TWO ETHNICITIES, THREE GENERATIONS: PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION AND CHANGE IN KUWAIT

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by

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work, has been identified and that no material is included which has been submitted for any other award or qualification.

Signed:

Dated:

Abstract

This study investigates accent variation in the speech of three generations of two Kuwaiti ethnic groups: Najdis (originally from Saudi Arabia) and Ajamis (originally from Iran). The ethnic groups were chosen due to their varying social status: the Najdis have held a prestigious status in Kuwait for historical reasons, while Ajamis have held the least prestigious status on the social scale. The two groups have over the years gradually come into contact with each other, and this study explores the outcome of dialect contact by focusing on a set of phonological variables which traditionally had accent-specific realisations.

The phonological variables (ʤ) (typically realised by Najdis as [j] and by Ajamis as [ʤ]), (s) (realised by Najdis as [s] more often than Ajamis, who use [sˁ] in exclusive co-articulatory environments) and (ɣ) (realised by Najdis as [q] and by Ajamis as [ɣ]) were investigated. These variables were analysed in relation to the social variables (of ethnicity, age and gender). Social networks and the correlation between identity and dialect levelling were also considered.

Data were collected from 48 Kuwaiti speakers representing the two ethnicities, three ages groups (chosen according to relevant milestones in the history of Kuwait), and a balanced number of males and females. A variety of techniques (picture-naming, map task, interview, and questionnaires) were used to collect data.

Results show that the Najdi accent is generally more stable across generations than the Ajamis'. The Ajami accent seems to be moving towards the Najdis'. The accent of the old generation of Ajamis resembles the Najdi accent the least, while the young generation of Ajamis use Najdi variants the most. The female Ajamis are the forefront of this change, followed by young Ajami males. (ʤ) and (s) showed change the most across the Ajami generations, with the young speakers actively avoiding the original Ajami realisations due to their social connotations. Language and linguistic differences used to be the largest barrier against welcoming Ajamis to the Kuwaiti community; the reported accent transformation seems to be playing a major role in bringing the two ethnic groups closer to each other.

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List of Abbreviations:

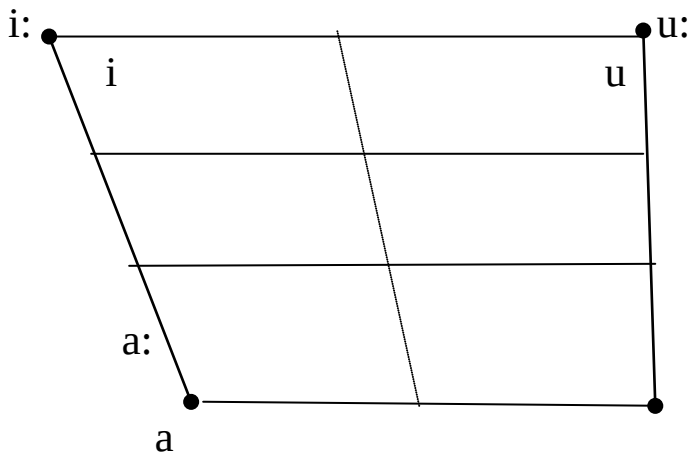
SA	Standard Arabic	YFN	Young female Najdi
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic	OMN	Old male Najdi
ESA	Educated Standard Arabic	MMN	Middle male Najdi
KA	Kuwaiti Arabic	YMN	Young male Najdi
QA	Qatari Arabic	OFA	Old female Ajami
BA	Bahraini Arabic	MFA	Middle female Ajami
NKA	Najdi Kuwaiti Arabic	YFA	Young female Ajami
AKA	Ajami Kuwaiti Arabic	OMA	Old male Ajami
OFN	Old female Najdi	MMA	Middle male Ajami
MFN	Middle female Najdi	YMA	Young male Ajami

Phonetic Transcription and Transliteration Symbols

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Dental (incl. alveolar)		Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
					plain	emphatic						
Plosive	**voiceless**				t	ʿt			k	q		ʔ
	voiced	b			d	dʿ	dʒ		g			
Fricative	**voiceless**		f	θ	s	sʿ	ʃ		x		ḥ	h
	voiced			ð	z	ðʿ		ʒ	ɣ		ʕ	
Nasal		m			n							
Lateral					l							
Trill					r							
Approximant		w						j *				

Vowels:

High/front



Low/back

Diphthongs:

aw

ay

* In transliteration ‘y’ is used for /j/

Introduction

This study aims at investigating social influences on accent variation and change in the Kuwaiti dialect. In order to understand the social context for the study, a short discussion of the origins of the Kuwaiti people and the languages used in Kuwait will be explored. This will be followed by a review of the Arabic varieties that exist in Kuwait. The study will then investigate phonological and phonetic variation in Kuwaiti Arabic spoken by Kuwaitis originating from Najd (an area in Saudi Arabia), and Kuwaitis descending from Iran (referred to as Ajamis). The two accents under study will be explored in different social interactions by educated Kuwaiti people of different ages in different circumstances.

The research will mainly concentrate on the different realizations of the consonantal variables (ʤ), (ɣ) and (s). The emerging patterns will be used to explore the extent to which linguistic variation in Kuwait is influenced by the social variables of age, gender and ethnicity. The study will also explore the role of perceived social status and prestige (in its diverse meaning) in driving phonological change. The study also aims to assess the role of social networks in accent change/preservation and the correlation between identity and dialect levelling as reflected in the accent of different generations in Kuwait. The study explores the importance of phonetic differences in Kuwait as markers of social status, and the potential role of the prestigious dialect in driving change.

The study of sociophonetics has been of interest to many linguists (Foulkes & Docherty 2006, Hay 2006, Haeri 2000). This is defined as the domain of linguistics that examines "variable aspects of phonetic or phonological structure in which

alternative forms correlate with social factors" (Foulkes and Docherty, 2006:411). Most studies conducted in the area of phonetic variation, which is carried out within the field of sociolinguistics; support the belief in the importance of social structure in influencing phonetic variability. In other words, age, social class, ethnicity, group affiliation, geographical origin and gender have all proven to have a major effect on speakers' use of particular phonetic realizations for phonological variables that are known to have systematic patterns which correlate with particular social categories (Tagliamonte, 2006).

The intention of this study is to provide a phonetic description of vocalic and consonantal variation occurring amongst two social groups in Kuwait, emphasizing the social factors potentially influencing phonetic choice. Most sociophonetic variation is viewed as an indication that the speaker belongs to a particular social group or community, which uses a particular variant more or less frequently than other groups or communities. This was originally demonstrated by Labov's (1966) seminal study of variation in New York city, in which he showed that the approximant /ɹ/ in post-vocalic position is more common in higher than lower social groups, whose accent tended to be non-rhotic. Since then, many other studies on various languages/dialects have found similar effects. Relatively few have been carried out on Arabic, and even fewer on Kuwaiti. While some of the variables have been frequently discussed within the context of Arabic sociolinguistics, other variables in this study are less common in studies on variation in Arabic.

The first chapter will introduce the historical events that occurred in Kuwait from the first groups of migrants who founded it to the present day. This will assist in

understanding the informants' backgrounds. In addition, it will provide the rational for the choice of the three age groups for the study. The second chapter will define dialectology. It will also describe the history behind dialect formation, especially in the Arab world. This will be followed by an over view of the main phonological differences between the standard and vernaculars. In addition, Chapter two will investigate the definition of prestige and its association with different social variables such as social status, gender and political and economic power. An analysis of different Arabic dialects which are either similar to Kuwaiti Arabic or linked to the history of the dialect will follow to give a better perspective on the linguistic situation in Kuwait. The dialects reviewed are Najdi, Bahraini, Khuzestani and Kuwaiti. The structure of the Kuwaiti community will be reviewed and the different languages and dialects used in Kuwait will be identified which also provides a better knowledge of the linguistic situation in Kuwait. Chapter three focuses on methodology. This includes analysing the outcome of a pilot study which highlighted the variables of interest and enabled the author to explore the different techniques chosen and used in this research to analyse social and linguistic variables in the Kuwaiti context. Chapters four presents the results for the sociolinguistic and phonological data collected during fieldwork. Chapter five provides a discussion of the findings in light of the Kuwaiti context and comparisons are drawn with other Arabic contexts as well as with other cross-linguistic studies of phonological variation and change. Finally, a discussion of the outcomes of the research, limitations of this study, and recommendations for further investigation of the issues raised by this thesis will be offered.

CHAPTER ONE

The History of Kuwait

1. Introduction

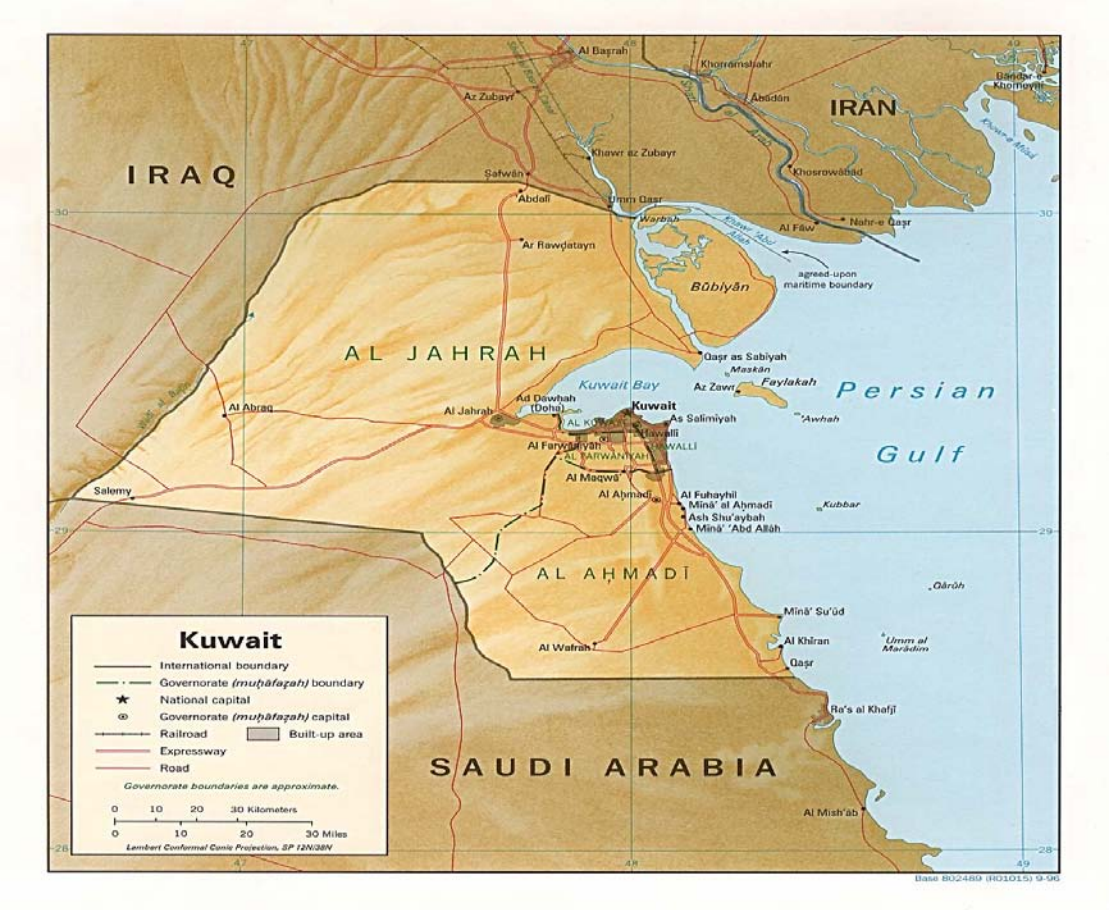
The State of Kuwait has witnessed various waves of immigration due to its resources. Before the discovery of oil, Kuwait was a welcoming sea harbour which drew a large number of people because of its geographical location in the Persian Gulf. Migrants came mostly from Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, though there were also some from Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. The Iranian immigrants spoke a different language (Farsi), while the Iraqi and Saudi Arabian immigrants spoke different varieties of Arabic. Following the discovery of oil, the groups started interacting more in work domains, and more immigrants from different nationalities (especially Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon and others) came to work in Kuwait. These historical events have led to a situation of language and dialect contact which have defined present day varieties of Kuwaiti Arabic (KA), including Modern Kuwaiti Arabic.

1.1. The Location of Kuwait

The state of Kuwait occupies the north-western corner of the Arabian Gulf. It is bordered by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the south and southwest (250 kilometres), and the Republic of Iraq (240 kilometres) in the north and west. The east of Kuwait is bound by the Persian Gulf (also referred to as the Arabian Gulf). This location made Kuwait the gateway to the Arabian Peninsula. The area of Kuwait is 17,818 square kilometres and it is considered a desert with a flat land mass (fig 1.1).

Figure 1.1

The map of Kuwait*



* (Al-Tamimi, 1998:3)

1.2. The Origins of Kuwait

Historically, Kuwait is believed to have had a civilization as early as the Sumerian and the Indus Valley civilization (3rd millennium BC). Evidence was found mainly on one of Kuwait's major islands, Failaka. Although the history of Kuwait was not recorded for some time, the temple built by Alexander the Great, dedicated to Artemis, proves ongoing civilization around 323 BC.

Trading settlements date back to ancient times. Ruins and archaeological evidence indicated that the Island of Failaka was captured by the Portuguese during the

sixteenth century. This suggests that the land-mass of present-day Kuwait was populated before the emergence of Kuwait as a nation. The location of Kuwait on the Arabian Gulf as a flourishing trade centre, connecting the east to the west, made it the target of many political powers. The Portuguese, for example invaded a great part of southern Iran and Basra in 1505 to control the East-West trade and to dominate the strategic trade routes. They were attacked by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century especially as trade of the English and Dutch East India Companies started to flourish (Abu-Hakima 1983:12) The Persians, on the other hand, were constantly at war with the Afghans, Ottomans and the Russians successively who wanted to dominate the area and weaken the Persian power to take control of the trade in the Gulf (ibid 1983:11).

These attacks affected most Gulf countries, yet the effect of these attacks on Kuwait's historical development seems to resemble that of Bahrain the most. In fact, before the establishment of Kuwait as a dependent country, the area of Kuwait was placed on the world map by the Danish State Archive with Al-Qatif, Al-Hasa (both in Saudi Arabia today) and Bahrain as one region called Al-Bahrain, in which Kuwait was identified as a small area called 'Qurain' (Al-Tajir, 1982:15). Both Kuwait and Bahrain were inhabited by people from Zubair, Ahwaz and Al-Hasa. People from Zubair fled Iraq to escape the Persian invasion on Basra, while the Ahwaz (Arabic-speaking Persians from southern Iran) were looking for a more settled and peaceful area to live in. Many families from Al-Hasa also fled to Kuwait and Bahrain in order to escape the Wahabis (Sunni extremest) attack, and live in safer areas which were protected by Bani Khalid (Abu-Hakima 1983:17-20). Although many tribes lived on the shore of Kuwait and Bahrain, these tribes did not claim control over the Kuwaiti territories against Bani-

Khalid. However, in Bahrain, the descendants from Ahwaz ruled the area. Al-Tajir (1982:16) states that most occupants of Bahrain were from the Shiite sect (either Hawala or Baharana). Holes (1987:11) defined the Hawala as 'Arabised Persians' as they were Arabic speaking Persians. The Hawala established themselves in the Gulf area, and assumed power in Bahrain until the invasion of Al-Khaleifa, the current rulers of Bahrain and cousins of Al-Sabah family—the current rulers of Kuwait. As a result of that, the modern dialects of Kuwait and Bahrain display remarkable resemblance phonologically and semantically to the Ahwaz dialect (Johnstone, 1967:18). The characteristics of the dialects of Kuwait, Bahrain and Ahwaz will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

Kuwait was first put on a world map by the Danish traveller Niebuhr in 1765. However, the name at the time was Qurain /qrein/. The name /gren/ may refer to a small high hill south of Kuwait, or as a reference to the Kuwaiti inlet which looks like a 'horn', while Kuwait roughly translates as 'a small fort'. The modern history of the State of Kuwait began in the late seventeenth century by the arrival of the Utub tribe who are part of Anaiza which is an Adnani tribe inhabiting Najd and northern Arabia. However, no precise date has been given for the establishment of the town of Kuwait. The rise of sheikhdom in Kuwait under the ruling of the Al-Sabah family (from the Utub tribe) was believed to be around 1752 AD, thus, it is thought that the establishment of Kuwait must have been around 1716 AD (Al-Tamimi, 1998).

In the 17th century, Kuwait was dominated by the Bani Khalid tribes, the most powerful at the time in the Arabic Peninsula. Bani-Khalid did not dominate the area of Kuwait alone, in fact, the territory of Bani-Khalid extended from Kuwait in the north to Qatar to the south. Kuwait was built by Bani-Khalid as summer residence for their ruler as the weather in Kuwait was better than it in the south (Abu-Hakima 1983:3). The Amir, Mohammed Bin Oraier, was known to have built the fort /ku:t/ (Kuwait is a diminutive of the word /ku:t/ as /qrein/ is a diminutive of /gurn/). In the mid seventeenth century, a tribe from central Arabia (Najd) who belongs to a sub-division of Anaiza called Jumayla, gradually migrated from Najd (now part of Saudi Arabia) to Qatar, finally settling in Kuwait. This tribe was called Utub.

Abu-Hakima (1983:4) stated that the Utub tribe moved from ‘Haddar’ in Najd to many areas on the eastern coast because of a drought which affected most of central Arabia. Their first stop was in Qatar, and from there many families scattered on different Gulf coasts. After half a century of moving along different coasts, they finally settled in Kuwait. The frequent migratory movements were due to the bleak desert conditions and lack of food and water. Finding both in Kuwait, 'Utub' asked permission from Bani Khalid to settle and make use of the shore of Kuwait. Three families from the Utub settled in Kuwait, namely Al-Sabah, Al-Khaliefa and Al-Jalahma (Al-Khaliefa later moved to Bahrain). As Bani Khalid did not have much interest in the shores, and only helped keep peace in the area, the newly settled tribe became associated with trading. They engaged in all types of commerce and trade throughout the Gulf.

When the rule of Bani-Khalid began to weaken, the people of Kuwait elected a new Amir to rule. Sheikh Sabah the First then became the ruler of Kuwait, allowing Kuwait to become a semi-autonomous Arab Monarchy, as the Ottoman Empire was generally the major force that controlled the policy of the area. In 1899, Sheikh Mubarak the Great feared an extension of the Ottoman Empire, thus forging an alliance between Kuwait and Great Britain in a treaty that provided Kuwait with the protection needed against any invasion and giving full control of external relations to the British (Al-Sabah, 2000).

The second half of the eighteenth century Kuwait witnessed a rapid economic development. The reputation of this economic flourishing spread throughout the Gulf area and Iran. People seeking new financial opportunities decided to migrate to Kuwait from neighbouring countries, such as Iraq, Bahrain and Iran. This migration extended to the early twentieth century, when many Persian families settled in Kuwait. In an interview conducted by Hassan (2009:9), Yousuf Ghoulum, from the department of Sociology in Kuwait university maintains that:

> *the mass immigration of Persians to Kuwait was due to a drought that forced many people dependent on farming to seek alternative means of survival in Kuwait, which was not as severely hit by the drought*

After the First World War ended, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved, yet Kuwait remained a self-governing British protectorate. As the land of Kuwait did not have much to offer, the shores of Kuwait were the focus of Kuwaitis. Fishing, pearl diving and trading with different countries were what Kuwaitis were most skilled at. Kuwait settled economically forming a tightly organized social hierarchy. Merchants and captains where at the top of the social class, followed by divers and rope pullers. The

pearl collected would be divided according to the person's job, thus allowing merchants to become an elite (Crystal, 1995).

During their travel for trade, Kuwaitis reached India, passing by Somalia and Bengal. They used to stop in India and most goods were bought there. As journeys took approximately five months, Kuwaitis used to communicate with Indian interlocutors using the language of the sub-continent (i.e. Hindi-Urdu) as a lingua franca. Along their journey to Africa, Swahili was also used as the lingua franca. Nowadays, some words in Kuwaiti can originally be traced to both Hindi and Swahili thus reflecting this period of linguistic contact.

Kuwaiti social life at the time was very simple. Family relations were known to be extremely strong, and extended families lived together. Social activities were very rare, men used to gather in cafés /gehwa/ where they drank tea and talked about different issues. Women were not allowed to socialize with men, and were usually preoccupied with housework. Children used to play outside with other children in the neighbourhood, yet girls were not allowed to play outside when they reached the age of 10 (Al-Sabah, 2000).

Another place for men to socialize is called 'diwanya' /diwa:njja/, which was usually an open place close to a wealthy friends' place. This gathering was set at night on a daily basis. Men talked about different issues, and played cards. The gatherings in diwa:nyya shaped the relations between Kuwaitis immensely. Different types of diwa:nyya were known, namely 'Arab Diwa:nyya' and 'Ajam Diwa:nyya'. Moreover, there were also diwa:nyya for different age groups. In 'Ajam Diwa:nyya', it was

common to find Farsi as the language of communication with 'Ajamis' originally having come from Iran (discussed in detail in the next section). It was also known that men visited all types of diwanya. Nowadays, the most popular diwa:nyyas are those that belong to the members of the parliament. The nature of diwa:nyyas has changed today as they have become family-based, i.e. each diwa:nyya carries a family name, but the social activities remain the same.

1.3. The History of Kuwait from 1900 to 1950

Kuwaiti community life had a tribe-based structure. People were called by their family names, and were known to belong to different tribes. It is essential to mention here the three distinct groups that made up Kuwait in the 1900s:

1. The Arabs who descended from Urban Arab tribes from Najd as 'Utub', 'Ejman', 'Awazim', 'Bani Khalid', 'Rishayda', 'Enouz' and many others. In the early days of the establishment of Kuwait, these tribes made up most of the Kuwaiti population (Dashti 1997:28). A majority had been in Kuwait since the early eighteenth century. In this group, the tribes that were skilful in pearl diving and trade occupied coastal areas. They mostly became rich and thus were considered by Kuwaitis to be the highest in social class. Other tribes, which were Bedouin, relied on grazing and hunting. Sometimes they raided other tribes in search of food and green lands. Their dialect is considerably different than the other Arab tribes (see section 2.6 for the dialects affecting Kuwaiti Arabic), and thus was considered less socially desirable.
2. Arabs who came from Iraq and the eastern part of Saudi Arabia (Hasawi) and Bahrain. They all spoke different dialects of Arabic such as Bahraini Arabic − which is considered the most similar to Kuwaiti Arabic (Holes, 2007a:609)

Zubair and Basra Arabic (from southern Iraq) and Hasawi Arabic (from Al-Hasa-western Saudi Arabia) and came to Kuwait in the early 1900s for economic reasons.

3. The Ahwaz (known in Bahrain as Hawala), and the Ajamis, who are the people who migrated from Iran for economic reasons. The Ajamis were considered the lowest in the social scale as they knew very little Arabic and they came late to Kuwait (in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, which was considered a late start in Kuwait). The difference between Ajamis of Kuwait and the Ahwaz is that while the Ajamis' mother tongue is Farsi, the Ahwaz are Arabic speaking Persians. The biggest difference, however, is that the Ahwaz lived in Kuwait in the seventieth century and are considered the earliest inhabitants of the Gulf region, while most Ajamis have come to Kuwait in the early twentieth century. It was noted that they acquired jobs of lower social status such as waiters in *qahwa* and porters carrying merchandise from the seashore to storage places. Until recently, people descending from Arab tribes considered Ajamis to be Iranians and therefore aliens (Fayath & Sultan, 2002:155-157).

It is also important to note that the term Ajami is used in Kuwait to refer to people who migrated from Iran in the 19th and early 20th century and hold Kuwaiti citizenship. While Iranian workers who do not have Kuwaiti citizenship, and who came to Kuwait relatively recent are referred to as Iranians (refer to section 2.6.4 for more on the non-Kuwaiti communities in Kuwait).

The social structure and patterns of migration outlined above and the pre-existence of the Hawala and southern Iraqis in Kuwait show the potential source of accent/dialect variation in Kuwait, since this structure created the basis for ranking these varieties on the social scale in the twentieth century. Chapter two will deal with these accent/dialect differences.

In 1920, the Kuwaiti people built a wall to protect their land from invaders. The wall was five miles long and shaped the limits of Kuwait city. Only a few Bedouin tribes lived outside the wall, whereas the whole population lived inside the limits of the wall. When the population started to increase, it was necessary to remove the wall to be able to accommodate the larger population. The five gates of the wall still exist as a landmark of the love and cooperation of the Kuwaiti people. When the wall existed, Kuwaiti people tried to live close to the old city of Kuwait. They formed three main areas of Kuwait: Jibla, Sharq, and Mirgab. The immigrants of Saudi Arabia who descended from different Arab tribes lived in Jibla in the western part of Kuwait city along with Kuwaiti Arabs from Iraq and Bahrain. The Utub who immigrated with the ruling family (Al-Sabah) and the Ajamis who came from Iran lived in Sharq, which is in the eastern part of Kuwait city. Sharq was known to be an Ajam (Farsi speaking) society, as the number of Arabs in Sharq was very small compared to the Ajamis. As Mirgab was further from the shore than the other areas lying south of the city, people who lived there did not work in trading but were known mostly as good butchers and came from areas surrounding Najd in the Arab peninsula.

These areas of Sharq and Mirgab formed two speech communities: one Arab speaking and one Farsi speaking (known as the Farsi community). The Ajamis in Sharq did not

mingle with the Utub, which reflects very little language contact between these two communities. This separation allowed for the identification of where speakers came from exactly (indeed people can still identify where speakers come from to this day). For example if a person said [ʃakir] for /sukkar/ (sugar) and [jummə] for /ɔmiː/ (mother), one knew he/she came from Jibla. People who came from Sharq would pronounce these words as [ʃikər] (sugar) and [jumma:] (mother). As people from the Ajami communities, who were originally Farsi speaking had just started learning Arabic, their grammar and accent was evidently different from the Arabs' accent. They eventually adopted different features from the different accents of the various Arab groups in Kuwait whom they had contact with while working.

Even though they initially spoke different languages, the two communities did not live in completely isolated groups. People from the same language community lived closer to each other, but they were still close to the other community. Because Kuwait was (and still is) a very small country, almost all Kuwaitis knew each other, and family names formed social status. For example, the family names associated with merchants were regarded highly. Family names associated with Ajamis often refer to the areas of Iran where they come from, such as Ashkanani (from Ashkanan), Bahbahani (from Bahbahan) and Dashti (from Dasht). Unfortunately, these family names held lower status then the Utub and Arab family names.

Not only was language a factor affecting the social position of Ajamis, religious beliefs have also affected the places these ethnicities assumed on the social scale (Hassan, 2009:10). Kuwaiti people were (and still are) mostly Muslims. The Muslims were divided into Sunni and Shiites. Religiously, the difference between the two sects

is little, yet socially the discrimination against Shiites is huge. The Sunni sect made up 70% of the Muslim population and belonged to the first three groups outlined above (mostly of Arabic ethnicities); Shiites (the remaining 30%), on the other hand, belonged to the second and third group (mostly from Persian ethnicity). People from both the Sunni and Shiites sect rarely intermarried. In addition to Muslims, there were several hundred Jews and Christians (Fayath & Sultan, 2002:157).

Since the Arabs in Kuwait were (and still are) mostly Sunni, and the Utubs, (the establishers of modern Kuwait) were also Sunni, political and economic power has been held by Sunnis in Kuwait. This is also true in other Gulf countries such as Qatar, UAE and Bahrain (although in Bahrain the majority of the population is Shiite). There are two reasons which led to the discrimination against Shiites in Kuwait: the first is the idea that Shiites are not true Muslims (supported by Wahhabies—Sunni extremists); the other reason is the belief that all Shiites are Iranian. This is due to the fact that Iran is the only Shiite-based country in the world, and many Shiites in Kuwait are descendants of Iranian origins. Although there are many Arab Shiites, such as the Shiites of Basra and Zubair (from Iraq) and Al-Hassa (from Saudi Arabia), most Sunnis believe that the word Shiite is a synonym to Ajami and thus that the loyalty of Ajamis is not to their country but to Iran. The idea that Ajamis are non-Arab promoted the idea that they are non-Kuwaitis (Hassan, 2009:11). The discrimination against Shiites in general and Ajamis specifically, meant that Shiites have held less socio-political and economic power than Sunnis (ibid). Some Sunni families in Kuwait, who were well known to be of Persian origins, have tried to promote the idea that they were originally Arabs who moved to Iran and then to Kuwait in order to avoid the discrimination against Ajamis. These families believed

that the Ajami society is linked to a lower prestigious status, and as Shiite Ajamis come from Iran, the Sunni Ajamis tried to dissociate themselves from any similarities with Shiites Ajamis. The attempt of the Sunni Ajamis to dissociate themselves from Shiite Ajamis reflected the discrimination Shiite Ajamis faced as a minority.

Discrimination because of the language barrier gradually disappeared as the Ajamis started learning Kuwaiti Arabic for social and economic reasons. However, as the vast majority of the country's population was illiterate and since no formal education was provided until 1921, it took Ajamis some time to learn Arabic through informal means (usually social communication and work) (Fayath & Sultan, 2002:163). Back then, people of high social class joined the 'kittab'. The 'kittab' was an informal religious class, where a devout Muslim taught the reading and recitation of the *Quran* (Muslim Holy Book). This was done in the tutor's own house. When formal education started and until 1950, the Mubarakyya and Ahmadyya schools were the only schools established. Basic Arabic grammar, maths and English were taught in addition to the teaching of the *Quran.* School participation was voluntary at that time.

Although petroleum in Kuwait was discovered in 1938, the exploration was stopped due to the Second World War and resumed in 1948. Kuwait was found to be rich in oil. Large-scale drilling revealed extensive deposits of oil, which brought in huge revenues. Kuwait started developing rapidly and became the commercial centre of the Middle East. The sea ceased to become the source of its economy, and was replaced with oil production. Soon after the drilling of petroleum, the Kuwaiti government, led by Al-Sabah, started developing the fields of education, health, water desalination, electricity generation and construction (Abu Hakima, 1983).

The swift economic growth was astonishing, and led to immigration, whether legal or illegal, to Kuwait in large numbers. Legal immigration was organized by the government and different companies. The workforce in Kuwait was not sufficient after the discovery of oil, and the need for experts and educated workforce was a must for the development of the country. Therefore, large numbers of workers were drafted in from neighbouring countries. As for illegal immigration, flows of individuals came from neighbouring countries (Iraq and Iran in particular) (Hussein, 1994).

1.4. The History of Kuwait from 1950 to 1990

In 1950, Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah was crowned Prince of Kuwait, succeeding Sheikh Ahmed. Sheikh Abdullah encouraged education and established a public and educational program in 1951. He also put in place the basis of well-designed welfare services. The title 'Amir' (prince) was given to Sheikh Abdullah after the end of the Kuwaiti-British protectorate in 1961, and he was given full ruling power. The era of Sheikh Abdullah's ruling marked the greatest period of development in Kuwait regarding all social and economic fields.

In the field of education many schools were built, yet there were not enough local teachers to recruit. Thus, Arab teachers from Egypt, Palestine, Jordan and Syria were employed. New hospitals were also built at that time, and Arab and non-Arab physicians and nurses were recruited. Some of these workers were awarded Kuwaiti nationality in gratitude for their long and loyal service. The Kuwaiti Parliament was established during Sheikh Abdullah's era, through which the first steps towards democracy were taken.

As the development of Kuwait brought in a large number of immigrants, people started moving out further from the centre of Kuwait. The three areas of Kuwait became occupied by mainly non-Arabs (Indian and Pakistani). The Kuwaiti people from each social group tended to move to areas where members of the same group resided, thus, some areas were known to be occupied by non-Kuwaitis, others by rich Kuwaitis, some by Bedouins and so on. The Kuwaiti Arabs moved to areas most Kuwaiti Arabs resided in, for example, Shammiyya, Fayha, Shuweikh and Keifan while Kuwaiti Ajamis were mostly concentrated in areas such as Rumaithyya, Mansouryya and Dasma. Although the two groups investigated in this study, namely Najdis and Ajamis, used to live in one area (Sharq), and were separated geographically; the separation was evident before this movement as these two groups did not mingle socially. The Kuwaiti census does not show the number of Kuwaiti Ajamis, Kuwait Bedouins or Kuwaiti tribes as they all hold Kuwaiti nationality. Table (1.1) below shows the numbers of Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis, males and females from 1975 to 2005. This table shows that the number of non-Kuwaitis is more than the Kuwaitis as a result of the large waves of migration

Table 1.1
Number of Kuwaitis & Non-Kuwaitis from 1975 to 2005

Number of Non-Kuwaitis			Number of Kuwaitis			Year
Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	
687,082	296,324	390,758	307,755	154,754	153,010	1975
1,226,828	499,712	727,116	470,473	232,292	238,181	1985
921,954	334,853	587,101	653,616	327,315	326,301	1995
1493686	492599	1001087	963571	492346	471225	2005

From: Kuwait Annual Statistical Abstract, 2005.

Major social changes followed the growth of Kuwait. The nuclear family structure replaced the extended family structure (couples moved to their own place as soon as

they got married). The number of educated Kuwaitis, male and female, increased. Not only were women allowed to study, but education from the elementary level to high school became obligatory. Women, however, were still not allowed to work outside their homes, socialize with men, or vote for the National Assembly members. Intermarriage —marriage within the family— was still common, but a few educated Kuwaitis challenged their families and married people outside the family. Most marriages like these, however, were between Kuwaiti Arabs and non-Kuwaiti Arabs, and between Kuwaiti-Ajamis and non-Kuwaiti Arabs, but not between Kuwaiti Arabs and Ajamis.

Major social changes were later caused by the Iraq-Iran war, which started in 1979 and ended in 1987. The war affected most countries in the Gulf, but Kuwait was the most effected economically, politically and socially. Due to the propaganda led by the Iraqi media which constantly informed Kuwaitis that Arabs should unite against any non-Arab aggression, to many Kuwaitis, this war was between Sunnis and Shiites (although the majority of Iraqis are Shiites). The Kuwaiti government supported the Iraqi government, relying on the fact that Iraq is an Arab neighbouring country. The Kuwaiti government's support alienated the Ajamis of Kuwait; Kuwaiti Sunnis believed that the Ajamis supported Iran (as they expected of their racial background) against an Arab country. Although from the beginning of the war to 1985, Sunni extremists in Kuwait had been causing political conflict with the government (presented in the National Parliament), the main attention was turned to the militant activities caused by a small group of Shiites (Rizzo, 2005:20). The Kuwaiti media concentrated on the Shiite movements and almost ignored the Sunni conflict with the government. This activity by the Shiites started as a reaction towards the Iranian

revolution and the Iraq-Iran war. These Shiites believed that the discrimination and inequality could only end by the use of force the way the Iranian revolution forced the Shah regime out of Iran. The Shiite movement was led by the Cultural and Social Society, which was established in 1968 and considered the most important Shiite organisation in Kuwait (ibid:21). One of the major activities believed to be undertaken by these Shiites was the attempt to assassinate the late prince of Kuwait—Sheikh Jaber Al-Sabah. The Kuwaiti government retaliated by dissolving the parliament to end the Sunni extremist appraisal, and appointing a censor to monitor every newspaper and published work to deal with the Shiite movement (ibid). During this decade, the Ajamis were treated as second class citizens not only by the government, but also by other Kuwaitis. This period was one of the toughest times for Ajamis, during which many Arab Kuwaitis labelled them as 'Iranians'. The rift that was caused by the Iraq-Iran war could only be mended by another big event: the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

1.5. The History of Kuwait from 1990 to the Present

On the second of August 1990, Kuwait was invaded by its neighbour Iraq. Many Kuwaitis were killed and tortured, thousands of Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis fled the country for fear of their lives. Kuwaitis were scattered around the globe. To the Kuwaiti government's surprise, the Shiites were the most loyal group to Kuwait and its sovereignty represented in the emir as the legitimate ruler of Kuwait. The Shiites defended Kuwait, stuck to their land, and showed exceptional patriotism by willing to fight and die for Kuwait and its ruler. This came as a complete shock to the Iraqi government whose media had worked hard to turn Ajamis against their government (Rizzo, 2005:21). The view of Ajamis as non-Kuwaitis and Iranian changed from that

point. The Kuwaiti government recognized the role the Ajamis played during the invasion. During the invasion, Kuwaitis fought the Iraqis side by side regardless of religious and social beliefs. Kuwaitis helped each other by providing shelter and food to any Kuwaiti in need, whether Sunni or Shiite. The invasion brought Kuwaitis closer than ever, and the unity that Ajamis have always sought was achieved during the seven months of Iraqi terrorism. As Kuwaitis during the invasion sought refuge in the basement of their houses to avoid repercussions of the possibility of the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi regime, most houses sheltered Arabs and Ajamis. For many months, Kuwaitis from different ethnicities lived together under one roof. New relationships and friendships were built during this period, and the contact between Arab Kuwaitis and Ajamis became closer. One of the major outcomes of the two communities getting closer has been the resulting linguistic contact reflected in the changes reported for the youngest group in this study, but that the direction of change also reflects the long-standing history and status of each of the communities, which is impossible to change overnight

The United Nations urged Iraq to pull out its troops and bring the invasion to an end. A UN resolution was agreed condemning the invasion in an effort to bring the aggression to an end, but all the diplomatic appeals were met by total refusal by the Iraqi government. Thus, forces from many countries joined together (led by the United States) in a war to free Kuwait. The allied forces called the war 'the Desert Storm' (it was called 'the Gulf War' by news networks). The war started on January 17th 1990, and Kuwait was freed on February 26th of the same year. Although social inequality still exists between Sunnis and Shiites in Kuwait today, it has been minimised remarkably since the invasion; this is evident in the way Ajamis have been

appointed to in higher political positions which used to be viewed as purely Sunni before the invasion. In addition, many regulations regarding immigration to Kuwait have changed in order to limit the number of immigrants. The number of non-Kuwaitis has dropped sharply, yet they still outnumber the number of Kuwaitis as shown in Table (1.2) below:

Table 1.2
Number of Kuwaitis & Non-Kuwaitis in 1990 & 1995

Non-Kuwaitis	Kuwaitis	Year
1,560,791	564,262	1990
921,954	653,616	1995

From: Kuwait Annual Statistical Abstract 1995.

In summary, it is clear that the discovery of oil is the main factor behind the most recent immigration flow to Kuwait. The importance of improving the education and health systems led to the dependence of the Kuwaiti government on Arab nationals as a work force. More migrants moved from other parts of Asia and Africa. In effect, Kuwait became a multi-social land, where people from many nationalities, with various social values integrated, to form what is known today as Kuwaiti society. However, the most important historical events (for the purpose of this study) relate to the original migration patterns which laid he foundation for the linguistic situation today. These relate to the unnoticed early migration of the Ahawaz, followed by the Utub migration which was linked to socio-economic developments in Kuwait, and then the later migration of many Arabs and Ajamis and the subsequent social status that they acquired. The events have shaped the linguistic profile of Kuwait, and are responsible for the association of certain present-day Kuwaiti accent/dialect features with prestige.

In conclusion, Kuwait has become a multilingual and multidialectal community since it became a state. Although Kuwait City is small in size, it is obviously one of the richest sociolinguistic environments in the Persian (Arabian) Gulf. The effect of these historical factors has scarcely been investigated; yet they have in many ways shaped the sociolinguistic situation in present-day Kuwaiti, which will be investigated in this study (more about that in Section 2.6.4).

CHAPTER TWO

The Arabic Dialects

2. Introduction

Arabic is a Semitic language, the official language of 21 countries, and the mother tongue of more than 200 million speakers. Arabic has been studied and characterized by linguists using an opposition between two varieties: (i) the standard language, which is viewed by early researchers as the prestigious variety, and is the language of religion, culture and education; (ii) the vernacular language which is the mother tongue for most speakers, and is usually the language of communication throughout a society. The vernacular differs in some phonological and morphological aspects from one geographical area to another, and between communities and individuals for many reasons which will be discussed later.

This chapter will use insights from modern dialectology to explore the background behind the emergence and identification of the various Arabic dialects. A brief description of the most common phonological differences between Standard Arabic and the vernaculars (also referred to as dialects) will then follow. This will lead to a discussion of the notion of prestige in the Arab world generally, and the Gulf area specifically, and an account of how certain Arabic dialects have assumed prestige. Prestige will be linked to the use of standard Arabic, historical events, social factors, and political and economic power.

Finally, a review of different Arabic Gulf dialects—namely, Najdi, Bahraini, Khuzestan Arabic and Kuwaiti—will be undertaken, with a comparison between certain features of these dialects. Reference will be made to relevant features from other dialects that have created what is known nowadays as Kuwaiti Arabic. The Arabic dialects described show that social and historical factors correlate with linguistic changes and differences, and this is an issue investigated in this study.

2.1. Defining Dialects

Abu-Alfaraj (1966:93) defined a dialect as being a particular use of a particular linguistic style in a certain environment, and this environment belongs to a larger community which uses one common language. In some instances, a dialect becomes known by speakers as an independent language when it is defined by its own set of syntax, semantics and phonological features (Hamed 1990:36). For examples, the Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi dialects are also known as languages as they are widely understood in their communities. The only reference to these 'languages' as dialects is when comparing them to Standard Arabic (SA hereafter). To be acknowledged as an independent language, Hamed (ibid: 36-37) suggests that the following factors must be associated with the dialect and provided examples for each factor:

1. Political factor: an example of this is in the definition of the Russian dialect as a language after it gained its political independence.
2. Religious factor: the dialects of Hijaz and Najd have for instance been defined as Classical Arabic after they were associated with the Holy Quran.
3. Literary factor: for example the dialect of Florence is known nowadays as the modern Italian language since it was associated with the writings and poetry of famous writers such as Dante and Petrarch.

4. The social status factor: for instance, the dialect of Paris became the official language of France after the seventeenth century as it was related to the prestigious literature written in the 17th century.

These factors have changed the status of some dialects to languages. The existence of the different Arabic dialects is due to the geographical and social factors, as well as language /dialect contact (Hamed 1990: 45). Cultural and geographical changes affected the Arabic language as it affected other languages. One of the most important effects was the shift of Arabs from rural (Bedouin) life to the urban life style. Many factors are known to affect the evolution of dialects around the world. These factors are stated by many linguists such as Naja 1961, Anees 1965 and Hamed 1990):

1. The geographical environment: people live on different land structures; some live on mountains and others on hills, and some live in deserts while others live on green lands. This diversity of the geography affects the environment. Therefore, when a community lives on a land which has multiple geographical surfaces, over time, this community most probably will be divided into several communities according to the place they live in, and thus different dialects will evolve. Hamed (1990:41) believed that as humans are affected psychologically, mentally and physically by their environment, their way of speaking will also be affected.
2. Diversity of social circumstances: every society has its own set of traditions, cultures and rules. In addition, in every society there are different social classes such as the working class and the aristocrats. As societies differ in their beliefs and ideas, and social classes are diverse, different dialects start to emerge. For example, the Spanish speaking communities in the United States

use a dialect that is different from their ancestors who lived in Spain. This change has occurred due to the change in their social environment.

The effect of language/dialect contact: people socialise most of their time. This is due to many reasons such as the exchange of services and goods, the immigration in search of better economic opportunities, and for other religious and political reasons. Vendryes (1950:427) stated that the constant contact with other languages/dialects affects the features of a person's own language/dialect; and in some communities, a language can be completely lost. Anees (1965:23) supported the idea of one language spreading over another because of its political strength. Anees (ibid) provided an example of the spread of Islam which caused the spread of the Arabic language over Persian, Aramaic in Iraq and Syria, and Coptic in Egypt.

Whether dialects are affected by contact, or maintained by their speakers, it is the dialect of the prestigious and powerful (economically or socially) which is usually maintained or which overcomes other dialects, which in turn establishes a 'unity' in the dialects used in certain areas. Vendryes (1950:229) provides examples from France and Italy to support the idea of unity. In France, for example, the Parisian dialect was believed to be the dialect of the bourgeoisie (the middle-class). In the nineteenth century, famous writers and royalties used the Parisian dialect which provided the dialect with strength, and by time the dialect turned into what is known nowadays as the French language. As for the Italian language, Vendryes (ibid) explains that it has come from the dialect of Florence which was used primarily by the higher social class in Florence; it was also the closest Italian dialect to Latin both

phonologically and syntactically. Thus, the dialect of Florence established itself to become known as the Italian language.

Arabic, as a language, was mainly used in central Arabia, and spread through the spread of Islam to reach Persia and Spain. Hamed (ibid) added that the interaction between the Arab speakers with neighbouring countries, such as Egypt and Syria through trade, and Romans and Persians through Islamic conquer had its effect on the emersion of new dialects.

2.2. The Study of Arabic Dialectology

When writing in Arabic, the standard language is used by almost all Arabs; however, many speakers of Arabic find it difficult to write and understand this language as they possess limited knowledge of this form that has only been learned at school (Haeri, 1997). Arabic speakers learn one of many Arabic dialects as their mother tongue and native language at home, school (with peers and teachers), and through TV, Radio programmes and movies. Thus, there is a split between written and spoken Arabic: the standard is used for writing and formal speech, while the dialect is used informally. This linguistic situation was originally termed 'diglossia' by William Marcais in 1930 in his article on his study of the linguistic situation in Greece. The term was then adopted by Ferguson (1959) who wrote an article entitled 'Diglossia''. Ferguson defined diglossia as:

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in

> the speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversations (p.336).

Ferguson compared the linguistic situation in the Arab countries to that found in Greece, German-speaking Switzerland and Haiti. These four places shared a linguistic situation where there were two varieties used for different purposes in one place. Ferguson called these varieties 'high variety' (H) and 'low variety' (L).

