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Social Networks implications on Accommodation in an Inter dialectal Encounter; the case of Syrian refugees in Oran

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Dedications

I dedicate this humble work to:

My parents Said and Leila,

My lovely grandparents, who always encouraged me to pursue my studies with their prayers,

My brothers, Dayaa eddine, Nadim, Akram, my little Sister Youssra, and my beloved Mohamed Amine for the tremendous support he has been proffering to me whenever I thought of giving up.

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Abstract

This research falls under dialect contact studies, it examines the linguistic accommodation of the Syrian refugees living in the city of Oran. The Syrian community has been in Oran since the burst of war in Syria, thus, has been in contact with Algerians since then, which resulted in accommodation of the formers to the latter. It accounts for convergence and divergence strategies, through the recruitment of five distinctive variables namely; lexical accommodation, the phonological variables; [g,q], and inclination of the final [a], the morphological variable; the imperfective [n-], in addition to the syntactic negation variable [ma]. It differs from the previous Arabic contact studies (S'hiri, 2003; Chakrani, 2015; Mohammed, 2018) in that it investigates accommodation from the part of Middle Eastern speakers to Western Arabic speakers. The thesis provides a qualitative and a quantitative description, of the linguistic practices of 34 Syrian speakers. It also dissects the impact of the independent variables (social networks, Attitudes, age, and gender). The findings revealed that these social factors are of paramount importance to the process of linguistic accommodation, social networks proved to be of great significance, the more open are the social networks, the higher is the accommodation towards the supra-local dialect. Gender-related variability seems to have ground on the process, as Syrian men outscored women in their accommodative moves. Contrary to age, which was of lower impact, the psychological factors played a salient role in dictating the linguistic practices of the speakers. Hence, the more favorable attitudes, speakers display towards the dialect and its speakers, the more they are vulnerable to accommodate towards Oran spoken Arabic.

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List of Abbreviations

CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
SN	Social Networks
ORSA	Oran spoken Arabic
SSA	Syrian Spoken Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic

Transcription Norms

Consonants

Symbol	Description
[ʔ]	Glottal Plosive
[b]	voiced bilabial plosive
[t]	voiced dental Alveolar
[θ]	voiceless interdental fricative
[ʤ]	voiced palato Alveolar Affricate
[ʒ]	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
[ħ]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
[x]	voiceless velar fricative
[d]	voiced dental-alveolar plosive
[ð]	voiced interdental fricative
[r],[r̲]	voiced dental-alveolar tap/rolled
[z]	voiced dental-alveolar fricative
[s]	voiceless dental-alveolar fricative
[š]	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
[ṣ]	voiceless velarized dental-alveolar fricative
[ḍ]	voiced velarized dental-alveolar plosive
[ṭ]	voiceless velarized dental-alveolar plosive
[ḍ]	voiced velarized interdental fricative
[ʕ]	voiced pharyngeal fricative
[ɣ]	voiced velar fricative
[f]	voiceless labiodental fricative

[q]	voiceless uvular plosive
[g]	voiced velar plosive
[k]	voiceless velar plosive
[m]	voiced bilabial nasal
[n]	voiced dental-alveolar nasal
[h]	voiceless glottal fricative
[w]	voiced bilabial glide
[j]	voiced palatal glide

Vowels

Symbol	Description
[a]	Short low back unrounded
[i]	Short high front
[u]	Short high back rounded
[a:]	Long Low back unrounded
[i:]	Long high front
[u:]	Long high back rounded
[e]	Short Mid Front
[o]	Short Mid back rounded

General Introduction

General Introduction

Overview and Research aims

Dialect contact is, reportedly, the genesis of language variation and change. It has been agreed upon, that the inescapable consequence of contact between reciprocally intelligible dialects, is a process referred to as linguistic accommodation (Trudgill, 1986). Howard Giles triggered the notion of accommodation in the 1970's, the architect of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). The whole idea stemmed from Giles's adjustments of his Cardiff accent when addressing Welsh speakers (Giles, 2016). Reputedly, chained by different attitudes, speakers manipulate their linguistic moves, to either extend or diminish social distance (Gallois et al., 1995). Furthermore, such moves are believed to engender both positive and negative outcomes (Dragojevic et al., 2015; Giles et al., 1991).

While early dialectological research excluded patterns of mobility and migration from language research (Britain, 2010). The integration of sociolinguistic principles into dialectology, through the pioneering work of Trudgill (1986), shifted the interest towards mobile communities. His main premise was that, when linguistic convergence occurs over a long period, such as in migratory settings, or colonization, the accommodative instances occasionally transform into permanent features of the speakers' dialect and, therefore lead to language change (Trudgill, 1986). Moreover, migration proved to have various repercussions, not only on the demographic making of the hosting area but also on the network densities of migrants and of the destination societies likewise (Kerswill, 2005).

Disruptions in the social networks of migrants in national and transnational settings, for their part, turned out to have scalar effects on the linguistic behavior of speakers and, on accommodation in particular (Milroy, 2002). Yet, in their recent publication (Stohl et al., 2016) pinpointed that the literature of communication accommodation theory was devoid of clear

allusion to the role of social networks in intergroup communication, and have set in motion useful insights about research which can be undertaken within this area.

The array of the regional and geographical varieties found in the Arab world and the degree of divergence between them, paved the way for accommodation, whenever speakers of these dialects come into contact. Nevertheless, studies dealing with these vernaculars appear to be very scarce. Traditionally, the larger geo-linguistic division in the Arab world seems to embrace the Eastern vs. Western dialects of Arabic. There is growing evidence, however, that during Arabic inter-dialectal encounters, Western speakers often take the initiative of accommodation (S'hiri, 2003), this unidirectional accommodation has been ascribed to some attitudinal factors.

Hachimi (2013) vindicates the process by the Mashreq / Maghreb ideology. Given the fact that the Maghreb was subject to intense influence from the French, with the Algerian case ahead of the other regions (130 years of colonization), it is believed that it did not preserve its purity. Eventually, Hachimi expounds that this upgrading of the eastern dialects is driven by the negative attitudes, emanating from the Mashreqi's perceptions of authenticity and purity of the Western varieties of Arabic (Hachimi, 2013).

Mindful of this, the case under scrutiny, casts light on the opposite end of the continuum of this long-established tradition, as it targets accommodation from the part of easterners. Accordingly, this study delves into the vicinity of dialect contact and ponders on joining the ends of the two theories, namely linguistic accommodation theory, and social network theory. It attempts to gauge the degree of accommodation of Syrians towards Oran spoken Arabic, through five variables, which are indexical of eastern and western dialects. The variables include lexical accommodation, the phonological variable [q], the variable [a], the imperfective pattern [n-], in addition to the syntactic negation pattern [ma š]. Furthermore, it aims at distilling

the role of the SNs, age, gender, and attitudes in enhancing and/or inhibiting linguistic accommodation among the Syrian refugees in Oran.

The Syrian Civil war and The Refugees' Arrival in Algeria

Syria witnessed anti-government demonstrations erupt in March 2011, inspired by the wave of the Arab Spring in other countries, these demonstrations, were further motivated by similar ones in the Middle East. It has been claimed that the Assad regime reacted violently to the peaceful demonstrations, exacerbating the situation, relying on security and intelligence services to disperse rallies and marches, often with live fire and detaining dissidents. However, things took a horrifying turn. Armed conflict broke out between government forces and opposition rebels by the end of 2011. The army, primarily the Alawite ruling class and state machinery, is pitted against a coalition of opposition insurgents, mostly Sunnis, in the war. However, because of the intervention of global and regional forces, the war's complexity has increased. Furthermore, the war's complexity has reached the edge, after the interference of global and regional forces, as well as Islamic Jihadists (Khan, 2018).

These events compelled the Syrians to leave their country, seeking asylum elsewhere. Based on the UNHCR of turkey on August 4th, 2020, the total number of Syrian refugees around the world reached 5,553,655 million, of which 31.657 are located in the North African quarter. Despite the ethnic ties that link Algeria to its Syrian counterpart, there exist strong historical relationships between the two people which stem from the Syrian hosting of Emir Abdelkader, the former military and Algerian leader, and many Algerians during wartime when this latter was under the French ruling. Algeria then felt the urge to reciprocate. Thus, it has welcomed many refugees from the very beginning of the Syrian crisis. According to the Algerian federal of foreign affairs, there are 43000 Syrian refugees in Algeria based on the census of May 2015. This number is dispatched along with the different Algerian states (Klaa, 2018).

General Introduction

Indeed, Algeria was the first North African country to accommodate the influx of Syrian migrants, by facilitating their entrance to its lands. Following the instructions of the previous president Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who ensured their immunity and safe conduct by assisting their accommodation, schooling, and healthcare and therefore ensuring their rapid integration.What enabled them to carry on their lives in a normal way (Kalaa, 2018).

Furthermore, Algeria has pursued a humanitarian policy regarding the residency of Syrian refugees, since under no circumstances, these refugees were gathered in special camps upon their entry to Algeria nor did they witness any form of isolation from the Algerian society, as is often the case in many other countries. Rather, the Algerian authorities did not place any legal or procedural restrictions on their movement, spread, and distribution all over Algeria, and granted them the freedom to reside in the entirety of the Algerian soil. Which led many Syrians, to the establishment of companies and the completion of private projects, where the Algerian citizen was able to benefit from the traditional Syrian industries and the commercial services they provide.

Moreover, despite the obstacles that might have faced these Syrians in Algeria, they have enjoyed a particular place in the Algerian society since Algerians have from their arrival treated them with certain solidarity and compassion. The Algerian government also ensured free schooling to refugees from primary school to university level. In return, Algerians have also benefited from the presence of Syrians in Algeria, given the fact that they have created many job opportunities in restaurants, construction sites, traditional industry, and handicrafts, contributing through this to the Algerian developmental process (Kalaa, 2018).

Oran, just like the other important coastal and economic cities in Algeria, formed no exception from attracting the Syrian comers given the fact that “cities are par essence places of

contact and heterogeneity" (Miller, 2007), Oran, hence, formed a locus of contact between Syrian comers and the residents.

Research Questions

Based on the previously mentioned literature, and to examine accommodation in the speech of Syrian refugees, this research departs from the following research questions:

- To what extent do the Syrian refugees accommodate to their Algerian counterparts?
- Do their social networks impinge their accommodative moves?
- Who are the higher accommodators, are they males or females?
- Does the age of the speakers influence their accommodative stances?
- How do Syrian's attitudes towards Oran spoken Arabic and its speakers affect their linguistic practices?

Regarding the first question, as it has been alluded to earlier, we have focused solely on selective variables, and that happened to be variable, hence, we had to listen to the recordings several times to gauge the variability of the five examined variables. As this study revolves around dialect study, it is neatly related to dialectology; however, the integration of the social aspect compels the researcher to cling to a sociolinguistic framework.

Hence, the second question strives to establish connections between the social networks of the speakers and their linguistic practices, questions three and four ponder on appraising the role of age and gender in the process of accommodation. Language attitudes proved to be of crucial importance in variationist, and sociolinguistic studies in general. Accordingly, question five probes the effects of attitudes in accelerating and/or inhibiting accommodation.

General Introduction

Significance of the Study

It stands to reason, that any sociolinguistic research can be a contribution to the field, even if it is for long-terms. As for the present study, we surmise that it will provide an impetus to Arabic dialect contact studies. The existing academic literature has mainly concentrated on dialects of the same geographical group often involving contact between urban and rural dialects of the same regions or the same dialect group, for instance, contact between Palestinians and Jordanians in Amman conducted by (Al-Wer, Enam, 2020), except scholars like; Chakrani (2015) and S'hiri (2003). Nevertheless, even these studies were too general in the sense that they did not employ any quantitative phonological or morpho-syntactic variables analysis; they were only concerned with lexical accommodation and emphasizing solely attitudes as a key factor behind the process. Moreover, they have all focused on the accommodation of western speakers towards speakers of the Middle East. This study differs from them in the sense that it targets the accommodation of Syrians towards a western Bedouin variety. Despite the presence of Syrian refugees in Algeria for more than ten years, to the best of my knowledge, no empirical work has been done with this category, albeit, the displacement of these refugees into diverse locations in the world has a lot to offer to both dialectology and sociolinguistics. Furthermore, the present study strives to display the particularity and the complexity of the Arabic dialects and to highlight the linguistic consequences behind their interference.

Notwithstanding the dynamics of social networks as a social factor behind contact-induced changes, research dissecting their role in the Arab world is very sparse or with marginal referral to the concept. Thus, it is hoped that this research will be of worth to social networks' literature and sociolinguistics theory likewise. Moreover, as accommodation theory was applied to a myriad of contexts, we suppose that this case of refugees will provide insights into similar contact situations and that the results of this research will collaborate in the development of the theory.

General Introduction

Structure of the Thesis

The present thesis contains four main chapters, the first of which is purely theoretical, it spreads out the main theoretical frameworks this survey departs from, a lengthy discussion of Giles's (1973) accommodation theory is provided, it uncovers, the different strategies related to the theory, and the various contexts, to which it was implemented. Later on, as the chapter moves forward, the concept of social networks in the social sciences is detailed, followed by its application to language research, the chapter is concluded with the different studies involving the effects of social networks on language.

The second chapter, on the other hand, is devoted to Arabic as a language, the standard form of the dialects in contact. It presents a historical account of the language, before, explaining the dialects' evolvement and typology in the Arab world, setting apart the western from the eastern Arabic dialects with special reference to Maghrebi dialects and dialects of the Levant, given their relevance to this study.

Chapter three is dedicated to the methodological considerations pursued in the present research, a detailed account of the procedures and the conditions of data collection; data gathering tools, and analysis is supplied, in addition, to an overview of the selected variables regarding previous studies dealing with them.

Finally, chapter four covers the research findings obtained in the present study, it starts with a bivariate analysis of the different variables, to shift toward a multivariate exam, always via the use of statistical tests, the different correlations coefficients are highlighted. Afterwards, the chapter concludes through a discussion of the interplay of the different independent variables and a conclusion of the findings. Finally, the thesis ends with the limitations of the study and the main recommendations for future research.

Chapter One

Review of the Literature

Chapter One Review of the Literature

1.1Introduction

This first chapter forms the theoretical backbone of the study, it sketches the main theories and the insights that it departed from. As dialect contact is at the focal point of interest of this research, a review of the phenomena, its various, types, repercussions, and the academic research revolving around it, is imparted. Nonetheless, given the fact that it involves contact in an Arab-speaking country, and between two Arabic varieties, much emphasis is placed on Arabic dialectology. Furthermore, as this study draws upon the principles of accommodation theory (Giles, 1973), this chapter shall endeavor to provide a synopsis of this framework, its major postulations, and studies touching on accommodation amongst Arabic speakers.

Latterly, because the rationale is to synthesize linguistic accommodation to a social phenomenon, namely social networks, in the last stage of this chapter, the author calls on Milroy's (1980) social networks theory, which represents a major contribution to sociolinguistics. Therefore, an account of the concept is provided, through the le former empirical researches.

1.2Language and Dialect Contact

Every discussion about language or dialect contact and their outcomes can be subsumed under Winford's (2003) definition: "Whenever people speaking different languages come into contact, there is a natural tendency for them to seek ways of bypassing the communicative barriers facing them by seeking compromise between there forms of speech" (p.2). Although the definition focuses on language, contact can be a function of dialects as well. In this vein, (Scotton, 2005)notes that contact occurs more between dialects rather than languages since people usually utilize dialects, not languages in their ordinary life.

Chapter One Review of the Literature

The spread of sociolinguistic approaches to dialectology in early 1960 has constituted a turning point, departing from traditional approaches in the field. Formerly, language study was the chief concern of contact linguistics, linguists were mainly concerned with more conservative language since dialects were perceived as corrupt forms of speech that are not worth study. Moreover, more attention was given to rural areas, focusing on older generation males, and generally on all those people whose lives are geographically and socially sedentary (Britain, 2010a).

Sociolinguistics, then, shifted the field towards another end, research after this reform involved urban areas, and various age and gender categories. Besides, people with diverse ethnic backgrounds and social statuses were integrated, such innovations can be observed in the groundbreaking work of Labov (1966), in New York City, which offered useful insights on language change and the methodology used for studying it. Nevertheless, these studies were characterised by their focus on nativeness. Mobility and migration patterns were excluded from such researches, Britain (2010) comments on this stating: "the early dialectological literature concerned itself rarely with intra-speaker or intra-community variability (p.4). Labov for example ignored 50 percent of the sample because of the lack of nativeness as a feature. Milroy (2002) also stands against this claim, contending that it is inconceivable that urban speech communities have ever reached the variationist ideal population of native speakers, detached from contact and mobility (Milroy, 2002).

Eventually, Peter Trudgill's (1986) seminal book; Dialects in contact, provided a strong vigor to the discipline, not solely concerning language contact consequences but also for a"reconfiguration and reanalysis" of dialect change on grounds of mobility(Britain, 2010).While Language contact implicates interference, between two linguistic systems. It is argued that language contact refers to contact between two genetically unrelated and mutually unintelligible varieties, whereas, dialect contact concerns contact between two reciprocally understandable

dialects, Myers Scotton (2006) explains: “when understandability fails, it usually means the speaker is literally speaking a different language”(p.18). The distinction between language and dialect contact is, indeed: “more one of degree than of kind” (Hickey, 2010,p .5).In line with this, (Kerswill & Williams, 2002) draw some basic distinctions among the two fields contending:

Far from being a limited "special case" of language contact, dialect contact is a phenomenon typologically different from language contact because it does not involve speakers learning a new language, either wholly (giving rise to varying degrees of bilingualism) or in a restricted sense (typically resulting in lexical borrowing, but without any other changes). Instead, items can be mixed apparently at will and with minimal loss of intelligibility (p. 82).

Although language or dialect contact denotes the same phenomena, these practices tend to differ in terms of outcomes. In this, Jahr (1999) argues: “There are certain language contact phenomena we can expect to find if there has been language contact (contact between languages without resource to direct communication), whereas we cannot necessarily expect the same phenomena if there was dialect contact (contact between mutually comprehensible language varieties)” (p.131). Jahr explains that, generally, with contact between languages, several phenomena can be obtained such as bilingualism, creation of mixed norms like pidgins, and heavy code-switching. At the other end, dialect contact triggers a distinct set of outcomes, which encompasses different types of loans/admixture, grammatical simplification, and levelling, in addition to creole and koine development (p.131).

In line with this claim, in his discussion about accommodation,(Auer, 2007), points that this term partakes in the field of dialect contact rather than language contact. According to him, accommodation among genetically distinct languages often result in outcomes, such as borrowing or code-mixing. However, accommodation between different language subsystems is connected to progressive, usually quantitative variations in the realization of morphological and

phonological variables. Nevertheless, he argues that a clear delimitation of both fields is problematic, particularly in cases of broadly distinct dialects or structurally very similar languages (Auer, 2007).

1.2.1Dialect Contact and Koineization

It has been claimed that the unavoidable consequence of contact between mutually understandable varieties is the process of linguistic accommodation. This points to a process whereby individuals alter their speech to resemble their interlocutors‟, although this, does not create any contrast at the level of understandability (Siegel, 1993; Trudgill, 1986).

When linguistic convergence takes place between speakers of different dialects over a long period, such as in migratory or colonization contexts, the accommodated instances progressively turn into constant features of the speakers‟ dialects, and consequently often emanate in language change, particularly if favorable attitudes are ascribed to the varieties in question (Trudgill, 1999; Britain, 2010). Accordingly, extensive and recurrent short-term accommodative acts generally trigger long-term accommodation, which in its turn results in what has been labeled as Koineization((Kerswill & Trudgill, 2005), Siegle (1985) defines it as:

A process that leads to the mixing of linguistic subsystems, that is, of language varieties that either are mutually intelligible or share the same genetically related superposed language. It occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties. A koine is the stabilized composite variety that results from this process. Formally, a koine is characterized by a mixture of features from the contributing varieties, and at an early stage of development, it is often reduced or simplified in comparison to any of these varieties (p.375).

He further adds that it is important to recognize two kinds of koines, contingent upon where they are spoken. The first is the regional koine, which for the most part, results from the contact between local vernaculars, of what is viewed as a single language. This sort of koine

stays in the district where the contributing vernaculars are spoken, even though it might be utilized externally likewise, as an exchange language.

The second type of koine, on the other hand, is the migrant koine. It might likewise result from contact between regional varieties; nevertheless, contact happens, not in the locale where the dialects begin, rather, in another area where enormous numbers of speakers of various regional dialects have moved. Moreover, it regularly turns into the essential language of the outsider local area and ultimately overrides the contributing variety(Siegel, 1985).

A variety of processes can be inferred from the discussion of Koineization. Since the latter is seen as an extreme case of new dialect formation, rising from speakers' convergence acts. Trudgill and Kerswill (2005) claim that there are many linguistic stages, that are likely to occur before the process koineization arrives at any completion, these processes embrace:

Mixing, which hints to: "the coexistence of features with origins in the different input dialects within the new community, usually because speakers have different dialect origins" (Trudgill and Kerswill, 2005, p.197). In her study of Koineization in Oran spoken Arabic, Labed (2014) retrieved many instances of mixing, which originate in both Sedentary and Bedouin varieties, such as the defective verbs /nabɣu/ we like, or /nwəlu/ we become (Labed2014,p.185).

Simplification, another practice, which appears to induce a new more regular dialect, involving a minimum of categories, which existed in the genuine dialect, such as gender case, and honorifics (Britain, 2006).

An example of simplification has been attested by (Al-Wer, Enam, 2020), during her study of new dialect formation in Amman Jordan, as he detected the emergence of a simplified pattern, that resulted in a form of the 2nd person plural pronominal suffix –kum (Al- Wer,2020).

Interdialect is also a byproduct of inter-dialectal contact, it denotes the creation of totally novel variants which never existed in the original dialects, but have emerged during the "acquisition of imperfectly accommodated forms" (Britain, 2006; Kerswill & Trudgill, 2005).

Reallocation, on the other hand, involves the persistence of some variants in the new dialect while, the difference which lies between this process and the previous one, is that the survived variants are used to fulfill completely novel functions (Britain, 2006; Kerswill & Trudgill, 2005). An example of this kind was presented by Labed (2014), where she evinced, that the sedentary possessive is at work, in the bedouinized urban variety of Oran, an example is: /təgʂera tæʕ əššıret/, the girls' evening celebration (Labed,2014,p.194).

Another process, which is of direct connection to the present study, is 'levelling', Trudgill (1986, p.98) defines the process as: "the reduction or attrition of marked variants". Marked in this sense, points to the "unusual forms or in a minority" (Trudgill, 1986). Hence, it points to the suppression of the socially or typologically marked or minority linguistic features in the interdialectal encounter, which succeeds people's movement. This process has been considered as one major factor, underpinning new dialects formation. This phenomenon is analogous to the notions of speech accommodation, just like leveling, short-term accommodative acts often result in long-term accommodation, and therefore lead to language change (Kerswill, 2003b). In this, Kerswill (2002) expounds:

When people speak different varieties, as in a new settlement, the dialect differences are likely to be exploited – consciously or passively – as part of accommodation. This canexplain the mechanism behind the survival of majority forms in a koine: There will be more „acts of accommodation" involving the adoption of majority rather than minority variants simply because there are more conversational contexts in which this can take place(p.680).

The outcomes of levelling, rests on a reduction of phonological, morphological, lexical, and morphosyntactic patterns. Albeit, morpho-syntactic and syntactic units might well be levelled, these cases are very scarce, due to the fact that these units tend to " crop up very infrequently in conversational speech"(Kerswill & Trudgill, 2005,p.199). This claim was validated by Miller's (2004) study of accommodation in Cairo, where she has noted that lexical categories are more accommodated to, than other units. Furthermore, as reported by Milroy (2002), the process of levelling might be regarded as a linguistic repercussion of a full-scale breakdown in the speakers‟ former localized networks, which have for a long historical period

, sustained a highly consistent set, of socially structured linguistic norms(Milroy,2002).

Two main types of levelling, have been distinguished, based on their leading factors. In this sense, levelling which emerges from accommodation and contact between speakers of distinct dialects is referred to as simply „Levelling‟, whereas, levelling, which is induced by geographical diffusion of features is named as regional dialect levelling or Supralocalisation(Britain,2009). This latter has been defined as a process "by which features spread out from a populous and economically and culturally dominant centre" (Kerswill, 2003,p.1). This, however, does not imply that geographical diffusion is not a by-product of contact. Rather, it seems likewise to be rooted in mobility and contact. As Kerswill (2003) explains: "at the individual level in such a diffusion model, speakers are in face-to-face contact with others, who have already adopted the new feature, and (for various reasons) they are motivated to adopt it themselves"(p.1). A recent study dealing with a situation of regional dialect leveling stems from Shetewi's (2018) study of the acquisition of variation and accommodation of Palestinian refugees‟ children, and teenagers to Damascene Arabic. In light of these distinctions, the case study under investigation involves a case of speech accommodation, therefore, to the first type of levelling. Many examples of this last are discussed in the coming sections.

1.2.2Mobility and Dialect Contact

Notably, dialect change is seen as a function of intra-systemic factors, external factors involving contact", in addition to social, political, and economic factors (Farrar, Jones,2002,p.1 cited in Kerswill,2005; Britain,2009,2010; Trudgill,1986). It makes sense that people‟s movement to another space can be the ultimate driving force behind language contact; a common feature of migratory settings is the occurrence of language or dialect contact, of course except for homogenous communities who migrate to an isolated area (Kerswill, 2005). Moreover, Migration is said to have effects on the social texture of the three communities: "The society of origin, the society of destination, and the migrants themselves" (Lewis 1982, p.25, summarising Mangalam (1968), as cited in kerswill, 2005, p.1).

It pursues, that migration has scalar sociolinguistic ramifications, for it is reported that it unbalances the demographical parities, of both the hosting population, and the population of origin, given the fact that, the transients are usually youth and economically dynamic agents. Besides, as the migrants are evacuated from recognizable social and sociolinguistic set-ups, they, upon their arrival, construct an ethnolinguistic minority, which needs to relate sociolinguistic ally to the new area of residency, which in its turn is altered by their appearance (Kerswill, 2005).

Migration has been defined as a: "movement across the boundary of an areal unit" (Boyle et al. 1998, p. 34, cited in Kerswill, 2005), however a displacement inside an areal unit implies a "local move" (Lewis, 1982, p. 10, cited in Kerswill, 2005). Displacing within the country borders, is referred to as „internal migration", and the people concerned are called, in-migrants.Respecting the significance of migration and the changes, it causes to human life, White (1980) contends the "net migration change [is] generally of much greater importance than natural change in its contribution to population change" (cited in Kerswill, 2005, p. 3).

Despite the definitional problems around migration, there is a conventional agreement upon its parameters that represent: space, time, destination, motivation, and socio-cultural factors (Lewis 1982, Boyle et al. 1998, as cited in Kerswill, 2005,). Space, points to whether migration is within or outside a country. Sociolinguistic ally speaking, it is assumed that in-migration has insignificant consequences compared to relocation across administrative frontiers. Besides, the longer is the distance, the greater are the cultural, educational, and linguistic consequences, and the greater is the impact of migration (Kerswill,2005).

Distance, is also a determinant factor, with regard to linguistic change in terms of altering the individual social networks, which can eventually speed processes such as assimilation and language shift, given the fact that direct contact appears to help to maintain a dialect or a language, more than an annual visit does(Kerswill,2005). However, the impact of distance is of a lesser extent nowadays, thanks to the availability of information communication tools. Moreover, directional parameters are also of great importance to sociolinguistics, since they are believed to impact the demographic parities of the communities involved, regarding age, socio-economic class,socio-cultural factors in addition to the language. Simultaneously, these are said to impact the densities of the individual social bonds in the host and the origin countries(Kerswill,2005).

A persistent case in Europe is the local moves in the inner cities, this case tends to result in the maintenance of close-knit networks as well as colloquial language varieties(Milroy, 1987). Whereas mobile residents tend to encourage linguistic innovations (J. Milroy 1982, Kerswill, 2000, 2005). In Great Britain for instance, the setting up of new cities in 1950‟s was behind new dialects formation (Kerswill & Williams, 2002). Time constitutes another salient pattern of migration since it implies continuity in thedisplacement, however, some periodic and repetitive movements referred to as circulation, can also lead to changes in the language.

As it has been previously mentioned, among the salient patterns of migration, social and political factors play a major role. Forced migration is among the first factors, which spawn processes such as multilingualism. Perhaps the well-known case stems from the history of slavery in the Americas during the 16th century; estimations suggest that 10 to 12 million Africans were forced to leave their lands for the Americas, the Caribbean, and the West Indies. These involuntary movements resulted eventually in phenomena like creoles and pidgins (Iliffe 1995, p. 131, as cited in Kerswill, 2005). The case study under investigation depicts a case of forced migration, given the fact that the civil war in Syria compelled the Syrians to leave their country seeking shelter elsewhere as refugees.

Nonetheless, according to Kerswill (2005), a clear-cut distinction between forced and voluntary migration cannot be drawn because of the various individual motivations. Accordingly, (Boyle et al. 1998, p.36, as cited in Kerswill, 2005, p.12) points out: "Different sub-groups of the population have different migration propensities, and there is a relatively small group who continue to move frequently (movers) and a larger group who rarely moves (stayers)", which means that the psychological parameters of migrants vary. In some cases, migration is seen as innovative and migrants are eager to travel, while in others, they tend to be more reserved and conservative. Hence, they try to cling to their former adherences (Kerswill, 2005).

Scholars discern between two types of relationships between the migrants and the recipient community, in this, they can be characterized by either „segregation" or of „participation", Coleman (1997, as cited in Kerswill,2005) contends, that these two kinds may be the natural outcome of socio-economic and demographic parameters, with relation to the educational level, earnings, and profession type. However, they can also be a reflex to the host society orientations. Hence, a group with segregate propensities, "fearing extinction, maximises its reproductive potential and minimizes contact with the outside world, through segregation, and by limiting

outmarriage", whereas more participatory migrants tend to "overcome the disadvantages of life as a new minority and to maximize social mobility and material standing", (Coleman 1997, 1471, in Kerswill,2005). This tendency does not involve assimilation, however, it may well result in it. Kerswill (2005) posits that such orientations are a function of cultural tendencies rather than socio-economic factors.

Auer (2007), lays down four basic conditions under which mobility and migration lead to dialect contact, the first of which appear to be of direct concern to the present study, it involves he reckons, the case where the transients, displace to a new location which shares a similar standard language as theirs. Nevertheless, these last tend to speak a more or less different regional dialect. In situations like these, elements of the migrants" local variety are generally abandoned in favor of either the standard language or the dominant variety of the hosting area (Auer, 2007). The Syrian refugees interviewed in this study portray Auer's first constellation as this community, though, shares the same standard form as the hosting country, it speaks a regional variety, which is far from being similar to it.

Although Arabic sociolinguistics seems to lag behind compared to research elsewhere, there have been many contributions to Arabic dialectology, the majority of these studies denote to mobility –induced change. Therefore, the aim behind the coming section is to provide a descriptive account of what characterizes Arabic dialect contact studies, through outlining the major findings of former research; however, it certainly does not opt for a thorough review of the existing literature on the topic.

1.2.3Arabic Dialects in Contact

According to Miller (2004), Urbanization has prompted many social changes in the Arabic-speaking countries, and the world likewise. She submits that, due to migration from rural to urban centers, the Arabic urban vernaculars (in North Africa and the Middle East) were

subject to many internal changes. Albeit these varieties pertained in the speech of women and religious communities, they were generally replaced by, a form of koineized Bedouin variety. While in other situations, dialect contact generated a levelling of some features over the others such as in Cairo and Damascus, Miller (2004).

Abd-El-Jawad (1987) conducted a study on cross-dialectal variation in Nablus, Jordan.Before recording the speech of twenty-four male and female speakers, with different age groups; Abdeljawad divided his speakers into mobile and sedentary speakers. The formers point to the community that was born and raised in Nablus and is still living there, while the mobile community embraces people who travelled to Amman or Irbid. According to him, the realization of the variable [q] as a voiceless uvular stop [q] is what makes the speaker [+ Nabulsi]. Nonetheless, he noticed that speakers are switching towards the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] given the fact that it is perceived as more prestigious.

Through his study, Abdeljawad challenged the established assumption, which is that in Arabic inter-dialectal encounters, the change is always onwards, striving to approach the standard variety, he has shown that prestige is not always a function of the standard, regionally and geographically dominant dialects might equally be attributed a certain prestige. The linguistic scores yielded important results on the significance of mobility in the process of change in progress, as mobile speakers tended to shift more towards the use of glottal stop, while women outscored men in their rates. Whereas older informants proved to be the more conservative Abdeljawad (1987).

The Variable [q] has also appeared in Blanc's(1964 cited in Abdeljawad, 1987) study of the Iraqi dialects, where he found that, the distinctive marker of the Jewish and Christian communities was abandoned in favour of the supra-local variant [g]. On the two communities, Blanc explains: "[Jewish Arabic] and C [Christian Arabic] are spoken respectively by Jews and

Christians largely at home and with coreligionists, while M [MuslimArabic], the dominant dialect, is used in public and in inter communal situations by the many Jews and Christians who have a command of it. A good many non-muslims seem to be nearly perfectly bi-lingual" (p.9).54 years later, this long-term accommodation emanated in levelling of this variant in Baghdad as revealed by Mohammed's research on the qiltu dialects accommodation towards the gilit community(Mohammed, 2018).

As an attempt to portray the effect of urbanization and social change on the use of dialects in the Gulf, Holes (1995) investigated dialect contact between Shiʕi Baharna and, the Sunni Arabs of Bahrain. He argues that the shift from agriculture to industry in this area has set the stage to contact between these formerly separate groups. The outcomes of this situation, in his view, form a breakdown in the relation between community and dialect, as interference between Baharna and the Sunnis induced the appearance of an amended dialect in Manama. Accordingly, the Baharna reflex /k/ was abandoned for the Sunni's /g/, while the variant /k/was substituted to the Shiʕi‟s /š/. Besides, the Sunni's interdentals /θ/,/ð/replaced the /f /and /d/ sounds, and the alveolar /ʒ/ soon transformed into a /j/(Holes, 1995).

Another mobility-induced change in the Arabian Peninsula stems from the study of Al Essa(2009) on contact between Najd and Hijaz, in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, Al Essa (2009) evaluated variation in the speech of Najdi in terms of the affrication of the variants /k/ and /g/. It was exposed that the latter are uttered as [ts] and [dʒ], in front vowels and singular person feminine. The Affricated variants were further put into a correlational test with other social factors including age and the types of contact. It was inferred from this research that Najdi speakers were moving away from their local forms approaching more Hijazi speakers, while age did not yield any statistical significance, in contrast to the type of contact which proved to be of great effect (Al Essa, 2009).

On a similar matter, Miller (2005) explored the accommodation of rural Upper Egyptians to urban speakers of Cairene Arabic in Cairo, Egypt . Miller gauged accommodation through the use of 29 linguistic features, through an informal interview of seven Egyptian speakers. Her study has demonstrated that the degree of accommodation varied depending on the nature of features, as lexical-syntactic features exhibited the highest rates, compared to phonological and morpho-syntactic convergence. Miller‟s study confirms Trudgill's (1986) concept of salience Besides, she has observed that accommodative rates differed according to many extra-linguistic patterns such as age, the year of arrival, the speakers'social networks, and education. Moreover, the accommodation of upper Egyptian speakers appeared to be constrained by discourse variation (Miller, 2005).

So far the discussion was confined to dialect contact involving the middle eastern region, due to the fact that they had the lion's share in Arabic dialectological research. Nevertheless, contact-induced changes among the western dialects have also triggered the interest of researchers like Hachimi (2007), who surveyed contact-induced change among Fessis in Casablanca, the capital of Morocco. In her statements, the French promotion of Casablanca as an economic capital had implemented a huge change in its social structure, the French decision turned out the city, from merely one million to four million inhabitants.

Its status as a nucleus, hence, attracted many in-migrants coming from diverse rural and urban areas. Subsequently, this massive migratory wave created an upheaval in the Bedouin Sedentary dichotomy persistent in Morrocan dialects. Hachimi‟s study was based on an ethnographic interview of fourteen Fessi women, through the use of two phonological variables, namely; [r],[q], and one morph syntactic variable, the feminine subject clitic [-i]. This situation of contact engendered a kind of leveling of Casablancan features, such leveling based on Hachimi was enhanced by the attitudes of speakers towards the dialect of Fess and is indexical of a certain type of identity.“Leveling of Fessi traits is important in setting the boundary for Fessi-

Casablancan identity and giving it meaning, while maintenance of these linguistic forms tends to be, to some extent, crucial in the maintenance of "pure" Fessi identity",(Hachimi, 2007,p.119).

In Tunisia, Gibson (2013) analyzed the process of language change, attempting to work out whether the changes in the Tunisian dialect took place due to the exposure to Modern Standard Arabic, or by means of inter-dialectal contact of Bedouin and Sedentary dialects. Gibson tackled this study via the use of three variables; the variable [q], the final vowel [u] in defective verbs, and gender distinction in both the pronoun "you", imperfective and perfective verbs, and finally the reflexes/ay/ and /aw/. His findings indicated, however, that the change that Sfaxi speakers were undergoing was towards the sedentary dialect of Tunis, which diverges from modern standard Arabic. Nevertheless, he has found that the maintenance of the Bedouin hallmark /g/ might corroborate the assumption of modern standard Arabic influence (Gibson, 2013).

In Algeria, a recent study of dialect contact derives from Kherbache(2017), who examined the speech of three rural in-migrant groups, in Beni Snous Tlemcen. Via a quantitative and qualitative analysis, Kherbach reflected that convergence and/or divergence of speakers towards the urban dialect was largely dependent on the speakers' attitudes towards the variety in question. Gender-related variation revealed that men outscored women in the adoption of the new forms, while the types of contact proved to be of paramount importance in the process. Kherbach has come to realize, that the dialect contact of Beni Hammou insinuates a case of geographical diffusion rather than levelling, as speakers acquired the supra-local forms evacuated from the urban center (Kherbache, 2017).

A particular case roots in Corriente (2014), who traced back the south Arabian features in western neo-Arabic, namely Andalusi Arabic. Corriente surmised that the common features evinced in both varieties are by-product of an earlier contact, which took place between these

two forms. He further reached the conclusion that the set of Western Arabic dialects subsisted as an outcome of the creolization of North Arabian dialects. Corriente presents a variety of mutual features between the Yemeni dialects and Andalusi Arabic such as the first person independent pronouns, that can be formed as ʔanī for the first person singular, with strong imālah (Corriente, 2014).

1.3 Communication Accommodation Theory:

Fascinated by social psychology, and social cohesion, Giles established a cross-disciplinary theory based on speech adjustments, the motivations underlying such processes, and the consequences of the latter. His approach is premised on the idea that speakers, during social interactions, tend to generate an interpersonal system characterized by accommodative behaviors (Giles & Powsland, 1975). Thus, speakers modify their way of speaking in their casual interactions to either increase or decrease social distances. Although language is at the core of the theory, Communication accommodation theory (henceforth CAT), also encompasses aspects such as; speech rate, gestures, accents. Such non-linguistic features are labeled as non- content speech behavior, they point to the manner through which, a certain speech is produced rather than what is said (Street, 1982).

The Theory was launched as a reaction to then-current sociolinguistic approaches (Fishman 1971, Labov 1966), which acknowledged the role of the context in shaping speakers' linguistic behaviors. Neglecting the importance of many other intervening factors (Gallois et al., 1995). It has been claimed that Labov's formality-informality of context and speech patterns that were directly linked the prestige as a motive, could be interpreted differently, by referring to interpersonal relations (i.e speech accommodation theory). In other words, phonological

variation can be rather explained in terms of interpersonal influence, prioritizing the salience of the interlocutor in the interaction (Giles et al., 1991).In this vein, Krauss (1987)[1] contends:

The addressee is a full participant in the formulation of the message - that is, the vehicle by which meaning is conveyed - and, indeed, maybe regarded in a very real sense, as the cause of the message. Without the addressee that particular message would not exist. However, the message, in the concrete and particular form it takes, is as much attributable to the existence of the addressee as it is to the existence of the speaker (p.96).

Communication accommodation theory was developed, in the 1970's (Giles, 1973; Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973; Smolic&Giles 2014). Since those days, the theory has witnessed several refinements. Such elaborations are illustrated by shifts from speech into the nonlinguistic accommodative patterns (Giles et al.1987), as an attempt to predict the various linguistic behaviors in interpersonal communicative encounters (Gallois & Giles, 1998; Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, & Anderson, 2007, cited in Smolics&Giles, 2016, p.2). The core principles of CAT resides in the social psychological research on "similarity attraction", which presumes that diminishing the dissimilarities among individuals garners positive evaluations about one another. It has been agreed upon, that the different accommodative acts implicate certain costs concerning identity change. However, they also assign the speaker with certain rewards that vary depending on the situation (Giles & Powsland, 1997).

Research on communication adjustments proliferated as a subject of academic inquiry across various fields such as sociolinguistics, sociology, social psychology, and communication; it is therefore not surprising that the process has been assigned with different labels. Such theories can be exemplified by; mimicry which entails unconsciously imitating one's interlocutor (Chartran, and Van Baren 2009), response matching(Argyle 1969) which is defined as: " immediately following another speaker's action with a similar action"(Gasiorek, 2015,p.14).

[1] Cited in Giles et al. 1990

And code-switching (Gumperz, 1982), a process that refers to use of more than one language or dialect in the same stretch of speech (Gasiorek, 2015).

Bell's (1984) audience design also intersects with CAT in many principles, with one distinction, which is that this theory derives from sociolinguistics while CAT stems from research on psychology (Gasiorek, 2015),Bell (2006)argues that "speakers style choices are primarily a response to their audience». The theory came out of Bell's analysis of some New Zealand radio broadcasters whose phonetic variants varied based on the audience. Style refers to the way speakers manipulate their language, however, the latter is assigned with meaning only through the comparison of intergroup linguistic features.

Hence, a speaker style shifting is a function of his addressee or audience as the theory assumes, a process similar to convergence in CAT terminology. However, as Bell (2006) supposes, topics and contents can also be designed depending on the audience. Audience design might be applied to monolingual as to multilingual societies. For a full discussion of these theories and others not mentioned here, (see Giles et al, 2015).

Among all these frameworks, CAT proved to be one of the most influential and thoroughly elaborated. It has also been invoked in a set of many cultures, languages, methodologies, and approaches (Dragojevic et al., 2015). The main characteristic of CAT is that it accounts for diverse intergroup encounters, involving social categorization such as sex, religious affiliation, gang... etc., contrary to other theories of interpersonal communication which were restricted to the inter-individual interactions, implicating personalities, moods and so on (Giles & Soliz, 2014, p.164).

A primary distinction within the framework of CAT is the one between short-term and long-term accommodation. Speech modifications towards certain behaviors differ in time, sometimes they are performed only for a short period taking place over one or two interactions,

in this case, accommodation is called short-term accommodation, Nevertheless, at other timesthese adjustments may frequently pertain to more other interactions. The latter is referred to as long-term accommodation (Dragojevic et al., 2015).

These patterns of accommodation were practical while examining dialect change, as alluded to earlier (Trudgill, 1986). While short-term accommodation may usher to transient changes in one's speech habits, long-term accommodation towards specific a style ends up in stable changes in the speaker's discursive practices. Hence, this type of accommodation is a major driving force for language change (Trudgill, 1986).

1.3.1Convergence and Divergence, Basic Distinctions

Recognizably, two concepts are of major importance to CAT; speech convergence and speech divergence. The processes are defined by (Gallois et al., 1995, p.116) as: "Linguistic moves to decrease and increase communicative distance". The former points to a speech tactic, whereby a speaker adjusts his speech behavior, in a way that makes it similar to his interlocutor's. Giles & Ogay (2007) define it as a: "a strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic (e.g., speech rate, accents), paralinguistic; (e.g., pauses, utterance length), and nonverbal features; (e.g., smiling, gazing)"(p.294).

Conversely, divergence denotes the fact of emphasizing one linguistic, paralinguistic, and non-verbal peculiarities. The process is analogized to language maintenance, whereby a person preserves his or her genuine style, irrespective of the communicative practices of his addressee (Bourhis, 1979 cited in Dragojevic et al., 2015). Divergence is regarded as a strategy of psycholinguistic distinctiveness aiming at promoting a sense of positive identity of speakers taking part in an intergroup contact (Bourhis 1979; Giles et al.1977; in Giles, Street 1982). For instance, Giles et al. (1977) observed that when an English speaker defined Welsh as a dying

language, Welsh informants strongly stressed their Welsh accents, while some even inserted Welsh lexis and phrases into their answers, thereby accentuating their Welsh identity and dissociating themselves from their English interviewer.

According to Giles and Powsland (1975), another salient theoretical distinction is between "upward" and "downward" convergence or divergence: "Where the former refers to a shift toward a consensually prestigious variety and the latter refers to modifications toward more stigmatized or less socially valued forms in context [e.g., nonstandard accent, low lexical diversity" ((Giles et al., 1991,p.11). In this sense, upward convergence would be illustrated by a speaker opting for higher status language, such as an interviewee converging to the language or dialect of an interviewer. Upward divergence on the other hand could be reflected in the shift of a: "swifter speech rate and more cultured accent with someone nonstandard-sounding"(Ogay and Giles, 2010,p,295). Whereas, downward divergence could be seen in the accentuation of one less prestigious ethnic variety an example of this, maybe any speaker of a minority language maintaining his mother tongue (Giles et .al, 1991).

Based on Giles et al. (1987) the two processes can be further distinguished, into unimodal, and multimodal convergence and divergence, since convergence on some patterns does not necessarily imply that the speaker will converge at all dimensions. While the unimodal refers to cases where speakers converge at only a single dimension (e.g. accent only), multimodal entails shifting along several dimensions (such as accent, gaze, gestures, words, etc(Giles et al., 1987).

Furthermore, the two processes should never be regarded as exclusive acts. Research in CAT advocates that convergence in some features can go hand in hand with divergence in others. For example, Bilous, and Krauss (1988, cited in Giles et al.1991) investigated accommodation among mix-gender groups ,,conversations, where they found that women

converged to males on some levels such as the total number of words uttered and interruptions, but diverged on others, such as laughter. Thus, speakers enact these strategies simultaneously based on their addressee's conversational requirements (Dragojevic et al.2015).

