11-year-old group use the variant significantly less than boys in the same age group in the interview with the local interlocutor: $p = .024$. Likewise, girls in the 12-14-year old group use the local variant significantly less than their male peers in the interview with the urban speaker at $p = .044$. Table 6.11and figure 6.7 below exhibits the use of (ð) variants across interviews by age and gender. [45]

Table 6-11 Distribution of (ð) variants across interviews by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Local	14	Local [ð]	3	21.4%	37.50	47.87
				Urban [d]	11	78.6%	62.50	47.87
		Urban	17	Local [ð]	0	0%	.00	.00
				Urban [d]	16	94.1%	87.50	25.00
				Urban [z]	1	5.9%	12.50	25.00
	female	Local	28[46]	Local [ð]	14	50%	33.64	31.10
				Urban [d]	13	46.4%	46.36	35.85
		Urban	12	Local [ð]	5	41.7%	31.33	30.15
				Urban [d]	6	50%	48.67	36.64
6-8	male	Local	15	Local [ð]	9	60%	39.58	42.70
				Urban [d]	5	40%	60.42	42.70
		Urban	13	Local [ð]	4	30.8%	40.48	42.32
				Urban [d]	9	69.2%	59.52	42.32
	female	Local	38	Local [ð]	18	47.4%	50.32	35.64
				Urban [d]	20	52.6%	49.68	35.64
		Urban	22	Local [ð]	5	22.7%	30.67	37.59
				Urban [d]	16	72.7%	62.67	37.59
				Urban [z]	1	4.5%	6.67	14.90

[45] [z] is only included for groups who used as it was very infrequent.
[46] A non-target production occurred in the speech of this group in both interviews.

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
9-11	male	Local	48	Local [ð]	45	93.8%	82.50	23.63
				Urban [d]	3	6.3%	17.50	23.63
		Urban	22	Local [ð]	18	81.8%	72.73	48.67
				Urban [d]	4	18.2%	27.27	48.67
	female	Local	12	Local [ð]	2	16.7%	22.22	38.49
				Urban [d]	10	83.3%	77.78	38.49
		Urban	11	Local [ð]	5	45.5%	61.11	34.69
				Urban [d]	6	54.5%	38.89	34.69
12-14	male	Local	18	Local [ð]	17	94.4%	94.44	9.62
				Urban [d]	1	5.6%	5.56	9.62
		Urban	10	Local [ð]	9	90%	91.67	14.43
				Urban [d]	1	10%	8.3	14.43
	female	Local	13	Local [ð]	5	38.5%	62.50	47.87
				Urban [d]	7	53.8%	33.93	41.80
				Urban [z]	1	7.7%	3.57	7.14
		Urban	11	Local [ð]	4	36.4%	37.50	47.87
				Urban [d]	5	45.55%	50.00	57.74
				Urban [z]	2	18.2%	12.50	25.00
15-17	male	Local	27	Local [ð]	27	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	15	Local [ð]	15	100%	100	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Local	27	Local [ð]	27	100%	100	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	23	Local [ð]	20	87%	79.58	22.38
				Urban [d]	2	8.7%	18.75	23.94
				Urban [z]	1	4.3%	1.67	3.33
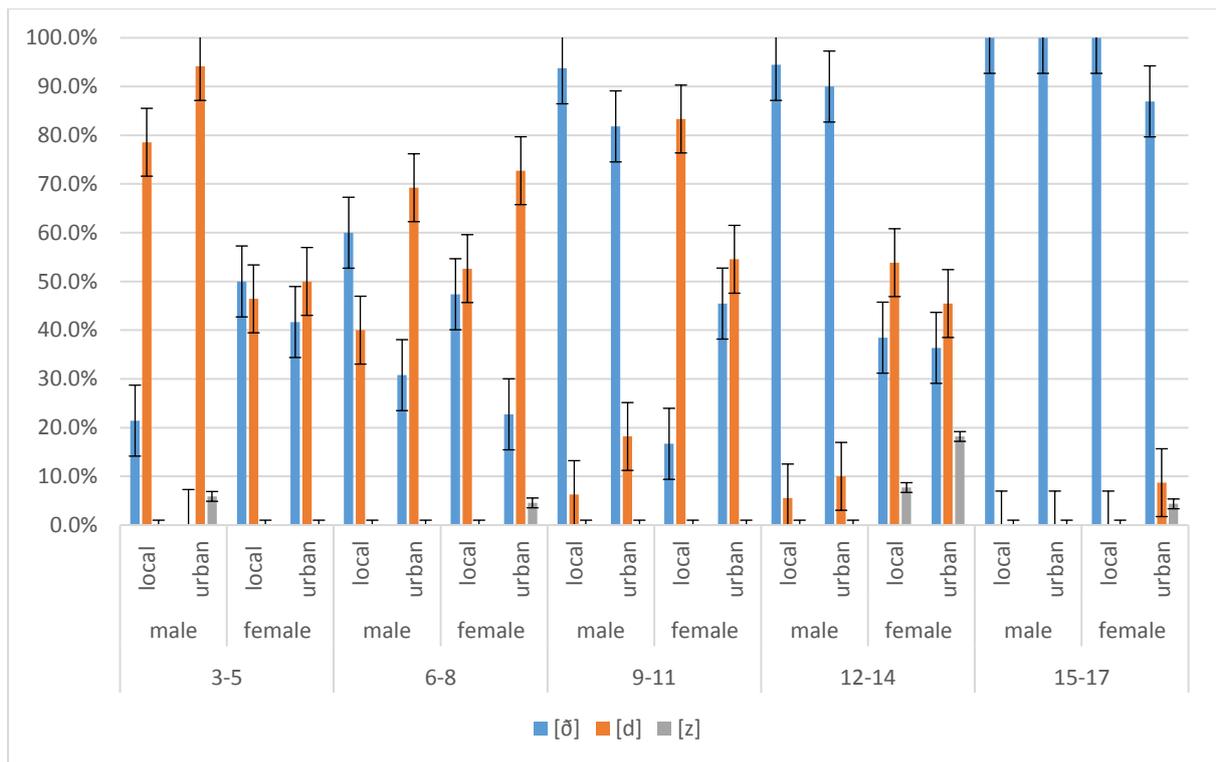
Figure 6-7 Distribution of (ð) variants across interviews by age and gender

6.1.6 Register Variation and (ð) Variants

This section examines register variation in the use of (ð) variants. As with the previous variables discussed, an overlap occurs between the standard and one of the vernacular variants. In the case of (ð), the overlap is with the local variant. Other indications of register variation will, therefore, be discussed in order to have a fuller picture of any such variation that may occur in the realization of the variable. As hypothesized, [ð] was used more frequently in the picture task than it was in the interview context despite the overlap between the standard and local variant. On the other hand, [d] was used more in the interview context, as illustrated in table 6.12 and figure 6.8 below. A paired-samples t test revealed the difference in using the variants to be highly significant at $p = .006$ for [ð] and $p = .010$ for [d].

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Table 6-12 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts

Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
Interview	240	Standard [ð]	167	69.6%	61.45	40.27
		Urban [d]	71	29.6%	35.69	38.92
		Urban [z]	1	0.4%	.36	2.26
Picture task	195	Standard [ð]	156	80%	79.16	33.10
		Urban [d]	36	18.5%	19.14	30.24
		Urban [z]	1	0.5%	.36	2.26
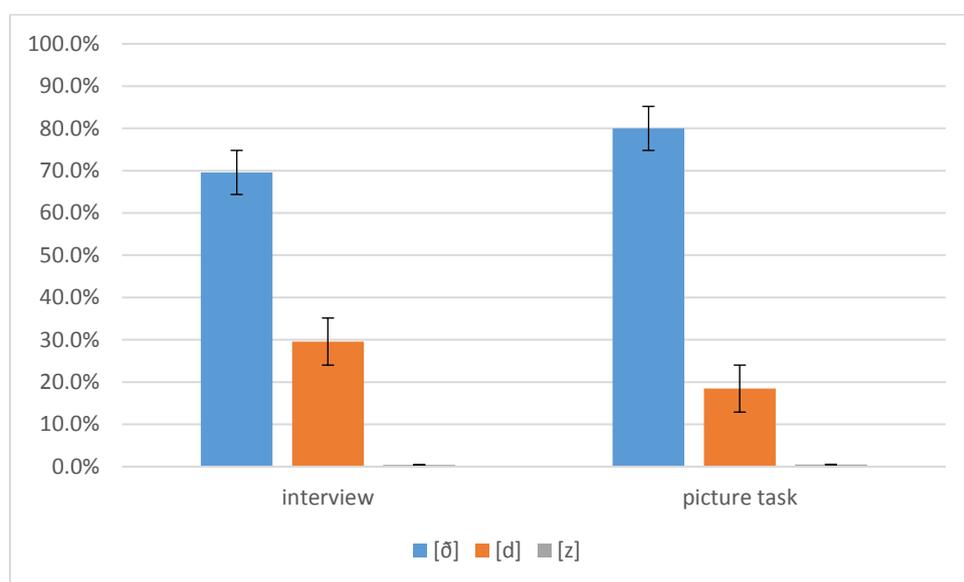
Figure 6-8 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts

6.1.6.1 Register variation and (ð) variants: age

Table 6.13 and figure 6.9 below show that the most noticeable style variation in the realization of the variable occurred in the speech of 6-8, 9-11 and 12-14-year-old speakers. However, significant differences only appeared in the speech of 9-11-year-olds whose use of [ð] was significantly higher in the picture task than in the interview context at $p = .032$.

Table 6-13 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts by age group

Age group	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Interview	42	Standard [ð]	17	40.5%	35.35	36.70
			Urban [d]	24	57.1%	53.53	39.68
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Picture task	43	Standard [ð]	19	44.2%	42.75	37.61
			Urban [d]	21	48.8%	49.74	33.10
			Urban [z]	1	2.3%		
6-8	Interview	53	Standard [ð]	27	50.9%	45.54	36.75
			Urban [d]	26	49.1%	54.45	36.75
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Picture task	42	Standard [ð]	32	76.2%	74.26	36.58
			Urban [d]	10	23.8%	25.74	36.58
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
9-11	Interview	60	Standard [ð]	47	78.3%	56.67	42.56
			Urban [d]	13	21.7%	43.33	42.56
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Picture task	35	Standard [ð]	33	94.3%	95.24	12.60
			Urban [d]	2	5.7%	4.76	12.60
			Urban [z]	0	0%	.00	.00
12-14	Interview	31	Standard [ð]	22	71%	76.19	38.32
			Urban [d]	8	25.8%	21.77	33.68
			Urban [z]	1	3.2%	2.04	5.40
	Picture task	36	Standard [ð]	33	91.7%	92.38	13.57
			Urban [d]	3	8.3%	7.62	13.57
			Urban [z]	0	0%	.00	.00
15-17	Interview	54	Standard [ð]	54	100%	100	.00
			Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Picture task	39	Standard [ð]	39	100%	100.00	.00
			Urban [d]	0	0%	.00	.00
			Urban [z]	0	0%	.00	.00
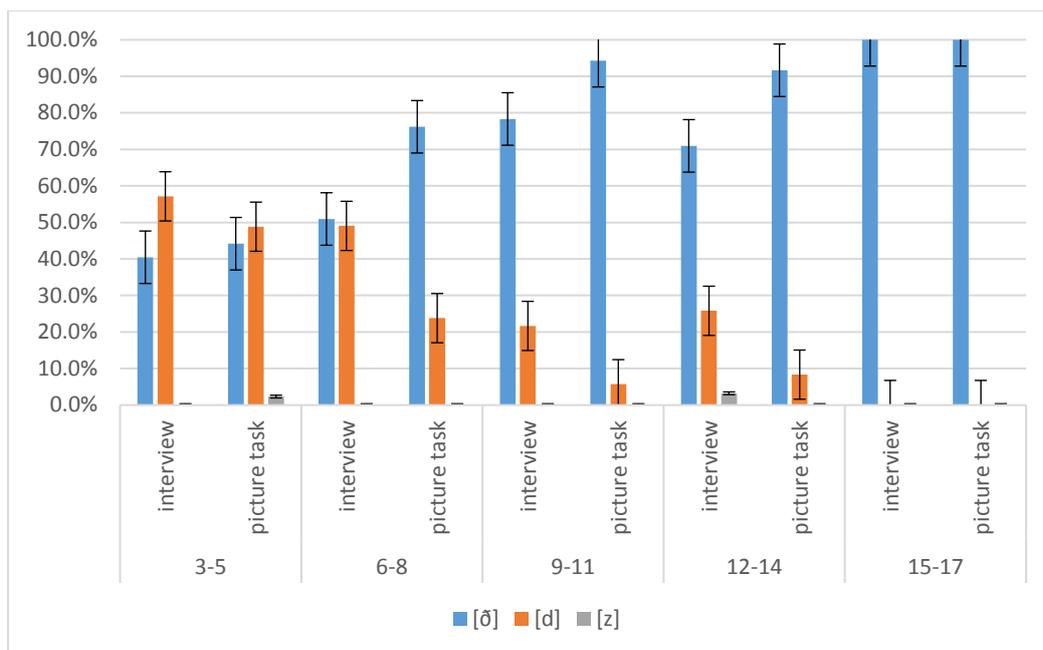
Figure 6-9 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts by age group

6.1.6.2 Register variation and (ð) variants: gender

Male speakers use [ð] slightly less in the picture task than in the interview context. Girls, on the other hand, use [ð] significantly more in the picture task than in the interview context: $p =$ .008. At first glance, this may indicate that gender influences register variation and that such variation mostly occurs in the speech of females. However, the overlap between the standard and local variant and males' general tendency to favour the local variant challenges this proposal. Unlike boys, who used the variant predominantly in both contexts, girls' use of the variant was relatively infrequent in the interview context making the difference in their use of it across contexts statistically significant. Both males and females use the variant similarly in the picture task, as table 6.14 and figure 6.10 below illustrate, which is another indication of style shifting in the speech of female participants.

Table 6-14 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts by gender

Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
male	Interview	122	SA [ð]	101	82.8%	69.56	39.54
			Urban [d]	21	17.2%	30.43	39.54
			Urban [z]	0	0	.00	.00
	Picture task	99	SA [ð]	77	77.8%	78.02	33.46
			Urban [d]	21	21.2%	20.86	31.81
			Urban [z]	0	0%	.00	.00
female	Interview	118	SA [ð]	66	55.9%	54.12	40.44
			Urban [d]	50	42.4%	40.44	38.68
			Urban [z]	1	0.8%	.68	3.11
	Picture task	96	SA [ð]	79	82.3%	80.14	33.57
			Urban [d]	15	15.6%	17.60	29.44
			Urban [z]	1	1%	.68	3.11
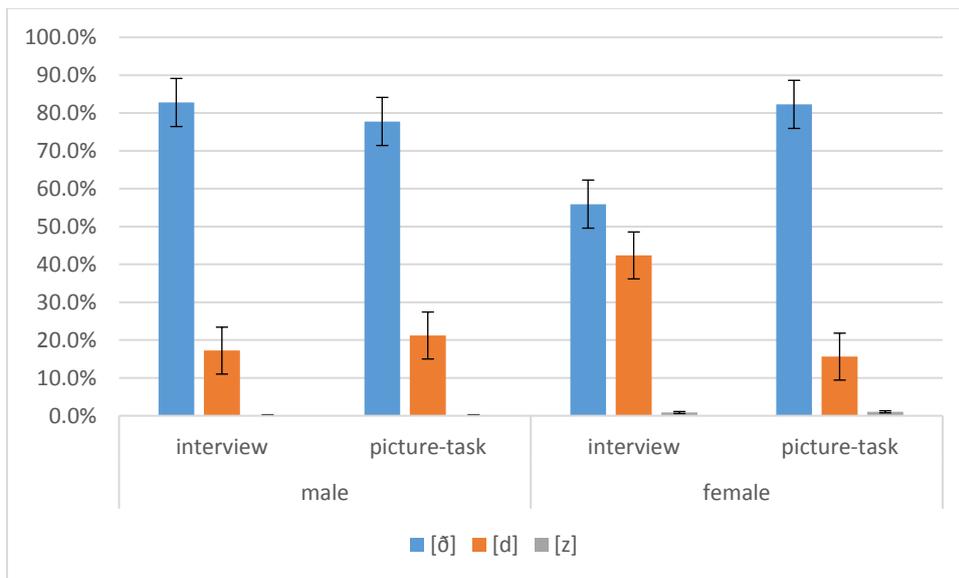
Figure 6-10 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts by gender

6.1.6.3 Register variation and (ð) variants: the interaction between age and gender

For most speakers, use of [ð] was higher in the picture task than in the interview context as can be seen from table 6.15[47] and figure 6.11 below. Noticeable differences appeared in the speech of male and female speakers in the 6-8-year-old group and female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. For example, use of the variant rises from 38.5% in the interview to 94.4% in the picture task amongst 12-14-year-old girls. Participants in the 15-17-year-old group use the variant categorically in both contexts, so no variation in the realization of the variable appeared in their speech.

Even though differences in the realization of the variable were not significant for any particular group, girls' general tendency to favour the use of variants as we have seen so far gives a clear indication that SA plays a role in their linguistic choices contrary to the assumption that SA has a bigger influence on the speech of males (Amara 2005; Daher 1997; Miller 2005;).
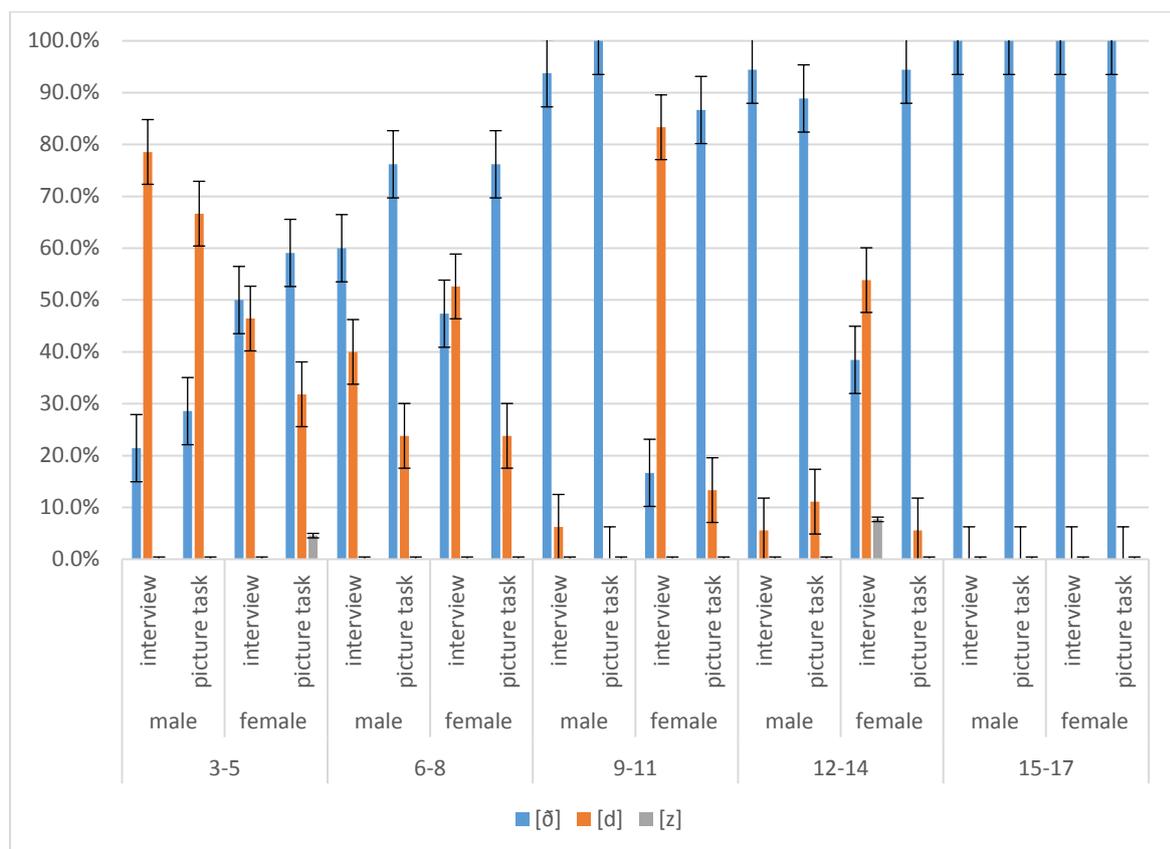
Figure 6-11 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts by age and gender

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[47] [z] was only used once in the picture task (in the speech of 3-5-year-old girls) and is not included in the table.

Table 6-15 Distribution of (ð) variants across contexts by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Interview	14	SA [ð]	3	21.4%	37.50	47.87
				Urban [d]	11	78.6%	62.50	47.87
		Picture task	21	SA [ð]	6	38.6%	27.14	24.96
				Urban [d]	14	66.7%	67.86	25.06
	female	Interview	28[48]	SA [ð]	14	50%	33.64	31.10
				Urban [d]	13	46.4%	46.36	35.85
		Picture task	22	SA [ð]	13	59.1%	55.24	43.85
				Urban [d]	7	31.8%	35.24	33.60
6-8	male	Interview	15	SA [ð]	9	60%	39.58	42.70
				Urban [d]	5	40%	60.42	42.70
		Picture task	21	SA [ð]	16	76.2%	77.08	31.46
				Urban [d]	5	23.8%	22.92	31.46
	female	Interview	38	SA [ð]	18	47.4%	50.32	35.64
				Urban [d]	20	52.6%	49.68	35.64
		Picture task	21	SA [ð]	16	76.2%	72.00	43.82
				Urban [d]	5	23.8%	28.00	43.82
9-11	male	Interview	48	SA [ð]	45	93.8%	82.50	23.63
				Urban [d]	3	6.3%	17.50	23.63
		Picture task	20	SA [ð]	20	100%	100	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Interview	12	SA [ð]	2	16.7%	22.22	38.49
				Urban [d]	10	83.3%	77.78	38.49
		Picture task	15	SA [ð]	13	86.7%	88.89	19.25
				Urban [d]	2	13.3%	11.11	19.25

[48] A non-target production occurred in the speech of this group in the interview with the local speaker.

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Age group	Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
12-14	male	Interview	18	SA [ð]	17	94.4%	94.44	9.62
				Urban [d]	1	5.6%	5.56	9.62
		Picture task	18	SA [ð]	16	88.9%	88.89	19.25
				Urban [d]	2	11.1%	11.11	19.25
	female	Interview	13	SA [ð]	5	38.5%	62.50	47.87
				Urban [d]	7	53.8%	33.93	41.80
		Picture task	18	SA [ð]	16	88.9%	95.00	10.00
				Urban [d]	2	11.1	5.00	10.00
15-17	male	Interview	27	SA [ð]	27	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
		Picture task	19	SA [ð]	19	100%	100.	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Interview	27	SA [ð]	27	100%	100	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00
		Picture task	20	SA [ð]	20	100%	100	.00
				Urban [d]	0	0	.00	.00

6.1.7 Summary and Discussion of (ð) results

The overall results for the variation of (ð) show that the local variant is the most common throughout the data and in the speech of most participants. It is primarily used in the picture task followed by the interview with the local speaker given the overlap between the local and standard realizations. It is least used in the interview with the urban speaker. The variable is lexically conditioned and two lexical items, /ʔiða/ 'if' and /ʔustæːð/ 'teacher' were found to be almost invariably realized with [z] regardless of age or gender. It is likely that these items were initially borrowed from urban varieties and became invariably realized with the urban variant due to their frequency (Bybee 2002). This frequency effect will be discussed further in the conclusion to this chapter as similar conditioning occurs in the realization of (θ) below.

Older speakers generally use the local variant more than younger speakers. Female speakers use it less than males though there were no significant differences. Gender differences within age groups are mainly concentrated in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. Girls in these groups strongly favour the urban variants by comparison to their male peers. Of all the variables discussed so far, girls in the 9-11-year-old group, especially, seem to lead in the use of the urban variants. Al-Ali & Arafa (2010) analyse patterns of variation relevant to this variable in

a similar dialect background in Jordan.[49] They report [ð] as the most frequent variant at 57% followed by [d] at 39%. Occurrence of [z] is reported as very infrequent at 3%. At first glance, the distribution may appear comparable to the one presented in this study, however, a closer look reveals that the change in the direction of the stop is more advanced in their community. Use of [z] is more advanced in the community under study due to frequency considerations in a few lexical items. Their speaker sample is older than the one in the study, but their youngest speakers do overlap with the oldest speakers in this study.[50] Their results show that 16-year-old speakers use the local variant 63% of the time again indicating a more advanced change in the direction of the stop in their sample as use of the urban variant [d] was only at 1.5% in the speech of the oldest group in this study. Gender differences appear greater in their study with male speakers using the local variant at 70% by comparison to females who use it at 30% only. These results are not further divided by gender, but it is safe to assume that use of the urban variant by 16-old females in their study is far higher than what we see in the speech of 15-17-year-old girls in this study. In a study investigating a rural dialect of Palestinian Arabic in Bethlehem, Amara (2005) reports similar results whereby men favour the local variant [ð] at 66% by comparison to women's 57%. The present study surveys an older sample (15-over 66) and results are not broken by age group, however, it noted that use of the urban variant is generally lower in the speech of the oldest and youngest speakers, as younger speakers are normally less mobile than young and middle-aged adults.

6.2 Analysis of (θ)

6.2.1 Descriptive Statistics and Variant Distribution

Three variants of (θ) were found in the data: the local [θ] and the urban [s] and [t]. The local variant was the most common at 61.6%, followed by [t] at 35.2%. The variant [s] was used only sporadically at 3.2 %, as table 6.16 below demonstrates.

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[49] One that traditionally preserves interdental fricatives.
[50] They compare the linguistic behaviour of 16-year-old speakers to that of 24-year-old speakers based on their relevant networks.

Table 6-16 Distribution of (θ) variants across data

Total (θ) tokens	Local [θ]		Urban [t]		Urban [s]	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
1203	740	61.5 %	423	35.2 %	40	3.3 %

When coding for (θ) in the data under study, it was found that [t] was used categorically in the realization of standard numbers: 'two' /ʔiθnæ:n/, 'three' /θalæ:θa/, 'eight' /θamæ:nja/ and their derivations such as 'thirty' /θalæ:θu:n/ and 'eighty' /θamæ:nu:n/ in their cardinal form. These were consistently realized as [tne:n], [tlæ:ta], [tmæ:na], [tlæ:ti:n] and [tmæ:ni:n] regardless of age, gender or interview context. However, the local variant was overwhelmingly used in the realization of these numbers in their ordinal form as in [θæ:ni:] 'second', [θæ:lıθ] 'third' and [θæ:mın] 'eighth', although variation in their realization did occur and some speakers used [t]. Table 6.17 below shows the distribution of (θ) variants after excluding tokens invariably realized with [t].

Table 6-17 Distribution of (θ) variants- excluding tokens invariably realized with [t]

Total (θ) tokens	Local [θ]		Urban [t]		Urban [s]	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
1042	740	71%	262	25.14 %	40	3.8 %

Tokens invariably realized with [t] are also excluded from the discussion on age, gender, accommodation and register variation since their use was not subject to any of these factors.

6.2.2 Variation of (θ) in Relation to Age

All groups, apart from the youngest, use the local variant with a frequency of over 50%. The youngest group use the urban stop variant [t] slightly more than they use the local variant [θ]. Frequent use of the stop variant in the youngest group may be developmental in part as we have seen in the case of the other two interdentals (ðˤ) and (ð) above. A closer look at the results

of variation in the youngest group does show that use of [t] is noticeably higher in the speech of 3-4-year-olds at 60% of the time by comparison to 5-year-olds who only use it at 40%.

Use of the local variant increases in a linear fashion, with a slight dip in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-olds. It was most frequent in the speech of the oldest group at 95.1%, as exhibited in table 6.18 and figure 6.12 below.

Table 6-18 Distribution of (θ) variants by age group

Age group	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	110	Local [θ]	52	47.3%	42.53	33.17
		Urban [t]	54	49.1%	52.18	27.43
		Urban [s]	4	3.6%	5.29	10.96
6-8	135	Local [θ]	94	69.6%	63.99	22.78
		Urban [t]	41	30.4%	36.99	22.78
		Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
9-11	258	Local [θ]	172	66.7%	63.77	32.56
		Urban [t]	73	28.3%	31.98	32.33
		Urban [s]	13	5%	4.25	6.18
12-14	234	Local [θ]	132	56.4%	69.15	32.73
		Urban [t]	87	37.2%	27.45	25.82
		Urban [s]	15	6.4%	3.40	9.00
15-17	305	Local [θ]	290	95.1%	96.83	4.76
		Urban [t]	7	2.3%	1.85	1.59
		Urban [s]	8	2.6%	1.31	372
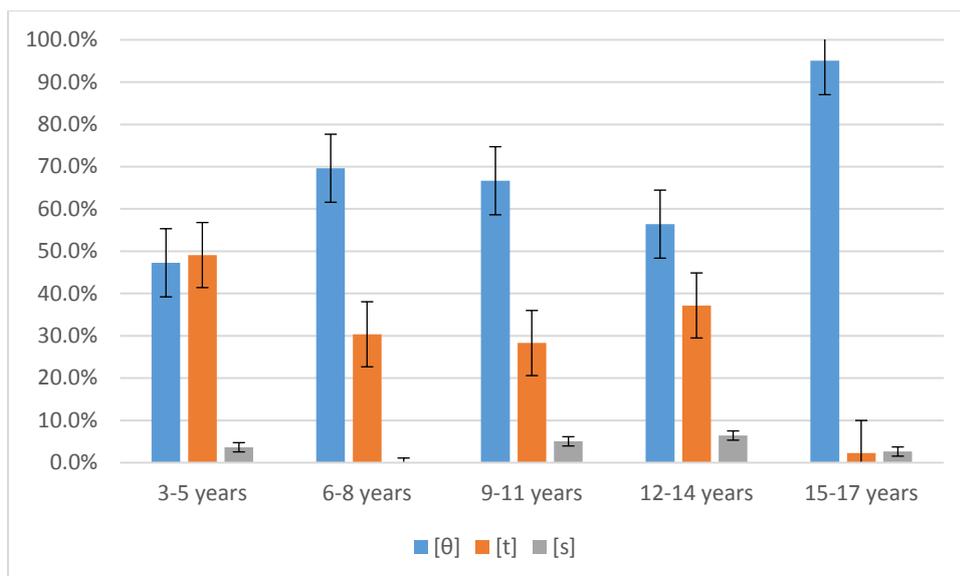
Figure 6-12 Distribution of (θ) variants by age group

GLM revealed age to have a highly significant effect on the realization of the variable. Older speakers use the local [θ] variant significantly more than younger speakers at $p = .002$. Younger speakers, in turn, use the urban variant [t] significantly more than older speakers: $p < .001$. The urban fricative variant [s] occurred sporadically in the data and age had no effect on its use. Significant differences in the use of the local variant were mainly between speakers in the oldest and youngest groups at $p = .001$. Significant differences in using [t] appeared between 15-17-year-old speakers and those in the 3-5, 6-8 and 9-11-year-old groups, as table 6.19 below demonstrates.

Table 6-19 Significant differences in the use of [t] by age

Variant	Age group	Age groups	*P* value
Urban [t]	15-17 years	3-5 years	.000**
		6-8 years	.012*
		9-11 years	.050*

This pattern of variation as a function of age is fairly consistent in all individual tasks.

6.2.3 Variation of (θ) in Relation to Gender

As illustrated in table 6.20 and figure 6.13 below, both genders use the local variant, [θ] predominantly, but its use is noticeably less frequent in the speech of females who, in turn, tend to use the urban variants more than males. These differences, however, were not found to be statistically significant.

Table 6-20 Distribution of (θ) variants by gender

Gender	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
male		Local [θ]	386	78%	72.02	32.29
	495	Urban [t]	96	19.4%	25.96	30.70
		Urban [s]	13	2.6%	2.02	4.50
female		Local [θ]	354	64.7%	61.68	30.63
	547	Urban [t]	166	30.3%	34.83	26.33
		Urban [s]	27	4.9%	3.49	8.80
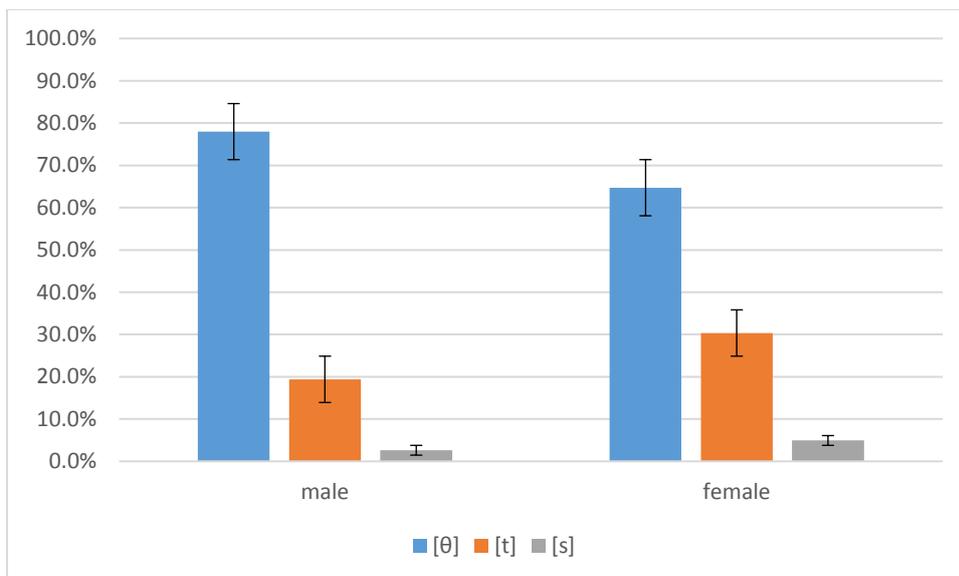
Figure 6-13 Distribution of (θ) variants by gender

6.2.4 Variation of (θ) in Relation to the Interaction between Age and Gender

As illustrated in table 6.21 and figure 6.14 below, use of the local variant [θ] was highest in the speech of 15-17-year-old males who used it near-categorically at 99.2% followed by females

in the same group who used it overwhelmingly at 92.4%. It was used least by 3-5-year-old boys with a noticeable difference from girls in the same group. This is likely due to developmental considerations, at least in part, since three out of the four boys in this group are under 5 years, whereas three out of the five girls in the group are at least 5 years old.