Following Ferguson's study on diglossia, many studies evaluated the H/L levels and added many other levels in between (such as Blanc 1960; Badawi 1973; El-Hassan 1977 among others). Research has gradually moved from concentrating on Classical Arabic due to their importance, to looking at vernacular variation for reason shown below

It is difficult to ignore the power of the vernacular in the Arab world, and many linguists agree with this fact. Ibrahim (1986:515) believes that "it is no use to go on pretending that Standard Arabic is our native language when it is not". European scholars showed interest in the colloquial varieties of the Arabic language in the nineteenth century. Most Arab countries did not approve of this trend as dialects were considered by educated Arabs to be non-prestigious varieties of the language, thus, interest in the structure of dialects was regarded as a waste of time. The only dialect that was not subjected to this view was the dialect of Egypt. Scholarly attention began being paid to the Egyptian dialect as early as the sixteenth century. In his dictionary *da:fiʕ al-ʕasr ʕan kal:am ʔəhl Masr* (The Motive Nowadays to Learn the Language of Egypt). Yousuf Al-Maghribi (1968) recorded the way Arabic was spoken in Egypt.

However, the author did not only intend to describe the language of Egypt for its own sake, but also planned to show the 'errors' that Egyptians make in their speech compared to Classical Arabic. Using his approach, Al-Maghribi displayed how Egyptian Arabic is related to Classical Arabic through the review of similarities.

The variation between Classical Arabic and the different dialects used all around the Arab countries constitutes only one line of enquiry regarding linguistic difference in Arabic. As dialectal differences are spread throughout the Arab lands, the urban dialect is different in Egypt from that in Jordan, and the urban dialect in Jordan is different than the rural one (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Wer 1991, 1997, 2007). Arab linguists were also aware of the variation of dialects in the Arab world. Indeed, many Arab linguists investigated the variation found in Arabic dialects extensively (such as Ibn-Jinni 1952, Anees 1965, El-Gindi 1983 amongst others).

Interest in this degree of linguistic variation spread in the twentieth century. Hamed (1990:33) gave different examples of dialectal variation to show that dialectal variation is phonological. He provided an example of what is called 'ʕanʕana' (a feature by which /ʔ/ is realised as [ʕ]). An illustration of 'ʕanʕana' is found in the word /aθan/ (to permit) which is realised by some of the Arab tribes of Qais and Tamim as [ʕathan]. El-Gindi (1983:51) believed that these phonological differences in dialects are usually due to differences in the historical events surrounding the Arab communities and social factors as opposed to internal linguistic factors. Anees (1961:16) listed some types of linguistic differences between dialects:

1. The differences found in the place of articulation, such as the realisation of (ʤ) which is alveolar in SA is velar in most Egyptian Arabic dialects.

2. The differences which occur as a case of secondary articulation where the back of the tongue is bunched towards the velum in the occurrence of dark /r/ and /l/ in some Arabic dialects. For example the word /qa:l/ (he said) which is realised by some tribes in central Arabia as [ga:ɬ].
3. The differences found in the realisation of long vowels (/a:/, /i:/, and /u:/). Even a slight difference in the realisation of these vowels shows dialectal differences. An example of this is the realisation of the word 'say' which is /gil/ in several Bedouin dialects and /gu:l/ in modern Gulf dialects.
4. The differences in the intonation and rhyme between dialects. For example Cantinuea (1937) conducted an extensive study on the semi-nomadic Bedouin dialects of the Syrian Desert, and found that Bedouin intonation differs from that of sedentary dialects.

. Ibn-Jinni (1952:29) believed that when urban Arabic dialects started to rise, people wanted to be associated with these dialects to be known as 'urbans' as opposed to Bedouins' dialect (even though the Bedouin dialect is sometimes similar to the Standard). One example provided by Ibn-Jinni (ibid: 11) was the change found in the urban dialect of Quraish which differs in many ways from the different Bedouin dialects of Tamim. For example, when the people of Tamim would say [ʕann] (that) the people of Quraish would say [ʔann].

The Arabic language was also affected by the contact Arabs had with different communities who spoke a variety of languages at the time of the Islamic conquer. Contact with Arabs and non-Arabs also occurred during trade and wars. As the Arabic

language affected many languages, it was also affected by different languages. Hamed (1990:47) provided an example of the effect of other languages in the establishment of Arabic syntax by Abu-Alaswad Alduʔali. When people started to use some realisations which were not common in Arabic before the spread of Islam, Arabic linguists decided to set syntactic rules to maintain their language.

Not only did Arabs have contact with other languages, but contact also occurred between the Arabic dialects. Arab tribes built social relationships with each other. Ibn-Jinni (1952:15) reported that the relationship between Arab tribes was very strong. Arab tribes socialised amongst each other, so much so that it seemed to non-Arabs that all Arab tribes are actually 'one group'. This socialisation may have led to dialectal changes. Ibin-Jinni (ibid:383) stated that although it is difficult, a dialect can be maintained by its speaker even during contact; most probably however, the dialect will be changed due the effect of other dialects in contact, and in some cases, dialect levelling may occur (which is change occurring in both dialects in contact).

In the Arab world, the dialect of Quraish is a good example of dialectal power. It became the most prestigious Arabic dialect due to the tribe's political, economic and religious status. The tribe's political and religious power was a consequence of being in control of the area of Mecca, where many people headed to the Kaʔba (the Holy place) before and after Islam. The most prestigious dialect at the time was the dialect of Quraish (Wafi, 1962:140). Ibn-Khaldoun (1958:495) believed that Quraish maintained most of its dialectal features due to their location in the centre of Arabia. Quraish was surrounded by several Arabic-speaking tribes, such as Tamim, Thaqeef and Xuzaʕa; thus, their dialect was hardly affected by Persian, Roman or the language

of Habasha (Ethiopia). In addition, Quraish's position, living next to the KaʕSba and taking care of the pilgrims (the Muslim Sacred house of God), gave the dialect of Quraish more prestige than other Arabic dialects. However, Hamed (1990:74) states that, although the dialect of Quraish is believed to be the closest Arabic dialect to Classical Arabic (CA hereafter); some features of CA have shown to reflect characteristics that are used by other Arabic dialects and are not found in the Quraish dialect. Unfortunately, Hamed did not provide any examples.

In the sixteenth century, the Arabic language spread from the north of Arabia to the south (Hamed, ibid: 81). The dialects spoken around Arabia were known to belong to Najd, Hijaz and Tihama.

The issue of prestige continues to influence language and dialect use to this day. In the western world as well as the Arabic one, speakers are affected by prestige and its association with language. In the following section, the notion of prestige will be defined, and its effect on language and dialect use will be shown. In addition, the different factors associated with dialectal prestige will be reviewed.

2.3. Standard Arabic (SA) versus vernaculars (dialects)

The study of variation in Arabic started with the examination of the difference between the urban (city) and rural (Bedouin) dialects. This was due to the huge number of tribes moving to the centre of Islam (Najd in Saudi Arabia and Baghdad in Iraq) to learn more about Islam. Arab linguists realized that the tribal dialects were different from the Classical Arabic language; thus, the Bedouin dialects were studied by grammarians (such as Sibawayh and Al-Azhari) as an attempt to preserve the

prestigious Standard by pinpointing the differences between the two (Versteegh 1997:50). Ibn Khaldoun is one of the most well-known Arabic grammarians who studied the Arabic language. In his book *Al-Muqaddima*, he dedicated a full chapter to the differences found between urban and Bedouin dialects. One of the differences highlighted by Ibn Khaldoun is the pronunciation of the Classical Arabic phoneme (q) which is discussed in the quotation below:

> One of the phenomena that happens in the speech of these Arabs [Bedouins] until this day is their special way of pronouncing (q). They do not pronounce it at the place of articulation of the urban people, as it is mentioned in the books on Arabic, namely between the back of the tongue and the opposite point of the upper palate. They do not pronounce it at the place of articulation of the (k) either, which is somewhat lower than the place of (q) on the tongue and the upper palate, but they pronounce it at a place that is somewhat in the middle between (q) and (k). (cited in Versteegh 1997: 131)

Ibn Khaldoun attributed the changes in the Arabic language and the surfacing of different varieties of Arabic to contact of Bedouins with the population of the colonial territories, in addition to the contact with other ethnic groups, and the movements of Arabs from one country to another as well as the Bedouins from rural areas to the city. Muslims started conquering areas and through the spread of Islam, Arabic was also spreading.

Studies of the Arabic language and Arabic dialects extended to the early twentieth century by Arab and non-Arab scholars (e.g. Ferguson 1959, Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, El-Hassan 1977 and many others). These studies were mainly occupied with dividing Standard and vernacular Arabic into hierarchical levels and identifying types of Arabic. These studies were descriptive and attempted to generalize findings of a

certain Arabic community to all Arabic countries. As the Arabic language was changing and new Arabic dialects started to appear, grammarians believed it was being 'corrupted' (referred to as "fasad al-lugha" by Versteegh, 1997:102). Grammarians felt that the language of the *Holy Quran* was being damaged, and they feared that the *Quran,* in effect, would be misinterpreted. Ibn Khaldoun reflected on this issue by stating that:

> When Islam came and they [the Arabs] left Hijaz…and started to mingle with non-Arabs, their [linguistic] habits began to change as the result of the different ways of speaking they heard from those who tried to learn Arabic, for hearing is the source of linguistic habits. As a result of this influence, Arabic became corrupt…Their scholars began to fear lest the [linguistic] habit became completely corrupted, and lest people grow used to it, so that the Quran and the tradition would become incomprehensible. Consequently, they deduced laws from their [the Arabs'] ways of speaking that were universally valid for this habit…and that could be used as a canon for the rest of their speech (cited in Versteegh 1997:102).

In order to understand the theories of variation concerning the Arabic language, it is essential to briefly review the most common differences observed between Standard Arabic (fusḥa) and the Arabic dialects (ʕammijja). The following points below summarise the key differences between Standard and vernacular in Arabic which have triggered the studies of dialects alongside the Standard language:

1. The glottal stop plays a major role in the distinction between SA and the dialects. It is considered to be one of the most important differences because it disappeared in some words where /ʔ/ is the SA variable, and appeared in others as a realization of /q/[1]. An example of the realization of the glottal stop in Standard Arabic

[1] / / will be used for SA forms and [ ] for their realisations in different dialects.

is the word /raʔs/ (head) as opposed to the vernacular /raːs/ (Versteegh, 1997, p.99). In some Arabic dialects, such as vernacular Egyptian, /q/ is mostly realized as a glottal stop as in /qalam/ (pen) in Standard Arabic being realised as [ʔalam] in Egyptian Arabic.

2. The uvular /q/ is used in Standard Arabic, however, variants found in dialects include [g], [k], and [ʔ]. In some Middle Eastern dialects (Kuwaiti, Saudi Arabian, Emirati, Bahraini and Qatari) it is realised as [g], for example [ḥagi:ga] is the realisation of /ḥaqi:qa/ (truth). On the other hand, in some Egyptian and Syrian dialects /q/ is realised as glottal [ʔ], thus /ḥaqi:qa/ is realized as[ḥaʔi:ʔa].

3. The interdentals phonemes /ð/ and /θ/ used in Standard Arabic, can be realised as the dentals [t] and [d] in some dialects found in Syria, Egypt and the Lebanon (e.g. Standard Arabic /θalaːθa/, Egyptian Arabic [talaːta]) (Haeri, 1991, p.23).

4. The Standard Arabic phoneme /dˤ/ has two different pronunciations in various Arabic dialects. In sedentary dialects /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ are realised as [dˤ], e.g. Standard Arabic /ðˤuhur/ (afternoon) is [dˤuhur] in Syrian Arabic (Al-Wer, 2004). In Bedouin dialects, /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ are realised as [ðˤ], e.g. /ðˤuhur/ is realised as [ðˤuhur], and Standard Arabic /ḍab/ (lizard) is realised in Bedouin Arabic as [ðˤab].

5. All Arabic dialects have shortened the final long vowels and dropped the final short vowels found in Standard Arabic (e.g. Standard Arabic /aχaða/ (he took) and /aχaðuː/ (they took) are realised in Kuwaiti Arabic as [aχað] and [aχaðu]).

6. In some Middle Eastern dialects /ʤ/ is realised as [ʒ] (Versteegh, 1997, p.100). For example Classical Arabic /daʤaʤa/ (chicken), is realised as [ʤɛːʒe] in Lebanese Arabic.

2.4. Language Prestige

In the mid 1980s, Arab linguists started to realise that variation did not occur mainly as a result of the influence of the standard on the vernacular (Bassiouney 2009:18). The concept that the standard is equal to the prestigious should not be applied to the Arab situation, where certain vernaculars seem to hold a prestigious place depending on different factors such as the geographical, political and social factors which are often unique to each country in the Arab world (ibid).

2.4.1. The prestige of the standard and vernacular

In Arab countries, local urban dialects are considered parallel to the standard form and may in fact be viewed as even more prestigious. In Kuwait, for example, people who do not speak the city language (urban), use it to emphasise status although it is almost completely different from the syntactic structure of Classical Arabic. When investigating two Bahraini dialects, Holes (1983:448) found that the influence of MSA on the dialects of educated Bahrainis depends mainly on the social status of the speaker. While Sunni speakers, who are considered socially prestigious, do not use MSA patterns in their speech, the dialect of the lower status Shiites is influenced by MSA. Dialects are infused with aspects of speaker identity and can be associated with status; so that by resorting to the urban dialect, which is heard every day in conversations and in the media, the Shiites Bahrainis may gain higher status and they may be associated with the Arab Bahrainis who assume a higher status in Bahrain. Indeed some dialects are ridiculed when they are perceived to be radically different to the prestigious Bahraini dialect. In this respect, Trudgill (2000:74) states that "there are social pressures on speakers to achieve prestige or appear 'correct'", he adds that "these pressures are stronger on women".

Many studies have focused on the analysis of prestige by comparing the standard with the vernacular (Palva 1982, Holes 1983, Abu Haider 1991, amongst others). It has been found that in every Arab speech community there is always a dominant dialect that holds linguistic prestige more than the other dialects. Therefore, the current issue is not whether dialects hold linguistic prestige more or equal to the standard, rather the current issue is why certain dialects influence other varieties. Bassiouney (2009:19) stated that one dialect becomes dominant when the city exerts socioeconomic power over the countryside such as the case of Cairo. Another reason could be political power possessed by one social group such as the case of the ruling families of the Gulf States. The more powerful dialects become the symbol of the power of their speakers which is the reason other dialects are affected by them.

2.4.2. Ethnicity and prestige

In some communities Prestige is associated with ethnic backgrounds. Davies and Bentahila (2006:58) defined ethnicity as “an analytical concept used to describe the bonds which lead certain people to identify themselves as a group”. This bond, according to Bassiouney (2009:98), is inherited and could not be lost. Ethnicity differs from identity in the fact that ethnicity is not a matter of choice, rather, it is what a person is born with. On the other hand, identity is “related to the individual and his/her projection of himself/herself” (ibid). In Arab societies, the best example of the association of prestige with ethnicity could be seen in the language situation of Jordan.

Jordanian Arabic has been the focus of a number of linguistic studies (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1991, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2007 among others). The linguistic situation of Jordan is interesting as it is an outcome of different developmental phases which were associated with socio-political developments taking place in Jordan across different periods of time.

In 1948, after the first Arab-Israeli war had begun, many Palestinians were forced to leave their homes and settle in Jordan. The majority of migrants came from big cities in Palestine such as Haifa, Yafa and Akka. These cities were considered both economically and socially prestigious. Haifa, for example, was a prosperous area and a commercial centre where people used to head before the war when seeking jobs, including Jordanians (Al-Wer, 1991).

According to Al-Wer (1999:38) the historical events in Jordan set the "demographic and socio-political constitution of Jordan". Palestinians and Jordanians perceive themselves as being very different from each other although they share the same nationality. This is due to the belief that nationality does not remove the difference in lineage and ancestors. This difference is reflected in the linguistic situation in Jordan.

Linguistically, Jordan is divided into several dialectal groups, namely the urban Palestinian dialect, the rural Palestinian dialect, and the Bedouin and rural Jordanian dialect (Bassiouney 2009:100). Abdel-Jawad (1986) illustrates the difference between these dialects in their realisation of /q/. /q/ is realised in the urban Palestinian dialect as [ʔ], in rural Palestinian as [k], and in Bedouin and rural Palestinian as [g].

When Jordan started its political development in 1970[1] rural linguistic features were taking place as the features of power. An illustration of the changes that occurred at that time was the realization of (q) as [g], which is a rural variant and subsequently became an important symbol of Jordanian identity (Al-Wer, 2007). Suleiman (2003:115) found that after the bloody confrontation between Jordanians and Palestinians in 1970, many male Palestinians used the [g] realisation as opposed to their urban [ʔ] variety as the use of the Jordanian variety was safest.

After the confrontation between Jordanians and Palestinians ended, the urban Palestinian dialect was believed to be a 'symbol of modernity and education' (Bassiouney, 2009:101). Yet, as Jordanian tribes have multiplex social networks reflected in a clubhouse belonging to each tribe, male Jordanians did not accommodate to the urban Palestinian dialect. Therefore, most male Jordanians kept using the [g] variant.

Women, however, were thought not to have been affected by the political changes, and hence the linguistic changes, because they were marginalised in political issues in Jordan, and were seen by researchers to be influenced by "soft" and modern (reflects femininity and the trend) linguistic features (see Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al-Khatib 1988; Walters 1991; Daher 1998; Al-Wer 1991, 1999, 2003, 2007). Female Palestinians and Jordanians in the past twenty years used the Palestinian variants (such as [ʔ]) as they have shown the tendency to use what is believed to be a symbol of modernity and finesse (cf. Al-Wer 1999). In the light of the above mentioned factors, women therefore favoured the urban dialectal features which included using [t], [d] and [ʔ] instead of the rural "traditional" [θ], [ð] and [g] forms.

The linguistic changes that occurred divided the community into Jordanian and Palestinian communities. Researchers noticed that the Jordanians and Palestinians who had chosen Jordan as their home were using the prestigious features of the rural dialect more often (Al-Wer 1991; Daher 1998). Speakers' identities were associated with the linguistic features of rural versus urban and as each group tried to establish their identity, phonetic differences between them became stronger and stronger. As such, this is a good example of how linguistic changes might be driven by the speakers' desires to assume a certain social identity (Labov, 2001:15).

In present-day Jordan, the dialect of Amman illustrates a process of homogenisation; a new generation has joined the Jordanian society, with an identity associated with Amman, the capital of Jordan, where this generation has been born, and ethnic diversity has been minimised. The Ammani dialect, which is associated mainly with youngsters of Amman, is different from other dialects in the region. This difference is reflected in the use of [t] for (θ), [ð] for (dˤ), [ʒ] for (ʤ), and to some extent [ʔ] for (q) (although [g] is found to replace [ʔ] in the Ammani boys' speech to some degree) (Al-Wer 1999:39). These features are identical to other Levantine city dialects in the consonantal system (Miller et al. 2007: 66). The main feature of the "Ammani" dialect is stability which gives youths of Amman the sense of identity (ibid: 74).

2.4.3. Religion and prestige

In the whole world generally, and the Arab word specifically, religion has shown to connect to other social variables in order to be associated with prestige. One of these

connections is the political system of a country. The effect of religion on language variation is due to its creation of "a close-knit community whose members feel for one reason or another that they are united by it" (Bassiouney 2009:105).

One of the most significant studies linking religion to language variation is Holes' (1984, 1987) study of the linguistic situation in Bahrain. Holes (1984) believed that the concept of identity in Bahrain is different from that found in Europe and America. The western society views identity in relation to certain factors such as age, education and occupation while in Bahrain identity is defined by sectarian affiliations. The sectarian differences in Bahrain are between Shiites Baharnas and the Sunni Arabs[2]. According to Holes (ibid), the traditionally rural Baharnas are the oldest population of Bahrain who speak Arabic. On the other hand, the Bedouin Arabs immigrated to Bahrain in the late eighteenth century. They are descendents of the Bedouin tribes and shape the majority urban population of Bahrain. The fact that Sunni Arabs became associated with prestige and economical and political power impacted the direction of language change in Bahrain.

Holes (1987) stated that the change of variables in Bahrain is towards the Sunni Arabs' variety. An example of this change is the use of Sunni Arab [j] for /ʤ/ by Baharnas who used to use [ʤ]; in addition the Arabs' variant [g] is replacing Baharnas' [q] although the Baharnas' variant conforms to SA. This change is interesting as it shows that change is not always in the direction of the standard, rather it is going in the direction of the prestigious (Arab dialect) and away from SA.

[2] The Bahraini dialects are analysed in detail in section 2.6.2.

Holes (2005:57) notes that this change reflects a change in the Baharnas' social identity. The change is associated with the increase of social contact between the two religious groups, in addition to the different employment opportunities. To illustrate this change further, Holes (ibid) shows that the use of [q] is associated with the Shiites Baharna and is now linked to ignorance and the speech of peasants. The [g] variant however is associated with power and sophistication and is used in many Gulf countries such as Qatar and Kuwait. Holes (ibid: 60) found that the Baharna display a lack of linguistic security and weakening of social network ties, which has led to the change towards the Arabs' dialect. This is supported further by Basssiouney (2009)'s analysis of the linguistic situation of Bahrain, showing changes in the Baharna's community of practice, such as less frequent meetings at mosques between the members of the community.

2.4.4. Gender and prestige

Gender and linguistic variation have been investigated in many studies (Haeri, 1997; Chambers, 1995; Al-Wer, 1991; Labov, 2001 among others). According to Al-Wer (2005:631) gender is the most sophisticated social variable in sociolinguistic studies. When investigating the correlation of social class or age with linguistic variation, a researcher could usually predict the direction of the outcome. However, when it comes to male and female linguistic differences, it is difficult to predict the direction of change as "in most societies the norm is for a man and a woman to live together" as both genders are surrounded by similar environments, and have similar social pressures. The view of prestige, as will be shown later in this section, is not only based on standard and vernacular use, but also on the localisation of the features used.

Traditionally, men and women are treated in their communities as two completely different groups due to the way both genders are brought up and the way they are treated in their community (Bassiouney 2009:194). However, modern approaches tend to focus on the fixed, flexible or independent variables a community sets for both men and women. Each individual from both genders forms his/her identity and thus forms his/her linguistic variety (ibid).

As gender is a main social variable in this study, it is essential to explore the status of women and the language forms used by them to provide a better understanding of gender differences. When Labov (1984) investigated women in Philadelphia and their role in linguistic variation, he found that women used the prestigious and innovative forms of a language more than men. Labov (ibid: 304) believed that reasons behind this difference "are not better than speculations" as gender differences change according to social and cultural contexts. Although gender differences depend on the role each sex plays in society, Romaine (1994:99) states that:

> One of the sociolinguistic patterns established by quantitative research on urban dialects was that women, regardless of other social characteristics such as class, age, etc., use more standard forms of language than men.

The view of gender and linguistic variation differs in western and Arabic communities. The prestigious variety in western communities tends to be the standard (although modern western studies have shown exceptions). Prestige and standard varieties are usually interchangeable in Western societies. Thus, Trudgill (2002:70) stated that:

> Allowing for other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age, women on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men.

By this statement, Trudgill associated the prestigious forms of a language with the standard which is learned from the beginning of formal education. The prestigious variety in a non-diglossic community reflects women's social status to the degree that they "deviate less from the prestigious standard than men" (Cameron & Coates, 1991:13). Indeed, western women's "concern with the pressure exerted by local norms" as articulated by Romaine (1978:156) and others is a recurring theme in descriptions of sociolinguistic variation in communities as far apart as New York and Norwich. In addition, Labov (2001) notes that “both conservative and innovative behaviours reflect women’s superior sensitivity to the social evolution of language” (p.291). He adds that it is expected from women to react towards prestige and stigma more than men do; thus, when change occurs, women adopt these changes quicker and ‘more forcefully’ than men (ibid). Although this view of the status of western women is not always the case, in general, the situation in the Arab communities may be different from this generalised view of the interaction between gender and language in Western communities. These differences link prestige to traditions and religion. Traditionally, western women use more prestigious forms than men as they posses less social power and social status than men and they are aware of that (Cameron & Coates, 1991:32); while in the Arab world, women are thought to be excluded from social life, and thus use less prestigious forms than men. Later, in this section, it will be shown that this traditional view has changed.

In the Arab world, the traditional view of women's use of language in association with prestige is different than the western view. An example is the explanation of Kojack (1983:39) who thought that "men approach the more prestigious classical variety of Arabic…where women are highly segregated and excluded from public life". Bakir (1986:6) gives another explanation:

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

The social pressure in the Arab world is a motivation for Arab men and women to shift towards their locally prestigious dialect. The prestigious dialect is not necessarily the 'standard' variety as Ibrahim (1986:125) explains:

> There is no question that [the high form of a dialect] has a certain degree of prestige and its religious, ideological, and educational values are undeniable, but its social evaluative connotations are much weaker than those of locally prestigious varieties of L (Low). It is these varieties of L, not H [High], which carry most of the important social

> connotations that matter to most individuals in life such as socioeconomic class, urban vs. rural origin or affiliation, and socio-mobility and aspiration".

Thus, not all varieties of a dialect are considered prestigious; and even amongst dialectal varieties there is a continuum in terms of high/low prestige.

Abdel-Jawad (1987) provides further evidence to support Ibrahim's point of view in a study conducted on the local prestigious varieties found in three Arab communities, namely: the West Bank, Iraq, and Bahrain. Abdel-Jawad revisited three of the studies which formed a central part of section 2.6 below, namely: Blanc (1964) and Al-Ani (1978) on Baghdadi Arabic, Holes' work (1983) on Bahraini Arabic, and Annuri's (1982) investigation of the dialect of Nablus. Through the analysis of the collected data from these studies, Abdel-Jawad's findings from studying the speech of these three communities in terms of prestige are that local varieties of Arab countries are of equal status to standard Arabic if not better. He found that in the West Bank (Nablus) the local prestige variety is preferred to the standard by the women and younger men. He also found that the local variety is preferred by the people of Bahrain and Iraq (i.e. Bahraini Arabic & Baghdadi Arabic).

One could conclude then that in every Arabic-speaking country, there is a local variety which is non-standard but, nevertheless, prestigious. This variety is not taught at schools, and not found in formal and literary writings, and thus considered non-standard. Abdel-Jawad (1987:265) also states that:

> In each of the three reported cases, the varieties of these dominant groups are acquiring a local prestige which competes with the prestige of MSA in informal settings. The prestige is of course not inherent in the linguistic features themselves, but it is largely derived from the status of the social group using this variety.

Today, the idea that the 'standard' and 'prestige' are not always parallel in the Arab world is well established. The dialect of the dominating group is normally considered the most socially prestigious variety. The domains of Classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic were described by Hussein (1980:85-86), where he found that Classical Arabic is "used exclusively in religion and associated with liturgical matter". Colloquial Arabic, which differs from one region to another, "has been associated with more situations and settings than any other variety". The local prestigious dialect and the standard form each have a certain degree of prestige, yet, in many cases, the high dialectal variety is considered more prestigious.

Abdel-Jawad (ibid: 366) suggests three points that distinguish the standard and the vernacular in terms of a prestigious versus standard hierarchy. These points are:

1. Three varieties of spoken Arabic have been identified as prestigious by sociolinguists: (i) the local standard variety (MSA) which has a pan-Arab prestige; (ii) a standard spoken variety of the region which has a local prestige that competes with MSA; and (iii) the vernacular varieties which have less prestige than (i) or (ii).
2. The vernacular features of the variety which functions socially as a local prestigious non-standard type override the features of the prestigious MSA.

3. The different dialectal forms are often abandoned by speakers in favour of their local prestigious forms. This is due to the will to 'koinéize' the other dominant groups' dialects and to reach upward social mobility. The speakers avoid vernacular features to avoid ridicule by not adopting stigmatised stereotypical features. This change will help the speakers feel more secure socially and to also be associated with the dominant social groups.

However, in spite of the belief that the Arabic dialects assume prestige more than the standard form of the Arabic language, in her investigation of Baghdadi Arabic, Abu-Haider (1989:471) concludes the opposite. The author selected 50 Baghdadi men and women (25 of each) ranging from 26 to 41 year of age and recorded interviews with them. She found that "the prestigious variety of spoken Arabic is in the direction of the standard, and that women, more than men, tend to favour this variety". In the same vein, Daher (1998) in his study of Damascus Arabic, recorded interviews with 46 Damascenes (23 men and 23 women, of varying ages and educational levels). He investigated the difference between the standard language in a diglossic and non-diglossic community. As for diglossic communities, Daher (ibid: 203) found that "the standard and the vernacular function as two sets of norms: men and women recognize the same standard but in terms of actual speech behaviour, they approach different norms" .thus stating that the prestige of a dialect differs by gender.

In the Arab world, religious restrictions, social segregation and awareness of the local prestigious variety motivate women to resort to the prestigious variety and pay attention to their speech (Al-Khatib 1988) due to the constant religious call to women

to speak calmly and respectfully. This sensitivity is the reason behind women's need to "secure and signal their status linguistically and in other ways" (Trudgill 1986:401). Suleiman (1985:45) believes that the social position of most Arab women is associated with their manner of speech, hence, "…more 'correct' social behaviour is expected" of them. He adds that women are also "inherently more sensitive to social prestige and social class division than men". Wells (1982:20) believes that "women may be more insecure socially, and therefore tend to emphasize and display indications of (high) status, both material and linguistic". This view, however, seems to be outdated as women and men in most western and Arab communities seems to have the same rights and responsibilities. This should give both male and female speakers equal pressure to use the prestigious forms.

As the traditions of communities change, the role of women in a community is subject to change as well. As shown above, one of the most interesting findings in the studies of gender and linguistic variation shows that female speakers on average use the /prestigious variants (whether standard or vernacular) more than men (Al-Wer 2005:361). Only Al-Wer (ibid) added that:

> This generalisation is only valid so long as we bear in mind that it is based on statistics arrived at through average data.

Generalizations on gender and language use should not be made based on traditional beliefs and social assumptions. Since the role of each gender changes constantly, alongside social contact and status, the only dependable generalisation should be derived from statistics.

Modern studies in the Arab world have shown that gender preferences for linguistic forms are not a matter of standard vs. vernacular, but rather a matter of 'localized and supralocal features' (Al-Wer 2005:361). The difference between the two lies in the fact that localised features are specific to a certain dialect or a geographical region, while supralocal features are usually part of a wider geographical area, and thus they are not specific to a certain dialect or region (see example below). Bassiouney (2009:157) believes that the use of specific linguistic features which do not agree with the standard by Arab women belonging to a certain locale (cf. Daher 1998; Abu-Haider 1989) does not contradict the fact that women may also use the prestigious form, since the prestigious is not always the standard.

Men, more than women, tend to use localised features in both Arab and western communities, while women commonly use the supralocal features more often. Al-Wer (2005:632) provides an example of such use by the two genders in the use of the localised feature [θ] in the Levant. This [θ] variant is known to be the rural feature of the dialect as opposed to [t] which is spread more widely across the metropolitan and is thus considered supralocal. It has been shown that while male speakers often use the traditional [θ] variant, female speakers use the more innovative [t]. Daher (1998) conducted a similar investigation on Damascene Arabic and analysed the use of [θ] and [ð] which correspond to the dialectal forms [s] and [z] respectively. When measuring the use of both phonetic forms, Daher found that the local form (not the standard) is the prestigious form, and this form is used by women more than men. In her study of Palestinian and Jordanian dialects used by both genders in Jordan, Al-Wer (1999) found that local Jordanian women use the urban prestigious forms more than men due to the belief that they reflect 'finesse' (p.41). However, men seem to use

the tougher forms, as shown by Haeri (1996) who studied variation in the speech of Cairene men and women. She found that men tend to show heavier pharyngealisation than women in order to reflect toughness and masculinity.

Prestige, although associated with one gender rather than the other, does not always depend on the social role each gender plays in a society. Abu-Haider (1989:479) also conducted a study on the association of gender and prestige through recordings of interviews of Baghdadi Arabic. She found that women use the prestigious forms more than men and explains:

> […] in Iraqi society today, where sex roles are not so clear-cut and both sexes enjoy similar social privileges, women are more prestige conscious than men, since it is mostly women who opt for the prestigious speech varieties.

Bakir (1986) conducted a similar study to the one conducted by Abu-Haider, yet on the women and men in Basrah, and found that although women use less standard Arabic than men, the Arabic dialect they use is associated with the socially prestigious Baghdadi dialect. In the same vein, Haeri (1997) investigated the dialect of Cairo, and recorded the speech of 25 women and 24 men. She found that "women consistently turned out to be the speakers who use the urban, non-classical, and therefore less 'conservative' variants more than men" (ibid: 169).

Another observation that researchers have made is that women initiate linguistic changes. In the Arab communities, Al-Wer (1991) found that women not only lead the path of linguistic change, but they have even shown to be ahead of men by

generations. While investigating four phonological variables in three Jordanian towns, Al-Wer (ibid) found that men do not use the supralocal features at all that were being investigated, and therefore could not be part of her study.

Many factors affect the choice of specific variants by women. Bassiouney (2009:189) believes that the main factors affecting the choice of variants are: access to certain features of a language/dialect, the context where these features could be used, and the ability to learn features of the language/dialect. In this respect, Al-Essa (2008) conducted a study on the accommodation of Hijazi features by Najdi speakers. She found that due to the lack of contact with the Hijazi features and access to it, older Najdi women use more Najdi features than the younger Generation. In addition to the three factors listed by Bassiouney (2009:189), Eckert (2003:369) believes that gender linguistic variation should be studied in relation to age. Bassiouney (2009:113) agreed that the notion of prestige differs not only by gender, but also by age. Thus, she stated that the older women are more likely to use the varieties associated with older prestigious varieties since they have limited access to the modern prestigious forms. However, in her study on the Baghdadi dialect, Abu-Haider (1989:479) found that old and young women are more sensitive to the prestigious forms than old and young men.

Although gender differences were not emphasized in studies conducted in the Gulf area (Holes 1987 on Bahraini Arabic; Muhannadi 1991on Qatari Arabic; Khtani 1992 on Saudi Arabic), there appears generally to be gender differences in the speech of men and women in the Arabian Gulf as differences have been shown to exist in many parts of the Arab world. This study aims at investigating the association of language

and prestige in Kuwait in order to add to existing knowledge on gender and prestige in the Arab world.

2.5. Dialect Change

Change occurs when a certain group's dialectal features are stigmatised. The change would follow the path of the non-stigmatised variety. Stigmatisation is usually aimed at the low-prestige rural dialects (Bassiouney 2009:112). Versteegh (1997) found that in Egypt, rural forms were disappearing in the Cairo due to the process of stigmatization as in the disappearance of palatalisation in Cairene Arabic.

Social class also plays a major role in linguistic variation. Although there are very few studies which examine the language of the ruling class in many parts of the Arab world, the case of the linguistic change in Bahrain does provide evidence that the direction of change is towards the accent/dialect of the upper-class (the dialect of the ruling family of Bahrain). Haeri (1997) investigated phonological change in Cairene Arabic in different social classes. One of the features investigated in Haeri's study was palatalisation, one of the most important resources of stylistic variation in Cairene Arabic.

Haeri (1997), who interviewed 25 women and 24 men, and elicited more than 400 tokens of words with palatalization recorded interviews from each speaker. Palatalization was found to be recurrent in words such as /inti/ realized as [inč[3]i] (you fem. Sing.), /mamti/ (my mother) realized as [mamči], and /nædi/ (club) realized as [nædži]. When analyzing the sociolinguistic factors of palatalization, Haeri (ibid)

[3] /č/ and /ž/ are the symbols used by Haeri (1997)

found that the phenomenon is mostly used by women, noting that “women have frequent and advanced palatalization, while men have little palatalization in their speech” (ibid: 68). Social class was also found to be an important variable in the use of palatalization. Upper middle class (UMC) women were more likely to exhibit weak palatalization in their speech, almost twice as much as lower middle class (LMC) and middle middle class (MMC) women. On the other hand, strong palatalization occurred more in the speech of LMC and MMC women. Haeri added that palatalization seemed to be a female innovation of women. In addition, on the assumption that weak palatalization came first, it would also be an innovation of upper and upper middle class women. Palatalization may have been adopted by the LMC and MMC as it was believed to be a prestigious feature since it was an innovation of UMC.

Many factors seem to affect linguistic change, namely, ethnicity, religion, political and social power, gender, age and social class. In many cases, these factors do not operate alone; in fact, most often they interact in a sophisticated process which also relates to ‘prestige’. This process will be explored further in the analysis of data in this thesis.

2.6. A Background to KA and some Neighbouring Dialects

Arabic dialects share many similarities and differences. As there are extremely limited sociolinguistic studies on the Kuwaiti dialect, looking at studies which analyze one of the Gulf state dialects could help understand the Kuwaiti dialect, and the variables that are relevant to it. Gulf Arabic is one of the least studied /dialects in the field of sociolinguistics (Versteegh, 1997, p.132).In order to understand the linguistic

situation in Kuwait, one should look at dialects which have been associated with Kuwaiti Arabic (KA hereafter), and dialectal situations most similar to KA. As one of the two groups investigated in this study are descendants of Najd, I believe it is essential to review the Najdi dialects first in order to view the changes that occurred in the dialect of the Kuwaiti Najdis. Other dialects will also be reviewed as striking similarities could be found between their dialects and KA, such as the dialect of Khuzestan and Bahrain.

2.6.1. Najdi Arabic

The division of the Arabian Peninsula according to the ethnic and geographical nature allows a better understanding of dialectal differences. According to Ingham (1994:1), the inhabited space of the Arabian Peninsula is divided into Hijaz, Yemen, Oman, Eastern Arabia and Najd. Najd lies in the centre of the peninsula between Hijaz and Eastern Arabia (known as Al-Hasa, Kuwait and Bahrain).

Ingham (ibid:2) states that Najd has generally depended on exporting goods as the area was not known as an agricultural one, especially when compared to Al-Hasa and Shatt Al-Arab. The scarcity of agriculture produce may be due, in addition to the hot desert atmosphere, to the scarcity of water. It is assumed that the tribes who travelled from Najd, such as the Anaiza tribe (this group is referred to in this study as Najdis), were searching for better life conditions, and thus moved to various Gulf countries such as Kuwait and Bahrain.

The dialects of Najd, although relatively homogenous, were found by Ingham (1994:4) to be divided into three groups:

1. The speech of central Najd: a sedentary dialect known to belong to the districts of Al-Arid, Al-Washm and Sudair, in addition to the Northern districts of Qasim and Jabal Shammar and Southern districts of Najran and Bisha.
2. The Bedouin speech known to be used by the tribes of Anizah, Utaiba, Subai, Suhul, Bugum, Dawasir, Harb, Mutaair, Awazim and Rashayida. In addition to the inhabitants of Northern Najd, namely the tribes of Shammar and Dhafir, and Al-Murra and Ajman from the south and east.
3. The speech of the Anaizah and Shammar tribes extraction who moved to the Syrian Desert and Jazeerah of Iraq.

Ingham (1994:5) later divided these three dialectal groups into four sub-groups according to the linguistic similarities found in their speech:

1. The speech of Central Najd (as shown above), in addition to the Bedouin tribes and Anaiza tribe residing in Syria.
2. The speech of Northern Najd belonging to Jabal Shammar and Shammar tribes of Northern Najd and Jazeerah.
3. The dialects of Qasim and Dhafir tribes known as mixed Northern and Southern Najd.
4. The speech of the Southern and Eastern tribes, namely Najran, Ghatan, Al-Murra and Ajman.

The map of the Arabian Peninsula (Map 2) shown below displays the different districts in the peninsula, where the dialectal situation in Najd could be seen as the names of the tribes are displayed.

Figure 2.1*
The map of the Arabian Peninsula

*source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tribes_of_Arabia

Although the area of Najd is large, and thus shows linguistic diversity (Ingham 2007:326), there are specific phonological variables common to most Najdi dialects. Johnstone (1964:77) lists the following as main features of the Najdi dialect. An example is given from various Najdi dialects by Johnstone (1964, 1965), however I will only provide an example from the Anaiza dialect in order to compare it with that of the descendants of this tribe in Kuwait (referred to as the Najdi group in this study):

:

1. The realisation of the front vowels /k/ and /q/. They may also occur as /ʦ/and /ʤ/ respectively. For example, people from the Anaiza tribe would realise the word /ka:n/ (was) as [ʦa:n], and the word /qli:b/ (a well) as [ʤli:b]. This

feature does not exist in the speech of the Najdi group participating in this study.

2. Certain syllable structures in nouns, particles and verbs are affected by the gutturals, where CvG- becomes CGv (where 'G' represents the gutterl). Examples of such change is presented in the words /qahwa/ (coffee) and /aḥmar/ (red) realised as [ghawa] and [ḥamar]. This feature occurs in the speech of the Najdi group participating in this study.
3. Avoidance of the use of [j] for /ʤ/ which is a feature that occurs in many Gulf countries such as Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait (except for the Tamim tribe who realise /ʤ/ as [j]). An example of such avoidance is the realisation of Kuwaiti [ja] (he came) as [ʤa] by the Anaiza tribe in Najd.

In addition to the features above, the most common phonological differences between Najdi and SA are summarised by Ingham (1994:13-14). The first difference lies in the merger of the pharyngealised voiced plosive /dˁ/ with the pharyngealised voiced interdental fricative /ðˁ/ to be produced as [ðˁ]. To illustrate this point further consider the word /dˁarab/ (to hit) and /ðˁila:l/ (shadow) which are realised by Najdis as [ðˁarab] and [ðˁila:l]. This feature is found in the dialects of central and eastern Arabia (e.g. Kuwait and Bahrain), Southern Iraq and Khuzestan, but not in Oman or the Shiite dialect of Bahrain.

The other difference between SA and Najdi Arabic is the absence of the glottal stop in Najdi unless the words are borrowed from SA. The glottal stop has been replaced in most modern dialects by a long vowel such as in the example /ras/ (head) realised in most Najdi dialects as [ra:s]. In Najdi, when the glottal stop is word initial, it is elided

such as /ʔakal/ (he ate) is realised as [kal] in Najdi, and it is also realised in the imperfect form as [ja:kil].

In Najdi, there is an overlap in the use of /i/ and /u/ in the environment of bilabials or pharyngealised consonants as in [mitˁar] (rain) and [mutˁar]. Although there are many environments where both vowels can be used, there are other environments in which one or the other can be used; such as in SA /labas/ (to wear) which is realised as [libas].

2.6.2. Bahraini Arabic

Bahrain is a country that lies on the Arabian Gulf. It is one of seven Gulf States (Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Oman and Iraq). Despite minor variation in the dialects of the Gulf States, there is a common usage of dialect which enables the possibility of describing a set of language forms which are completely understood in every part of the Gulf (Holes, 1983, p.2). The Bahraini and Kuwaiti dialects have both been affected by language contact and diversity in the community (as will be shown in chapters four and five). In addition, both dialects have been phonologically affected by other communities which have been residing in the Gulf area prior to the establishment of these two countries (as shown below). Another aspect that connects the two countries is the relationship between the rulers of Kuwait (Al-Sabah family) and the rulers of Bahrain (Al-Khalifa) who are cousins (Holes, 1983:2).

The Bahraini society, despite its small size, used to be generally thought of by the community itself as quite segregated. It consists of Arab and Baharna communities

that generally live in separate geographical regions (Holes 1987:13). The Arab community, which originally came from Saudi Arabia and speak Arabic, live in Muharraq, Hidd, East Jaw, Askar, Zallag and Jisra. The Baharna, who originally came to Bahrain prior to the Arabs, live in many small villages and in Bahrain's capital Manama. Although some Arabs live in Manama and some Baharna live in Muharraq, they used to be physically separated and only have contact in domains relating to their working lives. However, in a new town called Madinat Isa, the two groups live together, deliberately mixed by the government in an "attempt at social engineering" (Holes, 1987:14). Nowadays, geographical division has become blurred (Holes 2007b:241). However, linguistic differences still exist.

The dominance of the Arabic dialect in Bahrain is obvious. In presenting the Bahraini speech on radio, television, soap-operas, it is these forms that are predominantly used. Even popular literature, such as stories, poetry and drama associated with local Bahraini settings, is written in an orthography that represents the Arab's dialect despite the fact that about half the population of Bahrain are part of the Baharna community (Holes, 1987, pp. 16-17). A good example of dialectal difference between the two groups is the realization of (k) which the Arabic community realise as [k] and the Baharna group as [ʧ] e.g. /kabar/ (he grew) - realised by Arabs as [kubar] and by the Baharna as [ʧubur].

Evidence of the dominance of the Arab dialect was provided by Holes (1987) who lived in Bahrain for two years and conducted an extensive study of its vernacular. Holes found that when a group of Baharna live in an Arab community, they adopt the Arabic dialect quickly. On the other hand, when a small group of Arabs live in a

Baharna community, they maintain the majority of their dialect. Holes (ibid:17) gave an example of a group of Baharna sailors living in Muharraq. They settled there for about five decades, and according to Holes, adopted the Arabic dialect so efficiently, that it became difficult to distinguish them from the Arab population. Yet, he observed that when a minority group of Arabs lived in Manama, the Baharna sector, for the same length of time, they did not show typical Baharna features in their speech and thus cannot be easily distinguished from the Arabs from other parts of Bahrain.

Holes (ibid.) conducted his study by building a database from fieldwork consisting of cassette recordings of interviews with 180 native Bahrain speakers. The informants were equally divided into male and female speakers, and literates and illiterates. The informant came from almost all the localities of Bahrain and ranged in age from 13-70. The recordings of 350,000 tokens were transcribed with the assistance of native Bahraini speakers.

In his analysis of the recorded data, Holes (ibid.) found that the palatal glide [j] was the Arab realization of the Classical Arabic /ʤ/. The Baharna sector used the standard form [ʤ], while the Arab sector uses [j]; for example the Arab would pronounce the word /ʤumʕa/ (Friday) as [jimʕa] while the Baharna would pronounce it as [ʤumʕa]. Holes also noticed that [j] was adopted even by the highly educated Bahraini. The [j] sound, although non-standard, was found to be more prestigious in Bahrain. Holes (ibid: 2-3) commented on this phenomenon as being the opposite of that found in Kuwait. He stated that [j] may be ridiculed as a reflection of the speech of the uneducated in spite its wide use when Kuwaitis talk to each other. Therefore, Kuwaitis believe that [j] signifies an uneducated or informal mode of speech. Holes

noted that Kuwait and Bahrain are modern states affected by a historical ʤ→j change, but subsequent migration movements and social and economical development have resulted in variation between the different social meanings [ʤ] and [j] have acquired.

