



## Durham E-Theses

---

### *Kuwaiti Arabic: A Socio-Phonological Perspective*

AL-QENAIE, SHAMLAN, DAWOUD

#### How to cite:

---

AL-QENAIE, SHAMLAN, DAWOUD (2011) *Kuwaiti Arabic: A Socio-Phonological Perspective*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online:  
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/935/>

#### Use policy

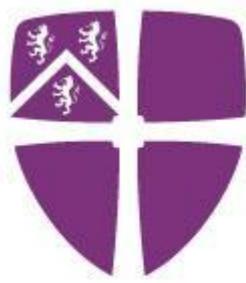
---

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.



**Durham**  
**University**

**Kuwaiti Arabic:  
A Socio-Phonological Perspective**

**By  
Shamlan Dawood Al-Qenaie**

**Thesis submitted to the University of Durham for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
the School of Modern Languages and Cultures**

**2011**

## **DECLARATION**

This is to attest that no material from this thesis has been included in any work submitted for examination at this or any other university.

## **STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT**

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

## ABSTRACT

Diglossia manifests itself on various linguistic levels, one of which is phonological. It poses a linguistic ‘struggle’ for speakers in the Arab world through the functional distribution that exists between the Arabic language and its varieties. This is the main drive behind diglossia. These varieties are part of the same language; hence, the term ‘diglossic-switching’ is employed when describing the alternation of speakers from one level to another. The extreme functional dichotomy in treating diglossia, such as that of Ferguson (1959) High Level and Low Level has since been replaced with a more flexible and realistic interpretation, whereby the speech situation is to be seen as one of continuum constituting a gradient of speech levels co-existing between the two extreme poles: Modern Standard Arabic (H or acrolect) and the colloquial (L or basilect). First, this study examines diglossic switching in Kuwaiti Arabic along four main dialectal phonological variables. These are [č], [g], [j], and [y]. The occurrences of each of the four phonological variables are correlated concurrently with four sociolinguistic variables (age, gender, religious affiliation, and area~origin) and six recording groups (*Duwāniyya* ‘social gathering’ Group Observation, Semi-Structured Interview, Political Show, Kuwait National Assembly, and *Xuṭba* ‘religious sermon’) to which the respondents belong. A distribution and frequency analysis shows that there is a tight, dependant relation between the production of the dialectal features and sociological/recording groups. Further, a correlational and multivariate analysis shows that only ‘age’ correlates significantly (negatively) with 3 out 4 of the dialectal markers.

Following this, the study constructs and defines the mid-levels in the dialect, and identifies Kuwaiti Modern Arabic as the mesolect, being a product of constant admixture between Modern Standard Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic in a process of diglossic-switching. It

is established that that the speech situation in Kuwait is a multiglossic one, where seven overlapping levels exist in a functionally-distributed sociolinguistic relationship.

*To My Lovely Wife*

*To My Precious Little One Who Barely Survived His  
Health Affliction*

*To My Dear Parents*

*To My Awesome Brothers And Sister*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am forever indebted and heartily thankful to Prof. Daniel L. Newman. His love and passion for the Arabic language was much appealing and inspired me. His patience, profound knowledge, discussions, and invaluable and continuous feedback from the initial to the final level encouraged me, and made this whole journey swift and marvellous. Thank you, sir. You were a father figure, a brother, and a friend. You still are.

I am much thankful to my dear wife for her constant support, patience, and for tolerating the long months she and my lovely son spent all alone. My parents, brothers, and sister provided me with constant support and encouragement all the way to the end line. For that I am deeply grateful.

Gratitude extends to Kuwait University, Department of English Language and Literature for sponsoring me. Appreciation also extends to Dr. Mashaal al-Hamly (Head of Dept.) for facilitating the whole process of applying for the scholarship, and Dr. Hani Wasif Azer (former Head of Dept.) for his prayers and motivation.

Many thanks for my fellow Kuwaiti research students, Mohammad Bin Naser (who has just been awarded his PhD degree, so a student no more!), and Abdullah al-Mutawwa for their readiness to help, and for their assistance and moral support.

Last but not least, a big thank you to Mr. Ali al-Yousifi from the Language Centre at Kuwaiti University, whose students formed the majority of the respondents. Gratefulness reaches him and his students.