Comparable to what we have seen with previous variables, increase in using the local variant with age was more consistent in the speech of boys,[51] whereas girls' use of the variant decreases drastically between the ages of 6 and 14 before it peaks to about 92% in the speech of 15-17-year-old girls. Significant gender differences were concentrated in the 9-11-year-old cohort. Girls in the group use the local variant significantly less than their male peers at $p = .010$, and use the urban variant [t] significantly more: $p = .001$.
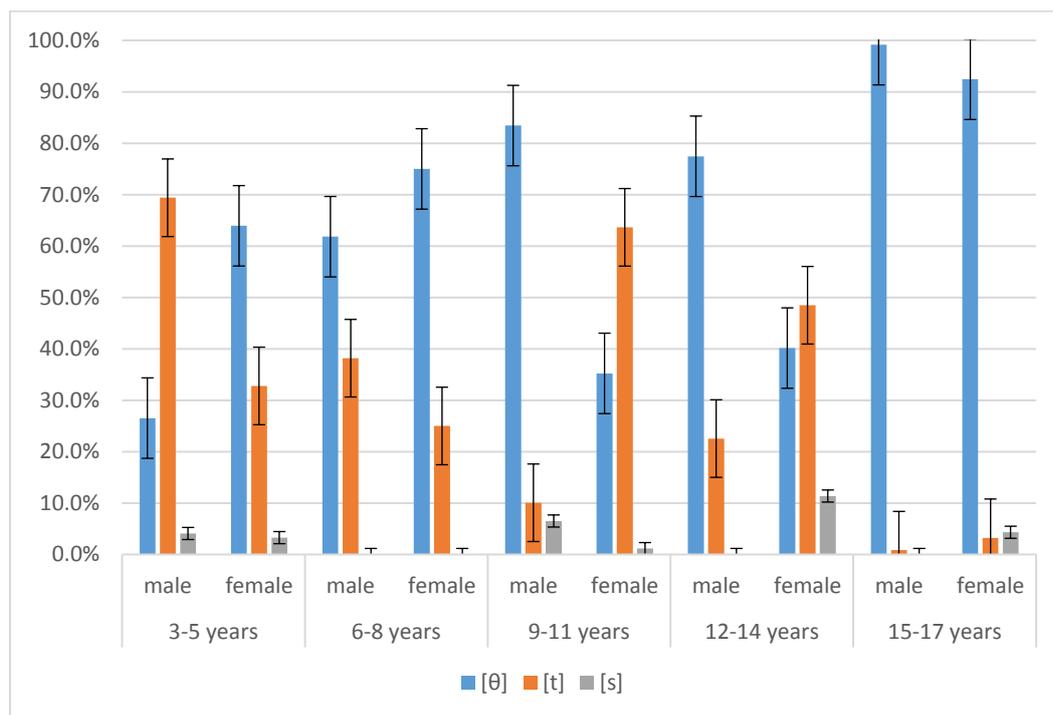
Figure 6-14 Distribution of (θ) variants by age and gender

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[51] Boys in the youngest group used the local variant significantly less than boys in the 9-11, 12-14 and 15-17 groups.

Table 6-21 Distribution of (θ) variants by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	49	Local [θ]	13	26.5%	29.68	28.14
			Urban [t]	34	69.4%	66.75	25.07
			Urban [s]	2	4.1%	3.57	4.12
	female	61	Local [θ]	39	63.9%	52.81	36.19
			Urban [t]	20	32.8%	40.52	25.53
			Urban [s]	2	3.3%	6.67	14.91
6-8	male	55	Local [θ]	34	61.8%	60.58	23.49
			Urban [t]	21	38.2%	39.42	23.49
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	80	Local [θ]	60	75%	66.72	24.55
			Urban [t]	20	25%	33.28	24.55
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
9-11	male	169	Local [θ]	141	83.4%	85.95	23.58
			Urban [t]	17	10.1%	8.02	16.04
			Urban [s]	11	6.5%	6.03	8.04
	female	88	Local [θ]	31	35.2%	34.20	7.15
			Urban [t]	56	63.6%	63.93	8.37
			Urban [s]	1	1.1%	1.86	1.63
12-14	male	102	Local [θ]	79	77.5%	88.73	19.53
			Urban [t]	23	22.5%	11.27	19.53
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	132	Local [θ]	53	40.2%	54.47	34.90
			Urban [t]	64	48.5%	39.58	24.93
			Urban [s]	15	11.4%	5.95	11.90
15-17	male	120	Local [θ]	119	99.2%	99.36	1.28
			Urban [t]	1	0.8%	.64	1.28
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	185	Local [θ]	171	92.4%	94.30	5.86
			Urban [t]	6	3.2%	3.06	.62
			Urban [s]	8	4.3%	2.63	5.26

6.2.5 Accommodation and (θ) Variants

The local variant [θ] was the majority variant in both interviews. However, as hypothesised, it was used more frequently in the interview with the local interviewer. Speakers used the urban

variants [t] and [s] more in the interview with the urban interviewer. A paired-samples t test revealed that these differences were highly significant. Speakers used the local variant [θ] significantly more with the local interviewer than they did with the urban interviewer: $p = .003$. They used the urban stop variant [t] significantly more in the interview with the urban speaker at $p = .009$. The fricative urban variant was also used significantly more in the interview with the urban speaker despite its overall sporadic use: $p = .030$. Table 6.22 and figure 6.15 below demonstrate use of (θ) variants across interview contexts.

Table 6-22 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews

Interviewer	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
Local	490	Local [θ]	378	77.1%	65.10	37.25
		Urban [t]	97	19.8%	33.71	36.75
		Urban [s]	15	3.1%	1.20	4.18
Urban	326	Local [θ]	177	54.3%	53.61	38.24
		Urban [t]	128	39.3%	43.62	37.82
		Urban [s]	21	6.4%	2.77	8.03
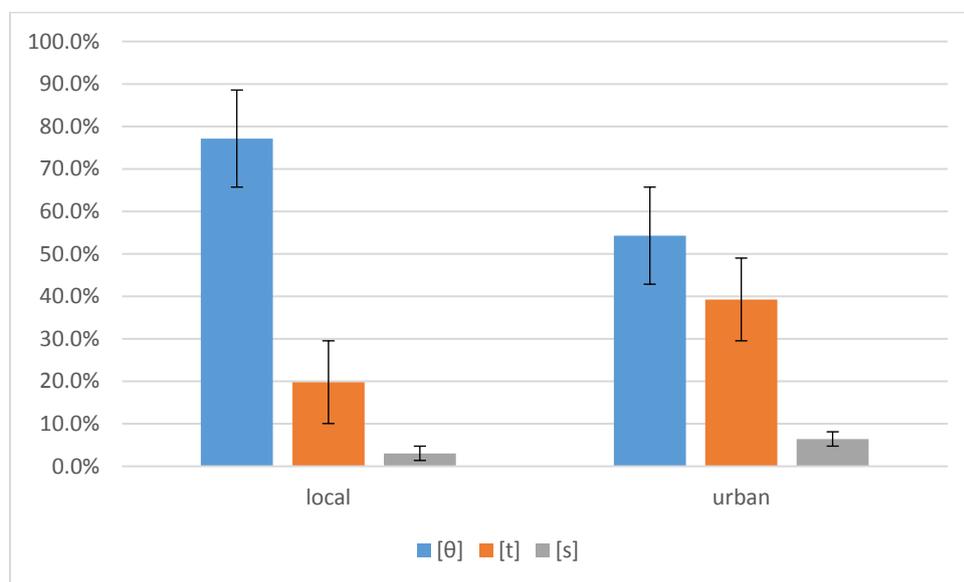
Figure 6-15 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews

6.2.5.1 Accommodation and (θ) variants: age

Accommodation towards the urban speakers occurred in varying degrees in the speech of all groups including the oldest. It was most noticeable in the speech of 3-5, 9-11 and 12-14-year-olds. The urban variant [t] was actually the majority variant in the speech of these group in the urban interview context, as evident from table 6.23 and figure 6.16 below. Significant differences in using the local variant [θ] across interviews appeared in the speech of 9-11-year-old speakers who used the variant significantly less in the interview with the urban interlocutor: $p = .036$.

Table 6-23 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews by age group

Age group	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Local	35	Local [θ]	17	48.6%	33.33	36.32
			Urban [t]	18	51.4%	66.67	36.32
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	27	Local [θ]	9	33.3%	31.11	27.44
			Urban [t]	18	66.7%	68.89	27.44
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
6-8	Local	44	Local [θ]	25	59.5%	62.36	36.19
			Urban [t]	12	27.3%	37.64	36.19
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
	Urban	42	Local [θ]	25	59.5%	42.06	38.87
			Urban [t]	17	40.5%	57.94	38.87
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
9-11	Local	125	Local [θ]	96	76.8%	65.29	36.38
			Urban [t]	23	18.4%	31.59	6.28
			Urban [s]	6	4.8%	3.13	6.28
	Urban	93	Local [θ]	38	40.9%	47.94	42.44
			Urban [t]	48	51.9%	43.81	43.25
			Urban [s]	7	7.5%	8.25	11.15
12-14	Local	116	Local [θ]	67	57.8%	71.17	33.65
			Urban [t]	42	36.2%	25.97	27.09
			Urban [s]	7	6%	2.86	7.56
	Urban	77	Local [θ]	29	37.7%	59.51	39.86
			Urban [t]	40	51.9%	35.29	33.34
			Urban [s]	8	10.4%	5.19	13.74

15-17	Local	170	Local [θ]	166	97.6%	98.42	3.22
			Urban [t]	2	1.2%	.85	1.59
			Urban [s]	2	1.2%	.74	2.08
	Urban	87	Local [θ]	76	87.4%	91.71	1036
			Urban [t]	5	5.7%	6.21	8.70
			Urban [s]	6	6.9%	2.08	2.89
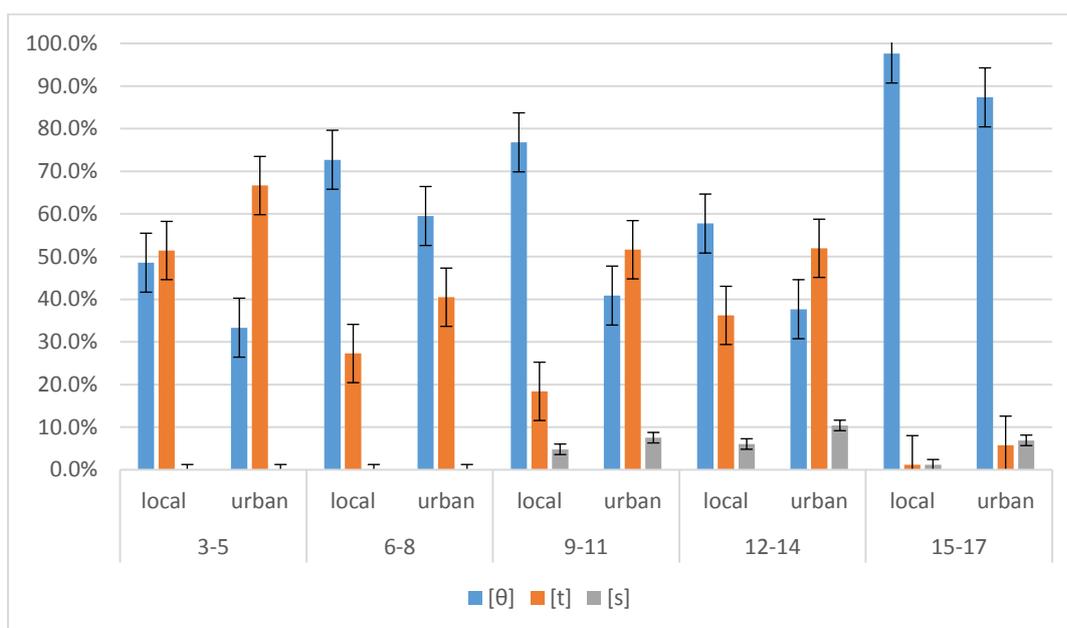
Figure 6-16 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews by age group

6.2.5.2 Accommodation and (θ) variants: gender

Table 6.24 and figure 6.17 below indicate that accommodation to the urban interlocutor occurred in the speech of both male and female speakers. Such accommodation was only significant in the speech of female speakers, however, as their use of the urban variant [t] increased significantly in the urban interview context at $p < .001$, whereas their use of the local variant decreased significantly: $p < .001$.

Table 6-24 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews by gender

Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
male	Local	254	Local [θ]	202	79.5%	65.56	41.67
			Urban [t]	37	14.6%	33.29	41.87
			Urban [s]	6	25	1.15	3.94
	Urban	140	Local [θ]	94	67.1%	65.85	36.19
			Urban [t]	41	29.3%	31.60	35.82
			Urban [s]	5	4%	2.55	7.65
female	Local	245	Local [θ]	176	71.8%	64.68	33.80
			Urban [t]	60	24.5%	34.09	32.48
			Urban [s]	9	3.7%	1.23	4.49
	Urban	186	Local [θ]	83	44.6%	42.54	37.45
			Urban [t]	87	46.8%	54.49	37.07
			Urban [s]	16	8.6%	2.97	8.54
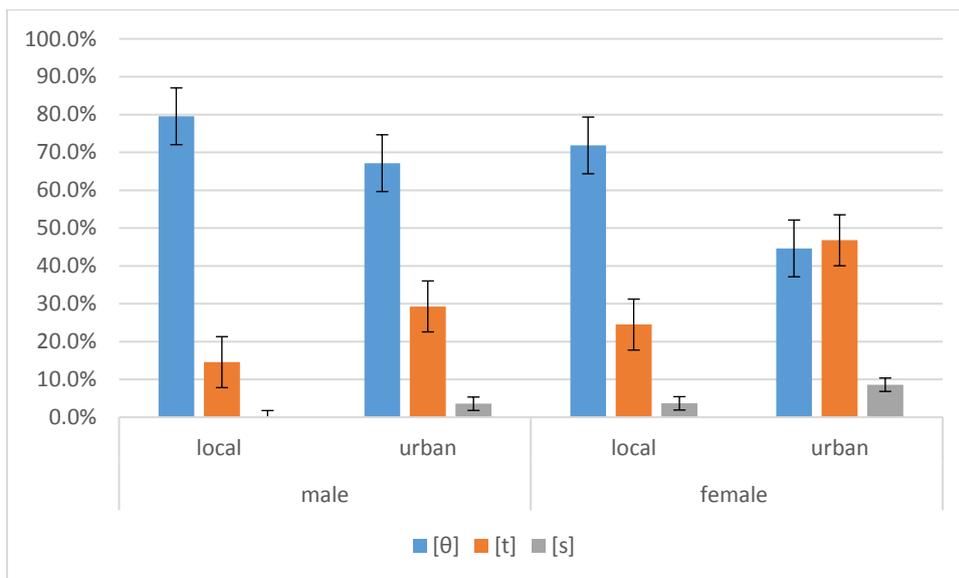
Figure 6-17 Distribution of (θ) variants across interview contexts by gender

6.2.5.3 Accommodation and (θ) variants: the interaction between age and gender

Most speakers in most groups accommodated their speech towards the urban interviewer despite some surprising patterns where a larger proportion of the local variant was used with the urban interlocutor, such as in the speech of boys in the two youngest groups. The differences

were small, however, and the general accommodation pattern was in the direction of urban realizations. Such accommodation was most noticeable in the speech of female speakers in the 3-5 and 6-8-year-old cohorts and was revealed to be significant in the speech of both groups at $p = .029$ for 3-5-year-old girls and $p = .018$ for 6-8-year-old girls.

Like we have seen with previous variables, 9-11 and 12-14-year-old girls strongly favour the urban variants even in the local interview context. As such, accommodation in their speech does not appear to be statistically significant. In fact, girls in the 9-11-year-old group used the local variant significantly less than their male peers in both interview contexts ($p = .017$ in the local interview context and $p = .015$ in the urban interview context). Some accommodation also seemed to occur in the speech of 12-14-year-old boys. Table 6.25 and figure 6.18 below demonstrate the use of (θ) variants across interview contexts by age and gender.

Table 6-25 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Local	14	Local [θ]	1	7.1%	12.50	25.00
				Urban [t]	13	92.9%	87.50	25.00
		Urban	12	Local [θ]	3	25%	33.33	23.57
				Urban [t]	9	75%	66.67	23.57
	female	Local	21	Local [θ]	16	76.2%	50.00	37.27
				Urban [t]	5	23%	50.00	3.27
		Urban	15	Local [θ]	6	40%	29.33	32.86
				Urban [t]	9	60%	70.67	32.86
6-8	male	Local	12	Local [θ]	5	41.7%	41.67	41.94
				Urban [t]	7	58.3%	58.33	41.94
		Urban	20	Local [θ]	11	55%	46.42	41.03
				Urban [t]	9	45%	5357	41.03
	female	Local	32	Local [θ]	27	84.4%	78.92	23.00
				Urban [t]	5	15.6%	21.08	23.00
		Urban	22	Local [θ]	14	63.6%	38.57	41.52
				Urban [t]	8	36.4%	61.42	41.53

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
9-11	male	Local	102	Local [θ]	88	86.3%	87.85	20.93
				Urban [t]	8	7.8%	6.67	13.33
				Urban [s]	6	5.9%	5.48	7.86
		Urban	44	Local [θ]	30	68.2%	74.63	36.05
				Urban [t]	9	20.5%	13.24	26.47
				Urban [s]	5	11.40%	12.13	14.02
	female	Local	23	Local [θ]	8	34.8%	34.20	30.61
				Urban [t]	15	65.2%	64.81	30.60
		Urban	49	Local [θ]	8	16.3%	12.35	11.35
				Urban [t]	39	79.6%	84.57	14.14
				Urban [s]	2	4.1%	3.08	2.83
12-14	male	Local	56	Local [θ]	47	83.9%	92.50	13.00
				Urban [t]	9	16.1%	7.50	13.00
		Urban	29	Local [θ]	16	55.2%	81.15	32.63
				Urban [t]	13	44.8%	18.84	32.63
	female	Local	60	Local [θ]	20	33.3%	55.18	36.82
				Urban [t]	33	55%	39.82	27.53
				Urban [s]	7	11.7%	5.00	10.00
		Urban	48	Local [θ]	13	27.1%	43.28	40.60
				Urban [t]	27	56.3%	47.62	32.24
				Urban [s]	8	16.7%	9.09	18.18
15-17	male	Local	61	Local [θ]	61	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [t]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	35	Local [θ]	34	97.1%	97.50	5.00
				Urban [t]	1	2.9%	2.50	5.00
	female	Local	109	Local [θ]	105	96.3%	96.83	4.18
				Urban [t]	2	1.8%	1.70	1.99
				Urban [s]	2	1.8%	1.47	2.94
		Urban	52	Local [θ]	42	80.8%	85.92	11.67
				Urban [t]	4	7.7%	9.91	10.73
				Urban [s]	6	11.5%	4.17	8.33
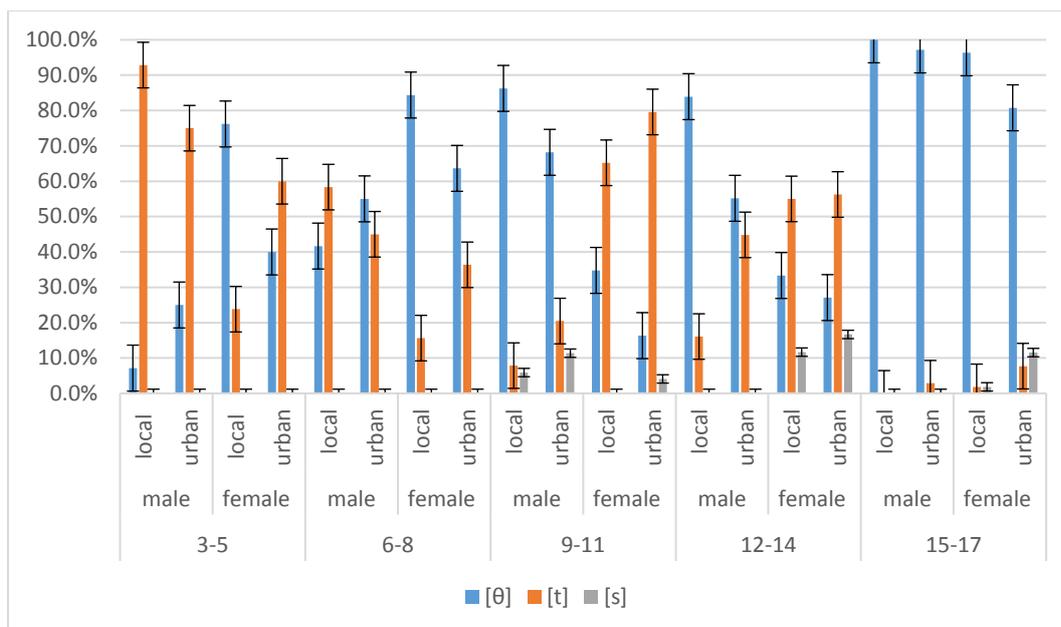
Figure 6-18 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews by age and gender

6.2.6 Register Variation and (θ) Variants

As with the other interdental variables discussed above, the standard and local variants overlap in the case of (θ). However, use of the [θ] was still more frequent in the picture task as hypothesized whereas use of the urban variant [t] was more frequent in the interview context, as table 6.26 and figure 6.19 below exhibit. The urban fricative [s] was used highly sporadically in both contexts, but it was still used more in the interview than in the picture task. The differences in using [θ] and [t] across contexts were found to be highly significant ($p = .002$ for [θ] and $p = .001$ for [t]).

Table 6-26 Distribution of (θ) variants across interviews

Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
Interview	490	SA [θ]	378	77.1%	65.10	37.25
		Urban [t]	97	19.8%	33.71	36.75
		Urban [s]	15	3.1%	1.20	4.18
Picture task	226	SA [θ]	185	81.9%	80.04	29.46
		Urban [t]	37	16.4%	17.93	25.03
		Urban [s]	4	1.8%	2.08	8.60
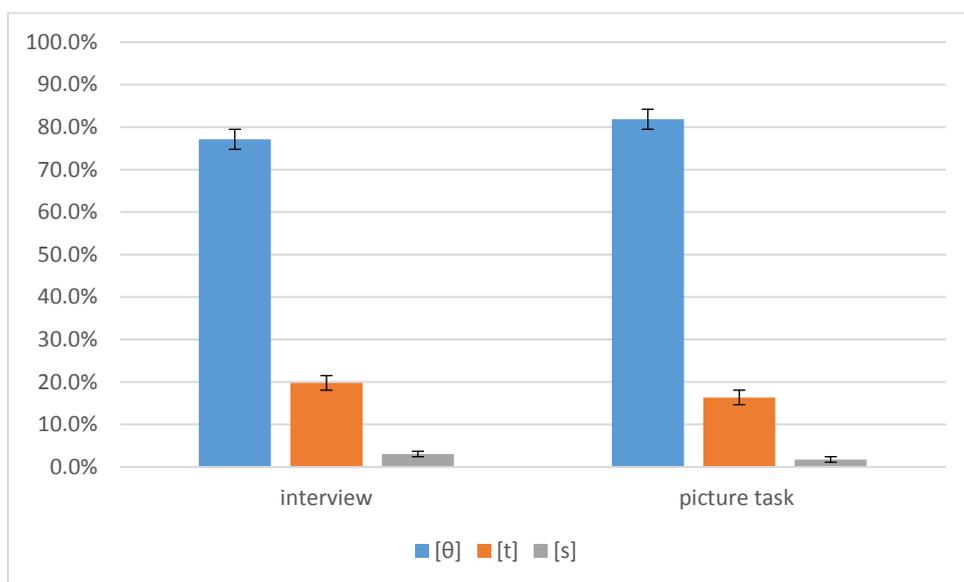
Figure 6-19 Distribution of (θ) variants across contexts

6.2.6.1 Register variation and (θ) variants: age

Speakers in most groups used the standard variant [θ] more in the picture task than they did in the interview context. In the case of 15-17-year-old speakers, the variant was used categorically in the picture task and near-categorically in the interview context with minimal differences. Most differences appeared in the speech of 3-5, 9-11 and 12-14-year-old speakers, as table 6.27 figure 6.20 below illustrate. These differences were significant for 3-5-year-old speakers who used the standard variant [θ] significantly more in the picture task at $p = .016$ and used the urban variant [t] significantly more in the interview context: $p = .002$. They were also significant in the speech of the 12-14-year-olds as speakers in this group used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task at $p = .048$ and used the urban variant [t] significantly more in the interview context: $p = .030$.
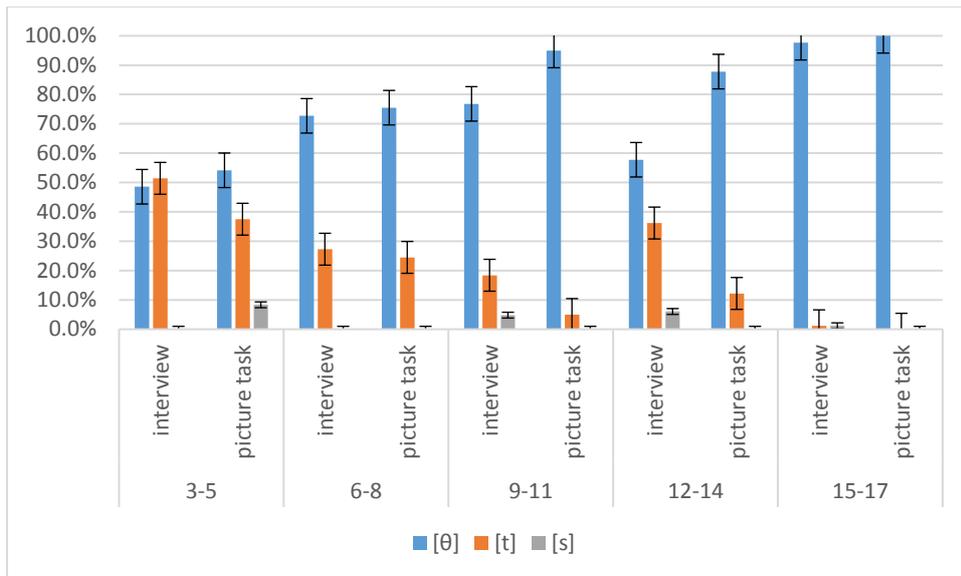
Figure 6-20 Distribution of (θ) across contexts by age group

Table 6-27 Distribution of (θ) variants across context by age group

Age group	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Interview	35	SA [θ]	17	48.6%	33.33	36.32
			Urban [t]	18	51.4%	66.67	36.32
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
	Picture task	48	SA [θ]	26	54.2%	54.44	38.51
			Urban [t]	18	37.5%	36.52	27.49
			Urban [s]	4	8%	9.26	16.90
6-8	Interview	44	SA [θ]	25	59.5%	62.36	36.19
			Urban [t]	12	27.3%	37.64	36.19
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
	Picture task	49	SA [θ]	37	75.5%	70.16	30.60
			Urban [t]	12	24.5%	29.84	30.60
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
9-11	Interview	125	SA [θ]	96	76.8%	65.29	36.38
			Urban [t]	23	18.4%	31.59	6.28
			Urban [s]	6	4.8%	3.13	6.28
	Picture task	40	SA [θ]	38	95%	95.24	8.13
			Urban [t]	2	5%	4.76	8.13
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00

12-14	Interview	116	SA [θ]	67	57.8%	71.17	33.65
			Urban [t]	42	36.2%	25.97	27.09
			Urban [s]	7	6%	2.86	7.56
	Picture task	41	SA [θ]	36	87.8%	78.62	18.73
			Urban [t]	5	12.2%	12.38	18.73
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00
15-17	Interview	170	SA [θ]	166	97.6%	98.42	3.22
			Urban [t]	2	1.2%	.85	1.59
			Urban [s]	2	1.2%	.74	2.08
	Picture task	48	SA [θ]	48	100%	100	.00
			Urban [t]	0	0	.00	.00
			Urban [s]	0	0	.00	.00

6.2.6.2 Register variation and (θ) variants: gender

Use of the standard variant [θ] was higher in the picture task for both male and female speakers. Differences were found to be highly significant in the speech of male speakers as use of the standard variant was significantly higher in the picture task at $p = .008$ while use of the urban variant [t] was significantly lower in this same context: $p = .006$. For female speakers, differences in using the standard variant was not significant at $p = .059$. However, use of the urban variant was significantly lower in the picture task at $p = .045$. See table 6.28 and figure 6.21 below for the distribution of (θ) variants across contexts by gender.

Table 6-28 Distribution of (θ) variants across contexts by gender

Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
male	Interview	254	SA [θ]	202	79.5%	65.56	41.67
			Urban [t]	37	14.6%	33.29	41.87
			Urban [s]	6	25	1.15	3.94
	Picture task	110	SA [θ]	90	81.8%	81.58	28.77
			Urban [t]	18	16.4%	16.67	24.80
			Urban [s]	2	1.8%	1.75	5.25
female	Interview	245	SA [θ]	176	71.8%	64.68	33.80
			Urban [t]	60	24.5%	34.09	32.48
			Urban [s]	9	3.7%	1.23	4.49
	Picture task	116	SA [θ]	95	81.9%	78.64	30.71
			Urban [t]	19	16.4%	19.07	25.79
			Urban [s]	2	1.7%	2.38	10.91
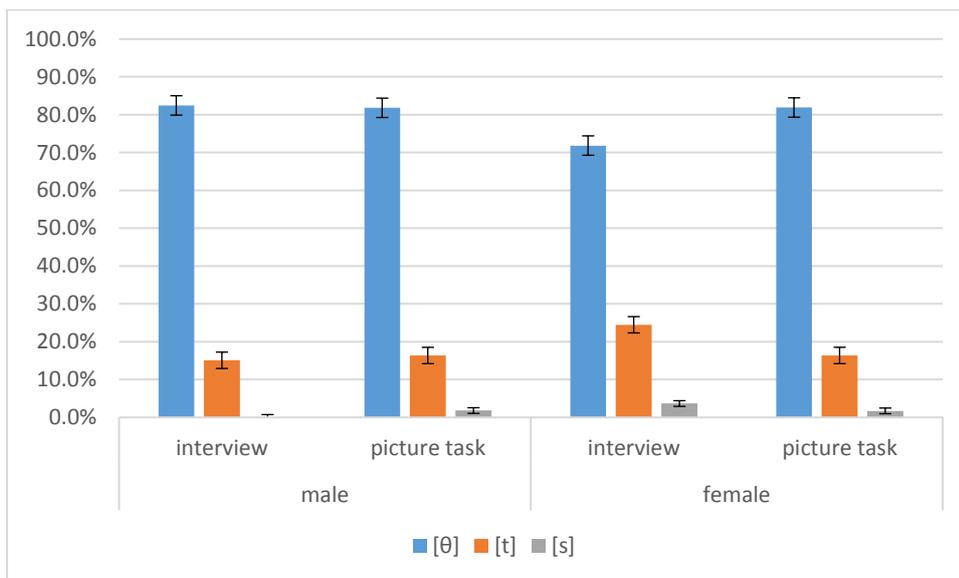
Figure 6-21 Distribution of (θ) variants across contexts by gender

6.2.6.3 Register variation and (θ) variants: the interaction between age and gender

Most speakers used the standard variant [θ] more in the picture task than they did in the interview context. This was especially noticeable in the speech of 3-5-year-old boys as well as 9-11 and 12-14-year-old girls. Significant differences occurred in the speech of 3-5-year-old

boys as these speakers used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task at *p* = .021 and, in the same vein, they used the urban variant [t] significantly less in this context: *p* < .001. Significant differences also occurred in the speech of 12-14-year-old girls who used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task at *p* = .026 and used the urban variant [t] significantly more in the interview context: *p* = .004. Some exceptions did, however, occur. Girls in the 3-5 and 6-8-year old groups, for example, used the standard variant [θ] less in the picture task. Table 6.29 and figure 6.22 below display the use of (θ) variants across contexts by age and gender.
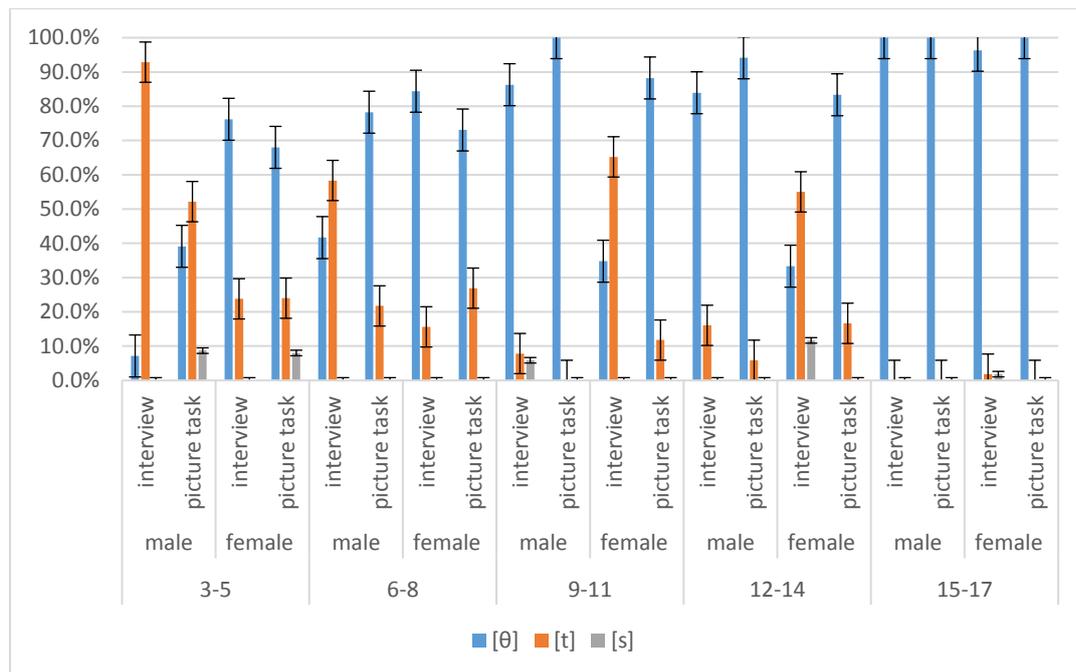
Figure 6-22 Distribution of (θ) variants across contexts by age and gender

Table 6-29 Distribution of (θ) variants across contexts by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Interview	14	SA [θ]	1	7.1%	12.50	25.00
				Urban [t]	13	92.9%	87.50	25.00
		Picture task	23	SA [θ]	9	39.1%	39.17	31.43
				Urban [t]	12	52.2%	52.50	24.09
				Urban [s]	2	9%	8.33	9.62
	female	Interview	21	SA [θ]	16	76.2%	50.00	37.27
				Urban [t]	5	23%	50.00	3.27
		Picture task	25	SA [θ]	17	68%	66.67	42.49
				Urban [t]	5	24%	23.73	24.83
				Urban [s]	2	8%	10.00	22.36
6-8	male	Interview	12	SA [θ]	5	41.7%	41.67	41.94
				Urban [t]	7	58.3%	58.33	41.94
		Picture task	23	SA [θ]	18	78.3%	87.33	20.82
				Urban [t]	5	21.1%	21.67	20.82
	female	Interview	32	SA [θ]	27	84.4%	78.92	23.00
				Urban [t]	5	15.6%	21.08	23.00
		Picture task	26	SA [θ]	19	73.1%	63.62	37.78
				Urban [t]	7	26.9%	36.38	37.78
9-11	male	Interview	102	SA [θ]	88	86.3%	87.85	20.93
				Urban [t]	8	7.8%	6.67	13.33
				Urban [s]	6	5.9%	5.48	7.86
		Picture task	23	SA [θ]	23	100%	100	.00
				Urban [t]	0	0	.00	.00
				Urban [s]	5	11.40%	12.13	14.02
	female	Interview	23	SA [θ]	8	34.8%	34.20	30.61
				Urban [t]	15	65.2%	64.81	30.60
		Picture task	17	SA [θ]	15	88.2%	88.89	9.62
				Urban [t]	2	11.8%	11.11	9.62
12-14	male	Interview	56	SA [θ]	47	83.9%	92.50	13.00
				Urban [t]	9	16.1%	7.50	13.00
		Picture task	17	SA [θ]	16	94.1%	93.33	11.55
				Urban [t]	1	5.9%	6.67	11.55
	female	Interview	60	SA [θ]	20	33.3%	55.18	36.82
				Urban [t]	33	55%	39.82	27.53
				Urban [s]	7	11.7%	5.00	10.00
		Picture task	24	SA [θ]	20	83.3%	83.33	23.57
				Urban [t]	4	16.7%	16.67	23.57

15-17	male	Interview	61	SA [θ]	61	100%	100.00	.00
				Urban [t]	0	0	.00	.00
		Picture task	24	SA [θ]	24	100	100	.00
				Urban [t]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Interview	109	SA [θ]	105	96.3%	96.83	4.18
				Urban [t]	2	1.8%	1.70	1.99
				Urban [s]	2	1.8%	1.47	2.94
		Picture task	24	SA [θ]	24	100%	100	.00
				Urban [t]	0	0	.00	.00

6.2.7 Summary and Discussion of (θ) results

Results on the variation of (θ) show that the local variant is the most common option for the majority of participants. It is most used in the picture task at 81.9%, closely followed by the interview with the local speaker at 77.1%, as the standard variant overlaps with the local pronunciation. It was least used in the interview with the urban speaker at 54.3% indicating a high level of accommodation towards the urban interviewer.