Although Holes elaborates on his choice of the status of [ʤ] and [j] in the Bahraini dialect, his view of the status of these variants in Kuwait was not supported by any evidence. Holes (1987:2) stated that the use of [ʤ] is more prestigious in Kuwait, but does not provide any information to the source of this information. This variable is one of the variables investigated in this study as I believe that Kuwaiti people seem to use [ʤ] mainly in formal events (conference lecture, religious ceremonies, and news analysis) so that [j] is the predominant reflex of /ʤ/ in sedentary Kuwaiti Arabic. In fact, the group that is known to use [ʤ] with any frequency are the Bedouins. In addition, as later will be shown in chapter four, Kuwaitis seem to be very proud of the use of [j] to the extent that some words that have been previously pronounced with [ʤ] are now realized as [j] such as the case in the word [tæjir] (merchant) which is /taʤir/ in SA, and this is one of the reasons why it is to be part of my own investigation.

Holes (2007b241) also found that in the Arab dialect of Bahrain, it is common to use [q] for /ɣ/, and [ɣ] for /q/. A good example of this feature are the words /ɣe:r/ (different) realised by Arabs as [qe:r], and /taqaddum/ (progress) realised by Arabs as [taɣaddum].

The analysis of the socio-historical and linguistic background of the Arabic dialects above can inform that of Kuwaiti Arabic. From the history of formation of the Jordanian and Bahraini dialects, one would find similarity in historical perspectives where colonization and diversity affected the formation of the dialect. Furthermore, the Bahraini dialect shares most of its sociolinguistic aspects with the Kuwaiti dialect. Both societies could be more or less divided into Arabs and non-Arabs (Arabs and Baharna in Bahrain, and Arabs and Ajamis in Kuwait). They also share the fact that prestige is not always associated with the standard form of Arabic.

Another dialect that is similar to Bahraini (and thus Kuwaiti) is the dialect of Khuzestan. In section 1.2, it was shown that the early settlers in Kuwait and Bahrain have migrated from Khuzestan. A brief description of this dialect will lead to the understanding of the similarities between the dialect of Khuzestan and the current features of KA.

2.6.3. Khuzestan Arabic

The dialect of Khuzestan is found to be similar to the dialect of Southern Iraq, Kut and Nasiryyiah. Khuzestan, also known as Ahwaz nowadays, is an Arabic speaking area in the southwest of Iran (Ingham 2007:572). Many migrants travelled from Khuzestan to the Gulf area and settled there, and these migrants are believed to be the first settlers in the Gulf area (refer to section 1.2).

There are three distinctive dialects in Khuzestan, namely Hadar, Arab and Marshland. As in KA, the fronting environment of [ʧ] and [ʤ] occur in the realisation of the fronted variants /k/ and /g/ respectively as in [ʧalb] (dog) and [ʤida:m] (in front).

The dialect of Ahwaz is also known for the use of [j] for /ʤ/, such as in the word /daʤa:ʤa/ (chicken) which is realised by the Hadar of Ahwaz as [dija:jja] (Ingham 1976:67). Another distinctive feature of Khuzestan Arabic, which is also found in the Kuwaiti dialect, is the interchange between the realisations of /ɣ/ and /q/ in such a way that/ɣ/ is realised as [q] and /q/ as [ɣ], e.g. /ɣa:lib/ (victorious) is realised as [qa:lib], and at the same time /qa:lib/ (mould) is realised as [ɣa:lib] (Ingham 2007:573).

The next section discusses the formation of the Kuwaiti dialect and some of its characteristics and phonological features to enable the reader to obtain a better perspective of the society under study.

2.6.4. Kuwaiti Arabic

Kuwaiti Arabic (KA hereafter) consists of two main varieties, namely, Modern and Bedouin. Modern Kuwaiti Arabic (MKA hereafter) was the spoken dialect of Al-Sabah family and the Najdi families who migrated with them; their dialect is an outcome of economic change and social contact after migration, the Bedouin dialect seems to be distinctive and only slightly changed. Thomason (2001:3) identified this situation as a case of language contact which involves “face to face interactions among groups of speakers at least some of whom speak more than one language in a particular geographical locality”. In the case of MKA, people came from all around the peninsula, speaking different varieties of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Because of the different backgrounds of the Kuwaiti people, and their connections with people from the outside world (especially in Arabic countries such as Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan), some changes started to evolve (for more on the history of Kuwait refer to

chapter one). Thomason (ibid) added in the same respect that groups of people who live together are in constant contact when they exchange services and goods“neighbouring speaker groups may be on friendly terms—sharing resources, engaging in trade, and providing mutual support”; however, in the Kuwaiti context, there was always separation between the different communities in terms of residential areas even in those regions where each group lived closely together.

Socially in Kuwait, there is a distinction between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis (Holes 2007a:608-609). To a certain extent the distinction is between Kuwaitis who are full citizens (thus having the right to vote) and who are mostly merchants and descendants from the Najdi tribes who arrived with Al-Sabah family in the 18th century, and other Kuwaitis, especially those who arrived late to Kuwait such as the Bedouin tribes who came from Saudi Arabia and Iraq in the 1950s. 97% of the Kuwaiti population are urban (Holes (ibid).

During the first few developmental years, after the discovery of oil, many people migrated to Kuwait, and Kuwaitis started travelling abroad for education and trade purposes. Holes (2007a:210) found that many lexical items were borrowed from Mesopotamia in addition to phonological features due to Babylonian commercial and political influence in the region for a long period of time such as in the words [tˁubaʔ] (sink} and [zibi:l] (basket). In addition, the constant contact with speakers of other Arabic dialects and indeed other languages influenced KA, and induced borrowing of lexemes from other Arabic varieties (including those from the communities discussed in previous sections), Farsi, Indian and English (as will be shown in Tables 2.4, 2.5 & 2.6 later). It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that the

first people reported to have exhibited change in their language variety in certain respects were merchants who dealt with other Arabs on a daily basis. Educated people also started following the merchants' steps, and many lexical items changed as a direct result. Features of the tribal dialect which distinguished Kuwait in the 1950s have been kionised into a dialect which has levelled to a ‘classicised Gulf koine”, and which shows influence from SA (Holes 2007a:609). This could be due to the fact that 85% of Kuwaitis are literate (ibid). Bedouins, by contrast, on account of their lifestyle described in chapter one, rarely communicated with others outside Kuwait and, naturally, their language was generally preserved (Al-Anezi, 2006, p.34).

Even those Bedouins who had begun living in urban areas, did not change their language either at home or outside of it when communicating with sedentary Kuwaitis or other Arabs. Consequently, the Bedouin variety is considered by Kuwaitis to be less prestigious than MKA, especially because those using this variety largely originate from less prestigious families. It is interesting to note, of course, that in many ways the Bedouin variety sometimes corresponds to CA when MKA does not, since its roots are more directly linked to the former because of the variety’s relative immunity from modernising influences – including contact with other Arabic vernaculars. For example, the MSA sound /ʤ/ is realized as [j] in MKA but as [ʤ] in both Bedouin Arabic and CA. Thus, in Bedouin the word 'man' is realized as [riʤʤa:l], where as in MKA it is realised as [rajja:l]. Another example is the word 'chicken' which in Bedouin is realised as [diʤa:ʤa], while in MKA it is [dija:ja]. The status of MKA comes from the fact that it is the variety used by the royal family and the tribes that migrated with them. Over time, the Al-Sabah family and the merchants who travelled with them became the most powerful people (economically

and socially). Most people who did not belong to these families either worked with them or for them, thus getting the chance to learn their Kuwaiti variety (Al-Sab'an, 1992).

The Kuwaiti dialect is very similar to other Gulf state dialects. Holes (2007a:609) states that the Kuwaiti dialect is the most similar to the Bahraini dialect. This is shown especially when comparing the dialects of the Najdi population—under investigation in this thesis—with that of the Arabs of Bahrain. For example, both Kuwaiti Najdis and Arab Bahrainis use [q] for /ɣ/ and [ɣ] for /q/; as in /ɣurfa/ (room) realised as [qurfa], and /qalam/ (pen) realised as [ɣalam]. In addition, /ʤ/ is realised as [j] in both dialects, e.g. [ja] (came) and [jild] (leather). This feature extends from UAE to Ahwaz (Khuzestan), passing by Basra and Al-Hasa. However, it is not found in the dialects of Najd (excluding Tamim), Awazim, Mutair and in the speech of some people of Ajman (Johnstone 1965:236). Johnstone (ibid: 241) notes that the realisation of /ʤ/ as [j] is not subject to phonetic conditioning. He also found that some words are always realised with [ʤ]. whereas others can be realised with both [ʤ] and [j]; yet this interchangeable feature does not occur in the 'commonest' words.

In Kuwaiti Arabic, as found by Johnstone (1967:30-31), [ʧ] is used for /k/ as in the word [ba:ʧir] (tomorrow). In addition, /q/ is realised as [ʤ] such as in the realisation of / ba:qi / as [ba:ʤi] (remainder). Another feature of KA is the use of [g] for /q/, as can be seen in the realisation of [dag] (called). These features are also common in Bahraini and Khuzestan Arabic.

MKA is the first language learned by children, and is considered their mother tongue in pre-school and before they start schooling. Thus, in a diglossic scenario, KA and MSA exist side by side in the Kuwaiti language community. KA is the informal language used in informal situations such as when talking with friends or co-workers. MSA is used in formal situations such as speeches, news reports and televised programmes.

In 1967, Johnstone stated that he believed that the Kuwaiti dialects are going to disappear in a short time, as he noticed the slight changes in MKA due to language contact. He added that they would be replaced by a 'pan-Arabic Koine' (xxviii). This is because of the rapid change to the Kuwaiti dialect engendered by wider communication and improved educational opportunities. Five decades after, Johnstone's statement, however, the distinctive Kuwaiti dialects are still thriving as we will observe in Chapter 4. More recently, Holes (1995:61) commented on the claims made by Johnstone by stating:

> His [Johnstone's] pessimism was not justified. The demographic policies adopted by the Kuwaiti government which accompanied the country's rise to economic dominance, and which can be seen as a defence against the dilution of the Kuwait identity by the huge numbers of expatriate Arabs and others who flocked there, were resolutely separatist and non-assimilatory.

Holes (1995) adds that the Kuwaiti government, in its demographic policies in the beginning of the 1960's, encouraged citizens to reside in special segregated areas

through housing policies. It also encouraged indigenous Kuwaiti men to marry their female peers and gave them marriage allowances and grants when they did so.

Holes (1995), while comparing the Bahraini dialect with the Kuwaiti dialect, also notes that Kuwaitis do not talk to non-Kuwaitis using their own language variety. They only use their variety within the family and social circle, which as was observed in Chapter one is exclusively Kuwaiti. He also notes that Kuwaitis have not changed their dialect, but use it most among each other. Thus, he concludes that not only has the Kuwaiti dialect survived but that it is intimately related to the Kuwaitis' sense of local identity. The Kuwaiti dialect today is used in dialect poetry, soap operas, theatre, radio and television. It is understood by many, and works in the Kuwaiti dialect, such as plays and televised drama, are exported to neighbouring countries. The choice of language in Kuwait seems to be associated with prestige, and its features are largely is different from those of SA.

The speech varieties in Kuwait are socially classified, where KA is spoken by Kuwaitis, and may differ slightly according to the speaker's ethnicity (Ajami, Najdi or Bedouin) Other non-Kuwaiti dialects in Kuwait are the Egyptian, Palestinian, Jordanian and Syrian. Non Arab languages such as English, Farsi, Hindi, Urdu and Philippino varieties also exist (section 2.6.4.1). This study aims to show that social patterns and family contact have affected the linguistic diversity between Najdis and Ajamis.

2.6.4.1. Main Speech communities in Kuwait

Before the discovery of oil, the community of Kuwait consisted of Arabs (from the Arab tribes) and an Iranian minority. After the discovery of oil, as mentioned before, a large number of immigrants and workers came to Kuwait from Arab and non-Arab countries. As this research is concerned with the varieties of Kuwaiti Arabic, it will focus on the communities that mostly affected the Kuwaiti varieties and their lexicon such as the Indian and Farsi communities (Fayath & Sultan, 2002, p.43).

2.6.4.1.1. Non-Kuwaiti Arab Communities

Before the Gulf War, there were a large number of Palestinian immigrants in Kuwait. About 95% of Palestinians resided in an area called Hawalli. They were of all ages and different educational backgrounds. Hawalli was also known for its various shops, many Palestinians worked in these shops, and some partially owned them. However, after the Gulf War, many Palestinians left, either due to their fear of the invasion, or because they were urged to leave by the government for political reasons. Table (2.2) below shows the numbers of Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis in Hawalli, before and after the Iraqi invasion (ibid: 44).

Table 2.1
Number of Kuwaitis and Non-Kuwaitis in Hawalli in 1985 & 1993

Year	Kuwaitis	Non-Kuwaitis
1985	4,131	140,995
1993	2,210	82,268

From: Kuwait Annual Statistical Abstract, 1995.

The Egyptian community is another Arab community in Kuwait. There are two groups: The well-educated Egyptians who are school and university teachers. They are provided with government housing. The second group is the uneducated Egyptians

who are blue-collar workers. Most uneducated Egyptians, who are unmarried (or do not have their families with them for economic reasons) live in an area called Janub Kheitan. There are many restaurants and coffee shops in that area which are run by the Egyptian community. In table (2.2), the number of Kuwaitis and Egyptians in Janub Kheitan is illustrated to show the number of Egyptians relatives to the Kuwaitis who also live in that area (ibid: 44).

Table 2.2
Number of Kuwaitis & Non-Kuwaitis in Janub Kheitan

Year	Kuwaitis	Non-Kuwaiti
1970	14,085	23,930
1985	5,696	63,559
1993	4,432	43,879

The Non-Kuwaiti Arabs can be distinguished from Kuwaitis on account of their family names, and from their speech as well. There are many phonological and lexical differences between the Arab varieties. Table (2.3) below displays some lexical differences between Kuwaiti, Palestinian and Egyptian Arabic:

Table 2.3
Lexical differences between Kuwaiti, Egyptian & Palestinian Arabic

Word (English)	Kuwaiti	Palestinian	Egyptian
Lips	/baraːtˤim/	/ʃfaːjf/	/ʃafaːjf/
Shoes	/ʤuːtiː/	/kundara/	/gɛzmə/
Maid	/xaːdmə/	/ʃəɣɣaːlə/	/ʃəɣɣælə/
Dress	/nɐfnuːf/	/fisˤtˤaːn/	/fɔstaːn/

2.6.4.1.2. The Indian Community

Like the Egyptian community, the Indian community is divided into two groups: educated and uneducated. Indians first came to Kuwait before the discovery of oil; they were mostly highly educated people. They worked as physicians and trading partners. The number of Indians increased in the 1970s and 1980s, where they formed

a significant speech community and worked in the private sector. The number of uneducated workers increased after Kuwaiti women started working. Many Indians came to Kuwait to work as house-maids and drivers. There was a rapid increase in the number of Indians, and Kuwaitis started recruiting the relatives of their workers since they were people they could trust. Having a maid started as an elite sign, yet it developed into a social habit. Many Kuwaiti houses have two or three workers. Nowadays, the workers do not come from India only, but also from Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia.

Educated people started employing maids and servants who speak English and asked them to communicate with their children in English to improve the children's English. Later on, fluent speakers of English started seeking other jobs such as shop assistants and waitresses (Al-Sabah, 2000, p65).

2.6.4.2.The importance of English in Kuwait

English, as in many other Arab and non-Arab countries, is the first foreign language in Kuwait. English has been used in Kuwait for a long time - since oil was discovered. Older Kuwaitis who worked in the petroleum fields were obliged to learn English, as they worked side by side with the British. Those men could mostly communicate in English, although their English was not perfected because it was not learned formally. To this day, many words are found in the Kuwaiti dialect borrowed from English such as the word /baːsˤ/ (bus), /butˤul/ (bottle), /dabal/ (double), /glaːsˤ/ (glass) and many more.

The Kuwaiti government, through years of development (but especially since the late 1950's), noticed the need for Kuwaiti people to learn English formally. At the

beginning, English was taught in intermediate school (at the age of 10). However, in 1997, English was taught in elementary schools (at the age of 6). Many American and British private schools in which the medium of education is English are available in Kuwait and nowadays, most students in these private schools are Kuwaiti.

There are many ways in which Kuwaitis learn English other than lessons from school. First, most Kuwaitis travel abroad during summer time due to the harsh summer climate, where England, mainly London, is the main destination for most Kuwaitis, thus increasing their opportunities to interact and communicate in English. Another method is via university scholarships, granted by: (i) the ministry of Higher Education to pursue bachelor's degree in foreign countries (mainly the USA and England); (ii) Kuwait University and the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training (PAAET) to pursue masters and PhDs. Most of these scholarships are for study in the United States and Great Britain. A third method to learn English is through attending conferences, workshops and seminars. Private institutions also teach English to people interested in learning the language (in addition to community services). The most powerful source of English is the media. It is also noticed that children watching Disney movies and cartoon networks learn English before going to school. In addition, movie theatres and songs in English are very popular in Kuwait.

The Tables (2.4, 2.5, & 2.6) below show some of the words borrowed from English, Farsi and Indian into the Kuwaiti lexicon:

Table 2.4
Words borrowed from English

English	Kuwaiti
Motor	/moto:r/
Double	/dabal/
Battery	/batˤˤtˤa:rjja/
Cake	/keik/
Cement	/isment/
Radio	/ra:du:/

Table 2.5
Words borrowed from Farsi

Meaning	**Kuwaiti Word**
Chance	/baxt/
Pickles	/tˤurʃi:/
Good	/xo:ʃ/
Tea pot	/ɣu:ri:/
Tea cup	/bja:la/
Frame	/bɪrwa:z/

Table 2.6
Words borrowed from Indian

Meaning	**Kuwaiti Word**
Green Market	/ʧabra/
Straight	/si:da/
Shoes	/ʤu:ti:/
Broom	/maxamma/
window	/diri:ʃa/
Fan	/benka/

One of the first sociolinguistic studies of the use of KA by Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis is a PhD thesis conducted by Dashti (1997). In his study, Dashti gathered information through recordings and a questionnaire from 294 informants, 88 of which were non-Kuwaitis, while 108 of the participants were Ajamis. Dashti investigated the use of KA, English and Farsi in the speech of Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis while analysing the interaction between language choice and the social factors of age, gender and education.

Dashti found that the social factors were highly significant in the choice of language in Kuwait. For example, Farsi was found to be used by older speakers more than the younger speakers, while the use of English was found more in the speech of the educated informants. Non-Kuwaitis have also shown the use of KA in different contexts and with different interlocutors. Younger non-Kuwaitis showed more use of KA and faster acquisition of it. In addition, social networks have shown to play a major role in language acquisition. For example, the Egyptian females married to Kuwaitis, who have shown to have more contact with Kuwaitis than Egyptians, acquire KA faster than the other non-Kuwaiti informants. Another example is the use of Farsi by a considerable number of Ajamis (descendants of Persian origins) from different ages due to intermarriage and close-knit networks. The Ajamis from different ages, who have a history of loose networks with other Ajamis and close relation to Arabs, have shown the loss of Farsi and the acquisition of KA.

After providing a brief review of KA, Table 2.7 and Figure 2.2 present the consonantal and vocalic systems of KA which will be useful in understanding phonological variation in KA. The current investigation will look at different phonological variables in order to investigate Dashti's (ibid) findings of the sociolinguistic effects on the speech of Ajamis and Arab Kuwaitis (Najdis) further. The social factors in this thesis are ethnicity, gender and age.

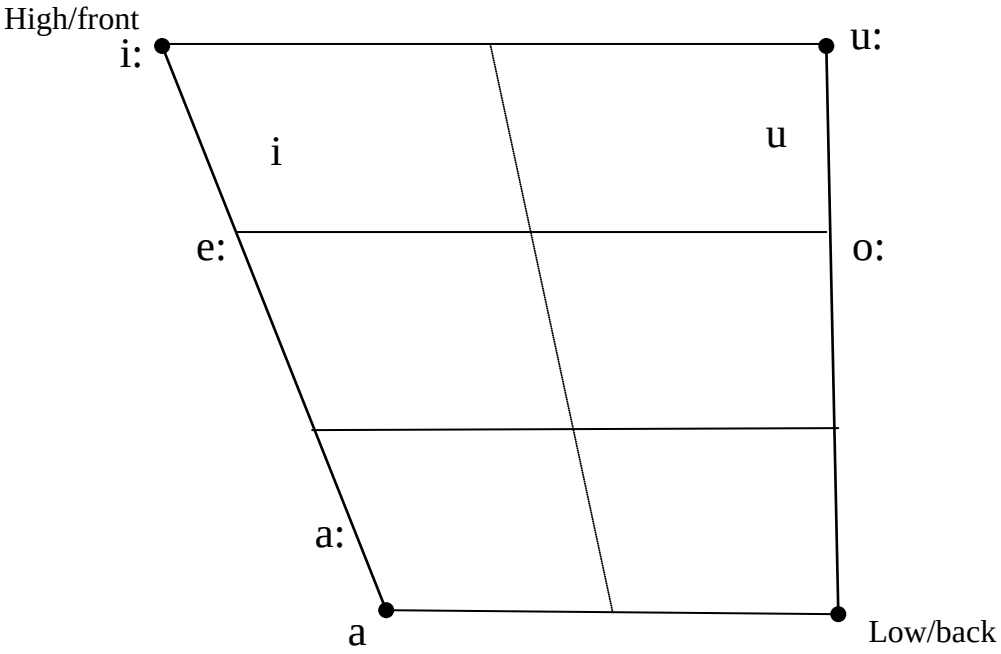
Table 2.7
The consonantal system of Kuwaiti Arabic*

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Dental (incl. alveolar)		Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
					plain	emphatic						
Plosive	**voiceless**				ت t	ط tˤ			ك k	ق q		ء ʔ
	voiced	ب b			د d	ض dˤ	ج ʤ		گ g*			
Fricative	**voiceless**		ف f	ث θ	س s	ص sˤ	ش ʃ		خ x		ح ḥ	هـ h
	voiced			ذ ð	ز z	ظ ðˤ		ي j	غ ɣ		ع ʕ	
Nasal		م m			ن n							
Lateral					ل l							
Tap/trill					ر r							
Approximant		و w						ي j				

*/g/ is either found in borrowed words or as a realization of /q/
* (Holes, 2007a)

Figure 2.2

The Vocalic System of Kuwaiti Arabic *



Diphthongs:

aw

ay

* (Holes, 2007a:609-610)

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology of Study

3. Introduction

The study is based in the State of Kuwait. There are several dialects spoken by Kuwaitis. Two of these dialects are investigated here, namely, the Najdi dialect (used by Kuwaitis descended from Najd, an area in Saudi Arabia), and the Ajami dialect (used by Kuwaitis of Iranian descent).

The methodology for this study draws on insights from sociolinguistics. It is a study of variation in phonetic and phonological aspects in the speech of Kuwaitis which are thought to be influenced by social factors. Phonetic and phonological variation is investigated experimentally, while the social influences are explored by studying geographical, ethnic, and demographic (such as age and gender) factors.

Labov (2001:38) notes that:

> the first contribution of sociolinguistic research in the second half of the 20th century was to show that variation was not chaotic, but well formed and rule-governed, that it was indeed an aspect of linguistic structure.

Even earlier, and as a means for understanding the rules governing speech variation, Labov (1972:9) suggests "using every clue to discover the pattern which governs [variation]". Since different speech forms can offer an interesting and diverse contexts for testing linguistic hypotheses (Trudgill 1974:38), this study uses stylistic variation

tasks to elicit different styles to offer a fairly comprehensive description of variation in these two dialects of MKA.

Since there are hardly any linguistic studies on Kuwaiti Arabic, a pilot study (described in section 3.1 immediately below) was first conducted with 15 speakers in order to pinpoint relevant linguistic variables for a more wide-ranging study.

This chapter starts by examining the pilot study conducted and it is then followed by detailing the final sample of Najdis and Ajamis chosen for this study. Afterwards, some variables which are thought to be to be realised differently in the two dialects are elicited. The methods used to collect data are then presented. Finally, two methods of data collection are discussed: sociolinguistic questionnaires and recorded interviews.

3.1. The Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted in March 2008 and was vital in revealing many representative linguistic variables of Najdi Kuwaiti Arabic (NKA hereafter) and Ajami Kuwaiti Arabic (AKA hereafter) since no other research had been conducted on these varieties of the Kuwaiti dialect. The pilot study adopted a bottom-up approach by letting the choice of variables fall out of the differences that were found between the Najdi and Ajami speakers from the pilot study as well as by using my intuition as a native speaker of the dialect about potential interesting variables. Although the focus of the pilot study was mainly on vowels as the vowels /i/, /a/ and /u/ were believed to be the most salient in KA, the researcher found interesting consonantal variation instead. Consistency of different realizations of specific

consonants by one ethnic group more than the other, one gender more than the other, and one age group more than the other, provided evidence of significant difference between the two dialects in terms of ethnicity, gender and age, and led to the choice of the linguistic and social variables in the final investigation reported more fully in Chapter 4 (results shown in 3.4.1).

The pilot study consisted of 15 informants, 6 male and 9 female, belonging to families (one from each ethnic group) who are descendents of Najd and Iran. The age groups chosen were 60-50, 30-40, and 18-22 years of age, chosen according to certain historical events discussed in section 3.4.1.1. All informants lived in the capital (Kuwait City) at the time of the recording. Three methods of data recording were used in the pilot study. The first method consisted of a 20 to 30 minutes free conversation on different issues. This was carried out in order to obtain the most natural form of the dialects and it also helped break the ice between the researcher and the speakers. This was followed by a PowerPoint elicitation task consisting of 48 slides, each of which illustrated a picture identified by the informants and the pictures were named. The slides contained pictures with target nouns and verbs containing the original phonological variables in question. The participants were asked to name the items in the picture in the Kuwaiti dialect. Participants enjoyed this task as they felt it was a type of game. Pictures were used instead of speech to avoid the influence of SA, where readers may resort to the standard form since the written is thought to be standard by default. The final method used was a map designed by the researcher and adapted from discourse analysis methods (Anderson et al. 1991, Miller & Weinert 1998, Brown 2000; Fletcher et al. 2001 & 2002) to include the variables investigated. The map was changed to suit the Kuwaiti environment and appear more realistic to

Kuwaitis. The use of the map task reinforced the data collected in the picture elicitation task. The map was designed with buildings and street names, and the researcher asked informants different questions associated with the map. An example of the type of questions asked in the map task is the directions to one place from another, and where to get certain services (an example of the application of the map-task is shown in Appendix 4). The switch from one activity to another was expected to help the informants engage with more enthusiasm, and this showed to be a very positive step as it did in fact interest the participants.

The main study was designed after testing the effectiveness of the variables under investigation; tools utilised to collect data, and the process of sampling the informants in the pilot study. The following sections will demonstrate the steps followed in conducting the main study.

3.2. Choosing a Sample

Before explaining the sampling procedure followed in this study, historical factors influencing the sampling method should be explained. The general concern of traditional dialectology, a well-established approach in the western world, was with geographical variation in a language. In this approach, the linguistic findings were distributed on a map to show the boundaries where a particular linguistic feature was located. The traditional approach is related closely to the historical approach, which observes linguistic feature change over time (L. Milroy, 1987). The connection between these two approaches led to the borrowing and adoption of ‘historical’ methods, which linked geographical findings with the historical development of a

language (ibid). The historical approach focused on rural areas as they were more 'conservative' than the urban areas and, as such, they were believed to preserve 'older' forms of language features under study. Studies were based on older non-mobile male informants in rural areas. Urban areas were mostly neglected because they were found to be linguistically innovative and affected by external influences. Therefore, the analysis of urban dialects was not thought to provide historical detail of language change and it wasn't until the advent of sociolinguistics that they became a central focus of researchers interested in dialect differences (Chamber & Trudgill, 1980). Many studies in Arabic dialectology, on the other hand, attempted to describe both rural and urban dialects in order to compare the two types and investigate the occurrence of dialect levelling and variation (Jabuer 1987; Al-Wer 2002; Horesh 2003). One of the most detailed studies concerning urban vs. rural dialects of Arabic was Al-Wer's (2007) study in which the contact between urban and rural Palestinian dialects and the Jordanian dialect showed the emergence of a new dialect formed by the youths of Amman. This dialect was formed as a combination of features from both dialects which were used to reflect the Ammani identity.

Since sociolinguistics is concerned with the interpersonal and intrapersonal linguistic variation of speech in a society, the traditional approach which investigated older non-mobile makes exclusively could not be utilized in modern studies as it provides limited data relating to the social and stylistic dimensions of language variation. This fact led to the need for creating different data collection techniques in dialectal studies. Most sociolinguistic studies since the 1970s have been triggered by the study conducted by William Labov in New York (1966). Labov adopted a different procedure than the traditional one to introduce data represented by urban speakers.

Labov's approach was considered innovative as it did not focus on a particular group of speakers, and did not claim that a certain speech type is typical of New York City (L. Milroy, 1987, p.20). Instead, the sampling procedure in Labov's study ensured representation of a particular New York community (that of the lower East Side) by using a previous sociological survey which, like his own, was quantitative in nature. The sampling in his study was random depending on anonymous interview with people of different regions, ages and social class, interviewed in particular New York department stores. The procedure was one of Labov's contributions to language variation studies as it was able to unveil the sociolinguistic situation in New York.

Studies in the field of sociolinguistics (Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1974; Al-Wer 1991, 2002; Haeri 1997, 2000; Holes 1995 and many more) have inspired the methodology behind this study. For example, sampling informants according to age, gender, educational background and ethnicity set the basis to Al-Wer's (1991) PhD thesis and this method of sampling has also been adopted in this study.

3.3. Sampling in this Study

An essential task that any researcher must carry out and which will consequently provide a true representative snapshot of the population under study is the successful adoption of sampling techniques. However, "the appropriate method for any population sampling is always triggered by the nature and the objectives of the research" (L. Milroy, 1987: 26). Trudgill (1974) notes that interviewing the society is not practical and surveys given to the whole society will also be incomplete. Nevertheless, it is important to have a large enough sample before providing any assertion that can be considered either reliable or indeed constant concerning the

whole population. On the other hand, samples should be small enough to provide as accurate and comprehensive an investigation as the time permits (pp. 20-21).

A sampling procedure should aim at defining the sampling universe which, in part, delineates the boundaries of the group or community under study. While the sampling size must be fixed, it must be sufficient to assess the relevant dimension of variation within the community. Therefore, one should always consider variables such as age, gender, ethnic group, and social class that may have an effect on language use (Sankoff, 1980: 49-50).

Random sampling has been widely used in sociolinguistic research. This method gives every person an equal chance of being selected since informants are randomly chosen from a sample frame enumerating the relevant population as in the use of an electoral register or telephone directory as dictated by tables of random numbers. Although random sampling, the method used by Labov, can easily be carried out in Britain by drawing the sample from an electoral register or similar lists of the adult population (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980), the case of dialect studies in diglossic countries is different. Indeed even in Western communities, this approach is not without its critics as in the following statement from L. Milroy (1987:19):

> A sample frame may not always be truly representative of a given population because, for instance, an electoral register does not include persons who are under the age of eighteen and a telephone directory lists only telephone subscribers.

In Kuwait, electoral registers do not exist. The only one available is that used for parliament elections which only register Kuwaitis over 21 years old, and only those who are willing and able to vote. In other words, people can ask to be taken off the register, and people working in the military are not allowed to vote. Only recently have women been allowed to vote, and thus added to the register. As far as the telephone directory in Kuwait is concerned, only telephone subscribers are listed, yet, the listing is optional and many people prefer not to have their names and numbers listed. Consequently, the use of 'sample frames' is not convenient in Kuwait. In addition, this study is targeting two specific sub-communities whose members are identified by their ethnic identity and age group. For the reasons mentioned above, instead of random sampling, an alternative method was adopted, i.e. the judgment sampling method.

In this regard L. Milroy (1987:26) suggests that:

> The principle underlying judgment is that the researcher identifies in advance the types of speakers to be studied and then seeks out quota of speakers who fit the specified categories. A good judgment sample needs to be based on some kind of defensible theoretical framework; in other words, the researcher needs to be able to demonstrate his or her judgment is rational and well motivated.

In order to adopt judgment sampling, it is essential to identify relevant social parameters which correlate with the respondents' linguistic behaviour in language choice, and thus predetermines a quota of speakers for each group.

As already mentioned, very little sociolinguistic research has been conducted in the Gulf area. Among those researchers who used judgment sampling in such investigation are Al-Muhannadi (1991) on Qatar Arabic, Khtani (1992) on Saudi Arabic and Al-Shehri (1993) on Saudi Arabic as well. The method of sampling chosen for this study is the one used by Al-Shehri (ibid) who depended mainly on his father and other relatives and friends to be introduced to individuals who would later form his sample. These individuals participated in his interview, and furthermore, introduced him to other members of their respective social categories, leading to the so-called 'snowball' sampling. On several occasions, Al-Shehri was invited with his father to dinner parties during which all of the attendants were from the same linguistic background sought for his study. He was also invited by some people to their homes, and others invited him to their weekend diwa:nyya where he was able to record spontaneous group conversation. Al-Shehri's brother and sister also helped by contacting their friends, and his sister recorded some female informants. By choosing the snowball method, all participants are volunteering, and no informants are forced to participate which is also an ethical requirements of sampling in this study (Babbie, 1998, p.38). Therefore, judgment sampling is found to be the most appropriate method of sampling as it allows a choice of informants according to certain variables such as age, gender, ethnicity and education.

The main study, which was conducted between June and September 2008 (recordings were carried out for approximately two and a half months), also depended on the snowball method. Being an Ajami, the researcher had no problem contacting the Ajami informants. For the Ajami participants, the researcher contacted close relatives to go to their homes and record their speech. Cousins of the informer helped contact

more Ajamis, who the researcher had met only at formal events. However, for the Najdi informants, the researchers enlisted the help of a Najdi female assistant, who contacted relatives, and a couple of these relatives contacted other relatives (such as in-laws who are from different Najdi families from their wives and husbands). All female informants were interviewed in their home, most of them during weekly family gatherings. This helped save time as many informants could be interviewed in groups for spontaneous speech, while the controlled data was collected separately. The informants were very hospitable and welcoming. The spontaneous data would be collected usually in the afternoons, and the controlled data would be collected either after dinner or tea (according to the time of the day the visit started). Reaching Najdi male informants was the most difficult part of the study. Some informants were visited at their place of work in the morning as they believed it is more comfortable, others participated during the home visits. A Najdi male assistant accompanied the researcher to all interviews of male Najdis at work. This was very helpful as the assistant helped break the ice by getting to find a connection between their two families and talk about certain people both the informant and assistant knew. Appendix 1 displays information about the informants.

My choice of Kuwait City as the locus of this investigation is largely on account of its heterogeneity comprising as it does of Kuwaitis from divergent ethnic backgrounds as well as residents from other nation states. Within the speech community of Kuwait, two sub-speech communities were identified as noted above, i.e.:

1. Kuwaiti Arabs originally from Najd
2. Kuwaiti Ajamis originally from Iran (who migrated to Kuwait in the early 20th century).

The first group, as previously mentioned, is originally from an area in Saudi Arabia, while the second group is of Persian origin. Table 3.1 below illustrates the distribution of these three groups under investigation according to ethnicity, age and gender.

Table (3.1)
Distribution of informants

Ethnic group	Male	Female	Total
Kuwaiti Najdis	12 (4 from each age group)	12 (4 from each age group)	24
Kuwaiti Ajamis	12 (4 from each age group)	12 (4 from each age group)	24
Total	24	24	48

The choice of age group was led by different factors. The first generation consists of four men aged between 50 and 60. This age was chosen as it represents the generation prior to the developmental (social and financial) impacts of the exploration of oil in the late 1950's and late 1960's (refer to section 3.4.1.1). The second generation is chosen within the age range of 30-40 as it represents the generation that grew during the developmental era (educationally and economically), while the third generation is in the age range of 18-22, these are adults who were born and raised in an economically and educationally stable era. More on the selection of these age groups is presented in section 3.4.1.1. All informants were educated so as to avoid adding education as an additional social variable, which consequently may lead to further differences in linguistic choice. There are many educated Kuwaitis in the age groups chosen above, and no obstacles were thus anticipated in finding educated informants.

3.4. Social and Linguistic Variables

3.4.1. The social variables

A quantitative and sociological examination of specific social variables was carried out to achieve the main objectives of this research. As noted, the study pursued investigates the correlation between a number of independent social variables and phonological variables. The interaction between social and linguistic variables was also investigated.

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3.4.1.1 Age

Many sociolinguistic studies have used age as a social variable. A good example is Labov's (1963, 1966, 1972, etc.) work, which stresses the importance of the age factor to observe linguistic changes taking place in 'real' (when possible) and 'apparent' time dimensions. To implement a real time methodology, the researcher compares his/her findings with earlier recording and studies to be able to uncover the persistent linguistic changes and the direction these changes are going through in actual time. In his Martha's Vineyard study, for example, Labov (1966) compares his findings with data collected for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* in 1933. The apparent time methodology, which investigates linguistic variation between generations of the same community, is not as accurate as the real time methodology as it does not 'sow' the authenticity of change, nor the continuity of this change, "where the individual changes but the community remains constant" (Labov 2001:76), and thus these changes are constant in every generation. Nonetheless, the advantage of an apparent time methodology "is that one can study results immediately rather than waiting for 20 years or so to see what happens" (Trudgill 1988:34).

In this study, where apparent time methodology is utilized, the informants are divided into the three age groups already mentioned which largely coincide with major historical events affecting the social and economical situation in Kuwait. Prior to the discovery of oil in 1939, and most importantly, the drilling of oil in 1946, the people of Kuwait lived a tough economic life and worked together to provide the best opportunities for their children. Najdis worked in trade and were business owners. The Ajamis, on the other hand, worked as porters, caretakers, and most commonly café waiters. Both groups lived and worked next to each other, but communication between them was strictly bound by business. When socialising, the two groups rarely mixed (Fayath & Sultan, 2002:158). Most families sent their children to school to enable them to achieve a better social status and to give them better economic opportunities. The first generation of educated Kuwaitis, aged 50 to 60 at the time of the study, lived in hard times prior to the discovery of oil, and received good job opportunities due to their education. Many Kuwaitis realized the importance of education as it opened up a wider range of job choices and better salaries. In the late 1960s after oil profits where invested in all sectors in Kuwait, especially the education sector, a large group of Kuwaitis traveled abroad to Egypt, Lebanon, England and the USA to pursue graduate and post graduate degrees.

The second generation of educated Kuwaitis in this study was also selected for historical reasons. This generation did not live the hard economic lives of their parents, but realised that the new economic opportunities could only be gained with hard work and good education. Kuwaiti, from both ethnic communities, became closer, and started mixing more amongst each other. The number of educated

Kuwaitis was not enough for the developmental era that Kuwait was going through, and a large number of Arabs came from different parts of the Arab world to fill in these working positions. This gave the chance to both Najdis and Ajamis to get closer and begin sharing their identities as Kuwaitis first and foremost with ethnic origins becoming less salient. Living their parents' dream to help Kuwait become a developed country culturally and economically, the second generation became involved in different fields, such as engineering, education and economics. In the mid 1980s, Kuwait welcomed a large number of workers, most of them from Arab countries. Kuwaitis worked close with one another and worked in administrative positions. The second generation represents those aged between 30-40 years old.

Kuwait developed immensely in the 1980s and became the most developed state in the Middle East (Al-Sabah, 2000). The choice of the third generation was motivated mainly because of the economical status of Kuwait in the late 1980s. The Gross Domestic Product (GPD, i.e. the total market value of all final goods and services produced in a country in a year) in Kuwait in 1989 was £ 5,741 per capita (CIA *World Fact Book*, 1989). The last group targeted for this study and representing speakers aged between 18 and 22, embodies the generation in Kuwait City which are the most preoccupied with social status and social ties. Unlike the previous generations which valued family relations and spent most of their time in family gatherings, Kuwait youths spend most of their time with friends in cafés and cinemas (Al-Sabah, 2000). Najdis and Ajamis in this generation have come closer than ever to each other. They build friendships and businesses together; and some of them do not even know the ethnic origins of their friends. Most young Kuwaitis live an easy life, and have little

interest, if any, in international issues. The gap between the age groups helps avoid any overlap between generations and keeps a clear-cut division between generations.

3.4.1.2 Gender

As already mentioned in section 2.4.4, gender and linguistic (particularly dialectal) variation has been investigated by many studies (Haeri, 1997; Chambers, 1995; Al-Wer, 1991; Labov, 2001 among others). Trudgill (1983:161) states that:

> It has been known for some considerable time that in some societies language is involved in co-variation, not only with parameters such as social stratification, social context and age, but also the parameter of sex.

The use of 'sex' in this context is not addressing biological and physiological differences, but as a reflex of gender which is associated with the social dimension of being male or female. Linguistic diversity between genders is due to psychological, social and cultural differences and differential patterns in the behaviour of men and women is a reflection of what society expects from them (Wodak & Benke, 1997:128). Romaine (1994:101) emphasises the importance of considering "the socio-cultural dimensions of the division of humans into male and female person (i.e. gender), rather than its biological determinations (i.e. sex)" as they may demonstrate evidence of language variation.

Following the review in section 2.8, one can conclude that the choice of gender as a social factor is inevitable in this study as it is believed to play a major role in the different realisations of Arabic dialectal features. The place of women in Kuwaiti

society, as in most Arab communities, differs in certain aspects from the roles they play in the west. Women in Kuwait are associated with family responsibilities more than men. It is the norm for an educated Kuwaiti woman to have a job, and to combine it with social responsibilities (raising children, taking care of parents, buying groceries, etc.). Kuwaiti men, on the other hand, are normally associated with their working place and the *diwa:nyya* (defined in Chapter 1). Although traditionally Kuwaiti women spend more time at home, the young generation of single females, in particular, have lifestyles that are rather more like those of their male peers (the only major restriction that remains being the fact that they are not allowed to stay late out of home while men are not so restricted). More generally, gender responsibilities are assumed, usually, after marriage, when social responsibilities change. From the investigation of the interaction between gender and the linguistic variables described in other studies, coupled with the fact that Kuwaiti males and females have similar divergent social responsibilities, it is expected that gender will have some impact on the realisations of the variables under study here too.

Consequently, the current study includes 24 male and 24 female informants, representing the three age groups detailed in 3.4.1.1. Although it would seem that younger informants - both male and female - have similar social statuses, they in fact have different social roles, and thus variation is also expected between genders of this group. In Kuwait, roles are changing but differences are still obvious in some cases, as the case would be in some western societies.

3.4.1.3 Ethnicity

The two ethnic groups of Najdis and Ajamis are the focus of this investigation. The importance of this distribution lies in the fact that the two groups come from two different linguistic backgrounds. The Najdis in this study came originally from Saudi Arabia in the early 1800s to settle in Kuwait. Najd is a large area in Saudi Arabia, and thus the dialects of Najdi vary (Ingham 2007:326). The People from Najd selected for this study come from Anieza in Najd and are referred to as 'Utub'. Although their dialect is different from the various Najdi dialects, the word 'Najdi' is used as a label to refer to the group of people who migrated from Aneiza to Kuwait, and who are known to be the founders of Kuwait and have since received a special status amongst Kuwaiti people. They speak an Arabic dialect similar to the Bahraini and Hassawi. Ajamis participating in this study originally come from Iran. Although some Ajamis have been residing in the Gulf prior to the 18th century (refer to section 1.2), the Ajami families participating in this study, like the majority of Farsi-speaking Ajamis, arrived in the early 1900s from different villages from Iran and brought with them a different language (Farsi). They have since been referred to as Ajamis (non Arab) and have over the years acquired lower status than other migrants. Ajamis originally spoke little SA Arabic which they used in their religious rituals (prayers). This knowledge was enhanced as Ajamis soon learned to communicate in Arabic through interacting with Kuwaitis, and modern-day Ajamis are monolingual speakers of Arabic. Najdis and Ajamis initially had very little contact, however, more interaction between Kuwaitis took place after the discovery of oil in 1938 as people started going to schools together and working together in different fields (refer to 3.4.1.1).

Although population censuses of the distribution of the Kuwaiti population show various socio-demographic characteristics, they do not refer to ethnic origins or to the percentage of each ethnic group in relation to the total population. However, it is believed that a third of the population is Ajami as opposed to around 70% of Arabs from different ethnic backgrounds (Holes 2007:609) the existence of these ethnic groups is identified by Kuwaiti historians (Fayath & Sultan, 2002), and Kuwaiti people have the ability to identify a person's ethnic background by their family names. By relying on this fact, the researcher was able to choose the informants participating in the current study.

The aim of investigating the linguistic forms spoken by these two ethnic groups is to explore the way dialect contact between Ajamis and Najdis has affected the present-day varieties spoken by these two communities. The study attempts to analyse the dialectal differences between the ethnic groups, with gender and age also borne in mind. Another aim is to examine any evidence for dialect leveling and the role that prestige might play in the pushing the direction of any change uncovered in the research.

3.4.2. The Linguistic Variables

The sociolinguistic distribution of five linguistic variables which are believed to be relevant to the linguistic structure of the Kuwaiti community under study was investigated. Labov (1996) introduced the term 'linguistic variables' into sociolinguistics to refer to social and stylistic variation of variables in a language which do produce change in meaning. The identification of linguistic variables is a challenging process. The search for the most salient features of a language or dialect

enables the measurement of the linguistic behaviour of a speech community. Labov (1972) suggests three steps for selecting linguistic variables:

> First, we want an item that is frequent…second, it should be structural…Third, the distribution of the feature should be highly stratified (p.8)

Taking these three steps into consideration and alongside the findings of the pilot study, the linguistic variables in Table 3.2 are believed to occur frequently in the speech of the Kuwaiti community and their patterning may well be correlated with the various social variables that are the focus of the current study.