# CONTENTS

<i>Declaration</i> .....	i
<i>Statement of Copyright</i> .....	ii
<i>Abstract</i> .....	iii
<i>Dedication</i> .....	v
<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	vi
<i>Contents</i> .....	vii
<i>List of Figures</i> .....	xii
<i>List of Tables</i> .....	xiii
<i>List of Transliteration Symbols</i> .....	xvii
<b><u>Chapter One:</u></b> Introduction.....	1
1.0 The Objective of the Study: Research Questions.....	2
1.1 Research Hypotheses.....	3
1.2 Structure of the Thesis.....	4
<b><u>Chapter Two:</u></b> Arabic Diglossia.....	6
2.0 Diglossia in the Kuwaiti Context.....	52
<b><u>Chapter Three:</u></b> Introduction to Kuwaiti Arabic.....	56
3.0 Kuwait: Society and Demography.....	56
3.1 Kuwaiti Arabic.....	58
3.1.1 Demographics.....	59
3.2 Phonology of Kuwaiti Arabic.....	64
3.2.1 The Sounds of (Kuwaiti) Arabic.....	64
3.2.1.1 The Sounds of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).....	64

3.2.1.2	Kuwaiti Arabic Consonants.....	67
3.2.1.2.1	Kuwaiti Arabic Consonant Clusters.....	69
3.2.1.3	Kuwaiti Arabic Vowels.....	83
3.2.2	Syllable Structure.....	87
3.2.3	Phonological Processes: Pharyngealisation and Assimilation....	91
3.2.3.1	Pharyngealisation.....	91
3.2.3.2	Complete Assimilation.....	93
3.3	Morphology of Kuwaiti Arabic.....	95
3.3.1	Dual and Plural.....	95
3.3.1.1	Irregular Plural Patterns.....	97
3.3.2	Tense System.....	97
3.3.2.1	Present Continuous.....	99
3.3.2.2	Future Tense.....	101
3.3.3	Possession: Analytic and Synthetic Genitive.....	102
3.3.4	Geminate Verbs.....	107
3.3.5	The Feminine Comparative.....	109
3.3.6	Verbal Morphology in Kuwaiti Arabic.....	111
3.3.6.1	Triliteral Verbs.....	111
3.3.6.1.1	Form I.....	112
3.3.6.1.2	Form II.....	114
3.3.6.1.3	Form III.....	115
3.3.6.1.4	Form IV.....	116
3.3.6.1.5	Form V.....	117
3.3.6.1.6	Form VI.....	118
3.3.6.1.7	Form VII.....	119
3.3.6.1.8	Form VIII.....	120
3.3.6.1.9	Form X.....	121
3.3.6.2	Quadriliteral Verbs.....	122
3.4	Syntax of Kuwaiti Arabic.....	124

3.4.1 Word Order.....	124
3.4.2 Relatives.....	125
3.4.3 Interrogatives.....	126
3.4.4 Demonstratives.....	129
3.4.5 Negation.....	131
3.4.6 Numbers and Numbering in (Kuwaiti) Arabic.....	133
3.5 The Lexicon of Kuwaiti Arabic.....	139
3.5.1 Foreign Loan Words in Kuwaiti Arabic.....	139
3.6 Conclusion.....	144

**Chapter Four:** Methodology and Corpus.....145

4.0 Introduction.....	145
4.1 The Present Study.....	145
4.2 The Subjects and Locale of the Research: Methods and Procedures.....	146
4.2.1 Pre-Selection Procedures.....	147
4.2.2 The Recordings.....	149
4.2.2.1 Equipment Used.....	151
4.2.3 Group Observation and Recording (Informal).....	154
4.2.4 Recording of Social Gatherings ( <i>Duwāniyya</i> ) (Informal).....	155
4.2.5 Semi-Structured, Recorded Interviews (Informal).....	156
4.2.6 Supplementary Sources (Formal).....	156
4.3 Data Analysis.....	157
4.3.1 Sociolinguistic Variables.....	158
4.3.1.1 Gender.....	161
4.3.1.2 Age.....	165
4.3.1.3 Religious Affiliation.....	166
4.3.1.4 Area~Origin.....	167
4.3.2 Phonological Variables.....	168
4.4 Conclusion.....	169

<b>Chapter Five: Data Discussion and Statistical Analysis.....</b>	<b>170</b>
5.0 Introduction.....	170
5.1 Selection of Phonological Items for Analysis: Linguistic Variables.....	171
5.1.1 Phonological Items: Phonemes and their Allophones.....	171
5.1.1.1 Affrication: /k/-[č].....	172
5.1.1.2 Palatalisation: /j/-[y].....	174
5.1.1.3 Affrication and Fronting: The /q/-[g]-[j] Split.....	177
5.1.1.4 /d/-[ð]/ merger.....	179
5.2 Phonological Variables.....	181
5.2.1 Formal Groups.....	187
5.2.2 Informal Groups.....	188
5.3 Arbitrary or Rule-Governed Sound Change?.....	189
5.4 Distribution and Frequency: Analysis A.....	192
5.4.1 Gender.....	193
5.4.1.1 Formal Groups.....	196
5.4.1.2 Informal Groups.....	197
5.4.2 Age.....	198
5.4.2.1 Formal Groups.....	199
5.4.2.2 Informal Groups.....	202
5.4.3 Religious Affiliation.....	204
5.4.3.1 Formal Groups.....	205
5.4.3.2 Informal Groups.....	207
5.4.4 Area~Origin.....	208
5.4.4.1 Formal Groups.....	209
5.4.4.2 Informal Groups.....	213
5.5 Correlation and Multi-Variance: Analysis B.....	222
5.5.1 Multivariate Analysis of Significant Relationships.....	226
5.6 Conclusion.....	228