Moreover, convergence and divergence are further stratified into symmetrical or asymmetrical. The first type denotes a reciprocal accommodation between the interlocutors, it can be exemplified by the work of Mulac et al. (1988, reported in Giles et al.1991). These scholars concluded that in mixed-sex interactions, both genders worked on reducing the dissimilarities approaching the linguistic style of their out-group interlocutor, the same way they would have maintained with an in-group addressee.

Additionally, convergent and divergent strategies can be either full or partial. A student accelerating her usual speech rate from 100 to 200 words per minute, in order to meet exactly the speech pattern of her professor, can demonstrate full convergence. As she may adapt her rate to 150 words per minute, to incompletely, match his rate. At the same time, speakers may diverge from their interlocutors to differing degrees, departing from partial to complete divergence (Dragojevic et al.2015).

Thakerar et al. (1982) proffered a distinction between objective and subjective convergence and/or divergence. The objective dimension points to speakers' accommodative moves independently observed as either converging or diverging. In contrast, the subjective parameter hints to speakers' attitudes towards themselves and others as convergent, or divergent. However, it is argued that subjective does not always coincide with objective accommodation, since speakers, may well regard themselves as convergent while they are divergent. This idea was confirmed, by the work of Thakerar and colleagues (1982, reported in Dragojevic et al.2015), investigating speech patterns of asymmetrical status dyads. In which they noticed that high-status participants adjusted their speech rates and opted for a less standard accent while the

lower-status speakers also, in their turn adopted a more standard accent and accelerated their speech rates. Whereas objectively, these speakers are diverging, both of them were perceived as converging to one another.

Thakerar et al. (1982, cited in Giles et al.1991) further differentiated psychological from linguistic accommodation, which do not align all time. They argued that speakers' motivations and intentions for convergence are not always reflected in their linguistic behaviors (Giles et al.1991). In this sense, speakers might be psychologically convergent, yet, linguistically divergent. An example of the latter might be a job applicant wishing to accommodate his interviewer, neatly, not by adopting the same directive and interrogative tone (convergence). Rather, through a more conservative communicative style (divergence). Conversely, psychological divergence can also sometimes be performed through linguistic convergence"(Dragojevic et al.2015).In the same vein, Woolard (1989) who studied Catalan Castilian interactions, contended that Catalan converged to Castilian as a strategy to exhibit some kind of psychological distinctiveness(i.e. divergence), asserting that Catalan is confined to its speakers(Dragojevic et al.2015).

As claimed by Ogay and Giles (2007), CAT is based on several concepts. First, patterns of the current communication are not the sole determining factors; rather, the interaction is also impinged by the socio-historical settings in which the communication is taking place. This case can be exemplified by the black-white relationships in the USA or formerly colonized colonizer patterns. Furthermore, referential communications (i.e. exchanging emotions, information, etc) is not the ultimate goal of communication. Indeed; many social identities are enacted through the process of accommodation. Interactions are governed by some situational norms and stereotypes that speakers use as predictors of optimal degrees of accommodation (Ogay, Giles, 2007).

Many historical developments, chiefly modernization, have impinged the nature of dialects, and have altered in part the dynamics of dialect convergence and dialect divergence. Eventually, they have extended them into dialect – standard language convergence (Auer et al.2005). However, "the very formation of tertiary dialects is principally a process of divergence, of differentiation within the community repertoire". Broadly speaking, the unidirectional nature of convergence and divergence of a standard language and the dialects, ensues in an outgrowth "variability and complexity of the repertoire". Among the consequences resulting from these processes, Auer et al.(2005) cite the formation of 'interlanguages' and 'interdialects. They present an example from the Italian corpus, where a process they referred to as dialectization of the national Italian language was taking place, and consequently, yielded in the formation of a new variety called Italiano popolare or, popular regional Italian, which is a low variety that diverges from the standard in some analytical perspectives (Auer et al., 2005p.83).

1.3.2 Motivations and Evaluations of Accommodation

Factors underpinning the different accommodative strategies that speakers adopt during communicative encounters are divided into, affective and cognitive motives (Dragojevic et al.2015). The effective motive adverts to the identity phase of accommodation, since CAT was grounded on Tadjfel's theory of social identity; it assumes that people‟s self-perception stems directly from their social group membership. Following this, CAT surmises that speakers often utilise communication to manage their social distance, render their attitudes towards the intra-group, and inter-group members. It is argued that the main motive behind accommodation is the speaker's desire to gain some kind of social approval allied with the similarity-attraction paradigm. Hence, speakers with a strong need for social appreciation, tend to converge to a larger extent, than speakers with low requisite for social approval (Dragojevic et al., 2015; Giles et al., 1991; Giles & Ogay, 2007).

Natalé (1975, quoted in Dragojevic et al.), observed that speakers with a high need for social approval converged to their interlocutors' vocal intensity and pause length much more than did those with a low need for social approval (Dragojevic et al., 2015; Giles et al., 1991). This idea is advocated by (Byrne, 1971, cited in Giles and Ogay, 2007) who states that: "The more similar we are to our conversational partner, the more he or she will like or respect us, and the more social rewards we can expect"(p.296). Hence, speakers may converge, to a socially marked communicative behavior (e.g., accent, dialect), to display a shared group membership and by so, ensure some social rewards. For instance, in Tamburrini, Cinnirella, Jansen, and Bryden's (2015) survey, Twitter users converged to the language style of other partners presumably to be identified with the same online social communities (Dragojevic et al.2015).

Indeed, convergence proved to be very salient in terms of power relationships. Interactants with minor power are converged to less frequently, than others with high social power (Giles et al., 1991; Giles & Soliz, 2014). For instance, in mixed-sex dyads, female speakers tend to converge to males more than the contrary (Namy et al., 2002), while salespersons in a market seem to converge more to their clients than the clients do (Giles & Soliz, 2014).

Moreover, Motivations underlying convergence are strongly dependent on whether it engenders positive or negative reactions (Dragojevic et al., 2015; Giles et al., 1991). Recipients, take at least three factors, into consideration, when making their assumptions, and final assessment. Namely; the others' language skills, the effort he or she has put in the message, and the extrinsic forces compelling the speaker to act in a certain manner (Simard et al., 1976, cited in Giles et al.1991). With regard to efforts, as a factor enhancing accommodative acts, Giles et.al (1973), using a corpus of eighty English Canadian, confirmed that the greater effort is done while accommodating, the more value the listener attributes to the speaker, and consequently, the more reciprocal accommodation will take place(Giles et al., 1973).

Nevertheless, convergence does not trigger only positive outcomes, it may well prompt some adverse results, such as the conceivable loss of personal or social identity(Giles et al., 1991; Giles & Ogay, 2007). This case might be exemplified by an African American undergraduate converging to his British professor's discursive style. Although the student, can be praised by his teacher, he may also feel devoid of his social identity. The present classmates might also view him, as a "traitor" as they may assign him with depreciatory labels (Michael et al., 1989, cited in Giles, Ogay, 2007).

Although these differentiations seem to be clear-cut, concrete conversations often bear some convolutedness, since individuals are allied to a large array of social identities (ethnicity, age, sex, etc.).Whereas, in a given setting, they tend to exhibit solely some of them with their interlocutor. Moreover, these sets of identities differ in terms of significance across different contact situations, as they might do so within the same encounter directing the various accommodative acts. An example of this is the work of, Jones, Gallois, Barker, and Callan (1994, Cited in Dragojevic et al.2015) who observed that, in an academic setting, it was the professional identity which took over the ethnic in predicting speakers' communicative behaviors (Dragojevic et al.2015).

Convergence of this kind, however, is not always an honest signal. Additionally, speakers may well, on some occasions converge to their addressee as a strategy to pretend a shared social identity and hide their true social group affiliation. Such behavior persists in situations where disclosing one real identity could engender negative social repercussions. Thus, the motive behind such behavior is far from being that of social approval itself, but as fear of disaffiliation (Dragojevic et al.2015).

The cognitive motive, however, indicates that discursive adjustments may also be driven by a will to facilitate comprehension and increase communicative efficiency (Thakerar et al.,

1982, reported in Dragojevic et al.2015). Through this, speakers can assess their interlocutors‟ communicative needs and characteristics, and adjust their speech to be more (or less) intelligible, predictable, and comprehensible for others. A process that has been referred to as discourse management or control (Dragojevic et al.2015). In the same vein, Giles and Ogay (2007) contend that speakers often perceive convergence more positively than divergence. Furthermore; speakers converging to another speech style, language, or dialect are viewed as being more effective and collaborative in their conversations. Such convergence is strongly linked to enhancing speakers' predictions of the other, reducing uncertainty, interpersonal anxiety, and promoting common comprehension among interlocutors (Gudykunst, 1995 quoted in Giles, Ogay, 2007).

Additionally, divergent instances may as well promote comprehensibility (Street &Giles, 1982 cited in Dragojevic et al.2015). For example, speakers sometimes shift away from their interlocutors to reach a certain degree of communicative efficiency, this can be done for instance by diminishing one‟s speech rate, to encourage a partner to refrain from an overly speedy speaking style (Brown, Giles, & Thakerar, 1982, cited in Dragojevic et al.2015).

It goes without saying, that accommodation is further constrained by other variables. First, speakers' motivation to accommodate and their ability to accommodate are strongly interrelated, since, regardless of the different motives that lie behind the process of accommodation, adjusting one‟s speech style depends heavily on their skills to enact the various behaviors. Speech modifications appear to be strongly governed by the speaker's communicative repertoire or the array of verbal, nonverbal, and paralinguistic features, which are, at his hand (Gumperz, 1964, 1965). Accommodation within one's present repertoire entails variation in the frequency of utilization of variants already within one's control, however, accommodation outside one's speech repertoire implies opting for completely novel features (Trudgill, 1986). Second

accommodation may also be constrained by some physiological factors such as autism since an autistic will never be able to indulge in an accommodative process (Dragojevic et al.2015).

On the other hand, the rationale behind non-accommodative and divergent stances is to accentuate distinctiveness from the interlocutor, as an attempt to strengthen one‟s own social identity. Speakers then, in intergroup encounters adopt their in-group linguistic features (i.e

diverge), to display positive attitudes towards their own group identity, regardless of the status of their languages or dialects (Dragojevic et al.2015; Giles, Ogay, 2007; Giles et al.1991). The tartan kilt often linked with the scots offers a suitable illustration of the process, since it was not a well-known dress in Scotland until the English banned its wearing in 1746. Thereafter, Scots diverged through wearing it as an attempt to reinforce their identity (Dragojevic et al.2015).

Speakers also diverge because they might not be acquainted with several behavioral competencies. Their divergence, in this case, can be seen as an attempt to avoid miscomprehensions, negative interpretations, and evaluations. Shifts of this kind can be exemplified by non-native speakers' purposeful accentuation of their accents, in order to indicate that any violation of norms should be ascribed to their ignorance, not to any other negative intention. Yet, in some cases, speakers may act in such a manner purposefully, to create a problematic communication (Giles et al.1991).Although both affective and cognitive factors generally operate separately. Researchers on CAT claim that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive .Hence; communicative behaviors may be enhanced by both affective and cognitive factors (Dragojevic et al.2015).

As far as the hearers' perceptions, they can be distinguished into, general and multiple-meaning. The general outcomes point to; positive evaluations attributed to convergent moves, enhancing speaker's attractiveness and interpersonal involvement, gaining credibility, and enhancing a sense of solidarity among interactants(Dragojevic et al., 2015; Giles et al., 1991;

Giles & Ogay, 2007). Positive attitudes and increased willingness to buy products in case of customer shopkeeper interactions. Contrarily, divergence and maintenance, are often related to negative impressions since divergent moves are generally perceived as impolite, insulting (Dragojevic et al.2015).On the other hand, multiple-meaning outcomes refer to the different social meanings that accommodative stances may lead to. Since the above-mentioned outcomes do not pertain in all the situations. The same behavior can be interpreted, and perceived, in more than one way depending on the individual, both convergence and divergence may entail costs and rewards. Full convergence, for instance, is not always positively regarded. In this vein, Giles and Smith (1979 cited in Giles et al.1991), found that it was perceived as patronizing by interactants.

In contrast, partial convergence (Speech content and Speech rate only), was positively evaluated. Giles and Smith (1979), posit that individuals have different tolerance degrees towards convergence and in this sense, any shifts above a person's expected level will be evaluated negatively by the audience. The same claim stems from Preston (1981), who concluded that full convergence by foreign language learners that is adopting a native-like style is often associated with feelings of discredit(Giles,Ogay,2007; Dragojevic,2015).

Following Bourhis et al. (1975, cited in Giles&Ogay, 2007), speakers' efforts to ensure social approval or affiliation through convergence, have been often attributed with favorable assessment by recipients. Hence, enhancing likeness in a communicative behavior such as speech rate heightens both interlocutors' perceived attractiveness as well as their ability to attain recipient's compliance (Duller et al., 1992).

1.3.3Eastern /Western Accommodation in the Arab World

So far, the discussion was restricted to European contributions to the theory of CAT, however, the psycho-linguistic parameters of Accommodation have also intrigued scholars

interested in language variation and change in the Arab speaking world. As identified by dialectologists, the larger geo-linguistic division in the Arab world is one of the western and eastern dialects. Nevertheless, studies dealing with linguistic accommodation across this set of dialects are very scarce. Yet, the few existing studies hint that North African Arabic dialects seem to be degraded by middle eastern speakers during inter-dialectal encounters (Hachimi, 2015).

One of the earliest attempts to study the cross dialectal linguistic influence and the different linguistic practices of the Arab speakers is Abu Melhim (1991). Through a sample of Egyptian, Jordanian and Moroccan speakers, living in the U.S. He explored the various linguistic behaviors these speakers undergo in their everyday interactions.

Abu Melhim examined processes such as vernacular-standard switching, code-switching between Arabic and English, and divergence of Egyptian speakers towards their native dialect. The study revealed a unidirectional accommodation from the part of Moroccans and Lebanese towards the use of Egyptian Arabic.AbuMelhim ascribes this to the aesthetic value of Egyptian Arabic as a prestigious variety. In this, he maintains: "The fact that it is more widely spread gives it more prestige among the local Arabic dialects spoken throughout the Arab world" (Abu Melhim, 1991,p.236).

On the same matter, Shiri (2002) investigated cross-dialectal accommodation on the speech patterns of Tunisian, Lebanese, and Egyptian journalists in London. Her study uncovered similar patterns as Abu Melhim, given the fact that accommodation was attested in the speech of Tunisian speakers (Western Arabic speakers), who converged frequently towards Egyptian and Lebanese during the conversations. S'hiri assumes that these asymmetrical dimensions of the accommodation are attributed to the cognitive motive referred to earlier, which is that speakers converge to their interlocutors, with a view to ensure interpretability (Dragojevic et al.2015).

Moreover, S'hiri views their convergence as an enactment of their friendliness, and openness towards the others (S'hiri,2002).

As an attempt to expand research on the Western Eastern dialects, and pondering on the notions of 'purity, and 'intelligibility', Hachimi (2013) conducted research based on an Arabic reality show on YouTube, namely; Star Academy. Hachimi argues that the upgrading of Eastern dialects at the expense of Western Arabic is manifested in three salient ways: a. Maghreb speakers bear the communicative burden,b. Maghreb varieties are objects of mockery; and c. Mashreq varieties are objects of adulation(Hachimi, 2013,p.270). After investigating 200 metalinguistic comments, she has concluded that the communicative responsibility is often borne by North African speakers, while speakers of the Middle East display strong maintenance of their regional dialects. Hachimi has come to realize that the new media is paving the way for a process of reproduction and reconstitution of the sustained hierarchy between eastern /western ideologies (Hachimi, 2013). An identical scenario is found in the recent work of Chakarani (2015). His study of cross-dialectal accommodation and its relation to attitudes rendered comparable results. Chakrani unraveled accommodation in the spontaneous speech of a Saudi Arabian, an Egyptian, a Jordanian, a Moroccan, and a Sudanese.

Findings disclosed that attitudes towards the different Arabic varieties play a significant role in directing the accommodative norms. Chakrani gives an excerpt of an interaction of the Moroccan, Jordanian, and Saudi Arabian speakers, whereby the Moroccan speaker accommodates towards the Jordanian dialect, while his Jordanian counterpart maintained his dialect and diverged towards English. In agreement with the idea of the Mashreq Maghreb ideology, Chakrani believes, that the Jordanian behavior of divergence cannot be attributed to the geographical proximity existing between Moroccan and Jordanian Arabic, which might have prevented interpretability. Nevertheless, his divergence is a byproduct of the long-lasting negative attitudes towards Maghrebi4 dialects in general (Chakrani, 2015).

1.4Social Networks

The ecology of human development has always highlighted the significance of the personal relations of individuals, which underlie the different social practices the latter‟ perform, a concept referred to as social networks. Mitchell (cited in Cochran et al.1990) defines them as: "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons", he goes on to say that:

The characteristics of these linkages as a whole, may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved." The linkages that have been inferred to, are often shaped by kinship, friendship, and neighborhood (Cochran et al., 1990). Besides, Cochran et al.(1990) view networks as outcomes resulting from individuals' structural choices. In this vein, they assert: "people are constantly choosing whom they will begin, continue or cease to interact with" (p.265).

Furthermore, it is argued that social networks are strongly impinged by the larger social structure. The latter encompasses the different existing systems including the social class of the individuals. Social class in this sense, is determined by the autonomy and responsibility attributed to the individuals' exerted profession, its weight in the society under question, the nature of attitudes displayed towards it, in addition to the different skills attached to it. Thus, a person's social networks are largely dependent on the status he enjoys in a given society(Cochran et al., 1990).

In the current respect, Fisher (quoted in Cochran et al.1990) found that the educational level of the individual is a significant determinant of his social ties. The same applies to the socio-economic situation of persons, in other words, the higher the income is, the greater is the sociability and therefore, the more stranded are the networks. Another salient determinant that was retrieved from Fisher's study is the individual's marital status since he noted that married people reported more networks than single ones. Nonetheless, the presence of children appears to

have negative effects on the parents‟ friends and associates. Gender impact on sociability indicates that women surpass men, in developing relations. In sum, the cultural dimensions of the various nations are systematized in a way that either increases or decreases the range of networks an individual may engage in. Whereas, worth noting here that what john Obgu referred to as "cultural imperative" is not the sole determining factor, relational strands may sometimes be a function of the needs, interests, and initiatives of the person. Hence, networks are seen as: "a constantly evolving set of social relations that serves as a bridge between moreformally structured systems at the macro-level (ideologies and social institutions), and the small scale intimacy of family life"(Cochran et al.,1990,p.266).

1.4.1Social Networks and Language Use

Sociolinguistics arose to acknowledge the significance of the social attributes in predicting linguistic practices. As already indicated, networks refer to patterns of the informal ties people are engaged in regularly or: "the web-like pattern of relationships among individuals"(Gelles & Levine, 1999p. 207, in, Wei & G, 2008).

Commenting on the Labovian quantitative paradigm, Bell (1984) discerns between, social and stylistic patterns of linguistic variation where he puts it clear: "The social dimension denotes differences between the linguistic practices of different speakers, and the stylistic denotes differences with the speech of a single speaker" (p.145). Labov has attempted to embrace social and stylistic dimensions of language variation in his study; however, he has not addressed the stylistic mechanism particularly. According to (Wei, 1996), the social network approach, as applied to the works of Gal (1979), (L. Milroy, 1987a, b; J. Milroy & L.Milroy, 1985; J. Milroy, 1992; L. Milroy & J. Milroy, 1992), provide a framework, in which both social and stylistic dimensions of linguistic variation can be examined and elucidated. Hence, it has the capacity of

building a consistent model of bilingual language choice which explains both interactional practices of speakers and larger-scale social structures (Wei, 1996).

The idea of social networks as an analytical tool, was primarily injected into the field of social sciences by Barnes (1954), while dissecting the impact of social relationships in the behavior of Norwegian villagers (Milroy, 1987). Social network analysis then has been invoked in a myriad of research disciplines embracing psychology, political science, ecological and environmental sciences, public health, business management, information sciences, education, and linguistics (Wei, 1996). It is worth mentioning here that social network analysts have their

own visualization of society, which presumes that the latter is not a separate block of social structure. Society is, however, perceived as made up of arrays of relationships.

These relationships appear to have many patterns like time, location, and power. They can be exemplified for instance through historical networks, geographical networks, and hierarchical networks. Social change is also a change of social relationships and networks (Wei, 1996). The application of the theory of social networks to linguistics and sociolinguistics more particularly, rests then, on providing explanations to the individuals' different linguistic behaviors. Since its introduction, variationist studies benefited from this analytical mean to reveal the underlying social dynamics of relationships in language varieties of certain social groups(Milroy & LLamas, 2013).In the same respect, Milroy(1980) contends:

Personal social networks are always seen as contextualized within a macro-level social framework, which is "bracketed off" for purely methodological reasons – i.e. to focus on less abstract modes of analysis capable of accounting more immediately for the variable behavior of individuals. Since no one claims that personal network structure is independent of broader social, economic, or political frameworks constraining individual behavior, a social network analysis of

language variation does not compete with an analysis in terms of a macro-level concept such as social class"(p.550).

The major premise of the theory is that individuals tend to form personal bonds that offer a meaningful framework for handling everyday problems (Mitchell, 1986). These communities are established through strands of different kinds and strengths. Two key terms penetrated the social network research; density and complexity. Plexity is seen as a scale measuring of the set of different types of transactions people are tied to (Milroy & LLamas, 2013).

A dense network implies that its members, are in contact with each other, in this, Milroy (1980) explains: " the persons to whom ego is linked may also be tied to each other to varying degrees – ego being the person who, for analytic reasons, forms the "anchor" of the network"(p.550). Multiplex networks on the other hand, point to individuals joined to one another in more than one social domain. For instance a person can be a co-employee, a kinsman and a friend at the same time .A third category called uniplex ties, it points to: "persons who tend to associate with the local people in a single capacity only" (Milroy, 1980,p.21). This can be illustrated by a person who is linked to someone else only because they are colleagues, or because they belong to the same football team. Thus, transactions are held solely in a single context (Milroy & LLamas, 2013). It shall be deemed that ,the more the ties are dense and multiplex, the more adherence individuals will show towards the norms and privileges the group affiliation impose on them . In this respect, Bott, (1957) explains:

When many of the people a person knows interact with one another, that is, when the person's network is close-knit, the members of his network, tend to reach consensus on norms and they exert consistent informal pressure on one another to conform to the norms .But when most of the people a person knows, do not interact with one another, that is, when his network is loose-knit, more variation of norms, is likely to develop in the network. (p.60).

Based on Milroy & LLamas, (2013), it is also important to distinguish between individuals‟ strong and weak ties. However, social network analysis focuses on first order zone_i.e contacts an individual interact with directly. Second order type involve ties whose links to the anchor are indirect. Thus, within the primary order zone, it is crucial to differentiate between, for instance, the individual's friends (strong ties) and acquaintances, which represent the weak ties. While strong ties act as inhibitors of change. Weak ties, on the other hand, have the potential to favor changes in one's linguistic behaviors, since they constitute "bridges between different groups through which innovation and influence are diffused"(Wei,1996,p31),weak ties indeed are a function of mobile communities such as emigrants. Principally, if a network is constituted chiefly of strong ties, and this latter is multiplex and dense simultaneously, it has the potential to encourage its members in concrete and symbolic ways to exert their different social practices, prime among these is their linguistic practices. Conversely, this kind of network often dictates some undesirable norms on its members. Hence, as variationist work postulates, dense and multiplex strands tend to enhance the localized linguistic practices and pushing the speakers to withstand external pressures to swing towards novel norms. Furthermore, if these ties‟ strength abates, they will pave the way to change to take place (Wei, 1996; Milroy, 1980).

Although most studies using the network concept accentuated the importance of dense and multiplex networks in directing the linguistic patterns of individuals , Milroy(1980) avers that other structural and content features of personal networks might well be a good measure of the strength of the "pressures towards normative consensus"(p.140). Such indicators can be related to the extent to which these individuals are connected, which involves the numerical aspect of contacts, centrality, in addition to the affective value attached to the relationships (Milroy,1980).

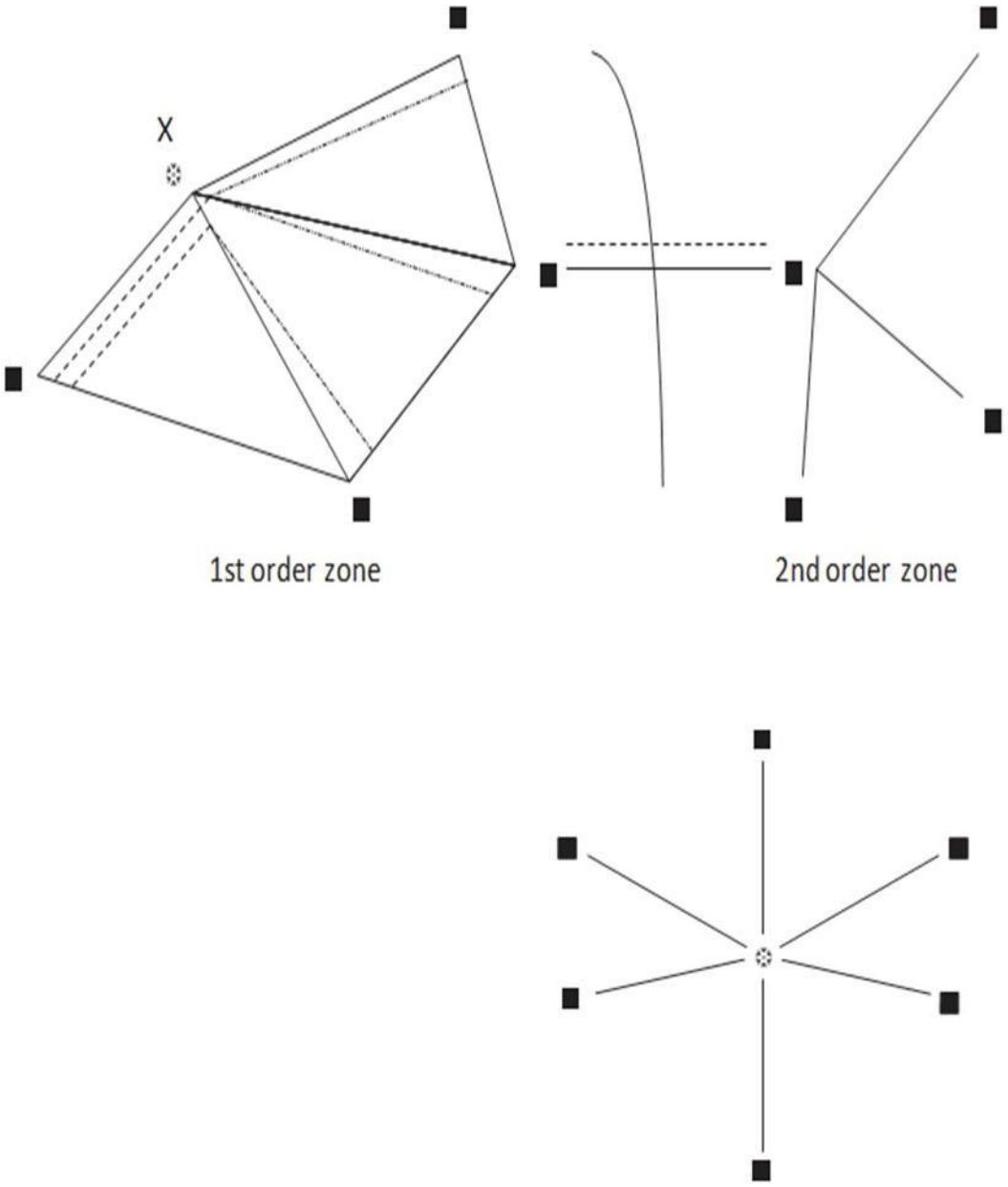


Figure1.1: High-Density Multiplex Vs Uniplex Social Networks, adapted from Milroy, Llamas(2013)

One of the first and widely known studies applying the social network concept to variationist studies ,lies in the seminal work Milroy(1980).The study took place in Belfast, as an attempt to compare the linguistic practices of46 speakers belonging to three lower-status urban – working-class communities; Ballymacarrett, Hammer, and Clonard. In line with this, eight phonological variables were examined, with accord to the network structure of the individual

speaker. Expectedly, Milroy contended that the use of the vernacular was strongly dependent on the extent to which the individual is engaged in neighborhood networks (Milroy, 1980, 2013). Besides, The Milroys concluded that strong networks proved to be a „norm maintenance mechanism", whereas, weak ties were seen as intergroup bridges which pave the way for variation, change, and innovation to take place(J.Milroy, 1992,p.10, in Li Wei,1994).

Milroy's study overlaps with the earlier work of Labov in many aspects, as both highlight the role of integration into the vernacular's culture in language use. Milroy (1980) affirms that Labov's Harlem study coincides with the Belfast's in many views. Nevertheless, she contends that Labov's application of the network concept was not definite, while his methodological concerns also diverged from the anthropologists' principles that Milroy's study departs from, and is extensively based on. Labov focused on bounded groups, whereas the core of the network approach is to examine the relationships apart from delineating group memberships of individuals. Besides, Labov's analysis consisted of layering the group members into the core, secondary, peripheral, and lame members (Milroy, 1980).

Gumperz's (1982) study of the Slovenian/German bilingual community in Austria"s Gail Valley attributes the shift towards monolingualism to some economic changes. Members of these needy and socially stigmatized peasants" network, integrated into classic close-knit networks of reciprocal support, which joined them in several contexts as co-workers, neighbors, and friends, who were in touch with each other's along the community boundaries. The situation was soon reversed when dependence on farming changed to a service economy. This alternation in the economical regime was followed by a change in the networks (Milroy, Llamas,2013).

Contrary to Labov, Milroy (1980) claims that Gumperz has explicitly alluded to the network dynamics, however, he did not employ any quantitative study. She responds that a quantitatively based approach would require indicating for instance that the network of speaker

A is relatively denser than speakers B and less dense than C. Rather Gumperz dichotomized the communities or sections of the communities into open and closed networks, that are devoid of any specific reference to personal social networks (Milroy,1980).

Another evidence stems from a study, which dissected language shift in Oberwart, an Austrian town on the Austrian–Hungarian border. Susan Gal (1978) observed the linguistic behaviors and networks of individuals' period of time. Susan's account prompts to the same triggers. The study attempted to correlate the degree of peasantry bonds and linguistic choices in the speech of thirty-two individual speakers. Results have demonstrated that the more individuals clung to their peasant networks, the more tendency to use Hungarian they displayed. Contrarily, the lower the interconnectedness with peasants, the more the use of German was depicted (Gal, 1979).

Li. Wei (1994) reports an investigation of the interplay of language shift and different types of networks, applying a quantitative paradigm to a community of three generations of Chinese individuals. The study revealed that each generational group possesses a distinguished set of networks. Grandparents were found, to be more involved in kinship networks, parents mainly in British Chinese networks, and children chiefly with non-Chinese peers. Predictably, the strongest ethnic network was extensively linked to the first generation, as well as to the use of Chinese, while the weakest was found in the third generation. Wei adds that the presence of the church as institutional support for it was used more as a place of socialization and cultural exchange rather than for merely spiritual and religious purposes.

In the same vein, Stoessel (2002) explored the role of social networks in language maintenance and shift on a sample of ten immigrant women in the US. Stoessel, ranked her informants in terms of frequency of usage of the languages, later on, stratified them into maintainers and shifters, and examined the impact of their networks on their linguistic choices.

As a result, eight of ten subjects revealed a strong link between maintenance ratio and speakers' second-order networks in the US, (Stoessel, 2002).

Recently, Sharma (2017) strived to inspect three dimensions of networks; ethnicity, nationality, diversity, with regard to three levels of language structure namely; phonetic form, accent, and language choice) over three generations of British Asians. Findings indicated that the diversity dimension employed by the researcher had a very direct association with the linguistic practices of the informants (Sharma, 2017).

In a related move, Shiri Lev Ari (2018) hypothesized that the size of an individual's networks has a significant impact on speakers"‘ malleability and the proliferation of linguistic change. Her premise coincides somehow with the present study with a single difference, which is that it is solely concerned with numerical aspects of the network rather than the content or the structure. Shiri suggested that speakers with small size social networks, appear to display more malleable representations in modifying their speech patterns, when exposed to new speakers. Findings confirmed the hypothesis, the correlation test reflected a strong link between the malleability to innovations in the speech and the number of people they interact with (Lev Ari, 2018).

To the best of the author’s knowledge, there has been a single work applying the social network concept in Arabic contact dialectology. This work concerns (Mohammed, 2018) who dissected the role of social networks integration, in the process of levelling in Iraq. Due to the socioeconomic changes, particularly migration, a disruption of the former social networks took place in the Hit region, which resulted in levelling of some gilit features over the qiltu dialect. After an analysis of four linguistic variables; (q-velarisation, k-affrication, vowel lowering and

vowel epenthesis). Mohammed determined that unlike non-mobile communities’ tendency to resist change, the Hit community is undergoing a gradual change, under the dynamics of the

social contacts of individuals. Despite the impact of gender and age on language variation, social networks proved to have the strongest effect on inter-dialectal accommodation in Baghdad (Mohammed, 2018).

In an attempt to synthesize accommodation and social networks in a theory of language change, Auer and Hinskens (2005) opted for a hierarchy based on a set of stages of accommodation. Based on their premise, the role of weak and strong social network ties in the process of linguistic accommodation is best seen in the case of in-migration, as migrants, upon their arrival to the hosting area, tend to give up on their former networks and establish new ones (Auer, Hinkens,2005).

The first stage involves face-to-face communication, which is marked by the borrowing of novel units, and/or the loss of the local ones. The second stage on the other hand entails short- term accommodation, where the innovation moves beyond the conversational scene transforming into a regular individual innovation. The third stage consists of diffusion, where the innovators disseminate the novel features they have learned into their community, through their multiplex and dense ties. In the last stage of Auer's hierarchy, language change is supposed to occur(Auer, Hinskens, 2005).

1.5Conclusion

The current chapter reviewed the main themes discussed under the umbrella of language variation and change. It started with a full account of the field of language and dialect contact. While the former results in phenomena such as; Bilingualism, code-switching, etc.., dialect. Contact outcomes are often manifested in speech accommodation, which eventually leads to new dialect formation, through processes such as simplification and levelling (Britain,2006). The chief concern was to ponder on the major theories of language use. Communication accommodation theory, an influential framework introduced by Giles et al (1973), posits that

speakers employ convergent and divergent strategies during intra as well as intercultural encounters, to eradicate the dissimilarities or dissociate themselves from an interlocutor. Such moves, however, appear to generate both costs (Identity loss) and rewards (social approval, integration),(Giles et al.2015).

The significance of social contacts has been at the heart of research particularly in sociology. It is argued that the types of networks a person is engaged in have a strong impact on his social behavior (including linguistic behavior), a special reference was made to the social network theory and its relation to language use, which presumes that language choice, is a function of the social strands a person develops. The density and multiplexity of a network seem to resist change and innovation. Conversely, uni-plex and loose-knit networks pave the way for variation and change to take place (Milroy, 1980).

Finally, albeit the present chapter does not refer, to the speech community under investigation. We believe this literature review is of paramount importance in terms of providing a broad contextual picture surrounding the present study. Nevertheless, it is worth stating here that the theories discussed so far represent the framework relied on in the present research. Hence, many other theories concerning dialect change were excluded on grounds of relevancy.

Chapter Two

Arabic and its Nuances

Chapter Two Arabic and its Nuances

2.1Introduction

This second chapter ventures to sketch the main historical and developmental episodes of the Arabic dialects, as well as to provide an overview of the current Arabic sociolinguistic situation, taking as a focal point of interest, the main geo-linguistic divisions of the Arabic regional varieties. However, special focus is placed on the dialects of the Levant, and the Maghrebi dialects, which are of direct concern to the present study.

2.2 Arabic, the Burst:

Nowadays recognized as one of the six official languages in the world, Arabic as a descendent of the Semitic family is the mother tongue of more than 250 million in the Arab speaking world, besides, it is also used as a heritage language by Arab speakers allocated in Europe, USA, Australia and various parts of the globe (Albirini, 2016). Albeit, the history of Arabic is said to go hand in hand with the burst of Islam, its existence derives back to centuries before its advent. Indeed, Arabic used to be a prestigious supra-tribal variety that all poetry of that time was expressed through its use. Not surprising then, that the Quran was delivered to Prophet Mohammed in this language. as (Holes, 2018) highlights :

Though the Arabian poets of the pre-Islamic 'time of ignorance'(algˇāhiliyya) were and still are celebrated for the magnificence of their mono-rhyming odes (qaʔāʔid), it was the revelation of the Qurʔān, and in Arabic, which, in the popular imagination, moved the language and the people who spoke it to center stage in world history(,p.2).

The Quran thus was unveiled by dint of the Arabic language, which is an elemental part of its message. In his large study on Arabic, Retso (2003,p.559, as cited Holes,2018) claims that ʕarabij in the Quran points to the variety with relation to ʕarab which was known as means of transmission of messages from a divine or a non-human world, not simply to the colloquial varieties formerly spoken in Mecca and neighboring areas. Retso also invokes the word aʕʒamij,

which was used to denote languages other than Arabic. In the Quran, this same term was used to designate varieties of Arabian speech which diverged from ʿarabiyy and thus, may well have alluded to the everyday used varieties in Mecca ((Holes, 2018; Versteegh, 2014).

The Quran's philosophy of Arabic is that of a language having a marvelous clarity, which passes a holy message and stimulates its listeners to understand it, and react to it by converting to Islam. Presumably, the repetition and emphasis on Arab and Arabic along with the chapters of the Quran, aimed at accentuating its linguistic distinctiveness, in a new religious dimension (Holes, 2018). (Q 43/2–3, cited in Versteegh, 2014): "We have made it an Arabic recitation in order that you may understand".

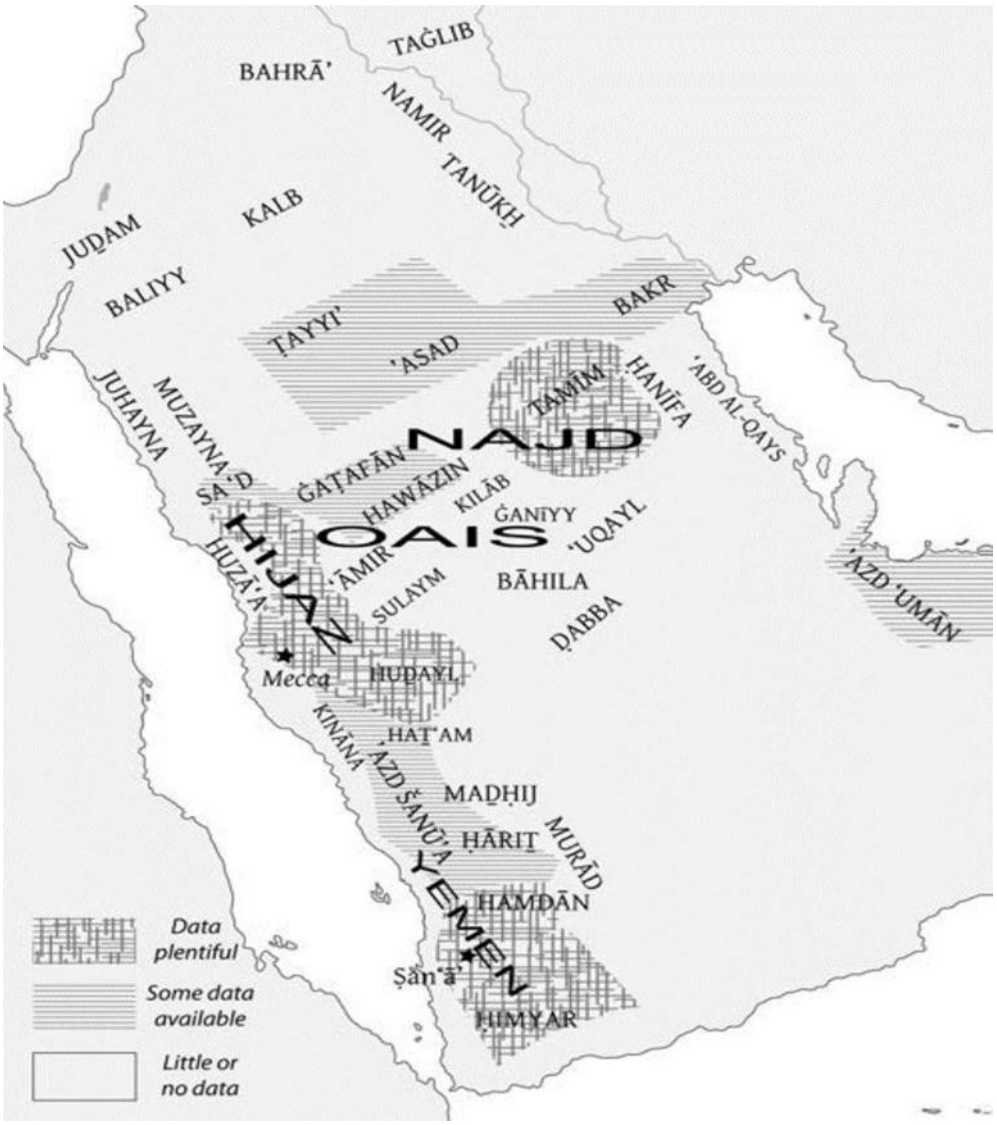
The Quran, thus, was set apart from the language of poetry, which was judged by the Quran as lies. As a matter of fact, a whole chapter is devoted to poets: "As for poets, the erring follow them. Hast thou not seen how they stray in every valley, and how they say that which they do not?" (Q 26,223-25). In that vein, the Prophet stated clearly: "It is better for a man to fill the inside of his body with pus than to fill it with poetry", (the ṣaḥiḥ of al-Bukhārī Volume 8, Book 73, as cited in Holes, 2018, p.4). In spite of the fact that the Quran, was revealed in the same language as poetry, the prophet sought at any price to differentiate his message from it(Holes,2018; Versteegh,2014).

The idea that Arabic owes its burst to the Islamic conquests was certified by (Hoyland, 2015, cited in Holes, 2018), who found that in the Byzantines for instance, the languages that were used for administrative purposes were Coptic, Persian, and Greek. But, soon after the Arab expansions reached the area, Arabic took place over these languages (Holes, 2018). The Revelation of the Quran was truly one of two salient processes in the linguistic history of Arabic, the second one is the Arab expansions, which started immediately after the death of the prophet in the period between 632 and 715(Holes, 2018).

2.3Pre-Islamic Arabic Dialects

Due to the scarcity and the lack of accurate, and real time data referring to the pre-Islamic linguistic situation, scholars failed to achieve any agreement regarding the set of dialects that were in use at that time, nor on the dialect through which the Quran was revealed.Reportedly, and based on the evinced inscriptions, Arabic was disseminated from the eastern to the western part of the Arabian Peninsula. The eastern part was home to an emergent poetic Arabic, which was chiefly oral, whereas the western part was marked by a form of Arabic, that was reserved for commercial purposes. There is a consensus, that the Quran was revealed to the prophet by means of the eastern dialect. Nevertheless, Vollers (1906) has a distinct view. He assumes that the revelation of the Quran was performed, initially, through the colloquial dialect of Mecca, and was subsequently translated to the more eloquent form of Arabic, that is the eastern dialect (Versteegh, 2014)

Although Voller's constellations were not taken into consideration, the pre-Islamic linguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula was subject to various theories, upon whether this latter was accentuated by a diglossic situation or not, this quarrel persisted between both medieval grammarians, and modern scholars (Al Sharkawi, 2016). On one side, some Arab and western grammarians, presume that the period before the revelation of the Quran was characterized by the existence of one linguistic variety, used for both everyday communication and literature, which is classical Arabic(Holes,2018). The latter was depicted in many cinematic works such as 'El Risala' in 1976. Based on this view, CLA existed formerly both as a written and a spoken language and was progressively debased, due to imperfect learning by the non-Arabs of that time, this process persisted until the appearance of the colloquial dialects we know nowadays, this claim was backed by the common case endings pertaining in the different dialects (al-Sharkawi, 2016; Holes, 2018).



Map2.1 Pre-Islamic Arabic Dialects adapted from (Rabin, 1951, p.14, as in Versteegh, 2014)

The second wave of modern historians, on the other hand, deny the idea of a shared Arabic variety that was used both in literary and everyday communication, across the different tribes. Subsequently, they have set up a hierarchy, separating the language of Hijaz, which they regarded as superior, from the other existing dialects, submitting that the speech of Mecca retained all the best features of the other dialects (Versteegh, 2014). These grammarians, then, classified the Northern Arabian dialects into two main areas, involving both eastern and western

parts. In this, the language of Hijaz symbolizes the west, while Tamim represents the east, this last dialect, however, is said to bear many resemblances to classical Arabic. In the theories that advocate this view, the higher variety is usually referred to as 'poetic koine' or poetic-Qurʾānic koine (Versteegh, 2014). Versteegh (2014) contends that it is unlikely to draw a linguistic map of these ancient dialects, due to the scarcity of the data; however, he mentions some phonological features, which served as distinguishing units between the Eastern and Western dialects. Al Sharkawi (2016) also provides a set of distinctive phonological elements of the dialects, nevertheless, in his classification; he isolates the dialect of Hijaz from the rest of the Arabian dialects:

Phenomenon	*Degree of coverage*
Retention of internal short vowels	full area
Vowel dissimilation	full area
Shortening of long vowels in pause	only in Hijaz and Huḏayl
The elision of the hamza	stable in Hujaz; unstable in the rest
The instability of the /ˌ/	in east Hijaz and Ṭayyiʿ
The absence of imāla	full area

Table 2.1 Common Phonological Phenomena in Hijaz, adapted from Al Sharkawi,(2016,p.96)

Phenomenon	*Degree of coverage*
Eliding internal short vowels	full area
Vowel assimilation	full area
The pronunciation of the *hamza*	unstable in full area
The presence of ʿimāla	full area

Table 2.2 Common Phonological Phenomena in the Rest of Arabia, adapted from (AlSharkawi,2016)

Holes(2018) in his turn, supports the assumption, that most of the conceptualized deviations between the earlier dialects are phonological, these deviations were assigned with different names such as laxlaxanijjaa, ʈumʈumānijja,kaškaša, taltala, ʕagˇrada, ɣutta, etc..,.Very often these names reflect the sounds they refer to, whereas in others, they are more arbitrary. In English, these labels can be the equivalents of Drawling, Grambling, and speaking with a lilt(Rabin,1951,p.10, cited in Holes,2018). Holes postulates that ancient features evinced in the early dialects of the Arabian Peninsula are encountered again in many dialects of modern Arabia (Holes, 2018).