Table 3.2
Linguistic variables of the current study

Linguistic variable (symbols based on SA)	**As realised in SA**	**As realized by Najdis**	**As realised by Ajamis**
(ɣ)	/ɣuru:b/ (sunset)	[qiru:b]	[ɣiru:b]
(ʤ)	/faʤr/ (dawn)	[fajir]	[faʤir]
(s)	/ra□s/ (head)	[ra:s]	[ra:sˁ]

More detail on each variable will be given when analysing each variable below so as to link the present study with other sociolinguistic accounts of dialectal variation in Arabic communities and to highlight my innovative account of (s) and (ɣ) which have not thus far been investigated in this way as far as I am aware.

3.4.2.1 The (ʤ) variable

The voiced dental affricate (ʤ) is realized by Najdi Kuwaitis as [j], while Ajamis often realise it as [ʤ]. This variable has been investigated in previous studies on the

Iraqi dialect, the Bahraini dialect and the Qatari dialect (Ingham, 1982; Holes, 1987; Al-Muhnnadi, 1991). Cantineau (1960) investigated the historical development of (ʤ). The most common realization is believed to be [g], which is still a common realization in many parts of Egypt. It is thought that the /g/ realization then changed to /gj/, and later changed into /dj/ (ibid:89). Cantineau (1960) added that /dj/ developed later into /j/ (by dropping /d/). Kaye (1972:60), on the other hand, believed that the origin of /j/ is a mere speculation, and stated that "whether /jiim/ is always realized as / ʒ/, /dj/ or /gj/ cannot be determined at the moment". However, Hamed (1990:271) reported that modern linguistic research supports the idea proposed by Sibawaih (in his book Al-kita:b 1917) that the reason [j] has been used in the realization of (ʤ) is because of the similarity of its place of articulation (palatal). It has also developed by the /j/ in /dj/ changing into /ʒ/, thus resulting in /ʤ/. Matar (1969:21) stated that in the 12th century, the use of [j] for /ʤ/ was found in many words such as the word /masʤid/ (mosque) which was realized as [masjid]. The [j] variant is most common nowadays in the Gulf countries while [ʤ] is used in central Najd. Johnstone (1967) conducted an extensive study of the realisations of /ʤ /in the Arabian Peninsula. The researcher analysed the realisation of /ʤ/ as [ʤ] and [j] in Northern and Eastern Arabian dialects, which included the Gulf dialects, and found that [j] as a variant does not occur in Arabian dialects other than the Gulf dialects. This variant was therefore presumed to be an acquired characteristic of the Gulf dialects alone. Johnstone (1967:234) reported that there is no evidence of the source of realising /ʤ/ as [j]; thus he concluded that [ʤ] and [j] realisations of [ʤ] might be a dialect peculiarity that came into existence before the establishment of the Gulf countries. The use of /j/, however, was found common in Al-Hasa (eastern Saudi Arabia), Basra (southern Iraq), the Tamim tribe in Najd (Matar 69:20), and Ahwaz (Ingham 2007:572).

As shown in chapter one section 1.2, it is believed that the use of [j] for /ʤ/ has developed in the Gulf countries as a result of dialect contact by its first inhabitants: the people from Ahwaz, Basra and Al-Hasa. Establishing the different levels of prestige across the (ʤ) variants, however, has not been straightforward. Here we review a collection of studies that have looked at (ʤ) variation and examine the different role [j] has played in different contexts. In his study of the Iraqi dialect, Ingham (1982) found that the Iraqi realisation of /raʤɔl/ (man) is [rajaːl] in typical Southern and Shiite speech while it is realised as [riʤaːl] in the typical the Sunni dialects. Ingham (ibid) added that, as the Shiites sector is dominant in Southern Iraq, the [j] realisation is considered more prestigious. On the other hand, El-Gindi (1983:458-461) found documentations of the dialect of Tamim, who lived in Najd in Saudi Arabia, using [j] realisation in many words such as SA /ʃaʤara/ (tree) realised by the people of Tamim as [ʃijara]. However, the remainder of the Najdi tribes stigmatized this used and believed it to be a type of 'vulgarism' (Johnstone 19661:249).

In a study of the frequency of realising /ʤ/ as [ʤ] and [j] in the different dialects of Qatar, Johnstone (1967:239-240) noted that [ʤ] and [j] occur equally in the speech of sedentaries of the North and Ajamis of Doha depending on the social context the variable occurred in (i.e. in formal environments speakers are more likely to use [ʤ], while in an informal setting [j] is the preferred realisation). Johnstone (ibid) found that [ʤ] occurs less frequently in the speech of Doha sedentaries, and [j] is rare in Bedouin Qatari speech. An extensive analysis of the different realisations of /ʤ/ in different linguistic contexts and by different Qatari people (in terms of education, age, gender and ethnicity) led the researcher to conclude that the realisation of /ʤ/ as [ʤ]

and [j] is not phonetically conditioned. Nevertheless, not all words with (ʤ) are subject to variation, and frequently used words and local words with no exact equivalent in SA are mostly realised with [j]. It was also found that female Qataris used more [j] than male Qataris on account of its prestige value. The prestigious form was also found to be used by the younger Qatari participants as opposed to the older generation. On the other hand, the educated Bedouin Qataris realise (ʤ) categorically as [ʤ]. Although it is the SA form, it is not perceived as prestigious by the sedentary groups in Qatar.

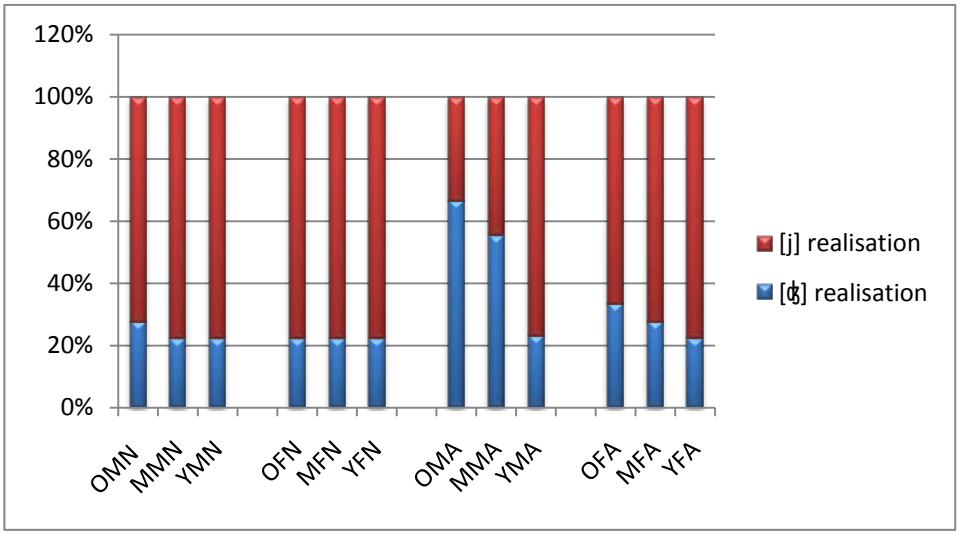
Holes (1987) conducted one of the first extensive sociolinguistic studies on linguistic variation on the Gulf Arabic. He found that the realisation of /ʤ/ as [j] was subject to religious sectarianship in Bahrain. While [ʤ] was the main realisation of /ʤ/ by the Shiites of Bahrain, Sunni speakers realised it as both [ʤ] and [j] depending on the level of education. The educated realised /ʤ/ as [ʤ] more than the uneducated, however, the dominating Sunni realisation of /ʤ/ was still [j]. In his study, Holes (ibid) found that ethnicity, age, sex, gender as well as education affected the realisation of SA (ʤ) (as noted already in section 2.6.4). Holes (1987) concluded that, unlike the case in Iraq, the Shiites (Baharana) realise the variable as [ʤ] while the Sunnis (Arabs) realise it as [j]. However, in Bahrain, the Arab sector is the dominant one, and thus, [j] is considered the prestigious variant.

The investigation of (ʤ) in Arabic has not only been implemented in the Gulf countries, but other Arab countries also show variation in the realisation of (ʤ) (such as Palestinian and Egyptian). Shorrab (1981), for example, states that the (ʤ) variable has two realisations in Palestinian Arabic: [ʤ] and the voiced palato-alveolar fricative

[ʒ]. In Cairene Arabic, Schmidt (1974) reports that [ʤ] and [g] are alternative realisations of SA (ʤ). Holes (1995:76) reports that the Levantine realization of /ʤ/ is [ʒ], while the Cairene realisation is [g]. Holes (ibid:76) explains that the use of different realisations of /ʤ/ is affected by political power and economic strength (the dialect of the ruler represents the dialect of the country) which provides the prestige value of these realisations. Dialects are defined by their use of variants of (ʤ). Hence, Gulf Arabic is identified with the [j] realisation of (ʤ), while many Levantine dialects are identified by the [ʒ] realisation.

My hypothesis, formulated on the outcomes of the pilot study, is that [j] is the prestige variant of (ʤ) in Kuwait since it is realised by the Najdi community (who are the founders of Kuwait, although as shown above this form was adopted after migration to Kuwait). Therefore, it would be interesting to find out how this may influence the production of young Ajami generation who are more likely to want to emulate the prestige group. Figure 3.1 shows the percentage of the Ajami group's realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] by both male and female speakers as found in the pilot study. The results show that gender differences and age are factors that do indeed appear to affect the realisation of (ʤ). These differences will be discussed further in the main study.

Figure 3.1
Najdi and Ajami realisation of (ʤ)



3.4.2.1. The (s) variable

In certain environments which will be discussed below, the voiceless alveolar fricative (s) is realised by some Ajamis as as a voiceless emphatic [sˤ] while Najdis realise itas [s] . Although (s) is the variable investigated, it is the [sˤ] realization of (s) which is the locus of interest for this study. The Arabic language is well known for its pharyngealisation, which is traditionally referred to as emphasis. In both SA and dialectal Arabic, pharyngealised consonants consists of two plosives /tˤ dˤ/ and two fricatives /sˤ ðˤ/ and their plain cognates /t d s ð/ notwithstanding some regional varieties (Al-Ani, 1970).

Research on emphasis in arabic dates back to the 8th century, when Sibawayh suggested the terms “itbaq” and ”infitah” (literally ‘closing’ and ‘opening’) to describe emphasis in his book Al-Kitab (the Book). Sibawayh noted that emphatic sounds are produced by the contact of the front part of the tongue with the front

palate, during which, the upper part of the palate is touched by the back part of the tongue (Semaan 1968: 45).

The difference between emphatic and plain consonants is that, during the realisation of emphatic consonants, the root of the tongue is retracted against the pharynx. Many definitions have attempted to describe emphasis (Ferguson 1956; Delattre 1971; Card 1983 among others) and generally it is referred to as the process of "spreading and raising of the tongue" (Lehn, 1963: 29). More particularly, Kahn (1975: 39) defined it as a "secondary pharyngeal articulation of certain consonants, usually stops and fricatives." She added that the organs engaged in the production of a given sound in the articulation of emphasis involve a secondary pharyngeal articulation. Ferguson's (1956) study on Cairene Arabic showed that emphasis can be a property of laterals and rhotics as well. However the most detailed description was provided by Lehn (1963) who defined it in the following way:

> Emphasis (…) is the co-occurrence of the first and one or more others of the following articulatory features: (1) slight retraction, lateral spreading, and concavity of the tongue and raising back (more or less similar to what has been called velarisation), (2) faucal pharyngeal constriction (pharyngealisation), (3) slight lip protrusion or rounding (labialization), and (4) increased tension of the entire oral and pharyngeal musculature resulting in the emphatics being noticeably more fortis than the plain segments (pp. 30-31).

Arabic dialectal studies have analysed the effect of social variables, such as ethnicity, age, gender and education on the realization of emphatics (Al-Khatib 1988, Al-Wer

1991, Al-Tamimi 2002). The most investigated emphatic variable is (dˤ). Al-Wer (1991, 2000, and 2003) investigated sociolinguistic variation with regard to the use of (dˤ), and found that ethnicity, gender, age and education were all factors affecting its realisation (for more detail refer to 2.6.2). Yet, it is the realization of the plain fricative (s) as the emphatic [sˤ] in the environment of primary and secondary (defined below) emphasis spread which is the aim of this study, because it exhibits interesting socially-correlated patterning in MKA.

One of the main factors affecting the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] is the influence of an adjacent emphatic consonant. This principle is called 'emphasis spread' and has been defined by Davis (1995: 465) as a phonological process by which the RTR (retracted tongue root) feature spreads across adjacent segments. Emphasis spread has shown to be the linguistic feature affecting the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] by both ethnic groups; however, Ajamis are influenced by more potential emphasis environments than Najdis.

The realization of (s) as [sˤ] is not new in the Arabic dialects. El-Gindi (1983:443) reports that this phenomena existed pre-Islamic times. He found that this phenomenon was evident in the speech of Quraish and other urban Arab tribes in different areas in Saudi Arabia, such as in the word /sirat^{ˤ}/ (route) realised in the dialect of Quraish as [sˤirat^{ˤ}]. Emphasis spread differs from one Arabic dialect to another. For example, in Cairene Arabic, emphasis spread is thought to affect the whole word. A good example of this is in the word /sˤɔ:t/ (sound) realised as [sˤɔ:t^{ˤ}] in Cairene, and the word /basi:t^{ˤ}/ (simple) realised in Cairene as [basˤi:t^{ˤ}]. These two examples show that not only does emphasis spread leftwards, but also rightwards (Bukshaisha 1985:217). In

the case of Qatari Arabic, emphasis spreads in a bidirectional manner to affect all the sounds in a word; in addition, when the emphatic consonant is situated at the beginning of a word, the adjacent emphasis would cross the words boundary leftwards to affect the adjacent word; for instance the phrase /bana:t itˤabi:b/ (doctor's daughters) is realised by Qataris as [bana:tˤ ətˤabi:b] (ibdi: 219). Bukshaisha (1985:218) also investigated emphasis spread in the Saudi dialect of Abha, and found that emphasis does not usually affect the adjacent vowel, and that male and female speakers exhibit less emphasis in their speech than normally found in most Arabic dialects. Thus, a word as /sˤɔt/ (sound) is realised by Abha speakers as [sˤɔ:t]. Another example is the word /mastˤara/ (ruler), which is reported as being realised by the people of Abha as [mastˤara]. In a study of two Palestinian Arabic dialects, Davis (1995: 484) found that emphasis spread is bidirectional in the case of Palestinian Arabic. In addition, he found that there is a leftwards/rightwards asymmetry; i.e. leftward emphasis spread is usually unbound, however, rightward emphasis spread is blocked by 'opaque' segments for each dialect (segments which resist the articulatory and acoustic effects of emphasis spread and would block those effects from reaching other segments). The opaque segments reported in Davis (ibid) were /i/, /j/, /y/ and /ʃ/, which are high front phonemes.

Emphatics /sˤ/, /ðˤ/, /tˤ/, and /dˤ/ are not the only phonemes affecting emphasis spread. The effect of /r/ has been also defined in many studies as another type of emphasis (Blanc 1953; Mitchell 1956; Harrel 1957; Erwin 1963; Cowell 1964; Broselow 1976; Ghazeli 1977, Younes 1982). In these studies, linguists distinguish between the 'primary emphatics' /sˤ/, /ðˤ/, /tˤ/, and /dˤ/ and a number of other consonants which are defined as 'secondary emphatics' /r/, /l/, /m/, /b/. Younes (1992)

reports three factors which distinguish the primary emphatics from the secondary emphatics: first, primary emphatics have non-emphatic contrasts; second, primary emphatics are involved in all vocalic environments whereas secondary emphatics are only found next to low vowels; finally secondary emphatics –except for /r/– are only found in a few forms mostly borrowed words (such as /baːsˁ/ (bus) and /iːtˁaːlja/ (Italy)).

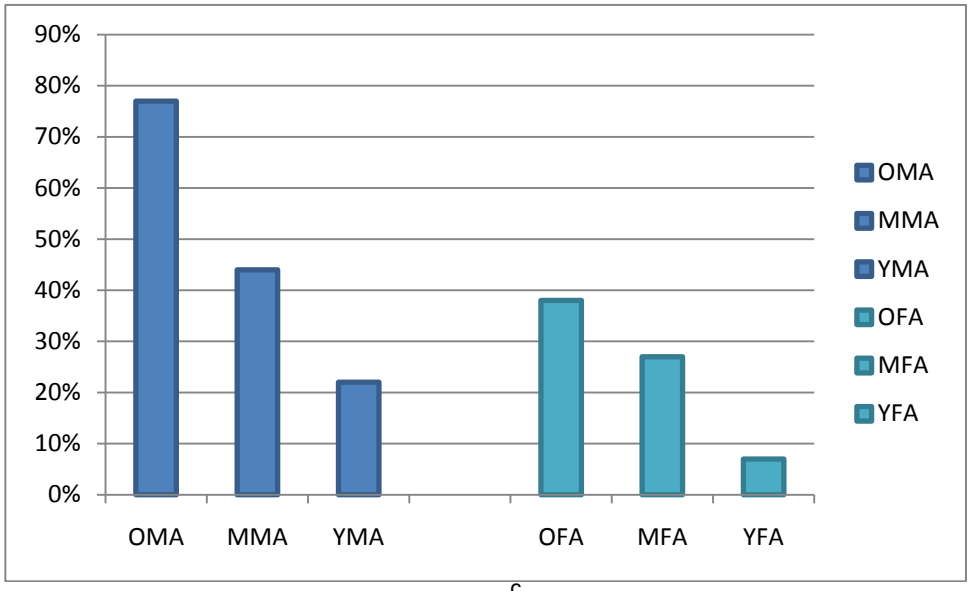
In a study conducted on the emphatic effect of the trill /r/ in Catalan speech, Recasens and Pallares (1999) investigated the VrV effect of /r/. They showed that /r/ involves high levels of constriction retraction, and predorsum lowering; which is considered demanding in terms of high levels of lingual requirements, hence causing predominant co-articulation. As alveolar trill /r/ is a SA phoneme found in most Arabic dialects, this form of predominant co-articulation is expected to be found in many Arabic dialects. El-Imam (2004) found that /l/ and /r/ have regressive (leftward) articulatory effect on the vowel in many Arabic dialects (such as Egyptian and Palestinian) as they require certain tongue body positioning. A good example is given from Cairene Arabic which compares /taːriːx/ (history) realised by Cairenes as [tariːx] to /raːtib/ (salary) realised by Cairenes as [raːtib] where the vowel is shortened when occurring before /r/ (regressive co-articulation). Ferguson's (1956) study on Cairene Arabic also showed that emphasis can be a property of laterals and rhotics as well. In the case of /r/, leftward spread affects the realisation of adjacent sounds.

Although primary emphatics occur in all Arabic dialects, secondary emphatics vary across dialects. For example, Mitchell (1956) only lists dark (r) as a secondary emphatic in Iraqi Arabic, while Harrell (1957) believes that in Iraqi Arabic /l/, /r/, /b/,

/m/ and /k/ are also secondary emphatics. On the other hand, Erwin (1965) reports that /l/, /m/, /b/, and /p/ are secondary emphatics in Iraqi Arabic, while Broselow (1976) adds /l/ and /r/ in Iraqi Arabic. In spite of the disagreement on secondary emphatics in Iraqi Arabic, it is worth noting here that Iraq has more than one dialect; thus, all these lists could be true according to the dialect under investigation. In terms of other Arabic dialects, Cowell's (1964) list included /l/, /r/, /m/, /b/, /ʔ/ and /n/ for Syrian Arabic, while Blanc (1953) believes that the list of secondary emphatics included /l/, /m/, and /b/ in North Palestinian Arabic. As will be seen in this study, the situation in Kuwait shows secondary emphasis spread, but only in the speech of Ajamis.

As the (s) variable in the context of /r/ is realised as [s] by Najdis, it would be interesting to find which gender or age groups amongst Ajamis uses more [s] than [sˤ], thus being closest in their realisation to the Najdi group. For example, how is the word /misma:r/ (wall nail) realised? As the Najdi [misma:r] or Ajami [musˤma:r]? The Figure below (Figure 3.2) displays the percentage realisation of (s) as [sˤ] by the three generations of male and female Ajami speakers, where age and gender prove to be influential factors in the realisation of [sˤ].

Figure 3.2
Percentage of Ajami realisation of (ṣ) as [sˁ] in primary and secondary emphasis* **



- * where the realisation of (ṣ) is not [sˁ] it is [s]
- **the Najdis categorically realise (ṣ) as [s] when not in the context of primary emphasis spread.

Reasons behind the use of [sˁ] will be investigated and, since it has not been investigated in previous studies on Arabic language variation, my findings should make a significant contribution to Arabic dialectology.

3.4.2.3 The (ɣ) variable

One of the key features of the Kuwaiti dialect is the realisation of the voiced velar fricative (ɣ). This variable is typically realised by most Najdis as the voiceless uvular stop [q] and by Ajamis as [ɣ]. The (ɣ) variable is represented as the Greek letter Gamma, and found in other languages such as African Dinka and Ewe, Turkish and Farsi. This phoneme has changed or disappeared in many languages for many reasons **(**Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:83).

Very little research has been conducted to investigate the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] (Matar 1969, Holes 1987; Al-Qouz 2008). Matar (1969:34-36) identified the use of

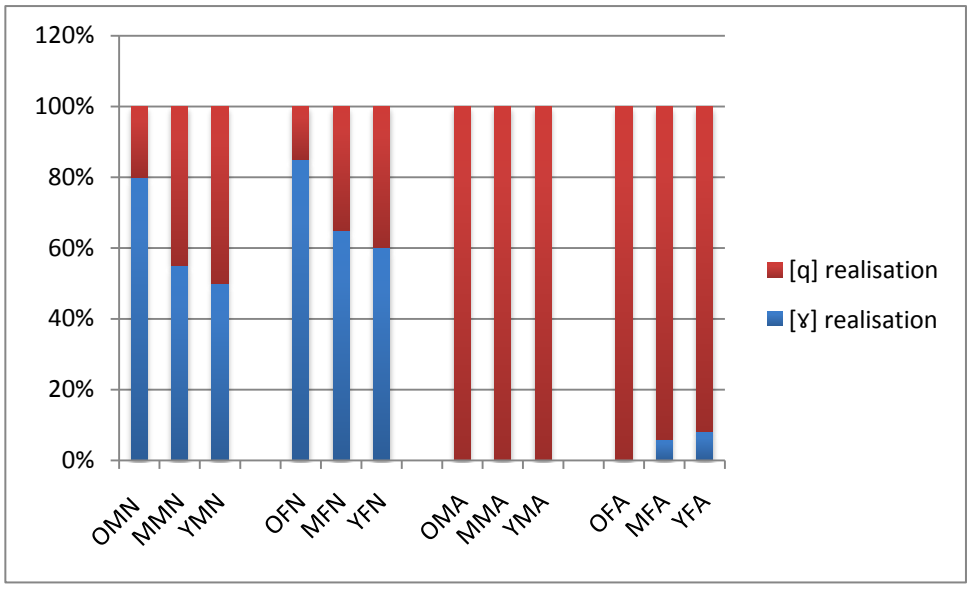
[q] for (ɣ) amongst Kuwaitis as in /aɣa:ni:/ (songs) realised as [aqa:ni:] and/qalam/ (pen) realised as [ɣalam]. Matar identified the [q] users as Kuwaiti, Southern Iraqi (from Basra) and some from several Sudanese tribes. Holes (1987) also found that the Arabs (as opposed to the Baharana) also realise (ɣ) as [q] and (q) as [ɣ] or [g]. The realisation of (q) as [ɣ] is not discussed in this dissertation; rather the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] is the aim of this investigation. Najdis in Kuwait are known for their use of [q] for (ɣ), while in Bahrain, the Arabs are known for the use of [q]. Both ethnic groups are usually stigmatised for this use, and some Baharana believe it is evidence of 'incorrectness' (Holes ibid:37).

No evidence of the use of [q] for (ɣ) has been found in ancient Arabic dialects (Matar 1969:35). However, Ingham (2007:573) reported that this feature is found in Khuzestan Arabic. Ingham (ibid) stated that the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] occurs in Khuzestan Arabic when (ɣ) takes place word initially. For example /ɣair/ (other) is realised as [qair]. As found for the realisation of (ʤ) as [j], it seems that this feature was adopted by the Najdis in Kuwait and Arabs in Bahrain after migration and establishment of the Gulf countries from the early inhabitants of the Gulf, namely Ahwaz who speak Khuzestan Arabic (for the history of Kuwait refer to section 1.2).

Although many studies have investigated Arabic Qaf (q) and its different reflexes (Ferguson 1957, Blanc 1965, Al-Ani 1976; Abdel-Jawad 1981; Versteegh 1997; Ingham, 1982; Haeri, 1997; Al-Wer, 1991, 1997, 2000 among others), regrettably, very few studies on Arabic dialects have investigated the realisation of /ɣ/ as [q] and the reasons behind this use.

In this study, [q] is investigated in a new context, and Figure 3.3 below, shows results from the pilot study of the Najdi and Ajami male and female speakers' realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. The results obtained from the pilot study show that (ɣ) is salient in Kuwaiti Arabic and is affected by ethnicity, age and gender.

Figure 3.3
Najdi and Ajami realisation of (ɣ) *



* = old; M = middle-aged; Y = young; N = Najdi; A= Ajami; F = female; M = male

Although some words with /q/ are realized as [g] by Kuwaitis, the (ɣ) variable is realised by Najdis as [q]. The reasons behind this realization will be investigated in terms of gender, age and ethnicity. However, speculation points to the social variables already mentioned as being an important influence in this variation and, again, it is not a variable that has been extensively explored by previous research.

3.5. Data Collection

Several techniques were implemented to collect data in this study. The pilot study has shown that relying on one technique does not provide sufficient and reliable data. As

one source might provide controlled, and thus comparable data, while the other source is more spontaneous. The choice of interview is essential to collect spontaneous data, while picture elicitations and the map task are used to provide controlled data which could easily be compared between ethnic groups and generations. The questionnaire is based on the social reaction towards linguistic choice and habits. In an attempt to reduce influence of the interviewer's vernacular, the researcher had two assistants from Najdi and Ajami origins to help conduct this study, where the Najdi assistant interviewed the Najdi informants and the Ajami assistant interviewed the Ajamis. This was identified by Taglimonte (2006:46) as "[a] technique [which] involves approximating the vernacular of the informant". The assistants were helpful during the interviews with Najdis as they engaged with the informants in different conversations enabling the recording of the interview data. They helped avoid the accommodation of the informants' dialect to the researcher's dialect. The researcher kept participation during the interview with Najdis to the minimum in order to avoid accommodation of the informant's dialect.

3.5.1. Interviews

As a sociolinguistic study which requires a quantitative approach, the observation of language use is essential as a data source. The observation of language use is expected to provide reliable data in terms of variation and the social significance of natural everyday speech (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; L. Milroy 1987; Macaulay 1977). The most reliable technique of observation is tape-recorded face-to-face interviews with the members of the community under study.

L. Milroy (1987) believes that the use of interviews in western societies is considered formal, and thus standard style is considered by informants most appropriate. These interviews have a typical discourse structure where participants assume an asymmetrical role, that of the "respondent", to the interviewer who is the "questioner". This division sets roles and unequally divides authority. As the interviewer decides on the topics and chooses the form of questions, he/she has most authority. Due to this fact, many researchers believe that the interview technique is limited and thus not adequate to elicit informal data as expected from the unobserved form (spontaneous everyday conversation between peers) (Macaulay 1977; L. Milroy 1987; Rickford 1987; Wolfson 1976; Taglimonte, 2006). Other sociolinguists recognise the limitation of the interview method, and believe that the assessment of the competence of speakers requires a more varied data base (Labov 1972; Romaine 1984; Rickford 1987). Thus, Macaulay (1981 quoted by Rickford 1987) notes that "no single interview can cover the whole range of a speaker's repertoire".

Despite the limitations of the interview method, L. Milroy (1987) argues that the interview technique is still adequate to draw a general picture of the sociolinguistic norms through the comparison of collected data obtained from a large number of speakers. The interview implemented in this study depends on free conversation. "Spontaneous or free conversation interview" (Wolfram & Fasold, 1974, p.48) is the first form implemented where "the predominant concern of the interviewer is in shifting the style towards the vernacular [which is] the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech" (Labov, 1972, p.208). In the pilot study, this form has proved very beneficial, not only linguistically, but also as a tool

to break the ice between the interviewer and interview (in this case either the researcher or an assistant).

A successful recording requires good quality recording for accurate analysis of speech, especially when phonetic analysis is the object of study (Labov, Yeager & Steiner 1972). In this study, Edirol-09 was used for digital high-quality recording, accompanied with a highly sensitive Sony microphone.

The researcher and an assistant interviewed the informant for 60-90 minutes. The Najdi assistant interviewed the Najdi informants and the Ajami assistant interviewed the Ajamis (refer to section 3.5). The researcher was there during all interviews, and when interviewing the Najdi speakers, she only participated by conducting the questionnaire (and asking questions related to the study). The following topics were set as interview topics. The choice of these topics relied on the fact that all informants have experience and knowledge of them:

1. School days and evaluation of the educational system.
2. Foreign employment in Kuwait and its affect on Kuwaiti families.
3. Early marriage.
4. Childhood memories (humorous, strange or frightening).
5. The attitude towards the use of English in every day speech by Kuwaitis.
6. Women's rights and roles in Kuwait.
7. Rises in the cost of everyday essentials.

The pilot study also showed that the situation in terms of formality is different in Kuwait. The interlocutors did not revert to the standard at any time, and they were

given instructions at the very beginning to use their Kuwaiti dialect. It was found that SA was not used as a formal style of speech during the recordings. The pilot study also showed that the topic choice in the case of most female informants from both ethnic groups should not be strictly bound by the topics above. Instead, the choice of topic is usually better provided by the female informants themselves as they prefer to discuss romantic and family matters. This could be due to the gender of the researcher (female) which made female speakers feel more comfortable and relaxed.

3.5.2 Picture elicitation

One limitation of the interview technique is its inadequate ability to collect data of the same type (Milroy, 1987; Rickford, 1987; Wolfson, 1976). Therefore, Labov (1972) suggested that a speaker's competence can only be assessed appropriately by the use of a varied data base.

To avoid the limitations of the interview technique, the researcher combined the use of interviews with two different techniques which have a controlled setting. One of these methods is picture elicitation. The picture elicitation relied on the use of PowerPoint, where the informants were asked to name the picture or activity on the slide. Although this technique may encourage the speaker to switch to SA, as it was followed by the interview, no SA was used during the picture elicitation. Thus, the data compiled from the picture elicitation was only controlled in terms of the target utterances that were elicited. The statistics show that the controlled data reflects a slight increase in the use of SA, however, this difference did not affect the significance in the realisation of one variant rather than the other by both ethnic

groups. The informants enjoyed the picture elicitation task very much. Not only were they comfortable with the use of the picture elicitation, but the linguistic data obtained was also easily compared between speakers.

The picture elicitation method was used in the pilot study and showed successful results; it was used in the main study as well. The elicitation in the main study contained 74 pictures of different objects. Each object was chosen to elicit a target word which contained one of the variables investigated. Where possible, local pictures associated with the Kuwaiti social environment were used. During the slide show, the informants were asked to identify the objects shown. The recording equipment was running throughout the session until the end of the map task.

The pictures of activities represented ten verbs and were fitted onto two slides. The use of the picture elicitation technique allowed the closest production possible in controlled methods to the spontaneous production of dialectal forms. In order to avoid the identification of the aim of the task by the informants, and thus monitoring their speech, the target words (shown in appendix 2) were randomised so that the variables under investigation were not revealed and did not occur in succession. In addition, a few words not related to the study were also added in between.

3.5.3 The map task

The map task is a dialogue oriented process defined by Brown (2000) as the process by which two people co-operate to reach a target in a ‘treasure island map’. The typical application of this task is the one where one person has a map with landmarks and a footpath drawn on it. The other person, a partner, has a copy of a similar map

but with missing landmarks and no footpath. The partner may also have landmarks that do not exist on the other map. The partners do not see each others' maps. The person holding the map with the footpath describes the landmarks on the map to allow corrections of the second map, and thus facilitate the design of the footpath by the partner on the second map.

Not only has this technique been used in language learning classes, but it has also been used extensively and very successfully in (socio) linguistic research more widely (Anderson et al. 1991, Miller & Weirt 1998, Brown 2000; Fletcher et al. 2001 & 2002). Some changes were applied to the design and method of the task to suit the requirements of a sociolinguistic study. One main difference was the existence of only one map shown to both the researcher (or assistant) and the informant. This was due to the fact that most informants in the pilot study were not willing to conduct the task with other informants, especially the older generation. Some of them reported feeling silly, and others did not take the task seriously. The difference between the current application of the map task and the traditional application is that during the latter two interlocutors would have been recorded at the same time, yet when the researcher took part in the map task, the data collected was very informative as the researcher was able to direct the conversation. Another difference was the design of the map. The 'traditional' map task looks similar to a treasure map. It shows a few landmarks, scattered around and has a large 'X' to mark the final destination (or the treasure place). Instead, the design of the map used in this study was familiar to most Kuwaitis. It is the style used by most businesses in Kuwait to show their location. It follows the design of most Kuwaiti areas. This design was found easy for Kuwaitis to understand, relate to, and make sense of (Map illustrated in appendix 2). The map

consisted of different landmarks, services and street names. These names were chosen to reflect the variables investigated. Some words have re-occurred in the picture elicitation to ensure that the dialect rather than SA is used.

In the beginning the informants were given the maps and the task was explained. They were requested to look at the map and imagine that this is the area where they live. They are then asked different questions by the researcher (or assistant). For example, “where is the nearest hospital to your home? What is it called? How can you get there if you were at the tailor?” The words on the map were never given by the interviewers; rather a definition of the required word was used instead, for instance instead of using the street name, the researchers defined it as the road where the hospital is. Interaction between the informants and the interviewer was encouraged to get the maximum amount of recording possible in a spontaneous environment.

While conducting this task in the pilot study, the informants where extremely cooperative and enjoyed the task. No use of SA was found as a reflection to written texts as the informants were told to use the Kuwaiti dialect as they normally do in their daily life from the very beginning, and they were reminded of that at the beginning of every task. The use of the Kuwaiti dialect could also be as a result of conducting two previous tasks which did not illustrate words in the written form, the informants spontaneously used their dialect and at no point did they switch to SA.

The map task proved to be successful in the pilot study. It was designed specifically to suit the requirements of this study. Choosing to conduct the map task with the researcher/assistant gave control over the outcome, since the questions required the

naming of certain places on the map. Therefore, the data recorded were believed to be controlled yet in a setting that was hoped would not lead the subjects to revert to the standard. The selection of data in this study was divided into two categories:

1. The controlled data: obtained from the picture slides and the maps task (3.5.2 & 3.5.3).
2. The interview data: obtained from the first task (3.5.1).

Traditionally, the aim of an interview is to reach "natural, spontaneous speech" (Tagliamonte 2006:43). The aim of conducting the controlled method was not to elicit spontaneous speech, or affect the formality of the recordings) as it is believed that controlled techniques result in a more formal environment). However, Starks & Mcrobbie-Utasi (2001:82) state that a controlled technique "is designed to elicit specific data that do not necessarily occur during the course of casual conversation". The aim of collecting controlled data was to have comparable data to assist the researcher to identify certain features such as lexical classification of /ʤ/ words and the environments of emphasis spread. It was found, however, from the results obtained from both data collection techniques that although there is a difference in formality, this difference did not affect the significant found in the realisation of one variant rather than the other by the ethnic groups.

3.5.4. Questionnaire

The most popular technique used in a survey is questionnaires. Carrying out a survey is one method of collecting data in sociolinguistic studies. The survey method, like any other research method, has its own strengths and weaknesses. Smith (1991) for example, lists four strengths: (a) survey methods are habitually the only way of gathering information about a respondent's past history, childhood experience…etc. (b) they may be applied to different situations, populations, and settings. (c) survey

analysis includes data structure and effective collection; i.e. highly structured surveys have high amounts of comprehensible data, which makes them particularly manageable to statistical analysis. (d) they are extremely efficient in providing large amounts of data. However, survey methods also have some disadvantages. Smith (1975, 1991), mentions three:

1. They are open to memory and inclination of what is expected from the response on the part of the respondents who may give inaccurate reports.
2. Interviewers' and the questionnaire administers' lack of experience may result in distorting influences; i.e. the interviewer might reflect his/her own ideas and beliefs which in turn could affect the presentation of the interview stimuli. Gender and social status of the interviewer would still introduce bias into interviewing and questionnaire administering.
3. Surveys depend heavily on the respondent's motivation and ability to respond. In effect, despite the fact that motivation to respond is dependent on question design, interview characteristics and interviewer techniques are often as important as question design.

Robson (1993) believes that "self-completed questionnaires are very efficient in terms of research time and effort" (p.243), he adds that this is conditioned by a well-structured questionnaire which has very clear instructions. A well-designed questionnaire may have, for example, specific and closed questions rather than general and open ones. In addition, forced choice items appear more apt to encourage a considerable response than "agree/disagree" statements. Moreover, the attractiveness of a questionnaire (quality of paper, choice of fonts, neatness, etc) can affect the respondents' motivation to fill a questionnaire out and return it. Thus, a

questionnaire must be simpler, less demanding, and more self-explanatory in form than an interview schedule, for example. In terms of language surveys, Ferguson (1975) claims that the task of a country's language survey is to determine the major languages of the country and to bring together the basic sociolinguistic information about them. This can be done, Ferguson adds, by asking questions such as: who speaks the language as a first language, and under what circumstances? How much dialect variation is there in the language? To what extent are the languages used in education? ...etc. Thus, a questionnaire was designed for the purpose of obtaining a sociolinguistic profile of Kuwait as well as pinpointing some related issues such as dialect variation and dialect.

Designing the questionnaire was based on the questionnaire developed by Ohannessian, Ferguson, and Polome 1975, which was found to be comparable to the sociolinguistic situation in Kuwait (shown in appendix 3). The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part asked respondents to give personal information about themselves, such as age, gender, and level of education. The second part revolved around the varietiesspoken in Kuwait and the context in which these varieties are used by Kuwaitis.

The researcher gave each informant a dialect questionnaire after the interview, picture elicitation and map task so as not to affect the interviews by drawing attention to interesting dialectal differences. The dialectal questionnaire was a combination of a questionnaire and survey. The questionnaire method was used in this study to obtain basic information such as the informants' age, level of education and languages known. In addition, the survey questions that followed this questionnaire aimed at

understanding the attitudes of the informants towards the use of certain variants, and to gage which variants, to them, seemed more locally prestigious. This technique was used by Ladefoged (2003:11) and is based on yes/no questions, and questions which ask which sounds better A or B. Asking such questions could be offensive, especially to the group which is usually stigmatised as a result of their use of certain variables. Thus, the questions had to be suitable for the culture and environment. For example, when Najdi informants were asked why they used certain variants more than others, they had no problem giving a straightforward answer. However, the same question was asked with a little more caution to the Ajami informants as they seemed sensitive towards such questions (an example of these questions can be found in appendix 9). As the researcher is friends and relatives with the Ajami informants and she is an Ajami as well, asking the sociolinguistic questions was easier than expected.

Administering the questionnaire is also important to be able to elicit more information on certain social issues (the informants' views on matters associated with prestige and linguistic variation). The research team followed up on questions to reach more detailed information on informants' reaction towards certain realisations, which a simple questionnaire could not provide.

As sociolinguistic questionnaires depend on clear understanding of the questions and may provide extensive answers, the researcher decided to fill in the questionnaires with the informants (orally). The questions were read, and if any question was found to be ambiguous, it was explained. Informants were asked about each variable and its realisations. For example, 'why do you use [ɣ] rather than [q]?' 'Which do you think is used in the Kuwaiti dialect?', and 'Why and in what way?' The answers were

written down by the researcher (or assistant). These questions were only asked when the informants showed the will to answer and cooperate with the researcher. The comments given by informants were also transcribed.

3.6. Quantitative Data Analysis

In this study, there are two separate data sets: controlled data and interview data. Statistically, each data set is defined as a dependent variable, while the independent factors are ethnicity, age and gender. The aim of a qualitative data analysis is to test the effect of the independent factors in the realization of the phonological variables. Because the data is set in a scale (percentages of N), and is thus equal, an ANOVA test was found suitable for this study. Griffith (2007:233) defines an ANOVA test as 'the analysis of the variance of values (of a dependent variable) by comparing them against another set of values (the independent variables'. The ANOVA test procedure produces an F-statistic, which is used to calculate the p-value. If $p < 0.05$, the null hypothesis is rejected, this will lead to the conclusion that the average of the dependent variable is not the same for all groups. One, two and three way ANOVAs tests were conducted in order to compare one phonological realisation against one or more independent variables.

In addition to the use of SPSS, Excel charts were used to illustrate sociolinguistic variability. It is believed that charts and figures give a clear overall view of the variation found from different sociolinguistic angles. These charts and figure would are usually explained in SPSS tables where significance is tested.

CHAPTER FOUR
The Variables: (ʤ), (ɣ) & (s)

4. Introduction

This study investigates consonantal variables which are thought to be relevant for Kuwaiti Arabic due to their correlation with social variability. This chapter will investigate the following consonantal variables: the voiced post-alveolar affricate (ʤ), the voiceless alveolar fricative (s), and the voiced velar fricative (ɣ). A brief description of each variable and its variants in KA will be presented before examining the realizations of these variables in the Kuwaiti context by analyzing statistical and sociolinguistic data. The (ʤ) variable has been the focus of many linguistic studies (Shorrab, 1981; Schmidt, 1974; Ingham, 1982, Al-Muhannadi, 1991, Al-Tamimi, 2001; among others). On the other hand, (ɣ) and (s) variation has rarely been investigated from a variationist perspective, and therefore, very little literature was found on the variants of (ɣ) and (s) in Arabic dialects.

4.1. Introduction to the (ʤ) Variable

The variable (ʤ) has been the topic of a considerable number of dialectal studies in the Arab world due to it realization, which varies from one dialect to another (as mentioned in section 3.4.2.1). The dialectal forms of SA /ʤ/ that have been identified in modern studies are [ʤ], [ʒ], [j] and [g] (Johnstone, 1967; Schmidt, 1974; Ingham, 1982, Holes, 1995; Al-Tamimi, 2001; among others). Two discrete variants are concerned with the distribution of this linguistic variable in the dialects of the Arabian Gulf: the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [ʤ], which corresponds to the SA

pronunciation and the voiced palatal approximant [j], which is the colloquial form used in Gulf Arabic (as mentioned in 2.6).

4.2. The Present Study: The (ʤ) Variable

4.2.1. The (ʤ) variable and lexical classification

During the analysis of data collected for this study, a pattern was found whereby some lexical items were always produced with [ʤ], while others were categorically with [j]. There were other discernible patterns too – particularly the variable realisations used by certain speakers. In order to understand the rational for this variation in the realisation of words with target (ʤ) (also referred to in section 3.4.2.1), the lexical items recorded in this study were divided into three groups so as to isolate any potential lexical factors that might affect realisation: (i) words always realised with [ʤ], (ii) words always realised with [j], and (iii) words realised with [ʤ] or [j]. Incorporating lexical classification of this kind into this study seemed essential to better understand the dialectal differences in KA. The classification used in the present study was adapted from Al-Muhannadi's (1991) study of Qatari Arabic (QA hereafter), with a few modifications necessary to suit the Kuwaiti situation.

Al-Muhannadi's (1991) reports on an investigation of the variation found in the QA dialects. During data analysis, she found that the realisations of words with (q) followed a systematic pattern which led her to classify the target /q/ words so as to identify the conditioning phonological factors behind the different realisations of this variable. To this end, Al-Muhannadi (ibid) proposed an 'ideal' procedure in order to classify the lexicon found in a any Arabic dialect. The first step proposed is to select a SA dictionary and a dialectal dictionary. The next step is to compose a list of lexical

items containing the variable under study (for example the (ʤ) variable), and to search for these lexical items in either or both. If an item is only found in the SA dictionary, it is assigned as a formal or standard item. If the item is only found in the KA dictionary it would be considered a dialectal item. When an item is found in both dictionaries, it is considered a shared item. Finally, if the item is not found in either dictionary, it is considered a loan word.

This procedure could not be followed in this study as there are no KA dictionaries. Instead, one modern SA dictionary was chosen for this study. It was found that when comparing a much older, more traditional dictionary ("lisan elʕarab" (The Tongue of Arabs) by Ibn Manthoor 1369 A.D.) with the modern one used in this study ("ʔal-munʤid fi: ʔal-luɣa al-ʕarabjjia al-muʕa:sˁira" 2000) many contemporary lexical items were simply not registered in the old one (as the word /ʤa:miʕa/ (university). However, the modern dictionary had entries of all the words in the old dictionary in addition to modern entries which did not exist in the early days. Therefore, a modern dictionary was believed to be more suitable in this study.

A list of the lexical items containing the (ʤ) variable found in this study was composed. Each lexical item was searched for in both dictionaries. If the item was found in both dictionaries and the meaning coincided with that in KA, it was labelled as “+standard”; items with a different semantic property were labelled “-standard”. The rational is that semantic difference usually exhibits a higher level of phonological variability (Holes, 1987). There was variation in the degree of semantic difference between some KA items and their equivalents in SA. It was found that some KA lexical items that are shared by SA demonstrate a total mismatch semantically (never

used in their SA semantic representation), others demonstrate a certain degree of relatedness (sometimes used in their SA semantic representation), while some present a semantic match. Tables (4.1) and (4.2) demonstrate examples of lexical items recorded in this study which present semantic mismatch between KA and SA (as found in both dictionaries), and items which show a certain degree of semantic relatedness.