Results also showed that the variable is lexically conditioned. Numerals two, three, eight and their derivations were categorically realized with [t] throughout the data, regardless of age, gender or context. It is interesting that this only applies to these numbers in their cardinal form, as they are mostly realized with [θ] in their ordinal form. Similar conditioning was found in the case of (ð) above, where certain lexical items were almost invariably realized with [z]. These lexical items were found to be very frequent in the data. They made up 13.38% of the total number of (θ) tokens and 38.1% of all tokens realized with [t]. This pattern is, therefore, likely to be a result of frequency that leads to lexical diffusion (Chen 1972). Research on frequency shows that phonological changes affect the most frequent words faster than less frequent ones (Bybee & Scheibman 1999; Bybee 2002). Frequency has been viewed as a factor in lexical diffusion (Bybee 2002; Phillips 2006), and acquisition and learning (Tomasello 2009). Habib (2010a) reports on the role of frequency in the acquisition of the prestigious urban [ʔ] as a realization of (q) by rural migrants in Homs noting that frequency in this context is a facilitating factor for a socially-motivated change, but frequency itself is not the cause of such change.

Al-Ali and Arafa (2010) examined the use of this variable in speakers with a similar dialect background to the one in the study, i.e., one that traditionally preserves interdental fricatives. As mentioned in the discussion of (ð) above, their sample is generally older, but their youngest speakers overlap in age with the oldest speakers in the sample under study. Their results show a similar distribution to the one in the present study if we discount tokens invariably realized with [t], which would make the change in the direction of the stop more advanced in the community studied here. Their results, however, seem to indicate more change in the speech of the corresponding age group to the oldest speakers in the current study as their use of the local variant is only at 53% by comparison to 83% in the speech of the oldest speakers in this study[52]. Female speakers are found to strongly favour the urban variants in their study. Although gender results are not broken down by age, it is safe to assume that girls in the Al-Ali and Arafa (2010) study use the urban variants more than girls in the 15-17-year-old group in this current sample. Similar to Al-Ali and Arafa, Amara (2005) reports that female speakers favour the urban variants by comparison to men.

Change in the direction of the stop variants of interdental fricatives is most advanced in the case of (θ), followed by (ð). However, if the tokens invariably realized with [t] are discounted, the change seems to be more advanced in the realization of (ð). The change is least advanced in the case of the emphatic interdental (ðˤ), and the differences in adopting the urban stop variants across interdental fricatives are most visible in the speech of boys between the ages of 6 and 14. For example, 6-8-year-old boys use the local variant of (ðˤ) at a little over 90%, whereas they use the local variant of (ð) a little less than 60% of the time and use the local variant of (θ) at 62% even when numeral realizations are excluded from their speech. This result contravenes Al-Wer's (2003) conclusion about the rate of change in different interdental fricatives. Based on results of several studies that use the interdental fricatives as variables (Al-Wer 1991; Abd-El-Jawad and Awwad 1989; Al-Khatib 1988; Jassem 1987),[53] she concluded that change appears to be advancing much faster in the emphatic interdental, (ðˤ) than in the plain interdentals. Al-Wer's (2003) justification of the pattern is somewhat circular, as she explains it by debating the merger between (ðˤ) and (dˤ) and uses it as evidence to support the

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[52] This proportion takes into account the tokens invariably realized with [t] as to make the comparison with Al-Ali and Arafa (2010) more meaningful. Discounting these tokens will raise the proportion of the local variant to 95.1%.

[53] With the exception of Jassem (1987), which was carried out in Syria, all the other studies were conducted in Jordan.

debate. As such, she argues that the change from /ðˤ/ to /dˤ/ is simpler than the change from the plain interdentals to their stop counterparts since the former is not a merger and only requires a simple phonetic change from fricative to stop rather than a phonological change as in the case of a merger. She points out that the merger in the case of the plain interdentals fits Trudgill and Foxcroft's (1987) model of 'merger by transfer', a model by which lexical items gradually transfer from one category to another noting that such a merger is reported to be the slowest by Labov (1994: 323). Evidence from the current study supports this assumption and indicates that frequency plays a role in which words are transferred first. Frequency considerations would suggest that such a change is likely to be more advanced in the plain interdentals since the emphatic interdental fricative is very infrequent in Arabic. Evidence from (θ) in the present study suggests that even semantically related words are affected differently based on their frequency. Al-Wer (2003) also notes that [ðˤ] is highly stigmatized in Jordan, which may be an accelerating factor in abandoning it (Kerswill 1995; Trudgill 1986). This may indicate that the variant is not viewed with the same stigma by speakers in the community - especially if we consider their realizations of (dˤ), which imply that [dˤ] is available in their inventory, but they choose not to use it with the same frequency in the case of (ðˤ).

6.3 Summary and Discussion of Interdental Fricatives and (dˤ)

A lot of variation is exhibited in the realization of the variables presented above based on the social variables of age and gender as well as on different interlocutors and varying contexts. Other factors also play a role in the variation patterns. Saliency, frequency and the overlap between the standard and dialectal variants all seem to determine the degree of variation as detailed in these 2 chapters. With the exception of (ð) where frequency introduces [z] in two lexical items, use of the urban alveolar fricatives as a realization of the interdental fricatives is extremely limited. This is likely because the alveolar fricatives are predominantly, though not exclusively, used in standard lexical items in dialects that lack the interdental fricatives (a fuller discussion is in 4.1.1.4 and 4.1.1.5). As such, the need for using them is null when the standard interdental fricatives are available in speakers' native inventory as in the case of my particular speech community. In fact, a female speaker in the adult sample remarked that:[54]

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[54] Note that this speaker is a teacher of Arabic and Quran, which indicates a high level of awareness and proficiency.

(6.1)   *maθalan   leːʃ laħatta ʔaħki nizˤaːm   ma   ʔana ʔa.ʕrif*

For example why would say.1S regime (with [zˤ]) when I   1S.know

ʔa.lfoðˤ   iðˤ-ðˤa

1S.pronounce the-/ðˤ/

'For example, why I would I say [nɪzˤɑːm] 'regime' when I know how to pronounce /ðˤ/.'

This remark was in response to a question about her attitude to the dialect where she pointed out similarities between the dialect and Standard Arabic by comparison with the Damascene dialect. This remark may also indicate that [ðˤ] does not carry the same stigma in the context of the speech community as it does in Jordan (Al-Wer 2003). Patterns of variation in the picture task also support this conclusion as the urban variants were almost never used in the picture task.

The next chapter will present the results of the remaining two variables: (q) and the morphophonological feminine suffix (a) as a well as a general conclusion of trends found in the data.

Chapter 7. Results for (q) and (a)

This chapter presents the results of the two remaining linguistic variables: (q) and the morphophonological feminine suffix (a) following the same pattern used in the previous results chapters. This will be followed by a summary that outlines the general trends in the data in relation to all the linguistic variables.

7.1 Analysis of (q)

7.1.1 Descriptive Statistics and variant Distribution

Three main variants occurred for (q) in the data. These were the local [ɡ], the urban [ʔ] and the standard [q]. The local variant was the most frequent in the data, followed by the standard variant. The urban variant was the least common in the data, as table 7.1 below illustrates. In many Bedouin dialects, phonological conditioning results in other realizations such as [dʒ], in the environment of high front vowels, and [k], in unvoiced environment of [ɡ] (Rosenhouse 1984). The variant [k] did occur in the data under study as a result of such conditioning in a limited number of lexical items: [wakit] 'time', and [kital] 'to beat up'. These tokens occurred only 0.3% of the time and were thus not included in the analysis or the final token count. Realizing these items with [k] is noted by Rosenhouse (1984) in her description of Bedouin dialects in northern Palestine. The variant [dʒ] did not occur at all in the current study.[55]

Table 7-1 Distribution of (q) variants across data

Total (Q) tokens	Local [ɡ]		Standard [q]		Urban [ʔ]		Other	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
2742	1677	61.2 %	728	26.5%	323	11.8%	14	0.5%

The variable (q) is known to be highly susceptible to lexical conditioning and borrowing from Standard Arabic (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Habib 2010a; Holes 1995). Therefore, lexical conditioning was coded for in the current study and tokens invariably realized with [q] were noted and analysed in their own right in 7.1.2 below.

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[55] This is discussed further in Chapter 8.

7.1.2 Lexical Conditioning and (q)

In certain contexts, most notably borrowing from Standard Arabic and quoting the Quran, (q) is resistant to variation and is always realized as [q] regardless of age, gender or dialect (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Habib 2010a; Holes 1995; Miller 2005). In various studies (Al-Wer & Herin 2011; Cotter 2016; Miller 2005; Ornaghi 2010), use of [q] is reported to be limited to these contexts when no overlap occurs between [q] and the dialectal variant.[56] In the data under study, a total of 219 tokens were invariably realized with [q] and made up 8% of all realizations of the variable. However, these realizations only made 30.1% of all realizations with [q] suggesting that use of the variant is not limited to borrowing from Standard Arabic in the speech community and that it was also used in free variation with the other two dialectal variants; namely, the local [g] and the urban [ʔ]. This will be explored further in coming sections, but the discussion here will focus on categorical use of [q]. In light of previous studies, categorical realizations with [q] in the current study present a puzzling and complicated picture and may be classed into two categories: (i) borrowing from SA and (ii) words that may be realized with dialectal variants in the traditional dialect or other dialects but were consistently realized with [q] in the data.

Standard lexical items, literary and technical words, quotations from the Quran or famous standard sayings belong to the first category. Occurrence of [q] in these contexts has been reported in many studies (Miller 2005; Ornaghi 2010). These realizations occurred in the speech of all speakers including speakers in the youngest age group, though to a much lesser extent by comparison to older speakers. For example, a 5-year-old girl was telling the interviewer that she learnt a short surah from the Quran at kindergarten and proceeded to quote the first verse realizing (q) as [q] in the utterance:

(7.1)   *tˤallam.na **q**ʊrʔaːn '**q**ʊl hʊwa llaːhʊ ʔaħad'*[57]

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[56] The variable is realized as [q] in some dialects (e.g. rural dialects in the vicinity of the Syrian city of Homs as noted by Habib, 2008, 2011, 2014).

[57] The whole verse is quoted in the Arabic of the Quran. In fact, recitation of the Quran is expected and required to be verbatim and to strictly adhere to the rules of *tajweed*. This is required even for non-native speakers, illiterate

learnt.1P   Quran   'say he   Allah   one

'We learned some Quran 'Say: He, God, is one'

Using [q] in this context, whether through direct quotes from the Quran, famous sayings and expressions or through using technical words occurred most frequently in the speech of the oldest group as they talked about their hobbies, future plans or in social and political commentary. A 17-year-old girl, for example, quoted a famous saying about pride and confidence when asked if she has a Facebook account with her own name:[58]

(7.2)   *e:h   lakæ:n!   'waːθiqʊ   lχʊtˤwati   yʌmʃi: malakan*!'

yes of course 'confident step   walk   king!

'Yes, of course! 'He who's with confidence, walks like a king!'

She also used items such as [muʃawwiqa] 'exciting' and [munɑmmɑqa] 'sophisticated' talking about her passion for reading and how it impacted upon her vocabulary.

Another example comes from the speech of another girl in the group who expressed her frustration with traditional gender roles and what she views as males' sense of entitlement. She quoted a verse from the Quran that she felt was overly misquoted by men to justify such entitlement:[59]

(7.3)   *dʊɣri   j.igʊl-ik   'ʔ-arrɪdʒæːlʊ   qawwæ:mu:na ʕala n-nisæ:ʔ'   smiʕt-ha*

immediately 3S.say-you 'the-men   maintainers   on the-women' heared-it

ʃi: χamis marræt hai i-ssina

some five   times   this the-year.

'They immediately tell you 'men are the maintainers of women' I heard it about five times this year.

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people and young children. The level of accuracy, in terms of pronunciation of case markers and all that proper recitation of the Quran entails, will depend, of course, on proficiency.
[58] As with quoting verses from the Quran, though not based on a similar strict requirement, many speakers adhere to the exact register of the quote and realize all of it in SA.
[59] Note that she uses the local variant [g] in *jigʊli-k* 'tell you' outside the quote.

(7.4) *il-ha maʕna θæːni ʔin-ʊ t.irʕaː-ha,*   *tihtam*   *fiː-ha muː:*

for-it meaning another it-3S 2S.take care-her be attentive in-her not

q*awwaːm ʔaliː-ha*

responsible on-her

'It has a different meaning, to take care of her, be attentive to her not to be in charge of her.'

Another quotation of a learned saying came in discussing the security situation at the time of the interviews.[60] It occurred in the speech of a 17;3-year-old male who expressed his acceptance of the risk saying that if he were to die on his way to school, he would die a martyr. His utterance included other lexical items that were realized with [q]:

(7.5) *hijja ɾuːħ wiħda w **q****adaɾ bas ʔ.ʕɾif   miːn ʐat-ha   l-****q****aðiːfa. bas j.imuːt ʃahiːd*

It   soul one   and destiny only 1S.know who threw-it the-shell but 3S.die martyr

'We only live once and it is down to destiny, but I would like to know who fired the shell. You die a martyr, however.'

(7.6) '*man mæːta fiː tˤaɾiːqi-hi ʔila l-ʕamal fa hʊwwa ʃahiːd w   man mæːta ʕalæ:*

who dies in way-his to the-work so he   martyr and who dies   on

maqʕaddi d-dɪræsə   fa hʊwa ʃəhiːd'

desk   the-studying so he   martyer'

'He who dies on his way to work is a martyr and he who dies while in school is a martyr.'

The first category also included items that occurred in an educational context, as these were consistently realised in SA. For example, in the interview with the urban interlocutor, who had taught biology at the local secondary school for about 17 years and was retired at the time of interviews, the school, its status and the subject of biology came up with all eight interviewees in the oldest group.[61] Some of them complained that, due to the crisis, there was no stability in

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[60] This is modelled on a saying by the prophet (PBUH), but is not the exact saying.
[61] Recall that such topics were expected to be prominent in the interview with the urban interlocutor given her status as a teacher and the fact that for participants in this group national exams at the end of secondary school are a pressing topic.

teaching and attending classes while others mentioned sections they found difficult in biology borrowing standard words from the course and realizing them with [q]. For examples, words like (ʔinqisæ:m) 'division', were used on a couple of occasions and while some of these words or their derivations may be realized with the dialectal variants, as in [jigsim] 'to divide', in that context, they were always realized with [q]. References to other subjects or concepts also occurred in the speech of this group such as [qɑwɑ:ʕid] 'grammar' and [qɑwmijja] 'national education' and they were consistently realised with [q].

In addition to the first category, items that may be realized with the dialectal variants in other varieties or even in the traditional dialect were categorically or near-categorically realized with [q] in the data. For example, words like [tɑqri:ban] 'approximately', [ɾɑqɑm] 'number', [fɑri:q] 'team', [qɑsˤif] 'bombing' and [qɑði:fa] 'shell' were realized with [q] consistently in the data (Cotter 2016; Habib 2010a who reported many of these items as realized with the urban [ʔ]). These items made up the majority of invariable realizations with [q] and some of them occurred even in the speech of the youngest group. For example, a 5-year-old girl told the interviewer that she was not attending her kindergarten because it was hit by a shell:

(7.7) *batˤtˤal.na   n.ɾu:ħ mni   tˤ- tˤaχtˤaχa wi   d-dab,   ʒai   **q**ɑði:fa hnæ:k*
        stopped.1P 1P.go   from the-shooting and the-bombing, came shell   there
        'We stopped going because of shooting and bombing, a shell hit there!'

Although these items are not exclusively standard, they keep the standard phonological structure intact minimising their phonological distance from the standard form (Saigh-Haddad 2003). Phonological distance in the case of such items would be limited to altering one standard segment and in this case, it would be limited to realizing the standard variable (q) as a dialectal variant in the traditional dialect and other dialects (Habib 2010a). This phonological relatedness to the standard is likely why [q] is used in their realization.

7.1.3 Variation of (q) in Relation to Age

The local variant [g] was the most frequent in the speech of all participants, especially in the oldest group. It was followed by the collective realizations with [q]. The urban variant was the

least used by participants, especially in the oldest group, as table 7.2 and figure 7.1 below illustrate.

Non-target productions of the variable occurred in the speech of the youngest group as would be expected. The sound /q/, an emphatic uvular, is classed as a difficult sound that is acquired later in Arabic phonology (Amayreh & Dayson 1998). Most non-target production occurred in the form of fronting and de-emphasising the variable into /k/ as in [kunfed] for the target /qunfuð/ in the speech of a 3;2-year-old girl.

Table 7-2 Distribution of (q) variants by age group (including invariable realizations)

Age group	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	345	SA [q]	62	18%	16.79	10.98
		Local [g]	212	61.4%	61.25	26.82
		Urban [ʔ]	57	16.5%	16.18	24.35
		Non-target	14	4%	-	-
6-8	471	SA [q]	138	29.3%	30.16	9.66
		Local [g]	247	52.4%	53.01	25.73
		Urban [ʔ]	86	18.3%	16.83	21.36
9-11	659	SA [q]	178	27%	30.10	12.69
		Local [g]	402	61%	55.23	19.09
		Urban [ʔ]	79	12%	14.67	19.16
12-14	460	SA [q]	151	32.8%	36.08	19.12
		Local [g]	214	46.5%	43.51	37.57
		Urban [ʔ]	95	20.7%	20.41	22.32
15-17	807	SA [q]	199	24.7%	25.86	15.46
		Local [g]	602	74.6%	73.57	15.54
		Urban [ʔ]	6	0.7%	0.57	1.09
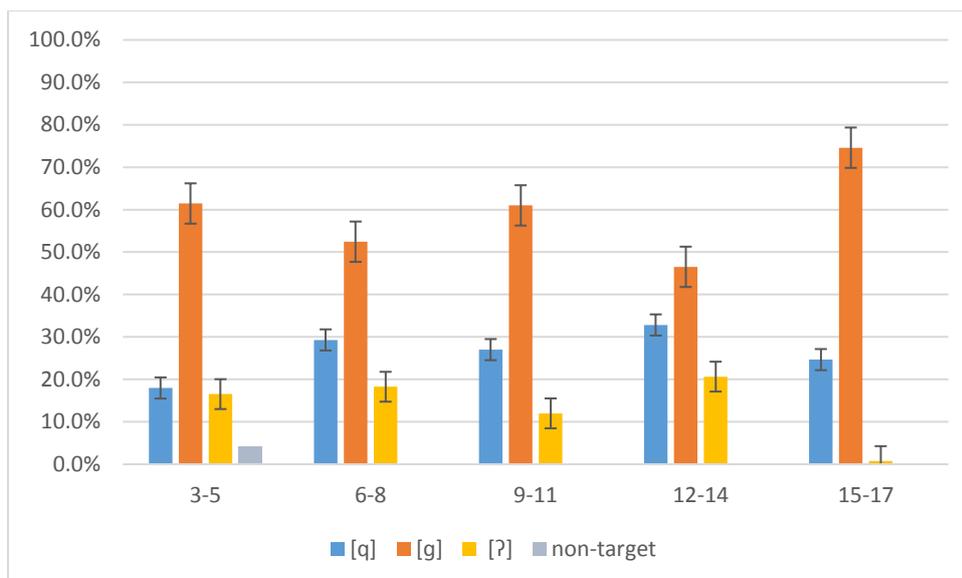
Figure 7-1 Distribution of (q) variants by age group (including invariable realizations)

GLM revealed that age had no effect on realizing the variable. However, categorical and variable use of [q] were both influenced by age as will be detailed shortly.

Recall that in addition to using [q] in lexical borrowing from SA, the variant was also used in free variation with the local and urban variants. This occurred in the realization of words such as [gɑmɑɾ] 'moon' and [qɑleb] 'heart.[62] Patterns for the use of [q], in lexical borrowing and in free variation, in relation to age were, in fact, the most interesting in the data even though the combined realizations were not significantly influenced by age. Figure 7.2, where the two categories are calculated out of the all tokens realized with [q], illustrates that categorical use of the variant raises in linear fashion with age and is visibly higher in the speech of older speakers. On the other hand, use of [q] in optional contexts is relatively similar across groups, but is interestingly lower in the speech of the oldest group.

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[62] Use of [q] in free variation occurred across the data, but was highest in the picture task, whereas tokens invariably realized with [q] only occurred in the interview context.
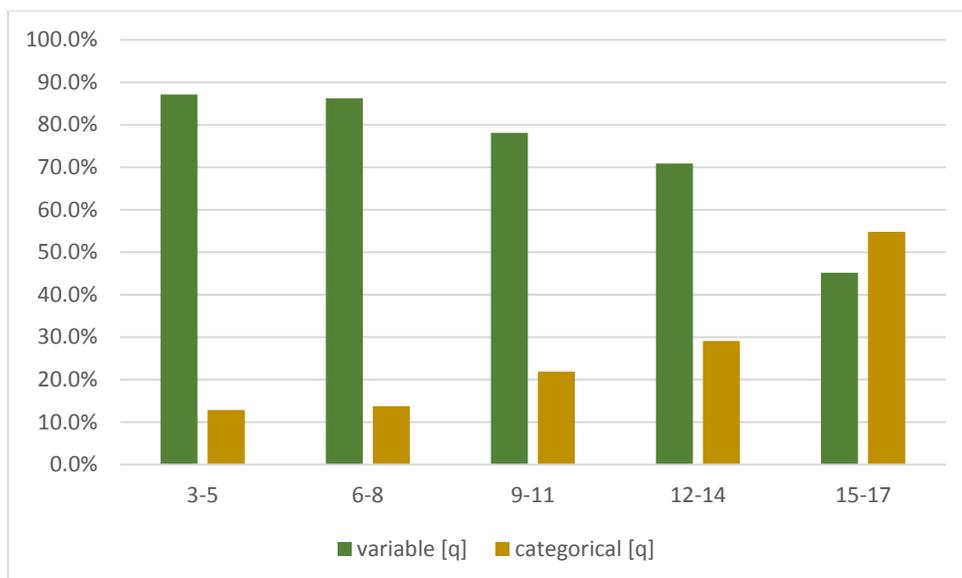
Figure 7-2 Categorical and variable use of [q] by age- out of all tokens realized with [q]

GLM revealed that age had a significant effect on using the standard variant [q] in both categories, though in different directions. Use of [q] in free variation was significantly higher in the speech of younger speakers at $p = .032$. Categorical use of the variant, on the other hand, was significantly higher in the speech of older speakers ($p < .001$). Significant differences occurred between speakers in the oldest group and speakers in all other groups apart from the 12-14-year-old cohort, as table 7.3 below shows.

Table 7-3 Significant differences in the categorical use of [q] by age

Variant	Age group	Age groups	P value
Categorical [q]	15-17 years	3-5 years	.000*
		6-8 years	.003*
		9-11 years	.033*

Recall that categorical use of the standard variant, especially in the first category discussed in 7.1.2 above, was heavily influenced by educational topics, borrowed sayings and expressions or other technical words. It is expected, therefore, that such usage would be higher in the speech of older speakers whose linguistic repertoire is larger than that of younger speakers because they have had more time in education and thus better access to this register of language and a broader knowledge base. On the other hand, use of the variant in free variation was higher in the speech of younger speakers. It could be argued that younger speakers are more influenced

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by school than older speakers and would therefore use the standard variant of (q) even in everyday words. For older speakers, the local dialect is the primary spoken form and they reserve their use of the standard to appropriate topics as we have seen in the previous chapter. Their use of the local variant is the highest in the sample and use of the urban variant is negligible in their speech, as figure 7.3 below illustrates.
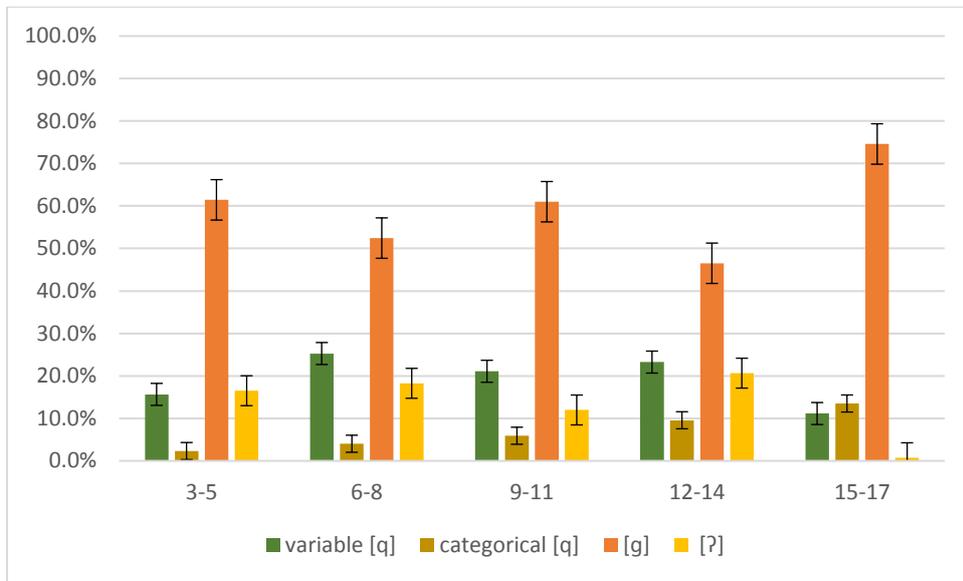
Figure 7-3 Distribution of (q) variants by age group-with the breakdown of [q] tokens

7.1.4 Variation of (q) in Relation to Gender

Minimal gender differences occurred in the realization of (q). The local variant was the primary variant in the speech of both males and females, followed by the standard variant, though both were used slightly more by males than females. The urban variant [ʔ] was used the least by both males and females, but its use was higher in the speech of female speakers, as demonstrated by table 7.4 and figure 7.4 below.

Table 7-4 Distribution of (q) variants by gender

Gender	Total tokens	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
male	1480	SA [q]	381	25.7%	24.77	15.20
		Local [g]	948	64.1%	61.42	30.74
		Urban [ʔ]	143	9.7%	12.72	34.50
		Non-target	8	0.54%	-	-
female	1262	SA [q]	347	27.5%	29.62	13.83
		Local [g]	729	57.8%	54.34	21.98
		Urban [ʔ]	180	14.3%	14.54	16.53
		Non-target	6	0.48%	-	-
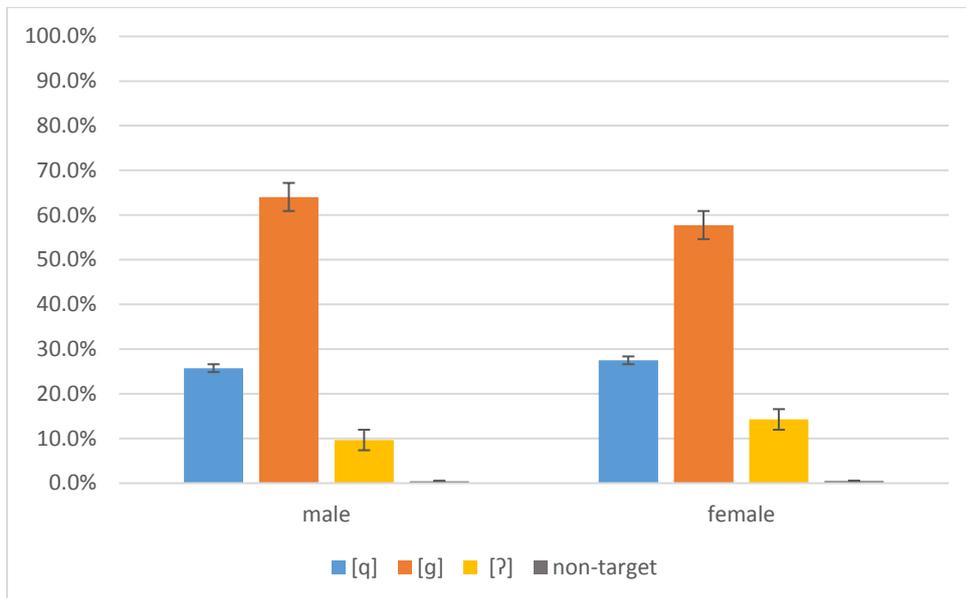
Figure 7-4 Distribution of (q) variants by gender (including invariable realizations)

Use of the standard variant, in obligatory and optional context, was relatively comparable in the speech of both male and female speakers although categorical use of the variant was a little higher in the speech of boys. Use of the variant in free variation was, on the other hand, more frequent in the speech of the females, as evident from figure 7.5 below.
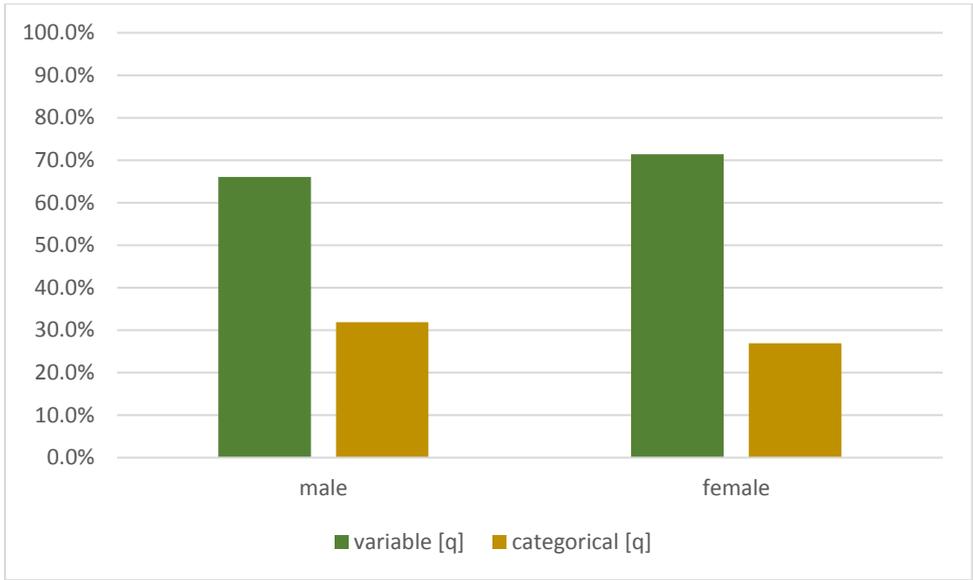
Figure 7-5 Categorical and variable use of [q] by gender- out of tokens realized with [q]

The results above show that gender had no influence on the realization of (q). Figure 7.6 below illustrates the use of (q) variants by gender.
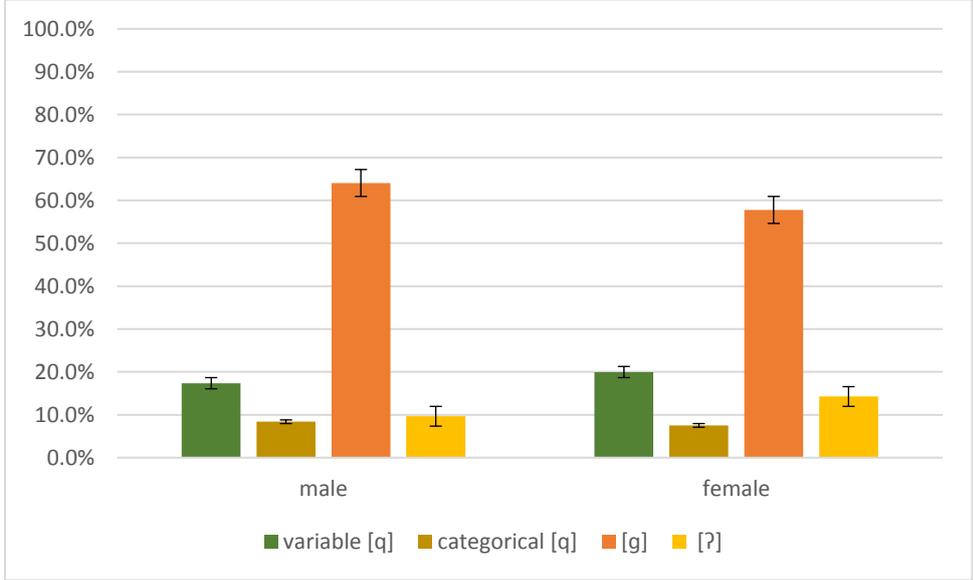
Figure 7-6 Distribution of (q) variants by gender-with the breakdown of [q] tokens

7.1.5 Variation of (q) in Relation to the Interaction between Age and Gender

This section presents the patterns of variation of (q) variants in relation to the interaction between age and gender to present a fuller picture of how all participant groups used the

variants. Table 7.5 and figure 7.7 below illustrate that high use of the local variant [g] occurred in the speech of all participants apart from female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. Use of the urban variant [ʔ] was relatively higher in the speech of females in these groups by comparison to other participants. Use of the standard variant [q] was still higher than use of the urban variant in the speech of all participants apart from male speakers in the youngest group who used the urban variant [ʔ] almost twice as much as they used the standard variant. GLM revealed no influence of the interaction between age and gender on the use of any of the variants. Post-hoc results did show, however, that 15-17-year-old girls used the local variant [g] significantly more than 12-14-year-old girls at $p = .033$.
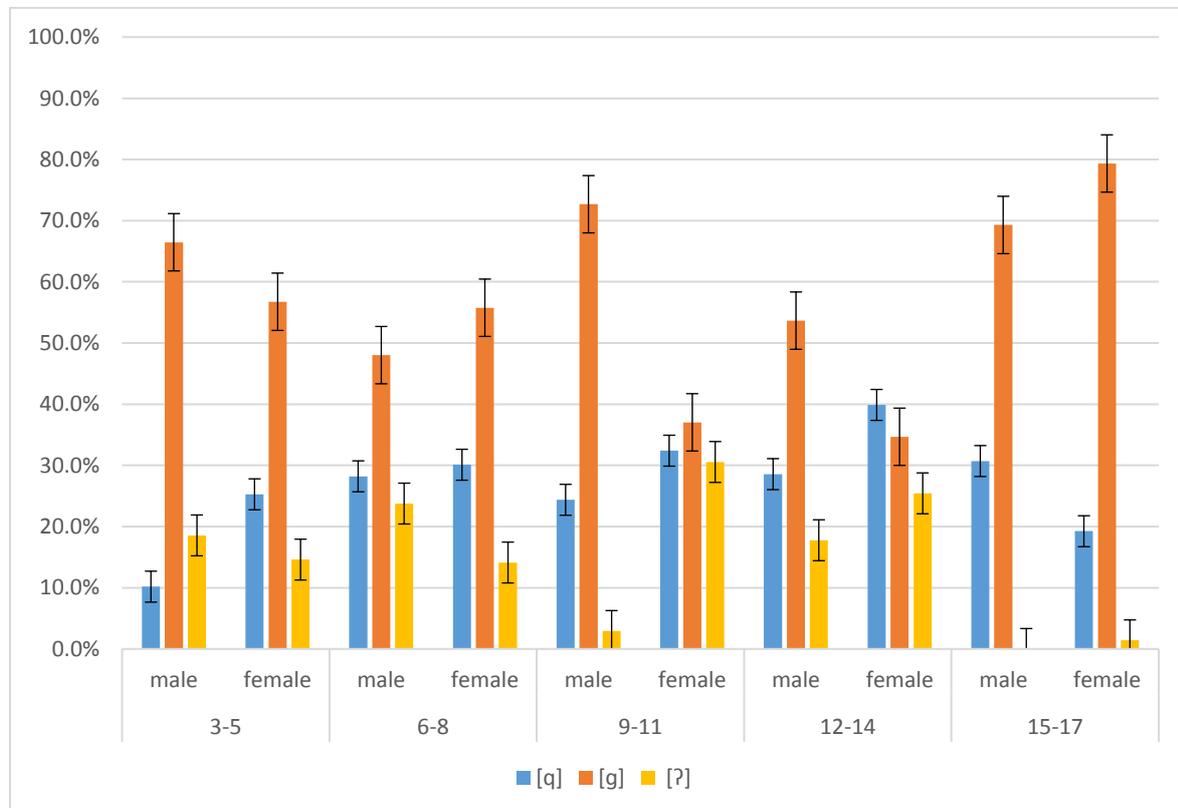
Figure 7-7 Distribution of (q) variants by age and gender-including invariable realizations