<b>Chapter Six:</b> Kuwaiti Modern Arabic: A Continuum of Speech.....	230
6.0 Introduction.....	230
6.1 Characteristic Features of KMA.....	231
6.1.1 Choice of Words.....	232
6.1.2 Choice of Vowels.....	237
6.1.3 Definite Articles.....	240
6.1.4 Pronunciation of Numbers.....	242
6.1.5 Negation and Interrogative Particles.....	244
6.2 Setting~Style~Level Correspondence.....	246
6.3 Conclusion.....	250
<b>Chapter Seven:</b> Conclusion.....	251
7.0 Findings of the Study.....	251
7.1 Contribution to the Field of Socio-Linguistics.....	258
7.2 Recommendations for Future Research.....	259
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	261
<b>Appendices</b> .....	275
Appendix I: Table Detailing Informants' Personal Information.....	275
Appendix II: Table Detailing Informants and Occurrences of Variables.....	277
Appendix III: List of Questions.....	283
Appendices IV-XIV: Transliteration and Translation of All Respondents in the Six Recording Groups.....	See attached CD

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: The Relationship between Bilingualism and Diglossia.....	22
Figure 2.2: The Causal Relationship between Level of Speech and Number of Classical Features.....	38
Figure 2.3: The Arabic Continuum.....	41
Figure 2.4: The Arabic Continuum Extended.....	43
Figure 3.1: Distribution of Population (Kuwaitis only) according to Gender and Age for the Year 2007.....	59
Figure 3.2 A/B/C/D: Concentration of Sunni <i>Haḍar</i> , Sunni Bedouins, and Shiites in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Kuwait.....	61-62
Figure 3.3: Vowel Triangle of MSA/CA (and KA).....	85
Figure 3.4: Vowel Chart of MSA/CA (and KA).....	85
Figure 3.5: Syllabic Template of KA.....	90
Figure 4.1: Template Showing the Relationship among Variables.....	159
Figure 4.2: The Flow of Relationship among the Variables.....	160
Figure 5.1: Graph Showing the Occurrences of Each Allophonic Phonological Variable According to Group and Setting.....	183
Figure 5.2: Graph Showing the Occurrences of Each Phonological Variable in its Original Form According to Group/Setting.....	184
Figure 5.3: Formality Continuum of the (Sub)-Levels of Arabic in Kuwait. CA(Classical Arabic); MSA(Modern Standard Arabic); KMA(Kuwaiti Modern Arabic); RKMA(Religious KMA); PKMA(Political KMA); MKMA(Formal Media KMA); KA(Kuwaiti Arabic); FKA(Formal KA); SKA( Semi-Formal KA); IKA(Informal KA).....	219
Figure 6.1: KMA as the Produce of the Interaction Between KA and MSA.....	249

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: List of Situations and the Variety Used in them.....	15
Table 2.2: Examples of Lexical Items in the Standard vs. the Dialect.....	25
Table 2.3: Phonetic Distribution of (θ) and (ð) in Standard Arabic (SA) and Damascene Arabic (DA).....	39
Table 2.4: Ideal Property-Item Matrix for Standard-Colloquial Continuum in Arabic.....	42
Table 3.1: How Gemination Affects Meaning.....	65
Table 3.2: CA (and MSA) Consonantal Sounds Inventory.....	66
Table 3.3: Borrowed Consonants in KA Explained.....	67
Table 3.4: KA Consonantal Sound Inventory.....	68
Table 3.5: Two-Element Medial Clusters in English.....	69
Table 3.6: Permissible Initial Consonant Clusters in Kuwaiti Arabic.....	82
Table 3.7: Permissible Final Consonant Clusters in Kuwaiti Arabic.....	83
Table 3.8: Short and Long Vowels in KA.....	84
Table 3.9: Diphthongs in MSA and KA.....	86
Table 3.10: Comparing Phonemic Inventory of MSA and KA.....	87
Table 3.11: Possible Syllable Types in KA.....	90
Table 3.12: The Plural and Feminine-Singular Occurrence of the Verb, Adjective, and Pronoun after a Plural Noun.....	96
Table 3.13: Most Common Broken Plural Patterns in KA.....	97
Table 3.14: The Inflection of the Locative Participle for Person, Number and Gender.....	100
Table 3.15: The Expression of Possession with Singular/Plural-Masculine/Feminine Nouns.....	106
Table 3.16: Form I Triliteral Verbs.....	113
Table 3.17: Form II Triliteral Verbs.....	115
Table 3.18: Form III Triliteral Verbs.....	116