Given the fact that the Quran and earlier poems were the solely available linguistic sources in the early days of Islam, they have played a vital role in the standardization of the language (Versteegh, 2014). Attempts to codify Classical Arabic (Henceforth CLA), started from about the mid of the eighth century with the Iraqi grammarians leading to the emergence of al- luɣatu

el Fusħa (the eloquent form of Arabic). According to Holes (2018), the process was not tackled inadvertently, at that particular period. In this, he asserts :

Although the grammarians embarked upon it for reasons, which they never make explicit, prime among them must have been the need to standardize the language for governmental, administrative, legal, religious, and literary use, in what had by then become a geographically far-flung and ethnically diverse empire. Without which, written Arabic might have developed regionally in undesirably uncontrolled ways, or might not have been used at all (p.6).

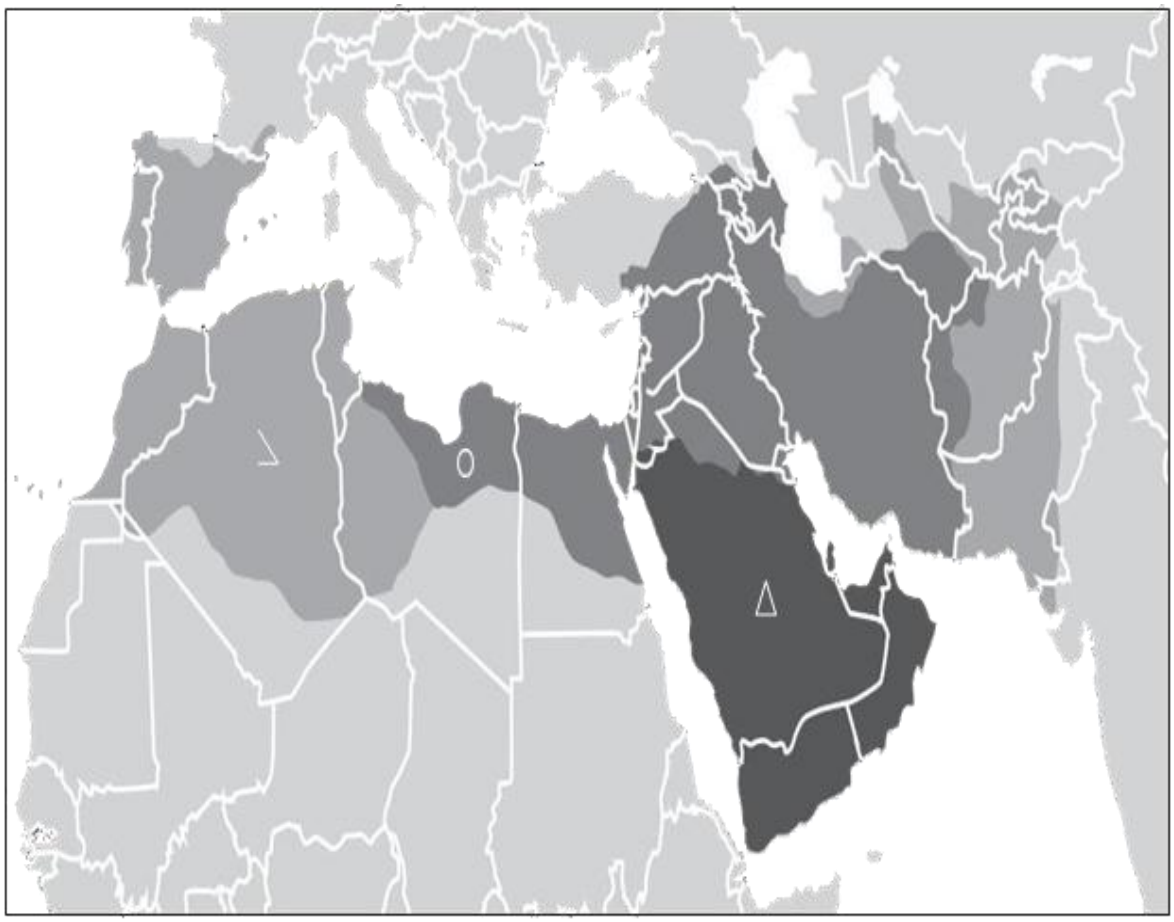
Versteegh (2014) accords with Holes' assumptions. In this respect, he further notes that, far from the grammarians‟ efforts, the language itself experienced standardization; he supports his claim with the variations that penetrated the different tribal varieties, including the Bedouin dialects, which were formerly homogenous and conservative. Accordingly, after the conquests, when Arabic became the language of the Muslims dynasty, the deviations which emerged in the speech of Bedouin and the other vernaculars appear to have disrupted communication in the empire (Versteegh, 2014).

Beyond, the governmental policy in Baghdad and Damascus geared towards an ultimate control over the subjects, not just in terms of religious and commercial concerns, but also linguistic ones. In addition to these pre-conditions, Versteegh (2014) supposes that the adaptation of a common scribal orthography has been the major prerequisite for the process of standardization. The codification of the Quran constituted a turning point in the elaboration of a unified standard for the Arabic language. Many decisions had to be made about the conventional orthography to be used, striving to erase all the obscurity emanating from elʒahiliyya‟. Both linguistic and religious sources agree on the fact that the complete codification of the Quran was launched after the death of the prophet under the reign of the third caliph Uthman, before; there existed only a few fractions of it (Versteegh, 2014).

Holes (2018) further claims that the Iraqi grammarians were very rigid, their major objective was to impulse the use of this eloquent form as they grabbed it from pre-Islamic poetry, the Quran, the Hadith, and Sira, in addition to elicitations of kinsmen, whom they believed they clung to the purest form of the language. Despite the prevalence of many dialectal tribes at that time. Accordingly, Rabin (1951, as cited in Holes, 2018, p.7) remarks that it is impossible to trace the reasons behind which philologists recorded only the dialects they recorded since they do not comprise a system. The grammarians did in no way view the disparities as part of CLA:

A great deal of information on minor points of dialect usage, but get only occasional glimpses of the major forms. We cannot reconstruct the complete paradigm of any tense in any dialect; we can hardly say with certainty what a complete word may have sounded like. The few glimpses we obtain prove that there were profound differences, the full nature of which will probably never be revealed to us (p.13).

However, this purposefully ignored dialectal variation of the eighth century indicates that the spoken dialects have existed, and developed away before the revelation of the Quran itself. Hence, based on this appeal, some required political and cultural underpinnings lay behind the process of codification and elevation of CLA, which represents an extract of an ancient variety formerly used in poetry as referred to earlier. Moreover, even the Quran, the most important source that grammarians based their data upon, exhibits some orthographical and grammatical features different from those found in CLA. This latter suggests that this language does not thoroughly correspond to the language of Mecca at that time and that it embraced some central and east Arabian traits, arguably because most of the ancient poets originate from these areas (Holes, 2018).



(Most dark: expansion under the prophet. ○ Medium-dark: expansion in the first half-century. × Least dark: expansion up to the first half of the eighth century.)

Map 2.2: The Arab Empire in the time of the Conquests (Adapted from Al Sharkawi,2016).

2.4Post-Islamic Arabic Dialects

Allegedly, Islam and the Arab conquests following its advent were the chief ecological precursors behind the emergence of the different varieties of Arabic, both in terms of structural and functional matters (Al Sharkawi, 2016). Contrary to the pre-Islamic period, The Quran was an accessible model of daily value and relevance to the layperson to varying degrees. Therefore, Classical Arabic was attainable and people were exposed to it, on a daily basis, bringing about a diglossic situation to the scene. Furthermore, the conquests imported Arabic as an official world

language to the newly established empire (Al Sharkawi, 2016). Versteegh (2014) postulates that the rationale behind these conquests might have been a desire to unite all the Arab-speaking tribes under the emblem of Islam, while the conquest of the sedentary centers was roughly a second thought (Versteegh,2014). Extensive migration to the Arab empire induced a process of informal language learning among both Arabs and immigrants, given the fact that classical Arabic was far from being in the "cognitive communication inventory of Arabs". A few years later, this imperative learning process conducted Arabs and non- Arabs to produce a body of texts coping with the different aspects of life, using a variety based on the model of classical Arabic. Nonetheless, the linguistic structure of these functionally new varieties reflected many deviations from the norms of classical Arabic and was lately assigned the label Middle Arabic (Alsharkawi, 2016). This new variety was defined as a: "group of texts, which failed to follow the rules of the pre-Classical and Classical language strictly, although it is clear they were written with the Classical model in mind". (Versteegh, 1997, p.114)

Another Consequence emanating from the learning process was the burst of Arabic urban dialects, which represent the backbone of the modern dialects, this set of vernaculars was described as New Arabic. In contrast, to middle Arabic, these varieties were disseminated to non-Arabs by the agency of the Arabs themselves. Subsequently, this variety turned to be used by ethnically diverse groups as a vehicle of daily communication in the empire (Alsharkawi, 2016).

There is a convention that, this type of new Arabic blossomed immediately after the Arab conquests in both the newly established sedentary centers such as Kufa, Basra as well as the already existing garrisons such as Damascus and Allepo. The traits of New Arabic were retrieved from ancient papyri corpus and the literary texts, which although, were written in classical Arabic, comprised many aberrations that diverged from the norms of the standard language.

These deviations are believed to stem from the daily used vernaculars at that time (al-Sharkawi, 2016; Versteegh, 2014).

A vivid illustration of this is the colloquial personal suffixes evinced in the North African middle Arabic texts, such as the use of (n-), in the imperfective of the first person singular such as in nqtel, 'I kill"(Versteegh,2014).There are, however, conflicting views on the development of these new forms of Arabic. Arabic tradition, generally maintains that they evolved as a result of contact between the Arabs and speakers of the different languages in the empire, thus, they ascribe the dialectal situation to the polyglot structure at the time of the conquests, or what they referred to as 'Fasad alluɣa' (Versteegh, 2014). This view can be inferred from the words of Ibn Khaldoun:

When Islam came and they [the Arabs] left the Ḥijāz … and started to mingle with the non-Arabs, their [linguistic] habits began to change as a 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 should become completely corrupted, and lest people should grow used to it so that the Qurʾān 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" (Muqqadima,Beirut,p.546, cited in Versteegh,2014,p.138).

Ferguson (1958), one of the adherents of the monogenesis view of the dialects emergence, claims that the affinity of dialects against the classical language corroborates the single point of departure for these varieties. In this, he argues that the different dialect tribes underwent a process of koineization in former military camps in Iraq. This koineized variety he believes arose "through a complex process of mutual borrowing and leveling" during the early

few Islamic millennia (Ferguson 1959, p.51, as cited in Holes, 2018, p.9). Furthermore, he claims that it is neither CLA nor the tribal dialects, which formed the backbone of today's sedentary dialects, but rather this koineized language. Ferguson eliminated the Bedouin dialects from his study, grounds that they went through a different process. He supports his inference with fourteen differences among CLA and the vernaculars, that he explains as gained from a shared non-classical ancestral variety. Nevertheless, Ferguson‟s theory was deemed untenable by Cohen (1962) and many recent studies working on these dialects, Holes (2018).

The advocates of a polygenetic view, on the other hand, surmise that the Arabic dialects arose independently in every region the Arab army settled in, which explains the existing differences between them. According to these scholars, the Arab army consisted chiefly of a mixture of different tribes, accordingly, due to inter-dialectal convergence and accommodation, the discrepancies between these dialects underwent a process of levelling. While they subsume that later convergence emanated from the sustained impact of classical Arabic as a prestigious variety, Classical Arabic in this sense formed a denominator that brought about the different dialects nearer, diffusion of the negative ma-šfrom North Africa to Egypt is a widespread example (Versteegh, 2014; Al Sharkawi,2016). Some of the scholars who wrote about languages like Al- ĞāZiẓ (d. 255/869 CE, reported in Al Sharkawi, 2016) confirmed this theory. Al Gahiz reported those different people used distinct varieties, and these divergences are attributed to the dialectal differences that existed between the conquerors coming from various tribes, therefore, Koufa spoke the variety that was used by the settlers that arrived into it, and the same applies to the remaining Arabic cities(al-Bayān I,p. 18, cited in Al Sharkawi,2016).

Owens (2006) views the process from a distinct angle, in his model, the divergences existent between the dialects as well as the differences between the latter and classical Arabic that existed beforehand the Arab conquests, that is, in the pre-Islamic period. Owens subsumes that these colloquial varieties were imported during the Arab expansions. Hence, the possible

justification for the similarities encountered even between geographically dispersed dialects, might be ascribed to the fact that they descend from the same ancestral dialect, using a range of historical-comparative methods, Owens strives to reconstruct this shared linguistic ancestor that he designates as pre-diasporic Arabic. In his view, in several aspects, the colloquial varieties may denote a type of language, which is more ancient than classical Arabic. In this, the absence of case ending in the modern dialects might be traced back to ancient proto-Semitic.

Owens, thus, excludes the innovations that took place by cause of imperfect learning during the conquests from his accounts and argues that the sole legitimate process to explain the genealogy of the dialect, is through a historical-comparative reconstruction model. Evidence of his claim is the common structures attested between Uzbekistan Arabic and Western Sudanic Arabic(Owens, 2006; Versteegh, 2014).

Structural differences among the dialects were also attributed to the substrate influence from the various languages spoken by the indigenous communities that inhabited the different conquered territories before the conquests had reached it, such as the impact of the Coptic language in Egypt and Aramaic in Mesopotamia. The influence is said to have altered mainly the syntactic patterns of the peripheral dialects. New Arabic dialects, based on this claim: "must

have developed independently, when the native populations first learned Arabic and spoke it each with their own idiosyncrasies. The influence of the substrate is especially significant in cases of informal second language acquisition. The substrate features fill in gaps when the target language input is not learnable or insufficient" (ALSharkawi, 2016, p.163).

In the modern Arabic dialects, the effect of the indigenous varieties might be embodied under two types. The first kind known as an adstratal influence points to the languages that are still in use alongside Arabic vernaculars, such as the prevalence of Berber in North Africa (AlSharkawi, 2016). Versteegh (2014) mentions examples of the Berber remnants in Djidjelli

Arabic, derived from the study of Cohen. One of which assumes that there exist a set of 150 words in Berber that exhibit a prefix(a)in the initial position, this case is duplicated in Arabic where words like ʂdar „breast" are uttered as aʂdar.

Conversely, the case of Syria renders a situation of substratum impact, which indicates that the language of the native speakers of the region is no longer in use, a frequent instance of this influence is depicted in the voiceless production of the phoneme /q/, as a glottal stop. Nevertheless, the similar realization of this phoneme in Egypt stands against the substratum claim(al-Sharkawi, 2016; Versteegh, 2014).

Despite the theoretical inconsistencies among the scholars upon the development of the Arabic dialects. They agree on the fact that new Arabic exhibits many similarities to the modern dialects, and at the same time diverges from the classical language in many aspects. Versteegh (2014,p.133-138) provides a list of phonological, morphological, and syntactic elements, through which, the disparities between the varieties and the standard language are outlined. Although he bases his analysis on Syrian Arabic, Versteegh alleges that these features apply to all the sedentary modern dialects. Yet, he notes that the major dissimilarities concern sedentary dialects, as Bedouin varieties have always been conservative. These features embrace:

- The absence of the glottal stop that was formerly attested in Eastern Arabic and the Quran, from the Dialects, unless it is a reflex of another phoneme, eg: raʔs, „head" in Classical Arabic is realized as ras.
- The retention of Classical Arabic interdentals by Bedouin dialects and their absence from the sedentary varieties Classical Arabic θalaθa „three", Syrian Arabic tlate.
- Short vowel elision and the shortening of long vowels

- The expiratory nature of the stress in the dialects
- The two Classical Arabic phonemes /ð/ and /ḍ/ amalgamated into /ð/ in the sedentary dialects
- The reduction of /i/ and /u/into one phoneme, in the sedentary dialects usually transcribed with /ə/, e.g., in Syrian Arabic ʔəṣṣa „story‟ (Classical Arabic qiṣṣa).
- The substitution of the vowel i to a vowel a, in the imperfective, eg: Classical Arabic jaħmilu „he carries‟ > jiħmil > Syrian Arabic yəħmel.
- The plural adjective is formed through the pattern fuʕal instead of fiʕal.
- Adjective of nisba are assigned with a vowel i in the place of ij or ijj.
- The deletion of h- in the pronominal suffix of the third person masculine Classical Arabic qatala-hu, Syrian Arabic ʔatal-o).
- Absence of gender distinction in the second and third person plural.
- Absence of dual endings in verbs and pronouns
- The forms n- or t- have replaced the classical Arabic internal passive fuʕila, yufʕalu.
- The absence of the perfect verb pattern faʕula.
- The three feminine endings ah –a –a have amalgamated into an a ħamraʔu(Classical Arabic- ħamra (Syrian).
- Loss of inflection in the relative pronouns, Classical Arabic allaðī, feminine allati:, plural allaði:na, allawatī, allatī), Syrian Arabic jəlli.
- CLA third radical j and w for weak and reduplicated verbs have merged into a j eg: rama/ramet „he/I threw‟contrary to CLA rama/ramajtu.

- Levelling of strong verbs endings, hence, ramu / instead of ramaw (CLA).
- Shift from Synthetic into an analytical syntactic structure.
- Change in the word order; Subject-Verb-Object or Verb-Subject –object in some dialects (Versteegh, 2014, p.133-137).

2.5 Current State of the Arab speaking World

As already seen in the previous sections, the codification of classical Arabic turned it into a dominant writing vehicle and to the highest form in the linguistic hierarchy of the Arab speaking world, given its religious and liturgical value. Notwithstanding with the other spoken varieties, that lack an official status in the Arab countries. This situation persisted until the nineteenth century when European nationalistic movements and modern discoveries penetrated the Arabworld. These movements are believed to have started with Napoleon's 1798 campaign in Egypt(Albirini, 2016; Sayahi, 2014; Versteegh, 2014).

The Arab Renaissance, known as "Nahda", a form of literary revival transpired in the Arab countries. Faced with the need for institutions and policies, in addition to the advent of Arab speaking press, there was a pressing necessity to modernize classical Arabic (Sayahi, 2014). This modernization process entailed vocabulary building through neologisms and creations, while sometimes restoring ancient abandoned forms, as a strategy to avoid foreign loans, as well as translating scientific publications from other languages(chiefly from French) to Arabic (Sayahi, 2014;Versteegh,2014).

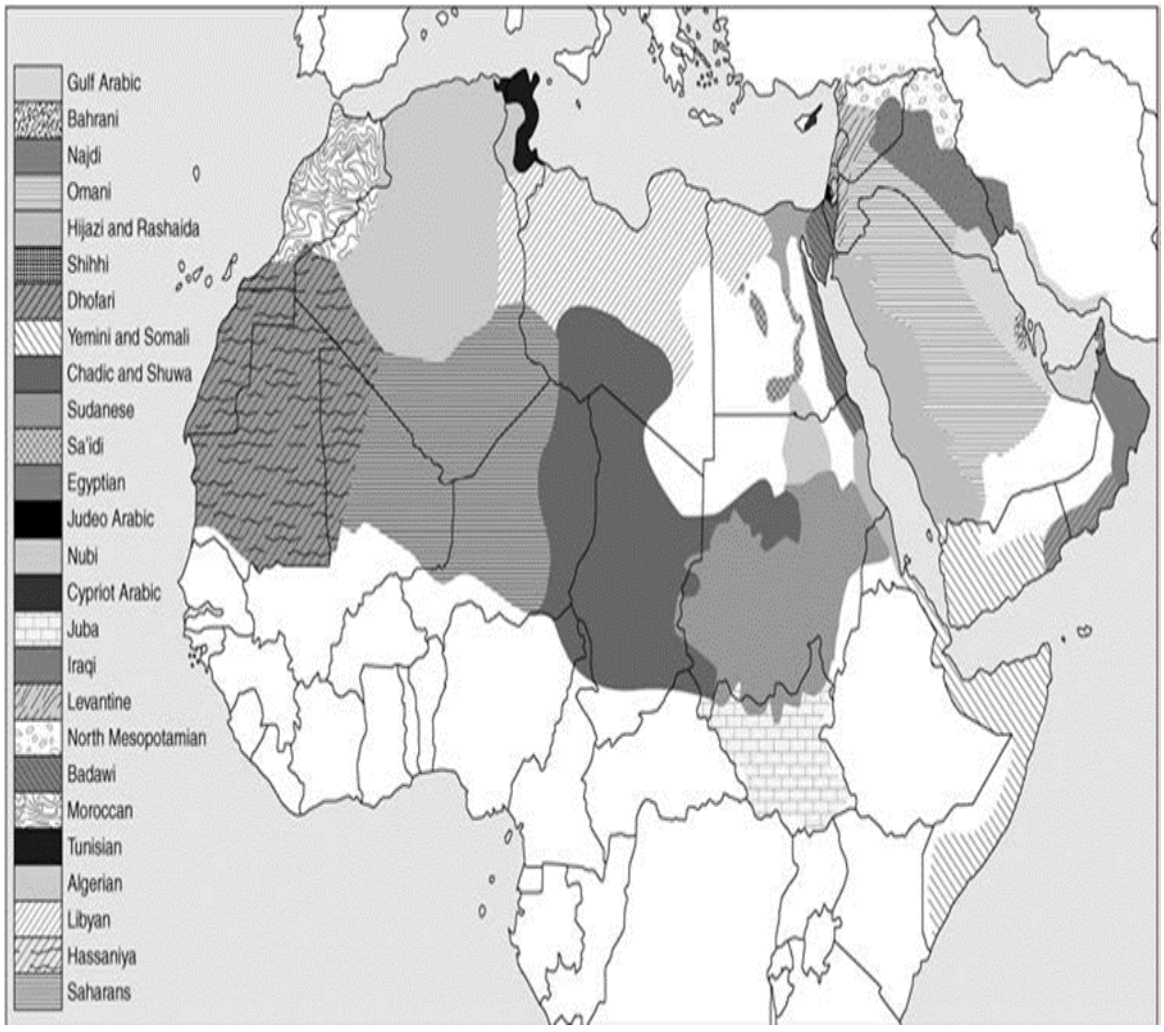
Nevertheless, the colonial legacy in some Arab countries appears to have hindered the process of modernization. Consequently, in the middle of the twentieth century, and by reason of the independence of several Arab countries, the demand for modernization and state-building was dependent on language planning efforts, during this period , great deal of work was done to

promote MSA into a multi-functional language. Eventually, countries like Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Lebanon constituted many language academies. In the Maghreb, likewise each country founded its own language academy , "although the mission and methods of reforming the language varied, the role of the former colonial language as the source language for borrowings also varied and reflected educational policies and ideological stands"(Sayahi,2014,p.23). Hence, CLA witnessed an unstructured and an urbanized development. It was fuelled with new terms designating modern technologies and new concepts. Ultimately, according to the scholarly tradition, CLA transitioned to Modern standard Arabic(Van Putten, 2020).

Today, the current linguistic situation of the Arab world renders roughly the same picture as fourteen hundred years ago, in addition to the standard language, which is the official language of the Arab governments employed in reading, print publications, and literacy. Thereexist side by side with this language, a myriad of regional dialects, that overlap or diverge, depending on geographical or genealogical considerations, and that are used as a means of everyday communication, as they represent the mother tongues of every Arab speaker regardless of his origin. Despite the fact that reciprocal understandability is not always secured between this set of dialects, they still share several linguistic features and a collective history, which vindicates their common origins (Albirini, 2016).

Ferguson (1959) describes the linguistic situation in the Arab world as diglossic par excellence. Hence, MSA, representing the higher (H) prestigious variety, while the regional dialects depict low (L) varieties in Ferguson's dichotomy. Moreover, context plays a critical role in the use of either language. In this, Ferguson (1959,p.60, cited in Albirini,2016), points out: "in the early twentieth century an Arab playwright (Mikhail Nu‟aimeh) . . . had the educated people speak H and the less educated people speak L, although in real life everyone spoke L in the situations presented in his dramas." Ferguson's model has been subject to many amendments, a recent account that stems from Albirini (2011) proposes a reconfiguration of Ferguson‟s

approach. Albirini propounds a functional representation of MSA and the colloquial dialects. Based on an analysis of thirty-five audio recording of educated Arab speakers descending from Egypt, the Levant and the Gulf, in three situations; religious speeches, political debates, and soccer commentaries. Albirini reached the conclusions that Arab speakers alter between the use of both MSA and the dialects to fulfill varying sociolinguistic functions, irrespective of the context. He proposes, thus, revisiting the model on grounds of functional rather than contextual compartmentalization of MSA and QA (Albirini, 2016).



Map 2.3 Contemporary Dialects of Arabic, Adapted from (AlSharkawi, 2016)

2.6 Modern Arabic Dialects

The Classification of contemporary regional dialects of Arabic has been often based on their geographical dispersion. Several scholars attempted to devise the set of dialects into more or less homogenous groups, Palva (2006) posits that Arabic dialects used to be geographically segregated into; dialects of the Mashreq and Maghrebi dialects. According to him, until the 1970ʺs, the margins of the two groups were delineated from the Western frontiers of Egypt to Chad in the south. This classification was worked, based on the conservative inflection of the 1st person singular and plural in the imperfect, which is uttered as (aktib, niktib) in the Eastern group, while used as (niktib, niktibu/níkitbu) in the Western dialects(Palva, 2006). However, more profound research yielded different measures, as this isogloss was found to extend to the western Delta and follows the Nile Valley between Asyùt and Luxor (Behnstedt and Woidich 1985, maps 210–213). Thus, because of the common characteristics within Egyptian Arabic,this compartmentalization cannot be a clear line. Therefore, other typologically eminent features must be examined (Palva, 2006).

In consonance with Palva, Holes (2018) insists on the fact that this broad distinction does not render the complete image of the Arab world, in this, he points out: “On either side of this broad geographical division, many subdivisions and subdivisions of subdivisions could be drawn almost ad infinitum, down to the level of differences between neighboring villages”(p.20). In the same vein, Versteegh (2014) affirms that all endeavors concerning the categorization of the dialects were done randomly, as the delimitation of the isoglosses as distinguishing features gives off further divisions; demarcations based on phonetic elements, for instance, often result in different divisions than those based on lexical variations. Moreover, isoglosses cannot all-time be clear-cut, there exist very often transitional zones between different areas in which a particular element occurs partially or just in one area of the lexicon. “Still, the geographical

distribution of the isoglosses often corresponds to the intuitive distinction between dialect groups by the speakers of the dialects themselves" (Versteegh, 1984,p.140).

The historical chronology was another alternative to differentiate between the dialects, in North Africa for example, various waves of the settlement are evinced, and each wave concerned one Arabic group. However, they were never completely separated from each other due to mutual interference, just like is the case between rural and nomadic dialects(Versteegh,1984,p.140). The Arabic case is further intricate with the presence of a ubiquitous typological distinction between Bedouin and Sedentary dialects. While the latter is again split into urban and rural varieties (Palva, 2006; Holes, 2018).

At the same time, Jastrow (2002) bifurcates the array of dialects into three main zones, while zone one involves the Arabian Peninsula, zone two includes the secondary or the peripheral areas Arabic arrived to through the Islamic conquests. Zone three on the other hand points to the different linguistic enclaves such as Maltese (Watson, 2011).While Versteegh (2014) distinguishes five geographical dialects areas, namely; dialects of the Gulf, Mesopotamian and Egyptian dialects, dialects of the Levant, and finally the Maghrebi dialects.

2.6.1Bedouin and Sedentary Dialects

Any attempt at the classification of Arabic dialects would be deemed incomplete if it does not infer to the coexistence of Bedouin and Sedentary dialects, Palva (2006) contends that providing an account of the dialectal typology in the Arab world has to take cognizance of the social stratification of the societies under question. Few evidence was provided concerning where, and when these Bedouin and sedentary dialects sprang, nor how did they emerge, whereas, it is generally agreed upon that Bedouin dialects are more conservative than sedentary ones, due to the fact that "they retain many "Classical features lost elsewhere" (Kaye & Rosenhouse, 1998,p.559). However, the impact of sedentary dialects on the Bedouin varieties

should not be neglected either. The period before the appearance of Islam and probably even earlier witnessed a huge flux of Bedouin immigration, indeed, it is claimed that the Nomads, succeeded by the Bedouin tribes from the Arabian Peninsula, conducted the primary conquests of el „Hiʒra‟. These moves seem to have launched the process of Arabicisation in rural areas. In some areas, Bedouin tribes stabilized in the sedentary regions and converged to their languages, while in others, the reverse took place, such as in Marrakech Morocco and the Muslim dialect in Baghdad. Hence, it is not an easy task to delineate all the features setting apart sedentary from Bedouin dialects,(Versteegh,2014).

Reportedly, the present modern dialects represent a mixture of both types that were formerly, typologically diverse (Al Sharkawi, 2016). Variation in the demographic and the social histories of the different regions of the Arab-speaking world, resulted in alterations in the perception of Bedouin and Sedentary dialects, to the extent that it was usual to find both sedentary and Bedouin living harmoniously in one single tribe and, therefore using the same dialect in the south Arabian area. Nevertheless, cases like these never occur in northern Arabia (Holes, 2018). Eventually, and as a result of these historical drastic changes in the Arab world, "many villagers speak Arabic of an urban-type, and in several old urban centers, the inhabitants speak Bedouinized dialects"(Palva,2006,p.605). Interestingly, some Bedouin dialects, often bear strong resemblances to one another despite the geographical proximity that might separate them. These cases can be exemplified by the similarities found between the Gulf, and south Algerian Bedouin dialects (Holes, 2018).

Palva (2006) proffers a distinction of Bedouin and sedentary dialects based on the linguistic features of each group. While the A near each distinctive feature implies that it is a collective marker of the whole group, the P indicates that the linguistic characteristic is common among the majority of the dialects in the group. Nevertheless, Palva assumes that apart from the

reflexes of q in both groups, there is no striking linguistic contrast between the two groups of dialects.

Bedouin Dialects	Sedentary Dialects
• Retained interdental Fricatives (A) • Partially retained and generalized indefinite marker in tanwin (P) • Retained gender distinction in plural (P) • No verb modifiers in the imperfective • internal passives productively used (P) • retained productivity of Form IV (P) • very low frequency of analytical genitive	• interdental fricatives > postdental stops (P) • No indefinite Marker in except in formulaic expressions • no gender distinction in finite verbs and personal pronouns (P) • Different Verb modifiers in the imperfect (A) • Absence of Internal Passives • Absence of profuctivity of IV(P) • Common use of Analytical genetic structures(A)

Table2.3 Distinctive Features of Bedouin and Sedentary dialects adapted from (Palva, 2006).

Nowadays dialects represent the final shape of thirteen centuries evolvement, in the dialects brought about by Arab migrants, starting from the seventh century to areas like North Africa, Spain, The Levant, Egypt, Iraq, and central Asia. These migratory movements in addition to wars and colonialism at that time contributed vigorously to the process of macro dialectal change. Two eminent cases are the Fāṭimid Caliphate expulsion of Banī Hilāl and Banī Sulaym tribes from Egypt to the Maghreb in the eleventh century, and the devastation and depopulation of Baghdad by the Mongols in February 1258,(Holes,2018).

2.6.2 Dialects of the Levant

The consecutive settlements of the different Arab tribes in "Bilādal-Shām", (the Syrian arena today) during the pre-Islamic period, in addition to the Islamic conquests of the seventh century, paved the way for the Arabicisation of the region, particularly in Damascus and Aleppo, where the varieties of new Arabic were initially spoken. According to Versteegh (2014), due to the lack of data, there exist many disagreements, concerning the dialects spoken in the region . However, the most commonly known appear to embrace; Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine (Versteegh, 2014).

The majority of the dialects partaking in this region tend to display some sedentary features such as the voiceless realization of q. Based on the reflexes of this phoneme, Contineau (1938, cited in Palva, 2006), portioned the sedentary dialects of the Levant into four groups. The first department concerns S1 and S2 categories. As specified by Contineau, S2 embraces the rural central dialects of Palestine, in addition to the oasis of suxn in the Syrian Desert; this category makes use of fronted variants (k) of q, which has generated a palatalization of k to č, or the reverse. Whereas S1encompasses the urban dialects of Aleppo, Latakia, Hama, Homs, Beirut, Damascus, Saida, Gaza, Jerusalem, and Hebron, in which the use of the glottal stop (ʔ) is evinced. Furthermore, rural speakers in Syria, southern Lebanon, Galilee, and Jabal Ɛòràn also

belong to the same group (S1), despite their realization of the q as an unvoiced q sound (Palva, 2006). Albeit, after 1930, the use of the glottal stop extended to cover all the area of Lebanon, the whole region between Damascus and Homs, the southern half of the Syrian coast, and west Allepo(Palva,2006).

Although Contineau's classification, was initially based on the reflexes of the qaaf, it overlapped with a set of other isoglosses (Palva,2006). Allegedly, another common feature among the great Syrian dialects, is the use of stops, instead of interdental sounds, and the absence of gender distinction in the second, and third-person plural of pronouns, and verbs(Lentin, 2018; Palva, 2006; Versteegh, 2014). The shift from interdentals to stops in Levantine varieties has been hypothesized, as a case of contact-induced change from Aramaic.However, its occurrence in other Arabic dialects refutes this claim (Stephan, 2020).

In spite of their sedentary nature, these dialects attest to many Bedouin traits. The majority of the dialects in Jordan make use of the sound /g/ instead of /k/, as a consequence of contact with Bedouin tribes. A more recent conventionalized classification is provided by Versteegh (2014), who sorts the Levantine dialects into three groups; Lebanese and central Syrian dialects covering the dialects of Beirut, the capital city of Lebanon, dialects of Damascus, in Syria, in addition to the Maronite Arabic spoken in Cyprus. The second group concerns the North-Syrian dialects like Aleppo, whereas the third group covers the central, Southern Palestinian, and Jordanian dialects (Versteegh, 2014).

One main documented distinction, between the first group and the remaining two groups, is the realization of the verb byiktub/biktub (He writes, I write), where in the central Syrian dialects for instance is used as bjəktob/bəktob, North Syrian dialect of Aleppo use it as; bəktob/baktob. A further distinction between the first and second group is based on the ʔimāla, which points to a historical process resulting in the alteration of a into e, so that a word like lisān,

‘tongue ‘, is pronounced as lsen, and jameʕ, ‘mosque’, as jemeʕ in the dialect of Aleppo (Versteegh,2014).

On the Other hand, in Lebanese Arabic, the a is used as imalah; aː, or as ɒː tafxīm, such as in [mæːt], he died. Imala or imlaut is a key characteristic of Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, this feature can be internal or final, through which it is an allomorph of the feminine ending eg Syrian madrase 'school'(Kaye & Rosenhouse, 1998; Versteegh, 2014).

Nevertheless, it is not possible to draw a sharp decision concerning the distinction between these three groups. As a point of fact, there exists an isogloss setting apart Palestinian and south Lebanese dialects from the other groups. This distinction concerns the retaining of short vowels a, i, u in these dialects, while in the other varieties, these short vowels have been substituted to one vowel sound:/ə/.Except in unstressed final syllables (Kaye & Rosenhouse, 1998). This reduction soon turned into vowel elision, in all unstressed open syllables. As an example, while the word „books‟ is realized as kətob, words like ‘ascent, are realized as ʈluʕ ʈuluʕ,(Versteegh,2014,p.199). With regard to the third group of the Levant, Palestinian andJordanian dialects, are generally marked, by the existence of the voiced sound /g/ as it is shown in the verb to say; ‘gal’. This particular sound reflects the Bedouin nature of these varieties‘ (Versteegh, 2014, p.199). Moreover, the half-southern dialects of the Levant, appear to share the same negation patterns with Egypt and North African dialects (Palva, 2006).

Arguably, The Syrian dialects exhibit a particular set of consonant clusters, which is distinct from the other dialects of the Levant, since it includes an epenthetic vowel uttered just before the second consonant in a CCC cluster like in the verb; jəħəmlu, they carry. Another eminent feature of the Syrian area is the b-imperfect (Palva, 2006). This feature is often used in Damascene Arabic to indicate an “intended future, assumptions, general facts, and present actions”, in this, the first person singular turns to bəktob, while the plural first person is realized

as m-nəktob. The continuous is expressed with ʕ am, whereas the future with; rah(Versteegh,2014,p.200). Moreover, monophthongization is also a salient marker of the syro-libanese as the diphthongs ay aw have been replaced by oo and ee (Kay, Rosenhouse, 1998).

2.6.3 Dialects of the Maghreb

What is referred to as the Maghreb according to the United Nations, encompasses the area of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia Libya, and Mauritania, that together represent the western dialects of Arabic, in addition to the dialects spoken in Malta and two dead dialects formerly called Andalusian and Siculo-Arabic (Jordi2018, Sayahi,2014). The North African region is marked by some religious regularity, contrary to the Middle Eastern area. Christianity vanished just after the Islamic conquests, thus, from very ancient times; Jews have been the sole non-Muslims in the area. During the eighth and ninth centuries, Khārijism had its place within the Islamic community. Whereas, nowadays Sunnism took over, with few exceptions such as Ibādīs in Djerba, Tunisia, Ouargla, and the Mzab in Algeria). However, the prominent religious school, particularly in Algeria, and Morocco is the Malikī. Data concerning the Arabicization process in the north African arena, are deemed insufficient or have been gathered tardily. Major descriptions started from around the sixteenth century and were generally, in the form of narratives, captives, and even recitals from diplomats who travelled to the Maghreb, to save Christian prisoners (Jordi, 2018).

2.6.3.1 The Arabicization of the Maghreb

The melting pot of languages in Northern Africa is nothing but a by-product of its historical and geographical peculiarities. According to Sayahi (2014), the western dialects are determined by three socio-historical events: “first, the way Arabization proceeded; second, the intensity of contact that Arabic has had with autochthonous languages as well as other languages,

and third, the rapid social changes and fast-paced urbanization that the Maghreb has been witnessing since the middle of the twentieth century"(p.25).

Linguists and Historians agree upon the fact that the Arabicisation of North Africa was two-folds, which brought about plenty of dialects to different regions. Firstly, Muslims tackled the fresh sedentary centers like Kairouan. In this respect, Abun-Nasr (1987) states: " In 693, an Arab army of a few thousand soldiers defeated the Byzantines and their Berber allies, and, immediately after, the Muslim army had added three times that number of Berber soldiers to its ranks" (p. 31, as cited in Sayahi,2014). According to William Marcais, these tribes came from Egypt and Syria under the Caliphs of Umayyads and few Abbasids, they were accompanied by women and children, merchants and missionaries coming from diverse origins: Yemenis, Qays, Quraysh, Ansar, etc. During 150 years, they established themselves in the area of Tunisia and part of eastern Algeria, le department Constantinois. However, the central area used to be Kairouan, the very first Arabic city. Afterwards, with the arrival of Middle Eastern refugees, another set of sedentary regions were settled. While in some places, where Arabic was already introduced (during the first wave) like Algeria, and Morocco, it resulted in the creation of what isnow termed Pre-Hilalian Arabic. These dialects include eastern Pre-Hilalian, found in Tunisia and the Algerian east, in addition to western, Pre-Hilalian spoken in western Algeria. Among this wave were the Idrissids, which founded the city of Fes in 789 that was responsible for the Arabicisation of the whole Maghreb, lately. Four centuries later, in (1050 ce) There was another flux of Arab invaders, who were mainly Bedouins from the Arabian Peninsula (Hilali and Sulaym), these tribes entered the Maghreb through Egypt. This ultimate wave was behind the formation of the Bedouin varieties currently existent in the Maghreb. (Versteegh, 2014; Sayahi,2014; Caubet , 2002 ;Jordi,2018).

Subsequently, another flow of Andalusi refugees is believed to have contributed greatly to the multiplicity of varieties in North Africa, in the period between the fifteenth and seventeenth

century. Some Moriscos and Sephardic Jews also partook in this wave, which escalated after the fall of Granada in 1492(Epalza, 1992, as cited in Sayahi, 2014). These waves have had strong economic and linguistic effects on the urban centers, they even cooperated in the formation of new cities such as Soliman in Tunisia. Andalusi refugees were perfectly bilinguals in many languages, besides, they spoke another special variety of Arabic, which extinct but its remnants are still present in the Maghrebi dialects (Sayahi, 2014). During the two next centuries, Berber-Arabic bilingualism was a widespread tendency, consequently, Berber exerted a strong influence on the process of dialects formation, this is indeed one of the reasons behind the dissimilarities present between the Maghrebi dialects and the other set of Arabic dialects in the Arabian Peninsula and the Levant. Ibn Khaldun (1985), a famous Arab sociologist, also attributes the distinctiveness of the western dialects to the intensity of contact with Amazigh, in this, he states:

In Ifriqiyah [modern-day Tunisia] and the Maghreb, the Arabs had contact with non-Arab Berbers who constitute the bulk of the population of these countries. Hardly any city or group was without Berbers. Therefore, the non-Arab element there gained preponderance over the language of the Arabs. Thus, there originated another, mixed language in which the non-Arab element was preponderant, for the reasons mentioned. The language spoken there is more remote from the ancient language than other dialects (p.352, as cited in L.Sayahi, 2014, p.26).

Scholars like Jordi (2018) surmise that, initially, the Arabicization process was promoted by the structural commonalities found between Berber, Arabic, and Hamito-Semitic languages, whereas, this process was never accomplished. Indeed, driven by many factors, Berber prevailed until today in many large areas in Morocco and Algeria. First, because Arabicization did not tackle isolated areas such as mountains, it was restricted to the plains. Furthermore, demography has also played an important role, given the fact that the majority of Berber-speaking regions are characterized by high population rates, in addition to a sedentary and agricultural way of living, which favoured their language maintenance (Jordi, 2018).

Besides, another salient factor, which both allowed and impeded the process of Arabisation, is the tribal coalitions with the Arabs, that is to say, the more associations Berbers had with the Arabs, the higher was their malleability to be arabicized. Among the widely known examples of Berber influence on the Maghrebi dialects, is the change in number, the word maʔ,'water', which is singular in CLA, and most of the western dialects. However it is plural in Berber(l-ma bārdīn, the water is cold) and some influenced dialects in Northern Moroccan and Algerian dialects. Another example is the comparative sentences with the preposition ʕla instead of mən in : t-təlʒ byəd ʕla ʂʂof „„snow is whiter than wool". (Vicente, 2002, cf. Marçais, as cited in Jordi,2018).

Colin (1986) presupposes that Islam has also promoted Arabicization of northern Morocco through the engagement of Jbala Berber tribes in ʒihād against Christians. Indeed, the role of Islam in introducing Arabic in North Africa is certainly of paramount importance, and can never be neglected, owing to the primacy and prestige of Arabic, as the language of the holy book. Furthermore, Quranic schools such as el Madrassa of Kairaouan and Fes, and teaching centers like Chinguetti in Mauritania and Tāmgrūt in Morocco, also provided wealthy libraries, which attracted scholars from all over the Maghreb and Sahel (Jordi, 2018).

Additionally, at the time of Arab expansions to the Maghreb, a variety of Vulgar Latin, which is a pre-Romance language, was widely used. Thus, Contact between the latter and dialects of the Maghreb resulted in many substrata. With regard to morphology, only one example was vouched, which is the plural morphemes əš-oš found in North Morocco such as in the word krabli:woš, 'sieves', saddlebags, Corriente (2013,p.142-3, cited in Jordi,2018).

Moreover, gender merging in the second person singular in Pre-Hilalian dialects of Morocco, and Algeria is also a good example of Latin substrata, such as in ntina/ you, which is used for both males and females. The Latin impact is also noticeable in the loanwords

designating the Julian calendar; jinnajər „January", fəbr̲ayə? „February", mar̲? „March", ībri:l„April". Besides, other lexical elements are alleged such as; bəbbu:š / bubbu:š, snail, fəllu:s„chick", ṭubba /tōppa/ ṭobba/(WAD I:136,375,388, as cited in Jordi,2018).

2.6.3.2 Linguistic Hallmarks of the Maghrebi Dialects

Linguistically speaking, the dialects of the Maghreb seem to display some kind of uniformity, given the fact that they got in contact with a limited set of languages; Berber and Late Latin Romance (Jordi, 2018). Another language, which is claimed to have been in use, in the region is Punic, its period of use is not clearly determined. However, it is inferred that it existed at least at the time of the Arab's arrival to the region. Indeed, some scholars further surmise that the Arabicization of the area was promoted, by the fact that Punic belongs to the same language family as Arabic. As referred to earlier, dialects of the Maghreb split into two types;Pre- Hilali, and Hilali, based on the wave of Arabization they belong to, Pre-Hilali, who partake in the first wave of Arab conquerors, represent sedentary dialects, they cover ancient regions like Tunis, Cherchel, Fes Titouan, and Tlemcen. While, Hilali dialects, imported by the Solaym and Banu Hilal tribes, symbolize the Bedouin dialects found in the Maghreb. They are represented by dialects like Hassaniya in Moroccon and Oran in Algeria (Jordi, 2018; Versteegh, 2014; Sayahi, 2014).

According to Versteegh (2014), Lybia is mainly Bedouin, given the fact that even sedentary dialects were subject to bedouinisation, while Tunisia is considered as a transitional zone, its Bedouin dialects are related to Libya. Algeria, on the other hand, is inhomogeneous, in the Constantinois for example, both Bedouin and Sedentary dialects are spoken, the Algerois is Bedouin, while in the Oranais (western Algeria), Bedouin predominates, except for Tlemcen, which is marked by its sedentary dialects. In Morocco, Bedouins dialects extend along the plains

and newly established cities such as Casablanca, while sedentary varieties are found in areas like Rabat and Fes, (Versteegh, 2014).