Table 7-5 Distribution of (q) variants by age and gender-including invariable realizations

Age group	Gender	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	167	SA [q]	17	10.2%	10.10	6.00
			Local [g]	111	66.5%	64.47	39.38
			Urban [ʔ]	31	18.6%	20.28	35.34
			Non-target			-	-
	female	178	SA [q]	45	25.3%	22.14	11.57
			Local [g]	101	56.7%	58.67	15.33
			Urban [ʔ]	26	14.6%	12.89	14.81
			Non-target			-	-
6-8	male	202	SA [q]	57	28.2%	28.62	12.43
			Local [g]	97	48%	48.10	40.18
			Urban [ʔ]	48	23.8%	23.28	30.78
	female	269	SA [q]	81	30.1%	31.39	8.15
			Local [g]	150	55.8%	56.94	8.37
			Urban [ʔ]	38	14.1%	11.67	11.26
9-11	male	443	SA [q]	108	24.4%	28.05	12.17
			Local [g]	322	72.7%	67.31	14.94
			Urban [ʔ]	13	2.9%	4.64	9.28
	female	216	SA [q]	70	32.4%	32.84	15.52
			Local [g]	80	37%	39.12	8.84
			Urban [ʔ]	66	30.6%	28.0	22.42
12-14	male	287	SA [q]	82	28.6%	28.37	19.52
			Local [g]	154	53.7%	55.33	45.58
			Urban [ʔ]	51	17.8%	16.30	27.13
	female	173	SA [q]	69	39.9%	41.86	19.31
			Local [g]	60	34.7%	34.65	34.56
			Urban [ʔ]	44	25.4%	23.49	21.81
15-17	male	381	SA [q]	117	30.7%	29.63	20.73
			Local [g]	264	69.3%	70.37	20.73
			Urban [ʔ]	0	0%	.00	.00
	female	426	SA [q]	82	19.2%	22.08	9.47
			Local [g]	338	79.3%	76.77	10.31
			Urban [ʔ]	6	1.4%	1.14	1.38

Examining speakers' use of the standard variant [q] according to the two categories detailed in 7.1.2 above shows little differences between males and females in all age groups. The interaction between age and gender had no influence on using the variant whether categorically

or in free variation. Differences in using the variant, especially in categorical use of the variant, are highly dependent on age as it was significantly higher in the speech of both male and female speakers in the oldest group, as figure 7.8 below exhibits.
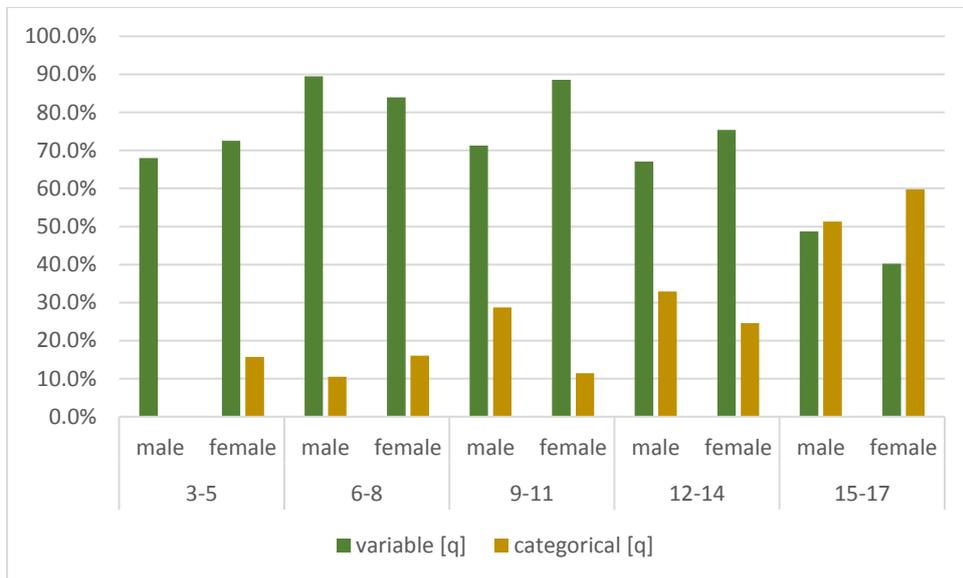
Figure 7-8 Distribution of variable and categorical [q] by age and gender- out of all tokens realized with [q]

Although no significant differences in realizing (q) appeared between male and female speakers in different age groups, some patterns did emerge. For example, use of the urban variant was highest in the speech of female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. Female speakers in these groups have consistently been found to favour the urban variants by comparison to speakers in other groups. Use of the local variant was highest in the speech of the oldest group. Speakers in this group have also been consistently found to favour the local variant. Figure 7.9 below demonstrates the use of (q) variants by age and gender.
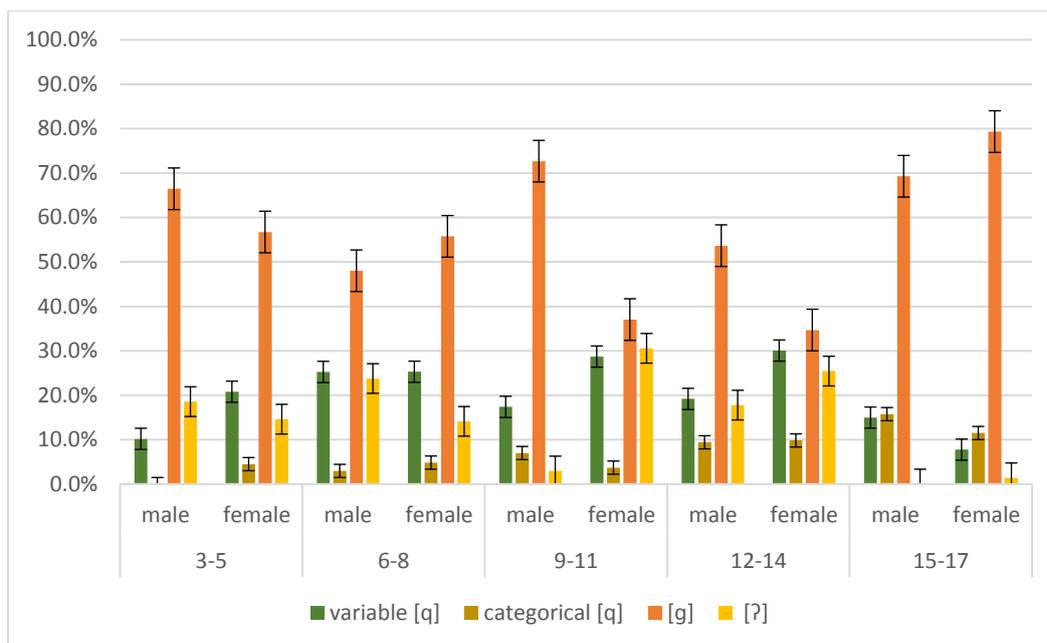
Figure 7-9 Distribution of (q) variants by age and gender-with the breakdown of [q] realizations

The next sections will discuss the variation of (q) as a function of context and interviewer. Categorical use of the standard variant will be excluded from that discussion as its use was subject to topic rather than context or interviewer.

7.1.6 Accommodation and (q) Variants

It was hypothesized that the urban variant [ʔ] would be used more in the interview with the urban interlocutor while the local variant [g] would be more frequent in the interview with the local interlocutor. Use of the standard variant [q] in free variation was not expected to be so frequent in the interviews and, in any case, no change in using the variant across interviews would be expected to occur. A paired-samples t test showed that the urban variant [ʔ] was, in fact, used significantly more in the interview with the urban interlocutor than in the interview with the local interviewer at $p = .006$, while use of the local variant [g] was significantly higher in the interview with the local interlocutor: $p = .004$. Little change occurred in using the standard variant, as can be noted from table 7.6 and figure 7.10 below.

Table 7-6 Distribution of (q) variants across interviews

Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation
Local	1179	SA [q]	143	12.1%	11.48	13.07
		Local [g]	941	79.8%	70.69	33.76
		Urban [ʔ]	94	8%	15.33	27.77
Urban	628	SA [q]	85	13.5%	13.13	1478
		Local [g]	362	57.6%	55.62	40.51
		Urban [ʔ]	178	28.3%	28.33	34.55
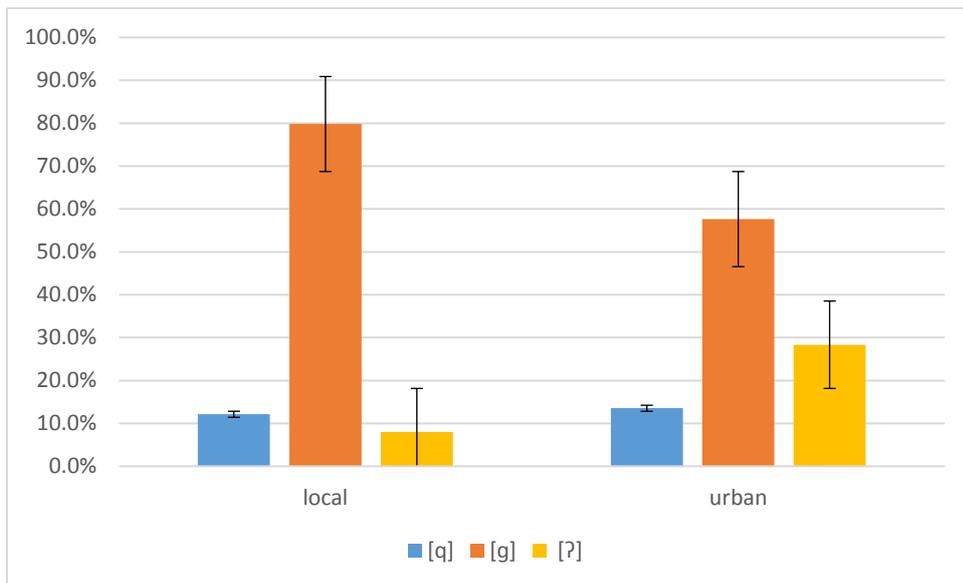
Figure 7-10 Distribution of (q) variants across interviews

7.1.6.1 Accommodation and (q) variants: age

The results in the previous section showed that accommodation only occurred in the use of the urban [ʔ] and the local [g] while use of the standard variant was quite comparable across interview sections. Examining accommodation by age shows that use of the standard variant was similar across interviews in the speech of all participants in all groups. Differences in using the urban variant [ʔ] and the local variant [g] occurred in the speech of all groups apart from the oldest who used the local variant overwhelmingly in both interview contexts.

A significant difference in using the local variant [g] appeared in the speech of the 9-11-year-old group who used the variant significantly less in the interview with the urban interlocutor at *p* = .019. Speakers in the 6-8-year-old group used the urban variant [ʔ] significantly more in the interview with the urban interlocutor: *p* = .027. There was no difference in their use of the local variant [g]. Table 7.7 and figure 7.11 below demonstrate the use of (q) variants across interview contexts by age.

Table 7-7 Distribution of (q) variants across interviews by age group

Age group	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Local	85	SA [q]	7	8.2%	5.65	9.82
			Local [g]	65	76.5%	65.16	37.42
			Urban [ʔ]	12	14.1%	18.07	25.64
	Urban	98	SA [q]	9	9.2%	7.17	13.88
			Local [g]	57	58.2%	51.87	40.22
			Urban [ʔ]	29	29.6%	27.99	38.10
6-8	Local	170	SA [q]	21	12.4%	14.11	10.51
			Local [g]	127	74.7%	73.44	28.72
			Urban [ʔ]	22	12.9%	12.44	23.72
	Urban	117	SA [q]	17	14.5%	12.19	13.64
			Local [g]	58	49.6%	49.42	43.12
			Urban [ʔ]	42	35.9%	38.39	32.61
9-11	Local	351	SA [q]	41	11.7%	13.67	14.15
			Local [g]	298	84.9%	81.82	17.25
			Urban [ʔ]	12	3.4%	4.51	8.62
	Urban	138	SA [q]	30	21.7%	25.44	17.63
			Local [g]	43	31.2%	37.88	36.98
			Urban [ʔ]	65	47.1%	36.69	42.48
12-14	Local	213	SA [q]	35	16.4%	14.06	13.65
			Local [g]	131	61.5%	42.19	46.64
			Urban [ʔ]	47	22.1%	43.75	43.59
	Urban	77	SA [q]	15	19.%	17.35	15.23
			Local [g]	25	32.5%	44.76	47.41
			Urban [ʔ]	37	48.1%	37.89	36.11

15-17	Local	360	SA [q]	39	10.8%	10.88	17.87
			Local [g]	320	88.9%	89.02	17.85
			Urban [ʔ]	1	.03%	.10	.29
	Urban	198	SA [q]	14	7.1%	6.44	7.24
			Local [g]	179	90.4%	91.85	8.39
			Urban [ʔ]	5	2.5%	1.7	3.39
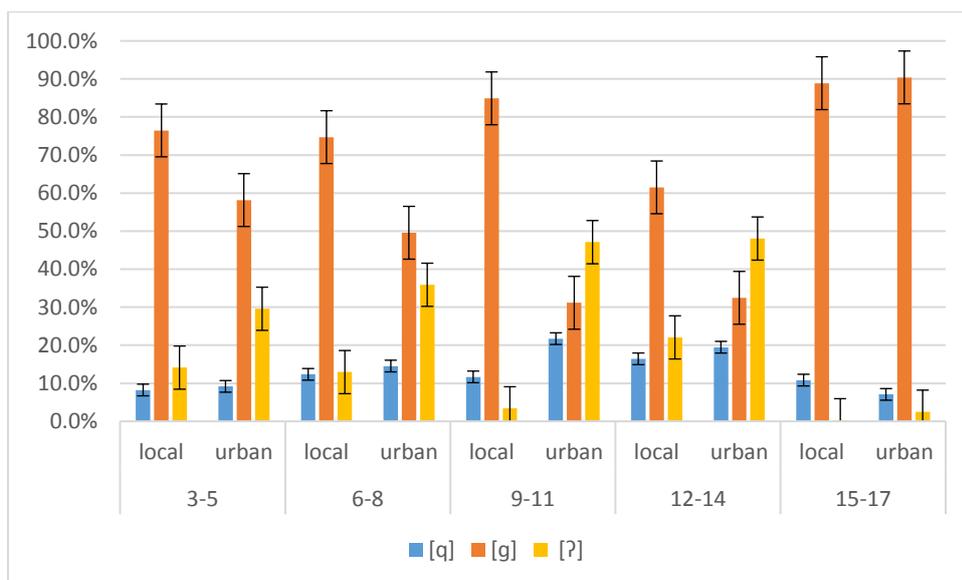
Figure 7-11 Distribution of (q) variants across interviews by age group

7.1.6.2 Accommodation and (q) variants: gender

Both male and female speakers accommodated their speech towards the urban interlocutor although differences in using the local variant [g] and urban variant [ʔ] across interview contexts appeared to be more drastic in the speech of females, as evident from table 7.8 and figure 7.12 below.

A paired-samples t test revealed that the difference in using the variants was significant in the speech of female speakers, but not significant in the speech of male speakers, indicating that girls accommodated their speech to the urban interviewer more than boys did. Girls used the local variant significantly less in the interview with the urban interlocutor: $p = .024$ and used

the urban variant significantly more at $p = .030$. Male speakers used the urban variant more in the interview with the urban interlocutor, but only at $p = .075$. They used the local variant less in the interview with the urban speakers: $p = .080$.

Table 7-8 Distribution of (q) variants across interviews by gender

Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
Male	Local	697	SA [q]	85	12.2%	11.39	14.59
			Local [g]	555	79.6%	75.65	34.06
			Urban [?]	57	8.2%	12.97	24.78
	Urban	306	SA [q]	41	13.4%	13.48	15.46
			Local [g]	212	69.3%	64.51	39.81
			Urban [?]	51	16.7%	21.14	35.79
Female	Local	482	SA [q]	58	12%	11.56	11.89
			Local [g]	386	80.1%	66.20	33.67
			Urban [?]	37	7.7%	17.48	30.68
	Urban	322	SA [q]	44	13.7%	12.82	14.52
			Local [g]	150	46.6%	47.58	40.39
			Urban [?]	127	39.4%	34.83	32.89
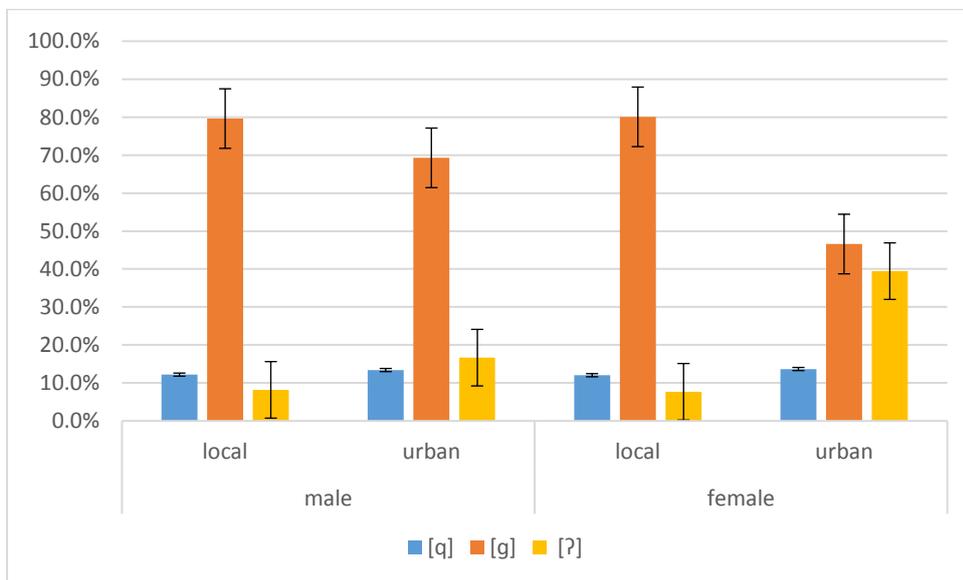
Figure 7-12 Distribution of (q) variants across interviews by gender

7.1.6.3 Accommodation and (q) variants: the interaction between age and gender

Table 7.9[63] and figure 7.13 below indicates that various levels of accommodation towards the urban interlocutor occurred in the speech of most participants. Such accommodation is most noticeable in the speech of female speakers in the 3-5, 6-8 and 9-11-year-old groups. Girls in these groups used the urban variant [ʔ] more than the local variant [g] in their interview with the urban interviewer. Use of the urban variant [ʔ] with the urban interlocutor was also highest in the speech of female speakers in the 9-11-year-old group. Small differences appeared in the speech of 12-14-year-old females despite their accommodation to the urban interviewer because their use of the local variant was relatively low in both interview contexts. Modest accommodation occurred in the speech of the oldest group as both male and female speakers in the group used the local variant overwhelmingly in both interview contexts. Significant differences in using the variants across contexts only appeared in the 6-8-year-old female speakers' use of the urban variant as they used it significantly more in the interview with the urban speaker at $p = .038$.
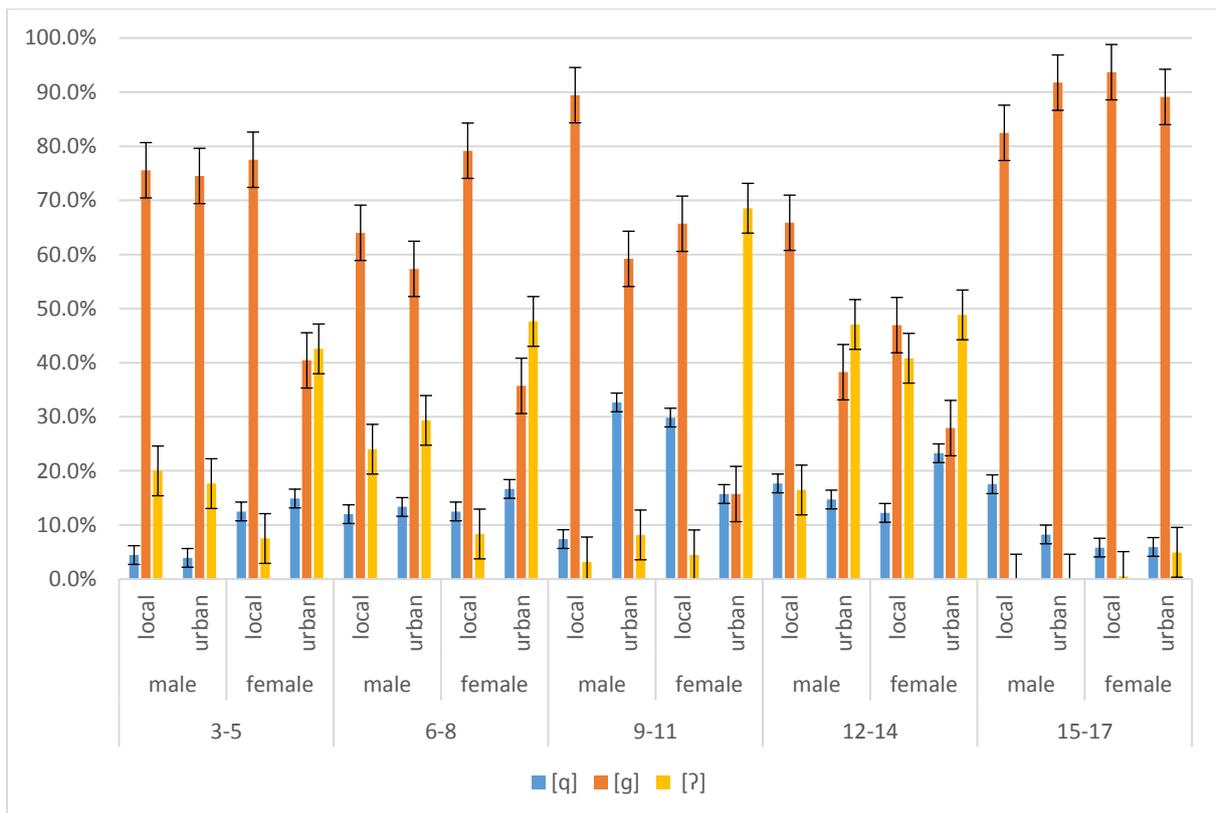
Figure 7-13 Distribution of (q) variant across interview contexts by age and gender

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[63] [q] is excluded from the table as it showed little to no variation across interviews, as evident from figure 7.12

Table 7-9 Distribution of (q) variants across interviews by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Interviewer	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Local	45	Local [g]	34	75.6%	74.56	43.40
				Urban [ʔ]	9	20%	20.44	33.50
		Urban	51	Local [g]	38	74.5%	67.50	45.57
				Urban [ʔ]	9	17.6%	25.00	50.00
	female	Local	40	Local [g]	31	77.5%	57.65	35.07
				Urban [ʔ]	3	7.5%	16.18	21.51
		Urban	47	Local [g]	19	40.4%	39.37	35.19
				Urban [ʔ]	20	42.6%	30.39	31.81
6-8	male	Local	50	Local [g]	32	64%	68.04	45.43
				Urban [ʔ]	12	24%	21.46	35.08
		Urban	75	Local [g]	43	57.3%	53.36	50.12
				Urban [ʔ]	22	29.3%	33.18	38.35
	female	Local	120	Local [g]	95	79.2%	77.76	7.00
				Urban [ʔ]	10	8.3%	5.24	7.51
		Urban	42	Local [g]	15	35.7%	46.28	42.52
				Urban [ʔ]	20	47.6%	42.55	31.24
9-11	male	Local	284	Local [g]	254	89.4%	87.29	13.28
				Urban [ʔ]	9	3.2%	5.63	11.25
		Urban	49	Local [g]	29	59.5%	49.62	39.30
				Urban [ʔ]	4	8.2%	20.00	40.00
	female	Local	67	Local [g]	44	15.7%	74.52	22.10
				Urban [ʔ]	3	4.5%	3.03	5.25
		Urban	89	Local [g]	14	15.7%	22.22	33.79
				Urban [ʔ]	61	68.5%	58.93	41.42
12-14	male	Local	164	Local [g]	108	65.9%	61.15	49.75
				Urban [ʔ]	27	16.5%	18.75	32.48
		Urban	34	Local [g]	13	38.2%	60.00	52.92
				Urban [ʔ]	16	47.1%	29.65	42.99
	female	Local	49	Local [g]	23	46.9%	27.98	45.52
				Urban [ʔ]	20	40.8	65.50	44.76
		Urban	43	Local [g]	12	27.9%	33.33	47.14
				Urban [ʔ]	21	48.8%	44.07	35.46

15-17	male	Local	154	Local [g]	127	82.5%	83.59	25.20
				Urban [ʔ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Urban	97	Local [g]	89	91.8	90.93	9.12
				Urban [ʔ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Local	206	Local [g]	193	93.7%	94.44	5.44
				Urban [ʔ]	1	0.5%	.21	.42
		Urban	101	Local [g]	90	89.1%	92.76	8.89
				Urban [ʔ]	5	5%	3.43	4.36

7.1.7 Register variation and (q) variants

This section will examine register variation in the use of (q) variants. It compares the realization of (q) across the interview context and the picture task. Both tasks were carried out by the local interviewer so as to keep this interlocutor element constant and to only change the context. It was hypothesized that use of the standard variant would be higher in the picture-naming task than in the interview context. In the case of (q), unlike the previous variables studied, there is no overlap between the standard and any of the relevant dialectal variants, namely the local [g] and the urban [ʔ]. Since both tasks were carried out by the local interviewer, variation was expected to occur in the use of the standard and local variants with little change in the use of the urban variant. However, changes occurred even in the use of the urban variant as I outline below.

As hypothesized, use of the standard variant [q] was substantially higher in the picture task by comparison to the interview context. A paired-samples t test revealed that the variant was used significantly more in the picture task at $p < .001$. In turn, the local variant was used significantly less in the picture task at $p < .001$. Use of the urban variant was significantly less in the picture task as well at $p = .022$. Despite the considerable increase in using the standard variant in the picture task, the local variant was still the most frequent, as can be seen from table 7.10 and figure 7.14 below.

Table 7-10 Distribution of (q) variants across contexts

Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
Interview	1179	SA [q]	143	12.1%	11.48	13.07
		Local [g]	941	79.8%	70.69	33.76
		Urban [?]	94	8%	15.33	27.77
Picture task	716	SA [q]	281	39.2%	39.20	21.08
		Local [g]	374	52.2%	52.56	24.98
		Urban [?]	51	7.1%	6.77	15.42
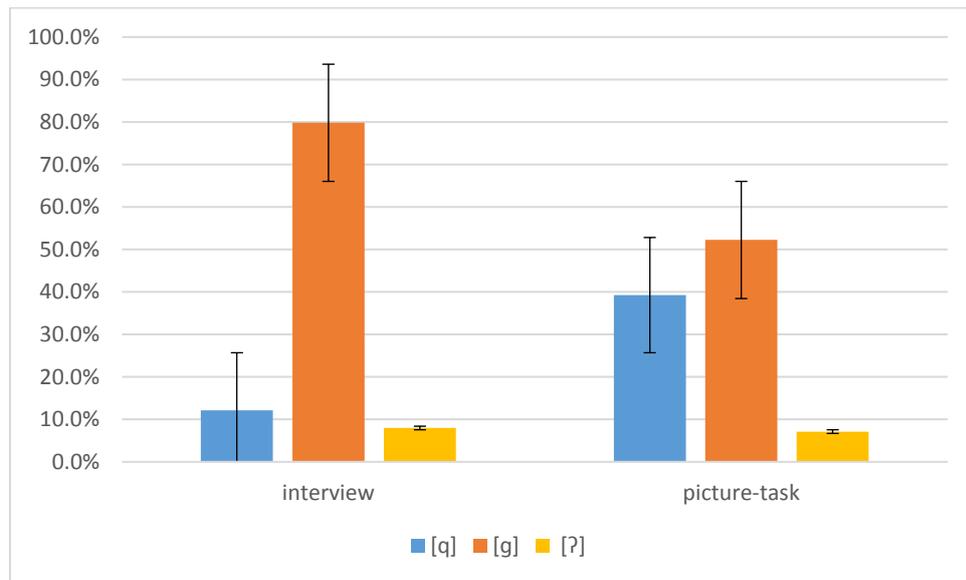
Figure 7-14 Distribution of (q) variants across contexts

7.1.7.1 Register variation and (q) variants: age

Speakers in all groups used the standard variant more in the picture task than in the interview. Most drastic differences appeared in the speech of 6-8, 9-11 and 12-14-year-old speakers, but significant differences appeared in the speech of all speakers. Speakers in the 3-5-year-old group used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task: $p = .003$. Speakers in the 6-8-year-old group also used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task and used the local variant significantly less: $p = .003$. In the speech of the 9-11-year-old group, use of the standard was significantly higher in the picture task: $p < .001$. Their use of the local variant was significantly less at $p = .002$. Use of the standard variant was significantly higher in the picture task in the speech of 12-14-year-old speakers at $p = .011$. Speakers in the oldest group used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task at $p = .037$. Their use of

the local variant was significantly lower in the picture task: $p = .039$. Table 7.11 and figure 7.15 show the use of (q) across contexts by age.

Table 7-11 Distribution of (q) variants across contexts by age group

Age group	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	Interview	85	SA [q]	7	8.2%	5.65	9.82
			Local [g]	65	76.5%	65.16	37.42
			Urban [ʔ]	12	14.1%	18.07	25.64
	Picture task	154	SA [q]	38	24.7%	24.17	13.54
			Local [g]	90	58.4%	59.28	23.29
			Urban [ʔ]	16	10.4%	10.02	19.59
6-8	Interview	170	SA [q]	21	12.4%	14.11	10.51
			Local [g]	127	74.7%	73.44	28.72
			Urban [ʔ]	22	12.9%	12.44	23.72
	Picture task	165	[q]	81	49.1%	49.70	19.95
			Local [g]	62	37.6%	37.40	23.89
			Urban [ʔ]	22	13.3%	12.90	22.86
9-11	Interview	351	SA [q]	41	11.7%	13.67	14.15
			Local [g]	298	84.9%	81.82	17.25
			Urban [ʔ]	12	3.4%	4.51	8.62
	Picture task	131	SA [q]	68	51.9%	52.25	16.33
			Local [g]	61	46.6%	46.06	14.91
			Urban [ʔ]	2	1.5%	1.69	2.89
12-14	Interview	213	SA [q]	35	16.4%	14.06	13.65
			Local [g]	131	61.5%	42.19	46.64
			Urban [ʔ]	47	22.1%	43.75	43.59
	Picture task	126	SA [q]	57	45.2%	46.47	24.93
			Local [g]	58	46%	46.02	31.78
			Urban [ʔ]	11	8.7%	7.51	12.80
15-17	Interview	360	SA [q]	39	10.8%	10.88	17.87
			Local [g]	320	88.9%	89.02	17.85
			Urban [ʔ]	1	.03%	.10	.29
	Picture task	140	SA [q]	37	26.4%	26.52	14.51
			Local [g]	103	73.6%	73.48	14.51
			Urban [ʔ]	0	0	.00	.00
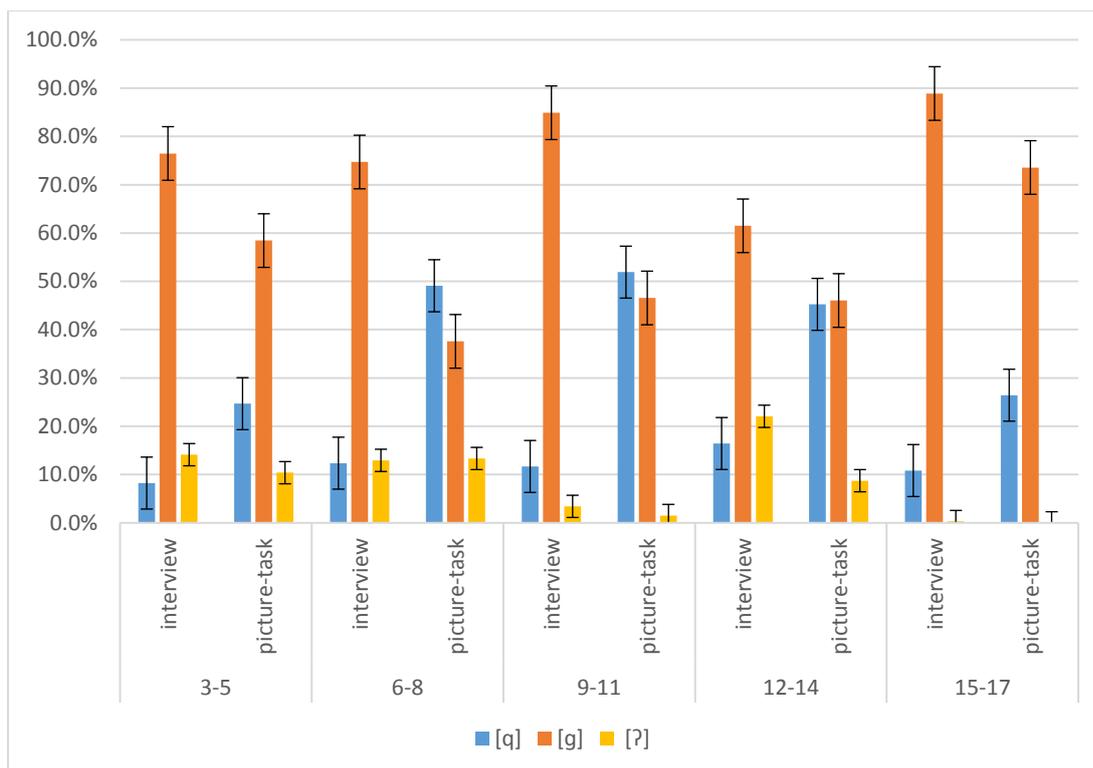
Figure 7-15 Distribution of (q) variants across contexts by age group

7.1.6.2 Register variation and (q) variants: gender

Table 7.12 and figure 7.16 below demonstrate that both male and female speakers used the standard variant [q] more in the picture task than in the interview context whereas they used the local and urban variants less. A paired-samples t test revealed that male speakers used the standard variant [q] significantly more in the picture task and used the local variant [g] significantly less at $p < .001$. For female speakers, significant differences only occurred in their use of the standard variant at $p < .001$. However, there were no differences in their use of the local and urban variants.