Table 4.1

Items which present a semantic mismatch in KA and SA

Items	Meaning in SA	Meaning in KA
1. /waːʤid/ - KA [waːjid]	Excited – worried	Too much
2. /xadiːʤ/ - KA [xadaːj]	Premature child	fool

Table 4.2

Items which present a certain semantic relatedness in KA and SA

Items	Meaning in SA	Meaning in KA
1. /ʤaːhiz/ - KA [ʤaːhiz]	Ready	Ready – tailored
2. /raʤʤaʔ/-KA [raʤʤaʔ]	Returned (masculine-sing.)	Returned – vomited

According to the "±standard" rule, words in Table 4.2 were assigned "standard" feature according to their semantic reference during the period they are associated with; if /ʤaːhiz/ was used by informants to mean 'ready', it was assigned (+standard), and if it was used to mean 'tailored', then it was assigned "-standard". All items which belong to Table (4.1) were assigned "-standard". This system was proposed by Al-Muhannadi (1991), and the researcher's intuition was the force behind its application, where she believed that the words that match the SA meaning are expected to resemble SA phonologically; on the other hand, words which resemble a mismatch semantically are expected to be different phonologically.

The second criterion used in this study to classify KA words is recency. During the analysis of the words produced with (ʤ) accumulated in this study, this seemed to be relevant to the realisation patterns and categorisation vocabulary using this measure involved two simple steps:

1. Comparing the two dictionaries to check for entries of the words. If the word occurred in both dictionaries then it was labelled "-recent"; however, if the word was not found in the old dictionary it was labelled "+recent". This procedure was found to be very practical and useful criterion for categorising the words. Some words were not only found to be recently presented to KA, but were also recent in SA. These modern SA items were created as a result of the movement towards lexical expansion which was necessary to comply with the needs of an increasingly modern civilization and in that sense is a common phenomenon in other communities where a standard is being developed. These words present technical objects and applications, institutions and modern inventions. Examples would include the words /ʤa:miʔa/ (university), /ʤiha:z/ (equipment), and /miʤhar/ (microscope).
2. The period during which an object was introduced to Kuwaiti society may also have played a major role. The period referred to here relates to the discovery of oil in 1938, as it appears to be the watershed for the development of the industrialised society that is present-day Kuwait: if the word was current in KA before the discovery of oil, it was labelled "-recent"; however, if it was introduced afterwards, it was assigned "+recent". For example the word /maʤala/ (magazine) was found to be "+recent" as it was introduced after the discovery of oil in 1948 (as the first Kuwaiti magazine was published 1958).

Indeed, as a general rule, it seems to be the case that words relating to technology and literacy are mainly labelled "+recent".

It is important to note that words pertaining to religion were invariably found to be bound to the SA form as they represent sanctity and tradition. Therefore, any religious word would be realised with [ʤ] (despite being old words these have a sacred reference and are naturally therefore always produced in the SA form), so that they do not conform to any "±recent" categorisation. A good example of this is the word /ḥaʤ/ (pilgrimage) which is realised by all KA speakers as [ḥaʤ].

Frequency of word usage is the third and final criterion which has also shown to be a factor affecting variability. Frequently used words by all age groups are usually produced in dialectal forms (Al-Amadidhi 1985; Al-Muhannadi 1991). For spoken English, frequency could be calculated through an on-line database of English words. However, such a database which might show words frequency in KA does not exist. One attempt of listing the frequency of written Arabic words was conducted by an organization called 'Qamus' (dictionary) (www.qamus.org) which relied upon words found in Google. Unfortunately, however, the work of 'Qamus' is not helpful to my research since it is far too limited in its scope. For instance, it begins with an analysis of Arabic lexemes and then lists the first 30 items that are most frequently used in Arabic - most of which are mainly prepositions (and hence have no /ʤ/ in them). Another such attempt to calculate frequency distributions in Arabic was an online service called 'ArabiCorpus' which was designed by Dilwarth Parkinson. This service is designed to calculate the frequency of SA words and relies on a large database collected from books and newspapers. Appendix 4 shows a trial-run that

uses this source to find the frequency of words with target /ʤ/ in this study. However, many local Kuwaiti words were not found (as the SA lexical representation of these words differed). In addition, the frequency of word use seemed to be a reflection of the community's culture and tradition. Moreover, this service also proved problematic on account of the differential frequencies between written and spoken vocabulary – in particular the fact that no dialectal forms are used. Frequency was thus calculated independently from the spontaneous recordings obtained as part of the research for this project in this study. If the word was repeatedly found in the speech of all age groups it was considered frequent and assigned "+frequent". By contrast, words which were only found in the speech of particular informants or generations were assigned "-frequent". The drawback of this approach, of course, is that the choice of topic during the interviews may have affected the frequency of occurrence of certain words. Therefore, it was thought to be important that this particular technique of frequency count had to be correlated with native speaker intuition. In this respect, Al-Amadidhi (1985) stated that relying on the researcher's own intuition is the norm regarding Arabic dialectal studies. Moreover, he has claimed that testing these judgments by analysing target words is an important step in the process of testing the veracity of such assumptions. Indeed, close observation of the frequency of spoken words in identifying their lexical classification has shown to be a reliable method for informing dialectal theories (see Labov 1972; Romaine 1984, Al-Muhannadi 1991).

Following the criteria above, the lexical classification of KA items containing the (ʤ) variable fell into the lexical groups presented in Table (4.3) below. This study followed a bottom-up approach, where words occurring in the collected data with target /ʤ/ were grouped according to their realisation ([ʤ] or [j]). Then, the words

which always occurred with [ʤ] were grouped together in one category, those items that were always realised with [j] formed another category, and words which differed in their realisation between [ʤ] and [j] were grouped into a third category (and were later divided into two sub-categories according to the criteria mentioned earlier). The three-way classification criteria were based on Al-Amadidhi's (1985) study, where accordingly each word was assigned "±" for "standard", "frequent" and "recent", thus forming the four groups in Table 4.3. The words from group II and III were found to be produced similarly by all speakers. Groups I and IV are the two groups which show social patterning in their realisation and thus, the different levels of variation presented in Tables (4.4a and 4.4b) reflect the patterns for the words found in these two groups (variation presented in tables 4.4a and 4.4b).Categorising these lexical items enabled the researcher to pinpoint lexemes which do not present any variability (thus they excluded from the analysis), and thus are phonologically identical in KA and SA, and those which, by contrast, exhibit high levels of variability. Accordingly, words which are "+ standard", "+recent" and "-frequent" are believed to be realised with [ʤ] by both groups. On the other hand, words which are "-standard", "-recent" and "+frequent" are found to be realised by both ethnic groups as [j]. When words belong to other categories they are believed to differ in their realisation between [ʤ] or [j] depending on the speaker. The facts presented in this table apply to the speech of most Kuwaitis.

Table 4.3

Classification of KA lexical items

Group	Features	Explanation	Examples
Group I	+standard +frequency - recent	• Follows form and meaning with SA • Frequently used in speech • Old word in KA	➢ SA /nadʒdi/ (from Najd) = KA [nadʒdi] or [najdi] ➢ SA /dʒumʕa/ (Friday) = KA [dʒimʕa] or [jimʕa]
Group II	+standard -frequency + recent	• Follows form and meaning with SA • Not frequently used • New word in KA	➢ SA /madʒarra/ (galaxy) =KA [madʒarra] ➢ SA /ḥadʒ/ (piligramage) = KA [ḥadʒ]
Group III	-standard +frequency - recent	• Does not follow form and meaning with SA • frequently used • Old word in KA	➢ SA /dʒa:hil/ (adj.ignorant) = KA (child) [ja:hil] ➢ SA /madʒa:ni:n/ (pl. crazy) = KA [mija:ni:n]
Group IV	-standard -frequency +recent	• does not follow form and meaning with SA • Not frequently used • New word in KA	➢ SA /dʒa:hiz/ (ready) = KA (tailored) [dʒa:hiz] or [ja:hiz] ➢ SA /tadʒammuʕ/ (cluster) = KA [jamʕa] or [dʒamʕa]

It is worth noting that "standard" and "frequency" alone show a clear correlation. Hence, when the word is "+standard" and "-frequency" it is always realised with [dʒ], while words with "-standard" and "+frequency" are always realised with [j]. However, the use of "±recent" categorisation provides further evidence towards the classification of groups. During the recording of the controlled and interview samples of Kuwaiti speech in both ethnic groups, an average of 68 tokens per speaker with

target (ʤ) were found. The realisations varied between [ʤ] which coincides with the SA realisation and [j] which is the local form. As shown in Table 4.3, the association of [ʤ] or [j] with words were found to be bound to three important factors regardless of ethnicity, age and gender:

1. Words produced by informants which belong to group II were realised by both ethnic groups as [ʤ] as they do not seem to have undergone colloquialisation. This group was assigned "-frequency" as it only occurred in the speech of 11 informants or less. The word that was not found in the speech of the old groups was believed to be "+recent" and for them, the two steps to test whether these words were old or recent were conducted. A good example of this is the SA word /maʤʤala/ (magazine) which was realised by all the speakers in this study as [maʤʤala]. It was found that this word is rarely used by the male group, who showed no interest in this item when they were asked about the things they liked to read. This item was also found to be a new addition to the KA lexicon. Eventually, as these methods remain subjective, the researcher's intuition played the main role in categorising lexemes.

2. Words produced by informants and belonging to group III were all realised with [j]. This group was assigned "-standard" as the words did not correlate semantically with SA. The word was found in the speech of most speakers, from all age groups, and therefore was assigned "-recent" and "+frequent". To further illustrate this factor the word [jait] (I came) was rarely produced as SA /ɪatajt/ or /ʤiɪt/ although it has some similarity to the local form, and the word /rajja:l/ (man) which is realised /raʤul/ in SA.

3. Words produced by informants which belong to groups I and IV varied in their realisation. These words formed the majority of (ʤ) words that were analysed for this study as opposed to words from groups II and III, and the realisation seemed to depend mostly on the speaker's ethnicity, age and gender. Some speakers used [ʤ] for words from group I while others realised it with [j], a good example being those words in group I is SA /ʤa:bir/ ('common male name') realised by Kuwaiti speakers as either [ʤa:bir] (mainly an Ajami realisation) or [ja:bir] (mainly a Najdi realisation). Another example is from group IV, SA /ʤa:ʔiz/ ('possible') realised in KA as [ʤa:jiz] or [ja:jiz]. Therefore, the analysis of the variation in the realisation of (ʤ) was thought to have been caused by words belonging to groups I and IV, as no variation was found in groups II and III which were excluded from the analysis (words with target /ʤ/ in this study are listed in appendix 6).

This attempt at calculating frequency is of course not ideal as it mainly depended on the occurrence of target /ʤ/ in the collected data in this study and is thus limited as no scientific data was found to support it. However, the categorisation is reinforced by the researcher's intuition about frequency, and is the only analysis possible at this time. The percentage of items recorded from spontaneous speech in an average 90 minutes recording session per speaker and which occurred in group II and III were 15.5% for group II and 20% for group III (N=912).

By investigating the (ʤ) variable in the speech of Najdi and Ajami Kuwaitis, it was found that [ʤ] and [j] are indeed the only variants of (ʤ); it was also found that ethnicity, age, gender and lexical status affect the realisation of this variable. These

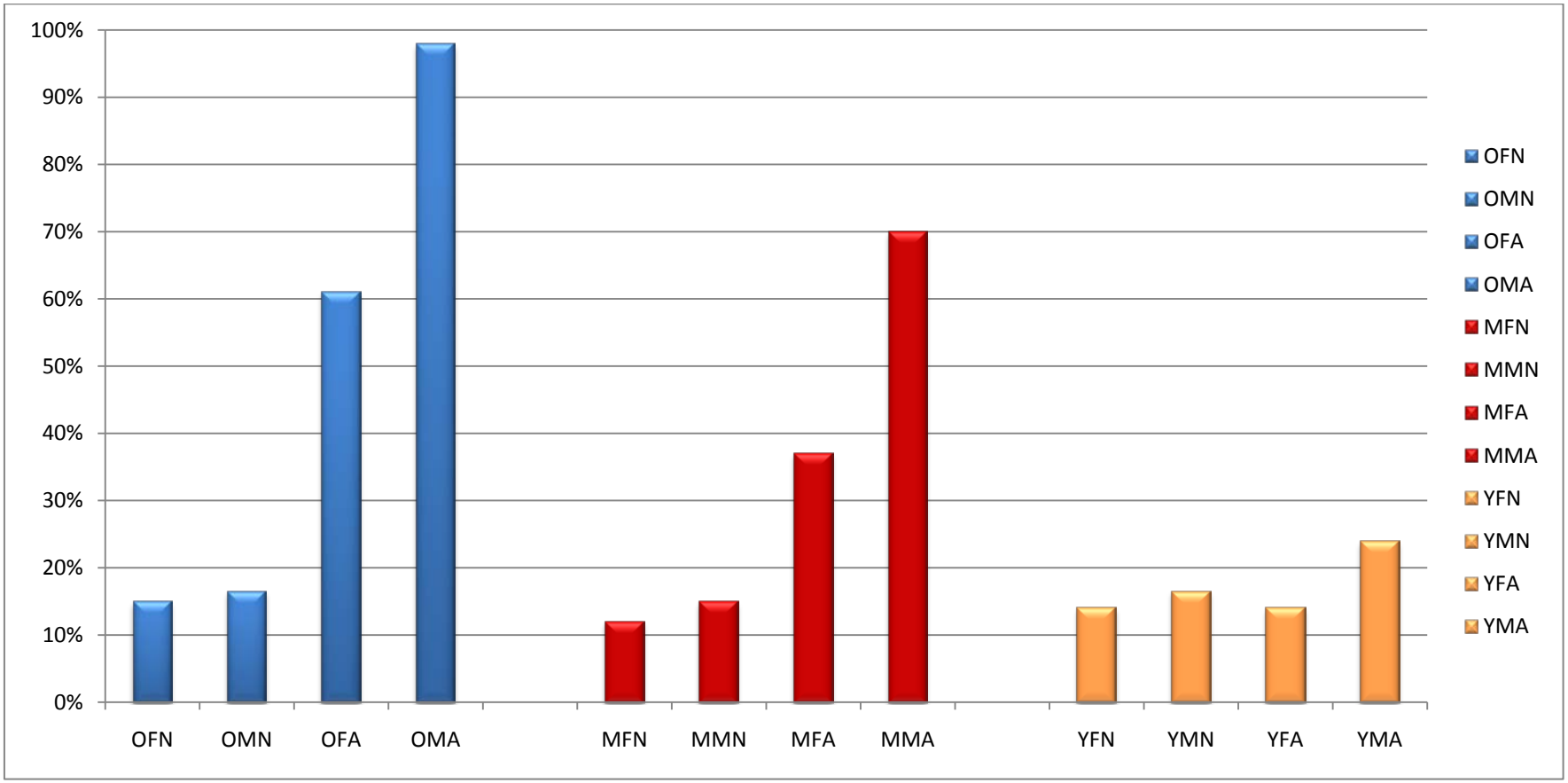
factors interact and display systematic patterns of (ʤ) realisation. Table (4.4a and 4.4b) shows the effect of the interaction of different social variables on the realisation of (ʤ).

4.2.2. Data and statistics for the (ʤ) variable

Figure 4.1a represents the controlled data. This data was collected by conducting the picture elicitation task and the map task. The total number of tokens represented from the controlled data is 1200 (25 tokens per speaker). On the other hand, Figure 4.1b represents the data collected via the interview (defined in sections 3.5.2/3). The total number of tokens collected in this way is 912 (an average of 19 tokens per speaker). Both Figures 4.1a and 4.1b display the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ], (the remaining realisations were [j]'s). The figures represent the informants grouped in terms of gender, age and ethnicity. A three-way mixed factorial ANOVA (ethnicity by age by gender) was calculated on the mean [ʤ] values. Tables (4.4a and 4.4b) below show the significance of the social factors independently and when interacting with each other in the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] at the $p = 0.05$ level. Each social variable is investigated separately within the analysis of each variable in this chapter.

Figure 4.1a [4]

The realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] by ethnicity, age and gender (controlled data)



[4] OFN= old female Najdi, OMN= old male Najdi, OFA= old female Ajami, OMA= old male Ajami, MFN= middle female Najdi, MMN= middle male Najdi, MFA= middle female Ajami, MMA= middle male Ajami, YFN= young female Najdi, YMN= young male Najdi, YFA= young female Ajami, YMA= young male Ajami. This notion will be used throughout the dissertation.

Figure 4.1b

The realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] by ethnicity, age and gender (interview data)

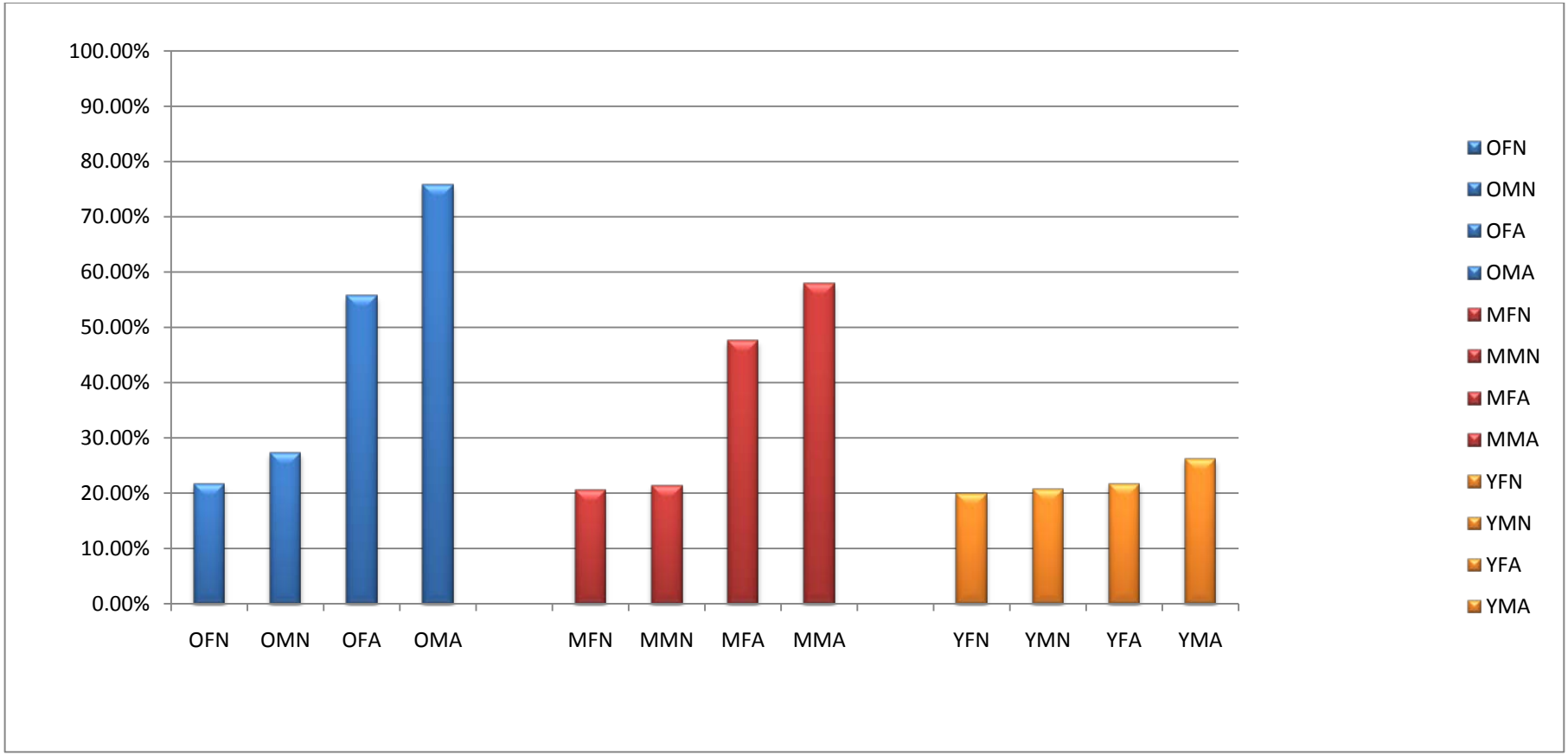


Table 4.4a
Significance of social variables in the realisation of [ʤ] (controlled data)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	34913.906(a)	11	3173.991	92.795	.000
Intercept	52371.047	1	52371.047	1531.125	.000
gender	2586.322	1	2586.322	3.545	.066
age	7391.075	2	3695.537	108.043	.000
ethnicity	15220.426	1	15220.426	444.986	.000
gender * age	422.647	2	211.324	6.178	.005
gender * ethnicity	1668.757	1	1668.757	48.788	.000
age * ethnicity	7238.740	2	3619.370	105.816	.000
gender * age * ethnicity	385.938	2	192.969	5.642	.007
Error	1231.354	36	34.204		
Total	88516.307	48			
Corrected Total	36145.260	47			

Table 4.4b
Significance of social variables in the realisation of [ʤ] (interview data)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	16219.991(a)	11	1474.545	41.681	.000
Intercept	57848.382	1	57848.382	1635.188	.000
gender	547.763	1	547.763	1.487	.229
age	4365.295	2	2182.647	61.696	.000
ethnicity	7768.613	1	7768.613	219.594	.000
gender * age	223.033	2	111.517	5.152	.045
gender * ethnicity	252.313	1	252.313	7.132	.011
age * ethnicity	3005.631	2	1502.815	42.480	.000
gender * age * ethnicity	57.344	2	28.672	4.810	.043
Error	1273.579	36	35.377		
Total	75341.953	48			
Corrected Total	17493.571	47			

4.2.3. The (ʤ) variable and ethnic groups memberships

Since ethnicity is the main social factor under investigation in this study, we start with a representation of the realization of (ʤ) by the two ethnic groups: Najdis and Ajamis. When looking at the data in Table (4.5), which presents both controlled and interview data, one can conclude that the percentage use of [ʤ] differs significantly

between the two. The approximately equal percentage realisations of [ʤ] and [j] in the Ajami speech conceals age and gender differences which will be discussed next.

Table 4.5

The distribution of [ʤ] and [j] by ethnic groups

Ethnic group	Percentage of [ʤ] realisation				Percentage of [j] realisation			
	controlled	N	interview	N	controlled	N	interview	N
Najdi	14.9%	504	22%	309	85.1 %	504	78%	309
Ajami	50.6%	504	47.4%	279	49.4%	504	52.3%	279
Total N		1008		588		1008		588

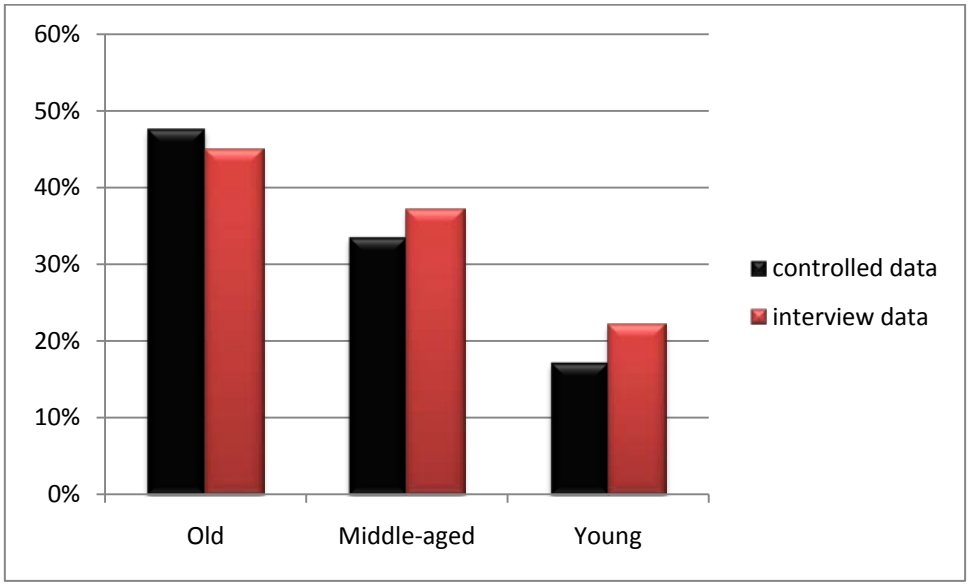
The results in Tables 4.4a and 4.4b above shows that ethnicity is the primary social variable operating on the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] in the controlled data ($F(1,36) = 444.98$, $p < 0.01$) as well as in the interview data ($F(1,36) = 219.594$, $p = <0.01$). The findings are significant at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level. Thus, the realisation of /ʤ/ as [j] is undoubtedly a feature of Najdi speech. The data sets in Table 4.5, however do not present the status of [ʤ] in the Ajami group especially clearly. The two-way interaction between ethnicity and age displays considerable variance amongst the Ajami group. As Najdis do not categorically realise (ʤ) as [j], the need to examine the potential effects for (ʤ) realisation in addition to 'lexical' frequency effects were identified and which were discussed in 4.2.1.

4.2.4. The (ʤ) variable and age groups

Figure (4.2) below displays the percentages of [ʤ] occurrence in the speech of three age groups taken from the controlled and interview data. The percentages in the interview data did not differ significantly from the controlled data. The percentages

only present [ʤ] (the remaining realisations were [j]). Age is a significant factor affecting the realization of (ʤ) as [ʤ]; this could be seen in the one-way analysis of age on the mean realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] in the ANOVA Table 4.4a and 4.4b which displays significance found in the controlled and interview data of $p<0.001$ at the $p = 0.05$ level. The old age group have the highest percentage of [ʤ] use and the young group have the lowest.

Figure 4.2
The realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] by age groups



Further analysis shows that the manner in which age and ethnicity is suggestive of informative data representing language change across the three different generations of Ajami participants. Moreover, it is clear that this tendency is not matched amongst the Najdi speakers since no significant change can be correlated with age in their realisation of these variants. The two-way interaction between age and ethnicity in the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] can be seen in Table 4.4a and 4.4b whereby $F(2,36)$

=105.816 , $p<0.01$ in the controlled data, and $F(2,36)$ =42.480 , $p=<=0.01$ in the interview data. Table (4.6) displays (ʤ) realisation as [ʤ] by age and ethnic groups.

Table 4.6

Realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] by age and ethnic groups

Age groups	Najdi %				Ajami %			
	controlled	N	interview	N	Controlled	N	Interview	N
Old	15%	168	24.2%	114	79.5%	168	65.8%	105
Middle	13.5%	168	21%	99	53.5%	168	52.8%	82
Young	15%	168	20.5%	96	19%	168	24%	92
Total N		504		309		504		279

Table (4.6) emphasises the fact that age does not influence the realisation of (ʤ) in the Najdi group, where one-way ANOVA results show $F(2,21) = .267$, $p= .768$ for the controlled data and $F(2,21)= 1.605$, $p= .225$ for the interview data, which is statistically insignificant at $p = 0.05$. As can be seen from Table 4.3, the percentage use of [ʤ] by the Najdi group is higher in the interview data than that in the controlled data. There are three possible explanations for the difference found in the two data sets. The first, and most probable reason is that the target words in the controlled data (shown in appendix 2) are mostly realised as [j] by Najdis (70.3%). This could be a reflection of a certain bias in the picture elicitation and map tasks in which some words used locally happen to be especially frequent. In addition, the choice of topics which may have led to the use of words with target (ʤ) realised as [ʤ] (discussed further 4.2.5). The final reason could be that which Blanc (1960) found (when recording interviews between Arabs of different nationalities to analyse strategies in the use of the Arabic, namely, SA or dialect) that during interviews, an Arab speaker will tend to 'classicise' and 'level' the dialect. Holes (1987) also agreed and found that in Arabic-speaking societies, there is a tendency to use SA during

interviews. He adds that this tendency, however, is unconscious. However, if this is true, then the controlled data might also reflect formality, and hence SA; therefore, this option is ruled out.

Age has a statistically significant effect on the realisation of (ʤ) by Ajamis, whereby in the controlled data $F(2,21) = 26.156$, $p<0.01$, and, similarly in the interview data $F(2,21) = 42{,}038$ $p<.0.01$ The Ajami data shows gradation, whereby [j] is becoming dominant in the speech of young Ajamis. This could be due to the prestige which is given to Najdi Kuwaitis, and thus their dialect. It could also be due to the belief that [j] reflects the Kuwaiti identity. This will be discussed further in 4.2.5 after all social variables are analysed.

4.2.5. The (ʤ) variable and gender

Table 4.7

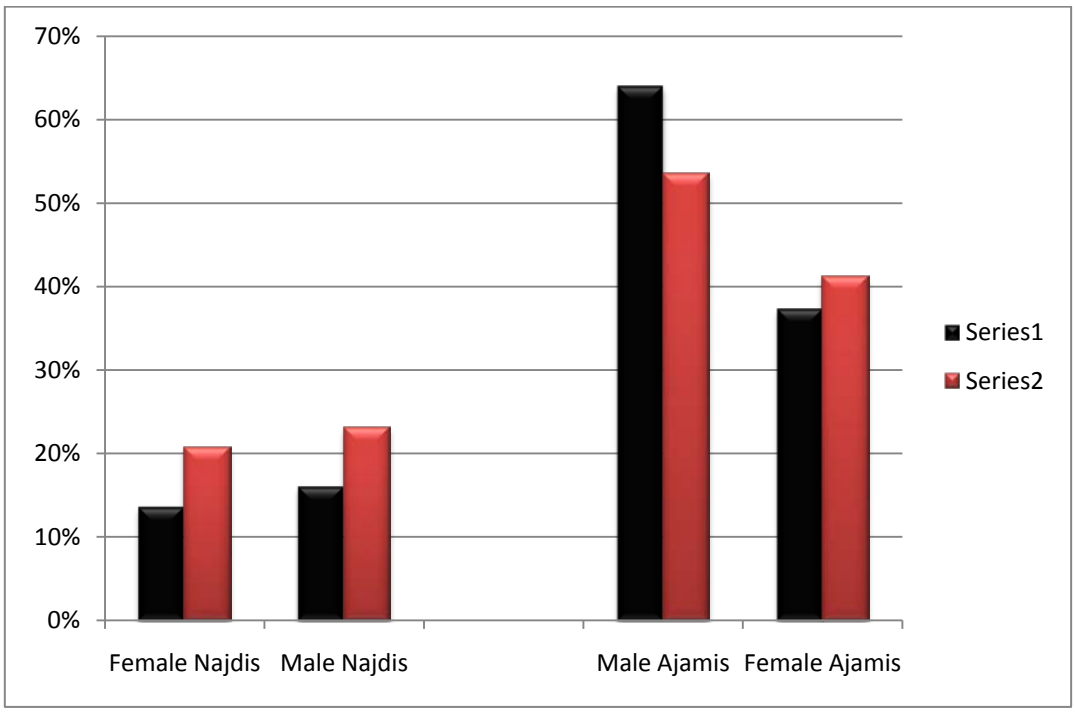
Percentage of (ʤ) realisation as [ʤ] by gender in both ethnic groups

Gender	Percentage of [ʤ] realisation			
	Controlled	N	Interview	N
Male	39.65%	504	38.3%	324
Female	25.45%	504	30.9%	264
Total N		1080		588

Table (4.7) displays the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] as a function of gender. Although the male speakers realise (ʤ) as [ʤ] more often than the female speakers, this difference is not statistically significant (significance tested in one-way ANOVA resulted in $F(1,36) = 3.545$, $p=0.066$ for controlled data and $F(1,36) = 1.487$, $p=0.229$ for interview data). This is due to the fact that gender in the Najdi group appears not to affect the realisation of (ʤ) (see tables 4.4a and 4.4b). The difference between the

male and female Ajami speakers in the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] is greater than that between male and female Najdi speakers, especially in the controlled data. Figure (4.3) below shows the percentages realisations of (ʤ) as [ʤ] in both ethnic groups by gender; it also shows that not only do Ajami speakers realise (ʤ) as [ʤ] more than the Najdi speakers, but also that within the Ajami informants, gender has a significant effect.

Figure 4.3
Percentage of (ʤ) realisation as [ʤ] by ethnicity



A two-way ANOVA (gender by ethnicity as shown in Table 4.8 below), demonstrate that, irrespective of gender there is a highly significant differential in the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] between Ajami and Najdi speakers Thus both male and female Ajami speakers realise (ʤ) as [ʤ] more often than their peers amongst Najdi group.

Table 4.8

Significance of [ʤ] realisation by ethnicity and gender

Female [ʤ] realization

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
controlled data	Between Groups	3404.831	1	3404.831	14.121	.001
	Within Groups	5304.612	22	241.119		
	Total	8709.443	23			
interview data	Between Groups	2610.420	1	2610.420	18.543	.000
	Within Groups	3097.136	22	140.779		
	Total	5707.556	23			

Male [ʤ] realization

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
controlled data	Between Groups	13484.352	1	13484.352	26.102	.000
	Within Groups	11365.143	22	516.597		
	Total	24849.495	23			
interview data	Between Groups	5410.505	1	5410.505	20.425	.000
	Within Groups	5827.746	22	264.898		
	Total	11238.252	23			

Although gender and ethnicity are not significant when investigating the effect of gender on the Najdi group, a one-way ANOVA focusing on gender alone does show that amongst the Najdi group, male Najdi speakers use more [ʤ] than females do (i.e. $F(1,22) = 7.375$, $p=.013$ in the controlled data, and $F(1,22)= 5.000$, $p=.036$ in the interview data). In a further analysis of the speech of Ajami speakers, it is clear (as shown in Table 4.9 below) that gender is a significant factor in the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] amongst this group. Male speakers use [ʤ] more than female speakers do. Hence, a one-way ANOVA on the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] by gender in the controlled data show the significant difference between the sexes ($F(1,22) = 4.983$, $p= 0.036$, while in the interview data $F(1,22) = 4.606$, $p=0.043$) .

Table 4.9

Percentage of Ajami realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] by gender

Gender	Percentage of (ʤ) realisation as [ʤ]			
	Controlled Data	N	Interview Data	N
Male Ajamis	64%	252	53.5%	121
Female Ajamis	37.3%	252	41.2%	158
Total N		504		279

Age also interacts with gender and ethnicity to show a difference in the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ]. As can be seen in Table 4.4a and 4.4b results from the interaction of age, gender and ethnicity shows that $F(2,36) = 5.642$, $p = 0.007$ for the controlled data, and $F(2,36) = 4.810$, $p = 0.043$ for the interview data. Table (4.10) displays the percentages of [ʤ] realisation by the three Najdi age groups, while Table (4.11) displays the percentages of [ʤ] realisation within the three Ajami age groups.

Table 4.10

Percentage of [ʤ] use in the speech of Najdis by gender and age

Najdi age groups	Percentages of (ʤ) realisations as [ʤ]							
	Male Najdis				Female Najdis			
	Controlled data	N	Interview data	N	Controlled data	N	Interview data	N
Old	16.5%	84	27.3%	55	15%	84	21.7%	59
Middle-aged	15%	84	21.4%	43	12%	84	20.2%	56
Young	17%	84	20.5%	45	14%	84	19.9%	51
Total N		252		143		252		166

Table 4.11

Percentage of [ʤ] use in the speech of Ajamis by gender and age

Ajami age groups	Percentages of (ʤ) realisations as [ʤ]							
	Male Ajamis				Female Ajamis			
	Controlled data	N	Interview data	N	Controlled data	N	Interview data	N
Old	98%	84	75.5%	49	61%	84	55.83%	56
Middle-aged	70%	84	57.3%	34	37%	84	48.25%	48
Young	24%	84	26%	38	14%	84	21.9%	54
Total N		252		121		252		158

Although Table (4.10) shows a tendency by the Najdi group to use more [ʤ] in the interview data (reasons of this difference between data explained in 4.2.3), Table (4.11) shows a different pattern. The old and middle-aged (male and female speakers) used less [ʤ] in the interview data, while the both genders of the youngest Ajami speakers followed the Najdi pattern by using more [ʤ] in the interview data. It is speculated that the pattern found in the old and middle-aged Ajami's speech in the interview data is not 'levelled' or 'classicised'. However, the choice of topics in the interview data, and target words in the control data most probably have influenced the percentage of [ʤ] use in their speech. It is also believed that old and middle-aged Ajamis do not 'level' the dialect, in fact, their dialect variant is similar to SA ([ʤ] is the SA realisation) in this case.

There is a significant difference in the realisation of SA (ʤ) in the speech of the three Ajami age groups. The young speakers realise (ʤ) as [j] more frequently than the middle-aged and old Ajami speakers. Young Ajami speakers' patterns are, in fact, similar to those of the young Najdi speakers. This shows that [j] is gradually

becoming a more global feature of the Kuwaiti dialect. Table 4.12 based on a one-way ANOVA of the data shows the significance of age and the tendency to use the SA realisation (ʤ) by the Ajami speakers.

Table 4.12

Significance of age in the realisation of [ʤ] by the Ajami group

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
controlled data	Between Groups	14618.975	2	7309.487	26.156	.000
	Within Groups	5868.549	21	279.455		
	Total	20487.523	23			
interview data	Between Groups	7289.468	2	3644.734	42.038	.000
	Within Groups	1820.729	21	86.701		
	Total	9110.196	23			

4.2.6. Discussion of social significance of the (ʤ) variable

In summary, there are two variants of (ʤ) in KA: the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ʤ] and the voiced palatal approximant [j]. The data collected shows that Najdis used the [j] realisation more than Ajamis, and female Ajamis used the [j] realisation more than the males. On the one hand, age did not significantly affect the realisation of [ʤ] within the Najdi group, for whom age was calculated as $F(2,21) = 0.267$, p=.768 in the controlled data and $F(2,21) = 1.604$, p= 0.225 in the interview data. In addition, gender is also insignificant in the realisation of (ʤ) in the Najdis group for whom one-way ANOVA by gender results show $F(1,22) = 2.844$, p= 0.106 in the controlled data and $F(1,22) = 1.061$, p= 0.314 for the interview data. In addition, in the Ajami group, the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] is decreasing across generations, whereby the old generation shows the highest frequencies of [ʤ] and the young group shows the lowest frequencies of [ʤ].

Ethnicity is one of the main factors affecting the realisation of (ʤ). From the data collected on the social background of the Najdi and Ajami groups (refer to 3.4.1.3), the level of variation was expected to be high as age, gender, social network memberships and prestige would interact and show gradual domination of one of the variants ([j] in the case of KA). How does prestige affect the realisation of the (ʤ) variants? Since the Ajamis in this study first started to use Arabic in its standard form while reciting the Holy Quran and in their prayers, a higher level of [ʤ] realisation was assumed to be typical of the first generation of Ajamis in Kuwait. However, as shown in 3.4.1.3, the Ajami's dialect, as the Baharana, could also be characteristic of the Arabic dialect they picked up during their contact with other Kuwaitis (non-Ajami). According to a middle-aged Najdi:

> *'the use of [ʤ] may have become common with non-Arabs in Kuwait because Kuwaitis use [ʤ] when speaking to them'* (MMN3).

This practice of realising words with [ʤ] in order to 'level' the language (by using the SA realisation) and thus make it easy to understand is still common between Kuwaitis. For example, when speaking to non-Arabs (mostly common when speaking to maids and drivers), Kuwaitis normally realise the word /ʤi:b/ (bring) as [ʤi:b] although it is commonly realised as [ji:b].

Many studies on Gulf dialects investigated the variation of (ʤ) (Johnstone 1967, Al-Amadidhi 1985, Holes 1987, Ingham 1994 among others), the history of using the [j] variant has not received the same attention. However, by asking the Najdi informants about the origin of [j], all informants declared that they have heard their parents and

grandparents use [j], and thus it has been a Kuwaiti dialectal feature for as long as Kuwaitis can remember.

The sociolinguistic questionnaire, conducted after the collection of the quantitative data, investigated the reaction of Kuwaitis towards the different realisations of (ʤ) which reflects stereotypes and certain social values which are subjective (different than the research data collected). Specific questions were asked such as "why do you use [ʤ] not [j]?", "Which realisation sounds better, A or B?", "And why do some people use [ʤ] or [j]?" As ethnicity has been shown to be the most influential social variable affecting the realisation of (ʤ), the analysis of the sociolinguistic questionnaire will begin with the discussion of the effect of ethnicity. When asked why [j] was not always the choice for the realisation of (ʤ), most old and middle-aged Ajamis answered that they did not believe that the realisation of (ʤ) as [j] necessarily reflects the Kuwaiti identity. On the other hand, when asked whether they believe that [j] is a Kuwaiti dialect feature, seven out of sixteen speakers reported that they realise that [j] is a Kuwaiti realisation of (ʤ), yet they also consider [ʤ] to be the natural choice for an Arab. One old male Ajami stated:

> '*the world is small, and we communicate with people from different nationalities, right? [...] Eliminating dialectal differences makes the world smaller...'* (OMA4)

Another question that arose while investigating the realisation of (ʤ) was why [j] was considered more prestigious than [ʤ], or as some Najdi and young Ajamis described it 'more Kuwaiti' than [ʤ]? The history of Najdis and Ajamis can explain

the relationship between prestige and the realisation of (ʤ). The Najdi speakers, who are the establishers of Kuwait, were known by Kuwaitis to be the merchants and people of authority (see 1.2 and 1.3). The Kuwaiti royal family, the Al-Sabahs, are descendants of Najd (see 1.2 and 2.6.4), therefore, the Najdi dialect has assumed greater prestige than any other dialect in Kuwait. By contrast, Ajamis in Kuwait (similar to Ajamis in Bahrain and Qatar who settled in the Gulf in the 20th century as demonstrated by Holes 1987 and Al-Muhannadi 1991) have the lowest social status compared to other ethnic groups because they moved to the Gulf in the early 1920s and their mother tongue was not Arabic. As such their dialect was not considered prestigious. The Najdi informants believed that since [j] was the realisation used by their grandparents, it is the 'Kuwaiti' realisation. The young Ajami informants generally believed that [j] has been widely used by the people of Kuwait for a long time and distinguishes the dialect from many Arab dialects (other than the Gulf and Eastern Arabic dialects as shown in 3.4.2.1).

Another question posed in the sociolinguistic questionnaire was why a certain variant was used in some word, such as why SA /siʤʤa:da/ ('prayer rug') was realised as [siʤʤa:da] or [sijja:da]? (depending on the speaker's realisation). The male Ajamis differed in their response according to their age group. The Old Ajami group participating in this study represent the second generation of Ajamis in Kuwait and their realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] was shown from the results to be the most frequent. However, as [ʤ] was locally less prestigious, this realisation may have decreased in the following generations. They have also been shown to spend more time with their family than the other two generations appears to. All old Ajamis still speak Farsi among family members and friends. However, old Ajamis did not believe their dialect

differed from other Kuwaitis. The old Ajamis did not believe that the [ʤ] realisation presented a 'non Kuwaiti' dialect. Nine old and middle-aged Ajami speakers believe their dialect is not different from the Najdi dialect. An old male Ajami commented:

> *'what's the difference? [siʤʤada] and [sijjada] are the same, it means the same thing'* (OMA1).

Another old Ajami claimed that some of his Najdi friends would realise the word in the same way. This has in fact been shown in this research to be true as the old male Najdi informants used [ʤ] more than the other two Najdi generations.

Although the old male Najdi realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] was not significantly different from the other Najdi groups, it showed higher use of [ʤ]. Therefore, it was essential to ask the old male Najdis about the realisation of (ʤ). One old Najdi commented on the use of [j] by stating 'it is Kuwaiti, but I think it's used more than it used to be. I never heard people say [ta:jir] (merchant for SA /ta:ʤir/) before, now everybody is saying that.' Interestingly, the middle-aged group reacted rather differently. All Najdis realise which there are dialectal differences that correlate with ethnicity in the realisation of (ʤ). Twelve out of sixteen Najdi speakers believe that [ʤ] and [j] realisations present the difference in what is considered to represent Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti speech norms. They believe the realisation of (ʤ) as [j] in the Kuwaiti dialect should be preserved. When one middle-aged male Najdi informant was asked about the reason he used the [j] variant, he commented:

'this is our dialect, our identity. It is what makes us different from others…say Emiratis, Qataris and Bahrainis' (MMN4).

Moreover, the qualitative data also offered insights into the status of [j] and [ʤ]. Thus, during the recording of data, one of the old Najdi female informants asked the researcher about the 'correct' pronunciation of /ʤanna/ ('heaven'). When asked about what she believed is the correct pronunciation she said:

'[janna], you know some would say [ʤanna] but that is not the 'real' Kuwaiti dialect' (OFN4).

It was found that when informants, Najdis in particular, were asked about the 'Kuwaiti' realisation of a word, they would often use the terms 'correct', 'wrong' and 'real' when describing the speech of other Kuwaitis. A middle-aged Najdi informed the researcher that:

'*Najdi is the 'real' Kuwaiti dialect'* (MFN1)

This indicates that some Najdis believe that their dialect reflects their identity as Kuwaitis. Another old female Najdi, for instance, attempted to change her daughter's realisation of /nadʒim/ ('star') from [nadʒim] to [najim]. These incidents display the pride Najdis have in their dialect and the tendency to preserve the [j] realisation. In some words the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] is not only considered less prestigious but also 'not Kuwaiti'. On the other hand when asked about the importance of the [j]

realisation, 20 Najdi speakers stated that [j] should be given attention and adopted to protect the Kuwaiti dialect and identity. A middle-aged female Najdi commented:

> *'the media is making us lose our dialect. Many presenters on TV try to sound Kuwaiti when they're not, the next thing you know your children are speaking in a strange way'* (MFN4).

The link between the Kuwaiti identity and Najdi ethnicity is linked closely to their dialect. Thus, when asked how they felt when they heard non-Kuwaitis speak in the Kuwait Dialect, sixteen out of twenty four Najdi speakers answered that they 'didn't like it', 'didn't sound nice' and 'seemed very wrong'. On the other hand, four Najdi speakers (one old male, two middle-aged females and one young male) believed that this [j] realisation, although it presents the Kuwaiti dialect, should be ignored by Kuwaitis as [ʤ] presents the SA realisation, which is part of being Kuwaiti. An old male Najdi informant commented on the difference in the realisation of (ʤ) by stating:

> '*people before were illiterate and used [j], people today read very little, so they use [j] more. I'm used to using [j], but I don't think [ʤ] is not Kuwaiti, it is the correct Arabic'* (OMN1).