The preservation of interdentals is one of the characteristics of Hilālī, „bedouin" dialects like Ḥassāniyya and Zʕīr in Morocco, the Ma?āzīg in southern Tunisia, and the Libyan „bedouin" dialects. However, in urban sedentary and Bedouin dialects, the interdentals shifted to dental occlusive θa man > taman , price", θa ni > tani , second, ðukura > dkūra „boys", dahr > ḍha̲r

„back"; ðabīZa > dbiħa slaughter", (Anjra, Vicente, 2000, Sanchez, 2014, as cited in Jordi, 2018, p.44). Few exceptions are indicated in ancient urban dialects, such as Tenes, Cherchel, and Sousse. In Algiers, both interdental and occlusive sounds are attested (Jordi, 2018).

According (Marçais, 1977), the loss of short vowels in the Maghreb raises as one move from the east to the west, that is from Lybia to Morocco, whereas, this claim seems to be an overgeneralization since the situation is complicated. While in Tunis, preservation of a, i,u is common, Djidjeli in Algeria exhibits only an ə sound, some Moroccan dialects such as in Casablanca and Marrakech contain an ə and u and Hassaniya an a, and ə. In both sedentary and Hilali dialects, short vowel elision is generally constrained by the nature of the syllable. While normally, short vowels never occur in an open syllable, if such a case happens, it often leads to processes of metathesis or vowel elision. Examples are kəmməl „he finished" /kəmmlu. It is claimed that this peculiarity is a function of Berber substrata (Marçais, 1970 as cited in Versteegh, 2014; Jordi, 2018).

Furthermore, the reduction of short vowels appears to have resulted in initial complex clusters in the Maghrebi dialects, as well as in the frequency of occurrence of the schwa epenthesis. Mostly, the syllable structure moved from CvCC to CCvC, e.g. saqf, sqaf „roof" (Versteegh 1997, p.166). Regarding stress, Sayahi (2014) claims: "stress in the dialects has

become phonemic in order to make up for the overall vowel shortening, while this is not the case in Classical Arabic. In the Maghrebi dialects, preference is for final-syllable stress, especially with the reduction of non-stressed short vowels, e.g., kitaːb > ktaːb „book" (p.34). Western dialects are also known, by the frequency of quadriradical roots like in sarwəl, trousers, zərbija, a rug, (Kaye & Rosenhouse, 1998).Long vowels aː, iː, uː on the other hand, are all well retained in the western dialects. Besides, long vowels,as well as the short ones a, ə, i,and u, comprise several allophones "[aː], [æː], [ɑː], [eː], [iː], [ɪː], [oː], [ʊː],and [a], [æ],[ɑ], [e], [i], [ɪ], [o], [ʊ]," contingent on the consonantal environment on which they occur (Cantineau, 1960, Marçais ,1977, cited in Jordi,2018,p.47).

In spite of the major differences between Bedouin and Sedentary dialects, there exist some intersecting zones. As a matter of fact, both Sedentary and Bedouin dialects exhibit two main frequent features, the prefix n- for the first person singular of the perfect stem such as in the verb: /nəktəb /, I write. These varieties also share the same patterns of vowel elision in open syllables. Very often, these dialects are called colonial Arabic, for example, there is only one variant for the first person singular ktabt/ ktəbt ‚I wrote", opposed to katabt / ktabt / katabtu in eastern Arabic dialects. Pharyngealization of plain consonant, is a widespread thread in Morocco and Algeria (especially in all Hilālī dialects): dær „he made" > ḏa̲r „house", raʔs > r̲aṣ „head", fam> fuṃṃ „mouth", *sulţan > ṣəl̲ţan „sultan". Differences between plain and pharyngealized consonants are seen in :, lbaba „crumb", l-b̲aḇa „to daddy", ʒari„running" / ʒar̲i „my neighbour" (Jordi 2018,p.46).

The diphthongs are somehow a complicated matter. Monophthongization might be found in both Hilali and pre-Hilali dialects depending on their consonantal surrounding, the sounds ʕ, ħ, x, and q tend to favor the use of diphthongs. However; it can never be asseverated that sedentary monophthongize, while Bedouin dialects do not. For instance, old diphthongs like aw and ay are often retained in Bedouin dialects, as well as in sedentary dialects, while they

sometimes shifted to ay/ e in the latter. An example of this fluctuate situation is the dialect of Anja, Morroco, which despite its sedentary nature, allows the use of old diphthongs such as in yawm, a day (Jordi, 2018, Kay, Rosenhouse, 1998).

Regarding definite articles, according to Jordi (2018) the article l- assimilates to the sun or coronal consonants: /l (l̲)/, /r (r̲)/, /n (n)/, /s/, /š/, /ṣ/, /z (ẓ)/, /t/, /ṭ/. , /d/, /ð/, /d/): d-dā?,'the house', ṣ-ṣif , 'the summer', r̲-r̲aʒəl, 'the man', t-talət , the third' etc. Examples of assimilation of l- to interdentals in Ḥassāniyya are: t-_ ta lət,' the third', d-_ dib,' the jackal', əd-_ dḇ āb, 'the flies', əd dd āʕ,' the hyenas'. The article l- assimilates generally to /ʒ/: əʒ-ʒnaza „the funeral", ʒ-ʒu:ʕ „the hunger"(Jordi,2018).In some dialects, however, the assimilation of the definite article covers all of the labials, velars, and post-velars: l-kull ,k-kull 'the whole'; lə-bħa?, b-bħa?' the sea', lə-mr̲a; m-mr̲a,' the woman'; l-qəlb, q-qəlb 'the heart'(Marçais 1977, cited in Jordi,2018). Exceptions to the assimilation to the sun consonants are found in Collo, Algeria; l-ʒuz „the walnut" (Ostoya- Delmas, 1938, p.70, as cited in Jordi, 2018, p.50).

Indefinite articles, on the other hand, are expressed through the use of a numeral waħəd/waħd (Caubet,2002; Kay and Rosenhouse,1998, Versteegh,1997; Jordi,2018) "one which come before a definite substantive, eg. waħəd ṣaħbi „a friend of mine"(Jordi,2018,p.291),.However, this formula is not common in eastern Algeria, sometimes waħ, waħi, or ħa are substituted to waħəd such as in the spoken Arabic of Djijeli Algeria;ħa-ṭ-ṭufla'a girl'(Caubet,2002; Kay and Rosenhouse,1998, Versteegh,2014; Jordi,2018)

The system of derived measures manifest some kind of balance, in the western dialects contrary to the eastern Arabic, in Moroccan Arabic for instance, some the frequently found are: the second measure,ʕəllʔəm 'to teach, the third measure, qatəl 'to fight' and the eighth measure štɣəl, to work.(Versteegh,2014,p.167). Regarding consonants, the voiceless plosive p is often attested in loan words from foreign languages. Besides, these varieties exhibit cases of

Labialization and pharyngealization of the b, so that it is pronounced b̲b̲w, like in b̲b̲wa,'duddy' in some Moroccan and Algerian Arabic(Sayahi,2014).

Hilali Dialects which remained intact from extrinsic interference, are very sparse, while those that got in contact with other sedentary dialects are dubbed as „ mixed dialects", this third group is very common in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, it evolved due to several factors such as population"s movements and the formation of new towns(Jordi,2018).

According to Sayahi (2014), contrary to the Middle East where Bedouin dialects enjoy very positive attitudes, given their alliance to classical Arabic, these varieties are said to be stigmatized in the Maghreb. Despite the fact, that non-urban speakers are often valued and regarded as eloquent and poetic. The stigmatization of Bedouin varieties in the Maghreb is ascribed to a variety of factors, first, because of the negative attitudes Maghrebis display towards the Banou Hilal invasion, which continues to be analogized to locust clouds. Second, because it was introduced as a second language to Berbers, who were the first to learn it at that time. Thus, a bunch of Berber items has been infiltrated into it.

Finally, due to the socio-economic asymmetries between urban and rural areas as well as variations in the literacy rates between them (Sayahi, 2014). Nevertheless, even sedentary dialects were subject to Bedouinisation at a given period, under urbanization and rural flows. Along the same line, Berrabah(2007, as cited in Sayahi,2014) differentiates among Baldi„„Arabic"(Urban varieties) and „Berani" outsider, however, he concludes that due to the swift urbanization rates after independence, a form of urban koine is depicted in larger cities such as Algiers as a result of dialect levelling(Sayahi,2014).

Furthermore, despite the similarities, the Maghrebi dialects render a considerable amount of divergence from one another; these variations are most of the time, more lexical than structural. Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic situation of each country and more specifically their

language policies paved the way for the contact between the latter, MSA, and other foreign languages. Just like is the case in Eastern Arabic, Western Bedouin dialects exhibit a strong resemblance to standard Arabic, while education and mass media also enhanced the incorporation of MSA in the colloquial varieties. Maghrebi dialects have been, additionally subject to influence from Classical Arabic due to its value as a liturgical language (Sayahi, 2014).

2.7Conclusion

This second chapter aimed at reviewing the main historical stands of the Arabic language, departing from the advent of Islam, along with exploring the various linguistic and geographical typologies of its peripheral dialects. Although Arabic is said to have subsisted before the revelation of the Quran as a prestigious 'poetic koine', there is no consensus among scholars on the linguistic situation in the pre-Islamic era. Hence, the recognition of the Arabic language and its speakers in the world is owed to the revelation of the Muslims' sacred book. Besides, the Arab expansions have also played a critical role in disseminating the language outside the Peninsula. The conquests are believed to have launched a process of new dialect formation. When the dispersed Arabic tribes setteled in the conquered areas, a set of several geographically distinct, yet, historically linked dialects evolved, as a result of contact with the different indigenous communities. Major geo- linguistic division of this New type of Arabic is the Western vs.Eastern dialects. These new dialects display a great amount of variability that might be regarded as different languages (Kay, Rosenhouse, 1998).

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

Chapter Three Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this part of the thesis, the researcher intends to proffer a thorough description of the methodological procedures pursued along the research journey, in addition to outlining the main challenges encountered in the fieldwork. The primary sections are concerned with identifying the geographical, historical, and linguistic properties of the city of Oran. It shifts then to describing, the sample and elucidating the data gathering tools and methods, referring to prior sociolinguistic pioneers. After that, a full account of the dependent and independent variables synthesized in the survey is provided, before concluding the chapter.

3.2 Oran

Located in the northwest of Algeria, Oran, Algerians refer to the second capital city after Algiers as wahrən, it occupies an area of 2,121 km2. This county was larger than it is nowadays, in the early modern ages, stretching from the region of Chlef, to the Moroccan frontiers, but soon after the administrative division, in 1958 and mainly after independence, Oran became smaller, since many small counties were removed from it, these cover: Tlemcen, Mascara, Sidi Bel Abbess, Saida, Mostaganem and Tiaret. Nowadays, it includes the Daira of Oran in the Middle, the Daira of Arzew in the east, and the Daira of El Marsa in the West. Oran‟s coastal line extends from the valley of el Magtaa in the east to the Andalous in the West(Bouaziz, 2002).

The history of Oran is one of construction and destruction. It is conventionalized that the nucleus of the city is a small village called the Ifri village, nowadays labeled as Ras El Ayn. Its inhabitants descend from two Berber tribes namely; Maghraoua and Nafzaoua. Nevertheless, available evidence suggests that the city was established in the era of Phoenicians.

The origin of the name Ouahran raised many quarrels and was subject to many myths. One of the legends says that while trying to invade the region, the descendants of Ifren found

who refused to reveal the direction of Oran, but after being threatened, he was forced to say ‘waħ’(meaning yes in Arabic) and,’ṟana’, so the city was named this way according to them. However, Leon fey in the words of George segue advocates another assumption, which supposesthat the name stems from one of the Fatimid Caliphate whose name was: Bou Charam Ouaham Wehran. While a third, claim presumes, that Oran was named according to the waterway on which the Mardjadjou Mountain was built (Bouaziz, 2002).

The small village of Ras El ayn is said to have flourished in all domains namely, economy, society, and urbanism, particularly in the year 902 ad, with the arrival of Andalusi immigrants who were known by their urbanism skills, under the reign of commander Khazar. This leader indeed, contributed vigorously to the development of the region, that some scholars view him as the founder of the city Bouaziz (2002).

Oran has witnessed the succession of various waves from the Ummayads to the French. This last colonial wave stayed in Algeria for one hundred thirty years. After a bloody revolution, in which Algeria lost one and half a million martyrs, it gained its independence in 1962.Eventually, the Europeans who formed the great majority of the inhabitants of Oran were obligedto leave the country, leaving behind their empty houses. Oran was occupied again by in-migrants coming from many rural regions, these in-migrant movements increased during the black decade, when people from disperse locations sought shelter in Oran, fleeing from Army raids (Guererro, 2015).

The consecutive colonial waves have had an extensive impact on Oran’s culture, lifestyle, and peculiarly its linguistic traits. In the coming section, more details about the dialect of Oran are endowed, based on previous research of scholars like; Guerrero 2015, Cantineau (1940), Bouhadiba (1988), and Labed (2014).

3.2.1 Oran Spoken Arabic

As is the case with the other Algerian regions, sedentary and Bedouin dialects subsist in a binary distribution in Oran. However, in his article; les parlers Arabe du département d'Oran, Jean Cantineau specifies that sedentary dialects exist in a limited number in the western region compared to the department of Constantine in the east. They are generally found in Tlemcen, Mostaganem, and within the Jewish communities in Oran. The dialect of Oran belongs then to theD category based on Cantineau‟s classification, together with the dialect of Sidi Bel Abbess, Tlemcen, Saida, and some villages in Mascara. They are generally marked by the first person singular suffix –ah such as in; gutlæh, I told him, instead of u or o. The forms yensu and tensu (you forget) instead of yensau , tensau(Cantineau, 1940,p.222).

Be that as it may, it is worth notinghere, that Polarities such as Urban/Rural division, are not readily set up in the actual linguistic situation of Algeria. Albeit previous investigations of the mid-'40s and '50s on Algerian dialects done by scholars like Marcais, Cantineau or Cohen perceived some similarities and contrasts at different phonetic levels. Coeval Algeria is portrayed by various social and phonetic changes bringing about a constant 'brassage' of vernaculars and cross-dialect contacts that resulted in multidirectional loans. Consequently, the actual Algerian Arabic dialects are said to be converging towards a unified variety, which relates to standard Arabic and with more mutual intelligibility between the varieties. This unification according to Bouhadiba (1988) can be attributed to the arising exposure of speakers to the standard language through themedia (Bouhadiba, 1988).

3.2.1.1 Linguistic Properties of the dialect of Oran

3.2.1.2 Phonological features

According to Bouhadiba (1988), Oran spoken Arabic did not cling to its base phonemic inventory, attributing this to several factors. He sketches the main changes that befell in

the dialect, embracing ; shift from interdentals fricatives to stops , the/ɵ/ became t such as in theword /θu:m/, /tu:m/ 'garlic',/ θaʕlabun/ „fox‟, taʕləb , /θaqīlun/, „ heavy‟ „tqil, ðiraʕun>dɾaʕ „arm‟, /ð/ turned to /d/ ,eg:/ ðurrijjun/ -dərri , a child. The Arabic Dhaad /ḍ/ also disappearedand was replaced by/ḍ/ so that the word/ ḍa hrun/ ,‟ back‟ is uttered as/ ḍhar /Guerreo (2015).

Based on Bouhadiba (1988), the consonantal system of Oran spoken Arabic is composed of25 consonant sounds, which are presented in the table below:

	Labial	Dental	Emphatic	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvul.	Pharyng.
Stop	b	t d	ʈ ɒ	ʃ ʒ	k g	q	ɦ ʕ
Fric.	f	s z	S		X ɣ		
Nasal	m	n					

l, r, h, w, j

(θ) (ʔ)

(ɒ) (ɲ)

Figure 3.1 The Consonantal Inventory of Oran Spoken Arabic adapted from Bouhadiba (1988)

With regard to the vowels of the dialect, they seem to display a great deal of variability. Bouhadiba (1988), distinguishes various realizations of the short vowels /a,i,u. The /a/ can be realized as [æ],[ə],[a], or [ɑ], on the other hand /i/, is produced as [i],[ə],[e]. Whereas /u/ exists as [u];[ə]; and[o].Contrary to /a,i,u,/, the shwa is unlikey to be found in final syllables. Long vowels on the other hand, comprise a:, u:, and i:, whereas, the short mid-central unrounded vowel does not have a longer counterpart (Bouhadiba,1988).

Oran spoken Arabic is also marked by the loss of short vowels in open syllables, such asin d i maaɣ ‘Brain’, which is uttered as /d m aa ɣ/ Bouhadiba (1988). Another feature of the dialect is the pronunciation of the classical gym, as a palato- alveolar voiced sibilant, which is noticed in words like /ʒabalun/ ‘Mountain’, which is realized as /žbəl/ (Guerrero,2015).

The uvular stop /q/ turned to the voiced velar /g/ eg: qalb ‘heart’, which is uttered as /g alb/, qassama, ‘gəssəm,’he split’.However, there exist many cases where the voiceless sound has been kept such as in words like: qadi: mun, qdim, ‘old’, qari:bun’, qri:b ‘near’(Guerrero, 2015). The laryngeal /h/ is omitted in some words: CA fākihatun, fakja ‘fruit’, CA nahaḍa, naḍ, ‘he got up’, mən hna, mən na, ‘over here’, CA hajja, ajja, ‘let’s go’(Guerrero,2015).

Old diphthongs have, generally, changed to monophthongs i and u, eg: CA /bajtun/, bit, ‘room’; CA fawqa, fug,’ over’, whereas, in cases, where they are preceded by, a pharyngeal or auvular consonant, the Hilalian diphthongs aw and aj prevail in this dialect. They are attested in words such as CA xajmatun, xajma, ‘tent’; and ḍajf, ‘guest’, ḍaw,’ light’. Assimilation of the /l /in Oran spoken Arabic is manifested when this last is followed by a ʒ sound in words like ʒʒamiʕa, ‘a university’(Guererro, 2015; Labed, 2014).

Regarding the syllable structure, Labed (2014) has unveiled that, in situations where a suffix starting by a vowel, connects to the third person feminine singular perfective, the Bedouin long vowel a: emerges, an example is a suffix -ak in / r̲afda:tək/, she carried you. Besides, the syllable structure has also been subject to the sedentary influence, which is shown in the process of germination; hence, the second consonant in the structure CvCCvC is geminated when joined to/u/, to form the imperfective, eg. /jər̲r̲agdu/, they sleep, Labed (2014).

3.2.1.1.2 Morphological characteristics

One striking feature of the dialect of Oran resides in the defective verbs, which appear to lose their third radical. They take the same rule as the regular verbs in the urban, based on the principle that diphthongs act as long vowels on surface-level Bouhadiba (1988,p.17):

Classical Arabic	Urban	Rural	
[ramajtu]	rmi:t	rmajt	1st. sing. Perfective

Regular Triliteral verbs on the other hand take the following structure:

The perfective		The imperfective		The imperative	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1.c. fṭăṛt	1.c. fṭăṛna	1.c. nəfṭăṛ	1.c. nəffəṭṛu	2.m. (ə)fṭăṛ	2.c. (əf)fəṭṛu
2.m. fṭăṛt	2.c. fṭăṛtu	2.m. təfṭăṛ	2.c. təffəṭṛu	2.f. (əf)fəṭṛi	
2.f. fṭăṛti	3.c. fəṭṛu	2.f. təffəṭṛi	3.c. yəffəṭṛu		
3.m. fṭăṛ		3.m. yəfṭăṛ			
3.f. fəṭṛət		3.f. təfṭăṛ			

Table 3.1 Regular Verbs Inflection in Oran Spoken Arabic(Adapted From, Guerrero, 2015,p.224).

On the imperfective verbs Labed comments that the current spoken Arabic exhibit the use of both Bedouin and Sedentary features, in this, both the Bedouin type nzagu, ‘we shout’, and the sedentary type nəlqaw, we find are evinced. The dual marker a:ni found in classical Arabic

is often used in the rural variety, however, its use is confined to the body parts in the urban dialect, another alternative attested in the variety is the use of the particle „two", /zu:ɣ/ as in zu:ɣktu: ba,'two books'(Bouhadiba, 1988,p.17). The possessive is expressed in the dialect through, a bedouin analytical construction, eg mr̲a təʕ da:r̲, housewife, as well as a synthetic form, eg. /da:r̲-əš-šr̲aʕ/, the court, while sometimes the definite article la replaces the /əl/ in feminine forms, such as /l̲æʕroʂa/ „the bride", Labed (2014).

The independent personal pronouns are expressed as: æna, ænæja (I), nta, ntæja (you, Masculin), nti, ntijjaa (you, second-person feminine), huwwa (third-person masculine he) , hijja (she third person feminine), ħna, ħnaja(we), ntuma (you, plural), huma(they), while the reflexive pronoun is formed through adding the root r̲uħ, eg: jdir r̲uħăh ma yəsmăʕ-š,'he pretends not to hear'. The passive form in this variety is constructed through adding the 'n' Guerrero(2015,p.227).

3.2.1.1.3 Spanish and French Loans

As mentioned earlier, Oran was subject to an array of consecutive invasions, which has had a vigorous impact on its linguistic and cultural heritage, Thus, the present dialect comprises a mixture of Arabic, Turkish, Spanish, French, and finally Berber. However, the most noticeable impinge emanates from Spanish and French, the latter have remained in use until the time being.

The long-staying of the Spaniards in the region has left many traces in the speech of people living in the department of Oran. Contrary to the French language, which is found in nearly all the Algerian colloquial varieties, Spanish was restricted to the Oranie (Zoulikha Bensafi, 1984). Eventually, many Spanish words infiltrated into the dialect. While some of these words, were kept in their original form, the majority were adapted to the local dialects, eg: fabrica, 'company'; Sardina, 'sardines'; el mano, 'the hand'; kuzina, kitchen būr̤ṣa, 'plastic bag'(bolsa);šangla , flip-

flops‟;lixīja, ‘bleaching’ ; roxo , ‘blond’ ; boti, ‘life boat’ (bote) .The French influence which is, more robust than the Spanish, is strongly present in the speech of Algerians and the people of Oran,in particular,eg: table, table (fr. table), saye, (ça y est), triko, t-shirt (tricot)(Guerrero,2015,p.228).

3.3The Sample

The sample has always been a crucial aspect, since the burst of Sociolinguistics more than forty years ago. Indeed, since the pioneering work of William Labov, research in the area of sampling developed vigorously. One of the widely addressed notions under the sampling umbrella is representativeness, according to Lesley Milroy and Matthew Gorden(2003), “Any social scientific study that draws conclusions about a large group when only selected members of that group have been observed must be concerned with representativeness”(p.41). They further add that an essential aspect to reach representativeness is to evade bias towards a particular subgroup, given the fact that speakers alternate their speech depending on a variety of social paradigms. In order to bypass this issue, Labov (1960) opted for random sampling, however, as other scholars annoted; it was not random sampling by statistical definition, since he ended up with only 88 participants from the whole randomly selected sample.

Gillian Sankoff (1980) presents three main decisions any researcher has to make before tackling his sampling procedure. These include; drawing upon the sample universe, (which involves both residents of a particular location and membership of a certain social group), at least in general. Identifying the relevant variability parameters that impinge speaker utterances such as ethnicity and gender, and finally, determining the sample size, i.e the number of subjects to be investigated. It is presumed that researchers working on minority languages find more difficulties in delineating the sample universe since they are not generally located in a particular area, besides, they can never know the exact number of the population. Thus, they strive as long as possible to provide statistically representative data (Milroy, Gordon, 2003).

Judgmental or quota sampling on the other hand is the largely adopted method in ongoing sociolinguistic research. In this method of sampling, representativeness is achieved through layering the sample according to some sub social variables, which are at a later stage correlated with the linguistic variables e.g. age, sex, place of birth, that are supposed to be thoroughly represented in the sample. It is proceeded in a way, that the researcher identifies ahead, the type of community to be studied, then searches a quota of speakers to fill the different categories (Tagliamonte 2006, Milroy and Gordon, 2003).

In the present research, the researcher opted for judgmental sampling as a technique to find a way to representativeness. Due to the lack of information on the number of Syrian refugees found in Oran in one hand, and in another because to the best of the researcher‟s knowledge this method suits, best the research aims and objectives. In line with Milroy and Gordon (2003, p.23): "good quota/judgment sample needs to be based on some kind of defensible theoretical framework; in other words, the researcher needs to be able to demonstrate that his or her judgment is rational and well-motivated". In a nutshell, it is conventionalized that in most cases judgment sampling is the most suitable for linguistic research (Milroy & Gordon, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2006).

In filling the quotas, researchers often make use of the "snowball" technique, which is based on the social networks of informants. It implies that the subjects are asked to suggest other acquaintances who might accept to participate in the study. Gordon (2001) took advantage of this technique in filling out the quotas in his study of small towns in Michigan. This technique indeed can be very effective in reducing the number of hesitant participants (Milroy, Gordon, 2003).

Samples in linguistic research, are likely to be smaller in number compared to other researches, Labov (1966) contends that language use is said to be more or less homogenous comparatively to other social phenomena such as voting intentions. In this respect, (Sankoff,

1980) provided a more functional comment: If people within a speech community indeed understand each other with a high degree of efficiency, this tends to place a limit on the extent of possible variation and imposes regularity (necessary for effective communication) not found to the same extent in other kinds of social behavior. The literature, as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. It is crucial, however, that the sample be well chosen, and representative of all social subsections about which one wishes to generalize. (p.512)

Sankoff's account entails that the sample is largely dependent on the practical issues of certain research, given the fact that, the challenging nature of data handling, imposes a limited number of informants for facilitating the task for the researcher, in terms of analysis and interpretation. Milroy (1980) also shares the same view. This study used a sample of 34 persons, 16 females and 18 male participants, distributed across three age groups, 16 to 30, 31 to 45, and 46 to 62. All of the participants migrated from Syria to Oran, during warfare. Therefore, are residents in the city of Oran, the majority of informants derive from the regions of Damascus and Allepo.

Given the fact, that the Syrian community constitutes a minority group in Oran, it was a challenging task for the researcher to establish a balanced sample in terms of the age and gender of the informants, therefore, the fieldworker felt compelled to deal with the informants at her disposal.

The sample size was decided upon, in one hand following previous research in social networks studies which did not surpass 50, from which we may cite Milroy's(1987) famous Belfast study, which employed a sample of only 49 participants, and a more recent study of Fuad Mohamed (2018), who surveyed 36 Iraqi speakers. On the other hand, this particular number was collected based on the availability and willingness of the informants to partake in the research, further demographic details are presented in the following table.

informant	Gender	Age	Year of Arrival	Profession
S001	M	26	2012	Dental Prothesist
S002	M	30	2013	Clothing shop owner
S003	M	28	2014	A Barber
S004	M	16	2017	Baker
S005	M	23	2013	Shop owner
S006	M	29	2014	Entrepreneur
S007	M	17	2013	Tailor
S008	F	19	2013	University Student
S009	F	25	2014	University Student
S010	F	28	2013	Housewife
S011	F	22	2011	University Student
S012	F	26	2014	Housewife
S013	F	29	2012	Housewife
S014	F	25	2014	A Housewife
S015	M	31	2012	A clothingshopowner

S016	M	32	2013	An Accountant
S017	M	32	2012	A Well digger
S018	M	31	2011	Entrepreneur
S019	M	42	2011	Construction Worker
S020	M	32	2010	A Matress Maker
S021	F	41	2014	A housewife
S022	F	39	2015	A housewife
S023	F	36	2012	University Student
S024	F	40	2012	Housewife
S025	F	31	2016	Housewife
S026	M	45	2014	A cook
S027	M	62	2013	A clothingshopowner
S028	M	60	2011	An Engineer
S029	M	46	2012	A coach and restaurant owner
S030	M	52	2013	A shopowner
S031	F	49	2012	A housewife

S032	F	46	2014	A housewife
S033	F	48	2012	A Hairdresser
S034	F	55	2013	A Teacher of Arabic

Table 3.2 Participants Metadata

3.4 Data Collection Procedure

One crucial aspect any researcher must decide upon is the way through which he will gather the required data to be analysed. In the present study, we have employed a semi-structured interview. The interview was two folds, it targeted the linguistic practices of the informants through quantifying their variable use, and meanwhile, it sought to quarry the respondents' attitudes towards the dialect in question and its speakers. Besides, as the aim is to correlate the speakers' linguistic choices to the social networks of the informants, the fieldworker counted on an administered questionnaire, that was disseminated through the net.

The coronavirus crisis, has compelled the whole world to switch to the virtual space, in all domains, this research formed no exception. Given the pandemic period, and the quarantine, which prevented the researcher from assessing the respondents outside, she felt the urge to rely on the social networking sites, for the sake of having access to the community under investigation, and this through some Facebook groups. To do so, the researcher has joined the following groups:. بي ,سوريون في وهران,صبايا سوريات في وهران,شو جمع الشامي عالمغربي

Considering that Facebook groups, gather numerous Syrians living in Oran, and even in the neighboring provinces, the researcher was able, to get in touch with the Syrian community online. After being accepted in the abovecited groups, the researcher would write a post presenting herself and explaining that she required several Syrians to take part in doctoral research, in Sociolinguistics. Since the post has been ignored several times, the researcher had

to rewrite the post repeatedly, with the aim of gaining the attention of the group members. After several trials, many persons commented on the post inquiring about the goals behind such a study, while some showing acceptance to cooperate. After that, the researcher would enter into a one-to-one (Synchronous) discussion through messenger with the informant.

However, the researcher did not impart, in details, the research objectives, as a means to minimize the effect of the observer's paradox during the interview, and therefore to benefit from more accurate data and obtain as natural speech as possible. Although the fieldworker has used the term sociolinguistics several times with the informants, they did not pay attention to the fact that it was about language, the term according to them resembled Sociology.

By this pre-interview discussion, the researcher seized the opportunity to sympathize more with participants, making them feel comfortable, through revealing her identity and different personal information such as her name, age, and occupation. Worth mentioning here that it was a hard task for the researcher to convince the informants to engage in a conversation in thevirtual world, and with an unknown person, while some informants would withdraw at the last minute from participating in the research. The fieldworker finally managed to persuade some Syrians to participate in the work.

After having the subjects' consent, the researcher would kindly ask the informant to provide his or her phone number to proceed to the interview. Although the researcher was planning to analyse the data recorded from the telephone interview, she has also included screenshots of the primary written discussion on messenger, given the fact that they comprised accommodative instances and served as additional data, which were taken into consideration together with the interview conversations. The data collection procedure lasted nearly one and a half month, starting from June 2020.

3.4.1The Interview

Based on Labov (1972), the vernacular proffers the most orderly data for linguistic analysis, he contends that it is the most salient speech style in the development of language, he describes it as an inherently and perfectly acquired form of the language. It is also regarded as the most natural form of language expression, with the least emphasis placed on speech. As a result, it is suggested that it provides the best insight into variation because it is guided by more systematic norms of variation than more formal styles learned later in life (Labov, 1972).

The interview constitutes an array of questions designed to achieve certain research goals. In Sociolinguistics, the interview is by convention the widely used and the basic method of data collection. Labov (1984, p.32) defines it as: "a well-developed strategy‟ that is defined by a number of goals", it consists of recording a one to one conversation between the researcher and the informant. Interviews are generally manifested, in a telephone conversation, they irregularly entail to multiple fieldworkers or multiple subjects. Through, the use of the interview, the researcher triggers long stretches of spontaneous speech. The rationale has often been to observe, "the subjects‟ relaxed natural language" (Milroy, Gordon, 2003).

Regarding the duration of the interview, researchers' views altered. Labov (1984) for instance claims that an interview should last from one to two hours per speaker while Shilling (2013) contends that it should be one and half an hour. In contrast, Milroy and Gordon (2003) believe that 20 to 30 minutes are fair enough, to retrieve the needed data. As cited above, the interview was held through a phone call between the researcher and the respondent; the longest interview lasted two hours, whereas, the shortest took about 10 minutes. Certainly, the duration was dependent on the informant's will, and eagerness to carry on the conversation. It is worth noting here that some respondents were very conservative and reluctant, in engaging in different topics.

Interviews are structured through modules or sets of inquiries arranged into explicit subjects. These modules may then be coordinated into what (Labov, 1984) labels conversational organizations. The fieldworker, then, selects from an array of topics, a module or modules, which should be of significance to each category in the sample, striving to create a conversational network relevant to each speaker (Milroy, Gordon, 2003). Moreover, In order to gather the most feasible language data for quantitative analysis, a sociolinguistic interview should accomplish an array of objectives (Labov 1981, qt in Shetewi, 2018). So as to use such information in the investigation of the effects of social factors on language production, a complete set of demographic data from the participants should be acquired.

Having said this, the topics that the researcher, utilized in gathering the dataset varied depending on several factors such as the respondents' age, gender, occupation, and level of education as, an attempt to generate extended conversational responses, worth noting here that the researcher strived as much as possible to maintain his local dialect. The interview then, took a semi-structured form; the topics that were used comprised but were not limited to:

- The pandemic situation
- The living conditions in Oran
- The difficulties that faced the refugees upon their arrival
- Studies, work and lifestyle
- Customs and traditions
- Family, friends, and social networks

- Wartime in Syria

The interview was employed, essentially, as a tool to elicit the linguistic practices of the informants and the attitudes towards the variety and its speakers, yet, the researcher benefited from it once again, to gain access to the demographic data, lifestyles, and more importantly the networks of the participants thanks to the open-ended nature of the questions.

3.4.1.1Recording the Interview

As it is not possible to memorize the informants' linguistic practices, and answers, the researcher made use of an application called ‘Enregistrement d’appel’ (call recorder), a software application that was downloaded and installed into the researcher’s phone. In this way, she could come back to the conversation the time she desired. Primarily, the respondents were not aware that they were being recorded. As the rationale was to generate as spontaneous speech, as possible. Whereas, at the end of the conversation; the researcher would inform them and ask for their consent to use the data in her study, after explaining the real goals behind the interview.

Overall, the telephone interview has aided the researcher to interact comfortably with the interviewees due to the lack of a face-to-face conversation, beyond, on the part of the interviewees, we suppose that this method has contributed in reducing the effects of the observer’s paradox.

3.5 Data Analysis

The subsequent phase, following the interview, was the transcription of the data. Tagliamonte (2006) takes note of that parsing phonological variation, demands listening to the data repeatedly, she further adds that transcription of the data is utilitarian, as coding simplifies

the process of tracking the investigated variable. Therefore, Tagliamonte suggests that a transcription protocol must be put in place for intent to make the data more readable.

As reported by Labov (1972), "even the simplest type of counting raises a number of subtle and difficult problems. The final decision as to what to count is actually the solution to the problem in hand; this decision is taken only through a long series of complicated exploratory maneuvers". (p. 82). Similarly, Milroy and Gorden (2003) posit, that counting the occurrences of specific variants is not as straightforward as it seems, in this, the fieldworker is challenged with what and how to count, for the latter has many consequences on the data gathered and therefore, on the interpretation of the findings. A wealth of research was devoted to the number of tokens needed to for the data to be defensible. Nevertheless, it has been assumed that 30 tokens per variable are generally ideal, whereas, in cases when this number is unattainable, it is recommended that the numbers at least exceeds 10(Milroy, Gordon,2003). In this research, the researcher has counted all the possible occurrences of the phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical variants.

Given that the information dissected in this project derives for the most part from unconstrained discourse, the number of tokens for each variable, altered greatly among speakers. In that capacity, statistical analysis was run on rates instead of natural numbers, as the last do not offer an exact representation of the realization of variables in relation to the social factors. Percentage rates were determined, for all the possible occurrences, out of the overall potential realization.

For the statistical analysis, the fieldworker counted on an expert in the field of statistics, this latter is a P.hd student in one of the Algerian universities. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was implemented to analyse the data, the general linear model was employed to examine the correlations between the different dependent and independent

variables, hence, statistical exams including :Kendall's Tau B, Anova F, Spearman, and Pearson were used.

3.6The Social Variables

3.6.1Social Networks:

Based on Holmes (2014), although speech community studies managed to uncover steady patterns concerning language variation and change, they did not provide any evidence about the way these patterns emerged at first place, as Milroy and Milroy(1985: 345) put it clearly: "it is not languages that innovate; it is speakers who innovate." Contrarily, social network studies proffer more data about the subdivisions of the communities' population, such as the fact that young females are the initiators of change in Belfast (Holmes & Hazen, 2013).

Milroy (1987) made use of a questionnaire to gauge the degree of integration of Belfast speakers in their local neighborhoods, using the following indicators:

- Membership in a local group of dense network structure
- -having kinship ties in more than two neighborhood households; in addition to the speakers‟ first nuclear family.
- sharing the same workplace as at least two other people from the neighborhood
- working in the same place as at least two others of the same gender and from acommon neighborhood;
- Spending leisure time with workmates.

Based on these markers, Milroy detailed a "network strength scale" to such an extent that each speaker had a solitary score somewhere in the range of 1 and 5, with higher qualities showing more noteworthy integration in the local social networks, compared to the translocal social networks (Milroy, 1987).

The significance of this determination, from a variationist sociolinguistic viewpoint, is that it moves toward clarifying the reasons behind which a neighborhood manifests higher paces of variation than another area. It infers that dense, multiplex neighborhood networks reinforce the use of local variants (Holmes & Hazen, 2013.)

Based on Holmes and Hazen (2013), there exist two methods if the network patterns of a speaker are to be examined, the first is through daily observation of the speaker tracing their interactions with others, nevertheless, despite the potential difference of this method to track faithful data, it is certainly time and energy-consuming. The alternative, hence, is a more rapid method, in which the speaker is asked to report their networks structures and content. In this procedure, the subject might be given questions such as how many friends or family members he gets along with on a daily or a weekly basis. However, the shortcoming of this latter method is that the speaker may consciously, or unconsciously distort his answers (Holmes & Hazen, 2013).

3.6.1.1The Online Questionnaire

As it was already mentioned, the rationale behind the interview was dissecting the use of the linguistic variables in the speech of informants as well as gauging the speakers' psychological perceptions towards the dialect and its speakers. The questionnaire on the other hand was directed to obtain data concerning the individuals' network. It should be pointed out, that the researcher felt the urge, to supplement the research, with a questionnaire. As the questions that aimed to scrutinize the networks were of a yes /no kind of questions, the

researcher, believed that it would disrupt the conversational style of the interview, and transform it, into a question and answer, which would have ,certainly, impeded the researcher, from garnering extended stretches of speech. Besides, due to the hesitation and conservativeness of the speech community under investigation, the researcher believed that asking direct questions about the daily contacts would trigger many doubts in the interviewee, and would sound as if the interviewer is spying on him. One more reason behind the questionnaire was that it would facilitate the process of counting the speakers' index scores.

For this purpose, the fieldworker had prepared an online questionnaire via Google forms and would transfer it to every speaker in the sample, immediately after the interview. In a way to prevent any error, the researcher had to wait until the interviewee is done from filling the questionnaire to pass to another informant in the sample.

The questionnaire comprised of one section, this last, was dedicated to examining the daily contacts of the informants, and this section contained a set of fifteen statements. Although the empirical literature on Social Networks is not as wealthy as other theories, most of the researches followed Milroys' methodological procedures, in assessing the social networks of speakers. Fuad Mohammed (2018) established a 21-index scale in his study of dialectal accommodation among Iraqi speakers of Arabic. Based on the objectives of the research, the researcher established an index scale of 26, through which the social networks of speakers could be distilled. A detailed account of the questions designated to gather information about the individuals‟ personal networks, as well as the method of calculating the index score for the speakers is found in Appendix A.

3.6.2 Language Attitudes

The impact of attitudes on the linguistic behavior of speakers has always been at the focal point of interest of sociolinguists since the seminal work of Labov (1962). Due to the

significance of the attitudinal factor in shaping the way speakers utilize certain languages, varieties, or accents. As Labov (1984, p .33) points out: "One important goal has been to construct a record of overt attitudes towards language, linguistic features, and linguistic stereotypes. Many attempts have been done to define attitudes, a core, and simple was given by Garret (2010) who defines them as: "an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language of a government policy" (p.20). He further adds that these attitudes exhibit certain stability, which allows them to be extracted.

Language attitudes received a great deal of attention in the course of Communication accommodation theory. Based on Garret (2010), adjusting one's speech when we are communicating with others, can be a behavioral indicator of our attitudes, while these adjustments themselves may trigger attitudinal responses from the part of our interlocutor. Accordingly, CAT is seen as "the implementation of attitudes in discourse"(Garret, 2010,p107). That is, contingent on attitudinal measures, speakers either converge to their partner‟s style or diverge from it, by clinging to one's style or accent. El Chakrani (2015) reports on the dynamics of attitudes, in shaping speakers' accommodative strategies, during his study of inter-dialectal accommodation between speakers of various Arabic varieties.

Measuring a person's attitude might be a delicate task. Essentially, there exist two schools regarding the study of attitudes, wherein scholars based their methodological orientations on either the direct or the indirect approach. In the direct approach, speakers are given a set of direct questions to disclose their language preferences, elucidating, aboveboard, the research objectives. In the indirect approach, on the other hand, scholars do not overtly reveal their intentions behind the research. This approach is often called the matched guise test. Giles (1970) relied on a similar technique in his study of UK secondary school students' evaluations of a set of regional dialects, in which the subjects listened to a tape-recorded speech of the same person speaking in different accents. However, the students were told that they

would be listening to different speakers and had to rank their status on a seven-point scale Garret (2010).

Accordingly, the present research pursues the principles of the direct method, as the respondents are being asked straightforward questions, to filter their attitudinal parameters. As attitudes are innate and not easily quantifiable, the researcher strived to filter the informants‟ attitudes during the interview. Nevertheless, with the aim of integrating attitudes into the statistical analysis, the researcher has followed the same methodology as Mohammed (2018). Following the same principle of the network scale, the researcher opted for a 9 point scale in assessing the attitudes of the Syrians. Hence, based on the speakers' scores, the researcher stratified the informants as having; negative (0-2 points), Moderate (2-4 points), Positive(4-6 points), and very positive attitudes(6-9 points). The following table presents the attitudinal scores of the informants.

Attitudes Score	**(0-2)** **Negative**	**(2-4)** **Moderate**	**(4-6)** **Positive**	**(6-9)** **Very positive**
Informants number	**4**	**8**	**12**	**10**

Table 3.3 Distribution of the informants based on the Attitudes Scores

3.6.3Age

Interpretation of sociolinguistic variation has always stressed the salience of age as an integral social determinant of language use. The prominent work of Labov (1963-1966), provided useful insights on the adoption of a variationist paradigm in the study of language change, which enabled researchers, since then, to gauge active language changes, accentuating the dynamics of the various social factors. Age is a major example of these social mechanisms. Inter-generational linguistic disparities have been generally correlated to language change, using several methods, among which is 'the apparent time hypothesis' (Milroy, Gordon, 2003).

According to Milroy and Gordon (2003), in this philosophy, speakers of distinct age groups act as representatives of different periods, hence, the actual linguistic practices of an older speaker symbolize the speech of a former period, than does the speech of a middle-aged or a younger speaker(Milroy, Gordon,2003). Myerhoff(2010) contends that the apparent time as: "a way of simulating and modelling real-time change using synchronic data"(p.133). The chief postulate behind the apparent time method is that speakers display a stable usage of the linguistic forms over their life span. Thus, assuming that the speech of a 75 years person portrays the linguistic behavior of a 15 years old speaker before 60 years (Milroy, Gordon, 2003).

Another method used in examining the age-related patterns in sociolinguistic research is dubbed as 'real-time', which entails relying on earlier dialectological descriptions, recordings, geographical data, as well as historical reports (Eckert,1997), as a reference point, to be compared with the synchronically obtained results, with the purpose of better exploring the process of change. Relying on real-time accounts, Labov's (1963) Martha Vineyard study, has benefited from the earlier linguistic Atlas records. Hence, using, such a baseline is believed to avoid apparent time misgauging. Eckert contends that a better alternative in employing real-

time data is the duplication of community studies, Trudgill (1988) opted for such a method, as he sought verification of his earlier study of Norwich, where he repeated his research after 15 years. Interestingly, Trudgill detected the integration of novel features into the youngers' speech, which he did not uncover in his earlier study (Eckert, 1997; Milroy & Gordon, 2003).

Commenting on the apparent time method, Eckert (1997) posits that, unless real-time data is provided, it is unlikely to determine whether generational segregation of variation indicates a change in progress. Genuinely, Synchronic evidence of intergenerational linguistic differences is not always an indicator of an ongoing change. Cases of age-grading corroborate this claim, as some features are considered to be related to a certain stage of life. These patterns appear to be permanent in each generation, speakers then adopt several forms when they are young, but abandon them at a later stage of their lives(Cheshire, 1987; Milroy & Gordon, 2003).

Eckert suggests another method, which consists, mostly, of the chronological segregation of the different age groups, and eventually correlating their language use. She draws a threefold segmentation of life stages, where she discerns, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood (Eckert, 1977). Adolescence Eckert opines is the stage where speakers "push the envelope of variation" (p.133), while adulthood is characterised by a certain kind of conservatism.

Evidence from the study of (Al Rojaie, 2013) on variation patterns in the speech of the Qaşimi dialect of Najd in Saudi Arabia, confirms Eckert's claim. While it was found out that stem affrication, was closely dependent on gender, the educational level, and the type of contact of speakers. Age-related variation also yielded significant correlations with affrication, as both older males and females, disclosed strong maintenance of the variant [ˆtš], while younger and middle-aged informants adopted the supralocal variant [k].

Another claim stems from Shetewi's (2018) work on the acquisition of variation and patterns of accommodation among Palestinian children, and adolescents living in Damascus. Shetewi contends that the use of the supralocal damascene variants, declines as the age of the speakers grow older, both boys and girls in her study displayed a strong divergence towards the Palestinian local norms, She attributes this shift towards the local patterns, to the enactment and accentuation of the Palestinian national identity (Shetewi, 2018)

Apart from the above-cited methods, some sociolinguistic studies simply divide the sample into different age categories. In the present research, the 34 informants are distributed along with three age groups. Although the researcher failed to find older informants, given the fact that the vast majority of the refugees‟ flux, consisted chiefly of young and middle-aged categories, the stratification of the sample, was based on the available informants. Notwithstanding, this allocation enabled the researcher, to extract general patterns of linguistic variation.