Table 7-12 Distribution of (q) variants avross contextsby age and gender

Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
Male	Interview	697	SA [q]	85	12.2%	11.39	14.59
			Local [g]	555	79.6%	75.65	34.06
			Urban [ʔ]	57	8.2%	12.97	24.78
	Picture task	353	SA [q]	131	37.1%	37.34	20.89
			Local [g]	181	51.3%	51.31	28.38
			Urban [ʔ]	35	9.9%	9.60	21.15
Female	Interview	482	SA [q]	58	12%	11.56	11.89
			Local [g]	386	80.1%	66.20	33.67
			Urban [ʔ]	37	7.7%	17.48	30.68
	Picture task	386	SA [q]	150	41.3%	40.89	21.62
			Local [g]	193	53.2%	53.70	22.12
			Urban [ʔ]	16	4.4%	4.21	6.80
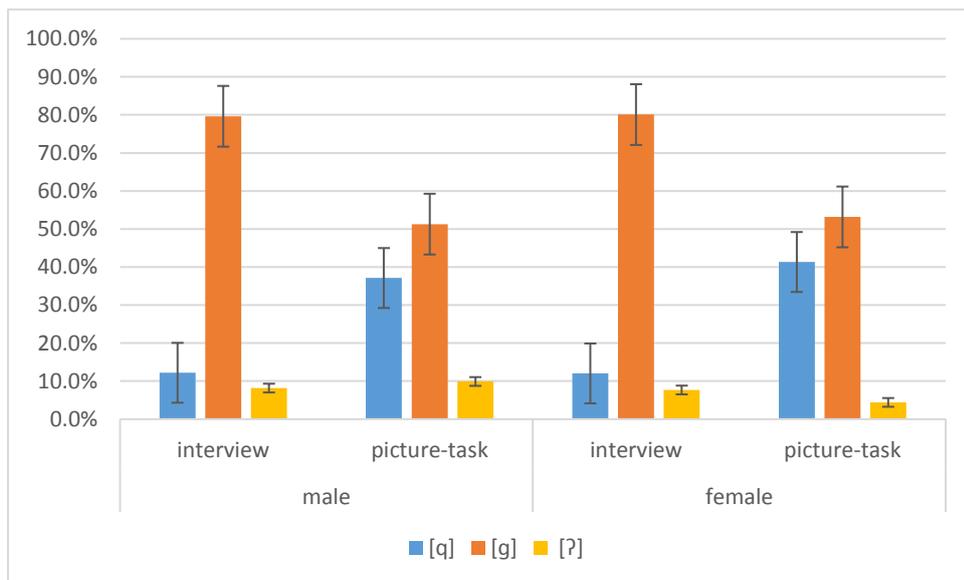
Figure 7-16 Distribution of (q) variants across contexts by gender

7.1.6.3 Register variation and (q) variants: the interaction between age and gender

Use of the standard variant in the picture task was higher than in the interview context in the speech of all speakers in all groups and significant differences in using the variants occurred in most speaker groups. Males in the youngest group used the local variant [g] significantly less in the picture task than in the interview at $p = .035$ and girls in the same group used the standard

variant significantly more in the picture task at *p* = .020. Use of the standard variant in the picture task was also significantly higher in the speech of 6-8-year-old female speakers at *p* = .012 while use of the local variant [g] was significantly lower at *p* = .009. Male speakers in the 9-11-year-old group also used the standard variant significantly more in the picture task at *p* = .003 and used the local variant [g] significantly less at *p* = .028. There were no significant differences for girls in the group. There was no difference in using the standard variant in the speech of 12-14-year-old boys at *p* = .065, but a highly significant difference was found for girls in the same group: *p* = .018. No differences in using the variants occurred in the speech of 15-17-year-old participants. Table 7.13 and figure 7.17 below demonstrates the use of (q) variants across contexts by age and gender.
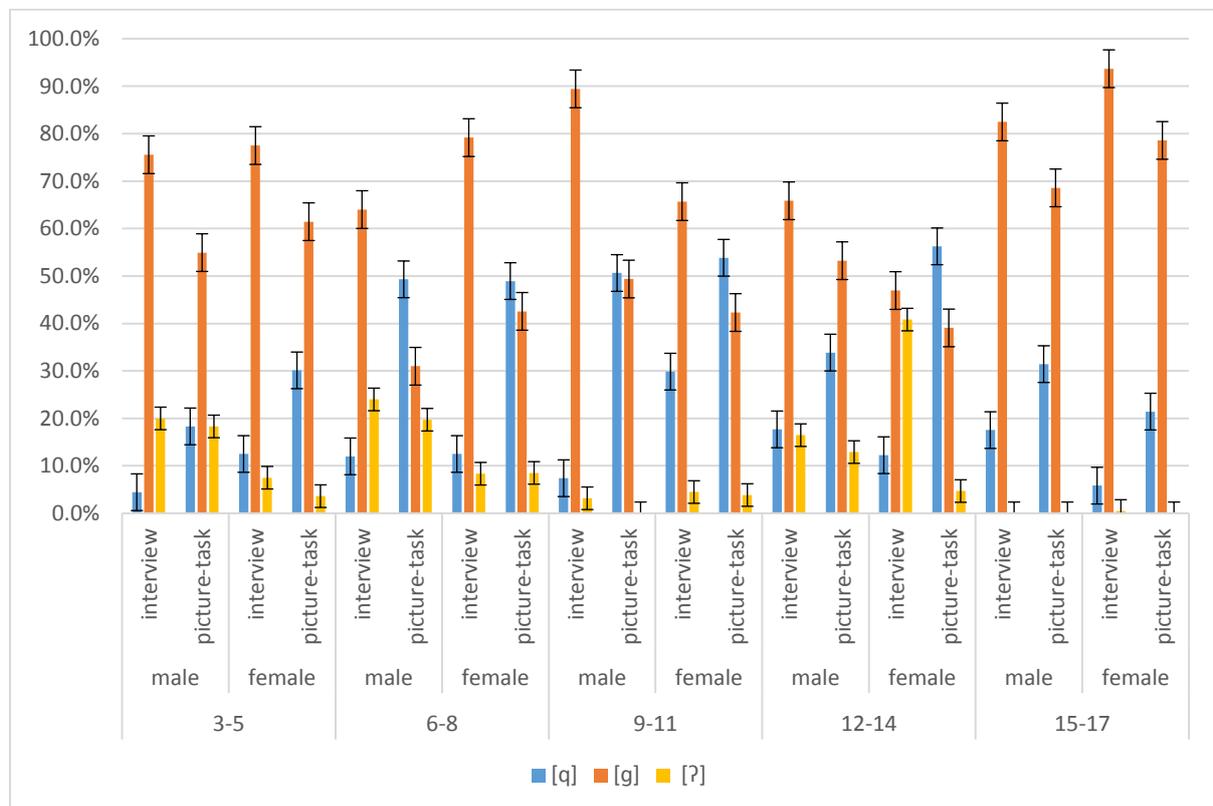
Figure 7-17 Distribution of (q) variants across contexts by age and gender

Table 7-13 Distribution of (q) variants across contexts by age and gender

Age group	Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
3-5	male	Interview	45	SA [q]	2	4.4%	5.00	10.00
				Local [g]	34	75.6%	74.56	43.40
				Urban [ʔ]	9	20%	20.44	33.50
		Picture task	71	SA [q]	13	18.3%	18.48	8.98
				Local [g]	39	54.9%	54.95	34.13
				Urban [ʔ]	13	18.3%	18.22	29.13
	female	Interview	40	SA [q]	5	12.5%	6.18	10.83
				Local [g]	31	77.5%	57.65	35.07
				Urban [ʔ]	3	7.5%	16.18	21.51
		Picture task	83	SA [q]	25	30.1%	28.73	15.74
				Local [g]	51	61.4%	62.74	13.34
				Urban [ʔ]	3	3.6%	3.46	3.17
6-8	male	Interview	50	SA [q]	6	12%	10.50	11.43
				Local [g]	32	64%	68.04	45.43
				Urban [ʔ]	12	24%	21.46	35.08
		Picture task	71	SA [q]	35	49.3%	51.64	27.58
				Local [g]	22	31%	29.69	32.84
				Urban [ʔ]	14	19.7%	18.67	33.30
	female	Interview	120	SA [q]	15	12.5%	17.00	9.99
				Local [g]	95	79.2%	77.76	7.00
				Urban [ʔ]	10	8.3%	5.24	7.51
		Picture task	94	SA [q]	46	48.9%	48.14	14.80
				Local [g]	40	42.6%	43.58	15.05
				Urban [ʔ]	8	8.5%	8.28	12.39
9-11	male	Interview	284	SA [q]	21	7.4%	7.09	2.46
				Local [g]	254	89.4%	87.29	13.28
				Urban [ʔ]	9	3.2%	5.63	11.25
		Picture task	79	SA [q]	40	50.6%	51.33	8.17
				Local [g]	39	49.4%	48.67	8.17
				Urban [ʔ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Interview	67	SA [q]	20	29.9%	22.45	19.73
				Local [g]	44	15.7%	74.52	22.10
				Urban [ʔ]	3	4.5%	3.03	5.25
		Picture task	52	SA [q]	28	53.8%	53.47	26.38
				Local [g]	22	42.3%	42.59	23.13
				Urban [ʔ]	2	3.8%	3.93	3.43

Age group	Gender	Context	Total	Variant	Raw	Percent	Mean	SD
12-14	male	Interview	164	SA [q]	29	17.7%	20.10	18.01
				Local [g]	108	65.9%	61.15	49.75
				Urban [ʔ]	27	16.5%	18.75	32.48
		Picture task	62	SA [q]	21	33.9%	32.70	23.28
				Local [g]	33	53.2%	55.71	42.11
				Urban [ʔ]	8	12.9%	11.59	20.08
	female	Interview	49	SA [q]	6	12.12%	9.52	9.61
				Local [g]	23	46.9%	27.98	45.52
				Urban [ʔ]	20	40.8	65.50	44.76
		Picture task	64	SA [q]	36	56.3%	56.81	23.44
				Local [g]	25	39.1%	38.75	25.94
				Urban [ʔ]	3	4.7%	4.44	5.44
15-17	male	Interview	154	SA [q]	27	17.5%	16.41	25.20
				Local [g]	127	82.5%	83.59	25.20
				Urban [ʔ]	0	0	.00	.00
		Picture task	70	SA [q]	22	31.4%	31.36	16.47
				Local [g]	48	68.6%	68.64	16.47
				Urban [ʔ]	0	0	.00	.00
	female	Interview	206	SA [q]	12	5.8%	5.35	5.32
				Local [g]	193	93.7%	94.44	5.44
				Urban [ʔ]	1	0.5%	.21	.42
		Picture task	70	SA [q]	15	21.4%	21.69	12.57
				Local [g]	55	78.6%	78.31	12.57
				Urban [ʔ]	0	0	.00	.00

7.1.8 Summary and Discussion of (q) Results

Results on the variation of (q) showed that the local variant [g] was the most frequent in the data. Its use was highest in the interview with the local interlocutor at 79.8%. Despite overall preference for the local variant, use of the standard variant [q] was considerable in the data. Use of the variant was analysed under two categories: (i) categorical use of the variant where certain lexical items were categorically realized with the standard variant and (ii) variable use of the variant where it was used in free variation with dialectal variants. Variable use of the variant was found to be highest in the picture task at 39.2% indicating a significant effect of context. It was also higher in the speech of younger speakers (speakers below 15 years old).

Categorical use of the variant occurred in borrowing from Standard Arabic and was largely dependent on topics of conversation such as topics of study and education. It was also found that some lexical items that may be realized with dialectal variants in other dialects or even the traditional local dialect were categorically realized with the standard variant likely due to minimal phonological distance from SA forms (Saigh-Haddad 2003). Categorical use of the variant, especially in borrowed sayings and quotations and educational topics, was significantly higher in the speech of the oldest speakers who have more access to such terminology. The urban variant was the least used by participants overall. However, a significant increase in using the variant occurred in the interview with the urban interviewer where the variant was most used at 28.3%. Patterns of variant distribution suggest that SA may have a stronger influence on the speech of children and adolescents in the community, especially since use of [q] in free variation was higher than use of the urban variant. Relatively similar patterns of variation occurred in the speech of the adult sample relative to use of the local variant and categorical use of [q]. However, use of the urban variant as well as [q] in free variation was noticeably lower in their speech.

The general trend of variation in relation to age and gender were moderately similar to those found with other variables. The local variant was strongly favoured by speakers in the oldest group whereas the urban variant was largely favoured by female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. Previous studies (Amara 2005 on Bethlehem; Cotter 2016 on Gaza) showed that young women favoured the urban variant [ʔ] more than men who favoured the local variant [g]. Such a general trend does not appear in the present study and [ʔ] is only favoured by girls in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. Habib (2011a on rural children and adolescents in the vicinity of Homs in Syria) studied the choices of a similar sample to the one presented in the current study and finds that while use of the rural [q] increases in the speech of males after 8 years old, use of the urban [ʔ] increases in the speech of girls in a pattern different to what we see in our data.[64] Miller (2005 on rural migrants in Cairo) finds no gender differences in the use of dialectal variants. However, she reports a higher adoption of the urban variant at 40% as opposed to 11.8% in this study. Contrary to results in the present study where gender had no effect on using the standard variant in either free variation or borrowing from

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[64] In the rural dialect she examines, standard [q] overlaps with the dialectal variant, which is viewed as less prestigious.

standard Arabic, Miller (2005) reports gender differences in the use of standard [q] in borrowing from Standard Arabic whereby men use the variant more than women.

7.2 Analysis of (a)

7.2.1 Descriptive statistics and variant distribution

This variable is the morphophonological representation of the feminine suffix of Arabic nouns and adjectives. Variation of this variable concerns the conditional raising of /a/ into /e/ that occurs in many urban and rural dialects of the Levant, including the dialect of Damascus, but not in Bedouin dialects such as the dialect under the study (Al-Wer 2007; Lentin 2007), As such, in the local dialect, the variable is never raised and is always realized as [a] whereas it is realized as [e] in environments that allow such raising in urban dialects like Damascene. A fuller discussion of the conditional raising and inhibiting environments is presented in 4.1.1.6. Coding for the variable was only done for environments that allow raising so as to examine variation between the local and urban variants.

Both variants: the local [a] and the urban [e] occurred in the data under study. However, use of the local variant was near-categorical in the data, as table 7.15 below exhibits.

Table 7-14 Distribution of (a) variants across the data

Total (a) tokens	Local [a]		Urban [e]	
	Raw	%	Raw	%
2365	2293	97%	72	3%

Moreover, 12 of the tokens realized with [e] were from urban children's songs that occurred in the speech of the two youngest groups. These will be excluded from the discussion of variation in relation to age and gender and from the discussion of accommodation as they are not part of the children's speech.

7.2.2 Variation of (a) in Relation to Age

The local variant [a] was used categorically, or near-categorically by all speakers in all groups and no differences as a function of age occurred in the realization of the variable as can be seen in figure 7.18 below.
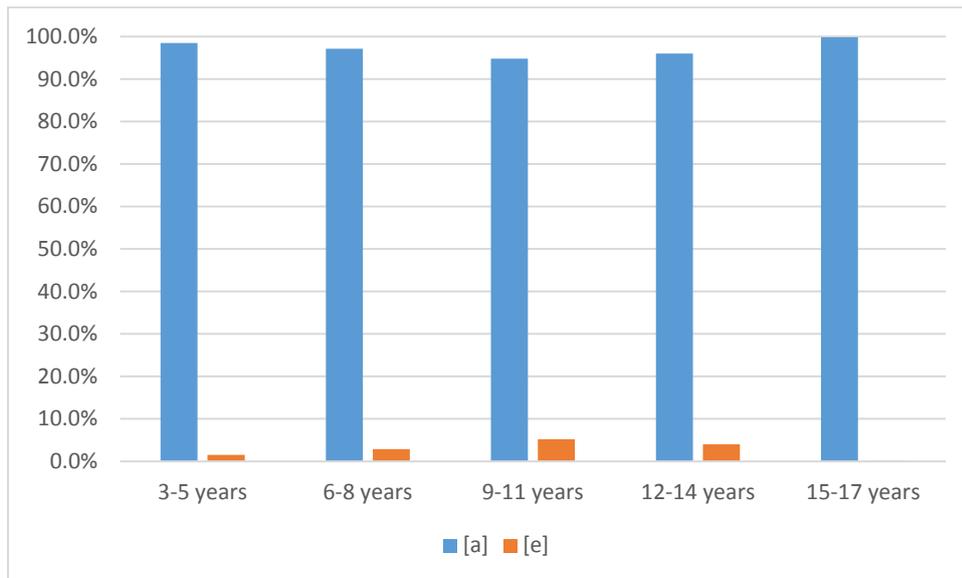
Figure 7-18 Distribution of (a) variants by age

7.2.3 Variation of (a) in Relation to Gender

Although the local variant [a] was used overwhelmingly in the speech of both male and female speakers, use of the variant was higher in the speech of males who used it categorically. An independent samples t test revealed no difference in use of the variant based on gender: p = .082. Use of (a) variants by gender is exhibited in figure 7.19 below.
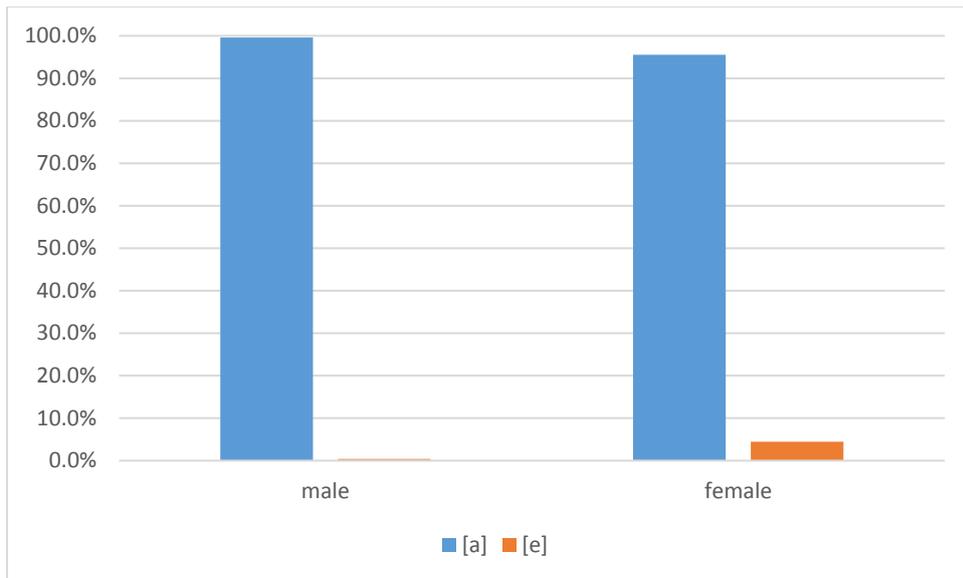
Figure 7-19 Distribution of (a) variants by gender

7.2.4 Variation of (a) in Relation to the Interaction between Age and Gender

Relative to the general use of variants across participant groups, use of the urban variant [e] is most noticeable in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old female speakers. Use of the urban variant was still quite low in their speech. The interaction between age and gender had no overall influence on the use of the variants. However, post-hoc tests showed that girls in the 9-11-year-old group used the local variant [e] significantly more than boys in the group at $p = .028$. Figure 7.20 below illustrates the use of (a) variants by age and gender.
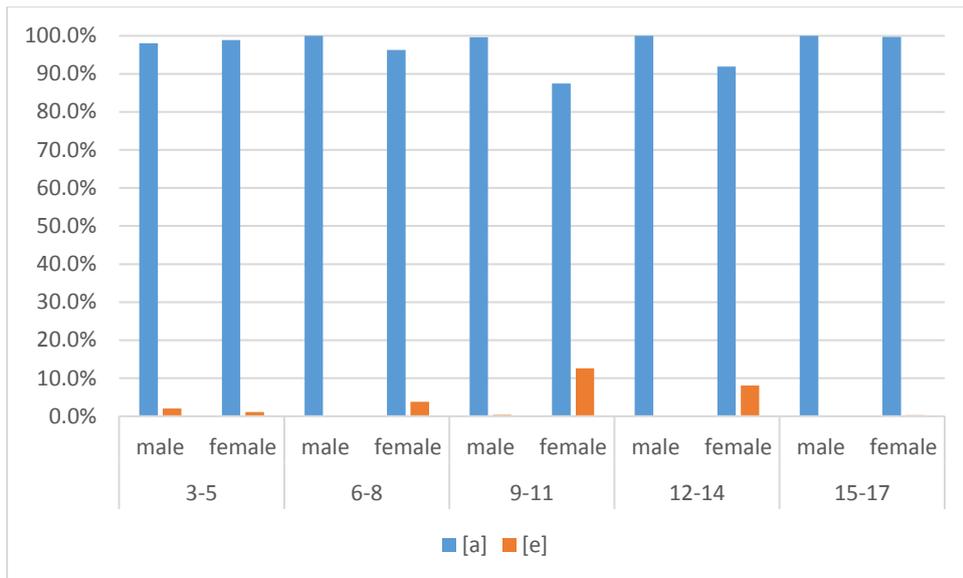
Figure 7-20 Distribution of (a) variants by age and gender

7.2.5 Accommodation and (a) Variants

The local variant was used overwhelmingly in both interview contexts. However, some use of the urban variant [e] did occur in the interview with the urban interviewer as can be noted from figure 7.21 below. The increase in using the urban variant [e] in the interview with the urban interlocutor, though numerically small, was found to be significant at $p = .010$.
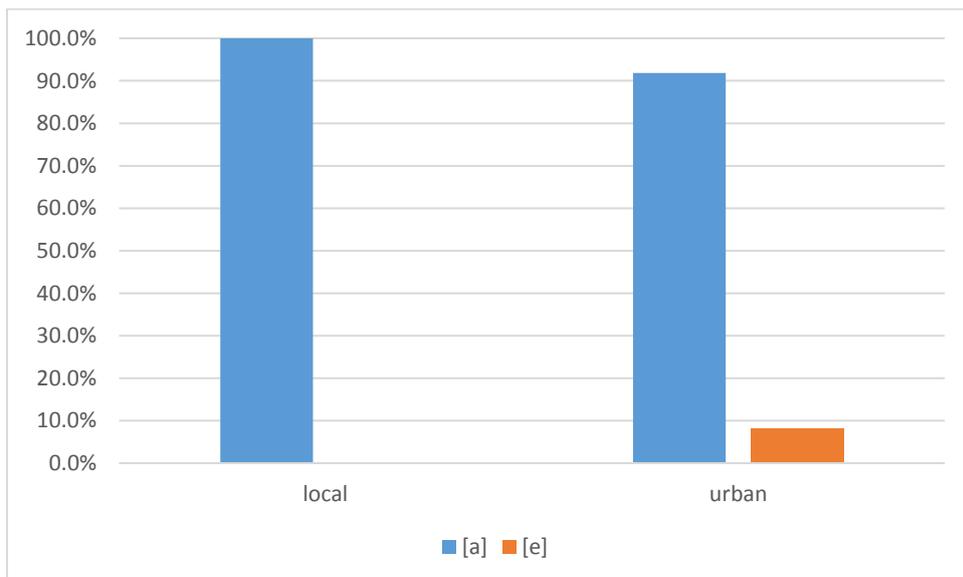
Figure 7-21 Distribution of (a) variant across interview contexts

7.2.5.1 Accommodation and (a) variants: age

Some level of accommodation to the urban interviewer occurs in the speech of all groups since use of the urban variant [e] only emerges in the interview with the urban speaker albeit only slightly as preference for the local variant [a] remains overwhelming throughout. The most noticeable difference appears in the speech of the 9-11-year-old group, as illustrated in figure 7.21 below, but no significant differences in using the variants appear in the speech of any age group.
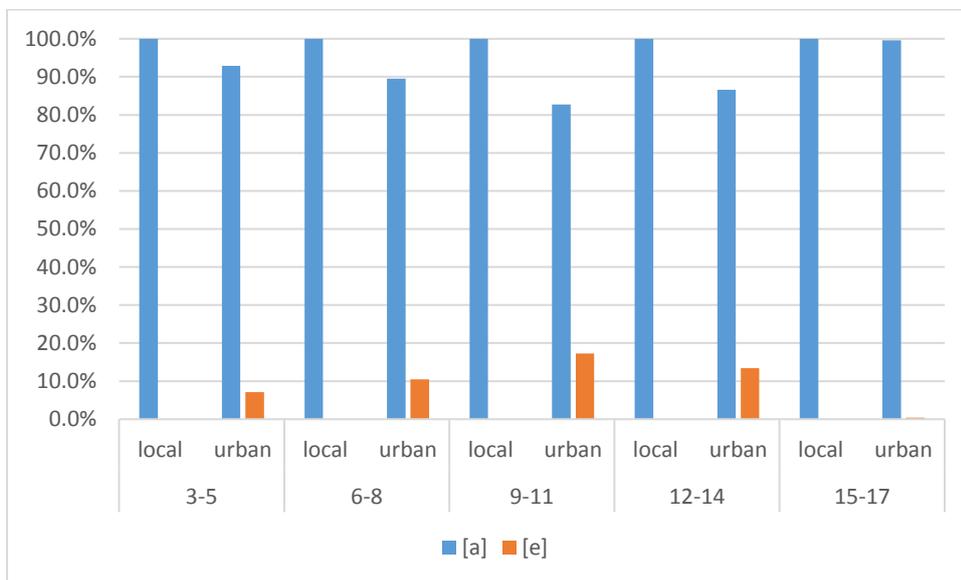
Figure 7-22 Distribution of (a) across interview contexts by age

7.2.5.2 Accommodation and (a) variants: gender

Figure 7.22 below shows that noticeable accommodation towards the urban interviewer only occurs in the speech of female speakers. Their use of the urban variant [e] increases significantly at $p = .021$ in the interview with the urban interlocutor although it remains quite low. No accommodation occurs in the speech of male speakers as they use the local variant [a] categorically with the local interviewer and near categorically with the urban interviewer.
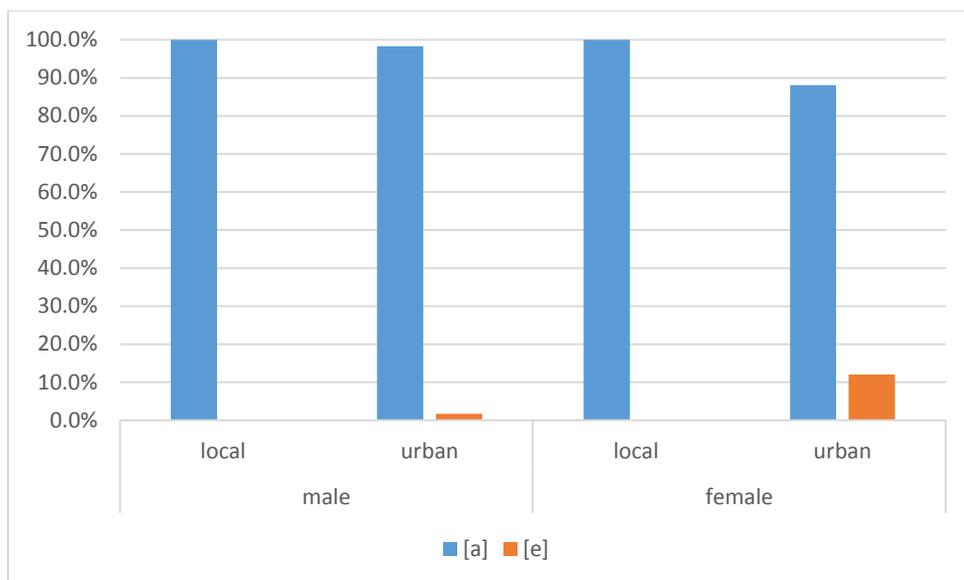
Figure 7-23 Distribution of (a) variants across interview contexts by gender

7.2.5.3 Accommodation and (a) variants: age and gender

The two previous sections showed that in relation to age, accommodation mostly occurred in the speech of the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups and in relation to gender, it was only noticeable in the speech of female speakers. This section analyses accommodation in relation to both age and gender and shows that, despite no significant differences in using the variants across interview contexts in their speech, most accommodation to the urban interlocutor occurred in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old female speakers, as can be noted from figure 7.24 below.
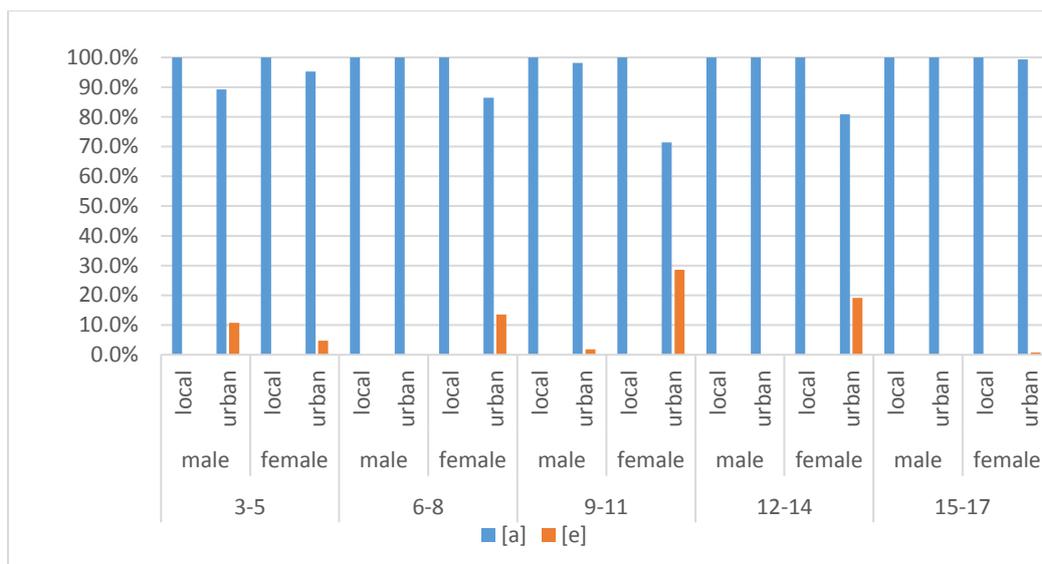
Figure 7-24 Distribution of (a) variant across interview contexts by age and gender

7.2.6 Register Variation and (a) Variants

In the case of (a), as in the case of other variables discussed in the study, the standard and the local variants overlap and many words that contain the variable are pronounced identically despite exceptions. This, coupled with the fact that little variation occurred in the realization of the variable overall, makes untangling the standard from the local quite challenging in the case of (a). Little difference in the realization of the variable occurred across contexts as the local variant [a] was used categorically in the interview and near-categorically in the picture task, as shown in figure 7.24 below. A total of 7 tokens were realized with the urban variant [e] in the picture task and they all occurred in the speech of female speakers in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups. All other speakers used [a] categorically across contexts.
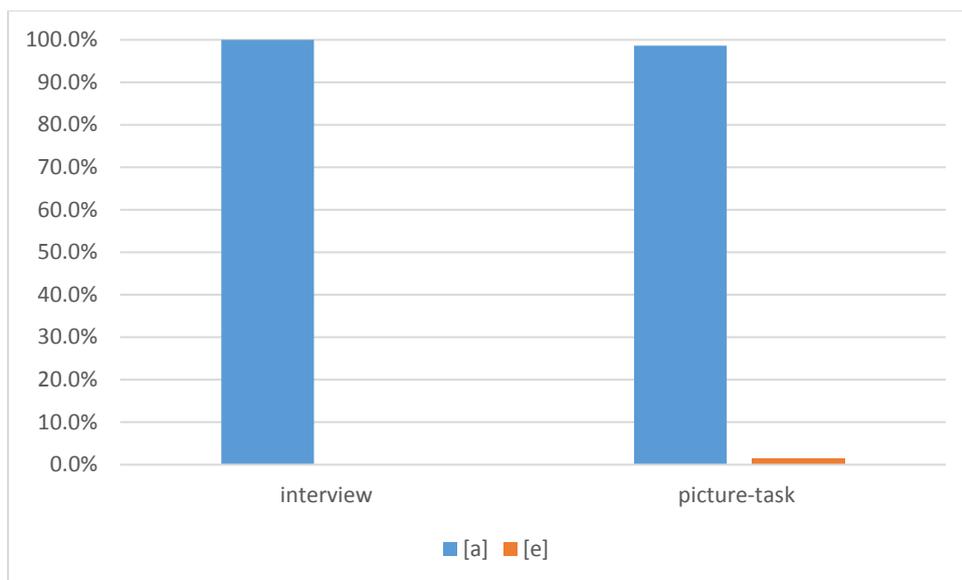
Figure 7-25 Distribution of (a) variants across contexts

7.2.7 Summary and Discussion of (a) Results

The results above show that (a) is highly resistant to variation in the speech community. The local variant was used near-categorically across the data and in the speech of most participants regardless of age or gender. Despite the general preference for the local variant [a] in the speech of all participants, some noticeable use of the urban variant [e] occurred in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old speakers. Female speakers in these groups, especially the 9-11-year-old group, have been consistently found to favour the urban variants. Their use of the urban variant, albeit rather slight, influenced variation in relation to gender as well as accommodation patterns as results showed that use of the urban variant [e] was largely concentrated in their speech.

7.3 General Conclusion

Analysis of the six linguistic variables presented in the last two chapters yielded some very interesting results in relation to the social variables of age and gender.

In relation to age, local variants were generally favoured by older speakers in the sample whereas urban variants were largely more frequent in the speech of younger speakers. In relation to gender, it was found that male speakers strongly favoured the local variants while a

stronger tendency towards the urban variants occurred in the speech of female speakers. However, a further breakdown by age and gender showed a very interesting pattern, where gender differences mostly emerge around age 6 and completely disappear after age 14. As per that pattern, both male and female speakers in the youngest group used the urban variants more frequently than the local variants. Between the ages of 6 and 14, male speakers strongly favoured the local variants whereas female speakers favoured the urban variants. Female speakers in these groups, especially the 9-11 and 12-14, consistently favoured the urban variants of all variables apart from (a), which was highly resistant to variation in the speech of all participants. However, even in the case of (a), female speakers in these groups were the only speakers who used the urban variant at all. After age 14, differences between male and female speakers seem to completely disappear as they both were found to use the local variants overwhelmingly throughout the study.

Accommodation and register variation occurred in the realization of most variables. Register variation was especially noticeable in the case of (q) since no overlap between the standard and any dialectal variants occurs. Register variation in the case of (q) occurred in the speech of all participants indicating a high level of awareness to context of speech.

A fuller discussion of these results will be presented in the chapter 7 below where specific patterns of variation in relation to linguistic and social factors will be teased apart more fully.

Chapter 8. General Discussion

The current thesis was designed to examine the role of age and gender in patterns of variation in the speech of children and adolescents experiencing dialect contact through geographical diffusion. The present thesis examined their acquisition of variation and its correlation with age and gender by investigating patterns of accommodation and style variation in their realization of six socially meaningful linguistic variables. Results showed that age and gender played a significant role in the realization of most variables subject to various linguistic constraints as will be discussed further. Accommodation and style variation patterns appeared in all groups in varying degrees, especially in relation to age. Sections 8.1 below discuss these results in more detail in relation to previous literature.