This study has shown that when it comes to the realisation of (ʤ), age is also a main factor. Although the realisation of Najdi speakers was not significantly affected by age, and seemed to preserve the [j] realisation, the Ajami speakers' response was significantly correlated with age. When asked which is more Kuwaiti, [ʤ] or [j], two

out of four middle-aged male Ajamis stated that Najdis would use the [j] realisation more often which is considered the 'Kuwaiti use', but added that they (the Ajamis) have acquired the realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] from their parents and are 'used to it'. These two informants could speak Farsi fluently as they spent a lot of time with their Farsi-speaking parents and family members. The other two middle-aged speakers, who understood Farsi but could not speak it, stated that they would change their realisation if they believed it did not represent KA. However they believed [siʤʤa:da] was KA. The young group did not agree with the old and middle-aged ones, and stated that [j] was the KA realisation. One out of four young male speakers told the researcher that

> *'it is supposed to be [sijja:da], that is correct, did I say [siʤʤa:da]?'*
> (YMA4)

Nevertheless, three out of four young male Ajamis stated that they were not bothered with these differences as even 'Arabs' (the Ajami term for Najdis') sometimes differed in their realisation of /ʤ/. This in fact was proven to be the case in the lexical classification, and will be discussed further later.

The young Ajami group did not differ significantly from the Najdi group in (ʤ) realisation, and differed significantly from the old Ajami group. They also showed a significant difference in the realisation of (ʤ) from the middle aged group. A one-way ANOVA result shows that there is no significance between the Najdi' and young Ajami's realisation of [ʤ] ($F(1,21)= 2.588$, $p= 0.115$ for the controlled data, and $F(1,21)= 1.724$, $p= 0.196$ for the interview data).

The young Ajami groups, male and female, constantly compared their speech to their friends' speech. This led the researcher to ask these groups about the differential amounts of time they spent with their parents/family versus their friends. The answers ranged from one to two hours daily with their parents. All young Ajamis met with their family (grandparents, uncles and aunts) once a week. On the other hand, they all spent a minimum of four hours with their friends. The effect of the social network is reflected in a young female Ajami's response to the question on her friends' ethnicities:

> '*they are from different ethnicities, but I also have many 'Arab' friends, I don't want to sound funny and say [ʤidi:d] ('new'), it would be very strange'* (YFA4).

The young groups of Ajamis and Najdis show more socialising with people from different ethnic groups. However, the middle-aged and old groups seem to do most of their socialising within their own ethnic group.

The young Ajami speakers are the most sensitive group of Ajamis to the variation of (ʤ). When asked about dialectal difference in association with the (ʤ) variable, they confirmed that there are differences in the speech of the older generations of Ajamis and the Najdi dialect. Seven out of eight speakers believe their parents (who belong to the old generation) do not speak Kuwaiti Arabic and believe this is an ethnic issue. Two young female Ajamis considered their parents' 'attempt' at speaking the Kuwaiti dialect 'funny' and 'sometimes embarrassing'. The words 'correct' and 'wrong' were

used often as answers to how a Kuwaiti would pronounce a word with target (ʤ). Thus, when the word was SA /faʤr/ (dawn), two female Ajamis stated that [faʤr] is an Ajami realisation, but the 'correct' realisation is [fajir]. Most young Ajami speakers believe the realisation of [j] should be preserved as a representation of Kuwaiti identity. Hence, one young Ajami female (YFA3) commented on [j] realisation by stating:

> *'[j] is Kuwaiti isn't it? Then of course I will realise (ʤ) as [j]. I am Kuwaiti not Iranian*'.

Aside from ethnicity and age, gender has also been shown to be an influential factor affecting the realisation of [ʤ]. The use of [ʤ] by the Najdi group significantly correlates with the gender variable (see Table 4.7). The realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] in the Ajami group has also indicated significant correlation with gender. As shown in Figure (4.4) below (for the controlled data) in every age group of Ajami speakers, male speakers have a higher frequency of [ʤ] realisation. It is also notable, however, that the changes occurred mostly in male speech. The drop in the use of [ʤ] in the male and female speech is shown in Table 4.13.

Figure 4.4
Realisation of all age groups of Ajamis of [ʤ] by gender (controlled data)

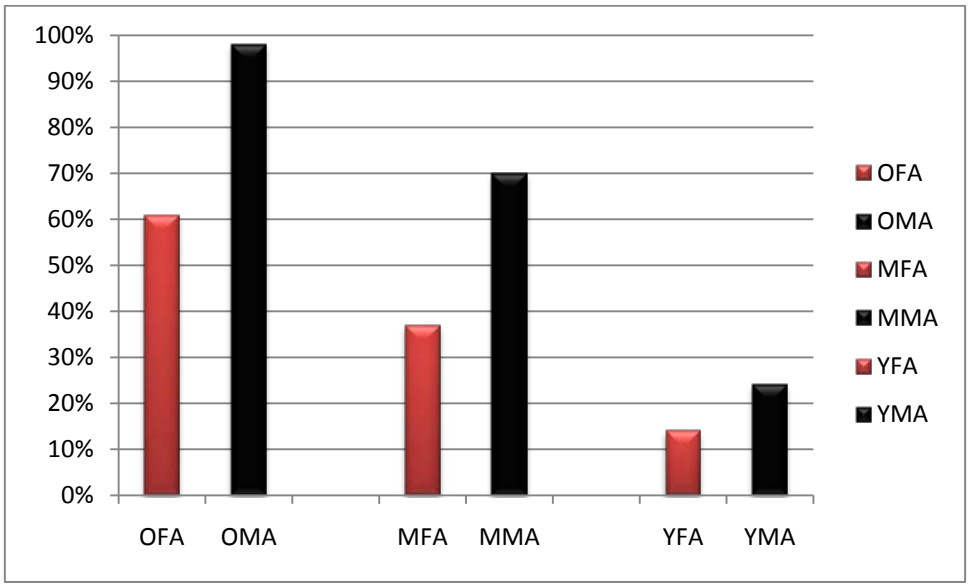


Table 4.13
Drop in the use of [ʤ] by age in the Ajami group

Age goup	Male	N	Female	N
Old & Middle-aged	89% −70% = 19%	83	61% − 37% = 24%	104
Middle-aged & young	70% − 24% = 46%	72	37% − 14% =23%	86
Old & young	89% − 24% = 65%	87	61% − 14% =47%	110
Total N		242		158

The young male Ajamis prefer the use of [j]. When asked which word is Kuwaiti [siʤʤa:da] or [sijja:da], all young male Ajami speakers chose [sijja:da]. One of the young male Ajamis commented:

> '*it's easier to use [j], but if you ask my dad he would say [siʤʤa:da]; he's really an Ajami*' (YMA4).

Another young male Ajami commented that:

> '*everybody but the old people [old Ajamis] use [j]*' (YMA1).

All the young male Ajamis spend most of their time with friends, and they do not understand Farsi either. The young female Ajamis, who show the least use of [ʤ] in the Ajami group, also spend most of their time with friends, and do not understand Farsi. The young female Ajami realisation of [ʤ] displays the sensitivity in this group towards the dialectal differences and language prestige. Here, the prestigious dialect is not necessarily the 'standard' variety (Ibrahim, 1986), the prevailing normative view in KA was set by Najdis and the young Ajamis to associate prestige with the Najdi realisation. In fact, when asked about the different dialects found in Kuwait, the female Najdi and young Ajami groups were able to name the greatest number of dialects (8 dialects), realising dialectal difference within one ethnic group. A good example is their ability to make a distinction between the Zubara (originating from Zubair, a Southern city in Iraq) and other Iraqi dialects, although the difference is very subtle.

Lexical status was shown to have an effect on the realisation of (ʤ). Words belonging to (group II) are always realised with the [ʤ] variant by both ethnic groups. Words in (group III) are always realised with the [j] variant by both ethnic groups. On the other hand, (group I) and (group IV) differ in the level of variability according to the speakers' age, gender and ethnicity. Although the ability to confirm frequency measure was not conducted in an ideal way, recency assisted in organising the groups in a more systematic method. Not only did the speakers respectively realise the words in group II and III using the same variants ([ʤ] and [j]), but they also showed variation in the realisation of (ʤ) in words belonging to group I and IV in a way which correlates with Tables 4.4a and 4.4b. This was evident when an old female

Najdi realised /nadʒim/ (‘star’) as [najim] and her daughter realised it as [nadʒim]. When asked why this word was realised differently, the young female replied ‘my mom is thinking of the male name, which we normally realise as [najim], but I’m thinking of the real star’. In some instances the Najdis would comment on a certain word, for example /murdʒa:n/ (‘coral)’ by stating that ‘it can be realised as [mardʒa:n] or [marja:n], it’s ok’ as this word is also a male name. The differences in these realisations of the same word which represents two different meanings correlate with the lexical classification presented in Table 4.3. The word /mardʒa:n/, for example, is “+standard”, “+frequent” and “-recent” and thus would belong to group I, and could be realised with [dʒ] or [j].

In Kuwaiti Arabic, [j] has not replaced [dʒ]. In fact, lexical classification has shown some words with target /dʒ/ are always realised with [dʒ] while there are others in which [j] predominates. The words that varied in their realisation were correlated with social aspects of ethnicity, age and gender. In these cases, the Najdi realisation seemed to be the most favourable in terms of prestige.

4.3. The (s) Variable in the Environment of Emphasis Spread

Two discrete variants are concerned with the distribution of the linguistic variable (s): the voiceless alveolar fricative [s], which corresponds to the SA pronunciation and the pharyngealised voiceless alveolar fricative [sˤ][5], which is the variant used in the speech of some Kuwaitis. In this study, the SA (sˤ) is not the target phoneme under investigation, rather the use of [sˤ] as a realization of (s) is analysed from both linguistic and social perspectives in a similar manner to that adopted in 4.2.

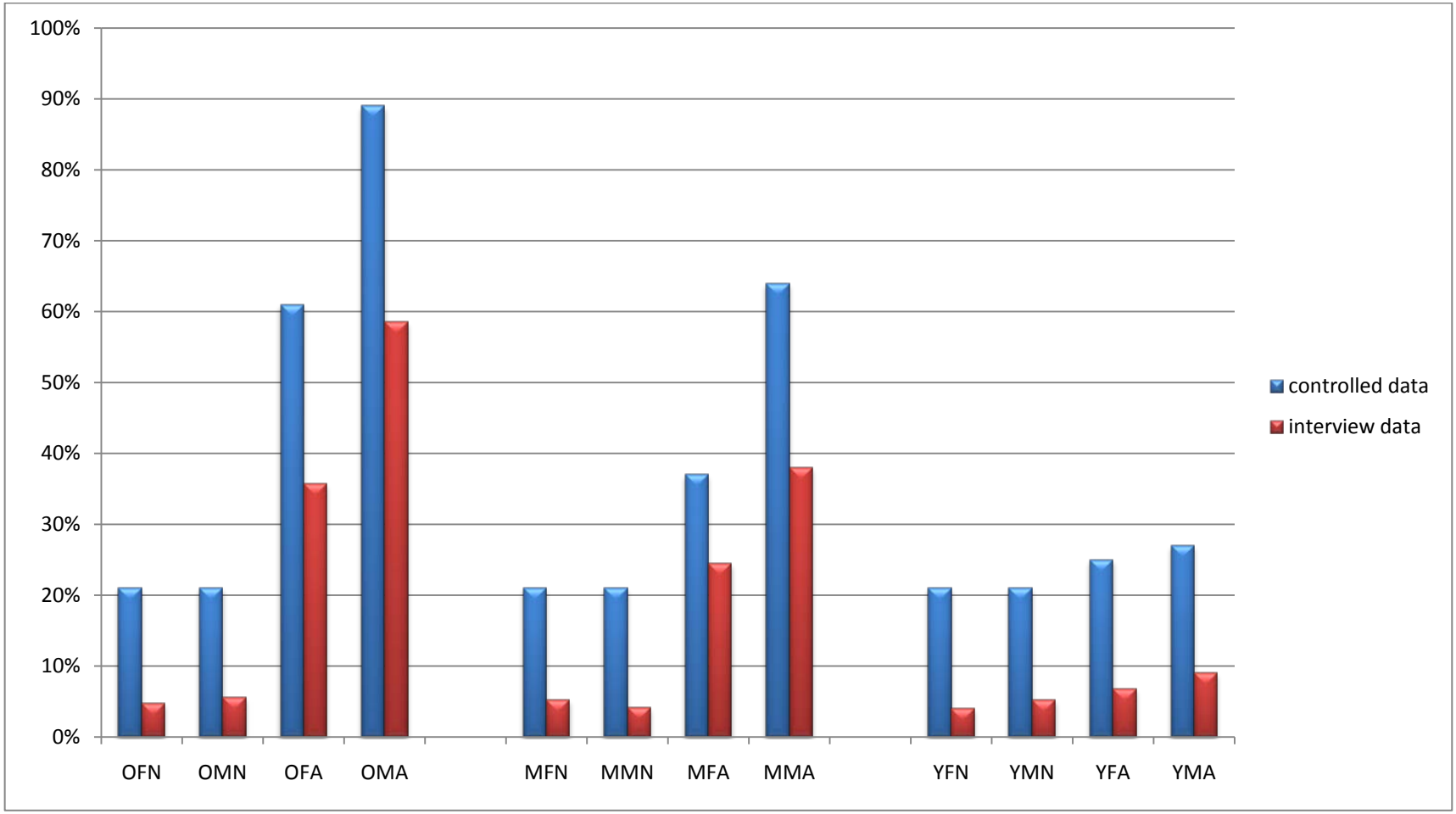
[5] [sˤ] is labeled as a variant because it occurs as a result of co-articulation and also as an accent marker.

On the basis of the results obtained from the pilot study, (ʂ) (featured in plain and emphatic context) has been shown to have two variants in Kuwaiti Arabic: [ʂ] and [ʂˤ]. Therefore, this study investigated the (ʂ) variable in the speech of Najdi and Ajami Kuwaitis. It was found that emphasis spread (as explained in 3.4.2.2) is the main influence behind the use of [ʂˤ], although the ethnic groups do not follow the same pattern of emphasis spread. In addition, ethnicity, age, and gender were found to correlate with the realisation of (ʂ) as [ʂ] or [ʂˤ]. It was also found that these factors interact and display systematic patterns of [ʂˤ] realisation. In addition to /s/ targets, 11 tokens with target emphatic /ʂˤ/ were added to the control data to investigate whether its realisation would differ between speakers.

Figure 4.5 below represents the controlled data and the interview data in the context of primary and secondary emphasis spread. As before, the controlled data (shown in appendix 2) was collected by conducting the picture elicitation and map tasks. The total number of tokens represented from the controlled data with target /ʂ/ in all environments is 1200 (25 tokens per speaker). The total number of tokens collected via the interview method with target /ʂ/ is 868 (an average of 18 tokens per speaker). Figure 4.5 below displays the realisation of (ʂ) as [ʂˤ] (the remaining realisations were [ʂ]'s). The figures represent the informants grouped in terms of gender, age and ethnicity and, as mentioned, the data relies on findings from both controlled and interview sources. A three-way mixed factorial ANOVA (ethnicity by age and gender) was calculated on the mean [ʂˤ] values. Table (4.17a) and (4.17b) shows the significance of the social factors independently and when interacting with each other in the realisation of (ʂ) as [ʂˤ] at the $p = 0.05$ level. Each social variable is

investigated separately within the analysis of each phonological variable in this chapter.

Figure 4.5
The realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in primary and secondary emphasis environments by all informants



4.3.1. The linguistic perspective of the realisation of (s) as [sˤ]

As explained previously in 3.4.2.2, emphatics /sˤ/, /ðˤ/, /tˤ/, and /dˤ/ are not the only phonemes affecting emphasis spread. Other studies have also shown that /r/ in some dialects may have emphasis influence (Blanc 1953; Mitchell 1956; Harrel 1957; Erwin 1964; Cowell 1964; Broselow 1976; Ghazeli 1977, Younes 1982). The findings of these studies show that there are two environments of emphasis spread, namely, primary emphatics /sˤ/, /ðˤ/, /tˤ/, and /dˤ/ and secondary emphatics /r/, /l/, /m/, /b/.

In the present study, primary emphasis spread was, in fact, evident in the speech of both ethnic groups. The informants shared the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] in words which were affected by primary emphasis spread, examples of which are found in Table 4.14 below. However, the only realisation of (s) as [sˤ] by the Najdi group appeared when emphasis spread of primary emphatics /sˤ/, /ðˤ/, /tˤ/, and /dˤ/ had taken affect.

Table 4.14
Words with (s) realised as [sˤ] by both ethnic groups*

	Word in SA	Realisation in KA	Gloss
1	/mistˤara/	[ma**sˤ**tˤara]	'ruler'
2	/musaitˤir/	[mu**sˤ**aitˤir]	'in control'
3	/satˤr/	[**sˤ**atˤir]	'line'
4	/satˤḥ/	[**sˤ**atˤiḥ]	'roof'
5	/tˤa:sa/	[tˤa:**sˤ**a]	'bowl'
6	/satˤar/	[**sˤ**itˤar]	'to line'

* sounds affected by emphasis spread are in bold

However, some words with primary emphatics seemed to be affected by directionality and the impact of the /i/ vowel. For example, words like /tˤis/ ('go away') and /dˤid/

(‘opposite’) were not affected by emphasis spread, where /s/ and /d/ in both words were not influenced by the emphatics /tˤ/ and /dˤ/ preceding them. Thus, as Davis (1995) found in the two Palestinian dialects, emphasis in Kuwaiti dialects is probably also bidirectional and asymmetrical. Accordingly, while the dialects are unbound leftwards as in / satˤar/ (‘to line’) which is realised by Kuwaitis as [sˤitˤar], they would also be affected by emphasis spead rightwards unless they are bound by [i], which blocks emphasis spread. However, further investigation is needed to reinforce this proposal. Although a combination of acoustic and auditory analysis is the ideal procedure to investigate emphasis spread, it was impossible to conduct acoustic analysis. The reason behind this is that all Kuwaiti buildings are air-conditioned, and since it was impossible to turn the air-conditioner off during the summer heat; background noise of an air-conditioner negatively affected the quality of the recording for acoustic purposes, and thus auditory judgment was the most appropriate analysing procedure.

Apart from the unequivocally emphatic sounds (/sˤ/, /ðˤ/, /tˤ/, and /dˤ/) which exhibited emphasis spread to a target /s/, emphasis spread was also evident in the speech of Ajamis in words with either a voiced alveolar trill [r] or voiced velar plosive [g] which will therefore be referred to in this study as secondary emphatics. In Table (4.15) a sample of the target /s/ words realised only by Ajamis as [sˤ] (as Najdis realised these words with [s]) are listed. Words 1 to 5 from Table (4.15) are examples of the effect of /r/ in regressive (leftward) emphasis. The realisation of (s) as [sˤ] here seems to be affected by the predorsum lowering and backing required by a following /r/. However, words like /risa:la/ (‘letter’) and /rasma/ (‘drawing’) were realised with [s] by both ethnic groups, which shows that there is no progressive

(rightwards) emphasis with [r]. Although this phonetic explanation implies that the /r/ emphasis would affect the speech of all Kuwaitis, as in the Iraqi dialect (Younes 1994:217), /r/ co-articulation seems to be only exhibited in the speech of some Kuwaitis, i.e. the Ajamis.

Another neighbouring consonant that influenced the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] is /g/. The voiced velar plosive /g/ is not one of the phonemes of the consonantal inventory of SA but is one of the reflexes of /q/. As mentioned in 2.6.1, the voiceless uvular stop has many reflexes in Arabic such as /k/, /g/, and /ʔ/ (Cantineau, 1960, p.60); /q/ and its reflexes in different Arabic dialects have been discussed in great detail in 2.6.1. It appears from the examples given from 7 to 11 in Table (4.15) that /g/ has a regressive and progressive emphatic effect on the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] in the speech of Ajamis. Because /g/ is velar, it might lead to the same effect as emphasis spread in the production of speakers who are already more predisposed to exhibit emphasis spread in their realisations (i.e. the Ajamis). Thus, in environments that are not strong contexts for emphasis spread (secondary emphatics), the probability of that happening in the realisations of certain groups may be swayed by their behaviour in the context where emphasis spread is taken for granted.

Another example of emphasis is shown in the word /raʕs/ (‘head’) (word 6 in Table 4.15) realised by Najdis as [ra:s] and by Ajamis as [ra:sˤ]. The glottal stop /ʔ/ deletion and prolongation of the preceding vowel in this context is found in many Arabic dialects. Emphasis in [sˤ] here is either due to the presence of a word containing /r/ initially, or it might be affected by the underlying /ʔ/. However, a word like /faʔs/ (‘axe’) undergoes glottal stop deletion and prolongation of the preceding

vowel, and it is realised in KA as [fa:s], thus, it does not exhibit emphasis in KA. Therefore, the realisation of /raʔs/ as [ra:s] by Ajamis most probably shows the emphatic influence of /r/.

Table 4.15

List of words with /s/ realised as [sˁ] by the Ajami group

	meaning	**word in SA**	**Ajami realisation**
1.	'Secret'	/sir/	[sˁir]
2.	'City in Kuwaiti'	/surra/	[sˁurra]
3.	'Pants'	/sirwa:l/	[sˁirwa:l]
4.	'theatre'	/masraḥ/	[masˁraḥ]
5.	'Kuwaiti family name'	/el misri:/	[el misˁri:]
6.	'head'	/raʔs/	[ra:sˁ]
7.	'To measure'	/jaqi:s/	[jigi:sˁ]
8.	'To water'	/jasqi:/	[jasˁgi:]
9.	'driver'	/sa:ʔiq/	[sˁa:jig]
10.	'roofed'	/masqu:f/	[masˁgu:f]
11.	'roof'	/saqf/	[sˁigaf]

Another word which exhibited emphasis is /misma:r/ ('wall nail') realised by Ajamis as [musˁma:r]. Not only was /s/ realised as [sˁ] in this word, but the vowel was also realised as a rounded back [u]. Both vowel and consonant could be affected by the alveolar trill /r/ (regressive emphasis as shown above). However, this requires further investigation to investigate the vowel position. The bilabial nasal consonant /m/ is not considered as a secondary emphatic in the speech of Ajamis as in other words such as

/maɣsala/ (‘sink’) and /masmu:ḥ/ (‘allowed’) which have /m/, no emphatic effect is shown although /m/ proceeds /s/. Therefore, it is expected that regressive or progressive co-articulation caused by /m/ does not exist in the Kuwaiti dialect. As there are only very few words with bilabial /m/ in an environment where there are no velar /g/ or /r/ emphatics, this hypothesis requires further investigation.

The target words that contain /s/ but no primary emphasis spread, or secondary emphatics /r/ and /g/ are realised by all Kuwaiti speakers as [s]. Table 4.16 shows some words with target /s/ which were realised by Najdis and Ajamis as [s].

Table 4.16
Words with /s/ realised by both groups with [s]

	meaning	**SA target**	**Kuwaiti realisation**
1.	‘Washed’	/ɣasal/	[ɣisal] or [ɣasal]
2.	‘Drew’	/saḥab/	[siḥab] or [saḥab]
3.	‘Knife’	/sikki:n/	[siʧʧi:n]
4.	‘Safe’, ‘masculine name’	/sa:lim/	[sa:lim]
5.	‘poison’	/sam/	[sim]

Table 4.17a
Significance of social variables in the realisation of [sˤ] (controlled data)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	34913.906(a)	11	3173.991	92.795	.000
Intercept	52371.047	1	52371.047	1531.125	.000
gender	2586.322	1	2586.322	75.614	.000
age	7391.075	2	3695.537	108.043	.000
ethnicity	15220.426	1	15220.426	444.986	.000
gender * age	422.647	2	211.324	6.178	.005
gender * ethnicity	1668.757	1	1668.757	48.788	.000
age * ethnicity	7238.740	2	3619.370	105.816	.000
gender * age * ethnicity	385.938	2	192.969	5.642	.007
Error	1231.354	36	34.204		
Total	88516.307	48			
Corrected Total	36145.260	47			

Table 4.17a
Significance of social variables in the realisation of [sˤ] (interview data)

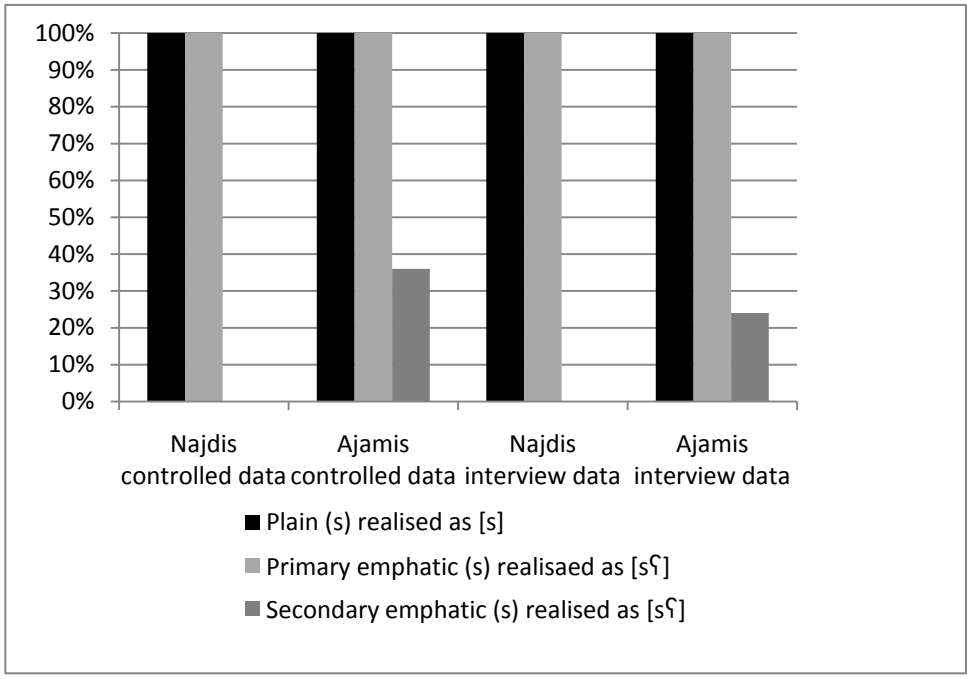
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	16219.991(a)	11	1474.545	41.681	.000
Intercept	57848.382	1	57848.382	1635.188	.000
gender	547.763	1	547.763	15.484	.000
age	4365.295	2	2182.647	61.696	.000
ethnicity	7768.613	1	7768.613	219.594	.000
gender * age	223.033	2	111.517	4.152	.045
gender * ethnicity	252.313	1	252.313	7.132	.011
age * ethnicity	3005.631	2	1502.815	42.480	.000
gender * age * ethnicity	57.344	2	28.672	5.810	.043
Error	1273.579	36	35.377		
Total	75341.953	48			
Corrected Total	17493.571	47			

4.3.2. The [sˤ] variant and ethnic group membership

Internal linguistic constraints (such as phonological environment) proved to be an important factor affecting the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ]. However, it was also found that social influences (such as age, gender and ethnicity), show that the speech of Ajamis exhibits emphasis spread more than that of Najdis (as in the case of secondary emphasis of /r/ and /g/). Thus, ethnicity is an important factor in the realisation of (s) as [sˤ]. As mentioned in 4.3.1, the only realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in the Najdi group

was as a result of primary emphasis spread. Tokens with target /sˤ/ were also collected to investigate its realisation in KA, nonetheless, no variation was found in the realisation of /sˤ/ (results shown in 4.19). However, the Ajami group differs in their realisation of /s/. Figure (4.6) below shows the difference between the Ajami group and the Najdi group in the realisation of (s) within target words that contain /s/. The realisations are divided into three groups: in the environment of primary emphatics, secondary emphatics, and non-emphatic environments.

Figure 4.6
Realisation of (s) by ethnic groups



It is clear from Figure (4.6) that Ajamis realise (s) as [sˤ] more than Najdis do, as only Ajamis realise (s) as [sˤ] in the environment of secondary emphatics. The significance mean as obtained for the realisations of words with target /s/ from a one-way ANOVA with ethnicity as an independent variable, shown in Table 4.17a and 4.17b on the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] shows that in the control data $F(1,36)= 444.986$,

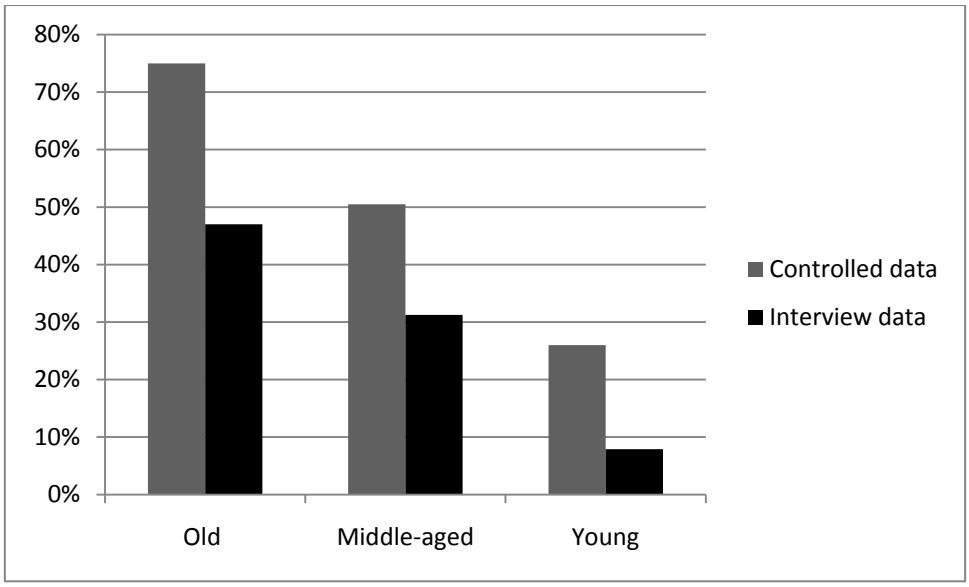
$p<0.001$, and in the interview data $F(1,36)= 219.594$, $p<0.001$. These differences reflect a high level of significance variance between the two ethnic groups.

4.3.3. The [sˤ] variant and age groups

As the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] out of the context of primary emphasis spread is only a feature of the Ajami group (as seen in 4.3.2), the analysis of the interaction of age and ethnicity is limited to the Ajami group (degree of emphasis is not included in this analysis and will be analysed in 4.3.4 as it has been found to be affected by gender as a social variable).

In Figure (4.7) below, the differences in the percentage of [sˤ] and [s] realisation is shown in the speech of the Ajami group by age in the environment of secondary emphasis. Results from a two-way ANOVA show an interaction between age and ethnicity in the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] ($F(2,36)= 105.816$, $p<0.001$ for the controlled data, and $F(2,36)= 42.480$, $p<0.001$ for the interview data). Consequently, there is a significant difference in the realisation of (s) by Ajamis when comparing age groups.

Figure 4.7
The realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in primary and secondary emphasis in the Ajami group by age



The old informants have the highest level of [sˤ] realisation in both primary and secondary emphasis environments (75% in the controlled data (N=112), and 47.17% in the interview data (N=43)), while the young generation have the lowest (26% in the controlled data, and 7.9% in the interview data). The percentage use of [sˤ] in the environment of primary and secondary emphatics by young Ajamis and young Najdis was analysed in a one-way ANOVA with ethnicity as a dependent variable by mean of the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] results show that in the controlled data $F(2,14) = 1.968$, $p = 0.183$, and in the interview data $F(2,14) = 2.196$, $p = 0.160$, where $p<0.05$ is significant. Thus, with a less frequent realisation of (s) as [sˤ] by the young Ajamis, the difference between the young Najdis and Ajamis is insignificant. Table 4.18 displays the percentage of the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in the environment of emphasis spread by the Ajami group by age.

Table 4.18

The realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in primary and secondary emphasis in the Ajami group by age

Age group	Controlled data	N	Interview	N
Old	75%	112	47.17%	43
Middle-aged	50.5%	112	31.25%	37
Young	26%	112	7.9%	56
Total N		336		136

4.3.4. The [sˤ] variant and gender

There are two main points to explore in relation to the interaction between gender and the realisation of (s) as [sˤ]: the first is concerned with the degree of emphasis and the studies which show that male speakers exhibit emphasis realisation more strongly than female speakers do (Khan, 1994); the second is concerned with the interaction of gender, age and ethnicity in the realisation of (s). In a study conducted on Cairene Arabic, Lehn (1963:31) found that the degree of emphasis differs between speakers and between dialects. The author reported that in Cairene Arabic, emphasis is found to be a characteristic of men's speech more than women's, and that even the effect of emphasis spread is not similar across gender. Lehn, however, does not support this statement with any experimental study. Khan (1975) conducted an acoustic investigation to test Lehn's statement by specifically comparing male and female speakers of Cairene. She found that F2 values of the vowel following the emphatic were not lowered in the same degree for the two genders. The difference between the F2 values followed by a plain consonant and F2 followed by an emphatic, she added, was higher for males compared to female speakers. She concluded that men 'emphasise' more than women. Male speakers seem to differ in their degree of emphasis from female speakers. In order to investigate the degree of emphasis, the

words with target /s/ and /sˤ/ are illustrated in Table (4.19), which displays some of the words with target /s/ and /sˤ/ that were used during the recordings of the speech of Kuwaitis in the controlled and interview data. In the table, the target words with /s/ were divided into four groups: plain /s/, /s/ in primary emphatic, and /s/ in secondary emphatic environments.

Table 4.19
List of words with target /s/ and / sˤ/

Words with plain (s)	meaning	Words with primary emphatic (s)	meaning	Words with secondary emphatic (s)	meaning	Words with (sˤ)	meaning
/kirsi:/	chair	/mastˤara/	Ruler	/sirwa:l/	pants	/sˤaxla/	Goat
/sa:lim/	Safe	/satˤiḥ/	Top	/misma:r/	nail	/sˤuwar/	Pictures
/sidʒdʒada/	Rug	/musajtˤir/	In control	/sufra/	a spread	/ba:sˤ/	Bus
/masdʒid/	Mosque	/tˤa:sa/	Bowl	/ra□s/	head	/sˤubuɣ/	Paint
/maɣsala/	Sink	/musatˤtˤaḥ/	Flat	/saqf/	ceiling	/masˤr/	Egypt
/misba:ḥ/	Beads	/satˤir/	Line	/rasam/	painted	/sˤabu:n/	Soap
/nisir/	Eagle	/basi:tˤ/	Simple	/ilmisri:/	surname	/sˤa:jiɣ/	Goldsmith
/saxxa:n/	Heater			/alma:s/	diamond	/sˤamɣ/	Glue
/sim/	poison			/satˤiḥ/*	roof	/sˤalb/	Solid
/ɣasal/	Washed			/marsa/	harbour	/migasˤ/	scissors
/sad/	Dam			/ḥasra/	sorrow	/risˤa:sˤa/	Bullet
/sir/	Secret			/masraḥ/	theatre	/qasˤdi:r/	Foil
/sair/	Rubber band			/sari:ʕ/	fast	/sˤabr/	Patience
/sillam/	Stair			/rasu:l/	messenger	/sˤaif/	Summer
/sir/	Secret			/faras/	horse	/sˤafar/	Arabic month
/saḥab/	Pulled			/sarḥa:n/	dispresive	/sˤaff/	Class
/dʒisir/	bridge			/musrif/	waster	/nasˤir/	win
/ɣassala/	washing machine			/jisgi/	to water	/sˤagir/	Falcon
/asma:k/	fish			/surra/	city name	/ʕabdinna:sˤir/	male name
				/kirsi/	chair	/ɣawwa:sˤ/	diver
				/jaqsim/	divide		

*Shaded words are from the controlled data, the remainder are from the interview data
** realised by Najdis as [sitˤaḥ]

Although the ideal method of investigating the differences in the degree of the realisation of /s/ and /sˤ/ is the use of a combination of auditory an acoustic analysis, this could not be achieved in this study for reasons mentioned previously. This affected the ability to analyse data acoustically. Thus, in order to look at gender differences in the realisation of /s/ and /sˤ/, only auditory judgement were conducted. Table 4.20 displays the descriptive statistics of the realisation of /s/ and /sˤ/ obtained from both the controlled and interview data. The reason the two data sets were combined in this Table is that primary emphatics in each set represented a small number; thus in combining the two data results, a better representation of the patterning of primary and secondary emphatics were obtained. The table divides the speakers into four groups: male Najdis, female Najdis, male Ajamis, and female Ajamis. The realisations are divided into three groups [s], [sˤ], and [sˤ]^{m} (with less emphasis). The third group was originally combined with the fully emphatic realisations but is looked at in more detail here due to the smaller degree of emphasis found in the realisation of [sˤ], and was therefore labelled 'medium [sˤ]'.

Table 4.20
The realisation of /s/ and /sˤ/

Group	Realisation of plain /s/	N	Realisation of /s/ in secondary emphatics	N	Realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] in primary emphasis spread	N	Realisation of /sˤ/	N
MN	100% [s]	266	100% [s]	212	75% [sˤ] 25% [sˤ]^{m}	31 10	100% [sˤ]	239
FN	100% [s]	289	100% [s]	220	100% [sˤ]^{m}	40	100% [sˤ]	247
MA	100% [s]	253	52% [s] 38% [sˤ] 10% [sˤ]^{m}	91 67 18	80% [sˤ] 20% [sˤ]^{m}	32 8	100% [sˤ]	194
FA	100% [s]	276	74% [s] 8% [sˤ] 18 [sˤ]^{m}	158 17 38	24% [sˤ] 76% [sˤ]^{m}	10 32	100% [sˤ]	224
Total N		1084		821		163		904

The results obtained in Table (4.20) echo the studies conducted by Lehn (1963) and Khan (1975) which state that male speakers exhibit a higher degree of emphasis than female speakers do. A one-way ANOVA with gender as a dependent variable calculated on the mean of the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] values results shows that $F(1,36)= 75.614$, $p< 0.001$ (N= 672) in the controlled data, and $F(1,36)= 15.484$, $p< 0.001$ (N= 313) in the interview data. Consequently, male Kuwaiti speakers exhibit emphasis more than their female peers. While comparing the realisation of male and female speakers in their realisations of /s/ as [sˤ], the researcher realised that only through normalization could these realisations be confirmed so as to avoid the interference of physiological reasons known to affect the production and perception of [sˤ]. A future study is recommended to support these results by acoustic analysis ideally in laboratory conditions but at the very least in private settings with minimal background noise.

Table 4.19 also shows that Najdi speakers exhibit less emphasis than Ajamis across generations in both genders in a primary emphatic environment. It is also clear that there are differences in the realization of (s) as [sˤ] or [sˤ]^{m} within the Ajami group. The realization of (s) as [sˤ] in a secondary emphatic environment is common in the two Ajami genders. However, not only do male Ajamis generally exhibit emphasis more than females ($F(1,22) = 4.533$, $p=0.045$ (N= 336), in the controlled data, and $F(1,22) = 4.625$, $p= 0.043$ (N= 136) in the interview data as shown in Table 4.20 below), but the male group exhibits fewer cases where /s/ was judged to have medium emphatic quality than female Ajamis. A one-way ANOVA (gender) shows that $F(1,22) = 5.682$, $p=0.026$ (N= 471) in the combined data. The difference between the degree of emphasis of Najdis and Ajamis in target words with primary emphasis is not

statistically significant, where a one-way ANOVA (ethnicity) on the mean of the emphasis degree in a primary emphatic environment values results show that $F(1,36) = 2.906$, $p = 0.95$ (N= 163) in the combined data. Yet, the significance in the realization of (s) is very interesting when comparing the two female groups (Najdi and Ajami), it was found that Female Najdis always exhibit medium emphatic quality of /s/ in a primary emphatic environment, as opposed to 75% of medium [sˤ] in the speech of female Ajamis ($F(1,22) = 536.722$, $p<0.001$ in the combined data where N= 82); and old female Ajamis have the fewest realisations of medium [sˤ] (an average of 69%). As for the Najdi group, when emphasis occurs in the environment of primary emphatics, male Najdis show a higher degree of emphasis than female Najdis, where a one-way ANOVA with gender as a dependent variable results show that $F(1,22) = 964.165$, $p<0.001$ (N= 81) in the combined data.

Table 4.21

The realisation of [sˤ] in secondary emphatics by the Ajami group by gender

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
controlled data	Between Groups	100.042	1	100.042	4.533	.045
	Within Groups	485.583	22	22.072		
	Total	585.625	23			
interview data	Between Groups	1477.370	1	1477.370	4.625	.043
	Within Groups	7027.189	22	319.418		
	Total	8504.560	23			

When gender interacts with age, results show that there is a significant difference within every age group across gender. Although the young female generation is closest in the realisation of /s/ to the Najdi group, the difference between the young female Ajami and the Najdi group is significant. This is shown by the results of a three-way ANOVA age (young Najdis and young Ajamis) by gender by ethnicity on the mean calculated on the realisation of (s) values, where $F(2,12) = 9.000$, $p=0.024$

in the controlled data, and $F(2,12) = 18.000$, $p<0.001$ in the interview data. Table (4.22) shows the percentages of [sˤ] realisation for /s/ in the context of secondary emphatics between the two genders in the three age groups of Ajami speakers.

Table 4.22
The realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] in primary and secondary emphatic environments by the Ajami group by age

Age group	Male realisation		Female realisation	
	Controlled data	Interview data	Controlled data	Interview data
Old	73% (N= 56)	58% (N= 14)	54% (N= 56)	35% (N= 29)
Middle-aged	53% (N=56)	35% (N= 14)	34% (N= 56)	20.3% (N= 23)
Young	26% (N=56)	5% (N= 20)	15% (N= 56)	3.7% (N= 36)
Total N	168	48	168	88

It is also worth noticing that the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] in the context of secondary emphatics shows the greatest drop in the speech of young male Ajamis. Although female Ajamis use less [sˤ] in the environment of secondary emphasis spread, the decline across generations is greater in the male group. This is clear in Table 4.23 which shows the decline in the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in the Ajami group across age and gender in the controlled and interview data.

Table 4.23
Drop in the use of [sˤ] by age and gender in the Ajami group

Age groups	Data type	Male	Female
Old & Middle-aged	controlled	22% difference (N= 112)	24% difference (N= 112)
	interview	20% difference (N= 28)	15.5% difference (N= 52)
Middle-aged & young	controlled	43% difference (N= 112)	23% difference (N= 112)
	interview	22.5% difference (N= 34)	14.8% difference (N= 59)
Old & young	controlled	65% difference (N= 112)	47% difference (N= 112)
	interview	49% difference (N= 34)	30.3% difference (N= 65)

The difference between controlled and interview data is significant (p<0.001). This could be due to the element of surprise in the controlled data and speed of showing the slide pictures. During the interview, informants would have the time to choose their words, yet during the controlled data, the pictures are shown with speed so as to obtain the most reliable data possible. Another reason could be that the number of tokens in the primary and secondary environments differs from one speaker to another. Therefore, when the number of words is small, one realisation would account for a significant percentage. For example, if only two words in secondary emphasis occurred by one speaker, and one of them was realised with [sˤ], then the percentage of secondary emphasis would be 50%. I believe the second reason is the most probable, as it reflects the situation perfectly. Nevertheless, the significance in the realisation of /s/ was generally the same in both data results.

4.3.5. Discussion of social significance of the realisation of (s) as [sˤ]

As studies on secondary emphasis show that it differs according to dialect, and no studies on emphasis spread on KA was conducted, it is essential to investigate the social effects which influenced the production of (s) variants in Kuwaiti Arabic. Since the Ajami speakers are the only group to realise SA (s) as [sˤ] outside the boundaries of primary emphasis spread, the answer may lie in aspects of the Ajami linguistic background.

The old Ajami group participating in this study are the second generation of Ajamis in Kuwait. Their parents are the first generation, who came to Kuwait in the early 1920s with almost no knowledge of Arabic. Their mother tongue was Farsi or a dialect of Farsi which generally consists of the same set of phonetic inventory as Arabic

(appendix 6 displays the Farsi inventory). In order to understand characteristics of the Ajami dialect, one should understand the historical background that led to language contact between Farsi and Arabic and that may have influenced language production. Thus, it is important at this point to investigate the effect of Farsi on the Kuwaiti Ajami dialect. For a long time, and during the early days of Islamic conquest from 750-1275, Arabic became a dominant and prestigious language in the Persian provinces (for more see Hourani & Ruthven 2003; Esposito). Although this situation changed during the thirteen century, the intensive contact between the two cultures led Persians to adopt a considerable amount of loan words from Arabic, most of which are still used (Versteegh, 1997).

The Farsi consonant inventory is similar to the Arabic consonant inventory; one difference is the addition of four sounds (p, ʧ, ʒ, g). Another distinction, which may be of importance to this study, was caused by the merging of Arabic consonant inventory with Farsi during the process of borrowing which created an ambiguity between emphatics and pharngyeals and their cognates (Al-Nasser, 1993). Accordingly, Arabic /tˤ/, /s/ and /sˤ/ are realized by Farsis as [s], e.g. SA /sˤa:ḥib/ (‘friend’) is realised in Farsi as [sa:hib]; Arabic /t/ and /tˤ/ are realised in Farsi as [t], e.g. SA /tˤa:hir/ (‘clean’) is realised in Farsi as [ta:hir]; in addition, Arabic /ð/, /dˤ/, /ðˤ/, and /z/ are realized by Farsis as [z], for example SA /ða:hir/ (‘clear’) is realised by Farsi speakers as [za:hir]; Arabic /q/ and /ɣ/ are realised in Farsi as [ɣ], e.g. SA /rafi:q/ (‘friend’ – ‘partner’) is realised in Farsi as [rafi:ɣ]; and Arabic /h/ and /ḥ/ are realized by Farsis as [h], for example SA /ḥaja:t/ (life) is realised by Farsi speakers as [hajat]. However, the Arabic loans kept the emphatic orthography of Arabic (ibid).