3.6.4 Gender

The origins of the differences in speech between males and females derive back to the earliest years of descriptive linguistics. Ancient accounts from the Caribbean hinted that in some parts of the area, men and women used to speak distinct languages. Nevertheless, gender disparities were not mainly concerned with languages. Myerhoff (2014) expounds that categorizing the gender-based differences between disperse dialectal varieties, mediates on highlighting the affinities, while it also frequently implies, exploring the standardness of one variety at the expense of the other (Meyerhoff, 2014).

Eckert (1999, cited in Myerhoff, 2014) distinguished three-fold courses in the study of gender and variation, where the first wave relates to the ‘survey era’, in which research was directed by dialectologist sociolinguistics. such studies layered the communities, in a way that

reflected an overlap of social class, style, and gender differences. The second wave, however, Eckerts, reckons, is concerned with assigning the different variables with various social meanings, such as context (Myerhoff, 2014). In this, Milroy (1980) comments that any interpretation of gender-related change, without taking into cognizance its social value is deemed unreasonable.

Trudgill's (1972) study of Norwich in England showed that female speakers produced more standard features, of the supralocal southern British English, whereas, males used more of the Norwich vernacular norms. Be that as it may, once Trudgill asked the informants for a self-evaluation, men reported the use of [tun], however, they were attested to make use of the local variant[tju:n]. Women on the other hand claimed that they frequently use the standard form tune. Through these self-reported errors, Trudgill submits, women opted for an overt prestige; given the fact that standard is always related to a higher status. However, men's reports indicate their orientation, towards a covert prestige, Trudgill posits that these gender-based discrepancies arise from the diverging perceptions of the indicators of prestige in the society. Women, in this sense regard language as a symbol of social status, while men believe that there exist many other ways to signal their social status apart from language(Trudgill, 1972).

However, during the 1980's, research emanating from the area of the Middle East,(Abdeljawad,1980; Kojac,1983; Bakir,1986), has reversed the parameters of these earlier western waves. These works exposed that, contrary to women in western societies, who tend to swing in the direction of more standard and prestigious norms, Middle Eastern women disclosed more maintenance of the local forms. Arab men, however, have shown the same patterns as Western women, as they displayed more standard features. In this vein, Labov (2001,p.270, quoted in Al-Wer,2013) remarks: "There is, therefore, a widespread reversal of the positions of men and women predicted by Principle 2. in two Muslim-dominated societies [Iran and the Arab World]".

The findings resulting from studies of the Arab world were attributed to Arab women's marginal role in public life, a sector, which demands standard linguistic qualities. Some academics also averred that these gender-related patterns arise from the higher illiteracy rates among females in the Arab world, considering that education is the sole domain, through which Arabs develop linguistic competence in standard Arabic(Al-Wer, 2014).

Such deductions, however, were believed to bear some misconceived generalizations; Al-Wer suggests that the absence of Arabic dialectological descriptions resulted in a disruption of sociolinguistic studies from Arabic dialectology. Beyond, another limitation he puts forward, is the adoption of a top-down approach in the examination of variation in the Arab world, hence, studying change through the lens of standard vs vernacular forms. Al Wer further adds:

In Arabic, as in all other languages, linguistic variation and change is structured by an interaction between linguistic and social variables, and both types of constraints are peculiar to each dialect and each community. Importantly, the linguistic constraints on variation are dictated by the respective native Arabic dialects of each community, not by structures or features found in the Standard variety The failure to account for these basic facts in the analysis in some of the research on Arabic has led to all sorts of misleading conclusions, including conclusions about gender differentiation (p.402).

Ibrahim (1986) also refuted the idea of gender anomalies in the Arab world, he avows that Arabic sociolinguistics has been largely influenced by Ferguson's diglossic description of the linguistic situation in the Arab world. Therefore, prestige became analogous to the standard variety of Arabic (H), which resulted in a misconception, and consequently misinterpretation of the data in Arabic studies. Ibrahim suggests a differentiation between prestige and standardness in the Arab world, he maintains that, although the standard Arabic variety is positively perceived by the Arab speaking communities, the actual use of the dialects does not reflect

these attitudes, as speakers employ regional dialects in their everyday speech and not the standard language.

In his view, the regional varieties must have their own prestigious hierarchies at the local level of each Arab speaking community, apart from the standard language (Ibrahim, 1986). Ibrahim‟s postulations were advocated by many reresearchers, in which it was found that the change in progress was in the direction of a less stigmatized form rather than the standard language (Al-Wer, 2014; Ibrahim, 1986).

Eventually, Al-Wer (2014) submits that both generalizations stemming from Western studies are tenable in the Arab speaking world, that is to say, that Arab women have certain preferences for the most eloquent forms of speech, they, however, tend to use the supralocal norms more than their male counterparts do.

Women are, also seen as innovative and as the leaders of ongoing linguistic changes. Such a claim has been validated by empirical data in the Arab world. By way of illustration, Al Essa (2009) had uncovered that younger Najdi women are the leaders of change in terms of adopting the Hijazi features. However, the degree of exposure to the supralocal features and the patterns of limited socialization between the two communities ended up being the main driving forces behind variation in the speech of Najdi, especially concerning the morphonemic variable –ik. As this variant occurs only in cases where the interlocutor is a female, and given the fact that males/ females interactions outside the family are strictly banned in the Saudi Arabian society, this feature was absent from men’s speech (Al Essa, 2009; Al-Wer, 2014).

In the present study, gender-related patterns of accommodation within the speech community of Syrians are examined. Regarding the aforementioned generalizations, we hypothesise that Syrian females are far from being the leaders of change in the present contact

situation. Data from the coming chapter will either corroborate or refute this claim. The following table presents the distribution of the sample based on their age and gender categories:

Age group	**Numeber of Informants per Gender**		**Number of Informants**
16<30	**Males**	**07**	**14**
	Females	**07**	
31<45	**Males**	**07**	**12**
	Females	**05**	
46<62	**Males**	**04**	**08**
	Females	**04**	
Total Number : 34			

Table 3.4. The distribution of Informants by Age and Gender Categories

3.7The Selected Linguistic Variables

A central construct in sociolinguistics and variation, in particular, is the linguistic variable. The simplest and most repeated definition of the linguistic variable is: “two ways of saying the same thing”.Labov (1982, p. 49,qt in Tagliamonte,2006). Labov (1972) submits that the linguistic variable should be: high in frequency, have immunity from conscious suppression, be an integral unit of a larger structure, and be easily quantified on a linear scale.

Moreover, the linguistic variable demands to be highly stratified and to have "an asymmetric distribution over a wide range of age levels or other ordered strata of the society" (p.8).

Therefore, the selected linguistic variables for this study are: the variable [q]and its variants /g/ and /ʔ/, the variable [n] and its variants /n-/ and /b-/, the variable [ma], and its variants /ma/ and /ma š/. The variable [a]and its variants /e/, and /a/. Finally, the lexical variable, whose variants are Oran spoken Arabic versus Syrian spoken Arabic.

3.7.1The Lexical Variable

There is a consensus that major differences that subsist between the modern dialects of Arabic are often lexical more than they are morph-syntactic or phonological, while the great dissimilarities reside between the dialects of the Mashreq and the Maghrebi dialects. Indeed, these two groups, are considered as the extreme ends of the dialectal continuum. This derives from the diachronic developments of these varieties. In this vein, El Sharkaoui (2016) argues that: "The ecology of the conquest led to two strategies: koine and input modification" (p .180), As previously alluded to, the Islamic conquerors with distinct dialectal backgrounds established their garrison towns in each area they settled in, which paved the way for inter-dialectal contact that, in its turn resulted in linguistic accommodation. Given the "stability of migration and the scarcity of influx", the inter-dialectal contact situation established the ground for the gradual language change to take place. This change he further argues led to the formation of new koine or variety in each garrison (p.179). Furthermore, these dialects co-existed and got in constant contact with a set of different languages such as, Berber, French, and Spanish in North Africa, which led to the incorporation of many borrowed terms into the Arabic dialects, especially in the western varieties, making their lexicon distinct from their counterparts in the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula.

Besides, the Islamic conquests eventuated in several waves, which set in motion contact between Arabic varieties and other languages. Accordingly, The Middle East was among the first regions to be Arabicized (Holes, 2015), nevertheless, the Arabicization of the great Maghreb in North Africa, as cited in the previous chapter, did not take place until centuries after the first Islamic conquests. This lagging behind Arabic, justifies the lexical disparities found between eastern and western varieties of Arabic.

Lexical resemblances and similarities among Arabic varieties triggered the interest of many scholars, who approached the issue from a lexicostatistic angle. Cadora (1976) relied on the Swadesh list to account for the divergences and convergences between the Syro-Lebanese dialects, Classical Arabic, and a set of Arabic varieties, namely: Cairene Arabic, Baghdadi Arabic, Jiddan, and Casablancan Arabic. The Swadesh list contained 200 items, which have general meanings and might not be affected by cultural innovations. The analyses disclosed a cognation percentage below 70% between the Syro –Lebanese dialects and the dialect of Casablanca that is the prerequisites for the varieties to be deemed as dialects of the same language, however, Cadora further explains that this does not entail that they are different languages, but separate languages. He ascribes this lower percentage to the long history of separation (Cadora, 1976).

The Swadesh list was employed in parallel research that was undertaken by Abunasser (as quoted in Kwaik et.al, 2018). This study unveiled a great resemblance between the Levantine dialects and modern standard Arabic. Harrat et al (2017), proposed a Padic (Paralell Arabic dialect Corpus), which included two Algerian dialects (Annaba and Algiers), one Tunisian dialect, and two Levantine (Syrian and Palestinian). The experiments divulged a clear closeness between the Palestinian dialect and the MSA pursued by Tunisian and Syrian. It also demonstrated that the Algerian dialect is the farthest from the standard language(Harrat et al., 2017). In recent work, Katherine Abu Kwaik et .al(2018) conducted a cross-dialectal

computational study of Arabic dialects, assessing the degree of similarities and differences among them, in which they harness a variety of natural language processing methods (NLP) and Information retrieval (IR). Their study overlaps with previous studies, as it yields comparable conclusions, most of the measurements indicate that the closest varieties to standard Arabic are the Levantine dialects, while the farthest are the dialects of the Maghreb Abu Kwaik et al.(2018). The following table comprises some lexical differences between the Syrian dialect and Oran spoken Arabic retrieved from the interviews:

Standard Arabic	Oran SpokenArabic	Syrian Arabic	English
/afʕalu/	n-dir	b-sawwı	I do
/maţbax/	kuzınɑ̄	maţbax	Kitchen
/uħıbbu/	n-æbɣı	b-ħəb	I love
/dɑ̄rɑ̄stu/	qrıt	Daraset	I studied
/maħallun/	ħanut	dəkkan	A shop
/tatafæʒaʔına/	tənxɑ̄lʕı	tetfaʒaʔi	You(2.ps) will be surprised
/al ʔana/	darwək	hallaʔ	Now
/naʕam/	wa:h	ee(h)	Yes
/urı:du/	xasnı	bəddı	I need
/ħiðaʔun/	ṣabbat	ʒazme	A pair of Shoes

/ʔusbuʕ/	sımæna	ʔusbuʕ	A week

Table 3.5 Reflexes of the Lexical Items extracted from the Interview

3.7.2The Variable [q]

As described by Holes (1994, p .8), the qaf is categorized "within the difficult group which takes some time to master". It is a voiceless sound produced exactly "from further back in the mouth – from the uvula," (Holes, 1994, p.10). Nevertheless, due to some language mixing and koineization processes, this phoneme has undergone different changes across the array of Arabic vernaculars, existing in the Arab world (Behnstedt 2006,p .596, as cited in Maher Bahloul,2007,p .252). These alterations comprise processes such as lowering, raising, and affrication. Indeed, the q variable, has always been used as a distinguishing feature in the Bedouin –sedentary dichotomy (Bahloul, 2007).

In his survey about the different realisations of the sound q in the Arab world, Bahloul (2007) contends that the three African countries, namely, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia evince the use of more than one variant; the uvular /q/ and the voiced velar /g/. The following table demonstrates the various realizations of the phoneme. Ficher (1958) explains that the co-existence of the sound q and its variants and their allocation across the Arab world can be analogised to the English / iŋ/ and /in/ (Kherbach, 2018,p .112). The realisation of the qaf as ʔ is the norm in Levantine Arabic, whereas, this latter is confined to everyday speech. In formal settings, there is a tendency among speakers to pronounce it as /q/. In Algeria, three major variants of the qaaf are attested, the uvular [q], the voiced velar [g], and the voiceless glottal stop [ʔ]. The uvular q is used in some important Algerian cities as Constantine in the northeast, the capital Algiers in the north-central, and Oran in the northwest, whereas, the voiced velar stop [g] is prevalent more in the central, southern(Bechar, Tindouf), eastern and western areas(

like Oran). The glottal stop, on the other hand, is vouched in the region of Tlemcen, and among the Jewish communities in the capital (Marçais, 1977).

Nevertheless, Dendane's (2013) recent study, revealed that even within, Tlemcen speech community, the use of the glottal stop, is restricted to females, owing to the fact that, it is regarded as a stigmatized and an effeminate form(Dendane, 2006). Despite the rampant use of the variants g and q in Algeria, few communities exhibit the sound /k/ like in the region of Djijel in the east and some varieties of Msirda in the west (Bahloul, 2007).

In the Middle East, or what is called "Bilad Elsham", the situation is rather different, since there is pervasive use of the glottal stop. Maher Bahloul (2007) postulates that the Syrian arena manifests a substantial use of the glottal stop as a variant of the qaaf, and this comprises cities such as Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo. Nonetheless, he unveiled the utilisation of the voiced velar stop [g] is confined to some rural areas, while the utilization of the uvular is found in the Druze communities and the Alawite communities in the southwest. All in all, the glottal glottal stop symbolises an isogloss of the major urban centers, ranging from Beni Suef in Egypt, to Allepo in Syria(Bahloul, 2007). Furthermore, used by most speakers in nearly all the situations, [ʔ] is perfectly linked to the "forces of urbanization, modernization, progress, and social mobility" (Daher, 1997, p.8).

In her discussion about the realization of the /q/ in Oran spoken Arabic Labed (2014), mentions that Contineau‟s claim about the use of the /q /, as confined to the Sedentary dialects, and the /g /as a marker of Bedouin varieties does not render the real image. As she uncovered the co-occurrence of the two variants, she contends that the parallel use of the variants denotes a case of dialect mixing. Labed (2014) classifies the utilisation of the variants into four cases; cases of free variation, in which the sounds can be used interchangeably, such as in[jgarrab], and [jqarrab],'he gets nearer'. The second situation entails a complementary distribution of the

variants, in which solely one of the variants is supposed to occur, for instance [qalʕi], ‘start up’, and [galʕi], ‘remove’. The third case, according to Labed, represents an intermediate form, while the fourth, points to an arbitrary category that falls under no categories from the aforementioned (Labed, 2014).

Standard Arabic	**ORSA**	**S S A**	**English**
/aqraʕ/	graʕ	aʔraʕ	Bold
/qalu: lɪj/	Gæluli	ʔaluli	They told me
/qaʕɪdun/	gæʕəd	ʔaʕəd	Sitting
/aʈ̪arɪq/	ʈ̪rɪg	ʈ̪arɪʔ	The road
/jāqtāʕu/	jəgtaʕ	jəʔtaʕ	He cuts
/a ssuq/	ʂog	suʔ	Market
/jaqsimu/	Jəgsəm	jəʔsem	He splits
/ɪqtalaʕtu/	glaʕt	ʔalaʕet	I removed
/qarɪbatun/	grɪba	ʔarɪbe	Near
/aħraqa/	Ħrag	ħaraʔ	He burned
fawqa/	Fug	foʔ	above
/waʒadtuhu/	lqɪtah	laʔeto	I found it

/al qahwatu/	Qahwa	ʔahwe	coffee
/al waqtu/	Lwaqt	lwaʔet	Time
/al qanun/	Lqanun	lʔanun	Law
/jaqdıru/	Jqadd	jeʔder	He can
/al awrəq/	wraq/wraqı	wraʔ	Papers/documents
/qaraʔtu/	qrıt	ʔaret	I read
/qıdrun/	Gədra	ʔedre	Kettle
/ıltaʂaqa/	lʂag	lezeʕ	It stucks
/jaʂ̲roxo/	jzaggı	jzaʕeʔ	He shouts
/jabqaa/	n-əgʕod	b-eʔʕod	I stay

Table 3.6 Reflexes of the [q] retrieved from the Interview

3.7.3The variable [a]

ʔimala‟ is a ubiquitous feature in the Arabic language. According to Sibawayh, It entails the process by which some speakers of Arabic incline the Alif, ‘A’ [a] into an i position, where the sound [é] is at a transitional position between the two. It is evinced in medieval and final positions, and may apply even to the short ‘a’ (Owens, 2006). As a process, inclination is operativeboth in the standard variety, and the large set of dialects it covers, it is also pervasive

in several Quranic recitations. Indeed, as Lentin (2018) highlights, the process subsists from very ancient times:

Whatever its earlier history,[32] ʔimāla seems already to have been an important phenomenon in pre-Islamic times, and to have had in early Islamic times a wide extension in Levantine dialects (including the Lebanese dialects exported to Cyprus)……. ʔimāla is well attested for various dialects in later texts". The ʔimāla of the final a is also evinced in the dialects which probably have only this type, Lentin cites examples from the fifteenth century such as "charfe „cinnamon‟ (qirfa), huarache sheet of paper‟ (waraqe), but lacma „meat‟ (laZme), bagla „mule‟ (bagle)" (p.181).

Linguists interested in the Arabic language, starting from the pioneering work of Sibawayh, have referred to, this phenomenon, repeatedly. In his book el „Kitab‟, Sibawayh points out that inclination is by no means a random process, it is rather a highly systematic and regular practice. It occurs in specific contexts, while some triggers in others contexts (mainly emphatic and guttural consonants) impede it. The Arabic vernaculars benefited from ʔimala in various ways, nevertheless, it is said to occur, in precisely, the same linguistic environment. Thus, despite the bias that a speaker might have towards a certain dialect, the controlling circumstances of the inclination do not alter.

The sole option that a speaker has is to, whether or not implement the rules of ʔimala. Sibawayh provides an account of the linguistic situations that either favor the occurrence of inclination or prevent it, chief among the factors that impede it, is the presence of the raised letters, ħuruf el istiʕlaa (Solomon, 2007). Nonetheless, Sibawayh contends that even though inclination is part of the practices in the Arab speaking world, it does not pertain in all the existing Arabic varieties:

Know that not everyone who inclines the alifat [A]s agrees with the other Arabs who incline. Rather, each member of the group may differ from his colleague so that someone yan/ ub 'erects' what his colleague yumiylu 'inclines', and yumiylu 'inclines' some others that his colleague yan/ ub 'erects'. Similarly, whoever, in whose dialect the na/ b 'erection' plays a part may not agree with the others who erect. Rather, his case and the case of his colleague are the same case as that of the first two with respect to the kasr 'break [i]'. If you were to see an Arab of that persuasion do not fault him as though he mixed his dialect, rather, this is their style". (ll,

Standard Arabic	ORSA	SSA	English
/muškılɑ̄tun/	[muškıla]	[meškle]	A problem
/mɑ̄drɑ̄satun/	[mədrasa]	[madrase]	A School
/ʒazaıjrıjatun/	[ʒazajrıa]	[ʒazaʔırıje]	Algerian
/hua/	[huwa]	[huwe]	He
/hıja/	[hıja]	[hıje]	She
/ṣɑ̄ʕbatun/	[ṣʕiba]	[saʕbe]	Difficult
/Kabira/	[kbıra]	[kbıre]	Big
/lahʒatun/	[lahʒa]	[lahʒe]	A dialect
/haḍıhı ɑ̄ssana/	[ssna]	[essene]	This year

/mɪʔatun/	[mja]	[mɪje]	One hundred
/al xidma/	[lxedma]	[lxɪdme]	Work

P. 283, L. 1-6, quoted in Solomen,2007,p .126).

Oran spoken Arabic retrieved from the interviews:

Table 3.5 Lexical differences among the Syrian and Algerian dialects extracted from the Dat

Pertaining to the Maghreb, Marçais (1977) signals that instances of umlaut are unequally distributed across the Maghrebi dialects. They appear in initial, medial, and final positions as long as radical consonants have no emphatic influence, taking a stamp towards the French /é/. Nevertheless, this feature manifests itself intensively in the eastern part of the Maghreb, throughthis Marçais alludes to some rural dialects in the Tunisian Sahel, and also in eastern and southern Tunisian parts such as Gabes, eastern Sahara, and Fezzan where Imala strongly touches the final a, so that words like mša becomes mše (p. 14).

Concerning the dialect spoken in Oran, Contineau (1940) specifies that the B and D groups of the department of Oran are characterised, by conservation of the final a, instead of Imala. ‘el Fath’ refers to, preservation, of the final /a/, in Arabic.

/ʒadıdatun/	[ʒdıda]	[ʒdıde]	Novel/ New
/qımatun/	[qıma]	[qıme]	Value
/al faʔidatu/	[lfajda]	[fajde]	Benefit
/raqabatun /	[ragba]	[raʔabe]	Neck
/madınātun/	[mdına]	[madıne]	a city
/ʕarabıjatun/	[ʕarbijja]	[ʕarabıjje]	an Arab
/al ħukuma/	[ħukuma]	[hukume]	The government
/ʕaʔılatun/	[ʕajla]	[ʕele]	A family
/addarıʒa/	[darıjʒa]	[derʒe]	The vernacular
/sahla/	[sahla]	[sahle]	Easy
/alʒınsıja/	[ʒənsıja]	[ʒınsıje]	Nationality
/waħıdatun/	[waħda]	[waħde]	One
/qalılatun/	[qlıla]	[ʔalıle]	Few
/addawlatu/	[dawla]	[dawle]	The country/ thegovernment
/al xıtba/	[xotba]	[xetbe]	The engagement
/karıθa/	[karıta]	[karse]	Catastrophe

Table 3.7 Instances of Imala Dropping extracted from the Interview

3.7.4The Variable [n-]

Although the phonological discrepancies attested across the different Arabic dialects from the major features, which distinguish one dialect from another, morphological characteristics also vary considerably around the Arab-speaking world. As all the world languages, Arabic has specific verb patterns, which fluctuate between the standard form and the vernaculars, and even across these peripheral varieties. The imperfect verb which is used, to denote habitual actions is omnipresent in modern standard Arabic and the diverse dialects alike; however, its structure in the different Arabic varieties differs from that of the standard form.

In the direction of producing various inflected forms including the imperfective, Arabic verbs undergo a process of affixation. Suffixes or prefixes are employed for setting apart distinct tenses. Illustratively, regarding the present simple, the Arabic dialects comprise a set of particles that are generally attached to the verb, in order to form the imperfective. Yet, these articles alter from one dialect to another.

In the Syrian dialects, the (b-) particle, is utilized to indicate " an intended future and is also used for assumptions, general facts, and present actions"(Versteegh,2014,p .155), in some words by itself, with a consonant sound, while in other times, insertion of a vowel before the first consonant ,is attested such as in : " baruuħ , I go ; binruuħ , we go; bitruuħ , you go bitruuħi(2.f.s) ; bitruuħo you go" (2.p) . Furthermore, some studies uncovered a substitution of (m-) to b- in some Levantine dialects with the first person of the plural, other case studies found out that the/n/ is assimilated into an /m/ in the verbs beginning with m-, b-, l-, and r- before consonant always with the first plural pronoun. This case might be exemplified by mə-m-buus /mə-n-buus, we kiss (Alshorbaji, 2016).

Broadly speaking, the particle b- is the widely used prefix in the Middle East and the Gulf dialects. However, the western dialects in the great Maghreb are said to have different patterns that set them apart from the other Arabic dialects. These suffixes involve (n-),(t-), and (y-).The

first singular person is performed through the use of (n-), Marçais (1977,p.37)surmises that this prefix probably derives its origin, by analogy, from the prefix n- of the first person plural, also common to both genders. He adds that this particle is a central characteristic that distinguish the dialects of the Maghreb from other varieties of Arabic from the classical language (Marçais, 1977).

Standard Arabic	Oran Spoken Arabic	Syrian Arabic	English
/ašraħu/	[n-fahhəm]	[b-fahhem]	I explain
/axdumu/	[n-əxdəm]	[b-exdom]	I work, I offerservice
/ʔuʕallimu/	[n-ʕalləm]	[b-ʕallem]	I teach
/ʔaħkı/	[n-aħkı]	[b-eħkı]	I narrate
/ʔaqraʔu/	[n-əqra]	[b-eʔra]	I read

/axruɣu/	[n-oxrəɣ]	[b-exroɣ]	I go out
/ʔubaddılu/	[n-bəddəl]	[b-baddel]	I change
/ʔukmılu/	[n-kəmməl]	[b-kammel]	I finish
/ʔamsaħu/	[n-əmsaħ]	[b-emsaħ]	I sweep
/ʔaakulu/	[n-akul]	[b-akol]	I eat

/ʔadxulu/	[n-ədxul]	[b-edxol]	I enter
/ʔaqulu/	[n-gul]	[b-ʔul]	I say
/ʔaktarı/	[n-əkrı]	[b-ekterı]	I rent
/ʔasmaʕu/	[n-əsmaʕ]	[b-esmaʕ]	I hear / I listen
/ʔatafarraɣu/	[n-ətfarrəɣ]	[b-etfarraɣ]	I watch
/ʔaḍhabu/	[n-ruħ]	[b-ruħ]	I leave / go
/ʔatbaʕu/	[n-tebbaʕ]	[b-etbaʕ]	I follow
/aʕrifu/	[n-aʕrəf]	[b-aʕref]	I know
/ataḍakkaru/	[n-ətfakkar]	[b-efteker]	I remember
/ašrabu/	[n-əšrob]	[b-ešrab]	I drink
/axıtu/	[n-xajjət]	[b-xajjet]	I sew
/ʔuɣannı/	[n-ɣannı]	[b-ɣannı]	I sing

Table 3.8 Reflexes of the Imperfective [n-] retrieved from the Interview

3.7.5The Negation Variable [ma]

Syntax is also a field that displays a great deal of variation among the Arabic varieties, prior among these is the negation patterns. Miestamo, (2007, as quoted in Alluhaybi,2019) also differentiates between standard sentential negation which refers to declarative verbal clauses ,, and non-standard negation that embraces imperative clauses. While standard Arabic renders

standard negation through a single morpheme, namely: lam, lammā, lan, lā, ʔin, mā, and lajsa. The Arabic varieties exhibit a large amount of variability that can be categorized either through the features they exhibit or through their geographical distribution. In his book „ the syntax of spoken Arabic‟, Brustad (2000) provided an overall geographical categorization of the negative component in the Arab speaking world, based on a study of four Arabic dialects including eastern and western groups, he concludes that: " Moroccan and Egyptian dialects negate verbs with /ma - 'ʃ/, urban Syrian and Kuwaiti with /ma. Sentence predicates are negated in the western dialects with /mıš./ or /mu, while the eastern dialects normally use /mu/ or a variant thereof"(p.281).

He further adds that negation particles existing along the Arabic vernaculars are linked to the two existing sentence structures (SVO) and (VSO), while verbal negation stands for particles that negate verbs, predicate negation are those morphemes that negate nouns, in addition, to a third category that is referred to as copula negation. Nonetheless, a more profound and recent study undertaken by Alluhaybi (2019) which covered 53 Arabic varieties, sorts them based on the negation strategy they recruit. Dialects, which undertake a single strategy of negation, utilize only a single morpheme, standard Arabic exemplifies this kind. Alluhaybi uncovered this negating technique in 29 out of the 53 varieties studied. These single standard negation dialects involve Hassaniyaa Arabic in Morocco, Southern Sinai in Egypt, and Western Nigeria Arabic. Evidently, Damascene Arabic in Syria to manifest the negation using the single morpheme mā, besides, negation in this set of dialects is confined to the pre-verbal position (Alluhaybi, 2019).The following is an excerpt from Damascus Arabic: l-wāZed mā bilāʔi mətəl balad-o"There is no place like home".(Cowell, 2005,p.383, quoted in Alluhaybi,2019,p .108)

Contrarily, bipartite varieties have an additional morpheme which is linked to the particle mā, this second morpheme is the š. Therefore, these dialects form the negative through the use of mā ……š, they encompass many Maghrebi, Egyptian, and Yemeni dialects (Alluhaybi (2019). However, Alluhaybi notes that is some occasions, these bipartite dialects, can omit the post verbal morpheme š. He backs up his claim with an example from Moroccan Arabic when emphatics hinder the use of the negative particle š. To the best of the author's knowledge ,the dialect spoken in Oran belongs in the second type of Alluhaybi's classification as it attests to the use of a bipartite morpheme in standard negation such as in /ma šə f tah š/ 'I have not seen him'.

Standard Arabic	Oran Spoken Arabic	Syrian SpokenArabic	English
/la aʕrif /	mænaʕrefch	ma b-aʕref	I don't know
/la axruʒu/	ma n-xreʒš	ma b-exroʒ	I don't go out
/Lam asmaʕ/	masmaʕtš	Ma smeʕet	I didn't hear
/lam ʔaraka/	mašəftəkš	Mašeftek	I didn't see you
/la ʔamliku šajʔan/	maʕandiš	ma ʕandi	I don't have

Table 3.9 Reflexes of the Negation Particle[ma š] Extracted from the Interview

3.8Ethical Considerations

Most research in the human sciences involves the participation of subjects. Several parameters should be taken into consideration, in order to prevent any violation of human rights. Chief among these is the principle of informed consent. Hence, informants of the present

survey were all informed that they were recorded and about the nature of the research. The researcher broadly explained the research aims to the participant. Furthermore, Voluntary participation was ensured since the researcher did not proceed to the interview until the informant is convinced to partake in the survey, furthermore, participants were reassured that all the data provided would be used anonymously in a doctoral thesis, replacing their names either by codes or numbers and that they could withdraw from participation whenever they wished.

3.9Conclusion

While the first and the second chapters, formed the theoretical backbone for this research. The present chapter aimed at accounting for the data collection journey. It started, by introducing the reader to the research site in terms of its history and geography. Subsequently, it moved to impart the linguistic peculiarities of Oran spoken Arabic, before defining the investigated informants, the sample size, and the various methodological considerations, in addition to the data gathering tools employed. The chapter concludes with a description of the studied variables and their realizations in the different Arabic dialects, regarding previous research in the Arab world.

Chapter Four

Findings and Discussion

Chapter Four Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

There is no doubt that the rationale behind each scientific research is to seek answers for a set of scientific inquiries, introduced as research questions. Minding the Methodology devised in the previous chapter, the aim of the present one, is to spread out the results of the survey. There is an ongoing consensus among sociolinguists, that any linguistic act is generally, ascribed to one or a variety of social factors. Hence, the major objective of the present chapter is to examine the effects of social patterns on inter-dialectal accommodation among the Syrian Community living in Oran. And this, through recruiting five main linguistic variables, (Lexical accommodation, the variants /ʔ/ and/q/ /g/; the particles /n-/, /b-/; The variants /a/; /e/, and the negation patterns /ma/ and /ma š/. The chapter embarks on treating each selected variable independently, that is through bivariate analysis. The researcher calls on the quantitative phase of the research, correlational statistics are relied on to scrutinize the effects of the social variables; age, gender, attitudes, and social networks on the process of linguistic accommodation.

The correlation of the social variables with the linguistic behavior of speakers has been at the center of interest of sociolinguists, since the burst of variationist sociolinguistics. As Chambers (1997) avows: "Correlating linguistic variation as the dependent variable with independent variables such as linguistic environment [i.e. social context], style or social categories [i.e. social characteristics of speakers] is the primary task of sociolinguistics" (p.17).

These scholars achieved their results via the use of average group scores and correlating them with various independent variables (Milroy, 1987), these variables, then, vary considerably based on the contact situation:

Whenever a choice among two (or more) discrete alternatives can be perceived as having been made in the course of linguistic performance, and where this choice may have been influenced by factors such as: features in the phonological environment, the syntactic context, discursive function of the utterance, topic, style, interactional situation, personal or socio-demographic

characteristics of the speaker, other participants, and then it is appropriate to invoke the statistical notions and methods known to students of linguistic variation as „variable rules. (Sankoff, 1980,p.984) .

Although Sankoff hinted at the variable rules program, advances in the field of statistics paved the way for researchers, to benefit from a myriad of statistical software to account for variability. This being said, after counting the occurrences of the different variables, the researcher merged them into statistical analyses to uncover the implications of the selected social variables. The used soft wares are Kendall's tau_B, Anova F test, t-test, and Pearson correlation test.

4.2Lexical Accommodation

The interview disclosed many accommodative instances, embracing both convergence and divergence; the following excerpts divulge the variability found among the informants, with relation to the use of the two dialects. Based on their accommodative behavior, the informants can be sorted into three categories, among which, we can distinguish a class that we have labelled as high accommodators, they exemplify speakers that converge towards Oran spoken Arabic at 100 persent, such as the participant (S.17). Low accommodators, who depict a category of speakers that swing between the two dialects like speaker (S.06), and finally, divergent speakers, who denote informants that clung to the Syrian dialect along the interview such as (S.16).

The extracts below represent the speech of three interviewees, Oran spoken Arabic terms are highlighted in bold type:

Extract one (S. 17):

Lahɣa dærɪɣa taʕkom wah kən ʕandı saħbı waħəd 3 mois bəh gʕadt nwaləf ma nəfhām š kulšı bəʂʂaħ darwək la rakı souad rwaħı ħšıhalı…….. dır contact rwaħ tšuf məlaħ škun gəlʕaħ rah wın jɣı jaxrəb əjwa souad zıdı, ħna wela lhıh maqrıtš ɣıt nħāmbər directe, bejna mši sahla 7 snın ma šəfthomš .wah normale šɣul la wəllıt, nwəllı dajf tsəgmət wella ma tsəgmətš maxaməmtš fıha gəʕ. la ana bayı nwəlı bəʂʂah manıš bayı nwəlı darwək bayı n-roħ ħta naxdəm residence hna ja wəddı mən winta ranı ħarəg mabɣıtš ndırha ʕjıt ha ʕtona residence.

Your dialect ….yes, I had a friend, it took me 3 months to get the habit, I did not use to understand everything, but, now, Souad I dare you to fool me _Turn the ignition key Salah, who removed it? He touches everything _ So, what else, Souad, here or there I did not study, I came directly to hard work. Obviously, it is not easy, it has been 7 years that I did not see them, yes, normally, if I return I will return only as a guest, whether things settle down or not, I never thought of that, in fact, I clearly want to come back, but I will not do so until I handle my residential papers her. Oh, you know, I have been in an illegal situation for a long time, I did not want to do it, I am tired of that, why don't you just grant us a residency certificate.

məšı loʈo camion ʂonda hadı xıbra manəqroš ʕlıha ana kanət ʕandı waħda fi surıᾱ tʕaləmtha. wəllıt nkəkulha surtout tʕam hna kuljum ydiruhənna. ki nkun alaise n -tajjeb taƷna n-dır jabra ndır maħaši ʕandı ɣı ʂħᾱb ʒazajrıjın kı dxalt lʒazajər kən saħbı mʕaja suri ʈbib ,w kən ʕandah sħabəh ajja wəllina sħab ,gəʕ fi raħba huwwa raħ l sbanja . surıjın ma ndaxalhom š fı ħjatı wəld bladək majəbrıləkš lxır.

It is not a car, it is a water well drilling machine, we do not receive formal instruction on that, I just learned it through experience, I used to have one when I was in Syria, so I learned how to use it, yes, I sometimes eat your food, especially couscous, people often cook it for me. But when I have some free time I usually cook Syrian dishes like jᾱbraa and maĥaši. I have only

Algerian friends, when I first arrived in Algeria, I had a Syrian friend, a doctor, so I used to live with him and his friends, but he left for Spain. I do not reveal my life to Syrians; you know your countrymen do not wish you well.

Extract Two (S.06):

walla ɣır mʕa ḍḍar wəl xədma lla æna n-axdəm muqawıl alla jsalmek ja rab bajna hadı ma-nnəjəmš lḥaʒr bəṣṣah ljum kunt karah mællet šwija m routine xədma w dar ʕlabıaa ḍalletni ragəd maši gultılı tʕajṭılı Whatsapp, walla ana ma ʕandı ajja məškle əllı jrajḥek wallahi lʕazim šu beddek tsawwı ša ɣadi ndiru.

Well, torn between the house and work, no, I am an entrepreneur, God Bless you, obviously, I cannot (the quarantine), but I was fed up of the routine, so, I kept asleep, did not you tell me that you would call me on Whatsapp. Indeed, it is as you want, I have no problem, be at ease to ask me whatever you want, what will we do?.

nʕawəd fı akbar ħammamət fi Bouhnifia taʕarfıh ? **nʕawəd la faiance nʕawəd rxam kun tšufıh tənxalʕı** ja ret **douche taʕna kima hakka** jarıt **lkuzına kima hakka**, **voila la kima jəb□i lmuhandis ndirlo, ntuma tebɣu təʕ fransa bəzzəf wah**, eh **mliha** la mən suria **ana maqrit la f ʒamiʕa** wala ši **šufi šufi ngulək ħaʒa**, **w nkun** saṛiħ maʕek ,**saħħa** ana muqawıl ʕala ʔaddı **ana mula ħarfa naxdəm el karlaʒe kuləš ki ʒit l dzajər hna**, awwal ši ana ma kunt b dzajer kunt b lubnen w torkja baʕdin ʒit el mohim **l'essentiel ʒit l dzajer** .**fi mizek hədi bejna** ʕala šən **nroħ l europa** ,**əjja gʕadt lehna** ,awwal ma dxalt hna ʕandi **kwaɣet bəlli ana** saʔiħ ana ʕəšt fı boufarik.

I am renovating the biggest ħammam in Bouhnifia, (a region in Mascara, Algeria), do you know it?. I am renovating earthenware, hard limestone, if you see it, you would say, if only I had this shower at home, if only I had this kitchen at home. That is it, we follow the instructions of the engineer, you generally prefer the French style, no, from the time I was in Syria.I studied neither

at university nor elsewhere, let me tell you something, and will be honest to you, I am a modest entrepreneur, I work in floor tiles and everything.

Extract Three (S.16):

Lamma teʒi lahon tkuni ʕam tešteɣle jaʕne ʕam təxedmi ʈʈalʕi iqama senten aw dejme bæss waʔet ʂar mašakel bi surja ʂaret nness teʈlaʕ ʕa lebnen w kil el manaʈeʔ el ʕarabije, hna ʕadad qalil **hna** ma eʒa ʕadad qalil ktir eʒa **mwælfin** surijin aktar ši **jəxedmu** bel xaliʒ awwal ši ʒazair elʒaw mextelef ʕala biled eššam bæss el maɣreb el ʕarabe qlil li jʒi ticket eʈʈajjara ɣale ši 7 aw 8 malajin, li ʕandu ʕajla kbira saʕeb jeʒi ma maʕo maʂʂari ana xtart lxaliʒ awwal ši kenet rajeh ʕal xaliʒ bass ʕeʒit ʕal ʒazajer zjara **n-ħawwess** heke šaher šahren qbəl ma n-safer n-əxdem. ʂadiqi ʔarib yaʕani ʔalli taʕa bteʔʕod hon tšuf lwadeʕ iza ʕaʒabak b-teʔʕod, ḍallet ʕam b-ešteɣel muħaseb, ʈabʕan ana ʕandi šahada men suria.

When you come here, if you work, you can secure a residential paper of two years or, a lifelong residence. However, when problems started in Syria, people started going to Lebanon and everywhere in the Arabic regions. Only few came here, Syrians are used to working in the Arabian Peninsula, only few people come to the Maghreb, the flight ticket is expensive, around 7 or 8 millions, it is difficult for a person who has a big family to come, he does not have money. I have chosen the Arabian Peninsula at first, I was going there, I came tp Algeria as a tourist for one or two months before going to work. A close friend asked me to come here, he said if you like the situation here you stay, so I kept working as an accountant, of course I have got a diplomat from Syria.

4.2.1 Lexical Accommodation and Age

Age Group	Oran Spoken Arabic Terms (%)	Syrian Terms (%)	Total
16-30	30,92	69,08	100
31-45	35,91	64,09	100
46-62	8,95	91,05	100
	Kendall tau b= -0.73;	**Sig<P= 0.613; P=0.05**	
	Anova F= 1.644 ;	**Sig<P= 0.210; P=0.05**	

Table 4.1 The Statistical Distribution of Lexical Accommodation across Age groups[1]

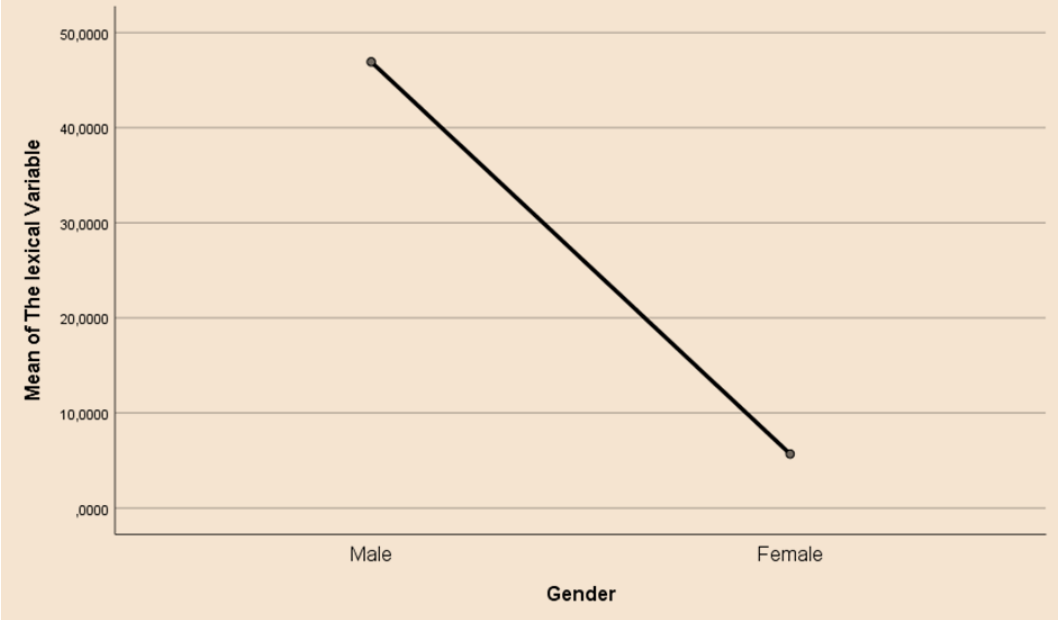
In counting the tokens concerning the Algerian terms, the fieldworker has taken into consideration, the distinct terms that are manifested differently in both dialects, whereas, as the Algerian lexicon, is fuelled with French loans, adapted to the dialect, we have considered French terms as part of Oran spoken Arabic. Furthermore, for terms that are duplicated in both varieties, pronunciation was taken as a criterion to classify the term as either Algerian or Syrian, such as in walla(Syrian Arabic) and wəllah[2] (Oran Spoken Arabic). Similarly, instances, where standard Arabic was used, were not taken into account.

[1] Table 4.1 imparts only the percentages of usage of the terms, as the number of tokens of lexical accommodation resulted in huge numbers, the authors were contented with the percentages.
[2] In the name of God

As indicated above Kendall's tau b gives a value of (Tau b=-0.73), which entails that there is no statistically significant correlation between the age of the speaker and the use of the Algerian terms. Similarly, Anova test of means variance yielded no statistically distinct variability among the three groups (F= 1.644), with regard to the use of Oran spoken Arabic. Nevertheless, despite this statistical indifference, we notice a decline in the use of ORSA within the oldest category 8%. Although, the patterns of accommodation of the middle-aged, and the younger speakers exhibited only a marginal difference, it is clear from the speakers' rates, that the middle- aged category outscored the other groups in using Oran spoken Arabic lexical items, as it jumped from 30% within younger speakers to 35% within the middle aged. As anticipated, the elderly have shown to be the most conservative respecting their dialect maintenance.

Overall, there was a low rate of accommodation across the three age groups. This is attributed, we argue to the difficulty of ORSA, being a melting pot of foreign languages that are adapted to the dialect. During the interviews, participants mentioned frequently their deficiency in understanding and learning, and producing the French words, often uttered by Algerians, one of the female informants stated that she faces problems in understanding older Algerian women, given the fact that they insert many French items in their speech.

4.2.2 Lexical Accommodation and Gender



Tau b= -0,619; sig=0.000; P<0.01

T-Test= 4,307; sig=0.000; P<0.01

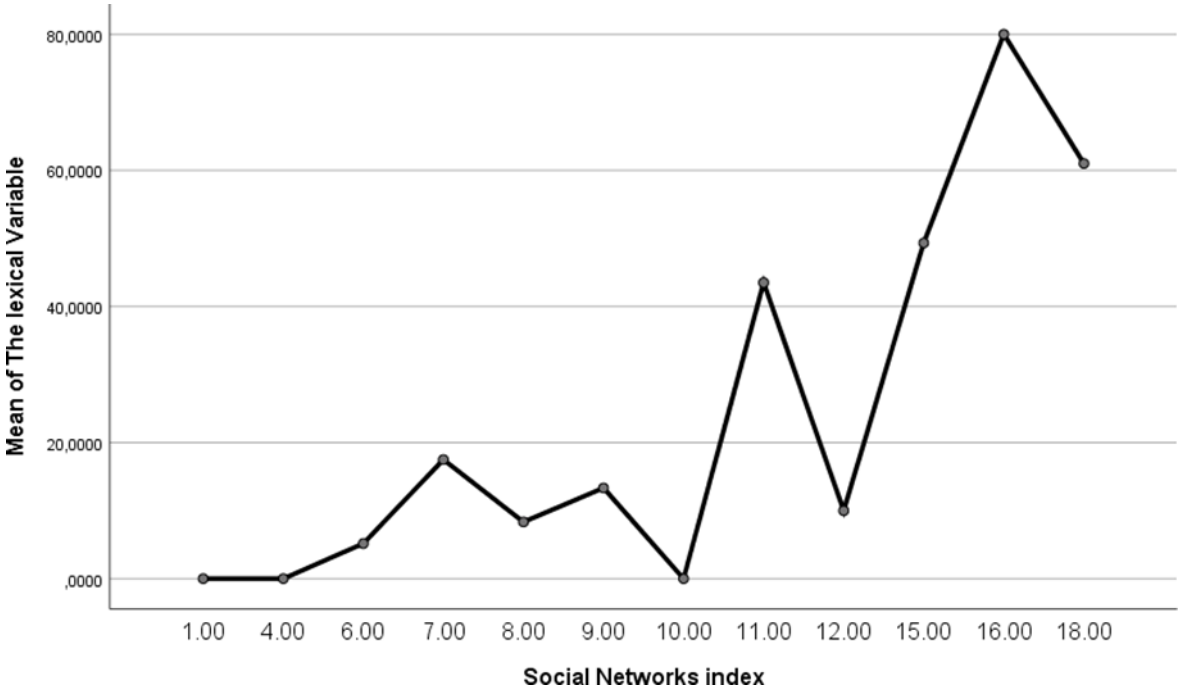
Figure4.1. Differences in the Use of the Lexical Variable between Males and Females.