8.1 The Role of Age and Gender in Patterns of Variation

In a dialect contact situation such as the one presented in this study, acquisition of supralocal forms is assumed to come at a later age (Cornips & Corrigan 2005:4). Children are expected to begin by acquiring the forms of their native dialect before learning those of another (Chambers 2002; Labov 2008, 2012). Results in this study, however, present an interesting scenario whereby supralocal forms are significantly more frequent in the speech of younger speakers than in that of older speakers. Children in the youngest group appear to have acquired the supralocal forms of most of the variables under investigation alongside their local ones, which raises the obvious question as to how these children, presumably the least mobile in the sample, could have acquired these non-native forms. As compelling evidence from previous research (De Houwer 2003; Foulkes *et al*. 2005; Smith *et al.* 2007; Van Hofwegen 2010) shows that input from primary caregivers is especially vital in the speech of young speakers, it is reasonable to look for clues in the input from primary caregivers in the formative years of language acquisition in the community under study. In this community, as in the case of many other speech communities, parents, especially mothers, or other close female family members, especially grandmothers or aunts, are the primary caregivers, which may explain the occurrence of supralocal, urban features in the speech of young children, as female speakers generally favour such forms (Cheshire 2002). Previous studies (Johnson 2003; Foulkes *et al.* 2005; Roberts 2002) found that mothers consciously use more overtly prestigious forms when interacting with their young children (see 3.1.1 for a fuller discussion). Evidence of such

behaviour was also found in the case of this particular speech community as mothers used urban features when speaking to their children despite not using such features with the local interviewer.[65] Observations I made while collecting data for the adult sample showed this behaviour on the part of both parents in some cases and not just mothers. For example, one male speaker in the adult sample never used the urban realization of (q) in his speech to me,[66] but used it while addressing his son and daughter.[67] In fact, two other male speakers in the adult sample said that they made a conscious decision, along with their wives, to use the urban variant of (q) with their children and discourage them from using the local variant. One male speaker said the decision was made based on his own experience when he first left for Damascus to study at around age 15 and was faced with ridicule for his Bedouin dialect and that he wanted to make sure his children do not go through a similar experience when they go to Damascus for school.

(8.1) *li-wlæ:d   mamnu:ʕ kæ:n jiħk.u   b-lahʒet χæ:n iʃ-ʃi:ħ mʃæn mæ: j.igaʕ*

the-children forbidden was   speak.3P in-dialect Khan al-shieh so   not 3S.fall

b-nafs   il-muʕæna   illi ʔana ʕiʃt-ha ʔiða bidd.o   j.itˤlaʕ ʕa-ʒ-ʒæ:mʕa   w

in-same the-suffering that I   lived-it If   want.3S 3S.go to-the-university and

jitmasχar.u ʕa-le: mæ: raħ j.iʔdaɾ j.idɾos ʔiħna kin.na   ʔæ:χði:n qəɾa:ɾ

make fun.3P on-him not will 3S.can 3S.study we   were.1P take   decision

mʃæ:n al-mustaqbal kin.na   mfakɾi:n bid.na   n.ðˤðˤal b-su:ɾja w   jinzal.u

for   the-future   were.1P thinking want.1P 1P.stay in-Syria and go.3P

ʕa-l-ʒæ:mʕa

to-the-university

'The children were not allowed to speak dialect of Khan Eshieh, so as not to face the same suffering I have. If they go to university and they are made fun of, they will not be able to study. We (referring to himself and his wife) took this decision for the future. We thought we were staying in Syria and that our children will eventually go to university'.[68]

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[65] This usually occurred in the picture task as younger speakers occasionally needed prompting for certain items.
[66] Recall that I am a native member of the community and speak the Bedouin dialect.
[67] As noted in 4.8, I spent two days at their house and visited another family from the community with them. Both the husband and wife never used the urban variant of (q) with me or any of the other adults, but used it with their children.
[68] Recall that the adult sample interviews were conducted with members of the community who came to the UK as a result of the unrest in Syria.

It is interesting to note that all adult speakers who said they made an effort to teach their children to use urban features referred to the realization of (q) and not any other variables, which may indicate that (q) is a stereotype (Labov 1972) in the speech community. The local realization of interdental fricatives, on the other hand, was referred to by most adult speakers as the 'correct' pronunciation as it overlaps with the standard realization (see also 5.5). For example, one male speaker in the adult sample spoke of his and his wife's efforts to encourage their children to use the urban realization of (q), remarking that his daughter, especially, never uses the local realization of the variable.

(8.2) *wlæ:d-na   ʔawwal mæ: kæ:n.u b-χæ:n   iʃ-ʃi:ħ kin.na   n.iħki   maʕæ:-hom*
       Children-our first   when were. 3P in-Khan al-shieh were.1P 1P.speak with-them

       bi-l-ʔæl   fa hallaʔ bint-i   t.iħki   dæ:ʔiman bi-l-ʔæl.
       With-the-[ʔæl] so now   daughter-my 3S.speak always   with-the-[ʔæl].

       'Our children, when they were in Khan Eshieh, we always spoke to them with [ʔæl] (in reference to the urban realization of (q)), so now my daughter always speaks with [ʔæl].[69]

However, the same speaker talks of the urban realizations of interdental fricatives in the context of 'intruding' linguistic norms noting that his daughter cannot pronounce these variables while he and his wife could, implying that they pronounce them 'correctly', whereas the daughter uses the urban realizations of these variables.

(8.3) *fi: kilmæ:t daχi:la fa maθalan   t.læ:gi maθalan   bint-i*
       there words   intruding so for example 2S.find for example daughter-my the

       l-ʔaħrof l-laθawijja   mæ: t.ulfuðˤh-a   ʔiħna n.ulfuðˤ-ha
       the-letters the-interdental not   3S.pronounce-them we   1P.pronounce-them

       'There are intruding words, for example, you find that my daughter does not pronounce the interdentals, we do.'

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[69] Note that he uses the word [ʔæl] 'to say' in reference to the realization of (q). interestingly this is the word used by linguists to categorise dialects based on the realization of (q) as discussed in 4.1.1.3.

Additionally, children are exposed to urban features through the media. For example, most popular nursery rhymes are sung in an urban dialect and children in the youngest group were all familiar with such rhymes and sang them to the interviewer.[70] These rhymes were the only occasion when the urban variant of (a) was used in the speech of most children in the youngest group, for instance. Additionally, as noted in 2.3, Damascene Arabic is the most represented in the media (Habib 2014) and older children reported watching popular Syrian TV shows as well as Turkish soaps, which are dubbed in Damascene Arabic. However, as discussed in 2.3, the role of the media in language change is hotly debated (Labov 2001; Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2013) and its influence may be limited to exposing speakers to different features rather than prompting them to embrace them. Indeed, some speakers in the study only used urban features when quoting from a show they watched. For example, a 12-year-old male speaker uses Bedouin features throughout his speech and as he tells the local interviewer about a scene in a popular Turkish soap, but uses urban features when quoting one of the characters. In fact, the same phrase [ʔatˤaʕ ʔi**d**no] 'cut off his ear' is realised with the Bedouin variants of (q) and (ð) when it is part of his own speech, but with urban features when it is narrated as a quote. The speaker actually starts the quote with his native Bedouin realization of (q) and immediately switches to the urban realization. This quote is the only occasion when the urban realizations of (q) and (ð) are used throughout both interviews and the picture task.

(8.4)   *jimkin kæ:n.u   mitχæ:n**g**i:n   lahe:k **g**atˤaʕ-lo   ʔiðn-o   **g**æ:l*

myabe were.3P fighting   so   3S.cut-his ear-his said (discourse marker)

*ʔidʒa   ʕæ:bid   ʃu: **g**æ:l la-muræ:d **g**æ:l 'l-ʔaχ   me:mæ:ti   **g**atˤaʕ   ʔatˤaʕ*

3S.came Abid   what said to-Murad   said 'the-brother Mimati   cut   cut off

*ʔi**d**n-o   lɑ-z̩ˤɑ:z̩ˤa'*

Ear-his to-Zaza'

'I think they had a fight, so he cut off his ear. So Abid told Murad. He told him: 'Mimati cut off Zaza's ear.'

Despite the occurrence of urban features in the speech of young children in the study, their acquisition of such forms is far from complete and their use of these features is sometimes

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[70] Most of these rhymes come from a popular Jordanian-based children's TV channel. The rhymes are all sung in an urban Levantine dialect.

irregular and sporadic. Research shows that adult-like acquisition of linguistic features requires early and regular exposure (Chambers 1992; Starks & Bayard 2002; Tagliamonte & Molfenter 2007) whereas their exposure to these features appears to be largely irregular coming from the media, their non-urban caregivers and the occasional urban speaker they may come in contact with. Their caregivers' input, which acts as the main source of input in their formative years (; Foulkes *et al.* 2005; Johnson 2003; Roberts 2002; Smith *et al.* 2007), seems to be highly variable given that adult speakers' adoption of supralocal features is incomplete as the results in appendix F show. Evidence from the main data and the adult sample data also shows that in most cases, while parents, especially mothers, may use supralocal features with their children, they normally do not use them with other members of the speech community. In fact, previous research shows that native input from primary caregivers is crucial even in cases where children are born into a dialect community (Miller 2005; Payne 1980; Trudgill 1986). All these studies report incomplete acquisition of second dialect features for children of non-native parents, so it is expected that acquisition of urban features would be incomplete for children in the speech community. Additionally, in a close-knit community with strong familial relationships, children are almost always surrounded by other relatives, especially grandparents, aunts and uncles (Habib 2017 reports a similar model in the village of Oyoun Al-Wadi near Homs). So, despite parents, especially mothers, being primary caregivers in the community, linguistic forms of other family members would be frequent enough to form part of the child's input. This means that the child would have a varied input and be exposed to a host of both supralocal and local forms. As noted above, the parents who reported using supralocal forms with their children did not use them with me or other adult members of the community, for example. In fact, one of the male speakers said that while he would use supralocal forms (especially the realization of (q) with his children and with urban speakers, he would normally avoid using such forms with members of the speech community as to avoid ridicule and being labelled pretentious.

(8.5) *tˤabˤan   law   ħake:t   madani b-χæ:n   iʃ-ʃi:ħ   ɾaħ   j.iku:n fi: masχaɾa ʔino*
of course if   1S.spoke urban   in-Khan al-shieh will 3S.be there ridicule that

ʃu: sˤa:jɪɾ   jitʃawwam[71]   kæ:n silæ:ħ   ðu: ħade:n.   kint.i   titˤtˤaɾ.i
what becoming Damascene   was   weapon with two edges were.2S have to.2S

---

[71] Recall from 2.3 above, that any attempt to approximate an urban dialect is seen as a de facto attempt to approximate the Damascene dialect. This term is noted in footnote 14.

tiħk.i   b-kul   makæ:n ħəsəb   il-mantˤiqa

speak.2S in-each place   according the-region

'Of course, if I spoke with an urban accent in Khan Eshieh, there will be ridicule. They will say, look he is being Damascene. It was a double-edged sword. You had to speak according to where you were.'

Acquisition of urban features is also complicated by a host of other factors such as complexity of linguistic constraints (Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996). In this study, this is especially evident in the case of the morphophonological feminine suffix (a), as raising of this variable is phonologically conditioned in urban dialects and does not occur in all environments as explained in further detail in 4.1.1.6. Successful acquisition of such variation would require early and regular exposure to the feature (Chambers 1992). In line with these assumptions, little acquisition of this feature occurs in the present study as all speakers use the local variant near-categorically. The urban variant only occurs very sporadically in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old female speakers and in urban nursery rhymes in the speech of 3-5-year-old speakers. Additionally, lexically-conditioned variation is argued to be among the most difficult features to acquire in a second dialect setting due to its unpredictability (Kerswill 1996). This would apply in the case of interdental fricatives, where a lexical split occurs in the urban realization of these variables and they are realized as either stops or alveolar fricatives as discussed in 4.1.1.4 and 4.1.1.5. Some scholars (e.g., Al-Wer 2003) argue that colloquial words use stop realizations whereas SA lexical items are realized with the closest fricative available to approximate the standard in a phonemic inventory that lacks it. Habib (2011b) argues more convincingly that the split is not as straightforward as simply being between SA and colloquial lexical items and provides evidence that it exists even on the colloquial level. Either way, the split is lexically-conditioned and, as such, should be among the more difficult features to master (Kerswill 1996). Evidence from the present study paints a somewhat puzzling picture. For one, use of urban fricative variants[72]was extremely limited by comparison to the urban stop variants.[73] Based on the premise that for the most part, these variants are used in standard lexical items (Al-Wer 2003; Habib 2011b), it may be argued that, given the overlap between the standard and local realizations, the availability of the standard variants in speakers' native

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[72] [s] as a realization of (θ), [z] as a realization of (ð), and [zˤ] as a realization of (ðˤ).
[73] With the exception of [ð] where frequency is a factor in using [z] in two lexical items as shown in 6.1.1.

phonemic inventory eliminates the need for using the urban fricatives. The almost non-existence of the urban fricative variants in the picture task would enhance this argument and any attempts to use them, however limited, may, thus, be safely assumed to be an attempt to emulate the urban variety. This is especially plausible since they occurred almost exclusively in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old girls, which is consistent with their overall choices and preference of urban forms. In returning to the complexity discussion, some deviation from the urban pattern would be assumed whereby speakers may overgeneralize the use of either variant in the wrong environment. This, however, never occurred in the case of the stop variants, which were all used correctly. Overgeneralization of the urban fricatives, on the other hand, occurred twice in the speech of an 8-year-old girl who mistakenly used [zˤ] in place of [dˤ] in the realization of (baidˤ) 'eggs' and (ħaudˤ) 'tank'. It is worth noting that in these two examples, the variable in question is actually (dˤ), which, in urban dialects, is only realized with [zˤ] in lexical items with the root /dˤbtˤ/ as mentioned in 4.1.1.5 and 6.1.1 (Cleveland 1963; Jassem 1987). The overgeneralization here stems from the merger between (dˤ) and (ðˤ) in the direction of /ðˤ/ in the local variety, where (ðˤ) maybe realized as either [dˤ] or [zˤ] in urban dialects in a similar split to that of plain interdental fricatives (see 4.1.1.4 and 4.1.1.5). Overgeneralizations of this sort also occurred in the adult sample. For example, a female speaker used [dˤ] as a realization of (ðˤ) in *[lɑfidˤ] 'pronunciation', whereas an urban speaker would use [zˤ] and a male speaker in the sample used [t] in the realization of (biʕθæ:t) 'scholarships' where [s] would normally be used.

Another aspect of complexity in relation to the interdental fricatives relates to them being phonetically complex and coming late in the acquisition process (Amayreh & Dayson 1998; Eblen 1982; Ingram 1989; Mowrer & Burger 1991). This applies to the standard and local realizations given their overlap and brings developmental considerations into the discussion of their acquisition especially in the speech of the youngest group. As results in the present study show (see 5.1, 5.2, 6.1 & 6.2), ease of articulation plays an important role in the production of these variables by speakers in the youngest group. However, children in the group are still producing these sounds despite their complexity alongside the easier urban stops as discussed in further detail in 5.1.1.

Habib (2011a, 2014) studied patterns of variation in the production of (q) and two vowel variables involving raising and rounding in the speech of rural children and adolescents (6-18) in the vicinity of Homs experiencing a similar scenario of geographical diffusion. She reports relatively similar results in relation to the overall age pattern whereby higher proportions of supralocal, urban features are found in the speech of the youngest speakers. Habib (2014) refers to this as a process of reverse acquisition whereby children start with a higher proportion of supralocal, urban forms in their speech and move towards categoricity of local forms as they grow older. Use of the urban variants is generally higher in the speech of her youngest group (6-8 years old) than in the speech of the youngest group in the present study (3-5 years old). Unlike children in this study, many of her participants have urban mothers who she credits with facilitating acquisition of urban factors at a young age. Such influence was consciously kept to a minimum in the present study as only children of local parents were recruited to participate. This may explain why increase in the use of local variants starts earlier in the present study (at about age 5 rather than 8).

Similar to results in Habib (ibid.), the increase in the present study is conditioned by gender as it mostly occurs in the speech of boys rather than girls whose use of the urban variants increases up to age 14. Gender differences follow a somewhat different pattern in the present study than that reported in Habib (2011a, 2014). Whereas gender differences persist in the speech of 15-18-year-old speakers in Habib's research, they completely disappear in the current study by the time girls enter the 15-17-year-old group, which strongly favours local forms. Use of the local variants is highest in the speech of 9-11-year old boys in Habib's sample and decreases slightly in the speech of boys in the oldest group (Habib 2014). In this study, however, use of the local variants is consistently highest in the speech of both male and female speakers in the oldest group, followed closely by 9-11-year-old boys. Use of the such variants in boys' speech increases in a linear pattern, despite a slight dip in the 12-14-year-old group, peaking to categorical or near-categorical in the speech of male teenagers in the 15-17-year-old group-subject to various linguistic constraints.[74] For young female speakers, on the other hand, the use of local variants decreases noticeably in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups and increases dramatically in the oldest group to near categoricity in the realization of some variables. As per this pattern, highly significant differences occur between 3-5-year-old boys and boys in all

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[74] This is especially true in the case of (q) where the standard variant is used in lexically-conditioned environments.

other age groups as older boys move radically in the direction of local variants. Similar differences as a function of age are much less noticeable amongst female speakers although girls in the oldest group strongly favour the local variants.

Gender differences in this community emerge earlier than reported by Habib (2011a, 2014) for rural children in the vicinity of Homs (around the age of 8). In this study, these differences emerge around school age in accordance with previous expectations that gendered awareness would develop around this age (Edelsky 1977). Such differences are limited to children between the ages of 6 and 14 years old and, in this age bracket, they follow a pattern consistent with previous research whereby female speakers strongly favour urban variants and male speakers favour local variants (Al-Ali & Arafa 2010; Habib 2011a, 2014; MacRuairc 2011). The disappearance of these differences in the oldest group is, therefore, quite intriguing as it deviates from assumptions and reports of female speakers favouring overtly prestigious variants. This may be explained by looking at speakers' networks in this community across these different age groups (see Kerswill 1996 on the importance of speakers' network in their language use). For pre-schoolers, primary input comes mainly from mothers or other female caregivers. In the context of this study, another primarily female-oriented influence comes from briefly attending nursery in the case of some children where the majority of teachers are female. [75] Additionally, as noted in the examples above, some fathers in the adult sample also reported their efforts of using urban variants with their children. Children at this age also learn a lot of nursery rhymes as mentioned above and these are almost exclusively sung in an urban dialect. These songs featured in the speech of all participants in the youngest age group and were the only context where they used the urban realization of the (a) variable. Eckert (1997) explains that at such a young age, children would not be isolated by gender as much as by other factors such as class. Their linguistic choices would mostly indicate their input rather than a choice. This would apply in the case of the speech community under study, as young children in the community share the same dialectal and social background and have relatively similar experiences. Patterns of variation in their speech are, therefore, expected to be largely comparable.[76] Once children go to school, their input becomes much more varied, posing the

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[75] Data collection was carried out around the start of the 'troubles' in the community. Children reported not going to kindergarten because of bombing.

[76] Recall that some differences were found between girls and boys in the youngest group. This is mostly because the mean age of girls in the group was generally higher than that of boys. Those differences are, thus, likely developmental.

challenge of determining where the primary influence may lie (Van Hofwegen 2015:30). In this community, girls and boys go to separate schools between the ages of 6 and 14 years old as mentioned in 1.2.2, which may focus their peer groups within their own sex. Girls and boys start forming their own games, even outside of school. Such games mostly conform to gender stereotypes as girls are normally not allowed to play outside as much as boys. Boys in the study, for example, reported playing 'thieves and police' and various other forms of tag, going on their bikes, and generally playing out on the street whereas girls mostly reported playing house and tea parties and watching popular TV series. Both reported not wanting to play with the other sex at this age and girls reported going on mostly female visits with their mothers as a favourite activity.[77] This would indicate that peer-input is likely key in the speech of boys, whereas female input as well as influence of the media is higher in the speech of girls. In the oldest age group, girls and boys go to a local mixed school and they start interacting with each other as peers for the first time since kindergarten.[78] For female speakers at this age, their peer network is no longer exclusively female and that might be a key factor in their preference for local forms. It is possible then that girls are influenced by the linguistic behaviour of their male peers as females are argued to be more convergent in their speech than males - especially in mixed-sex interactions (Giles & Ogay 2006; Lelong & Bailly 2011; Namy *et al.* 2002). Girls' behaviour in this group may also be explained as expressing nonconformity and rebellion as would be expected of adolescents in general (Eckert 1997; Labov 1972, 2001) and expressing such behaviour through their use of language as they construct identities independent of adult speakers. Halliday (1978) refers to this as anti-language and argues that teenage speakers adopt this strategy to express rebellion and deviate from a socially expected pattern. This would also apply to the male speakers in this group as they exhibit the highest use of local forms. Alternatively, speakers in this group maybe using language to index an identity that is not necessarily defiant in the sense of rebellion against social expectations, but rather one that denotes pride in a local- and by extension- national identity in a community of Palestinian refugees in Syria especially considering the prominence of identity in the speech of adolescents (Van Hofwegen 2015). As such a more local orientation and a sense of pride in their identity are probably stronger indexers at this stage, prompting them to use local forms to express that orientation. Both male and female speakers in this group spoke of their pride in their Palestinian identity time and again and language use may be viewed as one medium by which this is

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[77] This is typical in a traditional and moderately conservative community.

[78] Although dating is not officially acceptable in the community, teenagers at this age start forming romantic relationships. School is actually the only place they can interact without societal disapproval.

expressed. Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 371) argue that in contact situations, a sense of identity, especially one that is ethnically driven is likely to emerge and is viewed as a guard against the 'de-ethnicizing process of citizenship in the nation-state'. I argue that this may apply in the current context despite the lack of citizenship for Palestinians in Syria. In this context, it would be a rise of national, rather than ethnic identity, and it would, similarly serve as an attempt to preserve and enhance distinctiveness. As discussed in 1.2.1, a distinct Palestinian identity for refugees in Syria is reported by Abdul-Rahim and Abuateya (2005), who note that despite the relative overall economic and social integration of Palestinians in Syria, a distinctive identity is preserved as Palestinians cannot become Syrian even if they wanted to. Abdul-Rahim and Abuateya (2005) find that Palestine and an identity that revolves around statelessness, displacement and the hope of return are central in the experiences of all their interviewees and note that this applied even to second and third generation refugees who were born and raised in Syria and whose experience of Palestine is restricted to what is passed on from their grandparents and what they learn in school. This is especially true for Palestinians who live in refugee camps as the camps have become representative of their identity (Abdul-Rahim & Abuateya 2005). In the case of the speech community, residents pride themselves on living in the closest camp to the homeland. Such sentiments of pride and belonging to the camp are expressed by both male and female speakers in the 15-17-year-old group. For example, one of the male speakers expressed his opposition to living outside the camp saying that the only place he would trade for the camp is Palestine. This was to answer a question about any future plans and whether he considered living anywhere else is Syria:

(8.6)   *wa-ɫɫa   jæ: ʔaðˤaɫ.ni b-al-muχajjam jæ: ʕa fiɫasˤtˤi:n l-waːħad mæ: j.itχalla*

By-God either stay.1S   in-the-camp   or to Palestine   the-one   not   3S.give up

ʕan waˤtan-o   gæːʕd-i:n   hoːn mæ: n.itˤlaʕ

on   home-his   staying-1P here   not   1P.leave

'I either stay here or go to Palestine! One does not give up their homeland. And here we are, we are staying here, we are not leaving.'

This statement corroborates findings of Abdul-Rahim and Abuateya (2005) on the emotional status of the camp for its residents as it clearly has become home away from home- Palestine.

It is not seen as a replacement for it, though, but rather as a home that does not strip away the Palestinian identity as it is thoroughly Palestinian in spirit and appearance. Abdul-Rahim andAbuateya (2005) observe that this sentiment is shared by the majority of Palestinian refugees in Syria regardless of economic circumstances noting that even Palestinians who spend years working in Gulf States often settle in the camp when they return to Syria.

A female speaker in the same age group expressed a similar sentiment. She explained that while she would love to travel and experience living in a different culture, settling anywhere else was not an option for her. Her argument highlights the point above about the camp not stripping away the Palestinian identity while other places are seen as a potential threat to maintaining such identity. She refers to her identity as a nationality although, strictly speaking, Palestinian refugees are deemed stateless and do not have a nationality (Al-Mawed 1999; Kibreab 2003 and refer to 1.2.1 for a fuller discussion). Syria is one of the few places where a claim to a Palestinian nationality is acknowledged as discussed further in 1.2.1. Abdul-Rahim and Abuateya (2005) note that school curricula also contribute to such sentiments:[79]

(8.7) *bidd.i   ʔ.adʒarrib ʕi:ʃt ihnæk bas   mu: ħilu ʕale:-tʃ isim læ:dʒiʔ ʔaw muɣtarb*

Want.1S 1S.try   life there only not nice on-you name refugee or   expat

ʔani mæ: ɾaħ   ʔ.atɾik   dʒinsi:t-i   w ʔ.æ:χoð dʒinsijja   ʔadʒnabijja

I   not going to 1S.leave nationality-my and 1S.take   nationality foreign

ʔ.að ͡ʕałni fałas ͡ʕt ͡ʕi:nijja ʔaħla

1S.stay   Palestinian   nicer

'I only want to try living there. It is not nice being called a refugee or an expatriate and I will not leave my nationality for another. I want to stay Palestinian. It is nicer.'

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[79] Syria's ruling Al-Ba'th party is established on pan-Arab nationalism and the Palestinian cause is a focal point in their rhetoric, which may also contribute to enhancing such an identity.

In a language ideology framework, such comments are useful in deducing linguistic attitudes and understanding sociolinguistic variation (Llamas 2007) and indicate that use of local features may, indeed, index a strong local identity where the dialect is viewed as part of being Palestinian. For them, the contrast between it and contact dialects, including the urban dialect of Damascus, may be based on Palestinian vs. Syrian more so than Bedouin vs. urban. Associations between the dialect and identity were actually made by a female speaker in the group. In a response to the target (θaʕlab) 'fox', she provided the target word adding: 'We, Palestinians, call it [ħsˤeːni]', which is another word for 'fox' that is common in many Bedouin and rural dialects in the Levant and not exclusive to Palestinian Arabic. In this context, language use serves as a medium by which members of the camp community signal their affiliation to the Palestinian identity that they seem so keen on stressing. Herbert (2002) reports a similar model where women may opt for their local linguistic forms in cases of contact even if they lack overt prestige if those forms denote a positive identity that they are proud of.

8.2 Accommodation in the Speech of Children and Adolescents

Variation as a function of the interviewer proved significant as convergence to the urban speaker occurred in the realization of all variables to varying degrees. Accommodation to interlocutors is very common and is argued to be part of human nature (Gasiorek *et al.* 2015). Britain and Trudgill (2009) suggest that it is bound to happen in dialect contact situations and becomes a driving force for language change. However, various social and linguistic factors play a role in the degree of accommodation and how it is manifested, as discussed in Chapter 2.

In this study, convergence towards the urban interviewer occurred to varying degrees in the speech of both girls and boys, apart from speakers in the oldest group. In some cases, convergence appeared quantitatively higher in the speech of boys, although female speakers are expected to converge more to their conversational partners (Giles & Ogay 2006; Lelong and Bailly 2011; Namy et al. 2002). This was largely due to the fact that girls' use of the local variants was lower than that of boys in the conversation with the local speaker and although accommodation appeared higher in the speech of boys on those occasions, girls' use of the urban variants was generally more frequent in the interviews with the urban interlocutor.

Convergence to an overtly prestigious variety, or what is referred to as up-ward convergence (Giles *et al.* 1991), is well attested in the literature (Miller 2005). It conveys social and linguistic awareness of speakers (Hinskens *et al.* 2005) and expresses a desire for social mobility (Giles & Ogay 2006). It also indicates a positive perception of the urban variety for these speakers as accommodative behaviour is shaped by speakers' perception and attitudes towards their own variety and that of their interlocutor (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Convergence to the urban speakers appeared even in the speech of the youngest group, although it seemed to be manifested as direct imitations on some occasions as children in this group engaged in a play session with the interviewer. For instance, some children, as in example (8.8) below, used the urban variant of (a) only on such occasions in addition to urban nursery rhymes, as mentioned above.

(8.8)   Urban interviewer: *btaʕrif   ʃu: hai*?

                   2S.know what this?

                   'Do you know what this is? (Referring to a toy figurine)

Child: *laʔ*

        No

Urban interviewer: *hai ɣazæ:le*

                   This a deer (used feminine for deer)

                   'This is a deer'

Child: *ɣəzæle*?

        'A deer?'

This observation does not discount their level of social and linguistic awareness, but rather serves to show their ability to observe differences between their speech and that of the urban interlocutor (Hernandez 2002). Overgeneralisations in an attempt to converge to the urban interviewer also occurred in the speech of some children in this group, which is another indication of metalinguistic awareness (Milroy 2001). For example, for *g*æto[80]- 'cake' as borrowed and modified from French, a six-year-old boy used the word [ʔæto] in a clear overgeneralization of the urban [ʔ] for what he perceived as the local realization [g] of (q). Generalization of [ʔ] to borrowed words normally realized with [g] - regardless of dialect - also

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[80] This reflects the modified pronunciation of the word.

occurred in the speech of a 9-year-old girl who used [maʔduːs] for (magduːs) - a traditional Syrian breakfast staple of eggplants stuffed with walnuts, hot pepper and garlic preserved in olive oil - in a clear attempt to converge to the urban speaker. On other occasions, errors may occur in the use of non-native variants when their lexical or phonological conditioning is not mastered, as discussed above. This is evident in the speech of a 10-year-old girl who did not master the lexical split in the urban realization of (ðˤ) and used [zˤ] in the realization of (ʔaðˤaːfɪɾ) 'fingernails' rather than [dˤ]. Her realization also indicates an interdialectal or intermediate form (Trudgill 1999), as she only modifies her realization of (ðˤ), keeping the vocalic pattern of her native dialect rather than using the urban [ʔadˤafiːɾ]. Other interdialectal forms also occurred, such as [ʔalatli] 'she told me' for the urban [ʔæːlitli] where only the realization of (q) is modified from the local [g] to the urban [ʔ]. Miller (2005) reports the occurrence of such forms in the speech of rural migrants in Cairo adding that some persist even in the speech of second generation speakers, which also confirms the crucial role of native input in acquisition. This draws attention to the role of linguistic competence in speakers' ability to accommodate and the level of such accommodation (Pitts & Harwood 2015). Overgeneralization may, thus, occur in situations where speaker do not have the necessary knowledge of sociolinguistic constraints of their interlocutor's variety. Trudgill (1986, 1999) also argues that convergence is about reducing differences rather than eliminating them and does not have to result in a complete change in one's phonology and proposes that such adjustments may result in intermediate forms. What features may be subject to change depends on their social and linguistic constraints as Kerswill (1995) explains that surface features that are consciously recognised by speakers are the first to undergo change whereas complex underlying features are harder to change. In some cases, however, it seems that surface features are kept while the vocalic pattern of the word is changed. For example, some speakers used the urban vocalic pattern in words like [gamaɾ] 'moon' and [bagara] 'cow' in place of the traditional [gumaɾ] and [bgara], but used the local realization of (q) rather than the urban glottal stop. In fact, the traditional vocalic pattern of these words never occurred as part of participants' speech in the present study or in the adult sample. A 17-year old boy used [bgara] jokingly and immediately switched to [bagara] as he laughed at the use of the traditional pronunciation. This indicates a negative association attached to such patterns even in the speech of boys in the oldest group who were found to consistently favour the local variants and may explain the abandoning of such features by certain social groups. Such features were also quoted as

examples of what is perceived as 'old' and 'outdated' by a male speaker in the adult sample as the example below shows.[81]

(8.9) *ʔana ʔa.krəh l-badæ:wa   badæ:w-it   il-lahʤa   ɣe:r   badæ:w-it*

   I   1S.hate the-Bedouinism Bedouinism-of   the-dialect different Bedouinism-of

   it-tafki:r fi: næ:s   ʕandhom tne:n jaʕna ʔana mæ: ʔa.tqabbal maθalan

   thought there people have   two   mean I   not 1S.accept for example

   wæ:ħad j.igul-i   hai χʃiba ʔaw hai wrɪga (rather than *χaʃaba* and *waraga*)

   one   3S.say-me   this wood or   this paper

   'I hate Bedouinism. Bedouinism of dialect is different to Bedouinism of thought, mind. Some people have both. I mean, for example, I do not accept someone saying to me this is *χʃibə* or this is *wrɪga* (using traditional vocalic structure for both words).'

Highly stigmatized features are, indeed, found to be particularly susceptible to change in contact situations. Miller (2005: 936) reports such a pattern where features that are readily identified as rural are the first to be abandoned. Al-Wer (2003) also suggests that absence of [ðˤ] in the speech of Jordanian women is due to the fact that it is highly stigmatized and ridiculed in Jordan. This is mostly evident in the realization of (q) and (ðˤ) in the current study. Use of the urban variant of (q) increases from 8.3% with the local interviewer to 48% in the interview with the urban speaker in the speech of 6-8-year-old female speakers whereas use of the local variant drops from 79% with the local interlocutor to 35% with the urban interlocutor. Their use of the urban variant of (ðˤ) increases from 38% with the local interviewer to 86% with the urban interlocutor. In the speech of 9-11-year-old girls, use of the urban variant of (q) rises from just 5% with the local interviewer to 69% with the urban interviewer and their use of the local variant drops from 66% in the interview with the local interlocutor to 16% in their speech with the urban speaker. Their use of the urban realization of (ðˤ) increases from 50% in their speech with the local interviewer to 73% in the interview with the urban interlocutor, which indicates that these variables are highly marked in the community as girls in these groups

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[81] His wife was present during the conversation and she burst out laughing at these examples, which further indicates their negative associations.

appear to be the most conscious of prestige features, as evidenced by their linguistic choices in general and in their speech to the urban interlocutor, in particular.

Very little convergence on the speech of the urban interlocutor occurred in the speech of females in the oldest group and no convergence whatsoever occurred in the speech of males in this group. This does not support the hypotheses 3and 6 put forward in 4.2 that more convergence would occur in the speech of older speakers considering that the sociolinguistic knowledge necessary for accommodation develops with age (Babel 2009; Leaper 1991; Youssef 1993). However, such lack of accommodation may indicate a conscious effort to conserve group identity (Bourhis 1984). This is in line with the argument presented above that proposes identity as a probable force in the linguistic choices of speakers in this group given the relative prominence of identity practices and peer relationships in the lives of adolescents (Van Hofwegen 2015). Such an attitude may have been enhanced by the fact that the study was conducted in participants' houses and, as such, these speakers were operating within their physical and emotional space and the urban interviewer is viewed as the outsider in the situation. Moreover, convergence to an overtly prestigious norm is argued to be an attempt at membership of a socially attractive group (Giles & Ogay 2006), a sentiment that is not expressed by this group. In fact, as mentioned above, adolescents are found to be rebellious rather than seeking approval and integration (Eckert 1997; Labov 2001). One of the male speakers in the group seemed to even further diverge his speech away from that of the urban interlocutor after she commented that it is *ħara:m* 'forbidden in Islam' for him to become a hair stylist. This divergence was expressed by affricating (k)[82] in the 2nd singular feminine suffix, a feature that did not occur in his speech with the local interlocutor. His divergence on this occasion appears to signal a conscious effort to further distance himself from the interviewer in response to a negative comment she made about his career goals (Giles *et al.* 1991).