The fact that Arabic emphatics are realised as their de-emphasised cognate in Farsi could be the reason behind the realisation of (s) as [sˤ]. It could be that when the first generation of Ajamis in Kuwait attempted to speak Arabic, they were not sure whether certain Arabic words were realised with [s] or [sˤ], and in an attempt to avoid sounds in accordance with the Farsi sound system, it seems that the old Farsi speakers may have been affected by hyper-correction. This is the process by which, instead of realising /sˤ/ as [s] as a Farsi speaker might do, a Kuwaiti Ajami would realise KA /s/ and /sˤ/ as [sˤ]. This was clear in the early days when many Ajamis realised their names with [sˤ] instead of /s/, which is the KA realisation, as a consequence of being confused by the two sounds, e.g. /alma:s/ ('Kuwaiti family name'- 'diamond') was registered in official papers as [alma:sˤ]. The same type of emphasis is also evident in other Arabic dialects. Another example is a story told by one of the informants in this study, whose grandmother is from the first generation of Ajamis. The old Ajami female said that somebody asked for her daughter's hand in marriage and she informed her mother that this was a man from /ilmisri:/ ('the elated') family. The grandmother told everyone that her granddaughter was marrying an 'Egyptian' which is what [ilmasˤri:] means.

Although the first generation of Ajamis in Kuwait (not participating in this study) are known for hypercorrection where [sˤ] is used for /s/ and [s] is used for /sˤ/, the second generation (the oldest group particioating in this study) have shown to be different. When conducting this study, it was thought that Farsi affected the use of [sˤ] for /s/. Farsi has no [sˤ], thus speakers are expected to depend on their intuition and realise many Arabic words with /s/ as [sˤ]. The old generation have long hours of contact with their parents who usually speak Farsi, which may have led the old Ajami

generation to have similar realisations as their parents. However, the affect of Farsi can only be proven if the speakers produced [s] for / sˤ /. All Ajami speakers in this study realised words with /sˤ/ as such, which confirms that the case of the use of [sˤ] is not caused by hypercorrection.

The Ajami realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] in the environment of secondary emphasis spread is most likely a reflection of the variaety of Arabic Ajamis speak, as in the case of realising /ʤ/ as [ʤ] more than the Najdi speakers. The Ajamis speak a sedentary variety of Arabic that is different than the Najdi's dialect. This is supported by the fact that secondary emphasis spread in the speech of Ajamis is phonologically conditioned (g,r). These environments of secondary emphasis spread have also been found in some Iraqi dialects (refer to section 3.4.2.2).

Age is also an influential factor in the realisation of [sˤ]. Not only do the old generation use the [sˤ] realisation for /s/ most, but when asked why [sˤ] is pronounced in a certain word (a word were /s/ was in the target word), seven out of eight old Ajami informants did not believe they used [sˤ], and only realised that they did when they pronounced the word. Recall that the old speakers were the group realising /s/ as [sˤ] most frequently, followed by the middle-aged speakers. Although this phenomenon is not peculiar to the Ajami's dialect and other Arabic dialects exhibit the same phenomenon (as most of the Iraqi Arabic dialects), it is labelled as 'wrong' as it is pronounced by the Ajami minority. When asked why a word like [ra:s] was realised as [ra:sˤ], most speakers did not know that they realised /s/ as [sˤ]. Some blamed it on co-articulation, and a couple even blamed the researcher for

being a poor listener. One middle-aged Ajami female scolded the researcher by stating:

> '*listen well! I said [s] not [sˤ], I don't say [sˤ] for /s/*' (OFA3).

On the other hand, the young speakers were very critical of their parents' realisation of /s/ as [sˤ]. When asked if they believed it is it important to realise /s/ as [s], two female speakers from the young group pointed out that it is important and added:

> *'it is embarrassing when they talk to your friends and they say something like [musˤma:r] ('wall nail')*' (YFA4).

The percentage of [sˤ] realisation dropped significantly across generations (as shown in Table (4.23) above). The old male speakers scored the highest percentage of [sˤ] realisation (73%). Three out of four old Ajami speakers believed that their choice of /s/ realisation is always [s], and blamed the occurrence of [sˤ] on co-articulation, or what they called 'fast speech'. One old Ajami protested:

> *'you can't say that we say [sˤ] for /s/, I'm speaking fast so it turns out as [sˤ], but I know I'm supposed to say [s]*' (OMA4).

Gender was a very interesting factor in the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ]. Gender differences were apparent in the use of [sˤ]. Ajami female speakers tend to produce this variant less frequently than males. Five out of eight young and middle-aged female Najdis recognised that some Ajamis realise /s/ as [sˤ]. Young female speakers

realise /sˤ/ in the context of secondary emphatics as [sˤ] approximately as frequently as Najdis do. They show high sensitivity towards the use of [sˤ], which is evident when asked about the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ], where they recognise this phenomena and are able to identify a few words that are known to be realised with [sˤ] by Ajamis. Another effect of gender is the level of emphasis. Male speakers of both ethnicities show stronger degree of emphasis than female speakers in the context of primary emphasis. This observation goes hand in hand with Lehn's (1963) findings on emphasis in Arabic that stated that emphasis differs from speaker to speaker and dialect to dialect, yet in most dialects male speakers exhibit emphasis more than female speakers. This correlates with Khan's (1975) study, which is based on the analysis of emphasis in the speech of Cairene male and female speakers, and which shows that female Cairene speakers degree of emphasis is less than the men (refer to 4.3.1).

Najdi speakers only realise /sˤ/ as [sˤ] in the case of primary emphasis spread. When the Najdi speakers were asked about the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ], 19 out of 24 speakers replied that they did not realise that these realisations existed in the speech of Kuwaitis. Most Najdi speakers did not know that /s/ is realised as [sˤ] by Ajamis in other secondary emphatic contexts. However, when asking those who were aware of it what they think of the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ], they stated that they believed that this phenomenon does not reflect the Kuwaiti dialect. Three female speakers were able to identify this phenomenon, and identified some of the common words realised with [sˤ] such as /misma:r/ ('wall nail') and /ra:s/ ('head'). Two of these female speakers were from the young generation and one from the old generation. Two male Najdi speakers, one middle-aged and one young, were also able to identify this type of

variation. When asked about their attitude towards the realisation of (s) as [sˤ], the Najdis who realised this phenomena existed in the speech of Ajamis believed that it is necessary to 'correct' the speech of Ajamis when realising (s) as [sˤ] if a person would like to identify himself/herself as a Kuwaiti and an Arab. One male speaker pointed out that:

'*it's wrong, it's not Kuwaiti, and it's not Arabic*' (MMN2).

Most Najdis believed that since the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ] could change the meaning of a word and does not represent Arabic (whether standard or dialectal), it reflected the speech of a non-Arab, thus non-Kuwaiti.

The pride of not only being a Kuwaiti, but also an Arab is reflected in the tendency to link the identity of the speakers with their realisation of /s/ as [s] or [sˤ]. Fourteen out of twenty-four Najdi speakers commented that they believed that people who realise (s) as [sˤ] may not be Kuwaitis (as some non-Arabs—such as Bengali and Indian workers— would use [sˤ] for /s/), and if they are they should 'try' to change their realisation to sound more 'Kuwaiti'. It seems that, for some Najdi Kuwaitis, the Kuwaiti dialect is a mask of identity, and people should 'try' to change their dialect to belong. Strangely, a male young Ajami, who realises /s/ as [sˤ] in the context of secondary emphatics, agreed that to be:

'*Kuwaiti, you should not say [raːsˤ], it's strange'* (YMA2).

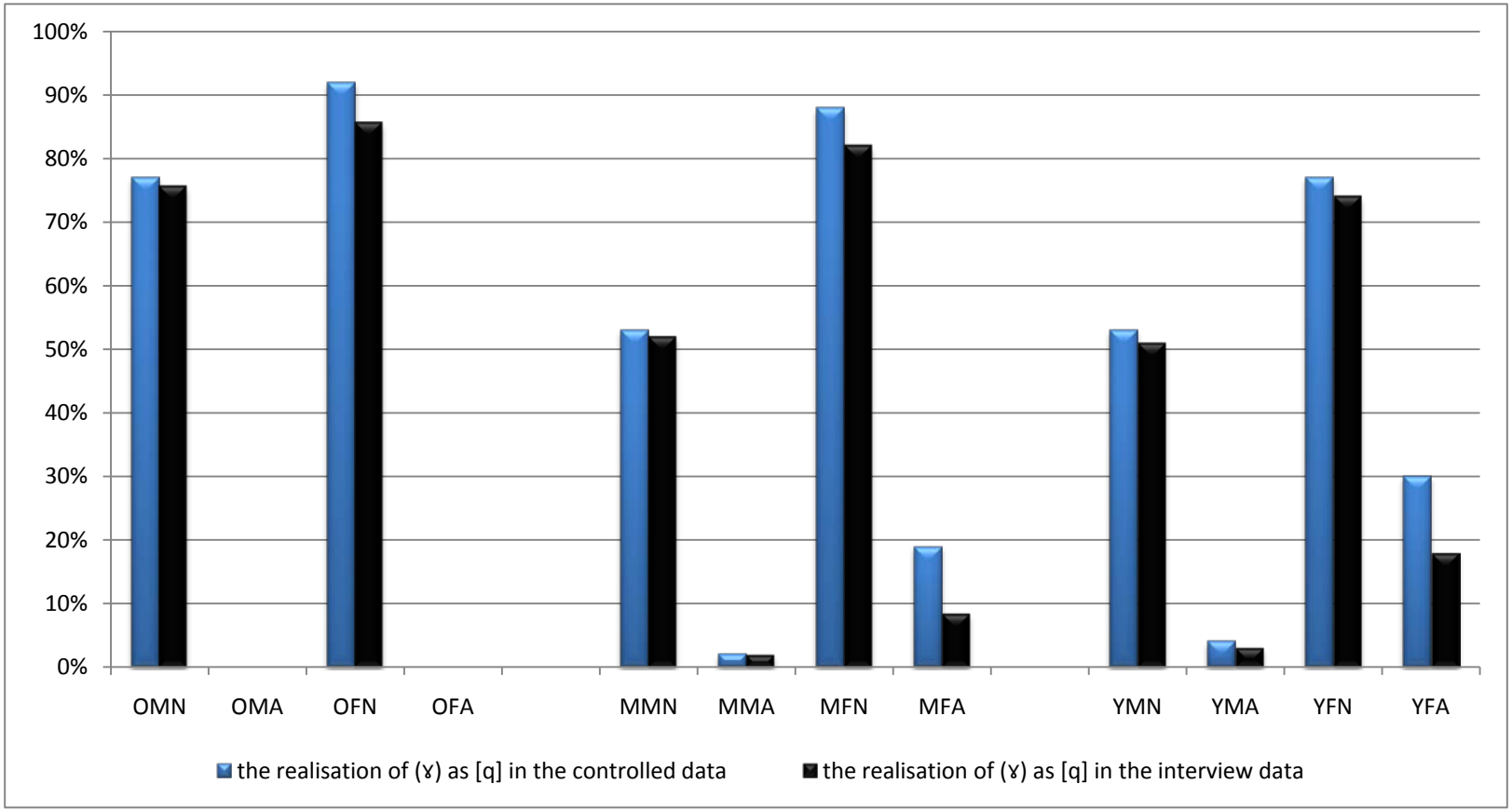
4.4. Introduction to the (ɣ) Variable

The voiced velar fricative (ɣ) has two realisations in KA: the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] and the voiceless uvular plosive [q]. Although many studies have investigated Arabic Qaf (q) and its different reflexes (Ferguson 1957, Blanc 1964, Al-Ani 1976, Abdel-Jawad 1981, Versteegh 1984 and many others), a few studies on Arabic dialects have investigated the variation between [ɣ] and [q] as realisations of (ɣ) (Holes 1987, Al-Qouz 2008). Nevertheless, the results obtained from the pilot study show that (ɣ) is a salient sociolinguistic variable in Kuwaiti Arabic. Therefore, this study investigated the (ɣ) variable in the speech of Najdi and Ajami Kuwaitis, finding that ethnicity, age, and gender affect the realisation of this variable in Kuwaiti Arabic. The interaction of these social variables also shows conclusive results reflecting the importance of these extra linguistic factors.

Figure 4.8 represents the outcome of the investigation for both controlled and interview data. The total number of tokens extracted from the controlled data is 1200 (25 tokens per speaker). On the other hand, the total number of tokens collected in the interview data is 1051 (an average of 22 tokens per speaker). Figure 4.8 displays the realisation of (ɣ) as [q], where the rest of the percentages were of [ɣ] realisation. The figure represents the informants grouped in terms of gender, age and ethnicity. The three-way mixed factorial ANOVA (ethnicity by age by gender) was calculated on the mean [q] values. Table (4.24a) and (4.24b) below shows the significance of the social factors independently and when interacting with each other in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] at the $p = 0.05$ level. Each social variable is investigated separately within the analysis of each variable in this chapter.

Figure 4.8

The realisation of (ɣ) as [q] by ethnicity, age and gender*



*the remainder of the percentages are of the realisation of (ɣ) as [ɣ]

Table 4.24a

Significance of social variables in the realisation of [q] (controlled data)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	50889.000(a)	11	4626.273	61.684	.000
Intercept	89787.000	1	89787.000	1197.160	.000
gender	2760.333	1	2760.333	36.804	.000
age	38.000	2	19.000	.253	.778
ethnicity	42483.000	1	42483.000	566.440	.000
gender * age	400.667	2	200.333	12.671	.013
gender * ethnicity	1083.000	1	1083.000	14.440	.001
age * ethnicity	3866.000	2	1933.000	25.773	.000
gender * age * ethnicity	258.000	2	129.000	1.720	.193
Error	2700.000	36	75.000		
Total	143376.000	48			
Corrected Total	53589.000	47			

Table 4.24b

Significance of social variables in the realisation of [q] (interview data)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	56032.257(a)	11	5093.842	90.355	.000
Intercept	68682.635	1	68682.635	1218.295	.000
gender	2429.630	1	2429.630	43.097	.000
age	193.287	2	96.643	1.714	.194
ethnicity	50472.755	1	50472.755	895.287	.000
gender * age	504.487	2	252.243	4.474	.018
gender * ethnicity	519.425	1	519.425	9.214	.004
age * ethnicity	1814.372	2	907.186	16.092	.000
gender * age * ethnicity	98.302	2	49.151	.872	.427
Error	2029.538	36	56.376		
Total	126744.430	48			
Corrected Total	58061.795	47			

4.4.1. The (ɣ) variable and ethnic group membership

Ethnicity is the most important factor influencing the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. As shown in Figure (4.8), [q] is a dominant realisation by the Najdi group (73% (N= 600) in the controlled data and 70% (N= 515) in the interview data), whereas the majority of Ajamis realise (ɣ) as [ɣ] (88% (N= 600) in the controlled data and 95% (N= 536) in the interview data). A one-way ANOVA with ethnicity as a dependant variable was

calculated on the mean of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] values. Results (shown in Tables 4.24a and 4.24b) show the effect of ethnicity to be $F(1,36) = 566.440$, $p < 0.001$ for the controlled data and $F(1,36) = 895.287$, $p<0.001$ for the interview data.

4.4.2. The (ɣ) variable and age groups

Age group is also a feature explored in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. Table (4.25) below shows that the old group realise (ɣ) as [q] more than either the middle-aged or young group. Yet, age alone is not a significant social variable. A one-way ANOVA with age as a dependent variable was calculated on the mean realisation of (ɣ) as [q] values. The results show $F(2,36) = 0.253$, $p= 0.778$ in the controlled data, and $F(2,36) = 1.714$, $p= 0.194$ in the interview data, where $p= 0.05$. However, Table (4.26) shows that age, when interacting with ethnicity, follows a different pattern.

Table 4.25
The use of [q] by different age groups

Age group	Controlled data	N	Interview data	N
Old	42%	400	40.5%	342
Middle-aged	40.5%	400	36%	355
Young	41%	400	36.5%	354
Total N		1200		1051

Table 4.26
The realisation of [q] by ethnic groups and age groups

Age goup	[q] realisation by Najdis		[q] realisation by Ajamis	
	Controlled data	Interview data	Controlled data	Interview data
Old	84% (N= 200)	81% (N= 167)	0% (N= 200)	0% (N= 175)
Middle-aged	70.5% (N= 200)	67% (N= 174)	10.5% (N= 200)	5% (N= 181)
Young	64.5% (N= 200)	62.5% (N= 174)	17% (N= 200)	10.5% (N= 180)
Total N	600	515	600	536

There is no significance in the age differences with respect to the realisation of (ɣ); however, when age and ethnicity interact, the significance is high ($F(2,36)= 25.773$, $p<0.001$ in the controlled data, and $F(2,36)= 16.092$, $p<0.001$ in the interview data). In the Najdi group, the percentage of [q] realisation is highest in the oldest group of speakers and lowest in the youngest group. This shows that [q] realistion is occuring less often in the speech of Najdis. On the other hand, the use of [q] by the Ajami speakers is increasing with time. While the old Ajamis never realise SA (ɣ) as [q], 10.5% in the controlled data and 5% in the interview data of the middled-aged Ajamis' realisations are [q]. The young group realises (ɣ) as [q] the most (17% in the controlled data, and 10.5% in the interview data). To examine this further, a detailed analysis was performed. The results for a one-way ANOVA (testing the significance of age as a variable) is given in Tables (4.27) and (4.28) showing separate data calculated for the Najdi and Ajami groups in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. The data shows that age is a significant factor affecting each ethnic group alone. This significance could be caused by the decline in the use of [q] for (ɣ) by the Najdis and the increase in the use of [q] by the Ajami group.

Table 4.27
The significance of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] by Najdis by age groups

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
controlled data	Between Groups	1596.000	2	798.000	3.506	.049
	Within Groups	4780.000	21	227.619		
	Total	6376.000	23			
interview data	Between Groups	1535.636	2	767.818	3.627	.044
	Within Groups	4445.844	21	211.707		
	Total	5981.480	23			

Table 4.28
The significance of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] in the Ajamis by age groups

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
controlled data	Between Groups	2308.000	2	1154.000	10.006	.001
	Within Groups	2422.000	21	115.333		
	Total	4730.000	23			
interview data	Between Groups	472.023	2	236.011	4.365	.026
	Within Groups	1135.538	21	54.073		
	Total	1607.560	23			

4.4.3. The (ɣ) variable and gender

Kuwaiti female speakers show more [q] use than male speakers. This is true for both the Najdi and Ajami ethnic groups. The one-way ANOVA results calculated on the mean of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] (Table 4.24a and 4.24b) shows that gender is significant at the $p = 0.05$ level ($F(1,36) = 36.804$, $p<0.001$ in the controlled data, and $F(1,36) = 43.097$, $p<0.001$) in the interview data.

Gender has been shown to be an important variable when interacting with ethnicity. Thus, a two-way ANOVA (gender by ethnicity) was calculated on the mean realisation of (ɣ) as [q] and shows $F(1,36)= 14.440$, $p=0.001$ in the controlled data and $F(1,36)= 9.214$, $p= 0.004$ in the interview data, which is significant at $p=0.05$. Surprisingly, a three-way ANOVA (gender by age by ethnicity) showed no

significance when calculated on the mean realisation of (ɣ) as [q] (F(2,36) = 1.720, p=0.193 in the controlled data, and F(2,36) = 0.872, p=0.427 in the interview data). It appears that when analysing results from the two ethnic groups separately, the results are often significant; yet when analysing the results of the two groups together, the interaction between the social factors is sometimes insignificant. The results of a one-way ANOVA displayed in Table (4.29) below shows the significance of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] in the two ethnic groups separately. As shown previously in Figure (4.8), old female Najdis use [q] the most, while the most significant change in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] in the Najdi group is found in the young male group, where the use of [q] is 53% (N= 100) in the controlled data and 52% (N= 79) in the interview data. In the Ajami group, the biggest change in the realisation of (ɣ) occurred in the young female Ajami's speech, where the young female Ajamis show the most use of [q] (30% (N= 100) in the controlled data, and 18% (N= 96) in the interview data).

Table 4.29

The significance of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] by ethnicity and gender

ethnic group			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Najdi	controlled data	Between Groups	3650.667	1	3650.667	29.470	.000
		Within Groups	2725.333	22	123.879		
		Total	6376.000	23			
	interview data	Between Groups	2591.682	1	2591.682	16.867	.000
		Within Groups	3380.292	22	153.650		
		Total	5971.973	23			
Ajami	controlled data	Between Groups	192.667	1	192.667	7.934	.044
		Within Groups	4537.333	22	206.242		
		Total	4730.000	23			
	interview data	Between Groups	336.750	1	336.750	6.148	.021
		Within Groups	1274.909	22	57.950		
		Total	1611.660	23			

It is also worth noting that although the female young Ajamis realise (ɣ) as [q] the most, a one-way ANOVA by age shows that the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] is significant in the speech of young female Ajamis when compared to the young female Najdis ($F(1,6) = 76.172$, $p<0.001$ (N= 200) in the controlled data, and $F(1,6) = 44.718$, $p=0.001$ (N= 191) in the interview data). Thus, the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] is significantly less common in the speech of young female Ajamis compared to young female Najdis.

4.4.4. Discussion of the social significance of the (ɣ) variable

The realisation of (ɣ) as [q] started in Kuwait as a Najdi feature, but has recently come into the Ajami dialect as none of the old Ajamis from this study use [q] in their realisation of (ɣ). All the Najdi speakers participating in this study were aware of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q], but not all of them have the same reaction towards it. When asked about this feature, all Ajamis recognise it as being Najdi, but had different reactions towards it.

During the interviews, it was very obvious that the young Najdi speakers avoided [q] realisation, although they still showed high percentages of [q] use. This was evident especially when one middle-aged female Najdi speaker realised /ɣurfa/ ('room') as [qurfa] and then followed it with [ɣurfa] as if it was not clear or incorrect. The researcher asked her after the interview was over why she changed her realisation, she replied:

'I'm a teacher of Arabic, I'm supposed to say it with [ɣ]' (MFN2).

When asking the Najdi speakers why they realised (ɣ) as [q], an old male Kuwaiti said 'this is how our parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles used to say words, we just learned it that way'. Most Najdis believed it was an inherited feature, but what is the significance of this realisation?

For the old female Najdi speakers and two of the middle-aged speakers [q] is a feature that reflects their identity as Najdis. When asked why she says [qarb] not [ɣarb] ('west') a middle-aged female Najdi responded:

> *'yes, we Najdis always do that […], it's not a big deal, but we [Najdis] are used to it'* (MFN2).

There was a sense of pride in her response, which reflected her belief that [q] is a symbol of being Najdi. It seemed that all Najdis did not know that this feature does not exist in Najd (Saudi Arabia) and is most probably a result of language contact with other inhabitants of Kuwait before its establishment (refer to section 3.4.2.3). This is clear as an old Najdi female responded when asked about her use of [q] by saying:

> *'I use [q] a lot, and all Najdis do that. Maybe if you don't use [q] then you are not Najdi'* (ONF1).

Another old female Najdi stated:

'even when I write words, I sometimes misspell them using /q/ (represented as ق in the Arabic alphabets) instead of /ɣ/ (represented as غ in the Arabic Alphabets). I think it's because I use it all the time in my speech, I get confused' (MFN1).

Then, the next question the Najdis were asked was: 'you just said that it is not acceptable for speakers to realise (s) as [sˤ] because it is not Arabic, how is the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] different?' Only one speaker out of twenty four Najdis answered this question (as the rest either smiled or just said: I do not know'). This informant (MMN2) said that he believed that this realisation is very old, and that people in Kuwait treat it as 'Kuwaiti speech', yet the [sˤ] realisation, compared to [q], is fairly new to Kuwaitis. According to him, Kuwaitis would judge new realisations as being SA or not, and if not, they would not be acceptable. For example, [ɣurfa] (room) is realised as Kuwaiti because it is identified as 'old Kuwaiti', while the word [musˤma:r] (wall nail) is not identified as 'old Kuwaiti' or SA, thus being labelled as 'un acceptable'. This, in fact, has shown to be untrue. The realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in the environment of emphasis spread is phonologically conditioned phenomenon which exists in almost all Arabic dialects. In addition, the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] did not exist in the dialects of Najdi, and have come to the dialect of the Najdis after migrating to Kuwait.

The use of [q] for (ɣ) was labelled by the Najdi informants as 'Kuwaiti". Do Kuwaitis know where this feature comes from? The next question which the researcher posed concerned the history of the realisation of [q]. Ajami speakers had only one answer. They simply stated that it came from the 'Arabs' (the term used to

refer to Najdis). On the other hand, when Najdis where asked about the source of [q] realisation, some stated that they had no idea, and others provided many speculations in an attempt to find an answer themselves.

One suggested reason given by three male (two old and one middle-aged) and two female speakers (both from the old group) was that this feature also existed in other Gulf countries, and thus other Arabs use the [q] realisation. This has been supported by Matar (1969) and Holes (1987).

Another reason was given by five out of eight young Najdis (male and female), who believed it started with illiterate Kuwaitis who believed that (q) is the SA variable and [ɣ] is a reflex. A young female Najdi stated that:

> *'maybe our grandparents, who didn't write or read, thought this [the use of [q]] is fusḥa (CA). Maybe they thought it looked better.'* (YFN3)

Therefore, words with (ɣ) were being realised with [q] in an attempt to look intellectual. Although this theory could be true, it cannot be supported.

One old male Najdi (OMN4) believed this realisation was a consequence of language contact. From the history of Kuwait; language contact was mainly with people from India (speaking Urdu) and the British. None of these two languages have /ɣ/ or /q/ in their phonemic inventory. However, as mentioned in section 2.6.5.1, the Farsis (from Iran) also had great amount of language contact with Kuwaitis. They used to come to

Kuwait often for trade, and Kuwaitis used to go to Iran for the same reason. The Farsi speakers often realised (q) as [ɣ], as in words such as /sˁadi:qa/ (fem. 'friend'), realised by Farsis as [sadi:ɣə] and /ruqajja/ ('female name') realised by Farsis as [ruɣajjə] (Al-Nassir, 1993). Thus, the old Najdi concluded that the reason behind the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] most probably started in the early days of contact between Najdi and Farsi speakers. However, as shown by Matar (1969:35), this feature also exists in most Gulf dialects. As the majority of Najdis were illiterate, they seem to have thought that the Farsis' realisation of (q) as [ɣ] is an indication that some of the words with [ɣ] are actually supposed to be realised with [q] if it were not for the Farsi language interference.

The origin of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] precedes the old generation interviewed, and even their parents. When interviewing a Najdi family, an old female Najdi introduced her mother. The researcher asked the mother (who is over 70 years old) whether she would realise /ɣurfa/ as [ɣurfa] or [qurfa]. She said that she used [q] as her parents used to have the same realisation, and she never thought about it. Although Matar (1969:35) believes the roots of this realisation could not be traced, it is definitely not a Najdi Arabic feature (refer to sections 2.6.1 and 3.4.2.3).

Age and gender factors together have shown to be significant factors in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. The old Najdi speakers have shown more use of [q] than the middle-aged and young group, while female speakers in general have shown more use of [q] than male speakers. This fact is reflected in the reaction people have towards the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. All the old Najdis (eight speakers) believed it was a Najdi feature that they have heard for as long as they can remember. Most of their friends

are Najdi, and they spend most of their time with their extended family. However, the old male Najdis (three out of four) stated that they sometimes try to use [ɣ] when communicating with non-Kuwaiti Arabs in case it causes misunderstanding. In terms of age and ethnicity, the middle-aged and young male Najdis use [q] less frequently in their speech than the old male Najdis. When asked about the realisation of (ɣ) as [q], all four young speakers stated that they believed it must be a 'strange' feature to have in an Arab community and that they 'try' to change this accent feature in order to assist non-Kuwaiti Arabs to understand the Kuwaiti dialect. One young Najdi stated that he believes that the [q] realisation 'is totally feminine' and that he is sometimes 'embarrassed' to be using the [q] realisation; his brother agreed. One young male Najdi stated:

'I rarely hear my friends use [q], and I try to be the same' (YMN3).

Gender differences have proven in this study to be an influential factor in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. Analysis of collected data has shown that male speakers from both ethnicities use [q] for (ɣ) less than female speakers. Female Najdis have a high percentage of [q] realisations (85.3% (N= 300) in the controlled data and 80.6% (N= 280) in the interview data). Six out of eight old and middle-aged Najdi female speakers believe that this feature represents their identity as Najdis, and they feel proud of it. When told that this feature is not, in fact, SA one old female commented 'we don't speak SA, we speak Kuwaiti'. Another middle-aged Najdi female commented on her use of [q] by stating that 'even when I write or give a presentation in *fusḥa* (CA), I sometimes use [q] instead of (ɣ), I know it's wrong, but I'm Kuwaiti and Kuwaitis use [q]'. The old and middle-aged female Najdis stated that most of

their friends are Najdis, and they spend most of their time with Najdis (apart from their work environment). The young female Najdis had the lowest percentage of (ɣ) realised as [q] of all female Najdis (77% (N= 100) in the controlled data and 74% (N= 95) in the interview data). When asked why they realised (ɣ) using [ɣ] and [q], all young female Najdis believed that this could be due to more contact with friends out of the family circle who may not use [q] quite so often. They spend most of their time with their friends who belong to different ethnicities. It is also possible that since (ɣ) is SA, and thus is heard during lectures and in the media, it may have affected their use of [q]. In addition, they did not believe that using [q] for (ɣ) was an important feature representing the Kuwaiti dialect.

In the Ajami group, the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] is very different from the Najdi group. Old male and female Ajamis never realise (ɣ) as [q]. Only 2% in the interview data of the middle-aged male Ajamis' speech had the [q] realisation (only one person where N= 19). This person has many Najdi friends, as he told the researcher, and seems to have borrowed some words incorporate [ɣ] usage. Middle-aged and young female Ajami speakers use the [q] realisation more than any other Ajami group. An average of 19% of the 100 tokens with target /ɣ/ in the controlled data and 9% of the 96 tokens in the interview data of middle-age female Ajamis were realised with [q]; while 30% of the 100 tokens with target /ɣ/ in the controlled data and 18% of the 96 tokens in the interview data of the young females were realised with the [q]. One middle-aged female Ajami (who had 32% of [q] realisations in her speech where N= 100) said that:

'this is how well-known women speak'; she added 'this is so Kuwaiti, no one else does it but Kuwaitis, that's why I changed [my realisation]' (OFA4).

Obviously most Kuwaitis do not know that this realisation is also well known in other Gulf countries and before them in Basra and Ahwaz (Khuzestan). Three out of four young female Ajamis believed it is the 'trend' to realise words with [q]. One young female Ajami commented:

'even if you don't want to say [q], you watch TV and everyone is saying [q]…then you start saying [q]' (YFA1).

One young female Ajami (YFA4) said that she did not realise she was using the [q] realisation at first, but then she knew that it started occurring in her speech after she went to college and mixed with many 'Arabs' [Najdis]'. She found that her parents commented on the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] in her speech, but she felt it was cool and 'trendy'.

The realisation of (ɣ) as [q] has become a 'trend' for some Ajamis, yet an 'embarrassment' to some Najdis, especially males. While a young female Ajami (YFA1) said she realises words with [q] 'on purpose' and she enjoys it, a young female Najdi commented on the [q] realisation as being:

'very strange, I don't know why it [the use of [ɣ]] has become [q], but I think it has to change…it's a little funny'.(YFN2)

The increase in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] in the speech of Ajamis shows the result of language contact, while the decrease in the use of [q] by Najdis, probably, show the effect of education. The old Ajamis categorically realise (ɣ) as [ɣ], yet the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] is found in the speech of the middle-aged and young groups. This could be due to dialect levelling, defined by Milroy and Gordon (2003:130) as 'the eradication of socially or locally marked variants (both within and between linguistic systems) in conditions of social or geographical mobility and resultant dialect contact'. The two reasons which influence dialect levelling are psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. The psycholinguistic effect is an unconscious change of dialectal features influenced by the dialects spoken in the surrounding environment (friends, media, and work and education institutes). The occurrence of [q] in the speech of male Ajamis is a reflection of psycholinguistic dialect levelling. When the middle-aged and young Ajamis who used [q] where asked why they used [q] not [ɣ] in some of the words with target /ɣ/, the speakers replied that they did not know they were using [q] until some people pointed it out (parents and friends). It is possible that the time these speakers spent with their Najdi friends affected the realisation of (ɣ).

On the other hand, the female Ajamis' [q] usage could be both unconscious and conscious. This may explain the significant difference in the use of [q] between male and female speakers. One of the reasons female Ajami speakers have incorporated [q] in their speech is sociolinguistic. When asked why they used [q] in words like /ɣuraːb/ ('raven'), the middle-aged and young Ajamis described the use of [q] as 'trendy' and 'cool'. As the use of [q] is associated with the Najdi group, female Ajamis believe it to be prestigious. One young female Ajami commented on her use

of [q] by saying ‘our neighbour is an Arab [Najdi], she always says [qari:ba] (sing. ‘strange’), [raqi:] (‘talk’), [isqajjir] (‘small’) and so on, I felt it’s really Kuwaiti, so I started doing the same’.

In this study, the Najdis have shown a decline in the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] by age. Although the old female speakers show the highest use of [q] (91% in the controlled data where N= 100 and 86% in the interview data where N= 91) their use is not categorical. An old Najdi speaker reported that although she believes her mother never uses [ɣ], she thought that nowadays people use both, adding:

> *‘you can’t be educated and not use both’* (OFN2).

Education seems to be a factor influencing the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. For most female Najdi speakers, the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] reflects their ‘Kuwaiti’ identity although it is not solely a Kuwaiti feature. However, as all the speakers are educated, it is possible that SA has affected their use of [q] (through media and formal education). In addition, the middle-aged and young female Najdis have many ‘non-Najdi’ friends, which may also have affected the use of [q]. These changes in the speech of young female Najdis seems to be unconscious. Although this may be true for the Male Najdis as well, sociolinguistic levelling has also shown to affect their use of [q]. Most male speakers believe that the use of [q] as a realisation of (ɣ) is ‘strange’, and some have even commented that it is a ‘feminine’ dialectal feature which they ‘try’ to change. This shows that most change is conscious as a result of the feeling that the use of [q] is ‘embarrassing’ or not ‘masculine’.

Generally, the percentage of the realisation of (ɣ) as [q] has shown to decrease in the speech of Kuwaitis. Although some Kuwaitis believe that this feature is associated with the Kuwaiti dialect and it is ‘trendy’, others believe it to be ‘strange’. Further investigation is recommended to view the direction of the use of [q] in the speech of the next generations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

This study investigated sociolinguistic variation in the speech of Najdi and Ajami Kuwaitis, with special focus on the consonantal variables (ʤ), (s) and (ɣ). Before elaborating on any sociolinguistic factors which have been shown to play a major role in forming the dialect of contemporary Kuwaiti and the effect of dialect contact and levelling, a brief summary of the results of this study will be given.

Each variable investigated in this study showed unique and interesting results in terms of its realisation. The first variable explored was (ʤ), which has two main realisations in the Kuwaiti community, [ʤ] and [j]. The realisation of (ʤ) as [ʤ] or [j] has been shown to be linked to two main factors:

1. The social factors of ethnicity, age and gender
2. Lexical classification.

The [j] is the variant mostly associated with Najdis. As Najdis are believed to be the founders of Kuwait, they hold a prestigious place on the social scale. Therefore, [j] has been adopted as the 'Kuwaiti' variant by many informants from both ethnicities. Where [ʤ] is used by Najdis, it does not seem to correlate with age or gender. In the Ajami group, on the other hand, age and gender show a negative correlation with the use of [ʤ]. Specifically, it has been shown that the older group use [ʤ] more than the middle-aged and young groups. Not only has the young group shown a sharp decline

in the use of [ʤ], but they are also the group that stigmatize its use the most. Moreover, female Ajami speakers show less use of [ʤ] than the male speakers across the three generations. However, the decline in the use of [ʤ] by male speakers by age group is greater than that found in the female Ajami's speech, suggesting that the males are catching up with the females with regards to the decline in [ʤ] use.

Lexical classification was found to be a useful instrument in identifying the potential use of [ʤ] or [j] for (ʤ). The words with target /ʤ/ were assigned labels of ±standard, ±frequent and ±recent. These words were divided accordingly into four groups: words that are frequent and standard showed that the use of [ʤ] and [j] correlated with the speaker's social background; words that are standard, rarely used and recent were always realised with [ʤ], and words that are non-standard, rarely used and old had [j] categorically. This categorisation has shown to be very fruitful in recognising whether realisations were linguistically or socially used, as in previous research (Al-Amadidhi 1985; Al-Muhannadi 1991), frequency was calculated based on the number of times the word occurred in the study and/or using the researcher's intuition. As such, further analysis of frequency is required when rankings from large database become available for KA. This would render the process used in this study a bit less subjective.

It appears in this study that [j] is connected to prestige and considered the preferred local variant in Kuwait. This contradicts Holes' (1987:2, cf. Holes 2007a) statement that [ʤ] is more prestigious than [j] in Kuwait. However, since it was not explained in Holes' study whether the context of use was a formal or informal one, this may lie at the heart of the discrepancy between the current research and his. In formal situations,

[ʤ] may occur more often, and since, the main concern of this investigation was informal speech, this may be why [j] appears to increase in the speech of Kuwaitis in the current data.

Another linguistic variable explored in this study is (s) in the environment of emphasis spread. It has been found that primary emphasis spread (/s/ pharyngealisation in the environment of /sˤ/, /ðˤ/, /tˤ/, and /dˤ/ elsewhere in the word) is found in the speech of both ethnic groups. Yet, in the speech of Ajamis neighbouring /r/ and /g/ have also been found to cause emphasis spread (labelled in this study 'secondary emphases') Emphasis spread in the environment of /r/ has also been reported in many other Arabic dialects such as Iraqi (Mitchell 1956; Harrell 1965; and Broselow 1976 among others) and Syrian (Cowell 1964). However, no studies have shown emphasis spread in the environment of /g/ in any of the Arabic dialects, which is why it was of particular interest to this investigation, the study also explores emphasis spread from two different angles: (i) the frequency of occurrence of secondary emphasis and its correlation with social factors; and (ii) the degree (or strength) of emphasis (mainly comparing factors relating to gender and ethnicity). Age showed a significant correlation with the realisation of (s) as [sˤ] in the environment of secondary emphatics. The old Ajamis showed more use of [sˤ], while the young Ajamis used [sˤ] less frequently. The use of [sˤ] has become stigmatized by Najdis and young Ajamis in this study – being labelled 'incorrect' or not 'Kuwaiti' by a number of speakers from these social groups. As found with the use of [ʤ], female Ajamis use prestigious [s] more than [sˤ] in secondary emphatic environments. The male Ajamis, however, show the sharpest decline in the use of [sˤ] from one generation to another.

When comparing the degree of emphasis in secondary environments, it was shown that female speakers from both ethnicities exhibit less degree of emphasis than male speakers. It was also found that Ajami female speakers show a higher degree of emphasis than the Najdi females in the environment of primary emphasis. Thus, not only do Ajamis exhibit emphasis spread in a secondary environment and Najdis do not, but they also showed a greater degree of emphasis in both genders. However, as mentioned previously, this outcome is the result of auditory analysis alone as acoustic analysis was not feasible. The use of acoustic analysis would have helped confirm the degree of emphasis spread by measuring the degree of F1 raising and F2 lowering in surrounding vowels (as proposed by Lehn 1963, Khan 1975, and Al-Masri & Jongman 2004).

The realisation of (ɣ) as [q] has been explored previously in the linguistic literature (cf. Holes 2007b, Matar 1969, and Ingham 2007). In this study, the use of [q] was found to be a very interesting feature of the Kuwaiti speech. Although it is usually associated with Najdis, male Najdis have shown a decline in [q] use. Indeed, many male Najdis believe that the use of [q] for (ɣ) is a 'feminine' feature, and should be 'avoided'. Female Najdis, on the other hand, believe that this feature reflects Kuwaiti speech. Most female Najdis believed that their grandparents used [q] categorically, but that [ɣ] came in to use with the introduction of education. Female Najdis use [q] the most, so much so that they confuse [q] ق for (ɣ) غ in writing. In the Ajami group, the old generation use [ɣ] categorically, while the middle-aged show low rates of [q] usage, and its frequency increases in the young Ajami group. The young female Ajamis use [q] most frequently in the Ajami groups as they believe it to be 'trendy'.

The investigation has shown that SA [ɣ] is being used more often by Najdis, especially the male speakers who exhibit a sharper drop in the use of [q]. This change towards the use of [q] brings the two accents (Ajami and Najdi) closer (this is discussed further in 5.2.2).

5.2. Discussion

5.2.1. The Kuwaiti dialect and prestige

In order to understand the direction of accent change, it is important to evaluate the relationship between the variants investigated and their SA counterparts on the one hand, and the origin of the Najdi features which may have affected the realisation of the target variables. Many studies have investigated the status of SA and vernacular dialects of Arabic countries (Ibrahim 1986, Abu-Haider 1989, Abdul-Jawad 1987 among others), most of which could relate to the Kuwaiti dialect situation. For example, Ibrahim (1986:116) stated that although SA holds a certain degree of prestige as it is linked to religious and educated environments, local dialects are the ones that hold the stronger social connotations "that matter to most individuals in life such as socioeconomic class". In Kuwait the local variant [j] appears to be more prestigious than SA (ʤ) for most Kuwaitis. The reason behind this preference is that this variant is Najdi in origin, which reflects the socio-economically prestigious place Najdis hold in Kuwaiti society. The political status of the Najdis is a reflection of being part of the Royal family's (Al-Sabah) history. Political power has given a dialect prestige in other Gulf countries as well, such as in the case of Bahrain (cf. Holes 2007b, Bassiouney 2009). This coincides with Bakir's (1986:6) belief that "in Arabic countries, local urban dialects are considered parallel to the standard form if

not more prestigious". Although the use of [j] and [s] are considered prestigious as they are Najdi features, the use of Najdi [q] for (ɣ) is not perceived to have the same status by male informants. This reflects another factor that interacts with prestige: gender. When a certain gender is associated with a certain phonological feature, this feature gains status and the use of it may increase. Therefore, as the use of [q] for /ɣ/ is viewed by some Kuwaiti speakers as a feminine feature, the [q] variant has gained prestige in female Kuwaitis' speech. The use of [q] (which is a Najdi feature) as a realisation of (ɣ) (used in SA) is different from other variables in that it is stigmatized by some Kuwaitis (mainly male informants) and considered less prestigious than the SA variant [ɣ]. This, however, does not mean that [ɣ] gained more status than [q] because it is compared to the standard. The prestigious status was based on the fact that [q] is sometimes stigmatised by some Kuwaitis, and is thus avoided. On the other hand, other Kuwaitis (mainly female Najdis and young female Ajamis) believe that the use of [q] is equal, if not more prestigious, than SA (ɣ). They seem to believe that [q] is a reflection if belonging to a higher social status. Therefore, even in the case when Najdi variants are beginning to change because the Najdis think they are less prestigious, Najdi prestige seems to be the norm for communities like the Ajamis.

The effect of the Najdi variants on the speech of Ajamis is evident in the frequency of [j], [s] and [q] variants use across generations. However, the difference between the two dialects (of Najdis and Ajamis) is still evident, especially in the use of [sˤ] in the environment of secondary emphasis spread. Ajamis brought in two new environments of emphasis spread in their realisation of KA, namely, /r/ and /g/. Although this feature exists in other Arabic dialects (cf.Younes 1992, 1994), as this feature is stigmatized by Kuwaitis, it seems to be gradually decreasing in the speech of Ajamis.

It was also found that the old Ajami group, more than any other group, uses SA variants more often than the Najdi variants. For example, when Najdis use [j], old Ajamis use [ʤ]; when Najdis use [q] old Ajamis use [ɣ]. The reason behind this use could be that the Ajamis who came to Kuwait first (parents of the old group in this study) only spoke Farsi and used Arabic during their religious rituals. The Arabic they spoke is assumed to be *fuṣʿḥa* (SA), and thus, the variants they use are influenced by both to SA and Farsi. Another interpretation would point to the direction of other dialects which Ajamis may have picked up while learning Arabic. The resemblance between the Baharna and the Ajami dialect suggests that both communities have adopted a similar dialect of Arabic.

The investigation has shown that the shift of accent features in Kuwaiti society is usually in the direction of Najdi (except for the realisation of (ɣ) which has shown to move in both directions). While old Ajamis tend to use fewer Najdi features, the use of the Najdi features has been shown to increase in the following two generations, where the young Ajami generation's accent is the most similar to the Najdi. The Najdi dialect seems to be stable in general, yet the use of [q] has become less frequent in the male group across generations (the young males have shown the least use of [q]) as to them it does not reflect the 'correct' Kuwaiti dialect, but the 'feminine' one. Even with the slight change in the use of [q] for /ɣ/ by male Najdis, the Ajamis gradually seem to change their use of [ɣ] in favour of the Najdi [q]. In the same respect, Holes (1987:104) found that even when the Baharna, who are the less prestigious Bahraini group, use the SA variant; they tend to change it in favour of the more prestigious Arabic variant as the Arab local variant is considered more prestigious than SA in

some cases. For example, the Baharna generally tend to use verb forms which are similar to the SA form; thus, the Arab Bahraini clearly tried to avoid this use as it reflected less prestige (since it was associated with the Baharna). He added that "the high-status social group shows a much stronger consistent tendency to stick to its dialectal variants than the low-status group". Therefore, the Najdi group generally show consistency in the use of certain variants unlike the Ajami group.