Data portrayed in the graph 4.1 reports a considerable fluctuation in lexical accommodation proportions between Syrian men and women. Male speakers are clearly in the leads of this change, as they reached a percentage of 46% in their convergence rates, while females did not attain 10% of the tokens produced. Gender discrepancies, with respect to this variant, were statistically significant at (P<0.01), as Kendall's tau b resulted in (Tau b= -0,619).Respectively, the statistical exam was supplemented with an independent t-test analysis to quarry the significance of the variation, which generated a value of (t-test=4,307).

This evinces an immense interval between men and women's means, in the adoption of Oran spoken Arabic. Women in this case study proved to be strong maintainers of their local dialects. Comparatively, top scorers in terms of using Oran spoken Arabic, were men, that produced proportions which ranged from 70% to 100%, while best female's scorers, secured a

percentage of 40% to 60% .This, we surmise can be attributed to the social meaning each dialect carries.

4.2.3 Lexical Accommodation and Social Networks



Pearson r=0,685, Sig = (0.000); P<0.01

Figure 4.2. Informants' Lexical Accommodation according to the Social Networks' Scores

Figure 4.2 displays in terms of percentages and scores, the proportions of attested lexical accommodation with relation to their social network scores. The analysis bestows a solid correlation between the social network index of the speaker, and his rates of lexical accommodation, as the correlation test shows (r= 0,685). Illustratively, speakers; S01 and S017, who ranked, as strong accommodators, with 89 and 100% of lexical accommodation, scored higher in their network indexes (S.1=16; S.17=18). During the interview, and when asked about his mastery of the dialect, (S.01), who is a dental prosthesist, stated that he works sixteen hours a day, and that his daily contacts are mainly composed of Dentists, with which he speaks ORSA all the time. It seems like this speaker's work network have great impact on his accommodative

rates. Whereas, S 14, S21, who turned out to be divergent in their local dialects, scored lower on the network scale (S.14=9; S.21=6). This implies that the more integrated is the speaker in the Algerian community, the more his use of Oran spoken Arabic increases.

4.3The Variable [q]

As we have explained in the previous chapter, the [q] has been a distinguishing marker of sedentary and Bedouin dialects, for it has been subject to immense variability throughout the Arabic speaking world, it is uttered as a glottal stop /ʔ/ sound in the majority of Syrian dialects, except for some rural varieties. Contrarily, Oran spoken Arabic, being a Bedouin dialect par excellence, comprises the two variants, /q/ and /g/.

Thus, we have attempted to measure the extent to which our Syrian informants converge towards the use of /g/ and /q/ instead of their local variant /ʔ/. In counting the tokens of this variable, the researcher has taken into account only the words existing in both varieties, nevertheless, the words that exist only in Oran spoken Arabic were excluded from the analysis, an example is the word /gəʕ/, 'All', and tsəgmət , 'it was fixed', which are typical of ORSA. The following instances evidence cases of convergence and divergence elicited from the recordings:

Extract Four: (S01) is a convergent male who scored higher in accommodating towards the [g] sound (S01)

jogʕod maximum šhar w jħabbəs parceque xasha waħəd mwaləf jaxdəm.

He stays maximally one month, then stops, as it requires someone who used to work.

kunt ħasəb ħna ʕandna fı suria mannəǯəmš ndır Medcine kı dxalt hna beš n-markı lel bac, **gælulı** jla təbɣı tbəddel science tnəǯǯəm **gutlhom** bəʂʂɑ̃h twəllı premiere année lycée. ana **qbelt qrit** 1ere année w 2 eme w fel bac wəlla ʕandı xədma bezzaf ,bdıt nwaləf hna w gæʕ la chargee taʕ

lxadma wəllat ʕandi bəzzaf ,xsərt lbac wəllıt nʕawəd candidat libre f 2017 w 2018 ana f hadek **lwaqt glaʕt** men rası dentiste dərt fı rası ranı **nəqra** ɣı beš **jgu:lu** qarı.

I thought it was the same thing as in Syria, where could not study medicine, when I got into here in order to field if you wish, I said, but you should re-do your studies, from first-year secondary school. I accepted to do, so, I studied the first and second years, but in the third year, I had too much pressure at work so I failed my baccalaureate exam, I redid it in 2017 and 2018, in that time I forgot the idea of being a dentist, I just studied to be considered as educated".

Extract Five: (S011) is a female who diverged in the use of the variant[ʔ]

ahleen ʔʕedı, alla **jʔadrek** halaʔ ana 3eme année w mémoire tabaʕ licence **maʔderet** eʕmela, mbala ʔallu bıtfutı didactique walla hık mabaʕref , ee(h) hay sene , ma bħeb taʔlım ıda bruħ darres ləwlād **bʔaleʔun** ʔa sellom. laʔ linguistque btıɣı scientifique , **bteʔder** , eeh xallaşna hallaʔ lekı **b ʔellek** ana šeft ennu bteſhamu ʔalajje, walla şaret **b ʔaleb** corona , şaraħa bšakl ʕa:m ma **laʔena** mašakel ktir . šaʕb ţajjeb w ma aandou ʕonsorije.

„Hello, have a sit please, Oh, May God be with you, I am still a third-year student and have no clue on how to prepare the thesis. No, they said you have to choose either didactics or something of the kind, I do not know. I do not like teaching, if I teach I will certainly hit the kids. Still, linguistics is scientific, you can understand it , we have finished studies, ……let me be honest to you, I saw that you can understand me , so I saw no need to speak your way …..it happened during the corona pandemic, …….honestly we did not confront many problems, generally speaking, people are kind and does not exhibit any racism.enroll for the baccalaureate exam.

4.3.1The Variable [q]and Age

	TheVariants /q/,/g/		The Variant /ʔ/		Total	
Age Groups	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**
16-31	34%	39	66%	76	**100**	**115**
31-46	42%	93	58%	130	**100**	**223**
46-62	6%	5	94%	84	**100**	**89**

Kendal tau b= -0.222 , Sig=0.121 ; P<0.05

Anova F=3.184

Table4.2 The Statistical Distribution of the Variable [q] across Age groups

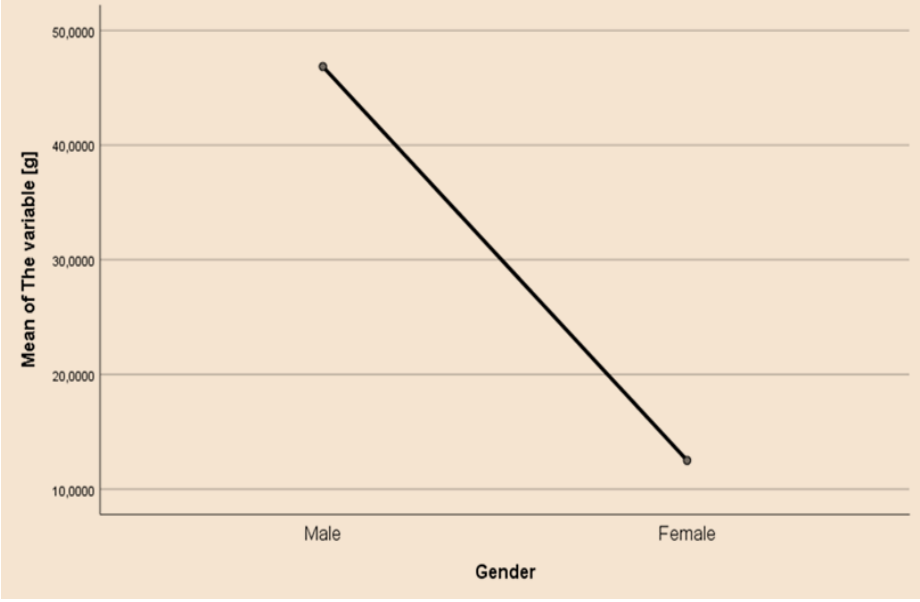
Observation of the statistical findings presented in table 4.2 reveals slightly higher ratios in the use of the variants (q,g) within the younger, and middle-aged categories, compared to the previously discussed variable, as younger speakers' scores raised to 34%, whereas the middle-aged group rates exceeded 40%. The older category, on the other hand, produced slower rates of these variants as opposed to lexical variation.

Similar to the first variable, the Kendall's tau b analysis portrayed an insignificant statistical age-related variability in the use of the linguistic variable [q], (Tau b= 0.222). By way to scrutinise the significance of this variance among the groups' means, results were complemented with a one-way Anova test of variance, which yielded (F=3.184) with a significance value of (Sig=0.055), which is higher than at sig=0.05. This record indicates a statistical indifference among the means of the three age groups. The middle-aged category is ahead of the other groups, as it is leading up to change in this community. Despite the fact that

the sample is unbalanced, we have remarked a considerable gradation in the use of the Bedouin marker within the category of the elderly. As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, this variable has been extensively studied in the Arabic speaking world, correlating this latter to a set of social variables.

Finding, however, varied across the speech communities under scrutiny. In Iraq, Mohammed (2018), has encountered that the correlation of the age of Hia speakers to the utilization of the variant [g] was statistically significant (T-test=0.045*; Sig. = p <0.05). Nonetheless, in a more recent work endeavoured by Bader and Bani-Ali, (2020), it has been signed that middle-aged Syrian refugees in Jordan, were onwards in adopting the Bedouin /g/ with a rate of (19%).

4.3.2The Variable [q]and Gender



Tau b= -0,403; sig=0.000 ; P<0.01

T-Test= 3,338; sig=0.000; P<0.01

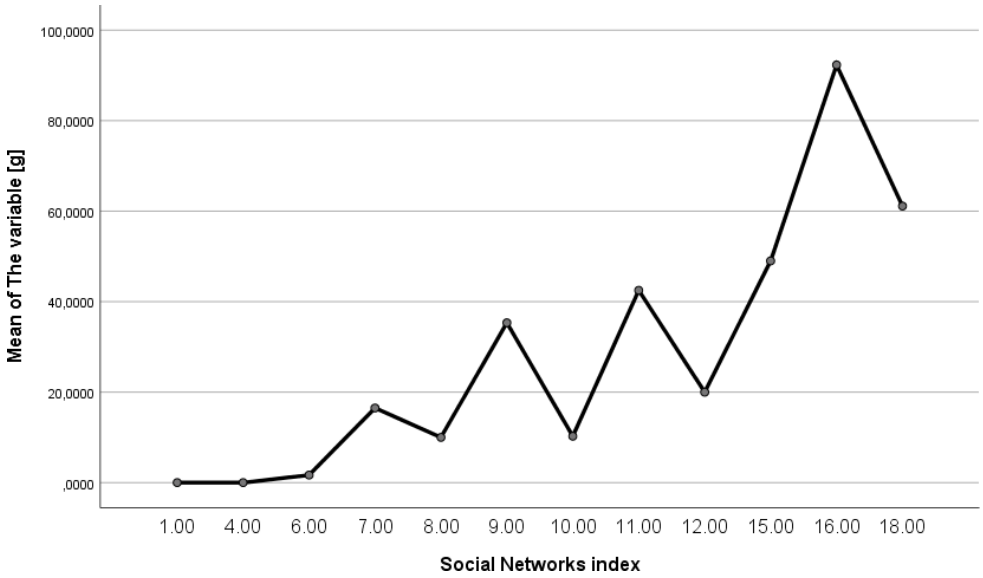
Figure 4.3 Differences in the Use of the Variants [q,g] between Males and Females.

Figure 4.3 presents the statistical disparities among men and women; it indicates that there are strong correlations between the gender of the informant, and his linguistic scores concerning the utilisation of the variants /q/and /g/. Men tend to switch more towards the supra-local variants at a rate of 47%, while women preserve their local varieties, through retaining the glottal stop at 87 %. Kendall's tau b provided a value of (Tau b= -0,403), which foreshadows a highly statistically significant correlation at $P<0.01$, while the t-test of means variance exam also revealed a value of (t-test= 3,338).

The higher scorers, (S01, S02, S06, S015, S0.18, S017, S019, S020), belonged to the males' category of speakers, the first best scorers S015, and S017 accommodated towards the variants [g, q], at 83%, and 100%. On the other hand, the best woman scorer reached merely 55%. The two extracts above provide good evidence of the achieved results, whereas the [g,q] occurred in the man's speech at 95%, the woman used it at only 0%. Findings imply that Syrian males favour the use of novel variants, whereas Syrian women have shown preference for the sedentary marker.

Retention of the glottal stop is a widely spread tendency among Syrian and Middle Eastern female speakers, in general, as corroborated by prior variationist studies. In a study targeting the effect of gender on language variation, Daher (1998) inspected the linguistic practices of 46 Damascene male and female speakers; the quantitative analyses unfolded a strong inclination from the part of woman in maintaining the glottal stop. Daher attributes this divergence the prestige of the variant /ʔ/.

4.3.3The Variable [q] and Social Networks



Pearson r=0,689, P < 0.05

Figure 4.4 Informants' Use of the Variable [q] according to their Social Networks Scores

Figure 4.4 depicts a strong positive correlation between the use of the variant /g/ and the social network index score. Pearson correlation test resulted in (r=0,689, P < 0.05). Noticeably, the higher scorers (S01, S06, S07, S02, Sa08, S15, S18), who graded between 15 and 18 on the network scale, converged to the [g,q] more frequently.

Strikingly, we have found that informants (S05, S011, S.032 and S034) who uttered the glottal stop[ʔ] at 100%, graded between (12 and 18) in the social network index. Nevertheless, informant S05 mentioned during the interview that, he speaks Oran spoken Arabic all the time, as he is a university student, and the majority of his daily contacts were Algerians. We suppose then, that his linguistic rates would have been different if the interviewer was a man. Despite these Contradictions, the overall results displayed an important connection between the use of the [g,q] and the daily contacts of the participants. Mohammed Jassim (2018) attained parallel findings during his survey of g/q variation in Baghdad, Iraq, as they rendered close correlations to the social network index score of individuals with a value of (r= 0.457; P < 0.05).

4.4The Variable[a]

Inclination or Imalah is a typical feature of Middle Eastern dialects, in general, and the Syrian dialect in particular, which sets them apart from the western dialects in which, el fatħ takes over the majority of the dialects. This being said, we have examined the informants' linguistic behavior, towards the use or/and shift from variants of this variable. Below are examples of convergence and divergence in the use of /a/ or /e/, while (S03, S04, S06) represent cases of divergence, (S02, S09, S013) render cases of a shift towards the supra-local variant. It should be noted here, that the researcher has taken into consideration only cases of final Imalah, given the fact that it is widely recurrent, and easily spotted in the speech of Syrians.

Extract Five (S03):

ʔalle ennu fı **meškle** aseʒel tabaʕ **šarıke** elu zaman mwaʔef

He told me there is a problem in the company's documents, it was stopped a long time ago"

ʔeltello šuf **ente** ıza b-taʔref sħabak , ma baʔref hadık lmarra maʕrefti **lʕomle saʕbe** dollar wel euro tamam rah fahmek maljon w sabʕ **mıjje.**

I told him, maybe you know someone who can fix the problem, I don't know….. didn't you get it, dollar and Euro I mean, I will explain it to you, one million and seven hundred dinars.

şaħeb lmaħal hada bıjşır ıbn ʕamtu ʕam jʔellı fet b mašruʕ **huwwe** It is the cousin of the shop owner, he engaged in a project, Him ana ʕandı **lɣınsıje lɣazajrıje** ʕandı forn xobz surı w ʕand abı maħall **albıse** fı **lmadıne leʒdide** I own a bakery and my father has a clothing shop in the new town".

Extract Seven (S013)

ranı **ʔaʕde**, bass jemken aʕref leš el ʔasʔıle haj šu lɣaje menha…..el **ʕıše** hon **ɣalje** ente **ʒazaʔırije**

„ no i am free, but can i know the rationale behind these questions,…..life here is expensive, you are Algerian and you know better than I do"

Extract Eight (S09) :

ana kı səʒəlt fel **madraṣa** qrıt el bac hnaja ɣi sımantın w ħabbest ʒetni **sʕıba** leqraja

When I inscribed at school here to study for the baccalaureate, I studied for only two weeks then stopped, studies seemed so difficult to me

luɣa **lfaransija hıja lmuškıla**

the French language is a real problem

šu beddek teʕmlı hadı **hıjja ddenja** ʕam netwannas, walla b-naqqi ḍḍar maʕın n-tajeb w hadı **hıjja**

What do you want!!! This is life, we are enjoying our time, indeed, I clean the dishes, cook and that is it.

4.4.1 The Variable [a]and Age

	TheVariants /a/		The Variant /e/		Total	
Age Groups	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**
16-31	26%	36	74%	103	**100**	**139**
31-46	27%	54	73%	146	**100**	**200**
46-62	7%	08	93%	111	**100**	**119**

Kendal tau b= -0.153 ,sig=0.293 ; P<0.05

Anova F=1.195 sig=0.316, P<0.05

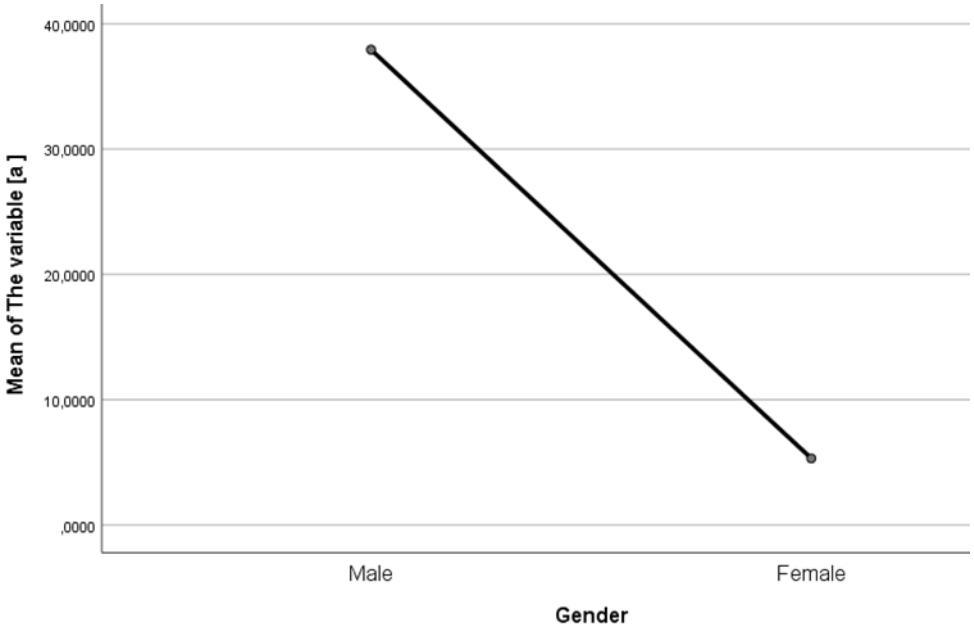
Table 4.5 the Statistical Distribution of the Variable [a]across the Age groups

It can inferred from the statistical measures, that there is not a direct relationship, between the age variable, and the use of el fatḥ in Syrians' speech. The correlational test generated a value of (tau b= -0.153), which implicates a fragile link between the age of the speaker and his percentage rates of Imalah, Anova test of variance vindicates these findings, as it yields a value of (F=1.195).

Nevertheless, from the data elicited on the table we can deduce, that inclining the /a/, abates as the age of the participant surpasses 46, as older informants' proportions did not outstrip 7%. Middle-aged speakers remain advance in their convergence rates, as opposed to the other two groups, despite the negligible difference between this latter and the younger category (1%). The overall rates of the inclination variant were shown to be the lowest among the set of the

surveyed variables, which is seen in the small number of tokens produced by the younger and middle-aged category (26%, 27%).

4.4.2 The Variable [a] and Gender



Tau b=-0.367;sig=0.017; P<0.05

T-test=3.244; sig=0.003, P<0.01

Figure 4.5 Differences in the Use of the Variant [a] between Males and Females

The percentages imparted in the graph 4.6 unveil a statistically important correlation, between the gender of the speaker and his linguistic scores in the use of Imala and/or el Fath. Kendall's tau-b analysis resulted in (Tb = -0,367), whereas the t-test of the equality of means (t-test=3.244) detected a statistically significant variation in males and females means in favour of men. Mindful of this, a moderate, though a persisting correlation is attested.

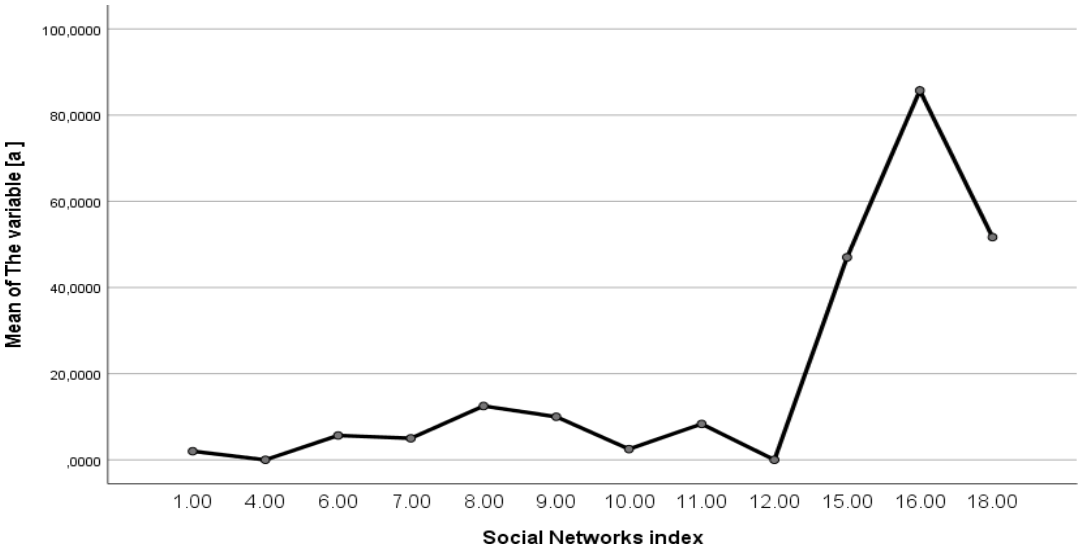
Men outpointed women in the utilisation of the variant /a/, as they achieved a percentage of 38%. Women on the other hand have inclined the final /a/ at 93%. Interestingly, women used

final inclination, even with ORSA words, for instance, the informant (S.09) pronounced the word šabba, Beautiful through inclining the final a, hence šabbe.

Nevertheless, even men did not converge heavily towards el fatħ, which is against their rates in the aforementioned variables, this is ascribed, we surmise to the fact that inclination has been deeply ingrained in their speech and is an unmarked feature of the Syrian dialects that cannot be easily abandoned.

As a linguistic variable, Imalah has not been widely addressed in research triggering the Arab speaking world. However, latest investigation carried out by Shetewi (2018) rendered identical results within the speech community of Palestinian refugees in Damascus. Both males and females in this study displayed roughly resistance in the use of the variant [a].Nevertheless, gender-based variability was found to be a determinant factor in terms of Accommodation, as male speakers retained the variant /a/ overwhelmingly, while the urban variant /e/ was solely found in the speech of Palestinian females (Shetewi,2018).

4.4.3The Variable [a]and Social Networks



Pearson r=0,614; p<=0.01

Figure 4.5 Informants Use of the Variable [a] according to their Social Networks Scores

The correlation values emanating from the statistical analysis denote a close interrelationship among the social network scores and the use of the variant /a/ (r=0,614; p<=0.01). This implies that there is a salient inverse relationship between the dependent and the independent variables, and this embraces both males and females. Broadly speaking, the higher is the network index score, the more fatħ is evinced among speakers. As a case in point, participants (S01, S02, S06, S07, S015, S016 and S019) whose instances of Imalah dropping altered between 55% and 100%, rated from 11 to 18 on the network scale. Whereas women seem to linger in terms of convergence towards the variant [a], statistical evidence disclosed, that even within this category, the individual ties play a vital part in directing this variant's usage.

Surprisingly, informants: (S03, S04, S032, S034, S05) who appear to be strongly divergent in the use of Imalah, that is, no single instance of El fatħ was attested in their speech (0%), ranked between 10 and 18 on the Network scale. Furthermore, (S032), whose use of the variant /a /was 0%, scored the same as (S07) and (S017) as far as the social network index. Despite, the unequal number of males and females in the sample, participants' friendship, work, and leisure time networks seem to exert a strong influence on the adoption of the Bedouin variant [a].

4.5 The Variable [n-]

The imperfective tense is another area of variability over the Arab speaking world, while Middle Eastern Arabic is recognized by the utilisation of the particle (b-), North African Arabic including the Bedouin dialect of Oran, are described by the use of the particle (n-) instead. This last has been a distinguishing isogloss, which delineates the dialect boundaries in the Arab speaking world as it has been mentioned in the previous chapter. In view of this, while a Syrian says b-əšteri 'I buy', a speaker of ORSA utters n-əšri.

Accordingly, the researcher attempted to measure the convergence and /or divergence of Syrians towards this variable. Worth noting here, that the researcher excluded from analysis, all ORSA typical words exhibiting the Algerian variable, such as n-ərfəd, I carry, n-ţajeb, I cook which do not have an equivalent in Syrian Arabic. Furthermore, French adapted loan verbs such as n- desıdı, I decide, n-makıji, I wear makeup, n-dəwəš, I take a shower were also omitted when counting the tokens.

In what follows, we present cases of maintenance and shift regarding the structure of the imperfective:

Extract Ten:(S015)

b-eḥfaḍ lmaqadır fı rası jemši lḥal ,xebz la **b-šterih** ʒaḥez xebez surı iza taʕarfıh

I just learn the ingredients by heart, it works, I buy it readymade, Syrian bread if you know it.

nšalla **b-etša<u>r</u><u>r</u>af** walla w šu **b-eqder** saʕed ma fı muškıla

If God willing, I will be honored, I will help you with everything I can, no problem

Extract Eleven (S016)

qabl , gult **n-safer** n-axdem yaʕni ʒazair bʕıde,**n-roḥ** ʕal ordon

Before I said to myself, I travel to work, I mean, Algeria is far, I go to Jordan.

gult **n-ədxol** ʕand lḥanut hada **n-biʕlah**

I said, I enter this shop, and sell him.

bdit **n-edxol** fi grupet facebook **n-etʕareəf** bel ɣaši

I started joining Facebook groups and meet people.

4.5.1The Variable [n-] and Age

	TheVariants /n-/		The Variant /b-/		Total	
Age Groups	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**
16-31	33%	36	67%	72	**100**	**109**
31-46	38%	45	62%	71	**100**	**116**
46-62	11%	9	89%	76	**100**	**85**

Kendal tau b=-0.115 , sig0.427 ; P<0.05

Anova , F= 1.313, sig =0.284, (p<0.05)

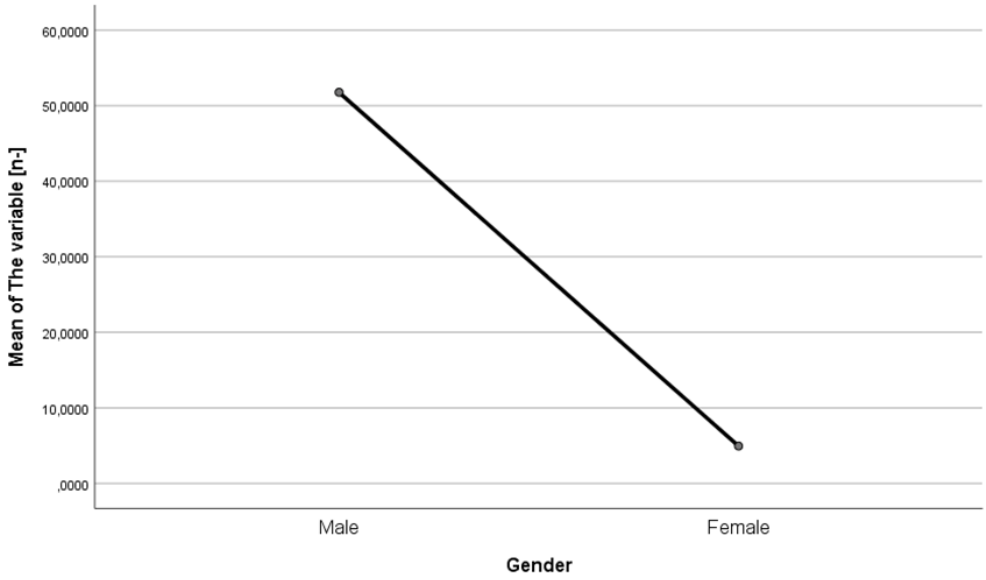
Table 4.4 The Statistical distribution of the Variable [n-] across the Three Age groups.

Remarkably, the qualitative statistical test reports a statistically irrelevant relationship between age and the use of the variant /n-/, as the correlation value reached (Tb = -0.115), while the significance value is (p= 0.427), which is higher than the probability (0, 05). Anova means variance brought forth a value of (F= 1.313) .This entails a negative correlation between the independent and dependent variables.

Thus, no inverse relationship can be deduced between the age of the informant, and the convergence rates. Despite this statistical insignificance, as it is noticeable from the number of tokens generated by each category, that there is a considerable diminution in the rates of substituting the particle (n-) to (b-), as the age of the speaker exceeds 46. The elderly did not surpass (9tokens).

Nevertheless, we observe higher scores of convergence from the part of the young (36 tokens) and the middle-aged informants, while the heaviest accommodation is attested in the middle-aged category (45 tokens). Attractively, despite their lower scores, it seems like older speakers acquired the western variant /n-/ more swiftly than the previously mentioned variables (11%), which corroborates the salience of the morphological variant as a salient feature of Western Arabic.

4.5.2The Variable [n-] and Gender



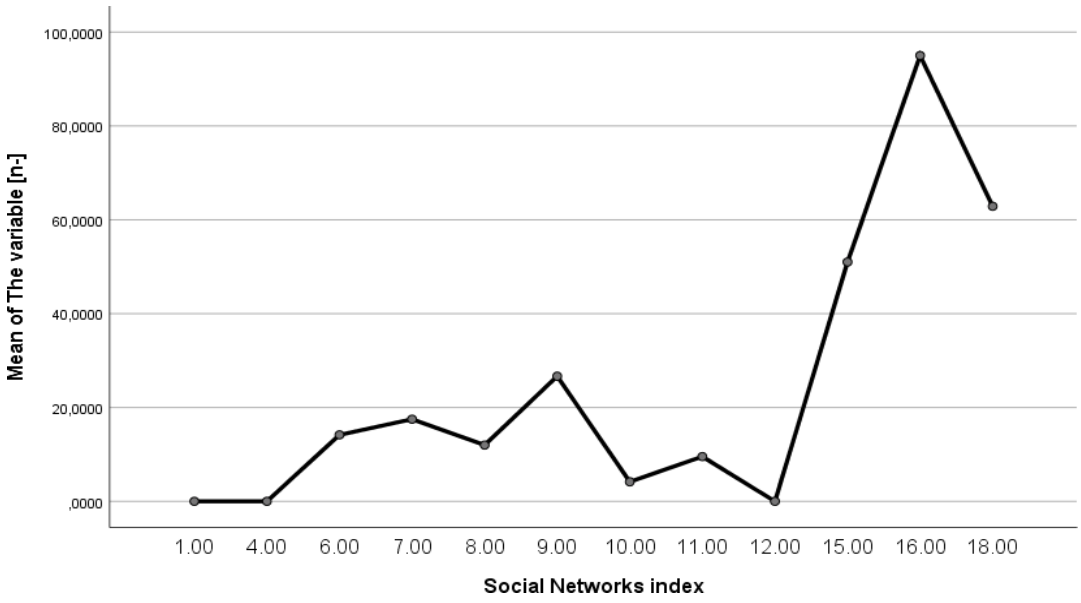
Tb = -0,665, sig =0.000, P<0.01

T-test= 4.751 sig= 0.000, P<0.01

Figure 4.7 Differences in the Use of the Variant [n-] between Males and Females

Compellingly, Kendall's tau- b analysis and the independent t-test manifested a gender-related variation, in the use of the morphological particles (n-) and (b-). The statistical tests revealed a highly significant correlation between the variables at (P<0.01).

4.5.3The Variable [n-]and Social Networks



Pearson r= r=0.607, P< 0.01

Figure 4.8 Informants' Use of the Variable [n-] According to their Social Network Scores.

Female participants throughout the three generations produced the Maghrebi marker in negligible rates (5%). At the same time, male speakers drifted towards their local dialect feature in a percentage of 49%, which is lower than their rate in the use of the western particle (51%). Males rates in the use of this variable appear to be the highest in comparison to the other variables, Females used the Syrian particle (b-) at hefty rates (95%). Intriguingly, even with Oran spoken Arabic words, Syrian women occasionally inserted the imperfective particle (b-). Hence, they uttered words like b-ţajeb, 'I cook' .instead of n-ţajjeb (S09). b –ħawwes,'I visit some places', instead of the Algerian verb n-ħawwəs.

The correlation of social network index scores of speakers, and their linguistic behavior resulted in (r=0.607, p< 0.01). This result connotes a highly significant correlation, which implies a positive inverse relationship between the use of the imperfective particle and the daily contacts of the speaker. The network scores of speakers ranged between 1 and 18, the higher scorers were likewise the ones who converged the most towards the western variable (n-). Informant (S01), who produced the variant (n-) at pace of 92,31%, had a social network score of (16), the same patterns apply to informants S07; and S017, who scored (18) on the Network scale and at the same time generated higher rates of the variant. Exceptions derive from the female informants S 11 and S32, who were found to be divergent in the use of the Syrian imperfective (b-), though their social network scores were surprisingly the same as the two best male scorers (18).

4.6 The Negation Variable [ma]

As explained in the previous chapter, Arabic dialects are marked by two main forms of the negative component namely; single and bi-partite. Thus, both [ma] and [ma…..š] are allocated geographically, and regionally within the Arab-speaking world. The Syrian dialect is distinguished by the use of a single negation pattern [ma], conversely, in Oran spoken Arabic, the adopted negative formula is bi-partite, that is the alternative [ma..š] is evinced. That being said, the researcher, sought to assess the accommodation of our informants towards this variable.

The excerpts below expose the speakers' linguistic behaviors in terms of the negation variants. Worth clarifying here, that the researcher was interested in examining only instances of standard negation, that is solely instances of verbs negation were taken into account, during the data transcription and analysis.

Extract Twelve (S06)

nəxdəm m tmenja təʕ ʂbaħ ħatta l tmenja təʕ lıl parceque **ma ʕandıš** ma3rıfa hna ana **ma n-ħəbš** naħkı hed lhadra ləl ʒazajrıjm nħas ranı n-ʕajərhum

I work from eight a.m to eight p.m at night as I do not have acquaintances here, I do not want to say this to Algerians since I feel I am insulting them by doing so

ħaʒa səmmuha ʒazaır ma **kuntš** naarefha, lmaɣreb walla l3adim ma smeʕet fıha ma **ʕandıš**

(S.09) ki ʒina lel ʒazajer awwal marra **ma-taʔaqləmnəš** parceque kanet elluɣa sʕiba w lahʒa **ma-ʕrafnæš** zaʕama n -etʕamlu ħatta eddrahem ʔentou t ʔuluhom fi w niħna nʔul ɣir šekel.

When we arrived here for the first time, we did not acclimate because the language was difficult, we did not know how to deal with people. Even regarding money, you label it in a way, which is different from ours.

Extract Thirteen:

(S03)**ma ʕandu** el ıqama tabaʕ lekwet ʔeltellek matet el ıqama tabaʕu **ma baʕref** šu xatar ʕala bælo halaʔ.

He does not have residency paper in Kuwait, I told you his residency is dead , i do not know what came into his mind now

4.6.1 The Negation Variable [ma] and Age

	TheVariants /maš/		The Variant /ma/		Total	
Age Groups	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**	**(%)**	**(N)**
16-31	36%	39	64%	70	**100**	**109**
31-46	33%	28	67%	57	**100**	**85**
46-62	18%	13	82%	59	**100**	**72**

Kendal tau b= -0.136 Sig= 0. 323 ; P<0.05

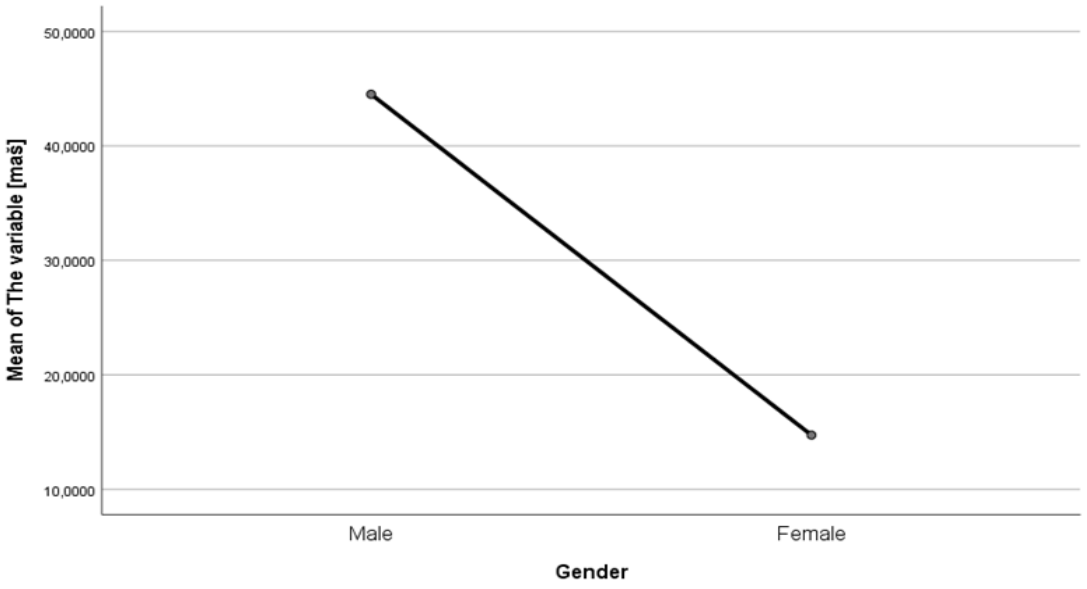
Anova F =0.803; Sig=0.457

Table4.5 The Statistical Distribution of the Negation Variable [ma] Across the Age Groups

Table 4.5 accounts for the percentage rates performed by the three age groups, regarding the use of the variants. Kendall's tau B analysis showed that the age factor had no statistical significance when linked with the negative component, as it communicated (Tau b= -.0136). Anova means variance test conveyed (F =0.803), which signifies that the inter-generational means differences are far from being statistically important.

Although the correlational tests suggest that, there is no evidence of an opposite relationship between informants' age and their accommodation to the bipartite negative pattern. It cannot be neglected that, contrary to the results of the four other variables, in which the middle aged category proved to be leading change in the community, we can notice a downward velocity in the use of this variable with the ongoing age of the speaker. Younger Syrian speakers are onwards in terms of adopting the western feature (ma š), as they performed (36%), despite the marginal disparity between this group and the middle-aged (3%). These rates abate to 18%, in the oldest group. The elderly, indeed, conserved the single negation pattern; even with Algerian words, by way of illustration, one older informant produced the verb ma ʕalabalı, 'I do not know', using the local dialect norms, instead of the bipartite ma ʕlabališ. Indeed, even though the older group, remained in the third position with relation to the convergence rates of the variables, it is remarkable that their percentage of usage of the variant (maš) seems to be the highest among all.

4.6.2The Negation Variable [ma] and Gender



Kendall's tau b=-0.468, sig=0.001, P<0.01

T-test=2.905, sig=0.007;P<0.01

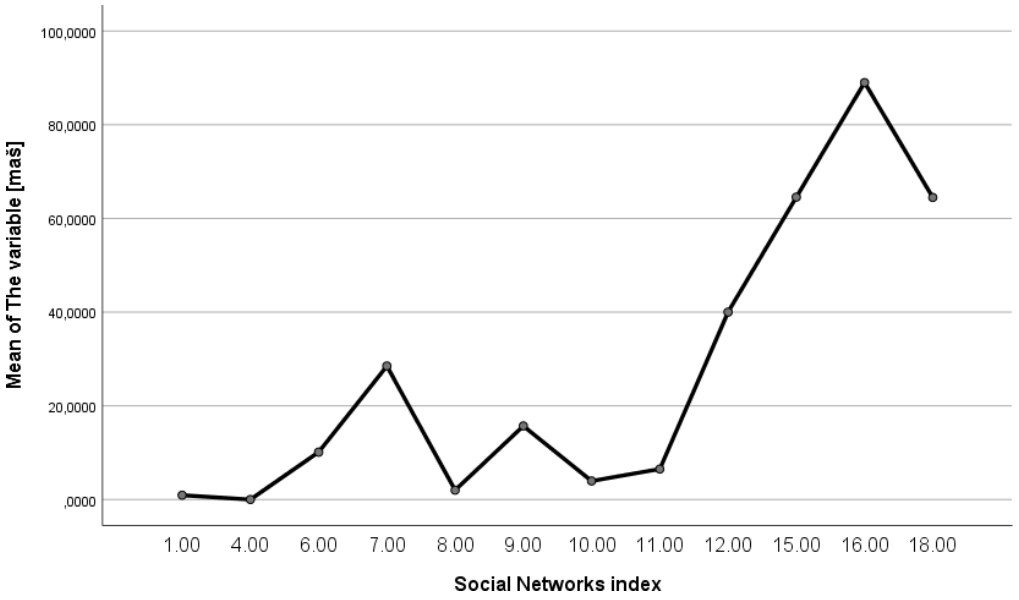
Figure 4.9 Differences in the Use of the Variant [maš] between Males and Females

Gender-related variability proved to be statistically significant concerning this variable. Men are prone to switch, overwhelmingly, towards the use of the bipartite morpheme, in contrast to their female counterparts. The formers employed the bipartite at 44%, while the latter have reported only 15% in use of the novel variant.

Kendall's tau b results coincide with findings, as it gives (Tb=-0,468), while the t-test of variability resulted in(t=2.905). The analyses imply a highly significant correlation between the gender of the participant, and adopting the bipartite negation strategy. Heavy accommodators in the sample were generally men (S01, S02, S06, S07, S017, S019, and S020). Whereas the vast majority of women preserved the local negation feature (ma) at 100%, confirmedly, the best accommodating women in the use of this variant (S08), did not surpass 50% in her convergence rate.

It can be, however, deduced from the percentages, that the bipartite variant, though, used in inferior rates, indicates that it is infiltrating in the women's speech progressively, and in faster rates than other variables.

4.6.3The Negation Variable [ma] and Social Networks



Pearson r= 0.753 P<0.01

Figure4. 10 Informants' use of the Variable [ma] According to their Social Networks

The findings denote a salient positive correlation between the use of the ORSA negation strategy and the daily contacts of the participant. Pearson correlation analysis gives a value of(r= 0.753), which is the highest correlation relative to the other variables. Accordingly, there exist a strong relationship between the independent variable (social networks) and the dependent variable (the negation strategy). Hence, the more the person is integrated into the Algerian society, the more he produces the bipartite morpheme. Demonstratively, informants who proved to be strongly convergent towards this variant (S01, 80%); (S02,83%); (S06, 80%), (S07,100%),

(S015,60%);(S017, 100%), and (S19, 83%) scored between 11 and 18 in the social network scale.

Conversely, informants:(S03,S09,S010,S011,S012,S013,S014,S21,S22,23,24,25,26,27,28,9, 30, 31, 33) who appear to be divergent in the use of the Syrian negative morpheme, and whose convergent rates ranged between 0 to 25%, scored between 1 and 10 points on the network scale. These findings stress the salient role of the social networks in directing the speech patterns of my informants. Surprisingly, the participant (S05) who scored well on the social network scale (15), used the bipartite article at only 5%, whereas (S 11) who did not utter a single token of the bipartite (0%), scored 18 on the network scale.

4.7The Interplay of the Dependent and Independent Variables

Correlations Kendall's tau_b

		The Variable [ma]	The variable [n-]	The Variable [a]	The Variable [g,q]	The Lexical Variable
Age Groups	Correlation Coefficient	-.0136	-0.115	-0.153	-0.222	-0.73
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.323	0.427	0.293	0.121	0.613
	N	34	34	34	34	34

Table 4.6 the Correlations of Age to Linguistic Accommodation

4.7.1.1 Accommodation and Age

As a social factor, Age has certainly proved to be of great significance to sociolinguistic research, as it influences the linguistic choices of individuals in several ways. From its early days, CAT has evolved and broadened to encompass a large set of interactions. It has also been called to dissect an extended array of social groups, among these are; genders, abilities, and generations (Giles, Ogay, 2007). One objective of this study was to uncover the intergenerational differences in the process of accommodation; the table above scrutinises the findings.

Table 4.6 above imparts that the correlation coefficients manifested no age-related patterns of variation across the selected variables. Statistically speaking, the utilisation of the five variables was objectively, distributed across the three age groups. Using a qualitative correlational (Kendall's tau b) accompanied with Anova test of means variance. It has been determined that age divulged no statistically significant correlation, with relation to the use of the variables.