8.3 Style Variation in the Speech of Children and Adolescents

Analysing style variation and the influence of standard language is a bit problematic in Arabic due to the state of diglossia and the competing levels of standard and vernacular prestige as

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[82] This appears to have become a highly localised feature in the speech community and, thus, only occurred a couple of times in the sample. It also only occurred in the speech of one male speaker in the adult sample.

discussed in 1.3. As discussed further in 4.4.3, the standard procedure to test style variation in most western studies involves introducing a reading list (Labov 1984). This is impractical in an Arabic setting as writing is traditionally exclusive to Standard Arabic- a largely written variety. Moreover, some of the youngest speakers in the present study are unable to read. A picture-naming task was, therefore, used and was expected to invoke a formal, school-setting prompting speakers to shift their realizations to the standard since Standard Arabic is associated with education. Fischer (1985) also suggests that a formal setting may prompt children to switch their speech into a formal register because they perceive it as similar to a school setting. A school setting was also found to encourage use of the standard in the speech of African American children who switched to using Standard English when participating in classroom activities whereas they used slang in informal situations (De Stefano 1972; Melmed 1971). Results in the present study show that the picture task did invoke a school setting. One speaker in the oldest group asked whether he should 'read' the pictures and the use of standard variants was generally higher in the picture task by comparison to the sociolinguistic interview. Use of features readily identified with the standard was reserved for naming the pictures whereas vernacular speech was still used when instances of conversation occurred during the task, which indicates a high level of awareness of relevant contexts and appropriate speech styles.

Quantitative analysis indicated register variation in the realization of all variables apart from (a) and (ðˤ), the local realizations of which overlap with the standard. Overlap between the standard and local realizations occurs for most variables in the study and as use of the local variants with the local interviewer was very high in the speech of certain speaker groups, it was important to note other features that may denote the use of the standard and not limit the discussion to statistically significant results. Many features of SA were used by speakers during the picture task, which, in addition to the statistical results already noted in 5.2.6, 6.1.6, 6.2.6 and 7.1.7, indicate that style shifting does indeed occur in their speech. Speakers, for instance, resorted to the use of standard lexical items in the picture task. For example, speakers used the lexical items [miðˤɑlla] 'umbrella' rather than the colloquial word [ʃamsijja] in the picture task. When coded for (ðˤ), no difference would appear in the realization of the variable across the interview context and the picture task because use of [ðˤ] was already very frequent in the interview. In other cases, speakers used the vocalic structure of SA instead of that of the vernacular such as in [ðubæ:ba] 'fly' rather than the colloquial [ðibbæ:na] and [ðail] 'tail' in place of the local [ðe:l]. This was the most common strategy and the most discernible especially

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in cases of overlap between the standard and dialectal variants of the variables under study. Other examples include [θawɾ] 'bull' in place of the local [θoːɾ], [baidˤ] 'eggs' in place of the local [beːðˤ] or urban [beːdˤ] and [ħaʊdˤ] 'tank' rather that the local [ħoːðˤ] or the urban [ħoːdˤ]. This occurred even in the speech of a 5-year-old girl who used the standard vocalic structure in [ħimɑːɾ] 'donkey' rather than the vernacular [ħmɑːɾ].[83] This is quite impressive, especially in the speech of such a young inexperienced speaker since matching the vocalic structure of the standard is reported to be amongst the more difficult aspects of acquisition in a dialect-standard continuum context (Saigh-Haddad 2003). In some instances, partially standard phrases were used in the task. For example, a 10-year-old boy responded with [beːt maksuw biθθaldʒ] 'a house covered in snow' for the target /θaldʒ/ making use of the standard lexical item [maksʊw] rather than simply responding with the local [θaledʒ]. A 14-year-old boy jokingly used *tanween*- a grammatical feature that is mostly exclusive to Standard Arabic - alongside other features in his responses as in [qalamon] 'pen' and [ðaɪlon] 'tail'. Although the feature was used jokingly, it indicates both awareness of the relevant speech style and skill in using it appropriately.

Statistically significant variation based on the context occurred even in cases of overlap between the standard and the local variants as in the case of (ð) and (θ). In this regard, style variation was most noticeable in the speech of girls between the ages of 6 and 14 as use of the urban variants in the interview context was highest in the speech of these groups, making their switch to the standard realization readily identifiable. Similarly, in the case of (dˤ), where the standard variant overlaps with the urban rather than the local realization, most noticeable differences were in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old boys as their use of the local variant was very high in the interview context. Results on style variation in the realization of (dˤ) are especially interesting given its merger with (ðˤ) in the direction of /ðˤ/ in the dialect community, indicating an impressive level of linguistic competence as well as an awareness of different contexts. Indeed, in a study on the variation between (ðˤ) and (dˤ), Al-Wer (2003) reports that professional news anchors with dialect backgrounds that merge the variables in the direction of /ðˤ/ had difficulty differentiating the two even with the help of orthography. Moreover, variant distributions of these variables show a much higher use of [dˤ] as a realization of (dˤ) than as a realization of (ðˤ), which, in addition to indicating a high level of awareness, also

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[83] The target here was 'cow' used to elicit realizations of (q), but she initially mistook the item in question for a donkey!

suggests an expectedly strong SA influence of the speech of children and adolescents in the community.

Examination of register variation was more straightforward in the case of (q) since its standard variant does not overlap with any dialectal variants relevant to the community. Use of the variant would therefore be safely assumed to be an approximation to the standard. Miller (2005) similarly notes that use of standard [q] is independent of dialectal variation when the varieties involved do not have it as a native variant. Statistical analysis showed that use of [q] was significantly higher in the picture-naming task, indicating a clear effect of perceived formality on the choice of linguistic variants. A number of super tokens (Tagliamonte 2011) occurred in the realization of the variable in the task. For example, [**q**alam ʔazɾa**g**] and [**g**ałam ʔazɾa**q**] 'blue pen' occurred in the speech of many speakers. Others provided multiple realizations of the same target word. A 17-year-old boy, for example, responded with [**q**aʊs, **q**o:s, **g**o:s] 'headband'. Note that in the first response, the vocalic structure of Arabic is used whereas in the second, only the standard variant of (q) is employed. Speakers' awareness of the task's formality and use of appropriate features to express it were also evident when certain individuals realized some of the same words differently when they occurred in the interview context and when the same items were fortuitously repeated in the picture task. Two male speakers in the 9-11-year-old group, for example, used the local variant in (ba**q**ara) 'cow' when it occurred in the interview context, but used the standard variant when in the picture task. In fact, it is interesting that variation in the use of (q) between the picture task and interview context occurred in the speech of all participants, but was mostly noticeable in speakers between the ages of 12-14. Gender had no role in this variation, which contravenes previous assumptions that Arab men use standard forms more than women (Daher 1998; Miller 2005). Miller (2005:933) generalizes her finding to all Arabic speaking communities claiming that men, regardless of level of education, tend to use more standard features than their female peers. Results in this study, however, show that standard forms occur at noticeably frequent rates even in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old girls who strongly favour urban features. Use of [q] in the interviews as a function of topic, discussed further in 7.1.2, also shows no differences between male or female speakers. Use of the variant in the picture task and in the interview contexts presents an interesting pattern that seems to be highly dependent on age. Recall that use of variable [q], which occurred in free variation, was higher in the speech of younger speakers whereas use of [q] in lexically conditioned environments was highest in the

speech of the oldest group. School influence may be higher in the speech of younger group, which may explain their use of the standard variant in free variation with the local variant. Such influence may be deduced through speakers' own comments. Recall, for example, that a 9-year-old boy referred to the standard (dˤ) as a letter in the alphabet during the picture task. Such influences appeared even in pre-schoolers who only attended kindergarten sporadically. For example, a five-year-old girl who could not readily remember the word for 'padlock' (qifl) was prompted by her mother who used the standard variant for (q) adding: 'remember when we learnt this for '*qaf*'? Also referring to the variable as a letter in the alphabet.

These examples indicate children's familiarity with the standard variety and its influence on their speech. Linguistic awareness alone is not enough without linguistic competence as it only implies a passive control of register (Andersen 1992). Linguistic competence is governed by factors such as age, education and so forth. This explains why speakers' use of [q] based on topic and in technical lexical items is highest in the speech of the oldest group. Speakers in that group have the linguistic repertoire necessary to discuss such topic with an appropriate style, whereas younger speakers still lack such competence despite their awareness of the appropriate style. In addition, speakers in this group, based on age and education, have more interest than younger speakers in discussing topics of religion and politics, which have been shown to invoke use of standard features (Miller 2005).

Results on style variation, especially those in the realization of (q) and (dˤ), suggest that SA has a powerful influence on the speech of children and adolescents in the community. Results from the variation patterns of these two variables may also indicate that SA has a stronger impact than the urban dialect does on their speech. Together with education, the spread of all-day channels that offer cartoons dubbed in SA may have helped in spreading standard features - especially in the case of young speakers. For older speakers, use of SA may serve as an intermediate form between features that are highly local and urban features since Standard Arabic is considered a shared register between all Arabic speakers that transcends dialects and geography (Ferguson 1959). This is a tentative assumption in light of the data under study. For example, there is no difference in the use of [q] across interviewers that would suggest an active attempt to use it as an intermediate feature. Such sentiments were, however, expressed by some

speakers in the adult sample who said they would rather make use of standard features than switch instead to markedly urban features.

8.4 Geographical Diffusion and Patterns of Variation in the Community

Watson (2002) observes that Bedouin dialects tend to be more conservative than urban dialects and argues that intra-dialectal variation due to social factors such as age and gender is more likely to occur in urban dialects. Results in this study, however, show that in situations of contact, traditionally Bedouin dialects can exhibit variation as a function of age and gender. This highlights the role of contact and social factors in language change and confirms that any community, regardless of its dialect background, would experience variation and change given the right social environment and circumstances. Watson's observation might be true for isolated Bedouin communities with little chance of contact. Palva (2006) notes that it is useful, therefore, to remember that a classification of Arabic dialects into Bedouin and sedentary does not necessarily apply to speakers. Al-Wer (2007) notes that change in the Bedouin dialect of the indigenous Jordanian population is mainly a result of contact. The community under study presents a case where the dominant dialect is of Bedouin heritage, but the lifestyle cannot be classified as either rural or Bedouin in the traditional sense as discussed further in the introduction. Geographical diffusion is expected to be the main source of dialect contact and change as discussed further in chapter two. The results of variation will, therefore, be discussed from that viewpoint.

In situations of geographical diffusion, features spread from a powerful urban centre (Britain 2002) such as Damascus in the case of the speech community under investigation here. In these situations, the least mobile members of the community, such as children and adolescents, are expected to experience less face-to-face contact with urban speakers. Direct contact with the incoming features is expected to be mostly through mobile members of the community who bring these features with them (Labov 2007). This is evident through the results of the adult sample as all speakers in the sample reported coming into contact with urban features through sustained mobility for purposes of work or study. They reported adopting urban features

because of social pressure and a desire to be accepted in urban setting.[84] Most speakers who reported accommodation efforts towards urban speakers said it was done out of necessity as they felt their own dialect was viewed negatively as the examples below show.

(8.10) *lamma kinn.a   n.itˤlaʕ min χæ:n iʃ-ʃe:ħ n.udɾus bi-ʃ-ʃæ:m   aw n.iʃtaɣil*
       when   were.1P 1P.go from Khan al-shieh 1P.study in-the-Damascus or 1P.work

       biʃ-ʃæ:m   tlæ:gi l-lahʤa   tabʕi:tna ɣe:ɾ maqbu:la ħæ:la nafsijja   aw
       in-the-Damascus find.2S the-dialect our   not accepted state psychological or

       wæ:qiʕ ɣe:ɾ maqbu:la kθi:ɾ bi-bi:ʔit   il-ʕəməl
       reality not accepted a lot in-envionment   the-work

       'When we used to go to Damascus for work or study, you find our dialect not quite accepted. It might be our perception or a reality, but it was not accepted much in work environments.'

Exposure to these features also occurs through the media since, as noted in 1.3, Damascene Arabic is the most-represented variety on national TV (Habib 2014). However, as discussed in 2.3, the role of television in language change is a debated topic (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2013). Labov (2001: 228) argues that social interaction, which is lacking in media exposure, is crucial in language change as evidence presented in 7.1 shows. The role of adult speakers is, therefore, believed to be the main source of incoming urban features. This usually leads to unstable and incomplete acquisition of these features as the results of the present study show. Labov (2007) explains that imperfect acquisition of these features is due to the fact that they were not passed on perfectly from parents and adults who come into contact with the second dialect being acquired. Indeed, as discussed in 7.1 and as variation results of the adult sample in appendix F show, adults' adoption of supralocal features is far from complete and in most cases, their use of such features is reserved to interactions with their children or urban speakers. On the other hand, acquisition of highly localized variants is also hindered by high mobility and contact (Milroy 2002). Milroy (2002:8) explains that in such cases, distinctiveness of features becomes redundant and the necessary input for acquisition becomes no longer available. Multiple

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[84] That it is not to say that all speakers reported the same attitudes. Two male speakers, for example, expressed pride in the local dialect and resistance to accommodate to urban speakers as that, to them, would indicate feeling socially inferior. Indeed, use of local features was very frequent in their speech.

generations of contact and the fact that many parents have adopted supralocal forms means that children will have very limited access to the highly localised forms. This is evident in the examples of [gʊmaɾ] and [bgara] above and that such highly localised features did not occur even in the speech of the adult sample who represent the age group of participants' parents except in reference to what they perceive as 'outdated' features as discussed in 7.2. These features are almost exclusive to the speech of first generation refugees, who for some participants are great grandparents. Many other traditional features and items seem to have disappeared or are on the way to disappear in the speech of participants and the adult sample representative of their parents' generation. Affrication of (k), for example, occurred only twice in the speech of the 15-17-year-old speakers. One occurrence seemed to indicate further divergence from the urban interviewer as mentioned in 7.2. The other occurred in the speech of a 17-year-old girl who laughed as she used it and commented embarrassingly that people laugh when she 'talks like this', indicating that it is viewed negatively by some people. Use of [dʒ] as a realization of (q) never occurred in the data as noted in 7.1. The variant was referenced by some speakers in the adult sample in a critique of features they called 'ugly', 'outdated' and that should never be used. One of the speakers also mentioned a number of traditional Bedouin lexical items that he is glad have died out also referring to them as 'ugly' and outdated. As a third-generation speaker, I was not familiar with some of these items, which probably indicates that they have not been in use for some time. Recall as well that use of [dʒ] as a realization of (q), for example, is phonologically conditioned in traditional Bedouin dialects as discussed in 4.1.1.3. Children in the community will likely not learn those constraints as they no longer are part of their native input. In a situation such as this, where children do not have the necessary input to acquire highly distinctive features of their native dialect or the proper input for native-like acquisition of incoming urban variants, they end up with intermediate forms such as discussed above. Borrowing in such situations also leads to a lot of variation as both native and incoming items are used sometimes in free variation (Al-Wer 2007; Miller 2005). This is indeed the case in the speech community as variation occurs in the realization of most variables and comes as a direct result of geographical diffusion as traditional features are gradually abandoned in favour of supralocal features (Britain 2010). Such variation is also evident through the occurrence of many super tokens (Tagliamonte 2011) in the speech of some participants, especially female speakers in the 6-8 and 9-11-year-old groups. For example, a 9-year-old girl realized the word (naðˤðˤaːɾa) 'glasses' with all three variants, [ðˤ], [dˤ] &[zˤ], as a response in the picture-naming task as noted in 8.3 above. In the example below, the word

clean and its derivations are realized each with a different variant in the same utterance in the speech of an 8-year-old girl:

(8.11) ɣuɾuf-ti   dæ:jman nðˤi:fa ʕatˤu:l   ʔa.na**d**ˤif-ha

Room-my always   clean   constantly   1S.clean-it

'My room is always clean, I always clean it.'

The degree of loss or maintenance of local features is determined by a number of social and linguistic factors such as prestige of the varieties involved, intensity and duration of contact, salience, markedness and frequency (Kerswill 1995, 2008; Trudgill 1986; Winford 2003). Results in the present study support these suggestions as different degrees of variation occur in the realization of different variables. Adoption of urban variants is relatively lower in the present study than reported in comparable situations. For example, adoption of the urban realization of (q) is quite low in the speech of children and adolescents in this community- only (12%) despite it being reported to be a supralocal variant in the Levant (Al-Wer and Herin 2011). From a language ideology perspective, the use of marked variants that are associated with certain groups may project a certain identity (Llamas 2007). As (q) is highly marked in most speech communities (Al-Wer & Herin 2011) and in the speech community itself as discussed in 7.1, high use of the local variant may indicate a local identity. High use of the local variant was evident in the speech of some participants throughout the data, especially the 15-17-year-old group, and in the speech of almost all participants in the interview with the local interlocutor. Accommodation towards the urban speaker in the realization of the variable was highly significant, also indicating its markedness. Such accommodation was most evident in the speech of 6-8 and 9-11-year-old females as noted in further detail in 8.2 above. What is interesting about this pattern is that use of the local variant with the local interviewer was quite frequent even in the speech of girls between the ages of 6-14, indicating that its markedness may imply a sense of solidarity with other community members (Habib 2016; Llamas 2007; Trudgill 1972). Abandoning the variants by these speakers in the interview with the urban interlocutor further indicates its association with the local dialect (Britain 2010; Miller 2005; Trudgill 1986). SA also seems to have a strong influence in the case of (q) as the standard variant occurs in free variation with the local variant almost twice as much as the urban variant does. However, the standard variant is never used in everyday dialect words such as *gæl* 'to say' and *gˤa:m-* a discourse marker. This pattern is comparable to what is found in the speech

of adult speakers, though use of the urban variant is higher in the speech of children and adolescents. The competing influence of SA on the speech of children and adolescents can also be argued for by considering the distribution of (dˤ) and (ðˤ) variation in relation to each other as discussed earlier in further detail. The significantly higher use of the standard variants of (θ) and (ð) in the picture task may also support such a conclusion.

Frequency emerged as a possible force of change in the realization of (θ) and (ð) as seen in 6.1.1 and 6.2.1. In the case of (θ), change in the direction of the stop [t] is complete in the realization of numbers; 'two' /ʔθnæ:n/, 'three' /θalæ:θa/, 'eight' /θamæ:njja/ and their derivations such as 'thirty' /θalæ:θu:n/ and 'eighty' /θamæ:nu:n/ in their cardinal form and in the case of (ð), change in the direction of [z] is near completion in the realization of the lexical items /ʔustæ:ð/ 'teacher' and /ʔiða/ 'if'. These realizations may indicate a change in progress when compared to results from the adult sample. Use of [t] in the realization of numbers is complete in the speech of women and at 65% in the speech of men. Use of [z] in the realization of /ʔustæ:ð/ 'teacher' is complete in the speech of both men and women and use of the variant in the realization of /ʔiðæ/ 'if' is at 97% in the speech of women and 74% in the speech of men. Another indication of change in progress in the case of (θ) comes from the higher proportion of [t] in the speech of boys between the ages of 6 and 14 by comparison to boys in the oldest group even with the exclusion of tokens invariably realized with [t]. Since boys in these groups show a strong tendency to use the local variants overall, this may indicate change in progress in the case of (θ).

Almost no variation occurred in the case of (a) even though its urban variant is also considered a general feature of socially dominant dialects in the Levant, whereas the local variant is a feature of peripheral dialects (Al-Wer 2002:71). Miller (2005) presents a contrasting scenario in Egypt where raising is a feature of rural varieties and thus never occurs in Cairene Arabic. She notes that it is characterized by low prestige and often ridiculed in film and TV. As such, it tends to be one of the first features to be lost in interdialectal situations. It is noteworthy that complexity of linguistic constraints does not apply in the case of Egypt as a general rule of non-raising applies in Cairene Arabic, whereas raising is conditional in urban Levantine dialects as explained in 4.1.1.6. This complexity is likely to act as a hindering factor in the acquisition of the urban pattern of variation as discussed in 8.1 above (see also Chambers 1992;

Kerswill 1996). No variation whatsoever occurred in the realization of the variable in the adult sample as use of the local variant was categorical in the case of all speakers in the sample. The variable's resistance to variation may also indicate that it is an indicator in the speech community (Labov 1972b). One female speaker remarked that while she uses the urban variant of (q), she would not use the urban realization of (a), for example. Given the variable's resistance to variation in both data sets, I found her remark interesting and followed up on that asking her why she felt that way. She said that to her using the variant feels like going too far and that she is putting on a fake accent when her goal is to tone down her own accent and not use something so stereotypically Bedouin.

(8.12) **Speaker**: *ʔiħna sˤaħ n.istaχdim il-[ʔ] bas ʔana binnisba ʔili mæ: ʔa.ksir miθl*

      We right 1P.use the-[**ʔ**] but I for me not raise like

      il-lahdʒa ʃ-ʃæ:mijja jaʕni zbæ:le maktabe

      the-dialect the-Damascene mean *zbæ:le maktabe*

      'Although we use [ʔ] (referring to the urban variant of (q)), I would not

        use [e] like in the damascene dialect, like *zbæle məktəbe*.' [85]

    Researcher: *le:ʃ? fi: sabab muʕajjan? laʔino bsˤaraħa la:ħaðˤit*

       Why there reason specific? Because frankly 1S.noticed

       ha-ʃ-ʃi: maʕ i-lkol

       this-the-thing with the-all

       'Why? Is there a specific reason? Because, frankly, I noticed this with

        everyone.'

    Speaker: *binnisba ʔili widʒhit naðˤar-i lahdʒa mu: lahdʒit-na n.irdʒaʕ n.iħki*

      for me point view-my dialect not dialect-our 1P.go back 1P.speak

      lahdʒit-na ʔin-o muħassana maθalan ʔin-o ħal wasˤatˤ læ: ʔin.o

      dialect-our that-is improved for example that-is solution middle not that-is

      lahdʒa ʔili kθi:r mitɣamga ʔili min barra ma jifham-ha w læ:

      dialect that much broad that from outside not understand-it and not

---

[85] She used the term *kasra*, which refers to the diacritic representing /e/.

ʔana kθi:r ʔa.tʃadda ʕa lahdʒa mu: lahdʒt-i   maθalan   jaʕni ʕan

I   much 1S.overtake on dialect not dialect-my for example mean about

dʒad wərde tˤæwle ʔa.ħis-ha tˤa:lʕa   maʕ-ɪ   fi: tˤasˤsˤannuʕ fa

 real flower table   1S.fee-it comes out with-me there putting on   so

lamma tˤi.tˤlaʕ   tˤ.itˤlaʕ   ʕafawijja   warda zbæla

when   3S.come out 3S.comes out spontaneous flower garbage

'In my point of view, it is not our dialect (referring to Damascene Arabic).
we try to speak an improved version of our dialect, a middle ground. That is
to say, not use a broad dialect that people from outside won't understand, but
also, I won't take over a dialect that is not mine. I mean, really, to me using
[e] feels like I am putting it on. So, when I say such words, they come out
naturally as *warda zbæla.*'

Regional levelling (Kerswill 2002) is usually an expected outcome in situations of geographical
diffusion such as the one investigated in this study. However, research on more variables and
larger sections of the community encompassing more age groups, especially more adult
speakers, is needed to determine whether regional levelling is an outcome in the case of this
particular speech community and to what degree it might occur. The variables examined in the
current thesis still show a higher level of the local variants, whereas other variables may show
a complete abandonment of local features as some of the examples mentioned here imply.

8.5 Shortcomings and Future Recommendations

The study covered a large range of ages encompassing children as young as three at the early
stages of structured variation all the way up to the last year of secondary school, which marks
the threshold of sustained mobility that follows it. However, a larger number of participants
with equal numbers in each cell would allow some of the emerging trends to occur as significant
results. For example, small token numbers in the realization of ($ð^ʕ$), especially in the speech of
3-5-year-olds, lead to some tentative results regarding use of the variable in the group.

The design of the study in a way that allows for examination of accommodation patterns was quite useful in uncovering obvious trends of accommodation in the speech of participants, especially girls in the 6-14 range. However, the interview portion with the urban interlocutor was usually shorter than that with the local interviewer resulting in unbalanced token numbers across the interviews. Future studies would benefit from longer overall interviews and ones that are balanced across different interlocutors allowing for more robust comparisons. It would also be interesting to see what accommodation patterns might occur if the urban interviewer was completely unfamiliar to the participants and was closer to them in age. Girls in the oldest group, for example, may be more motivated to converge in such a scenario (Van Hofwegen 2015). In a study of accommodation patterns among adolescent dyads, Van Hofwegen (ibid.) finds that girls are more likely to converge to unfamiliar interlocutor than boys.

As the present study aimed to uncover variation patterns in cases of geographical diffusion, it would be beneficial to investigate such patterns in university students who would be the first age group to experience consistent mobility in the direction of Damascus. It is expected that more adoption of urban patterns may occur in their speech due to such mobility as evidence from the adult sample shows that for most speakers, adoption of urban variants as a reasoned choice came after sustained contact with urban speakers and a need to fit it in a larger community beyond the camp.

The present study is a starting point in analysing the linguistic behaviour of the speech community. Analysis of more variables and a wider range of speakers of different ages will bring us a step closer to describing the patterns of variation in the speech community. As some of the examples quoted here show, some local features appear to have been abandoned completely whereas others are still very frequent in the community. Different speakers also expressed varying attitudes towards the local dialect and the Damascene dialect and accommodation strategies they use with different interlocutor.

The unfortunate events in Syria have had a massive impact on the community with some residents of the camp experiencing internal displacement within Syria and others leaving Syria altogether, in addition to people of different dialect backgrounds being displaced into the camp.

So, it would be quite interesting to see what patterns of variation will emerge in the camp in future years and how the speech of people, especially children, who left the camp permanently would have been affected.

8.6 Conclusion

The present study was designed to examine variation patterns in the speech of children and adolescents in a Bedouin speech community near Damascus in relation to the social variables of age and gender. It aimed to study the emergence of structured variation in their speech and its development with age and in relation to gender. The study also examined accommodation patterns and register variation in the speech of these young speakers. Studying accommodation patterns in their speech was expected to uncover their social awareness and attitudes as well as examine their linguistic competence. Examining style variation in their speech was hoped to establish the role of SA in the speech community as well as offer important insight on speakers' sociolinguistic awareness and competence. The present study is the first to examine variation patterns in the speech community and among the very few studies to address acquisition of variation in an Arabic speaking context and stands to make a valuable contribution to the knowledge of variation patterns in the speech of Arab children.

In order to investigate these themes, four research questions were put forward for analysis:

1- What patterns of variation appear in realizing the variables of interest (θ), (ð), (ðˤ), (dˤ), (q) and (a)? Do age and gender play a role in the variation?

2- If gender has a role in patterns of variation, when do gender differences appear?

3- Do children and adolescents accommodate their speech to different interlocutors? If so, do age and gender play a role in their accommodation?

4- Are speakers capable of varying their registers appropriately and do age and gender play a role in that?

Answering the first two questions paints a general picture of variation patterns in the speech of children and adolescents in the community.

Variation patterns were as expected dependent on the variables themselves (Eckert 1997; Smith *et al.* 2007). Significant patterns in relation to age and gender were most apparent in the realization of the interdental fricatives and (dˤ). Male speakers were generally found to favour the local variants compared to females, which is consistent with previous research and generalizations about the role of gender in variation (Cheshire 2002; Habib 2011a, 2014, Romaine 2008). Age also emerged as significant in the realization of these variables as urban variants were significantly higher in the speech of the youngest speakers. In a dialect contact situation involving geographical diffusion, this finding may seem surprising at first sight giving that the youngest group is also the least mobile. However, their use of the stop variants of the interdental fricatives was found to be complicated by developmental factors in addition to possible influence from mothers. This conclusion is supported by the difference between girls and boys in the youngest group as girls, 3 of whom were towards the oldest end of the age group, produced the interdental fricatives more than boys, who were generally younger within the group, although there were no significant differences. Use of the local variants in the realization of these variables increased in a linear manner in the speech of boys, despite a slight dip in the 12-14-year-old group. A different pattern appeared in the speech of females as their use of the urban variants increased dramatically up to age 14 and were the majority variants in the speech of 9-11 and 12-14-year-old females followed by a sharp decline in the speech of 15-17-year-old females who used the local variants near-categorically. This is the most interesting finding in the study as it does not follow the general pattern of females favouring incoming prestigious variants (Cheshire 2002; Romaine 2008) and by extension it does not follow the expected pattern of adolescent females advancing change from above and having the largest proportion of incoming variants in their speech (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). Speakers' network in different age groups seems to be a key factor in their linguistic behaviour. In the window of significant differences between male and female speakers (6-14), males and females attended school separately and formed their peer groups based on gender. However, males and females attended secondary school together and were in the same peer group for the first time. Females in the group may have been influenced by males in preserving local features. More importantly, a local orientation was very apparent for speakers in the group and a strong national (Palestinian) identity was expressed by both males and females in the group.

Notably, adoption of the urban realizations in the case of interdental fricatives was in the direction of the stops not the alveolar fricatives, which remained rather infrequent. Frequency

and lexical diffusion (Bybee 2002) emerge as factors of change in the case of (θ) and (ð). We see that [t] is used categorically in the realization of numbers: 'two' /ʔθnæ:n/, 'three' /θalæ:θa/, 'eight' /θamæ:njja/ and their derivations such as 'thirty' /θalæ:θu:n/ and 'eighty' /θamæ:nu:n/ in their cardinal form. These were consistently realized as [tne:n], [tlæ:ta], [tmæ:na], [tlæ:ti:n] and [tmæ:ni:n] regardless of age, gender or interview context. In the case of (ð), the words (ʔiða) 'if', and /ʔustæ:ð/ 'teacher' along with its plural and dual forms /ʔasæ:tiða/ 'teachers' and /ʔustæ:ðe:n/ 'two teachers' were realized with [z] at 87% in the case of /ʔiða/ and 95% in the case of /ʔustæ:ð/. Notably, these were the only cite for any considerable use of the urban alveolar fricatives as a realization of any interdental fricative.

A rather interesting pattern appears in the realizations of (ðˤ) and (dˤ), which merge in the direction of (ðˤ) in the traditional dialect of the community. Their variants' distribution in addition to results on register variation in the realization of (dˤ) indicate that children and adolescents in the community are aware of their SA split. This is most noticeable in the speech of 6-8 and 9-11-year-old boys and may imply a central role of school in their life.

No gender differences appeared in the realization of (q) and age differences were limited to using [q] in lexical borrowing from SA as speakers in the oldest group used [q] in this context significantly more than all other speakers. This will be noted again in the concluding remarks on register variation.

The morphophonological (a) was highly resistant to variation and the local variant was used at 97% of the time. This result was expected due to the complex condition of the variable realization in urban dialects (Al-Wer 2007). The variable appears to be an indicator (Labov 1972) in the speech community and is not subject to variation. Interestingly, girls in the 9-11 and 12-14-year-old groups were responsible for the 3% urban realization and although use of the urban variant was limited in their speech, it shows their consistent preference for urban features.

The third question was based on the hypothesis that children can accommodate their speech to different interlocutors as early as age 2 or 3 (Leaper 1991; Paugh 2005). Indeed,

accommodation to the urban interlocutor did appear in the speech of the youngest group though it was not always significant across different variables. The interaction between age and gender was expected to yield somewhat different results than what was found. Generally speaking, it was hypothesized that older speakers would be better at accommodating their speech to the urban interlocutor based on the premise that the speakers' sociolinguistic knowledge develops with age (Leaper 1991). Adolescent males were expected to be an exception based on previous studies showing non-accommodation patterns in their speech, especially to unfamiliar interlocutors (Van Hofwegen 2015). Girls were expected to be generally more accommodative than boys (Van Hofwegen 2015). However, non-accommodation occurred in the speech of both males and females in the oldest group. This both implies and supports the argument for identity considerations in their speech. It indicates a positive attitude towards the local variety and community whereby speech maintenance is used to index and preserve a group identity (Bouhris 1984; Van Hofwegen 2015). As for females in younger groups, an obvious trend of accommodation towards the urban interlocutor occurs in their speech, but is not found to be significant, which is likely due to their general preference for the urban variants even with the local interviewer. Accommodation also occurs in the speech of males younger than 15, which implies that a strong sense of local identity is more pronounced in adolescents in the community. This is in line with previous research that stresses the importance of identity in adolescence (Eckert 2003).

Register variation appeared in the realization of most variables even when overlap occurs between the local and standard variants. In those cases, it was more apparent in the speech of girls since boys' use of the variants was very high to start with. The same applies to age since use of the variants was also very high in the speech of older speakers across all data. However, further analysis and indications, such as using the standard vocalic structure rather than the local or using SA lexical items, showed that register variation occurred in the speech of most participants. Register variation was especially noticeable in the case of (q) since no overlap between the standard and any dialectal variants occurs. Gender had no role as both males and females varied their use of (q) based on context. Age, however, played an interesting role in register variation of (q) as categorical use of the standard variant in topics of education, politics or in religious references was highest in the speech of the oldest group with a highly significant difference between them and younger speakers. Register variation in the use of (dˤ) was also especially interesting given the merger with (ðˤ) in the traditional dialect. The standard variant

was used significantly more in the picture task than in the interview context indicating a high level of awareness of the split that exists between the two sounds ($ð^ˤ$ and $d^ˤ$) in SA.

Results from this study show the extent of variation in a speech community experiencing dialect contact and show how that variation and the interaction of various varieties can provide speakers with rich linguistic resources that they can use in different situations and with different interlocutors or as a means of expressing attitudes and identity.

These results also allow us to look at the social categories of age and gender critically and in relation to a wider context of speakers' networks, experiences, and attitudes. They show how such factors interact with age and gender making them dynamic and robust rather than static and predictable. For instance, variation patterns in relation to age and gender diverge from Labov's (2001) incrementation model introducing speaker's networks and identity consideration as key forces in variation. They further show that age, just as gender, can be viewed as a social construct that is the product of its environment. As such, variation patterns may reflect speakers' social age and manifest it rather than being predetermined by it. Based on this, it would be safe to expect different patterns of variation in a community where age is not heavily constructed around school and education as in the case of the speech community under study, or where there are different identity considerations, for example. Identity and attitude also emerge as key factors in relation to variation and gender, further showing that a holistic view is needed in analysing the relation between language use and gender whereby its interaction with social factors is taken into account. These unexpected patterns in relation to age and gender show the importance of viewing these categories as flexible and interactive with other factors rather than rigid divisions that follow pre-assumed variation patterns.

Results from this study also shed light on a dialect that has not been examined before and provides a first step in its description. They pave the way for further research on the community and other rural communities experiencing contact in Arabic-speaking communities and in the context of Syria.

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NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY

Project title: Speech of Palestinian Refugees in Syria.

I am interested in studying members of the Palestinian community in Khan Esheih camp and aspects of their lives and language in Syria and in the camp. In this project, my main focus will be on young people between the ages of 3 and 17 years, who were born and grew up in the camp. There will be a visit where your child/children are going to be recorded speaking to trusted members of my family and also to you if the occasion arises.

As part of the visit, your children will be asked to participate in some little tasks that will help me understand your lives and their lives in the camp better and also to study the dialect of the camp. One of the tasks, for example, will involve the children being shown pictures of animals and other things like household objects or school objects (bottle; pen and so on) and they will be simply asked to name them. There will also be open discussions during the visit where they will be encouraged to talk about life in the camp and the countryside and if they notice any differences between the camp and the city or neighbouring towns in terms of tradition and dialect or other aspects.

This project will help document aspects of our lives in Syria which has become our new home and will also help me learn how young people learn and use language. It is very exciting to be the first person to ask these kinds of questions and focus on our lives and our dialect in the camp and in Syria in general.

The visit and the conversations will be audio-recorded in a friendly and intimate setting and under your supervision, so I can understand how your children use their language in their daily lives.

Community participation in the study is essential to my achieving this aim and so I really appreciate your willingness to allow your children to be part of the present study and help me in this way.

Sincerely,

Ourooba

موضوع البحث: اللاجئون الفلسطينيون في سوريا

انا مهتمة بدراسة جوانب من حياة اللاجئين الفلسطينين في مخيم خان الشيح. تركيزي سيكون على الاطفال و اليافعين من عمر 3 الى 17 سنة الذين ولدوا و تربوا في المخيم. ستكون هناك عدة جلسات يتحدث بها المشاركون مع افراد من عائلتي بالاضافة الى التحدث اليكم في مواقع معينة و سيتم تسجيل هذه الجلسات تسجيلاً صوتياً.