This study focused on the interaction of three social factors and their correlation with different phonetic realisations of two Kuwaiti accents. It was found that ethnicity, which is linked to social status, is one of the most important social factors correlating with phonological variation. Trudgill (2000:45) stated that in many countries (such as Ghana and Canada) "different ethnic groups [...] maintain their separateness and identity as much through language as anything else". The 'separateness' is not only indicated by different languages, but it is also indicated by different varieties of one language, as the situation investigated between the two oldest generations of the two ethnic groups in this study. However, the choice of speaking a certain variety of Kuwaiti seems to be determined by social influences. Mazarani (1997:7) believes that "the dialect which has great prestige and that is recognised as a hallmark of local identity and pride in the community" is usually the speaker's aim. Sidnell (1999:394) further notes that the choice of one variety rather than another is based on the code of power and the speaker's willingness to be identified as belonging to a certain group and identity. It is therefore clear that ethnicity in Kuwait has a straightforward connection with social status. The Najdi dialect in Kuwait is the aim of many Ajamis. It is considered the prestigious dialect as it reflects the economic and historical role Najdis play in Kuwait (see section 3.2). Najdis identify themselves as 'real Kuwaitis'

and are overly proud of being Najdis. In fact, they do not bother hiding this fact; for example, when one old female Najdi informant asked about the aim of this study, the researcher informed her that it is an investigation of the Kuwaiti dialect, and the informant said:

> *'What do you think is the Kuwaiti dialect? I mean, who do you think are the real Kuwaitis?...We are, since our great grandparents came to Kuwaiti and made it what it is. It is not only a matter of showing off, but we are proud to be the real Kuwaitis. I believe if you want to record the real Kuwaiti dialect, you should know who the real Kuwaitis are'* (OFN4).

The prestige of the Najdi dialect is similar to that found in Al-Wer's (1991:16) study regarding the powerful economic and social role played by Palestinians in Jordan which led to the rapid spread of urban Palestinian linguistic features. Al-Wer (2000) found that in some cases, socio-economic status 'overrides' the importance of ethnicity. However, in Kuwait, it seems that socio-economic parameters go hand in hand with ethnic stratification. The Najdis have social power, which is the outcome of economic and political power. To them, their language is a reflection of their origins, and historical achievements. Although some changes have occurred in the Najdi dialect, especially in the realisation of /ɣ/ as (q), most Najdi informants told the researcher that they try to maintain their accent. A middle-aged female Najdi stated that:

> *'If we change our language, we won't be identified as Kuwaitis. I mean, sometimes you watch a Kuwaiti soap, and they say things that are not Kuwaiti like [rəju:g] (breakfast) instead of saying*

[riju:g]. Then gradually you don't know if what you're watching is Kuwaiti or Emirati?'(MFN4).

Najdis interviewed in this study stated that even though their language is not close to SA, they like to maintain it as they 'speak Kuwaiti as Kuwaitis not *fusʿḥa* (SA)'. On the other hand, Ajamis in this study stated that they sometimes 'try' to use the Najdi dialect for many reasons such as getting better jobs and belonging to certain social clubs. In the light of this, Myers-Scotton (1993:100) states that "a major motivation for using one variety rather than another as a medium of interaction is the extent to which this choice minimizes the costs and maximizes rewards for the speaker". Hence, in order to avoid being stigmatized (minimising costs), and to gain acceptance in the Kuwaiti community (maximising rewards), Ajamis began adopting the Najdi features. Ajamis have become very conscious of the differences in their variety from mainstream Najdi Kuwaiti, and the young generation seems to have a good command of the Najdi dialect. The status of Ajamis is very different from that of Najdis in Kuwait.

The first generation of Ajamis in this study lived in Ajami communities during their childhood and teenage years. Their friends were mostly Ajamis, and they went to a school. Thus, the first generation seemed to maintain the variation in their dialect, and had the highest use of non-Najdi variants in this study. In this respect, Chambers (1995:125) stated that "most isolated speakers tend to be the most consistent dialect speakers". Thus, a person will maintain a certain variety of a language when living in a "small, tightly-knit, close-network type of community" (Trudgill, 1996:3).

The second and third generation in this study have been shown to adopt more features of the Najdi dialect. These two generations have lived and worked closer to Najdis than the first generation. Eckert (1989:184) argues that the spread of linguistic changes is established through networks of communication in a community. The most active and mobile people initiate these linguistic differences in their communities, which spread afterwards throughout the society. In addition, Labov (1979:17) found that the "linguistic situation is bound to be affected by changes in job opportunities and residential patterns". This, however, does not mean that Najdis and Ajamis have all lived completely closer to each other. To this day, many areas are known to be 'Najdi Areas' such as *Shewaikh and Keifan*, while other areas are known to be Ajami areas such as Rumaythya and Dasma. While there are a few Ajamis in the Najdi areas and vice versa, the overall residents of these areas are either Najdis or Ajamis (refer to section 2.6.4).

For many Ajamis, the motive to fluently speak as Najdis is linked to their desire to reflect a Kuwaiti identity, and to gain social status. During a conversation with a middle-aged male Ajami about how life in Kuwait was for his parents (the second generation in Kuwait which represent the old informants in this study), the informant stated:

> *'I don't blame the community for treating them differently. They speak so different, and they just don't give an effort to belong. You have to speak like 'Arabs' [Najdis] to be called a Kuwaiti and get the opportunities Kuwaitis get'* (MMA3).

This informant actually believed that if his father had spoken ‘real’ Kuwaiti, he would have been the dean of the university! It is obvious that attitudes motivate people to maintain or remove dialectal differences (Trudgill, 2000:24). Bloom and Gumperz (1978:417) stated that friendship and domestic life are the ‘spheres’ where a dialect is acquired. This is also true of the Ajamis in Qatar, where Al-Amadidhi (1985) found that, despite having the Qatari nationality; Ajamis are still treated as inferiors and ‘discriminated against by other groups’ in Qatar. In addition, some sedentary groups in Qatar still identify Ajamis as Iranians, and thus, aliens and foreigners. In Bahrain, Holes (1987), found that Baharna (also originally from Iran) also suffer from social discrimination in Bahrain. He analysed the speech of a Baharna who lived in an Arab community, and found that he spoke the Arabic dialect fluently. However, when analysing the speech of an Arab who lived in a Baharna community, it was found that the Arab maintained his dialect. Holes (ibid) concluded that language prestige overrides language contact, as people would like to speak in the prestigious dialect of a community. In addition, it is common to find that the “dominant languages and dialects spread widely and lead to the gradual extinction of other tongues” (Labov, 2001:8). The motivation behind the convergence of Ajamis towards the speech of Najdis could be caused by the need to gain social approval. It seems to be an attempt to associate with the receiver who is believed to belong to a higher social hierarchy.

Al-Wer (1991) found that the old are usually exposed to greater pressure to maintain their dialectal differences. An old person can be stigmatized by his friends and relatives for using new dialectal features. The youngest generation, on the other hand, seem to be the most active assimilators, as their accent features are markedly similar to the Najdi features in this study. All five variables investigated in this study show

that the young Ajamis have significantly decreased the use of Ajami features and replaced them by the Najdi ones. Many of them have actually stated that the use of Ajami features is 'embarrassing'. Eckert (1998:185) stated that "...as they develop socially, adolescents may move out of their neighbourhood networks into networks that may have quite different socio-economic character". This shows that the younger groups are more prone to moving into different social networks than older generations. In Addition, Al-Wer (1991:147) found that in the Arab world, younger speakers seem to be the most sensitive in terms of sociolinguistic connotations of different variants and are more compelled to adopt linguistic innovations. In addition, the young group has shown to be the most social. Whether male or female, all young Ajamis stated they spend more time with friends from different ethnicities than with their family.

5.2.2. Levelling and Convergence in KA

The prestige of the Najdi dialect, which is on par with and sometimes ahead of SA, and the possible effect of Farsi Ajamis, can shed light on the direction of accent change in Kuwaiti Arabic. The different accents of Ajamis and Najdis in Kuwait seem to be heading in a direction where most change is reflected in the speech of Ajamis: this was defined by Giles (1991:63-4) as 'convergence', which is "a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocalic features". Convergence seems to be the direction of [ʤ] and [s] in KA, where Najdi features seems to gradually replace the Ajamis features. Although Giles' (1991) use of 'convergence' was concerned with the change of different features affecting both communities, in KA, 'convergence' seems to affect both the Najdi and Ajami groups. This may be due to the prestige the Najdi

features hold in Kuwait in comparison to the Ajami dialect. Convergence found in the Ajami speech is believed to be lead to dialect levelling, which is defined as a phenomenon whereby certain dialectal varieties are losing their features and speech forms across different communities are becoming more similar. Trudgill (1986:98) defines dialect levelling as the 'attrition' or 'reduction' of variants supported by a close-knit network structure. In Kuwait, Ajami [ʤ] and [sˁ] have been shown to be used less frequently by the second and third generation of Ajamis and are being replaced by the Najdi variants. The Ajami speakers' change in accent features in the Kuwaiti context shows a tendency towards dialect levelling, where the outcome of this levelling is the gradual adoption of Najdi variants. The change involves moving away from phonetic realisations that are thought to be socially unacceptable as they are usually ridiculed. Labov (1972:299) commented on a similar case, where he investigated the correlation of ethnicity, age and gender with linguistic features of the stigmatised rural dialect in Martha's Vineyard:

> When the rural speaker arrives in the city, he usually finds that his country talk is ridiculed. Even if it was a marker of local identity, and a source of prestige at home, he may already be conscious of the provincial character of his speech before he came to the city. As a result we see a rapid transformation of the more salient features of the rural dialects as speakers enter the city.

In this study, Ajamis behaviour has led to gradual loss of difference between their accent and certain features of the Najdi dialect. The frequency of use of [ʤ] has decreased and has been replaced with Najdi [j], while [sˁ] is rarely used in secondary

emphasis. The [q] as a realisation of [ɣ] is slowly, yet gradually, increasing in the speech of Ajamis.

This convergence and levelling in KA is triggered by many aspects of social marking (linguistic contact, age, gender, ethnicity, prestige), as well as being personally motivated in certain respects; for example the need to belong to a different social group (as discussed in 5.2.1), and the belief that an accent would reflect a person's identity. It appears that the Najdi dialect is generally more stable as it has the local prestigious status, while the Ajamis are gradually and significantly losing their accent features. However, in the use of [q] for /ɣ/, whereby male Najdis' use of [q] has declined, and female Ajamis use of [q] has increased from one generation to the other. Change is 'bidirectional', where both ethnic groups are moving towards the other variant. In this change, it is unclear whether one feature would override the other or both variants will be kept.

Dialect levelling and contact has been shown to influence language change (Trudgill 1986, L. Milroy 1987, Kerswill & Wiiliams 2000 amongst others); this is because people who live in any society have some level of contact with their neighbours due to the fact that they 'share' the same resources and engage in daily affairs, which supports the need for mutual understanding of a language (Thomason, 2001:3). The migrants from Iran to Kuwait were mainly seeking new economic opportunities there. Although they came with little knowledge of Arabic, they started learning Kuwaiti Arabic to enable them to succeed in their quest. Their contact with the Kuwaitis was originally limited as it was only aimed at accessing certain needs such as seeking information and obtaining goods and services. This type of contact was defined by

L.Milroy and Gordon (2003:117) as ‘indirect”, and often “an important local resource” to access certain goods and services.

5.2.3. The influence of age on KA

The mode of contact changed slightly from being indirect and attempting to reach certain services when the old generation (as represented in this study at least) received formal education and started to work side by side with Najdi Kuwaitis in governmental institutes. The ‘weak’ contact became slightly stronger, as Ajamis became more acquainted with Najdis. However, out of working hours, Ajamis would return to their family and friends (mostly also of Ajami origin). All old Ajamis in this study are able to speak fluent Farsi, or a dialect of Farsi. They use this language with their parents, cousins and most of their friends. Holes (1987:16) found that ‘social segregation’ and less mixing between two groups cause differences in the dialectical features as each group would maintain its dialectal differences.

However, with the change of Kuwait’s economic and social system, people from both ethnicities were brought closer to each other. The middle-aged group spoke less Farsi and increased their use of Arabic inside and outside their homes. This affected the Ajami dialect significantly as the use of Ajami variants decreased compared with the previous generation. The middle-aged Ajamis spent most of their time with their families, yet ten out of sixteen stated that they have a few Najdi friends with whom they have regular contact.

The social contact between Najdis and young Ajamis has been on the increase. All young Ajamis declared that they have friends from all ethnicities, and that they feel

confident with their Kuwaiti dialect as they believe it to be similar to the dialect of their Najdi friends. Most young Ajamis believe their dialect is different from that of their parents and that it is 'more Kuwaiti'. Many young Najdis only know that their friends are Ajamis from their family names, and they all believe that their friends' dialect is not different from their own. Eckert (2000:210-211) found that during adolescence, local (Najdi in the Kuwaiti society) linguistic forms are considered essential to 'adopt the style of a particular group' and thus declare belonging to that group. The adopted 'style' in Kuwaiti society seems to be the Najdi's as it is believed to be a reflection of the Kuwaiti identity. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) found that the change in social structure from an 'insulated' network, which consists mainly of kinsfolk and neighbours, to an 'integrated' network, which is concerned with a wider social context, affects the language of migrants significantly. The people who interact in an 'integrated' network are able to acquire more features from the society's dialect. In Kuwaiti society, the features that were being adopted by Ajamis are Najdi.

5.2.4. The influence of gender on KA

Many studies in the field of Arabic sociolinguistic variation suggest that female speakers lean towards the use of the locally prestigious dialect (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Shorrab 1981, Al-Wer 1991; Jassem 1993 among others). It is important to stress that this tendency is usually towards the prestigious local dialect, rather than the standard form. In fact, it was found in this study that while [ʤ] is the standard realisation of (ʤ) in Arabic, it is avoided in Kuwait as it does not coincide with the local prestige. This was also identified by Holes (1987), who analysed the use of different verb forms in Bahrain and found that some Arab Bahrainis are trying to avoid the SA form which happens to coincide with the Baharna form. He concluded that Arabs avoid the

Baharna's verb forms as they believe that the Baharna are lower in the social hierarchy, and thus their dialect holds less prestige, even if it is identical to the standard form.

Female speakers in this study have shown more use of the Najdi variants than the male speakers in all the variables under study. Why do female speakers in Kuwait use the Najdi variety more often? In non-diglossic communities, Trudgill (2000:73) notes that men usually use a language associated with 'toughness' as the reflection of 'masculinity' is their main concern. On the other hand, "better behaviour has traditionally obviously been expected from women". Although this may lead to language differences in terms of gender, it has also been shown that women tend to use the more locally prestigious features of a dialect. Female informants in this study have shown to use the prestigious variant regardless of whether this feature is local or regional. Male speakers, on the other hand, seem to adopt the feature of their networks.

This study has found that women in Kuwait are more sensitive than men to the relationship between prestige and social class. Al-Wer (1997) found that men in Jordan tend to use localized and older features which are often stigmatized, yet Jordanian women (in Karak, Sult and Nablus) use wider regional features regardless of being SA or not. The case in Kuwait seems to be different; for example, the use of [q] by middle-aged and young female Ajamis. The use of [q] is believed by these female speakers to be the Najdi prestigious feature, while [ɣ] is believed to be the Ajami one. It is also found that female speakers in Kuwait use more [j] than [ʤ] which is also believed to be the 'Kuwaiti' (hence prestigious) feature. Although it is

not an SA feature, [q] seems to hold more prestige. The probable explanation of the tendency for female Kuwaitis to use the Najdi realisations (in the use of [ʤ] and [s]) are due to social pressures on speakers to acquire the prestigious and 'correct' form employed by the prestigious community. Female speakers in Kuwait have shown to be highly sensitive to accent differences, and when an Ajami feature (such as the use of [sˤ] in the environment of secondary emphasis spread) is used, speakers are ridiculed. To avoid being different or less prestigious, female speakers feel greater pressure to use the most prestigious accent.

Kuwaiti male speakers have been shown to use features that are associated with 'toughness' and 'masculinity' regardless of prestige, while female speakers use the prestigious features regardless of it being SA or dialectal. Similarly in Iraq, Bakir (1986) conducted a study on the city of Basra in Iraq. He found that the women in Basra use more features of the Baghdadi prestigious dialect than men although these features are less standard. Their use was considered to be an attempt to gain higher status by belonging to the bigger city of Baghdad. Abu-Haider's (1989:479) results were similar, as he found that women in Baghdad "opt for the prestigious speech varieties" more than men. Haeri's (1997:169) study in Cairo also found that Cairene women use fewer SA features, and more features of Cairene Arabic which is believed to be more prestigious. In the case of (s) in secondary emphasis environment, female Ajamis use the Najdi variants more than male Ajami speakers, and this feature coincides with SA. Studies on Arabic dialects have shown that education influences the use of variants in a dialect (Holes 1987; Al-Muhannadi 1991; Khtani 1992; Haeri 1997 amongst others). In some of these studies, the degree of the use of SA features is associated with education, where highly educated people are expected to use more

SA. Holes (1987), for example, found that in Bahrain, educated Bahrainis show a gradual shift towards the use of SA variants more than their uneducated peers. However, Haeri (1997) found that in Egypt, speakers who have pursued university education use fewer SA features than high-school graduates as most mediums of education are in English in the universities. Although all informants in this study are educated, most of them use the local prestigious variant instead of the SA variant. Therefore, to female Kuwaitis, the prestige of a dialect is more important than local or regional features.

Not only have researchers found that women in the Arab world tend to use the regionally prestigious language, they have also found that female speakers tend to use the 'softer' (more pleasant) variants which reflect the femininity of Arab women (Suleiman 1985, 1986; Al-Wer 1991). Suleiman (1985) found that women in Jordan were also sensitive to the prestige of a language. Suleiman (ibid.) noted that women use urban variants because "[they] contains 'pleasant' sounds such as glottal stop /ʔ/ and the affricate /ʒ/". In this respect, Al-Wer (1991) found that Jordanian women believed that the urban Palestinian dialectal features are soft, and thus more suitable for women. However, the notion of 'softness' differs from one society to another. For example, Kuwaiti women's use of fewer [sˤ] tokens in the environment of emphasis spread could be due to an attempt to sound 'softer' and more 'feminine'. It has been found that female informants not only have fewer [sˤ] realisations, but they have also shown less degree of emphasis. In addition to softness, Kuwaiti women use [q] when realising (ɣ) more than the male informants do not because it reflects 'softness', but because many female informants believed it is trendy and 'sounded nice'.

While generally female speakers use more Najdi features than male speakers when comparing age groups, surprisingly, it was found that the decrease in the use of the Ajami variants is higher in the speech of male Ajamis from one generation to the other. Male Ajamis have shown a sharper drop in the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ], and in the use of [ʤ]. Ajami men have shown a radical shift in their dialectal use as it seems to be, at present, what their network expects from them. The old male generation was probably not expected to use other than the Ajami realisations as their network and community was almost purely Ajami, and the use of the Ajami variety was 'a signal of group solidarity and personal identity' (Trudgill, 2000:74). As mentioned previously, unlike Kuwaiti female speakers who associate their dialectal features with prestige, Kuwaiti male speakers conform to the expectations of their network. Male speakers feel the constant pressure to use the variants which are considered to be local societal norms and hence become part of the 'Kuwaiti' community.

It is assumed from the above that the social variables of ethnicity, prestige, age, and gender interact to shape the current dialect of Najdis and Ajamis in Kuwait which is most similar to the Najdi dialect. Najdis have shown that they believe that maintaining their language would foster and preserve the 'real' Kuwaiti identity. They believe it is the 'correct' form of Kuwaiti Arabic. The new generation of Ajamis agrees that the Najdi variants represent the Kuwaiti identity the most, and thus young Ajami speakers shows the most marked decrease in the use of the Ajami variants.

The exploration of these particular accent features Najdis and Ajamis in Kuwait has provided a pattern for predicting the future development of the accent whereby Najdis will preserve most of their variants, and Ajamis will show a significant shift towards

the Najdi features, thus abandoning the Ajami features. Although this study proposes the gradual disappearance of Ajami features in general, this may not be the case for the realisation of (ɣ) as [q]. Although the percentage use of [q] is high by all Najdis, the decrease is most obvious in the speech of the male group. On the other hand, more female Ajamis have shown an increased use of [q]. It is believed that the use of [q] will remain a feature of the Kuwaiti (Najdi and Ajami) dialect for some time. In fact, the Najdi dialect will remain the prestigious dialect, which for many, represents what is thought to be the 'real' Kuwaiti dialect.

5.3. Limitations of the Study and Future Studies

The current study investigated two ethnicities, two genders, and three age groups. There are many other ethnic groups in Kuwait (i.e. Iraqi, Bahraini, and other Saudi originated Kuwaitis) whose accent features no doubt contribute to what is being called the Kuwaiti accent in this study, so a future study needs to explore these further for a more comprehensive representation of KA. The investigation of other Kuwaiti communities would also help in understanding the current Kuwaiti dialect and the future of this dialect as well.

In addition, as there are only three age groups, many Kuwaitis are excluded from this study which may well have provided valuable insights (particularly with respect to future predictions for the development of the dialect which could have been tested further on even younger speakers). It would be interesting to investigate dialectal changes in the speech of the participating informants in the future by conducting another investigation which goes hand in hand with the current study. Hence by comparing this study with the future one, dialectal changes can be tracked.

Moreover, the effect of the social networks on the speech of Kuwaiti could be investigated further. The investigation of the informants' place of work or study, and the neighbourhood would definitely assist in understanding the features used. As time was limited, only a few phonological variables were investigated, while there are definitely other differences between the two ethnic groups under study. This study has explored the key consonantal differences found between the speech of Ajami and Najdi Kuwaitis in the light of sociolinguistic factors. Other linguistic differences deserve further exploration in the Kuwaiti community. For example, the use of /q/ (with its variants [q], [g] and [ʤ]) as well as /k/ (represented by variants [k] and [ʧ]) have shown to be relevant in the Kuwaiti community and have also been investigated in many other Arabic dialects with promising results (Holes1987; Al-Amadidhi 1985; Al-Muhannadi 1991, amongst others).

Education has been excluded as a social variable due to time limitations; however, the informants in this study had various levels of education. Another future study might benefit from adding education as a social variable, as many studies have shown that this factor correlates with linguistic realisations and it would be interesting to explore whether increased educational opportunities would encourage more use of SA. It would also be interesting to undertake a study of the Najdi dialect before and after the introduction of formal education (interviewing the old uneducated Najdis and the educated generation that comes after) so as to track the changes between very old and modern Najdi.

Finally, as this study depended solely on auditory analysis, the use of acoustic analysis in the future would help in providing more detailed information on the variants under study. It was difficult to record the speech of informants in this study in a more controlled sound-proof lab environment, as their homes were found to be a more naturalistic setting. Hopefully, a better recording environment could be set up in the future, which would help the researcher in carrying out acoustic analysis for the variables that require it such as (s).

6. Conclusion

This study investigated the sociolinguistic variation in the speech of Najdi and Ajami Kuwaitis. The investigation included three consonantal variables: (ʤ), (s) and (ɣ). It was found that all the variables and verb forms under study have shifted towards the variants of one ethnic community which is perceived as the prestigious form.

This study explored the effect of the social variables: ethnicity, age and gender on the realisation of the variables, and the effect of these social variables when interacting with each other. Ethnicity showed a clear effect on the realisation of the variables as it is also associated with prestige and social-status. The Najdis hold the highest position in the social scale due to their ethnic history (regardless of the fact that some Najdis are not economically powerful), and thus show a tendency to constantly preserve the Najdi accent investigated. The Ajamis, on the other hand, hold the lowest position in the social scale, and thus show the tendency to drop their accent variants in favour of the Najdi ones regardless of their economic status (cf. Holes, 1987).

Age was also a significant social factor affecting the realisation of the variables. Age has shown a clear link with social network. The social and economic growth of Kuwait has shown a straightforward effect on the social network of Kuwaiti Ajamis. The effect of age could be linked to language choice, as older informants keep their dialectal features as a reflection of their belonging to a certain community (cf. Bassiouney 2009). In the Kuwaiti community, age is correlated with the use of the Ajami dialectal features and shows a strong tendency towards dialect levelling (cf. Trudgill 1986).

The Najdis in Kuwait believe themselves to be the 'real' Kuwaitis, and thus their dialect is perceived to be the 'real' Kuwaiti dialect. This belief was supported by historic and economic evidence, which may have been the reason behind the Ajami adoption of Najdi variants. Through long-term dialect contact, The Ajami accent has gradually transformed and now sounds more similar to the Najdi accent. This gradual change can be seen in this study through the analysis of the speech of the Ajami age groups and their realisation of the variables under study. The young Ajamis' use of variants is very similar to the Najdis'. All young Najdis believe that their Ajami friends speak exactly like them, and thus their speech represents the 'real' Kuwaiti speech.

Gender as a social variable proved to be influential in the realisation of most phonological variables. It was shown that female Kuwaitis are more conscious in their use of Najdi variants as they were able to identify which variants are Najdi and which are not, and these are interpreted as 'Kuwaiti' and 'not Kuwaiti' respectively. Another important aspect of gender marking was shown in the sharper drop in the use of

Ajami variants in the speech of male Ajamis. When comparing one age group to the other, it was found that the Ajami variants decreased more in the speech of male Ajamis than their female counterpart. This might be due to the increasing demand on the part of male Ajamis to acquire local societal norms and prestigious forms to become submerged in an all-Kuwaiti community and receive better economic opportunities.

All Najdis believe that certain features of their dialect reflect a person's social identity and belonging to a community. Therefore, most Najdis would attempt to 'correct' their children's use of non-Najdi variants when possible. All young Ajamis agree that one should 'correct' a relative or friend so that their pronunciation shifts towards the Najdi dialect, and some believe that their parents' accent (speakers from the old group) is an 'embarrassment'. The labelling of Ajamis as 'different' and 'foreigners' in the past is no longer an issue in Kuwait, however, there is still some distance kept between the two groups. Language differences used to be the largest barrier preventing Ajamis from being accepted in the Kuwaiti community. As such, the apparent dialect transformation seems to play a major role in bringing the two ethnic groups closer to one another.

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Appendix 1
Coding of informants who participated in this study

Speaker code	ethnicity	age	gender	education
OFN1	Najdi	50-60	female	university graduate
OFN2	Najdi	52	female	university graduate
OFN3	Najdi	50-60	female	university graduate
OFN4	Najdi	56	female	college graduate*
MFN1	Najdi	30-40	female	university graduate
MFN2	Najdi	32	female	masters graduate
MFN3	Najdi	30-40	female	college graduate
MFN4	Najdi	33	female	masters graduate
YFN1	Najdi	21	female	undergrad. student
YFN2	Najdi	18	female	undergrad. student
YFN3	Najdi	19	female	undergrad. student
YFN4	Najdi	22	female	university graduate
OMN1	Najdi	55	male	PhD graduate
OMN2	Najdi	57	male	university graduate
OMN3	Najdi	51	male	college graduate
OMN4	Najdi	60	male	college graduate
MMN1	Najdi	36	male	masters graduate
MMN2	Najdi	37	male	university graduate
MMN3	Najdi	31	male	university graduate
MMN4	Najdi	30	male	college graduate
YMN1	Najdi	20	male	undergrad. Student
YMN2	Najdi	19	male	undergrad. Student
YMN3	Najdi	19	male	undergrad. Student
YMN4	Najdi	20	male	college graduate
OFA1	Ajami	55	female	college graduate
OFA2	Ajami	53	female	university graduate
OFA3	Ajami	52	female	college graduate
OFA4	Ajami	50-60	female	college graduate
MFA1	Ajami	37	female	masters graduate
MFA2	Ajami	33	female	university graduate

MFA3	Ajami	34	female	university graduate
MFA4	Ajami	30-40	female	diploma
YFA1	Ajami	20	female	undergrad. student
YFA2	Ajami	20	female	undergrad. student
YFA3	Ajami	21	female	undergrad. student
YFA4	Ajami	20	female	undergrad. student
OMA1	Ajami	50-60	male	university graduate
OMA2	Ajami	59	male	college graduate
OMA3	Ajami	51	male	university graduate
OMA4	Ajami	58	male	PhD graduate
MMA1	Ajami	35	male	university graduate
MMA2	Ajami	30	male	college graduate
MMA3	Ajami	32	male	university graduate
MMA4	Ajami	31	male	college graduate
YMA1	Ajami	18	male	undergrad. student
YMA2	Ajami	22	male	undergrad. Student
YMA3	Ajami	18	male	undergrad. Student
YMA3	Ajami	18	male	undergrad. student

- College graduates have a two year diploma as opposed to university graduates who have a bachelors degree

Appendix 2

Target words presented in the controlled data*

Words with /ʤ/

Word in SA	Meaning	word in SA	meaning
/ʤabal/	Mountain	/marʤa:n/	coral- male name
/raʤul/	Man	/naʤim/	star- male name
/ḥa:ʤiz/	Barrier	/riʤil/	leg
/ʤamir/	live coal	/faʤir/	dawn
/siʤʤa:da/***	Rug	/ḥaʤ/	pilgrimage
/naʔʤda/	Ewe	/waʤh/	face
/ʔaʤu:z/	old woman	/durʤ/	drawer
/ʤa:r/	Neighbor	/ʤa:bir/	bonesetter-male name
/ʤo:z/	Walnut	/ʤalla:d/	wrap-headsman
/masʤid/***	Mosque	/ʤahra/	area in Kuwait
/miʤda:f/	Oar	/ʤanna/	heaven
/ʤara:d/	Grasshopper	/maʤalla/	magazine
/ʤantˁa/**	Handbag		

Words with /s/

Word in SA	Meaning	word in SA	meaning
/lsurra/	area in Kuwait	/misma:r/	wall nail
/sikki:n/	Knife	/satˁiḥ/	roof
/sim/	Poison	/sufra/	spread
/sirwa:l/	Pants	/masraḥ/	theatre
/sad/	Dam	/saxxa:n/	heater
/marsa/	Harbor	/musajtˁir/	in control
/nisir/	Eagle	/fistiq/	pistachio
/ra:s/	Head	/lasma:k/	fish
/kursi:/	Chair		
/alma:s/	Diamond		
/mistˁara/	Ruler		

/misbaːḥ/	Beads	
/saqf/	Ceiling	

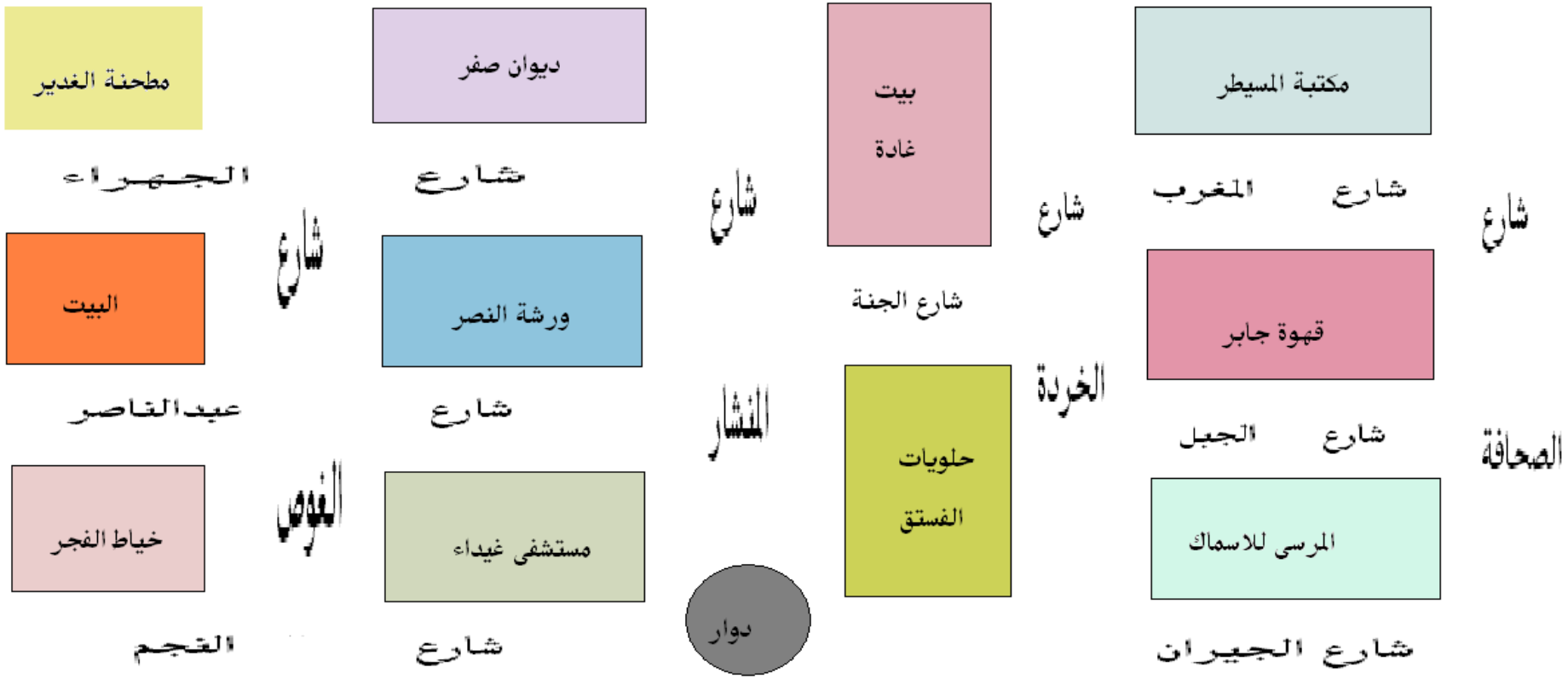
Words with /ɣ/

Word in SA	**Meaning**	**word in SA**	**meaning**
/ɣiju:m/	Clouds	/ɣaza:la/	deer
/burɣi:/	Screw	/ɣurfa/	room
/ɣawwa:sˁ/	Diver	/ɣa:z/	gas
/maɣrib/	Sunset	/ɣisˁn/	branch
/ɣu:ri:/	Teapot	/ɣa:ba/	forest
/ɣura:b/	Raven	/ɣaljo:n/	pipe
/raɣwa/	Foam	/ɣadi:r/	river-female name
/ɣuba:r/	Dust	/ɣajda:ʕ/	female name
/idlaɣ/**	Sock	/ɣa:da/	female name
/maɣsala/**	Sink	/ɣo:sˁ/	diving
/ɣa:r/	Cave	/ɣalatˁ/	wrong
/ɣassa:la/**	washing machine	/ɣasal/**	wash
/sˁibɣ/	Paint		

* The words are presented in the picture elicitation and the map task
** These words also have target /s/
*** These words are not found in SA. They are KA words

Appendix 3

Map task implemented in the study



Appendix 4

Transcription of a Map-task interview

Researcher: [iða ka:nat irfi:ʤtiʧ ʕind ilmaktaba…wo tabi:n itddalli:nha be:tkom, iʃlo:n itddalli:nha]

OFA3: [i:…agulaha…ʃisma… a:..min makatabat ilmusˁajtˁir]

Researcher: [i: bala]

OFA3: [i: ze:n…ʕajal agulaha ru:ḥaj…la xalaj ʃa:ri ilmaɣrib ala ʕi:dich iljisa:r wu ru:ḥaj ʃa:riʕ ilxurda…wu:…ʕala jisa:rich aku: gahwwa…gahwwat ʤa:bir…ji:ʧ ʃa:riʕ ilʤanna jimi:n…liffaj…baʕde:n titˁli:n ʕala ʃa:riʕ ilmunʃa:r… a:…baʕde:n kamlaj si:i:da… ji:ʧ diwwar… xðaj Ɵla:Ɵtarba:ʕ (long silence)]

Researcher: [ha: ʧinna hawantai]

OFA3: [i: (laugh)…walla sˁiʤ…ze:n..xal agu:l…ʃisma…gabil ildiwwa:r…ji:ʧ ʃa:riʕ ʕabdilna:sʕir ʕala i:diʧ iljimi:n…kamlaj si:da…ilbe:t ilburtuqa:li: be:tna…sˁaḥ]

Researcher: [i: ʕadil…tˁajib…ʃinu: ilʃiwariʕ illi: ʕala be:tkom]

OFA3: [a:…ʃa:riʕ ʕabdilna:sʕir…wo:…ʃariʕ ilʤahra]

Researcher: [bes]

OFA3: [ha:… i:… la…aku: ʃa:riʕ ilɣo:sˁ baʕad]

Researcher: [o:kaj…wu ʃinhi: ilama:kin illi: itˁil ʕala ʃariʕ ilɣo:sˁ]

OFA3: [a:..ilmatˁḥana…ilɣadi:r…wo diwa:n sˁafar…wu be:tna…warʃat ilnasˁir…wu baʕad ha:ða xajjatˁ ilfajir…wu baʕad… a:…ʃisma…mustaʃfa ɣajda]

Researcher: [wu ʃinhi: ilamakin illi: itˁil ʕala ʃa:riʕ ilxarda]

OFA3: [be:t ɣa:da…wu ḥalawi:jat ilfustuq…wu:…wu ilmaktaba…ilmusˁajtˁir…baʕad…laḥða]

Researcher: [ixðaj ra:ḥtiʧ]

OFA3: [i:…maktabat ilmusˁajtˁir…giltaha:…wu aku gahwat ʤa:bir…wu ilmarsa illi jibi:ʕ simaʧ…walla tabi:n agu:l ilmasmaka]

Researcher: [la…la xalli: ikuwajti:]

OFA3: [i:… okaj…baʕad ʃinu:]

Researcher: [a:xir su a:l…maḥal ilsimaʧ jitʕil ʕala ʧam ʃa:riʕ…wu ʃinu ihum]

OFA3: [a:…waḥid aӨne:n Ɵala:Ɵ…arbaʕ…arbaʕ ʃuwariʕ]

Researcher: [ʃinu ihum]

OFA3: [i:.. a:…ʃa:riʕ ilʤi:ra:n…wu ilsʕaḥa:fa….wu ilʤabal…wu ʃa:riʕ ilxurda]

Translation:

Researcher: if your friend was at the bookshop, and you want to guide her to your house…how do you do that?

OFA3: I will tell her…from Al-Musaiter bookshop?

Researcher: yes

OFA3: yes…ok…then I will tell her go to…no let Al-Maghrib street on your left hand and turn to Al-Khurda street….and on your left the coffee shop…Jabir coffee shop. Al-Janna street will be on your right, then turn. Then, you will find yourself on Al-Munshar street. Then continue straight ahead, you will see a roundabout…turn around it three quarters (silence).

Researcher: What, it seems that you've changed your mind?

OFA3: (laugh) yes, by God. OK, let me continue…what was I going to say? Before the roundabout, you'll pass AbdulNassir street on your right hand, take the street straight ahead. The orange house is our house. Is this correct?

Researcher: Yes, correct. OK, what are the streets that your house overlooks?

OFA3: um…AbdulaNassir street and Al-Jahra street.

Researcher: that's it?

OFA3: Um…yes…no…there is Al-Ghous street as well.

Reseracher: OK, and what are the places that overlook Al-Ghous street.

OFA3: Um…the mill…Ghadeer and Safar's Diwan…and our house….and Al-Nasir workshop….and also Al-Fajir tailor….and also….what else…Ghaida hospital

Researcher: and what are the places that overlook Al-Khurda street?

OFA3: Ghada's house and Al-Fustuq sweets…and …and the bookshop…Al-Musaiter…and also…

Researcher: take your time

OFA3: yes…Al-Musaoter bookshop….I said that…and there is Jabir's coffee shop and the Marsa that brings fish…or do you want me to call it the fish place?

Researcher: no…no…let it be Kuwaiti.

OFA3: yes…ok…what else?

Researcher: last question, the fish place overlooks how many streets and what are they?

OFA3: um…one two three four…four streets.

Researcher: name them?

OFA3: yes, um…Al-Jiran street, and Al-Sahafa…and Al-Jabal…and Al-Khurda street.

Appendix 5

Post Interview Questionnaire

Personal Information (please circle):

- **Name (optional):…….**

Age: 50-60 30-40 22-18

female male Sex:

- **Educational level:**

  a) **primary**

  b) **intermediate/secondary**

  c) **college/university please specify:……**

  d) **other please specify:……**

Languages spoken/written (please circle):

Arabic	**Spoken**	**Written**
Farsi:	**Spoken**	**Written**
English:	**Spoken**	**Written**
Other: **Please specify:…….**	**Spoken**	**written**

Please read the questions below and answer carefully:

1. **What language or variety of a language did you first speak as a child?**

……

2. **Can you fluently speak the language you first spoke as a child? Yes No**

3. **Can you understand the language you spoke first as a child? Yes No**

4. **What languages do you speak/hear at <u>home</u>? ……..**

    a. **your parents: speak hear**

    b. **you spouse: speak hear**

    c. **your siblings: speak hear**

    d. **your children: speak hear**

    e. **your friends: speak hear**

    f. **in gatherings: speak hear**

5. **Do you think knowing the language of your parents/grandparents is important? Yes No**

6. **What language(s) do you use in gatherings outside home?**

……

Do you have other remarks you would like to add?

……

……

Thank you for your cooperation ☺

Appendix 6

The use of 'ArabiCorpus' to find the frequency of word with target /ʤ/

107	جلاد	20977	مجتمع	11	واجد
1397	جسر	1596	جنة	115	خديج
424	جاسم	1433	نجم	2101	جاهز
3813	جهاد	42	مرجان	88	رجّع
27824	مجال	68951	جديد	5356	مجلة
443	محتاج	1770	فجر	2860	حج
23600	وجود	1421	جبال	16334	جَمعة
2029	عاجل (في اللهجة: مؤدب)	994	جاجز	11050	جهاز
1767	جواز	183	جمر	60	مجهر
3513	سجن	743	عجوز	57	نجدي
152	جهنم	1800	جار	5211	جُمعة
3	جُبن	2557	مسجد	1419	مجرة
239	دجاج	7	مجداف (stem)	236	جاهل
63	نعجة	13632	برنامج	524	مجانين
10361	وجه	4279	جميلة	79	جيت
484	ماجد	5302	اتجاه	11506	رَجل
1455	واجه	75	جراد	1396	جابر
516	جَمَلٌ	871	جنطة (في اللهجة: حقيبة)	1085	جيب
1045	شجرة	2355	جناح	395	سجادة
		400	نجار	802	تاجر

Appendix 7

Lexical classification of words with target /ʤ/

Groups I & IV		Group II		Group III	
Word in KA	meaning	Word in KA	meaning	Word in KA	meaning
[ʤa:hiz] or [ja:hiz]	ready-tailored	[maʤalla]	magazine	[wa:jid]	much
[raʤʤaʕ] [rajjaʕ]	to vomit-returned	[ḥaʤ]	piligrimage	[xada:j]	fool
[ʤamʕa] [jamʕa]	cluster	[ʤiha:z]	equipment	[mija:ni:n]	crazy (pl)
[naʤdi] [najdi]	from Najd	[miʤhar]	microscope	[jait]	I came
[ʤimʕa] [jimʕa]	Friday	[maʤarra]	galaxy	[rajjal]	man
[ʤa:hil] [ja:hil]	illiterate child	[ḥa:ʤiz]	boundry	[ji:b]	bring
[ʤa:bir] [j:abir]	male name-bonesetter	[miʤda:f]	leverage	[jidi:d]	new
[siʤa:dda] [sija:dda]	rug	[ʤantˁa]	bag	[ʕaju:z]	old woman
[ta:ʤir] [ta:jir]	merchant	[dirʤ]	drawer	[ri:jl]	leg
[ʤannah] [janna]	heaven	[ʤalla:d]	gift wrap	[jih]	came
[naʤim] [najim]	male name-star	[ʤisir]	bridge	[waijh]	face
[mirʤa:n] [marja:n]	male name-coral	[ʕaʤi:b]	strange	[inʕaja]	goat
[faʤir] [fajir]	dawn	[maʤa:l]	field		
[ʤabal] [jibal]	mountain	[ʤami:l]	beautiful		
[ʤamir] [jamir]	ember	[ʤari:da]	newspaper		
[ma:ʤid] [ma:jid]	male name-commendable				
[ʤa:r] [ja:r]	neighbour				
[masʤid] [masjid]	mosque				
[ʤara:d] [jara:d]	grasshopper				
[ʤana:ḥ] [jana:ḥ]	wing				
[naʤʤa:r] [najja:r]	family name-carpenter				
[ʤawa:d] [jawa:d]	male name-horse				

[miḥta:ʤ] [miḥta:j]	need - needy				
[mawʤu:d] [mawju:d]	available				
[ʕa:ʤil] [ʕa:jil]	sudden- then				
[muʤʤarad] [mujjarad]	bared - only				
[ʤabha] [jabha]	battle field - forehead				
[ʤahra] [ijhara]	city name				
[ʤu:z] [ju:z]	allow - walnut				
[ʤuhar] [juhar]	male-name- jewel				
[ʤild] [jild]	leather				
[jitraʤʤah] [jitrajjiah]	hope - beg				
[ʕa:ʤz] [ʕa:jiz]	fall short - disable				
[finʤa:n] [finja:n]	tea cup				
[aʤnibi] [ajnibi]	foreigner				
[ʤa:ðu:m] [ja:ðu:m]	nightmare				

Appendix 8

The Farsi phonetic inventory

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g	ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m			n							
Trill				r							
Tap or Flap											
Fricative		f v		s z	ʃ ʒ				χ		h
Affricate					tʃ dʒ						
Lateral fricative											
Approximant							j				
Lateral approximant				l							

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

Appendix 9

Example of Questions asked in the Dialectal Questionnaire

1. Who do you think says [sidʒdʒa:da]?
2. Why do you think many people say [sidʒdʒa:da] not [sijja:da]?
3. You said, [najim], [jibal] and [sijja:da], why use [j] not [dʒ]?
4. Which one do you think Kuwaitis use [sidʒdʒa:da] or [sijja:da]?
5. Do you think people can tell your ethnicity from your speech?
6. Are you able to tell where people originally come from just from their speech?
7. Do you have friends from Najdi/Ajami origins? Do they have certain differences in their speech?
8. Which word sounds more Kuwaiti [ra:sˤ] or [ra:s]?
9. Have you heard people say [ra:sˤ] before? Or use [sˤ] for [s]?
10. Do you hear older people in the family say words with [sˤ] instead of [s]?
11. Do you think there is a difference between [ra:sˤ] and [ra:s]? In what way?
12. Which one is more Kuwaiti: [ɣarb] or [qarb]? Why?
13. Why do you think many Kuwaitis use [q] for [ɣ]?
14. Do you think Kuwaitis should use [q] although it's not *fusˤḥa*?
15. Do you think the use of [q] is Najdi? Do you know where it comes from?
16. Who do you think says [ɣarb] not [qarb]?
17. Have you realised that you use [q] more than your sister? Why do you think?