Despite the statistical indifference, we have remarked that there is an age-patterned variation in the use of the variants. The main difference lies between the middle-aged and the older category. As it is mirrored in figure 4.11, the formers appear to be onwards of the three groups in the use of four variables, while the latter have produced the lowest scores in the overall accommodative rates. Findings from this case study contradict the postulations of earlier studies, who regarded the category of the middle aged as being static in their linguistic patterns. According to Eckert (1998), contrary to teenagers who are gaining adult abilities, and elders who are on the verge of losing them, the middle-aged are considered as participating in mature use, doing language rather than learning or losing it (Eckert, 1998).

Although the younger and middle-aged speakers rendered roughly equal proportions, it was shown from the percentages that the younger group is leading change in what concerns the

negation component [ma] .Reasonably, the oldest category arrived to Algeria at a late stage of life, and, thus, would not acquire the supra-local forms as rapidly as the youngest category. Indeed, conservatism is a universal feature of older persons (Eckert, 1998).

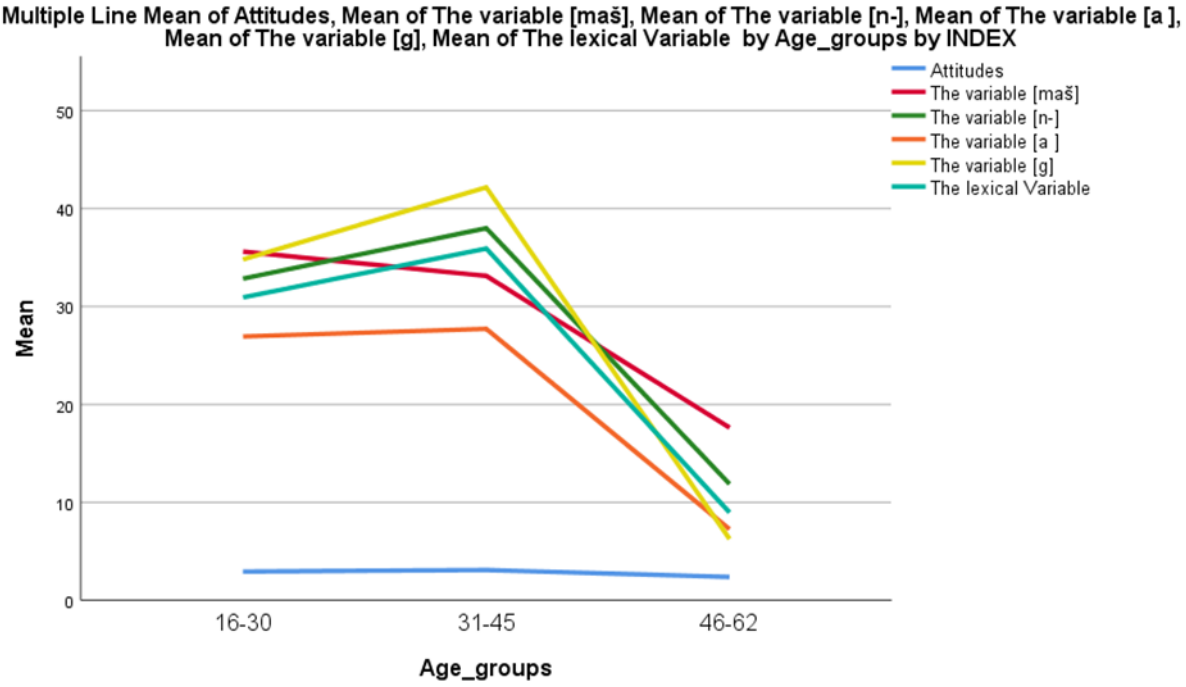


Figure4.11 The Overall Distribution of the Variants according to Age

This group, in fact, showed great resistance to out-groups dialect as they intend to come back to Syria one day and, see they are staying in Algeria as a transitional period of their lives. One of the youngest informants, talking about his late grandfather corroborated this claim where he stated:

lašxaş lekbar aʕmarhom 60 ,70 sene jogoʕdu kıma hakka ma jbadlu kalam el axır jetkalmu surı aktar men ǯazaırı ǯeddı lah yeraħm [ah] twaffa hna gʕad tlet snın jetkallam bass suri ħaţıt fı rasu baɣi ywallı l surıa.

“older people aged between sixty and seventy years old, stay the way they are, they do not change their dialect, these latter speak more Syrian than Algerian. My grandpa, May his soul rests in peace died here, he has stayed here for three years, he used to speak only Syrian

, thinking that he would return to Syria one day.

The oldest category, remarkably, though did not accommodate intensively to the interviewer in using ORSA, produced more instances of standard Arabic, which we surmise is a strategy to convey meaning, without having to change their local dialect, however, the researcher regards their behavior, as another kind of convergence to ensure that the interviewer would understand them. Furthermore, even this conservative category is witnessing slight changes in terms of dialect use, as exhibited in the extract below, some ORSA terms are penetrating the speech of the older speaker, which suggests that even this group is contributing in the process of change.

Extract Fifteen (S030):

ʔanse souad bəddı esʔalek, ʔessafara lʒazaırije fı dımašq daʕet ʒamıʕ lazaırıjın mšen jroħo jdıru ıstıftaa fı 31 ʕašra ʕandek ajja maʕlumet ʕan haza eddustur lʒadıd mnıħ meš mnıh ana ʂıdʔan ma ʕandı ajj maʕlume ma ʕalabalı ıza ken fi maʂl̲aħet lžazaır jaʕnı wallahı mostaɣrıb . ana saʕalet ʒazaırıjjın bezzaf ʕan hada suʔel ħatta fı mınnon ellı ma ʕalabalon ʔennu fi dastur ʒdıd , ma ʕalabalon gæʕ abadan šlon hık walla ma ʕalabalı. ʔaluli ma jhemna sawaʔan dastur ʒdıd aw mu ʒdıd…. naʕam dʒawabuni nafs el dʒaweb kıma ʒawabek ʔentı kıfkıf. Laqad samıʕt el kaɵir mına el vıdjuhet bıxoʂoʂ haða ʔell mawḍuʕ, fı nes muʔajjida w fı nes moʕarıḍa.

„Miss Souad, I want to ask you a question, the Algerian embassy in Damascus, asked the Algerians to go and vote in the elections on October 31st, do you have any information about this constitution, I mean if it is beneficial, I honestly, do not have any information. I do not know, if it is in the interest of all people, I mean, I am surprised, I asked this question to many

Algerians, some even do not know, that there will be a new constitution, they told me we do not care if it is new or no, ….. yes, they answered in the same way you did, I have seen a lot of videos speaking about this subject, they are split into opponents and proponents."

These results coincide with Kherbach's (2018) findings, whose study of the three speech communities, in the village of Beni Hammou, exposed comparable conclusions. Whereas the correlations of the dependent variables to age, did not show any statistical importance, there was a considerable variability in the linguistic scores of BB community with regard to the adoption of the variants [g] and [-i] in favour of the middle-aged (Kherbach, 2018). In opposition to these results, the kind of evidence produced by Fuad Mohammed (2018) portrays a statistically significant correlation of age in intergenerational linguistic differences. Age seemed to be a determining factor lying behind the accommodation of Hia speakers towards the Hit dialect in Baghdad (Iraq).Through a statistical exam, Mohammed validated that younger informants are in the lead of change compared to the middle-aged and the elderly, relative to the use of the variable [q] in the Hia speech community (Mohammed, 2018).

In a more recent research, dealing with accommodation of Syrian refugees to Jordanian Arabic, equivalent results were achieved. As Bader & Bani-Ali (2020), encountered that this category is experiencing a shift in the use of the Bedouin Jordanian [g], as well as the interdentals. Interestingly, they have also found that the middle-aged category of Syrian men was ahead in terms of the ongoing change.

4.7.1.2 Accommodation and Gender

Correlations Kendall's tau_b						
		The Negation Variable [ma]	The Variable [n-]	The variable [a]	The variable [q,g]	The Lexical Variable
Gender Correlations	Correlation Coefficient	-0,468**	-0,665**	-0,367*	-0,403**	-0,619**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,001	0.000	0,017	0,008	0.000
	N	34	34	34	34	34
0.01	** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).					
0.05	* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).					

Table4.7 The Correlations of Gender to Linguistic Accommodation

It is alleged that women's language behavior, differs based on whether or not there is a change in progress, as well as the speaker's age. In stable sociolinguistic contexts, women are prone to adopt a conservative role, and opt for more conservative features. When it comes to linguistic change, males choose regular characteristics, whilst women show preference for novel features (Labov, 1966). It is apparent from the data elicited in table 4.7, that the traditional postulation about women as leaders of change and family breakers, does not hold for the case study under investigation, a drastic resistance, was attested from the part of women, as they have shown to be the most loyal to their local forms. Contrary to age, gender-based variability was shown to be highly statistically significant at $p<=0.01$, in four out of the five distilled variables, namely; lexical accommodation, the particle [n-], the variable [g] , and the use of the negative pattern.

Albeit, the correlation coefficient of the variable [a] has shown to be the lowest, it is still significant at $p<=0.05$, which has been deemed sufficient to account for a positive correlation in previous variationist research. Noticeably, males' percentage rates of this variable proved to be the smallest amongst all. We suggest that this retaining of Imalah, is ascribed to the fact that it is a salient feature of the Middle Eastern dialects in general, and the Syrian dialects in particular, which demands more time and contact to be dropped.

There is no doubt that the males' category of Syrians, is in the first position when it comes to convergence towards ORSA linguistic features. It looks like women's linguistic behavior in this speech community is in compliance, with (Al-Wer, 2014; Ibrahim, 1986; Jawad, 2013) premises, in which they averred that Arab women, like their Western counterparts, have the tendency to cling to the more prestigious norms. Illustratively, the glottal stop (ʔ), just like many urban features, is perceived as a prestigious norm, in the Middle East, as it is often connoted to great urban cities in the Levant, therefore, women very often retain this marker in situations of change (Daher, 1997; Jawad, 2013).

However, women in this case study did not opt for the supra-local regional variety, as Al-wer (2014) postulates, contrarily, Syrian women strongly conserved their local norms. Badr and Bani Ali (2020) reached the same conclusions, with the Syrian women living in Jordan, as the latter were found to be less willing to change their dialects as against their male counterparts.

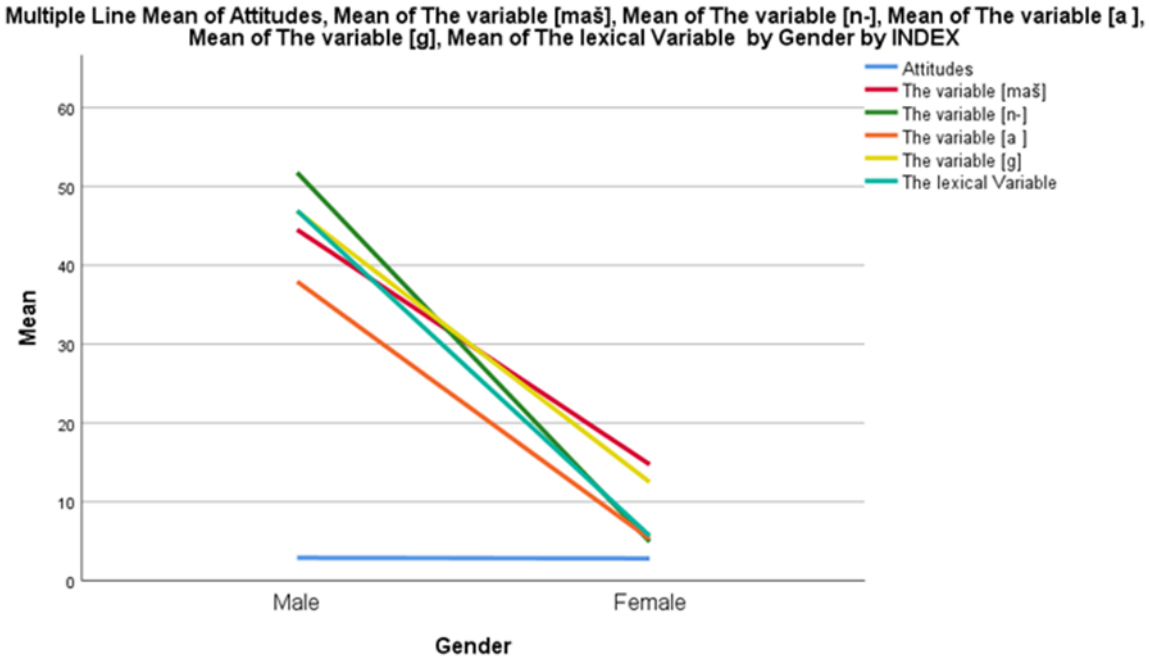


Figure 4.12 the Overall Distribution of the Variants according to Gender

Abdeljawad (2013) posits that it would be very misleading, to draw generalizations about gender-based variability in the Arab-speaking world, without taking into cognizance, the role of women in the community in question, patterns of mobility and jobs, in addition to their social networks. The case of Syrian women in Oran, presents an interesting scenario, indeed, the majority of interviewed female informants displayed eagerness towards speaking ORSA, however, they have mentioned that the convergence of Algerian females towards Syrian Arabic has blocked their learning and speaking endeavours. For instance, a female university student mentioned:

(S011) ʔam ʔellek ana rıfʔatı kılon ʒazaırıjın, bass enu b-jefhamu ʕalena… ana rfiʔtı l'intime tabaʕı musalsalata surıje, metʕawde ʕaleha enu šu ma eltella b-tefham ʕalajı w b-teħkı surı ktır mnıħ mšen hek ma- tʕalamta.

"am telling you that all my friends are Algerians, but they understand very well our dialect, my closest friend watches only Syrian series, so, I am sure that whatever I will tell her she would understand me, and she speaks Syrian very well, that is why I have not learned it".

This woman's answer was repeated in the majority of my female interviewees. This we believe stems from the Syrian television industry, which enhanced the geographical diffusion of the Syrian dialects in the Arab world through series such as "Beb el ħara", which penetrated the Algerians‟ houses or Turkish series dubbed in Damascene Arabic. The case of Syrian females, hence, corroborates the claim of Hachimi (2013) on the communicative burden falling frequently, on the western speakers.

Nonetheless, some non-accommodating women also mentioned that they would use the ORSA with the grocer, the pharmacist, or the taxi driver, which suggests that the interview would have yielded different results if the interviewer were a male speaker.

Although, Abdeljawad (2013) postulates that, urban dialects' speakers rarely accommodate towards Bedouin dialects, the situation of Syrian males implies the reverse. Male speakers, and based on the percentage rates of their use of the different variables, displayed high malleability towards the use of the bedouinized variety of Oran. Furthermore, Arabic scholarly tradition (Al- wer,2014) premises that Arab men were found tovalue their local norms, in situations of dialect contact. The Syrians' male category in Oran nullify this claim, as they were found to be in the van of change in this situation.

4.7.1.3 Accommodation and Social Networks

Correlations						
		The Negation Variable [ma]	The variable [n-]	The variable[a]	The variable [g,q]	The Lexical Variable
Social Networks	Pearson Correlation	**0,753****	**0,607****	**0,614****	**0,689****	**0,685****
	Sig. (2-tailed)	**0.000**	**0.000**	**0.000**	**0.000**	**0.000**
	N	**34**	**34**	**34**	**34**	**34**
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). 0.01						
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). 0.05						

Table 4.8 the Correlations of Social Networks to Accommodation

As already hinted to in the bivariate analyses, social networks turned out to be critical, when correlated with the individuals' accommodative scores. For all the variables, the social network connections to linguistic accommodation have generated higher statistically significant correlations at p<=0.01. Moreover, the social networks' correlations provided superior results

than gender and age liaisons. The analytical results have also proffered insights, on the nature and the degree of interaction to each variable, the negative bipartite has shown to have the strongest correlations to the social networks of speakers(P=0,753**). The Bedouin marker comes in the second position (P=0,689**), followed by lexical accommodation (P=0,685**), and inclination (P=0,614**), while the lowest correlation stems from the morpho-syntactic pattern [n-](P=0,607**). Overall, results go in the direction we have expected, informants with more Oranees ties in the work, friendship, and leisure time networks performed higher rates of convergence. We suggest however that the friendship, and work networks seem to exert greater influence than leisure time networks, as the informants mentioned that they still meet their Syrian friends in their free time.

Confirmedly, one of the heavy accommodators, S(17) a water driller, who is a middle-aged male, and who scored intensively in the five discussed variables, has mentioned during the interview that his friendship network is composed chiefly of Oranees ties :

ʕandı ɣı ṣħab ʒazajrıjın, essurijın ma ndaxalhomš fı hjatı, weld bladek ma jəbɣılekš lxır

I have only Algerian friends, I do not enter Syrians in my life, your countryman does not wish you well.

(S16) on the other hand declared overtly that he is not, really integrated into the Algerian society when asked about the reasons behind his maintenance of the dialect, this last works as an accountant in a big Syrian restaurant in Oran, and is tied to many Syrian links:

“mannı mxalet ktır ʕalam aw laʔennı ana blaʔı lħakı essuri ashal ,fı ʕandı šħabi b-jeħku ʒazaırı ma b-etfarʔı fı ʕalam taxod lahje directe”.

I am not in constant contact with many people or because I find Syrian Arabic easier, I have some friends though, who speak Algerian Arabic to the extent that you do not differentiate between them Algerians, and some people easily pick up the dialect”

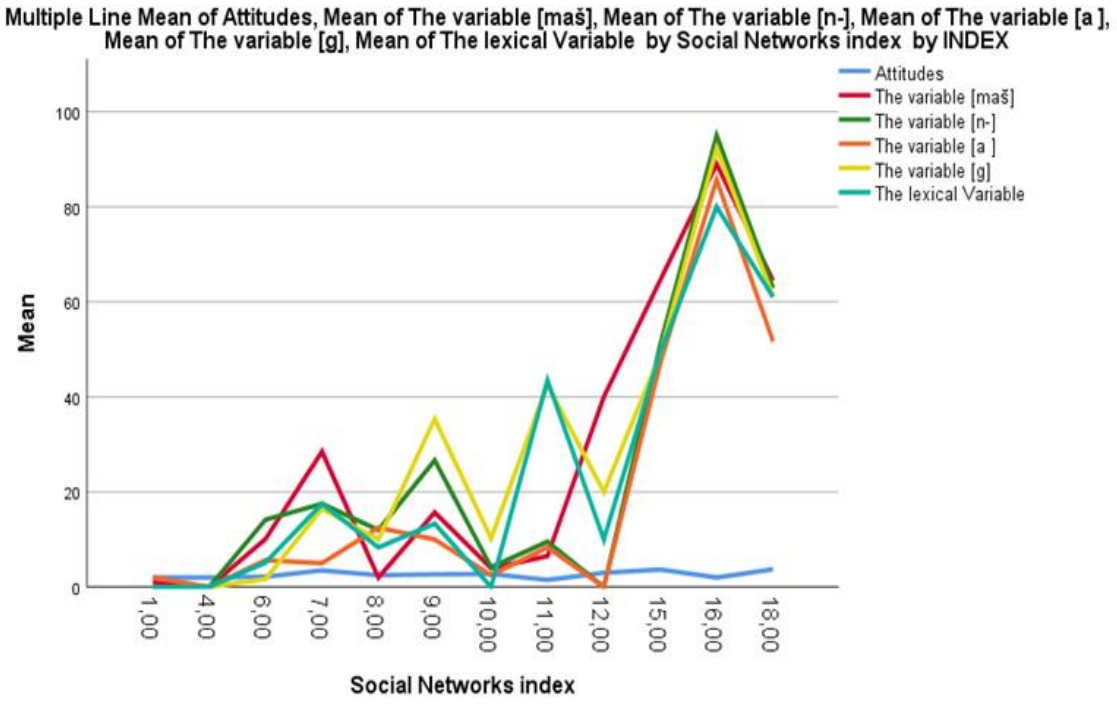


Figure 4.13 the Overall Distribution of the Variants according to the Social Networks Scores

It is necessary to notice, however, that several parameters intervene apropos of the social networks. These refugees are not granted any residential papers. Instead, the Algerian government, only prolong their visas every two months, based on the informants' sayings. Accordingly, these refugees are not allowed to own any property in their names, a thing that compels every Syrian to account for an Algerian counterpart, to register any property he wants to, in the name of this last. Several informants mentioned that their cars and shops were registered in the name of an Algerian person. While this, clearly demands a strong relationship and trust between the two. We surmise that these conditions established the ground for more integration in Algerian networks.

These results are consistent with former studies in the Arabic-speaking communities (Al Essa, 2009; Mohammed, 2018). Mohammed (2018), explored the effects of the daily contacts,on the qiltu speakers' accommodation to the gilit dialect in Iraq. Based on a social network index of 21 points, Mohammed concluded that the correlations of social networks to three of the gilit

variables, he inquired, were of great statistical significance. Nevertheless, he discovered that the use of the [tš] did not render a positive correlation to the social networks indices; this is ascribed, according to the researcher, to the stigmatization of this variable, which demands strong network ties to be adopted. Furthermore, through a multi regression test, he exposed that the friendship network is at the top of the pyramid in terms of shaping the linguistic practices of the qiltu speech community, as it correlated positively with all the gilit variants (Mohammed, 2018).

4.8 Attitudes and Inter-Dialectal Accommodation

The Corellations of Attitudes to Linguistic Accommodat Ion	Correlation Coefficient	0,414**	0,296*	0,287*	0,358*	0,248
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,002	0,036	0,044	0,01	0,077
	N حجم العينة	34	34	34	34	34

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). 0.01
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). 0.05

Table 4.9. Correlations of Linguistic Accommodation to Attitudes' scores

A major contribution to variationist sociolinguistics has been the integration of psychology into language research. Previous studies on Arabic-speaking communities (Chakrani, 2015, S'hiri,2013,) have revealed, that attitudes play a salient role in dictating the accommodative strategies(convergence, divergence), in inter-dialectal encounters. Hence, in this section, we aim to provide an account of the impact of attitudes on the process of accommodation of Syrian refugees. To assess the informants' attitudes, the researcher pursued the same methodology of the network scale; speakers were assigned with a point ranging from 0 to 9. Based on their attitudes'scores, the participants were categorized as having: negative, moderate, positive, and very positive attitudes. These scores were further correlated with the rates of accommodation via the use of statistical measures. The discussion proceeds through a multi-variate analysis of the findings, thus, correlations concerning all the variables are presented, and discussed at once.

The overall analysis has shown that attitudes intervened, though, inconsistently in the ac Remarkably, the correlation between the attitudes scores and lexical accommodation seem to bear no statistical significance. We suppose that this statistical insignificance is reasonable, as lexical categories are easily infiltrated in the linguistic system of speakers in opposition to other grammatical, or phonological categories(AbdelJawad, 2013), due to the frequent and heavy

exposure to the dialect, we suppose that speakers might produce instances of lexical accommodation, regardless of the attitudinal factor. Nevertheless, as it is unveiled on the chart below, informants with very positive attitudes towards ORSA and its speakers, accommodated towards it, at a rate of (64 %), which entails that attitudes continue to control the use of this variable, in spite of this statistical insignificance. commodative processes of the informants, regarding four of the selected variables. in spite of this statistical insignificance.

Contrarily, the correlations related to the variable [a], the variable [g,q], and the variable [n-] yielded a statistical significance at p<=0.05, which signifies that there exists a strong positive inverse relationship between the use of these variables and the positive attitudes of the informants towards ORSA, and its speakers. Interestingly, the highest correlation coefficient stems from the negative pattern [ma š], apropos of the latter, the correlation was strongly significant at p<=0.01. A salient observation is that speakers from the moderate attitude group outpointed informants in the positive group in the use of four variants. Regarding the variable [a], it was attested in the group having very positive attitudes at a rate of (56, 24 %), whereas speakers holding negative attitudes towards the dialect did not utter a single token of the variant (0%). Surprisingly, speakers with 'positive' attitudes fall down (4,58%) compared to the group of 'moderate' attitudes speakers (21,03%). Attitudes-related differences in the use of the variant (g) also yielded interesting results. Unexpectedly, informants in the 'moderate' group excelled in accommodating towards the (g) at a rate of (24%), in opposition to speakers in the 'positive' group (15%), however, these percentages jumped to (63%) in the 'very positive' group.

Similar patterns were found with the variant (n-), as 'moderate' group speakers surpassed the positive group, while the group of informants holding very positive attitudes generated a percentage of (66 %). Some consistent results stem from the use of the negative component (maš), as the use of this variant raised from 3% within the 'negative' group towards (65%) in the group of informants displaying very positive attitudes.

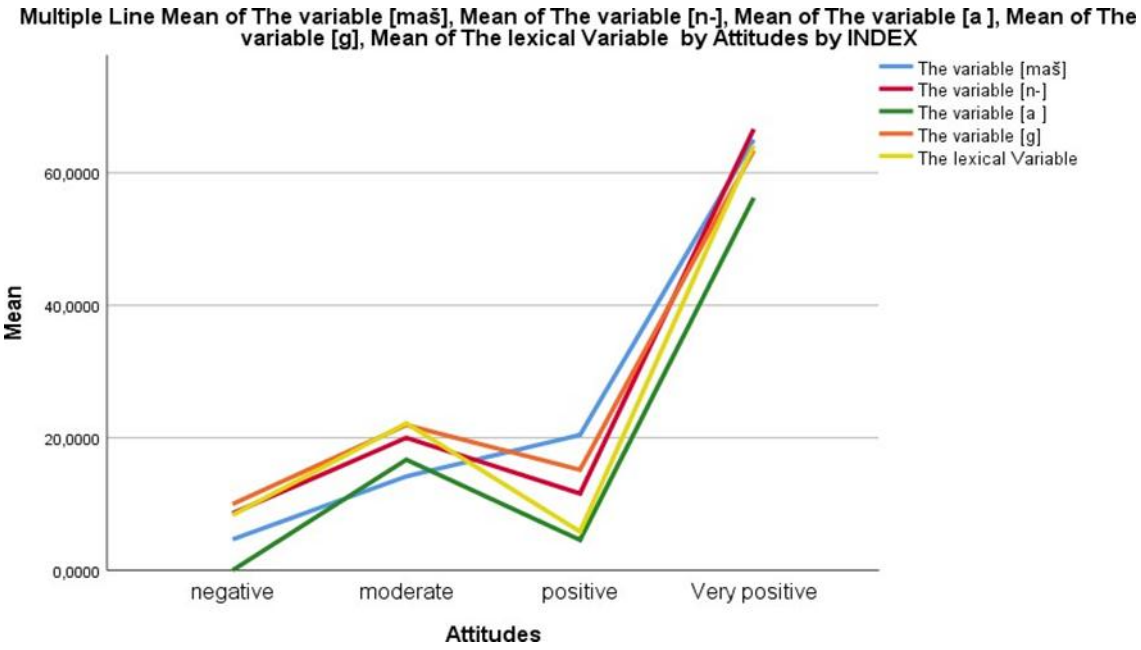


Figure 4.14 Correlations of Linguistic Accommodation to Attitudes' Scores

The analysis was supplemented with Anova means variance test, which resulted in: (F= 11.373) for lexical accommodation (F=8.121), for the imperfective variable [n-]; (F=10.34), for the variable [a], (F=7.071);for the variable [q]; and (F=9.727), for the negation variable [ma š]. This signals, that there are statistically significant means differences, in favour of the attribute very positive at sig = $p<0.01$.

Said differently, attitudes seem to be a decisive factor speaking of accommodation towards ORSA. These results are harmonious with the kind of evidence provided by Boukhechba (2018), who uncovered that positive attitudes towards the substitution of the standard variant ɣ to q, are the main driving force for language change in El Menia. Furthermore, the language attitudes that were conveyed in the interviews, informed the linguistic practices of the majority of informants. Interestingly enough, even informants with limited convergence rates depicted favourable attitudes towards the dialect and the people likewise, related excerpts are presented below:

Extract Sixteen S(09) :

šaʕb bəzzaf parceque ʕando ţıbet el ʔaleb b-jheb lxır w ʕando tawaḍoʕ kı tfutı ʕal mudır tabaʕħom təlqih mutawaḍıʕ ana f surıa kı tfutı ʕa dajra ħokumıje , lmudır majahderš mʕak w ma jqajmekš gəʕ.

People, yes, a lot because, there are tenderous, they wish well to others, and they are modest, even if you speak to a superior, you find that he is modest, in Syria, when you enter into a government department, the director does not speak to you, he does not even pay heed.

(S10)mən xilal dırasti belʒamʕa b-efhamha mnıħ bass lıssa saʕbe eħkıja b šakl 3adı maa ennu b-teʕʒebni b-etmanna etqenha.

“Thanks to my university studies, I understand it very well(ORSA), but cannot speak it fluently until now , Although I like it and wish I could master it”.

(S013)ma b-erʒaʕ laʔennı moqıma men zaman tʕawadet ʕal ʒazaʔer w b-eħsob el jazaʔer baladı ttanı w mustaħıl etlaʕ meno.

“I will never come back to Syria because I have been here for a long time, I got used to Algeria and consider it as my second country”

(S011)

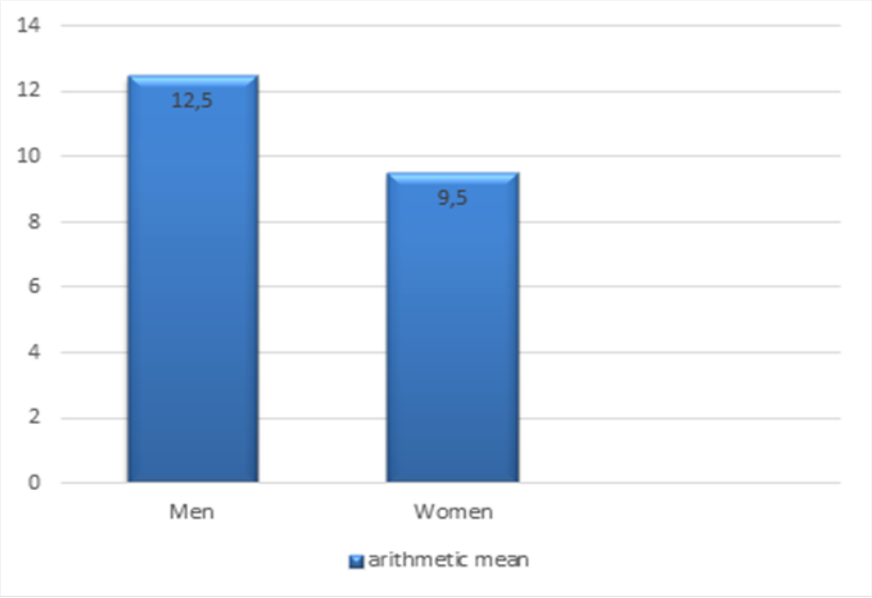
b- etħessıha ratbe lahʒetkon, w ħatta šaʕeb ţajıb w ma ʕando ʕonsorıje abadan, xaʂʂsatan hon bı wahran , wahran ɣır ʕan el wilajet tanje. jemken leʔanu fı ktır sijaħa w metʕawdın ʕal ɣarıb.

“You feel your dialect is wise, and even people are kind and are never racists, especially here in Oran, Oran is different than the other provinces, maybe because there is some tourism here, so people are used to strangers.

4.9 The Interplay of the Independent Variables

In the previous section, we sought to examine the correlations of the independent (social) and dependent variables (linguistic), the results can be subsumed under three main points. Social networks were found to be highly significant in the use of all the variables; indeed, they proved to be ahead of the other variables (gender, age, and attitudes). Gender comes in the second position in terms of impact, while age did not manifest a significant correlation to the majority of the variables. The Attitudinal factor seemed to have a significant correlation to four of the studied variables. In this section, however, we attempt to shed light on the interaction of the independent variables, with the intention of uncovering their correlations to the linguistic practices of the informants, in an effort to provide a thorough account of the accommodative moves of Syrian refugees.

4.9.1 Social Networks and Gender



TB= -0,239; P <= 0.05

T-test= 1.798 ; P <= 0.05

Figure 4.15 Means of Social Networks Scores across Men and Women

It makes sense that both males and females are integrated into the Algerian society, yet to varying degrees. Albeit, men outscored women in the linguistic scores, their network scores' differences, did not yield any statistical significance, Kendall's tau b test gave a value of (Tb= -0,239) at a probability value of (P <= 0.05). The independent t-test also provided an insignificant correlation (T-test= 1.798; P <= 0.05), which signifies, that there are no network-based differences across male and female informants.

Nevertheless, as portrayed on the graph above, there is a blurred distinction, in the arithmetic means in favour of men. Milroy (1987) contends that other network parameters may be of the same salience of the network structure, among these, she mentions, the numerical aspect of the networks. Logically, men within this speech community are constantly in a more intensive contact with the host community. As the majority of Syrian women are housewives.

Further, the numerical size of the males 'networks, consist of higher numbers of Algerian ties than females', the average number of women's contacts, was 5 maximum Algerian contacts, while the males' equaled or surpassed 20. Mohammed's (2018) survey exhibited equivalent conclusions, as gender effect on the social network scores proved to be insignificant with a means of (9.1) for males, and (9.3) for female informants in the highly integrated group, he uncovered that accommodation towards the gilit dialect in Baghdad was from being ascribed to gender differences in the networks .

This overall statistical insignificance relates to the postulations we have made in the previous section. We have noted that Syrian women displayed a divergent mode during the interviews. Despite their integration and closeness to Algerians, they tended to conserve their local features more than men did. The great majority of women mentioned that they had strong ties to women from Oran through the neighbourhood, friendship, or work, whereas, they reported

that their female Oraneed friends would accommodate to their local dialect very often during their encounters, which explains according to them, their unlearning of the dialect.

(S025):

……Wallahı ʂarlı ʕašr snın hon , ma tʕallamt eħkı ʒazaerı, m xalta waħde w b teħkı surı, ndemet leʔnnu ʕawwadetnı teħkı surı.

“In the Name of God, I have been here for ten years and have not learned the Algerian dialect, I have one Algerian friend who speaks Syrian, I regret getting used to the fact that she speaks Syrian.

4.9.2 Social Networks and Age

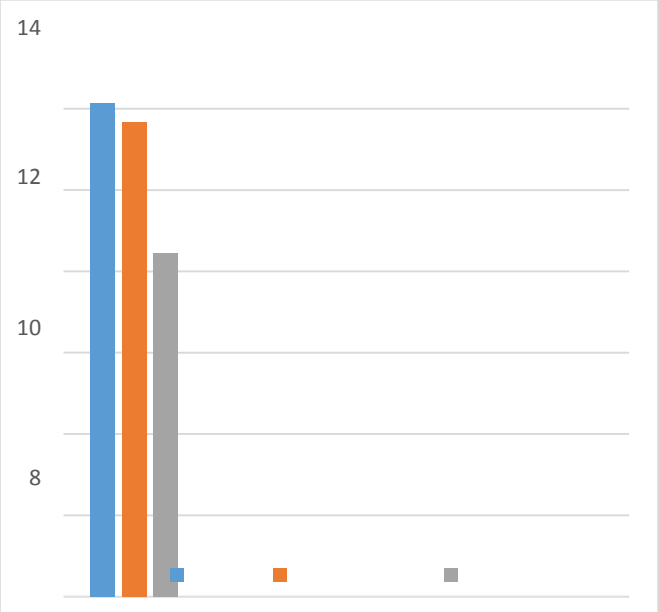


Figure 4.16 Means of the Network Scores across the Three Age Groups

As it is clearly depicted on the graph, the social network means of the younger and middle-aged groups did not expose a large difference (1 point). However, the older group means tend to be lesser than the other two groups, with an interval of four points. The younger group scores ranged between (06 – 18), the middle-aged scored between (9-18), whereas the majority

of the older group's social network scores ranged from (4 to 8) points, which shows a clear decline in the degree of integration as the age of informants surpasses 46. Nevertheless, these disparities were not statistically meaningful, as the correlations of age and social networks did not disclose a significant relationship, Kendall's tau be generated a value of (tb = -0.244) at a probability significance of p= <0.05. Similarly, the Anova test of means equality resulted in F= 1.617; p=<0.05. It appeared, however, that the younger and middle-aged generation are better-integrated within the Algerian society than the older group.

Even though the older group constituted the smallest category in terms of the number of informants, some observations have been made, about this group concerning their networks. Regarding, Syrian males, all of the four elderly seemed to be bosses, owners of restaurants and clothing stores in Oran. Hence, they were not in direct contact with the clients. Moreover, they mentioned that almost all the employees they hired were of Syrian origin, given the fact that the restaurants themselves are specialized in Syrian food, some have also stated that they could manage their businesses from their homes. (S029), who is a marketing coach and an owner of many restaurants, said that he has spent three years monitoring his business online:

(S029) Ana waḍʕı muxtalıf, ana ḍallıt talat snın taqrıban dır ʕamalı men el manzıl.

Furthermore, the same informant mentioned that even after he got in contact with the Algerians, his status as a marketing coach would compel his trainees to mimic his style, personality, and language, which suggests that even when exposed to the supra-local variety, the older informants are prone to retaining their local norms. Furthermore, older informants, especially males, have shown preferences for the Syrian ties, participants have also signaled that their friendship and leisure time networks are mainly composed of Syrians, as they very often meet in the evening for a coffee, hence, they are in regular contact with their Syrian friends living in Oran.

On the other hand, two older women's scores have shown distinct patterns. Despite their age, their social network scores were higher, due to their occupational type. S32, a hairdresser whose network consists chiefly of Algerian ties, and S034 a teacher of Arabic, who has developed many Oranees ties throughout the remedial courses she is engaged in. Hence, the type of occupation these women execute, led to their integration into the Algerian society. However, these two exceptions do not allow for any generalisations to be made, and do not negate that the higher the age of the speaker, the fewer Oranees ties he forms.

4.9.3 Social Networks and Attitudes

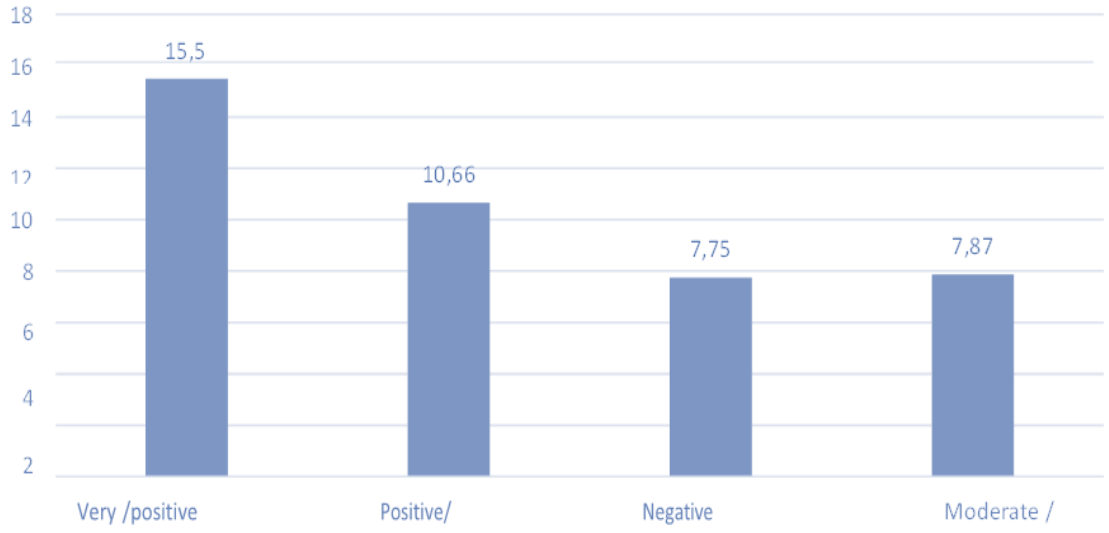


Figure 4.17 Means of the Social Networks Scores according to the informants' Attitudes

Evidence from this graph suggests that there is a strong link between the attitudes of the speakers and their integration into the host community. The means of networks scores of speakers depicting very positive attitudes revolve around (15.5), which drops to 10.66 within the group having positive attitude.

Moderate attitudes informants come in the third position with a mean of 7.87, and finally it declines to 7.75 for speakers holding negative attitudes towards ORSA. The majority of

informants displaying very positive attitudes scored between 15 and 18 on the 26-point scale. The correlation test provided a coefficient of (TB= 0.479), at a probability of (P =0.01), which insinuates a highly significant correlation. This corroborates that positive attitudes towards ORSA, go hand in hand with a high network score, and therefore a deep integration. ANOVA test also yielded a positive result (F=6392). The findings suggest that the more positive attitudes a speaker render towards the Oranees and their dialect, the more networks he would develop. By the same tokens, the more integrated the person is in the Algerian networks, the more favourable attitudes he displays. Illustratively, a female speaker with negative attitudes mentioned:

“ana ma b-ħeb el moxalaṭa , ma :ni mxalta la surijin wala ʒazaʔirijin, ʕandi ʔemmi ʕajše ʔarib menni b-ruħ b-zurha ɣer hik mani mxalta ħadan.”

I do not like mixing with others , am neither tied to Syrians nor Algerians, i have a mother , who lives near, i just go to see her, apart from that I do not mix with others.

4.9.4 Attitudes and Gender

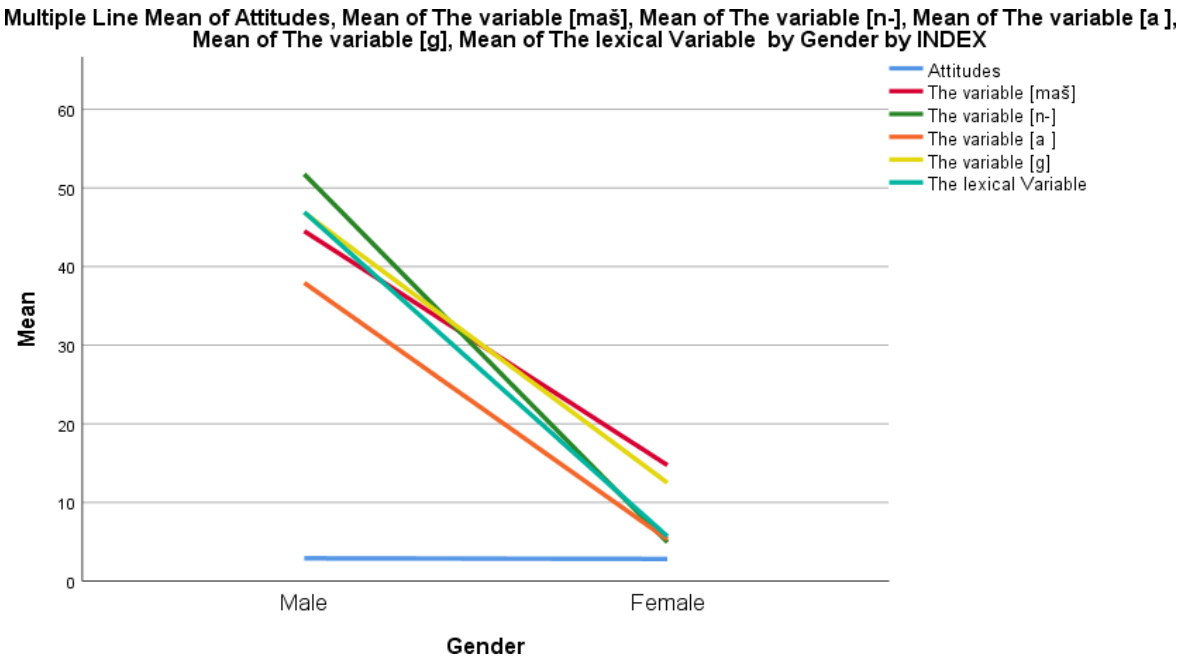


Figure4.18 Correlations of Attitudes to Gender

Gender differences with regard to attitudes rendered no statistical difference. Spearman's ho correlation test gives a value of (r=-0.056, sig =0.751) which alludes to the fact that there are no gender-based disparities in terms of Attitudes of the Syrian community towards the dialect of ORSA, and its speakers. Higher scores on the attitudinal scale belonged to the two gender categories; by the same token, lower scorers included both males and females. Overall, both Syrian men and women exhibited positive attitudes towards the dialect and the people of Oran. By way of illustration,(S09), a young female participant stated during the interview that she is so attached to Oran, that she never thinks of leaving it.

4.9.5 Attitudes and Age

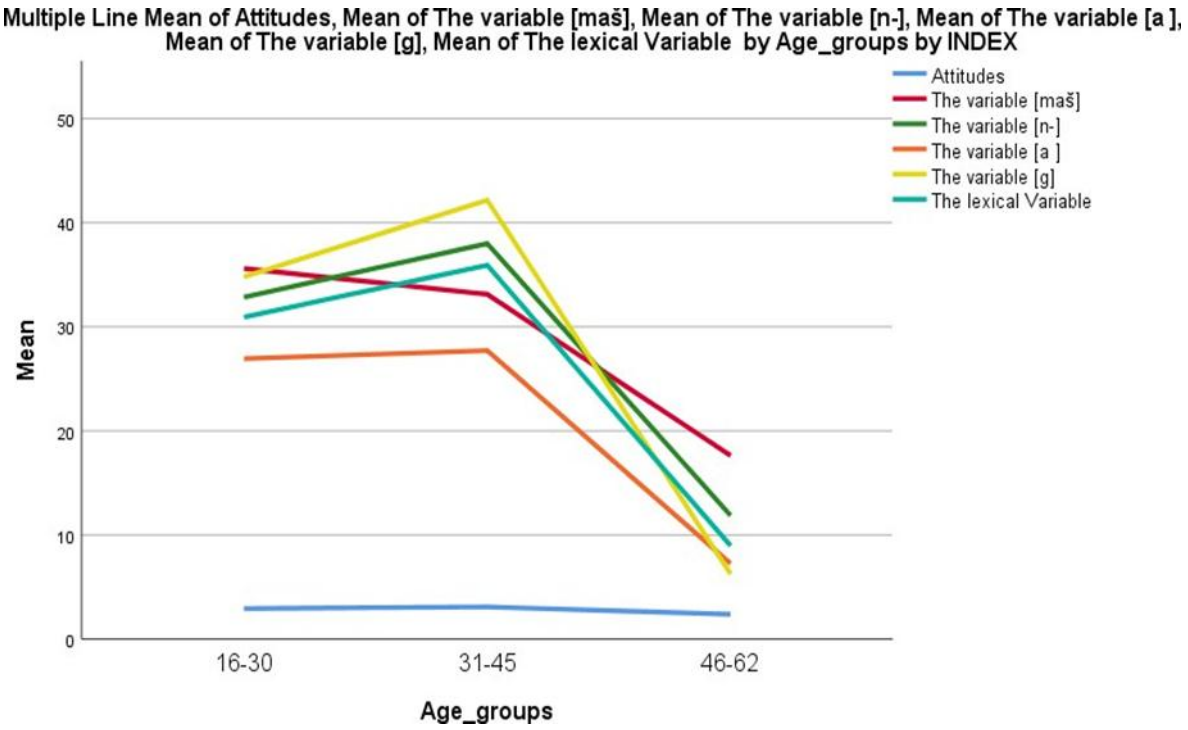


Figure 4.19 Correlations of Age to Attitudes.