خلال هذه الجلسات سوف يشارك هؤلاء الاطفال و اليافعين بنشاطات بسيطة تساعدني في فهم حياتهم في المخيم و استعمالهم للغة. على سبيل المثال, سوف يشاهدون صورا لحيوانات او اغراض (كأغراض المنزل او المدرسة) و سوف يطلب منهم تسمية الاشياء التي يرونها في الصور.

كما سيكون هناك نقاشات مفتوحة حول مواضيع عامة كالدراسة و الحياة في المخيم و الريف مقارنة مع لمدينة. اضافة الى نقاشات حول الاختلافات التي يلاحظها الاطفال و اليافعون بين المخيم و القرى المحيطة به من حيث العادات و اللهجة.

سيساعدني هذا المشروع على توثيق جوانب من حياة الفلسطينين في المخيم و في سوريا بشكل عام و سيساعدني على ان افهم كيف يتعلم الاطفال اللغة و يستعملونها. من الممتع جداً كوني اول شخص يجري بحث يهتم بحياتنا في المخيم و في سوريا بالعموم.

المشاركة في هذا البحث مهمة جداً لتحقيق هذا الهدف و انا ممتنة جداً على سماحكم لاطفالكم بالمشاركة في البحث و مساعدتي على اتمامه.

مع خالص الشكر

عروبة

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY

Project title: Speech of Palestinian Refugees in Syria.

I am interested in looking at lives of young Palestinians from the camp and how they use language to express themselves. In this project, the main focus will be on young people between the ages of 3 and 17 years who were born and raised in the camp. Trusted members of my family will visit you and you will be recorded as you speak to them in the presence of your mother or other family members.

As part of the visit, you will be asked to participate in some little tasks that will help me understand aspects of your life in the camp and how you use language in your daily lives. One of the tasks, for example, will be to show you pictures of animals and other things like household objects or school objects (bottle; pen and so on) and you will be simply asked to name them. There will also be open discussions during the visit where you will be talking about school-life and life in the camp and the countryside. You will also be asked about what you think life in the city would be like and what you think of neighbouring towns and young people from those towns or from the city in terms of how they dress and how they talk. This project will help document aspects of young people's lives in Syria and how young people learn and use language. It is very exciting to be the first person to ask these kinds of questions and focus on young people and their lives in the camp and in Syria.

The visit will be audio-recorded in a friendly and intimate setting and in the presence of your parents so I can understand how you use language in your daily lives.

Your participation in the study is essential to my achieving this aim and I would really appreciate your willingness to help me in this way.

Sincerely,

Ourooba

موضوع البحث: اللاجئون الفلسطينيون في سوريا

انا مهتمة بدراسة جوانب من حياة اللاجئين الفلسطينين في مخيم خان الشيح. تركيزي سيكون على الاطفال و اليافعين من عمر 3 الى 17 سنة الذين ولدوا و تربوا في المخيم. ستكون هناك عدة جلسات يتحدث بها المشاركون مع افراد من عائلتي بالاضافة الى التحدث اليكم في مواقع معينة و ستكون هذه الجلسات مسجلة.

خلال هذه الجلسات سوف تشاركون بنشاطات بسيطة تساعدني في فهم حياتكم في المخيم و استعمالكم للغة في الحياة اليومية. على سبيل المثال, سوف تشاهدون صورا لحيوانات او اغراض (كأغراض المنزل او المدرسة) و سوف يطلب منكم تسمية الاشياء التي ترونها في الصور.

كما سيكون هناك نقاشات مفتوحة حول مواضيع عامة كالدراسة و الحياة في المخيم و الريف مقارنة مع لمدينة. اضافة الى نقاشات حول الاختلافات التي تلاحظونها بين حياتكم في المخيم و حياة الاطفال و المراهقين في القرى المحيطة بنا او في المدينة من حيث العادات و اللهجة.

سيساعدني هذا المشروع على توثيق جوانب من حياة الفلسطينين في المخيم و في سوريا بشكل عام و سيساعدني على ان افهم كيف يتعلم الاطفال اللغة و يستعملونها. من الممتع جداً كوني اول شخص يجري بحث يهتم بحياتنا في المخيم و في سوريا بالعموم.

المشاركة في هذا البحث مهمة جداً لتحقيق هذا الهدف و انا ممتنة جداً على قبولكم بالمشاركة في البحث و مساعدتي على اتمامه.

مع خالص الشكر

عروبة

Appendix A3. Children's Information Sheet

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY

Project title: Speech of Palestinian Refugees in Syria.

Hello, my name is Ourooba and I am a university student (at a school for grown-ups) and I am interested in how children talk when they are playing games and speaking to others. I would like to record your voice while you are playing with your toys and talking to my mother and sister-in-law. My sister-in-law will also show you some lovely pictures of different animals and objects and will ask you to name them. I hope that you will find the activities fun to do, but if you do not wish to join in, you can stop at any time.

Thank you for helping me with my school project.

Sincerely,

Ourooba

مرحباً, اسمي عروبة و أنا أدرس في الجامعة ومهتمة بالاطفال و كيف يتحدثون اثناء اللعب و الحديث مع الاسرة. اود ان اسجل صوتكم و انتم تلعبون و تتكلمون مع امي و زوجة اخي. بالاضافة الى ذلك سوف تريكم زوجة اخي صورا جميلة لحيوانات و اشياء اخرى نستعملها حول المنزل و تسألكم عنها. ارجو ان تستمتعوا بهذه النشاطات, و لكن اذا لم ترغبوا بالمشاركة يمكنكم التوقف في اي وقت.

شكرا على مساعدتي في مشروعي الدراسي

مع خالص الشكر

عروبة

Appendix B. Consent Forms

Appendix B.1 Parents' Copy

UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

CONSENT FORM

School of English Literature,

Language and Linguistics,

Percy Building,

Newcastle upon Tyne,

NE1 7RU UK

The interviewer will have already given you an 'Assignment Description Sheet' stating the purpose of the interview. If you are still happy to have your child participate having read this, it would be helpful if you could provide the interviewer with some background information about your child (date of birth, school year) once you have both signed and dated this form below. Participation is voluntary, and your child can choose to stop at any time.

AGREEMENT

I agree that the recording of my child's interview and accompanying material may be:

1. Held in Newcastle University archives.
2. Made available to bona fide researchers.
3. May be quoted in published work or used in public performance in full or in part.
4. Used for teaching purposes.

Signature of Interviewer: _____

Signature of Interviewee's parent: _____

Date of Interview: _____

قبل الموافقة على اجراء المقابلة, سيكون قد تم اعطائك ورقة تصف البحث و الهدف من اجراء المقابلة. اذا كنت لا زلت موافقاً على مشاركة طفلك في البحث, سيكون من المفيد اعطاء الشخص الذي يجري المقابلة معلومات عن الطفل بما يتعلق بالعمر و السنة المدرسية بعد التوقيع على هذه الموافقة من قبلكم و قبل الشخص الذي يجري المقابلة. المشاركة في البحث اختيارية و يمكن للطفل التوقف في اي لحظة اذا رغب بذلك.

الموافقة:

اوافق على ان يتم اجراء مقابلة مسجلة مع طفلي/طفلتي و اوافق على ان المقابلة و ما يرافقها من ملاحظات

1-تحفظ في ارشيف جامعة نيوكاسل

2-يتم مشاركتها مع باحثين اخرين

3-قد يتم اقتباسها في الابحاث العلمية المنشورة او في مؤتمرات بشكل كامل او جزئي

4- قد يتم استعمالها بهدف التدريس

توقيع الشخص الذي يجري المقابلة:

توقيع والد/والدة الطفل/ الطفلة:

تاريخ المقابلة:

Appendix B.2 Adolescents' Copy

CONSENT FORM

School of English Literature,

Language and Linguistics,

Percy Building,

Newcastle upon Tyne,

NE1 7RU, UK

The interviewer will have already given you an 'Assignment Description Sheet' stating the purpose of the interview. If you are still happy to participate having read this, it would be helpful if you could provide the interviewer with some background information about your date of birth, school year once you have both signed and dated this form below. Participation is voluntary, and you can stop at any time if you wish to do so.

AGREEMENT

I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material may be:

1. Held in Newcastle University archives.
2. Made available to bona fide researchers.
3. May be quoted in published work or used in public performance in full or in part.
4. Used for teaching purposes.

Signature of Interviewer: _____

Signature of Interviewee's parent: _____

Signature of Interviewee: _____

Date of Interview: _____

قبل الموافقة على اجراء المقابلة, سيكون قد تم اعطائك ورقة تصف البحث و الهدف من اجراء المقابلة. اذا كنت لا زلت موافقاً على المشاركة في البحث, سيكون من المفيد اعطاء الشخص الذي يجري المقابلة معلومات عنك بما يتعلق بالعمر و السنة المدرسية بعد التوقيع على هذه الموافقة من قبلك و قبل الشخص الذي يجري المقابلة. المشاركة في البحث اختيارية و يمكنك التوقف في اي لحظة اذا رغبت بذلك.

الموافقة:

اوافق على ان يتم اجراء مقابلة مسجلة و اوافق على ان المقابلة و ما يرافقها من ملاحظات

1-تحفظ في ارشيف جامعة نيوكاسل

2-يتم مشاركتها مع باحثين اخرين

3-قد يتم اقتباسها في الابحاث العلمية المنشورة او في مؤتمرات بشكل كامل او جزئي

4- قد يتم استعمالها بهدف التدريس

توقيع الشخص الذي يجري المقابلة:

توقيع والد/والدة المشترك:

توقيع المشترك:

تاريخ المقابلة:

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Appendix C. Picture-naming Task Tokens

Tokens used in the picture task with their different realizations and English gloss are presented in the lists below by linguistic variable. As noted in 4.4.3, some distractors were also used, but these are not included in this appendix as they proved unnecessary in the task. Variables of interest and their variants are in bold. Some words included more than one variable of interest and in such cases all variables of interest and their variants are in bold.

1-List of words with (q) and their urban and Bedouin realizations:

Token	Urban	Bedouin	gloss
/mɪ**q**ʌsˤ/	[m**ʔ**ʌsˤ]	[m**g**ʌsˤ]	scissors
/**q**ələm/	[**ʔ**ələm]	[**g**əɬəm]	pen
/bə**q**əɾa/	[bə**ʔ**ɾa]	[bə**g**əɾa]	cow
/**q**ɑːɾuːɾa/*[86]	[**ʔ**ənniːne]	[**g**ənniːna]	bottle
/**q**ɪɾd/	[**ʔ**ɪɾd]	[**g**ɪɾɪd]	monkey
/**q**ʌɾn/	[**ʔ**aɾɪn]	[**g**aɾɪn]	horn
/**q**ʌlb/	[**ʔ**ʌlɪb]	[**g**ʌlɪb]	heart
/ʔɪbɾiː**q**/	[ʔɪbɾiː**ʔ**]	[bɾiː**g**]	jug
/waɾa**q**a/	[waɾ**ʔ**a]	[waɾa**g**a]	paper
/**q**ʊbbʌʕa/*	[tˤaː**ʔ**ɪjje]	[tˤə**g**ɪjja]	hat
/**q**amaɾ/	[**ʔ**amaɾ]	[**g**amaɾ]	moon
/fʊstʊ**q**/	[fɪstʊ**ʔ**]	[fʊzdʊ**g**]	nuts
/**q**əddæħa/	[**ʔ**ɪddæħa]	[**g**ʌddæħa]	lighter
/**q**ɪfl/	[**ʔ**ɪfɪl]	[**g**ɪfɪl]	lock
/malʕa**q**a/	[malʕa**ʔ**a]	[mɪlʕa**g**a]	spoon
/**q**aʊs/	[**ʔ**oːs]	[**g**oːsˤ]	hair band
/**q**ʌsˤsˤaːsˤa/	[**ʔ**ʌsˤsˤaːsˤa]	[**g**ʌsˤsˤaːsˤa]	nail clipper
/**q**ʊnfʊð/	[**ʔ**ɪnfʊd]	[**g**ʊnfʊð]	hedgehog

2- List of words with (dˤ) and their urban and Bedouin realizations

Token	Urban	Bedouin	Gloss
/bai**dˤ**/	[bei**dˤ**]	[bei**ðˤ**]	eggs
/**dˤ**if**dˤ**iʕ/	[**dˤ**if**dˤ**aʕa]	[**ðˤ**ʊf **ðˤ**aʕa]	frog
/ʔəbja**dˤ**/	[ʔəbja**dˤ**]	[ʔəbja**ðˤ**]	white
/ħaʊ**dˤ**/	[ħoː**dˤ**]	[ħoː**ðˤ**]	fish tank
/jəʕʊ**dˤ**/	[jeʕəd**ˤ**]	[jeʕʊ**ðˤ**]	bites
/jə**dˤ**ħak/	[je**dˤ**ħak]	[je**ðˤ**ħak]	laugh
/**dˤ**əwʔ/	[**dˤ**əw]	[**ðˤ**əw]	light

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[86] Words with an asterisk are either completely or substantially different in SA. In some cases, they do not even include the variable of interest, but their vernacular forms do, and as such allow for variation in the context of the study.

3- List of words with (ð) and their urban and Bedouin realizations

Token	Urban	Bedouin	Gloss
/**ð**ʊɾa/	[**d**aɾa]	[**ð**ʊɾa]	corn
/**q**ʊnfʊ**ð**/	[**ʔ**ɪnfʊ**d**]	[**g**ʊnfʊ**ð**]	hedgehog
/**ð**ʊbæb**a**/	[**d**ɪbbæn**e**]	[**ð**ɪbbæn**a**]	fly
/**ð**aɪl/	[**d**eɪl]	[**ð**eɪl]	tail
/**ð**ɪʔb/	[**d**i:b]	[**ð**i:b]	wolf

4- List of words with (θ) and their urban and Bedouin realizations

Token	Urban	Bedouin	Gloss
/**θ**ʌʕlʌb/	[**t**ʌʕlʌb]	[**θ**ʌʕlʌb]	fox
/**θ**u:m/	[**t**u:m]	[**θ**u:m]	garlic
/mʊ**θ**ʌllʌ**θ**/	[mʊ**s**ʌllʌ**s**]	[mʊ**θ**ʌllʌ**θ**]	triangle
/**θ**ʌldʒ/	[**t**ʌlʒ]	[**θ**ʌlɪdʒ]	snow
/**θ**aʊɾ/	[**t**o:ɾ]	[**θ**o:ɾ]	bull
/**θ**ʊɾajja/	[**t**ɾajja]	[**θ**ɾajja]	chandelier

5- List of words with (ðˤ) and their urban and Bedouin realizations

Token	Urban	Bedouin	Gloss
/**ðˤ**ʌɾf/	[**z**ˤʌɾɪf]	[**ðˤ**aɾɪf]	envelope
/ʔə**ðˤ**ɑ:fɪɾ/	[ʔə**dˤ**əfi:ɾ]	[ʔə**ðˤ**ɑ:fɪɾ]	nails
/nə**ðˤðˤ**ɑ:ɾa/	[nə**dˤdˤ**a:ɾa]	[nə**ðˤðˤ**a:ɾa]	glasses
/ʕə**ðˤ**ma/	[ʕə**dˤ**me]	[ʕə**ðˤ**ma]	bone

6- List of words with (a) and their urban and Bedouin realizations

Token	Urban	Bedouin	Gloss
/**q**ʊbbəʕ**a**/*	[tˤa:**ʔ**ɪjj**e**]	[tˤəg**ɪ**j**a**]	hat
/ʕa**ðˤ**m**a**/	[ʕa**dˤ**m**e**]	[ʕa**ðˤ**m**a**]	bone
/**ð**ʊbæb**a**/	[**d**ɪbbæn**e**]	[**ð**ɪbbæn**a**]	fly
/**q**a:ɾu:ɾ**a**/*	[**ʔ**ənni:n**e**]	[**g**ənni:n**a**]	bottle
/sˤʊnbu:ɾ/*	[ħənəfijj**e**]	[ħənəfijj**a**]	faucet
/lahæjj**a**/	[lahæjj**e**]	[lahæjj**a**]	pacifier
/tˤa:wɪl**a**/	[tˤa:wl**e**]	[tˤa:wl**a**]	table
/fəɾʃ**a**/	[fəɾʃ**e**]	[faɾʃ**a**]	mattress
/wɪsæd**a**/*	[mxadd**e**]	[mxadd**a**]	pillow
/mɪ**ðˤ**əll**a**/	[ʃəmsɪjj**e**]	[ʃamsɪjj**a**]	umbrella
/səməka/	[səmək**e**]	[səmək**a**]	fish

Appendix D. Pictures for Picture-naming Task
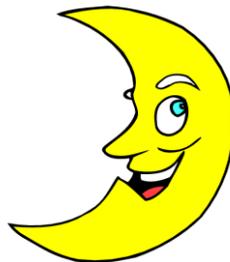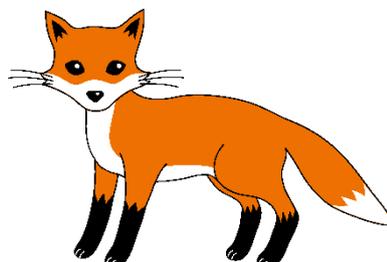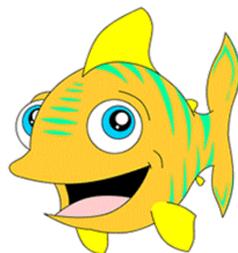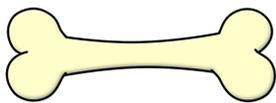
Appendix E. Sample Interview Questions

These questions are only meant to prompt the participants to speak and keep the interview going. Since both fieldworkers will take part in the interviews, the questions have been divided to suite each context and fieldworker, i.e., the Bedouin speaker will ask questions that are oriented towards the camp and life in the camp. The urban speaker will ask questions that are oriented towards Damascus. Demographic questions (name & age) are asked at the beginning of the interview.

- First set of questions (Bedouin speaker):
1- When is your birthday? How do you celebrate it?
2- What do you do in your pastime?
3- What do you like most about life in the camp?
4- What do you hate most about life in the camp?
5- Do you watch TV? What is your favourite show?
6- What is the funniest story that happened to you (at home, in school, etc)?
7- What is the worst trick you played on your (brother, sister) or they played on you?
8- What do you do in the summer holidays?
9- Do you go on vacations with your family? What was the nicest vacation you've been on? Where did you go? What did you see?
10- What do you do on Eid?
11- Do you help your mom with house chores?
12- Do you know how to cook? What can you make?

- Second set of questions (urban speaker)
1- Do you listen to music? Who is your favourite singer? Why do you like him/her?
2- Have you even been on school trips? Where did you go? Did something special happen? What happened?
3- Would you like to travel abroad? Where would you like to go? Why?
4- Do you like Damascus? What do you/don't you like about it? Why?
5- Which do you like better Khan Esheih or Damascus? Why?
6- Where would you prefer to live, here or in Damascus? Why?

Appendix F. Adult Sample Variation Results

Appendix F.1. Use (ðˤ) and (dˤ) in the Adult Sample

Gender	[ðˤ]	[dˤ]	[zˤ]	Total
Male	80	4	0	84
Female	32	36	12	80
Total	112	40	12	214

Table F.8-1 distribution of (ðˤ) in the adult sample

distribution of (ðˤ) variants in adult sample

- [ðˤ] 68%
- [dˤ] 25%
- [zˤ] 7%

distribution of (ðˤ) variants by gender

	male	female
[ðˤ]	95%	40%
[dˤ]	5%	45%
[zˤ]	0	15%
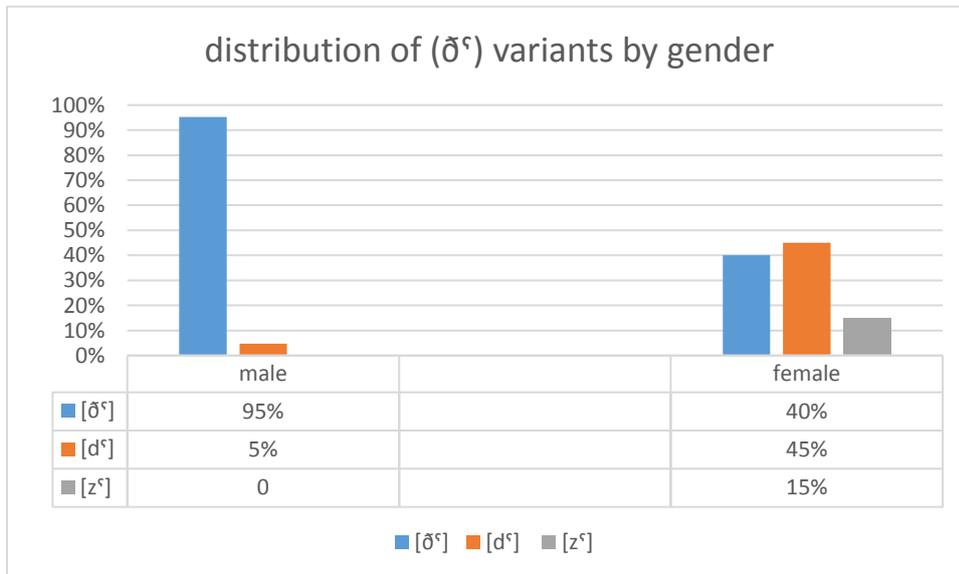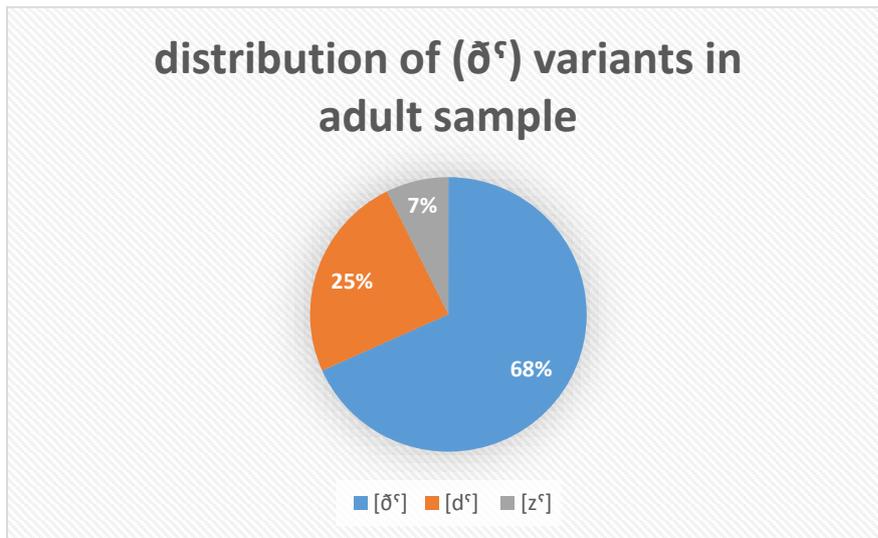
Gender	[dˤ]	[ðˤ]	Total
Male	73	97	170
Female	86	30	116
Total	159	127	286

Table F.8-2 distribution of (dˤ) variants in the adult sample

distribution of (dˤ) variants in the adult sample

44% 56%

[dˤ] [ðˤ]

distribution of (dˤ) variants by gender

	male	female
[dˤ]	43%	74%
[ðˤ]	57%	26%

[dˤ] [ðˤ]
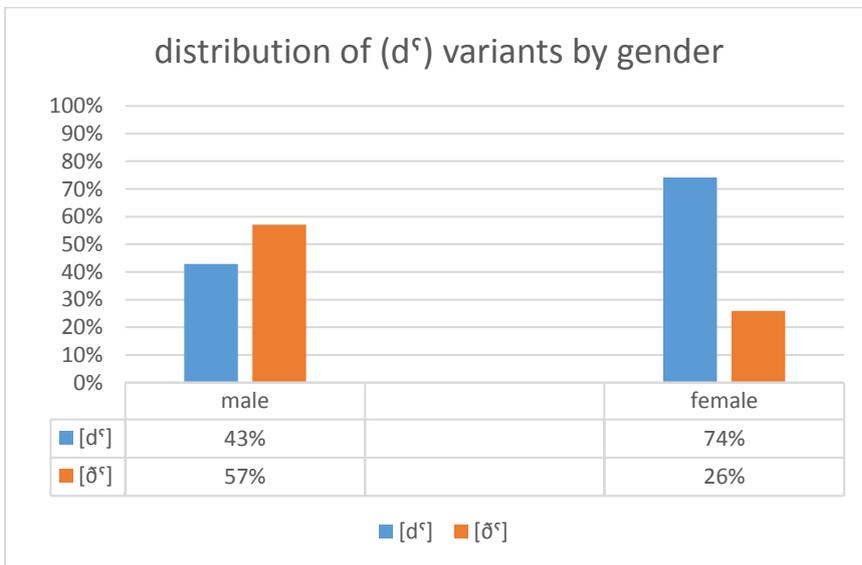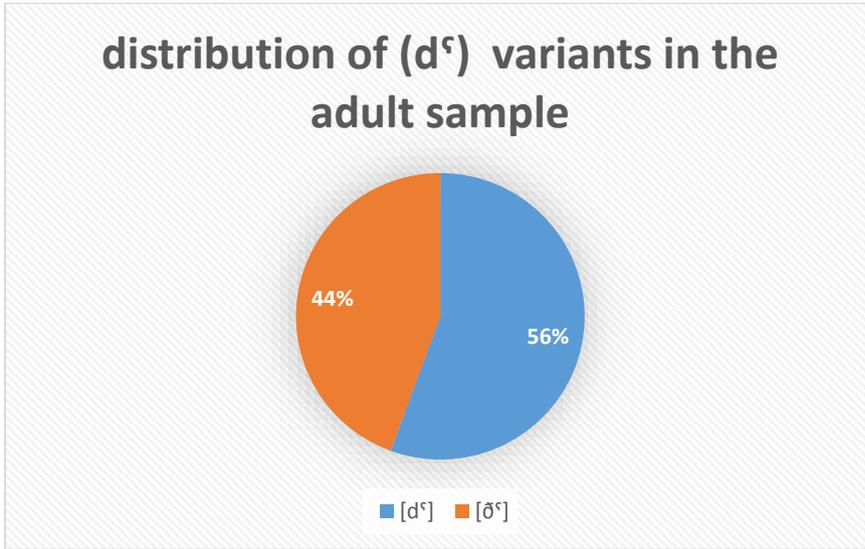
Appendix F.2 Use of (θ) and (ð) in the Adult Sample

Gender	[θ]	[t]	[s]	Total
Male	206	27	0	233
Female	184	58	41	283
Total	390	85	41	516

Table F.8-3 distribution of (θ) variants in the adult sample

distribution of (θ) variants in the adult sample

[θ] 76% [t] 16% [s] 8%

distribution of (θ) variants by gender

	male	female
[θ]	88%	65%
[t]	12%	20%
[s]	0	14%
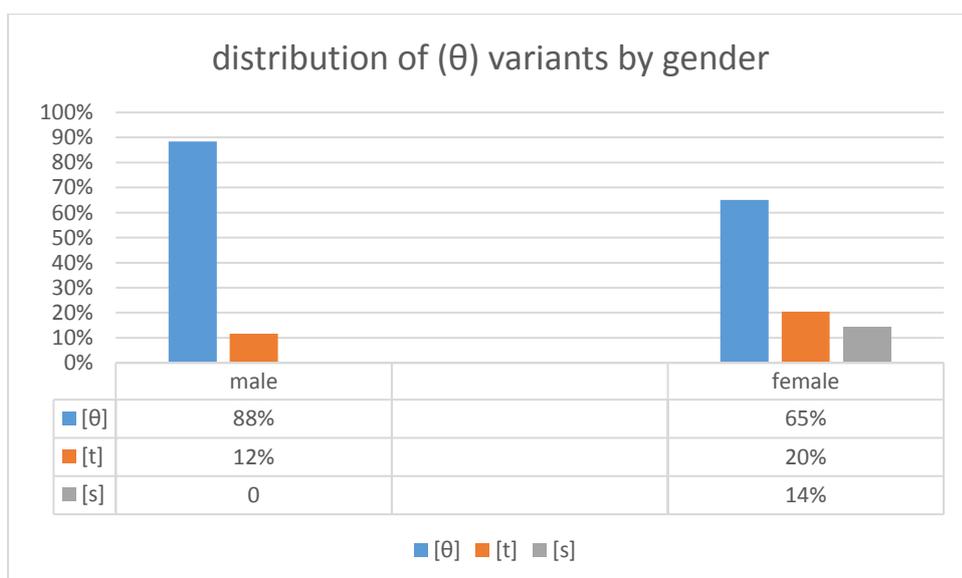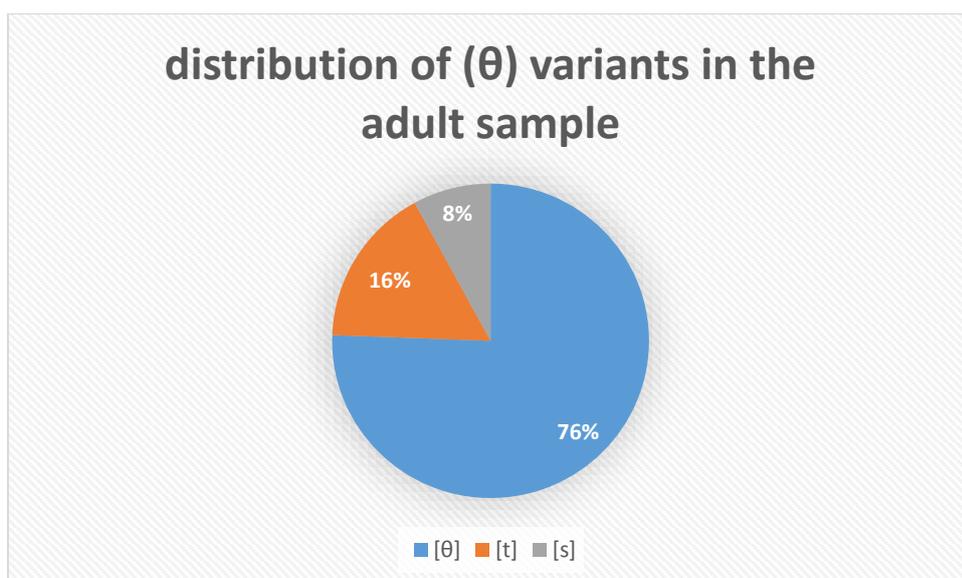
[87] This excludes numerals: two, three, eight and their derivations realized with [t]. Realizing these items with [t] is complete in the speech of females and at 65% in the speech of males.

Gender	[ð]	[d]	[z]	Total
Male	112	9	1	122
Female	63	40	13	116
Total	175	49	14	238

Table F.8-4 distribution of (ð) variants in the adult sample

distribution of (ð) variants in the adult sample

- [ð] 73%
- [d] 21%
- [z] 6%

distribution of (ð) variants by gender

	male	female
[ð]	92%	54%
[d]	7%	34%
[z]	1%	11%
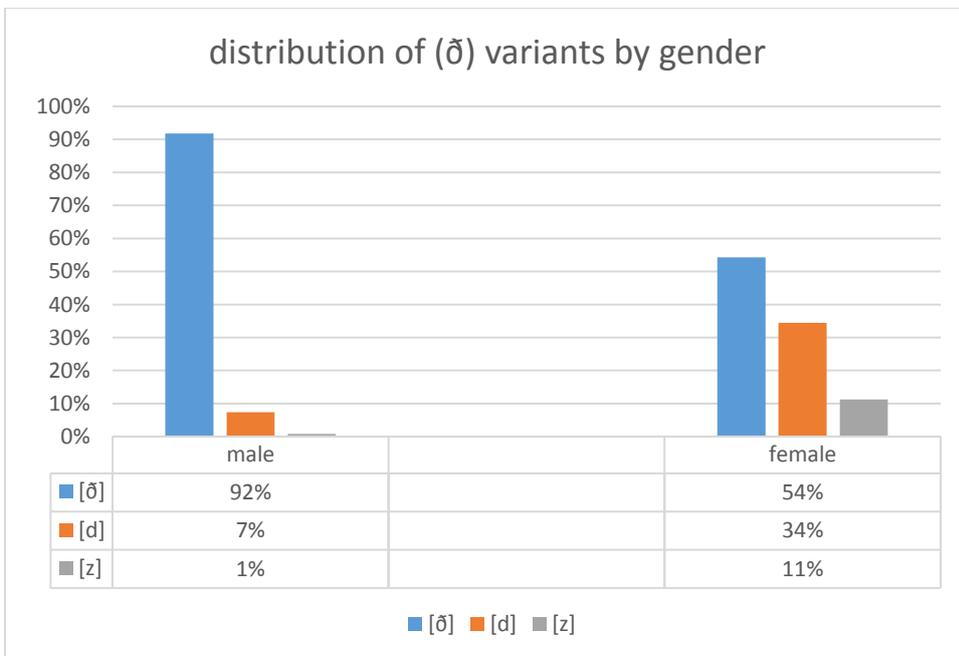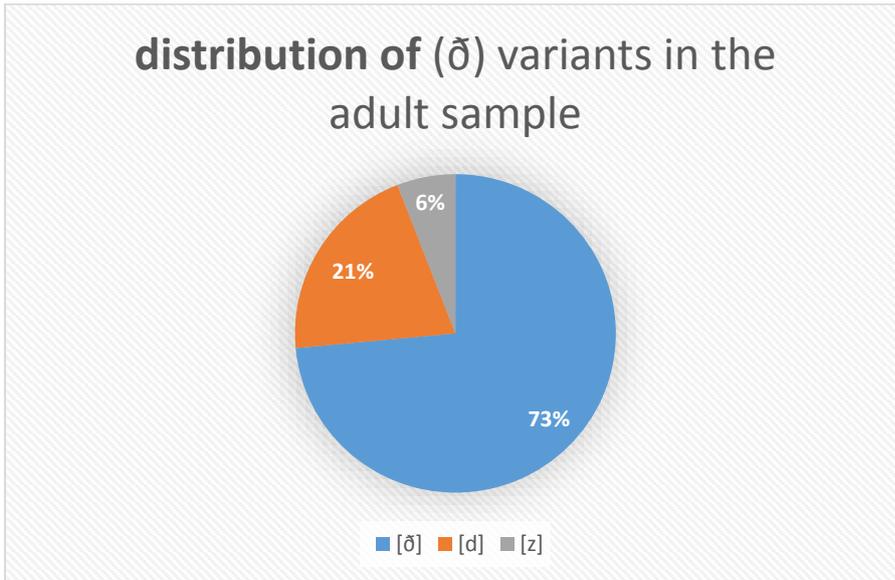
[88]

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[88] Realization of the words: 'teacher/ teachers' with [z] is complete in the speech of both males and females. Realization of the word 'if ' with [z] is at 97% in the speech of females and at 74% in the speech of males.

Appendix F.3 Use of (q) in the Adult Sample

Gender	[q]	[g]	[ʔ]	Total
Male	332	315	21	668
Female	140	225	24	389
Total	472	540	45	1057

Table F.8-5 distribution of (q) variants in the adult sample-including categorical [q]

distribution of (q) variants in the adult sample

4%
45%
51%
■ [q] ■ [g] ■ [ʔ]

use of (q) variants by gender

	male	female
■ [q]	50%	36%
■ [g]	47%	58%
■ [ʔ]	3%	6%

■ [q] ■ [g] ■ [ʔ]

distribution of (q) variants by gender