Regarding the correlations of attitudes to the age of informants, Kendall's tau be provided an insignificant value of (Tb= -0.234), while the significance value is P< 0.183, at probability of which signals that age has not a statistically important impact on the speakers' attitudes. Nonetheless, as shown in the figure, the attitudinal scores abate within the group of elderly.

Older participants, although, displayed roughly, positive attitudes towards ORSA, rendered greater positive attitudes towards their own dialects and country, these people, indeed, exhibited a great sense of national identity, and live on the hope that they return to Syria one day. Furthermore, even within speakers of the same age group, attitudinal differences became apparent during the interviews.

Whereas (S03), who is a younger speaker, relished talking about the Syrian dialect, about Syria as a country, and Syrians in general, he has overtly expressed negative attitudes towards the Oranees youth and accused them of being irresponsible. S06 who belong to the same generation, on the other hand, displayed very positive attitudes towards the people of Oran, and ORSA, saying that he prefers it to the other Algerian dialects.

4.10 Conclusion

In this final chapter, the researcher aimed to spread out the findings of this research, It started by presenting a bivariate analysis of the variables, the results of every variant were discussed separately, and so their correlations to the independent variables of age, gender, and social networks.

Afterwards, a multivariate analysis of the overall distribution of the variables was performed, using charts and tables. Finally, given the salience of social networks, a discussion of the latter and their interplay with the other independent variables was highlighted. It was found that the inter-dialectal accommodation of the Syrian refugees in Oran is patterned by gender, attitudes of the speaker, and their social networks. Nevertheless, age did not prove to be of paramount importance in the process of accommodation.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

This project is part of variationist sociolinguistics research. As studies of Arabic dialects, their variability, and the different social attributes attached to them, are somehow scarce. The researcher endeavoured to provide an account of the process of inter-dialectal accommodation, between two dialects symbolising the larger geo-linguistic disparity in the Arab world, namely, Syrian Arabic, as a representative of the dialects of the Levant, the Middle East, and Oran spoken Arabic, which stands for the Bedouin dialects of Northern Africa, that is the western dialects of Arabic.

This research departed from a premise triggered by earlier surveys on linguistic accommodation across the Arabic-speaking communities. A growing consensus among them is that during Eastern/ Western Arabic inter-dialectal encounters, the communicative burden is very often borne by western speakers, due to some attitudinal factors, these middle easterners seem to hold towards the dialects of the Maghreb (Hachimi, 2013). Some empirical evidence provided by Chakrani (2015), and S'hiri (2003) backed up such constellations. These researchers dissected the linguistic behaviors of Arabic speakers in Arabic inter-dialectal encounters in Europe and the US. Their results were identical, and validated the postulations of the Mashreq Maghreb ideology. The Algerian dialects, however, to the best of the author's knowledge, were not addressed, in any case of the accommodation studies, involving geographically and politically distinct dialects. Mindful of this, this project intended to provide evidence from the Algerian context in order to put it in comparison with studies dealing with the same phenomena

The ultimate goal of the current research, hence, was undeniably to proffer answers to several research questions; prime among these is to inquire about the degree of convergence and divergence exhibited by the Syrian community in Oran. For this purpose, the researcher has selected a set of linguistic variables, which are indexical of both dialect groups, in this case; lexical accommodation; the phonological variables; the variable [q], the variable [a]; the imperfective [n-], and the negative pattern [ma].

General Conclusion

Data was gathered by means of a semi-structured interview, which was designed to assess the utilisation of the appointed variables, as well as to distill the speakers' attitudes. This interview was afterwards, audiotaped and transcribed, before proceeding into the tokens' counting process. The fieldworker has meanwhile employed an online questionnaire that was elaborated to filter the degree of social network integration of the speakers. This last took the form of a scale, the fieldworker pursued the same methodology adopted by previous language research directed to render the effects of social networks (Milroy, 1987; Mohammed, 2018).

After gauging the variables' usage, a statistical correlation analysis was performed, in order to scrutinize the effects of the independent variables, in this instance; Age, Gender, Attitudes and Social Networks, on the process of inter-dialectal accommodation. Prior studies applying equivalent correlational analyses, interpreted their results based a significance value of P<=0.05.This value has been deemed sufficient to account for variability in sociolinguistic research. Hence, it was taken as a reference point for this study likewise.

In the pursuit for systematism, the first chapter was portioned into two parts, the first part embarked on elucidating the effects of mobility and migration on dialect contact, before providing a thorough account of the theory that guided the present project, in this case, communication accommodation theory. The author strived to cover the existing literature on the subject matter, from its early days, by referring to the outstanding empirical studies. Whereas, the second part was assigned to the theory of social networks. It started with a definition of the concept and its adoption to social sciences, before addressing the application of the theory to linguistic research, the chapter closed with gaining insights on the different contributions to the theory. It turned out, however, that social network studies in language change seem to be very limited, thus, the present work endeavored to fill a gap in the theory, for the purpose of comparison with other findings in different contact settings.

General Conclusion

The third chapter formed the methodological phase of this work; it attempted to narrate fully, the procedures of data collection and analysis, with special reference to the demographical information of the informants. After that, the chapter switched to a detailed description of the selected linguistic and social variables, and their distribution across the Arabic dialects, followed by a chapters' conclusion.

The last chapter was devoted to a discussion of the main research results, achieved via the data analysis, it initiated with a bivariate analysis of the variables, in this sense, each variable was treated separately, and meanwhile, the scrutiny of each variable was supplemented with concrete examples elicited from the interview, to provide a clear picture of the accommodative processes. Finally, the chapter ended with multivariate analysis to dissect the significance of the correlation means, before examining the interplay of the different independent variables.

Findings tend to refute the conjunctures of the Mashreq Maghreb concerning enter-dialectal encounters, for it was inferred from the analyses that the accommodative instances were borne by the Syrian refugees, with some exceptions related to women. The overall analysis revealed that the Syrian community converged alterably, along with the five variables. The means of the utilisation of the variables, in descending order, are:

- The phonological variable [g,q](30.68)

- The Syntactic Variable [maš](30.49)

- The Morphological Variable [n-](29.72)

- The Lexical Variable (27,51)

General Conclusion

- The Phonological Variable [a](22.58)

The phonological Bedouin variable is onwards in the variables' hierarchy, this we suggest is attributed to the salience (Trudgill, 1986) of the phonological variable [g,q], as a social marker of ORSA. An important observation is that the convergence rates of both the syntactic and the morph-syntactic variables, outscored the lexical variable in this study, while the variationist scholarly tradition presumes that lexicon is the first area to be affected before any morph-syntactic and syntactic features infiltrate the speech of individuals in situations of contact (Miller, 2005; Trudgill, 1986).

Furthermore, the results seem to support the tenets of the social network theory (Milroy, 1987), as these latter appeared to be statistically significant, when correlated to the set of the recruited variables, the accommodation rates were largely dependent of the type of contacts a speaker was involved in. Speakers with more close-knit Syrian ties, disclosed conservative and divergent moves, whereas, those better integrated in Algerian ties, rendered interesting convergent acts. Although empirical research involving social networks is somehow scanty in the Arab-speaking world, similar conclusions were reached in previous studies (Mohammed, 2018).

The Age of the informants did not appear to have a significant statistical correlation with the degree of convergence and divergence, however, a major observation was that the middle-aged category surpassed the other categories in accommodating towards the western dialect. These results are in compliance with other researches on dialectal accommodation (Bader & Bani-Ali, 2020; Kherbache, 2017).

Similar to previous studies targeting the difference between males and females in language use, gender disparities yielded significant correlations to the linguistic behavior of Syrians .Women, however, did not appear to be innovative in this case study, they were rather

found to be rather lower scorers, compared to their male counterparts. Thus, this research confirmed the Arabic variationist postulation, which posits that Arab women are prone to adopting more prestigious linguistic forms (Al-Wer, 2014; Daher,1997), nevertheless, it refuted the claim of women's preference for the supra-local norms. Men speakers, on the other hand, demonstrated high paces of accommodation towards ORSA. parallel research conducted by Bader and Bani Ali (2020), on the same community of Syrians in Jordan proffered identical conclusions, as women seemed to lag behind in the process of accommodation towards the Jordanian dialect. These findings also overlap with Hachimi's (2007) study, in which she uncovered that Fessi men are ahead of the change towards Casablanca Arabic.

Finally, it was inferred from earlier sociolinguistic studies, that the psychological factor plays a determinant role in shaping the linguistic practices of speakers, in many contact settings. The present dialect contact situation vindicates this claim, as the attitudinal scores turned out to be of paramount importance in dictating the norms of the conversation. It has been presumed that short-term accommodative moves, may well transform into permanent features of speakers, providing that positive attitudes towards the dialect be found (Trudgill, 1986). Based on the higher rates attested, especially in the Syrian males' speech, it is safe to state that, we anticipate an ongoing case of dialect levelling within this community.

Although it is early for such a conclusion to be made, we support Auer and Hinskens' (2005) postulations that short-term accommodation as a first stage does not neatly lead to change, however, under the dynamics of social networks, long term accommodation pertains and therefore change.

General Conclusion

Short Comings and Recommendations

This study was challenged by the small size of the sample. Although 34 participants aided the researcher to draw conclusions about the patterns of accommodation among the Syrian speech community, the researcher believes that a sample of more participants with equal numbers in each cell would have yielded results that are more consistent. The design of the interview has certainly allowed the researcher to examine the accommodative moves of speakers, nevertheless, the interviews' portions, altered especially women's, which were shorter than others. This resulted in small numbers of tokens; hence, it is recommended that future research on accommodation ensure balanced interviews to get more robust comparisons. As many accommodation researchers relied on two fieldworkers, we suppose that duplicating this research by a male researcher would result in more insightful results.

The period of coronavirus pandemic inhibited the researcher from face-to-face contact with the participants, which resulted in an unwillingness from the participants to cooperate in the research, therefore, we suggest that direct contact with the informants would enhance more trust in the interviewee more than contact in the virtual world. Further, as the social contacts of persons seem to be a red line, it is preferable for any researcher aiming at dissecting social networks' effects, to rely on the friend of a friend method to gain the informants' credence.

Albeit this research examined a set of indexical variables, of both the eastern and western dialects, other patterns of accommodation, involving other unstudied variables emerged during the interviews, such as the adoption of French words, convergence towards the [h] in verbs like ḍṛabtah instead of the Syrian ḍarabtu. Thus, we suppose these variables can be further dissected in this speech community. Besides, as this study emphasized the role of social networks, we suggest that future research focuses on other social factors such as identity.

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Appendices

Appendices

Appendix A : The Online Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of a sociolinguistic study, prepared by a doctoral student at Oran 2 University Mohamed Ben Ahmed, taking as a sample the Syrian community residing in Oran. We tend to inform you that these information will be used for scientific research purposes, taking into account anonymity. Please tick (✓) near the suitable answer, Thank you for your cooperation.

Section one : In this section the researcher aimed at dissecting the content of the social networks in terms of the speakers' Algerian ties , on each answer the speaker was assigned with a point ,ranging from 0 to 4. The maximum index score is **26**

1. **Do you have any relatives in Oran?** **هل لديك اقارب مقيمين بوهران**

   0-Yes نعم

   1-No لا

2. **If yes , how often do you meet ?** **اذا كان جوابك نعم كم مرة تلتقي بهم**

   -Daily يوميا

   -Once a week مرة في الاسبوع

   -Once a month مرة في الشهر

3. **In your Neighborhood you have :** **في الحي الذي تقيم فيه لديك جيران**

   0-Only Syrian Neighbors جيران سوريين فقط
   1-Algerian and Syrian neighbors جيران جزائريين و سوريين
   2-Only Algerians جيران جزائريين فقط

4. **Are you friend with your Algerian Neighbors? من بين جيرانك الجزائريين من هو صديقك**

   0-No نعم
   1-Yes لا

5. **At work, your workmates are :** **في مكان عملك زملاءك في العمل**

   0-Syrians only سوريين فقط
   1-Algerians and Syrians جزائريين و سوريين
   2-Algerians only جزائريين فقط

6. **If you have Algerian workmates, how do they interact with you? باي لهجة يخاطبك الزملاء الجزائريين**

   0- in Syrian Arabic باللهجة السورية
   1- a mixture of Oran spoken Arabic and Syrian عن طريق المزج بين اللهجتين

   2- Only Oran Spoken Arabic باللهجة الوهرانية فقط

7. **Where do you usually spend your leisure time?** **اين تقضي وقت فراغك**

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0-At home في البيت

1-Outside with your friends في الخارج

8. If you spend your leisure time outside , you usually spend it with:

اذا كنت تمضي وقت فراغك عادة تمضيه

مع

0-Syrian Friends اصدقاء سوريين

1-Syrian and Algerian friends' اصدقاء جزائريين و سوريين

2-Only Algerian Friends اصدقاء جزائريين فقط

9. How often do you meet your Syrian Friends? كم مرة تلتقي بأصدقائك السوريين

-Daily يوميا

-Once or twice a week مرة او مرتين في الاسبوع

-Monthly شهريا

-rarely نادرا

10. How often do you meet your Algerian friends? كم مرة تلتقي بأصدقائك الجزائريين

3-Daily يوميا

2-Once or twice a week مرة او مرتين في الاسبوع

1-Monthly مرة في الشهر

0-Rarely نادرا

11. How do your Algerian friends interact with you? باي لهجة يتحدث اليك اصدقائك الجزائريين

2-In Oran spoken Arabic only باللهجة الوهرانية فقط

1-A mixture of Syrian and Oran Spoken Arabic مزيج بين اللهجتين الوهرانية و السورية

0- Only in Syrian Arabic اللهجة السورية فقط

12. .How does your Syrian friends interact with you باي لهجة يتحدث اليك اصدقائك السوريين

0-In Syrian Arabic Only باللهجة السورية

1- Syrian and Oran Spoken Arabic اللهجتين السورية و الوهرانية

2- Oran spoken Arabic Onl باللهجة الوهرانية فقط

13. Do you have any close friends that you return to for money lending and advice, if so they are

0-Syrians هل لديك اصدقاء مقربين تلجا اليهم لاقتراض مال مثلا او نصيحة هل هم سوريين

1-Syrians and Algerians سوريين وجزائريين

2-Algerians only جزائريين فقط

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14. Among the twenty persons you interact with on a daily basis, how many Algerians are there?من بين عشرين شخص تتواصل معهم يوميا كم عدد الجزائريين منهم

0-0	0
1-1<5	من 1 الى 5
2-5<10	من 5 الى 10
3-10<15	من 10 الى 15
4-15 <20	من 15 الى 20

15. On the social networking sites , you interact with : في مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي تتواصل مع

0-Only Syrian Friends	اصدقاء سوريين فقط
1-Algerian and Syrian Friends	اصدقاء جزائريين و سوريين
2-Only Algerian Friends	اصدقاء جزائريين فقط

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Appendix B : Attitudes Questions

Attitudes Questions : so as to distill the speakers 'attitudes towards the dialect and the people of Oran , the following questions were used .Attitude questions were asked during the interview with the informants and followed the same scoring principle as the network scale . The maximum index score for these questions is (9).

1) **How do you describe the people of Oran?** **كيف تصف سكان مدينة وهران**

0-……..

1-……..

2) **How do you find Oran Spoken Arabic?** **كيف وجدت اللهجة الوهرانية**

0-……

1-……

3) **Do you think that Oran spoken Arabic is a prestigious dialect?** **هل تظن ان اللهجة الوهرانية لهجة مرموقة**

1-Yes **نعم**

0-No **لا**

4) **Do you think it is important to master Oran Spoken Arabic?** **هل تظن انه من المهم ان تتقن اللهجة الوهرانية**

1-Yes نعم
0-No it is not important لا غير مهم

5) **Do you think that Oran spoken Arabic is nearer to standard Arabic ?** **هل تظن ان اللهجة الوهرانية اقرب الى اللغة العربية**

1-yes نعم
0-No لا

6) **Do you Enjoy speaking Oran Spoken Arabic?** **هل تستمتع بالحديث باللهجة الوهرانية**

1-Yes نعم
0- No لا

7) **At home , which tv channels do you prefer watching?** **في البيت تفضل مشاهدة**

0 -Only Syrian TV channels القنوات السورية فقط

1 -Algerian and Syrian Channels القنوات السورية و الجزائرية

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8) **Do you listen to Rai Music?** **هل تستمع الى اغاني الراي**

1-yes نعم
0-No لا

9) **In case things go well in Syria, do you prefer to stay or leave Algeria? في حالة تحسن الاوضاع في سوريا هل تفضل الرجوع ام البقاء في الجزائر**

0……..

1…….

.

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Appendix C

		The Linguistic Variable						
Informant	Gender	The lexical Variable	The variable g	The variable	The variable[n]	The Variable ma	Social Networks	Attitudes Scores
S1	M	89%	95%	85,71%	92,31%	80%	16	moderate
S2	M	73,63%	70%	66%	62%	83%	15	Very positive
S3	M	9%	9,09%	0%	30%	25%	11	negative
S4	M	5%	16,67%	0%	0%	0%	10	negative
S5	M	50%	0%	0%	25%	5%	15	positive
S 6	M	84,50%	90%	71,43	69%	80%	18	Very positive
S7	M	75%	100%	100%	100%	100%	18	Very positive
S08	F	60%	55%	40%	75%	50%	18	Very positive
S09	F	47%	10%	10%	33%	10%	7	Very positive
S010	F	2%	14%	0%	0%	0%	8	positive
S011	F	1,25%	0%	2%	0%	0%	18	Positive
S012	F	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6	positive
S013	F	0,93%	0%	20%	0%	0%	1	moderate
S014	F	1,10%	0%	0%	1%	0%	9	positive
S 015	M	70%	83%	75%	60%	60%	15	Very positive
S16	M	4%	10%	16,67%	55%	62%	11	moderate
S17	M	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	18	Very positive
S18	M	45%	80%	10%	85%	20%	9	Positive
S19	M	60%	83%	50%	75%	83%	18	Very positive
S020	M	80%	75%	50%	60%	75%	18	Very positive
S021	F	16,67%	0%	0,93%	0%	1%	6	moderate
S022	F	1%	0%	20%	20%	20%	9	moderate
S023	F	0,80%	0%	10%	25%	0%	10	positive
S024	F	10%	0%	0%	16%	0%	10	positive
S025	F	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10	Very positive
S026	M	10%	25%	0%	10%	10%	6	moderate
S027	M	4%	40%	0%	0%	10%	6	moderate
S028	M	10%	25%	0%	0%	25%	7	positive
S029	M	2%	10%	25%	20%	16,67	8	moderate

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S030	M	30%	20%	33%	0%	10%	6	positive	
S31	F	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4	negative	
S32	F	55%	0%	0%	10%	0%	18	positive	
S33	F	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6	negative	
S34	F	40%	0%	0%	20%	10%	12	positive	

Appendix D

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Males	18	52,9	52,9	52,9
	Females	16	47,1	47,1	100,0
	Total	34	100,0	100,0	

Age groups

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	From 16 to 30	14	41,2	41,2	41,2
	From 31 to 45	12	35,3	35,3	76,5
	From 46 to 62	8	23,5	23,5	100,0
	Total	34	100,0	100,0	

Descriptives

	الجنس			Statistic	Std. Error
استعمال النفي	Male	Mean		44,507222	8,3075200
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	26,979887	
			Upper Bound	62,034557	
		5% Trimmed Mean		43,785802	
		Median		47,500000	
		Variance		1242,268	
		Std. Deviation		35,2458224	
		Minimum		2,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		98,0000	

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		Interquartile Range		68,2500	
		Skewness		,060	,536
		Kurtosis		-1,702	1,038
		Mean		14,734375	5,5330588
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	2,940939	
			Upper Bound	26,527811	
		5% Trimmed Mean		13,038194	
		Median		1,175000	
		Variance		489,836	
	أنثى	Std. Deviation		22,1322350	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		60,0000	
		Range		60,0000	
		Interquartile Range		33,9675	
		Skewness		1,264	,564
		Kurtosis		-,092	1,091
		Mean		51,764444	8,7459567
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	33,312089	
			Upper Bound	70,216800	
		5% Trimmed Mean		51,960494	
		Median		55,000000	
		Variance		1376,852	
	ذكر	Std. Deviation		37,1059518	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		69,7475	
		Skewness		-,018	,536
		Kurtosis		-1,863	1,038
استعمال النون عوض الباء		Mean		4,937500	3,4946015
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-2,511067	
			Upper Bound	12,386067	
		5% Trimmed Mean		2,430556	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		195,396	
	أنثى	Std. Deviation		13,9784060	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		55,0000	
		Range		55,0000	
		Interquartile Range		,0000	
		Skewness		3,481	,564
		Kurtosis		12,722	1,091
استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة	ذكر	Mean		37,933889	8,7857020

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		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	19,397678	
		Mean	Upper Bound	56,470100	
		5% Trimmed Mean		36,593210	
		Median		29,000000	
		Variance		1389,394	
		Std. Deviation		37,2745768	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		72,3225	
		Skewness		,435	,536
		Kurtosis		-1,356	1,038
		Mean		5,308125	2,7065090
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-,460662	
		Mean	Upper Bound	11,076912	
		5% Trimmed Mean		3,675694	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		117,203	
	أنثى	Std. Deviation		10,8260360	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		40,0000	
		Range		40,0000	
		Interquartile Range		8,0000	
		Skewness		2,620	,564
		Kurtosis		7,198	1,091
		Mean		46,850556	8,6161033
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	28,672167	
		Mean	Upper Bound	65,028944	
		5% Trimmed Mean		46,500617	
		Median		57,500000	
		Variance		1336,270	
	ذكر	Std. Deviation		36,5550303	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
استعمال الق		Interquartile Range		70,0000	
		Skewness		-,006	,536
		Kurtosis		-1,487	1,038
		Mean		12,500000	4,9983331
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	1,846305	
		Mean	Upper Bound	23,153695	
	أنثى	5% Trimmed Mean		9,722222	
		Median		,500000	
		Variance		399,733	
		Std. Deviation		19,9933322	

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		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		75,0000	
		Range		75,0000	
		Interquartile Range		20,0000	
		Skewness		2,273	,564
		Kurtosis		6,068	1,091
		Mean		46,926111	8,5296121
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	28,930203	
			Upper Bound	64,922020	
		5% Trimmed Mean		46,584568	
		Median		42,500000	
		Variance		1309,577	
	ذكر	Std. Deviation		36,1880795	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		70,7500	
		Skewness		,135	,536
		Kurtosis		-1,770	1,038
استعمال الكلمات		Mean		5,687500	3,2809028
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-1,305579	
			Upper Bound	12,680579	
		5% Trimmed Mean		3,541667	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		172,229	
	أنثى	Std. Deviation		13,1236110	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		50,0000	
		Range		50,0000	
		Interquartile Range		7,7500	
		Skewness		2,966	,564
		Kurtosis		9,426	1,091

Descriptives

	العمر فئات			Statistic	Std. Error
		Mean		35,600714	9,6038317
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	14,852897	
استعمال النفي	من 16 الى 30 سنة		Upper Bound	56,348531	
		5% Trimmed Mean		34,611905	
		Median		28,000000	

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		Variance		1291,270	
		Std. Deviation		35,9342480	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		89,0000	
		Range		89,0000	
		Interquartile Range		72,7600	
		Skewness		,291	,597
		Kurtosis		-1,839	1,154
		Mean		33,122500	10,3920602
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	10,249730	
			Upper Bound	55,995270	
		5% Trimmed Mean		31,247222	
		Median		13,335000	
		Variance		1295,939	
	من 31 الى 45 سنة	Std. Deviation		35,9991525	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		65,7500	
		Skewness		,739	,637
		Kurtosis		-1,036	1,232
		Mean		17,625000	7,5117468
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-,137459	
			Upper Bound	35,387459	
		5% Trimmed Mean		16,527778	
		Median		7,000000	
		Variance		451,411	
	من 46 الى 62 سنة	Std. Deviation		21,2464283	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		55,0000	
		Range		55,0000	
		Interquartile Range		37,0000	
		Skewness		,945	,752
		Kurtosis		-,667	1,481
		Mean		32,840000	10,6409944
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	9,851529	
			Upper Bound	55,828471	
استعمال النون عوض الباء	من 16 الى 30 سنة	5% Trimmed Mean		30,933333	
		Median		12,000000	
		Variance		1585,231	
		Std. Deviation		39,8149552	

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		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		75,0000	
		Skewness		,823	,597
		Kurtosis		-1,177	1,154
		Mean		38,000000	12,0604538
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	11,455120	
		Mean	Upper Bound	64,544880	
		5% Trimmed Mean		36,666667	
		Median		17,500000	
		Variance		1745,455	
	من 31 الى 45 سنة	Std. Deviation		41,7786374	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		82,2500	
		Skewness		,369	,637
		Kurtosis		-2,015	1,232
		Mean		11,875000	5,3400023
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-,752099	
		Mean	Upper Bound	24,502099	
		5% Trimmed Mean		10,972222	
		Median		5,000000	
		Variance		228,125	
	من 46 الى 62 سنة	Std. Deviation		15,1038075	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		40,0000	
		Range		40,0000	
		Interquartile Range		23,7500	
		Skewness		1,014	,752
		Kurtosis		-,029	1,481
		Mean		26,938571	10,0419002
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	5,244365	
		Mean	Upper Bound	48,632778	
		5% Trimmed Mean		24,376190	
		Median		2,000000	
		Variance		1411,757	
استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة	من 16 الى 30 سنة	Std. Deviation		37,5733500	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		67,3575	
		Skewness		,998	,597
		Kurtosis		-,727	1,154

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		Mean		27,716667	9,6472600
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	6,483191	
		Mean	Upper Bound	48,950143	
		5% Trimmed Mean		25,240741	
		Median		13,335000	
		Variance		1116,835	
	من 31 الى 45 سنة	Std. Deviation		33,4190888	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		49,7675	
		Skewness		1,197	,637
		Kurtosis		,425	1,232
		Mean		7,250000	4,8060602
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-4,114526	
		Mean	Upper Bound	18,614526	
		5% Trimmed Mean		6,222222	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		184,786	
	من 46 الى 62 سنة	Std. Deviation		13,5935909	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		33,0000	
		Range		33,0000	
		Interquartile Range		18,7500	
		Skewness		1,545	,752
		Kurtosis		,678	1,481
		Mean		34,807857	10,0558657
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	13,083480	
		Mean	Upper Bound	56,532234	
		5% Trimmed Mean		33,119841	
		Median		27,500000	
		Variance		1415,686	
	من 16 الى 30 سنة	Std. Deviation		37,6256042	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
استعمال الق		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		70,5000	
		Skewness		,576	,597
		Kurtosis		-1,266	1,154
		Mean		42,166667	9,9695243
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	20,223892	
		Mean	Upper Bound	64,109442	
	من 31 الى 45 سنة	5% Trimmed Mean		41,296296	
		Median		40,000000	
		Variance		1192,697	

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		Std. Deviation		34,5354451	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		59,7500	
		Skewness		,275	,637
		Kurtosis		-1,360	1,232
		Mean		6,250000	3,2389923
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-1,409000	
		Mean	Upper Bound	13,909000	
		5% Trimmed Mean		5,833333	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		83,929	
	من 46 الى 62 سنة	Std. Deviation		9,1612538	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		20,0000	
		Range		20,0000	
		Interquartile Range		17,5000	
		Skewness		,999	,752
		Kurtosis		-1,039	1,481
		Mean		30,928571	10,3634312
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	8,539739	
		Mean	Upper Bound	53,317403	
		5% Trimmed Mean		28,809524	
		Median		7,500000	
		Variance		1503,610	
	من 16 الى 30 سنة	Std. Deviation		38,7764089	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		80,0000	
استعمال الكلمات		Skewness		,784	,597
		Kurtosis		-1,244	1,154
		Mean		35,916667	10,7938383
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	12,159589	
		Mean	Upper Bound	59,673745	
		5% Trimmed Mean		34,351852	
	من 31 الى 45 سنة	Median		20,000000	
		Variance		1398,083	
		Std. Deviation		37,3909526	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	

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		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		71,5000	
		Skewness		,526	,637
		Kurtosis		-1,456	1,232
		Mean		8,958750	3,1645788
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	1,475710	
			Upper Bound	16,441790	
		5% Trimmed Mean		8,565278	
		Median		10,000000	
		Variance		80,116	
	من 46 الى 62 سنة	Std. Deviation		8,9507804	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		25,0000	
		Range		25,0000	
		Interquartile Range		15,0025	
		Skewness		,646	,752
		Kurtosis		-,142	1,481

Correlations

			الجنس	العمرفئات
Kendall's tau_b	الجنس	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	-,018
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,912
		N	34	34
	العمرفئات	Correlation Coefficient	-,018	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,912	.
		N	34	34
	استعمال النفي	Correlation Coefficient	-,468	-,136
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	,323
		N	34	34
	استعمال النون عوض الباء	Correlation Coefficient	-,665	-,115
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,427
		N	34	34
	استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة	Correlation Coefficient	-,378	-,153
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,014	,293
		N	34	34
	استعمال الق	Correlation Coefficient	-,403	-,222
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,008	,121
		N	34	34
	استعمال الكلمات	Correlation Coefficient	-,619	-,073

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	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,613
	N	34	34

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
استعمال النفي	Between Groups	1772,897	2	886,448	,803	,457
	Within Groups	34201,716	31	1103,281		
	Total	35974,613	33			
استعمال النون عوض الباء	Between Groups	3506,532	2	1753,266	1,313	,284
	Within Groups	41404,874	31	1335,641		
	Total	44911,406	33			
استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة	Between Groups	2462,655	2	1231,328	1,195	,316
	Within Groups	31931,527	31	1030,049		
	Total	34394,182	33			
استعمال الق	Between Groups	6596,469	2	3298,235	3,184	,055
	Within Groups	32111,086	31	1035,841		
	Total	38707,555	33			
استعمال الكلمات	Between Groups	3764,865	2	1882,433	1,644	,210
	Within Groups	35486,661	31	1144,731		
	Total	39251,526	33			

Correlations

		معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية
استعمال النفي	Pearson Correlation	,753
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000
	N	34
استعمال النون عوض الباء	Pearson Correlation	,607
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000
	N	34
استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة	Pearson Correlation	,644
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000
	N	34
استعمال الق	Pearson Correlation	,689
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000
	N	34
استعمال الكلمات	Pearson Correlation	,685
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000
	N	34
معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية	Pearson Correlation	1
	N	34

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Descriptives[a]

	المواقف اللغوية			Statistic	Std. Error
استعمال النفي	loderate	Mean		15,950000	10,6078928
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-9,133681	
			Upper Bound	41,033681	
		5% Trimmed Mean		12,726111	
		Median		4,000000	
		Variance		900,219	
		Std. Deviation		30,0036517	
		Minimum		,9300	
		Maximum		89,0000	
		Range		88,0700	
		Interquartile Range		13,7525	
		Skewness		2,657	,752
		Kurtosis		7,224	1,481
	negative	Mean		3,500000	2,1794495
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-3,435981	
			Upper Bound	10,435981	
		5% Trimmed Mean		3,388889	
		Median		2,500000	
		Variance		19,000	
		Std. Deviation		4,3588989	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		9,0000	
		Range		9,0000	
		Interquartile Range		8,0000	
		Skewness		,676	1,014
		Kurtosis		-2,233	2,619
	positive	Mean		20,429167	6,3060831
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	6,549571	
			Upper Bound	34,308762	
		5% Trimmed Mean		19,643519	
		Median		10,000000	
		Variance		477,200	
		Std. Deviation		21,8449126	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		55,0000	
		Range		55,0000	

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		Interquartile Range		42,6125	
		Skewness		,539	,637
		Kurtosis		-1,647	1,232
		Mean		65,013000	8,5821036
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	45,598933	
			Upper Bound	84,427067	
		5% Trimmed Mean		66,681111	
		Median		71,815000	
		Variance		736,525	
	Very positive	Std. Deviation		27,1389945	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		24,3750	
		Skewness		-1,567	,687
		Kurtosis		3,579	1,334
		Mean		22,500000	11,4953407
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-4,682161	
			Upper Bound	49,682161	
		5% Trimmed Mean		19,722222	
		Median		10,000000	
		Variance		1057,143	
	loderate	Std. Deviation		32,5137334	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		95,0000	
		Range		95,0000	
		Interquartile Range		36,2500	
		Skewness		1,931	,752
		Kurtosis		3,856	1,481
استعمال النون عوض الباء		Mean		6,440000	4,0272261
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-6,376431	
			Upper Bound	19,256431	
		5% Trimmed Mean		6,229444	
		Median		4,545000	
		Variance		64,874	
	negative	Std. Deviation		8,0544522	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		16,6700	
		Range		16,6700	
		Interquartile Range		14,7750	
		Skewness		,708	1,014
		Kurtosis		-2,062	2,619
	positive	Mean		11,583333	6,7481292

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		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-3,269199	
		Mean	Upper Bound	26,435866	
		5% Trimmed Mean		8,425926	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		546,447	
		Std. Deviation		23,3762052	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		80,0000	
		Range		80,0000	
		Interquartile Range		18,5000	
		Skewness		2,655	,637
		Kurtosis		7,625	1,232
		Mean		66,600000	11,1417134
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	41,395693	
		Mean	Upper Bound	91,804307	
		5% Trimmed Mean		68,444444	
		Median		79,000000	
		Variance		1241,378	
	Very positive	Std. Deviation		35,2331914	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		48,7500	
		Skewness		-1,211	,687
		Kurtosis		,319	1,334
		Mean		18,788750	10,2031340
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-5,337828	
		Mean	Upper Bound	42,915328	
		5% Trimmed Mean		16,114722	
		Median		9,335000	
		Variance		832,832	
	loderate	Std. Deviation		28,8588211	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		85,7100	
		Range		85,7100	
استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة		Interquartile Range		23,5175	
		Skewness		2,189	,752
		Kurtosis		5,228	1,481
		Mean		4,583333	2,8081546
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-1,597373	
		Mean	Upper Bound	10,764040	
	positive	5% Trimmed Mean		3,259259	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		94,629	
		Std. Deviation		9,7277329	

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		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		33,0000	
		Range		33,0000	
		Interquartile Range		8,0000	
		Skewness		2,664	,637
		Kurtosis		7,534	1,232
		Mean		56,243000	10,6199469
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	32,219011	
		Mean	Upper Bound	80,266989	
		5% Trimmed Mean		56,936667	
		Median		58,000000	
		Variance		1127,833	
	Very positive	Std. Deviation		33,5832207	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		48,7500	
		Skewness		-,378	,687
		Kurtosis		-,535	1,334
		Mean		24,663750	11,6341029
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-2,846532	
		Mean	Upper Bound	52,174032	
		5% Trimmed Mean		22,275833	
		Median		15,000000	
		Variance		1082,819	
	loderate	Std. Deviation		32,9062122	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		92,3100	
		Range		92,3100	
		Interquartile Range		46,2500	
		Skewness		1,545	,752
		Kurtosis		1,809	1,481
استعمال الق		Mean		7,500000	7,5000000
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-16,368347	
		Mean	Upper Bound	31,368347	
		5% Trimmed Mean		6,666667	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		225,000	
	negative	Std. Deviation		15,0000000	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		30,0000	
		Range		30,0000	
		Interquartile Range		22,5000	
		Skewness		2,000	1,014
		Kurtosis		4,000	2,619

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		Mean		15,166667	7,0019838
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-,244596	
		Mean	Upper Bound	30,577929	
		5% Trimmed Mean		12,129630	
		Median		5,500000	
		Variance		588,333	
	positive	Std. Deviation		24,2555835	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		85,0000	
		Range		85,0000	
		Interquartile Range		23,7500	
		Skewness		2,463	,637
		Kurtosis		6,941	1,232
		Mean		63,400000	9,3976356
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	42,141071	
		Mean	Upper Bound	84,658929	
		5% Trimmed Mean		64,888889	
		Median		65,500000	
		Variance		883,156	
	Very positive	Std. Deviation		29,7179332	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		28,0000	
		Skewness		-,961	,687
		Kurtosis		1,436	1,334
		Mean		24,958750	10,4705158
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	,199914	
		Mean	Upper Bound	49,717586	
		5% Trimmed Mean		23,287500	
		Median		13,335000	
		Variance		877,054	
	loderate	Std. Deviation		29,6150910	
		Minimum		,0000	
استعمال الكلمات		Maximum		80,0000	
		Range		80,0000	
		Interquartile Range		48,2500	
		Skewness		1,326	,752
		Kurtosis		,397	1,481
		Mean		6,250000	6,2500000
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	-13,640289	
	negative	Mean	Upper Bound	26,140289	
		5% Trimmed Mean		5,555556	

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		Median		,000000	
		Variance		156,250	
		Std. Deviation		12,5000000	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		25,0000	
		Range		25,0000	
		Interquartile Range		18,7500	
		Skewness		2,000	1,014
		Kurtosis		4,000	2,619
		Mean		5,833333	2,5251263
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	,275568	
			Upper Bound	11,391099	
		5% Trimmed Mean		5,092593	
		Median		,000000	
		Variance		76,515	
	positive	Std. Deviation		8,7472940	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		25,0000	
		Range		25,0000	
		Interquartile Range		10,0000	
		Skewness		1,408	,637
		Kurtosis		,917	1,232
		Mean		64,100000	11,0125686
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	39,187839	
			Upper Bound	89,012161	
		5% Trimmed Mean		65,666667	
		Median		77,500000	
		Variance		1212,767	
	Very positive	Std. Deviation		34,8247996	
		Minimum		,0000	
		Maximum		100,0000	
		Range		100,0000	
		Interquartile Range		47,2500	
		Skewness		-1,030	,687
		Kurtosis		-,015	1,334

a. استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة is constant when المواقف اللغوية = negative. It has been omitted.

المواقف اللغوية

Appendices

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	loderate	8	23,5	23,5	23,5
	negative	4	11,8	11,8	35,3
	positive	12	35,3	35,3	70,6
	Very positive	10	29,4	29,4	100,0
	Total	34	100,0	100,0	

Correlations

			المواقف اللغوية
Kendall's tau_b	استعمال النفي	Correlation Coefficient	,414
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,002
		N	34
	استعمال النون عوض الباء	Correlation Coefficient	,296
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,036
		N	34
	استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة	Correlation Coefficient	,303
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,033
		N	34
	استعمال الق	Correlation Coefficient	,358
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,010
		N	34
	استعمال الكلمات	Correlation Coefficient	,248
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,077
		N	34
	المواقف اللغوية	Correlation Coefficient	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.
		N	34

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
استعمال النفي	Between Groups	17738,151	3	5912,717	9,727	,000
	Within Groups	18236,461	30	607,882		
	Total	35974,613	33			
استعمال النون عوض الباء	Between Groups	20133,467	3	6711,156	8,126	,000
	Within Groups	24777,939	30	825,931		
	Total	44911,406	33			
استعمال الفتح عوض الامالة	Between Groups	17372,950	3	5790,983	10,207	,000
	Within Groups	17021,232	30	567,374		

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	Total	34394,182	33			
	Between Groups	16032,757	3	5344,252	7,071	,001
استعمال الق	Within Groups	22674,798	30	755,827		
	Total	38707,555	33			
	Between Groups	20886,834	3	6962,278	11,373	,000
استعمال الكلمات	Within Groups	18364,692	30	612,156		
	Total	39251,526	33			

Correlations

			المواقف اللغوية	الجنس	العمرفئات
Spearman's rho	المواقف اللغوية	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	-,056	-,234
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,751	,183
		N	34	34	34
	الجنس	Correlation Coefficient	-,056	1,000	-,019
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,751	.	,914
		N	34	34	34
	العمرفئات	Correlation Coefficient	-,234	-,019	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,183	,914	.
		N	34	34	34

Correlations

			الجنس	العمرفئات	معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية
Kendall's tau_b	الجنس	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	-,018	-,239
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,912	,113
		N	34	34	34
	العمرفئات	Correlation Coefficient	-,018	1,000	-,244
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,912	.	,088
		N	34	34	34
	معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية	Correlation Coefficient	-,239	-,244	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,113	,088	.
		N	34	34	34

ANOVA

معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	78,479	2	39,240	1,617	,215
Within Groups	752,256	31	24,266		

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Total	830,735	33			

Group Statistics

	الجنس	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية	ذكر	18	12,5000	4,74342	1,11803
	أنثى	16	9,5000	4,97996	1,24499

Independent Samples Test

	t-test for Equality of Means				
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية	1,798	32	,082	3,00000	1,66839
	1,793	31,101	,083	3,00000	1,67332

Descriptives

	المواقف اللغوية			Statistic	Std. Error
معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية	loderate	Mean		7,8750	1,55193
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	4,2053	
			Upper Bound	11,5447	
		5% Trimmed Mean		7,8056	
		Median		7,0000	
		Variance		19,268	
		Std. Deviation		4,38952	
		Minimum		1,00	
		Maximum		16,00	
		Range		15,00	
		Interquartile Range		4,50	
		Skewness		,504	,752
		Kurtosis		1,312	1,481
	negative	Mean		7,7500	1,65202
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	2,4925	
			Upper Bound	13,0075	
		5% Trimmed Mean		7,7778	
		Median		8,0000	
		Variance		10,917	
		Std. Deviation		3,30404	
		Minimum		4,00	

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		Maximum		11,00	
		Range		7,00	
		Interquartile Range		6,25	
		Skewness		-,229	1,014
		Kurtosis		-3,869	2,619
		Mean		10,6667	1,22680
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	7,9665	
			Upper Bound	13,3668	
		5% Trimmed Mean		10,5185	
		Median		9,5000	
		Variance		18,061	
	positive	Std. Deviation		4,24978	
		Minimum		6,00	
		Maximum		18,00	
		Range		12,00	
		Interquartile Range		7,00	
		Skewness		,840	,637
		Kurtosis		-,490	1,232
		Mean		15,5000	1,24944
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	12,6736	
			Upper Bound	18,3264	
		5% Trimmed Mean		15,8333	
		Median		18,0000	
		Variance		15,611	
	Very positive	Std. Deviation		3,95109	
		Minimum		7,00	
		Maximum		18,00	
		Range		11,00	
		Interquartile Range		4,25	
		Skewness		-1,547	,687
		Kurtosis		1,365	1,334

Correlations

			معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية	المواقف اللغوية
Kendall's tau_b	معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	,479**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,001
		N	34	34
	المواقف اللغوية	Correlation Coefficient	,479**	1,000

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	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	.
	N	34	34

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

ANOVA

معدل العلاقات الاجتماعية

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	323,944	3	107,981	6,392	,002
Within Groups	506,792	30	16,893		
Total	830,735	33			

Social Networks implications on Accommodation in an inter-dialectal encounter; the case of Syrian refugees in Oran

Abstract

This research examines linguistic accommodation of the Syrian refugees living in the city of Oran. It accounts for convergence and divergence strategies through the recruitment of five distinctive variables. The thesis provides a qualitative and a quantitative description, of the linguistic practices of 34 Syrian speaker. It also dissects the impact of the independent variables (social networks, Attitudes, age and gender). The findings revealed that these social factors are of paramount importance the process of accommodation, while Age did not appear to have an impact on accommodation, social networks, gender, and attitudes proved to have a significant impact. Keywords : Linguistic Accommodation,Dialect Contact, Social Networks

تداعيات العلاقات الاجتماعية على التكيف اللغوي في تواصل اللهجات مجتمع اللاجئين السوريين في وهران نموذجا

ملخص

يندرج هذا البحث في إطار دراسات تواصل اللهجات، ويبحث في التكيف اللغوي للاجئين السوريين المقيمين في مدينة وهران. تتواجد الجالية السورية في وهران منذ اندلاع الحرب في سوريا، وبالتالي، كانت على اتصال بالجزائريين منذ ذلك الحين، مما أدى إلى التكيف اللغوي يهدف هذا البحث الى تقسي نسبة التكيف اللغوي من خلال توظيف خمسة متغيرات. كما تهدف الى شرح تأثير المتغيرات المستقلة (العلاقات الاجتماعية، المواقف، العمر والجنس). كشفت النتائج أن هذه العوامل الاجتماعية لها أهمية قصوى في عملية التكيف اللغوي، عكس العمر الذي كان أقل تأثيرا أثبتت الشبكات الاجتماعية المواقف اللغوية و التباين النوعي انها ذات اهمية أنها ذات تأثير قوي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التكيف اللغوي تواصل اللهجات الشبكات الاجتماعية

Implications des Réseaux Sociaux sur L'accommodation dans une Rencontre Inter-dialectale : Le cas des Réfugiés Syriens à Oran

Résumé :

Cette recherche s'inscrit dans le cadre des études de contact dialectal, elle traite la question de l'accommodation linguistique des réfugiés syriens vivant dans la ville d'Oran. L'étude scientifique menée rend compte des stratégies de similitude et de divergence à travers l'exploitation de cinq variables distinctes à savoir.

La présente thèse fournit une description qualitative et quantitative des pratiques linguistiques de 34 locuteurs syriens. Elle décortique également l'impact des variables indépendantes (réseaux sociaux, Attitudes, âge et sexe). Les résultats ont révélé que ces facteurs sociaux sont d'une importance primordiale pour le processus d'accommodation linguistique, Contrairement à l'âge, qui a un impact moindre les réseaux sociaux ,les facteurs psychologiques et le genre se sont avérés d'une grande influence.

Mot clés: Accommodation Linguistique, Contacte Dialectale, réseaux sociaux.