Table 3.19: Form IV Trilateral Verbs.....	117
Table 3.20: Form V Trilateral Verbs.....	118
Table 3.21: Form VI Trilateral Verbs.....	119
Table 3.22: Form VII Trilateral Verbs.....	120
Table 3.23: Form VIII Trilateral Verbs.....	121
Table 3.24: Form X Trilateral Verbs.....	122
Table 3.25: Forms I, II, and IV Quadrilateral Verbs.....	123
Table 3.26: Possible Word Order in KA.....	124
Table 3.27: Relative Pronouns in KA as Compared to CA/MSA.....	125
Table 3.28: The Representation of the Personal Pronouns with the Interrogative <i>šinu</i> ‘what’ .....	126
Table 3.29: The Representation of the Personal Pronouns with the Interrogative <i>minu</i> ‘who’ .....	128
Table 3.30: The Representation of the Personal Pronouns with the Interrogative <i>ay</i> ‘which’ .....	129
Table 3.31: The Demonstrative System in KA.....	129
Table 3.32: The Demonstrative System in CA/MSA.....	130
Table 3.33: The Demonstratives of CA/MSA and KA Combined.....	131
Table 3.34: Number-Noun Gender Agreement.....	134
Table 3.35: The Pronunciation of Numbers 11-19 in KA.....	136
Table 3.36: Relationship between the Numbers 1-20 and the Following Noun in KA.....	138
Table 4.1: Overview of the Number of Participants, Groups, Methods, Location, and Duration of the Data Collected (PS)= Political Show (KNA)= Kuwait National Assembly (F)= Females (M)= Males.....	151
Table 4.2: Sampling and Distribution of Subjects According to the Selected Sociolinguistic Variables.....	159
Table 5.1: Examples of /k/ Affrication.....	172
Table 5.2: Examples of /j/ Palatalisation.....	175

Table 5.3: Examples of /q/ Fronting and Affrication.....	178
Table 5.4: Examples of /d/-/ð/ Merger.....	180
Table 5.5: Number of Occurrences and Share Percentages of Original and Allophonic Forms Out of the Total Number of Instances of Each Phonological Variable within Each Group/Setting- Upper No. = %, Lower No.=No. of Occurrences, 1= PS, 2=KNA, 3=Khutba, 4=Duw., 5=GO, 6=SSI.....	185
Table 5.6: Hierarchical Order of Occurrences of Variables and Share Percentage According To Variable Form and Group/Setting.....	186
Table 5.7: Hierarchical Ranking of Groups According to the Number of Occurrences of Original and Dialectal Phonological Variables.....	186
Table 5.7a: Number of Occurrence of Each Allophone and the Number of Lexemes Affected.....	190
Table 5.8: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Gender and Group/Setting.....	195
Table 5.9: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Age and Group/Setting.....	200
Table 5.10: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Origin and Group/Setting.....	206
Table 5.11: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Area~Origin and Group/Setting.....	210
Table 5.12: Distribution of K Affrication by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting....	215
Table 5.13: Distribution of Q Affrication by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting....	215
Table 5.14: Distribution of Q Fronting by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting.....	216
Table 5.15: Distribution of J Palatalisation by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting..	216
Table 5.16: Share and % Sequences of All Allophones in All Groups.....	217
Table 5.17: Hierarchical Order of Groups within Each Sociological Variable.....	218
Table 5.18: Correlation Analysis: Phonological Variables and Sociological Groups.....	223
Table 5.19: Correlation Analysis: Phonological Variables and Recording Groups.....	225
Table 5.20: Multivariate Analysis for Phonological Variables and Sociological Groups.....	227
Table 5.21: Multivariate Analysis for Phonological Variables and Recording Groups.....	227
Table 5.22: Copy of Table 5.2: Hierarchical Order of Occurrences of Variables and Share Percentage According To Variable Form and Group/Setting.....	228

Table 6.1: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Lexical Items Choice from Khutba, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA.....	233
Table 6.2: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Vowelling from Khutba, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA.....	238
Table 6.3: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Vowel Choice in the Definite Article from Khutba, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA.....	240
Table 6.4: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Pronunciation of Numbers from Khutba, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA.....	243
Table 6.5: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Use of Negation and Interrogative Particles from Khutba, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA.....	245
Table 6.6: Correspondence between Levels, Styles, and Settings in Kuwaiti Arabic.....	248

# LIST OF TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS

## I- Consonants

أ	ا
ب	b
ت	t
ث	θ
ج	j
ح	ħ
خ	x
د	d
ذ	ð
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	š
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ḏ
ع	ʿ
غ	ġ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y
آ	g
أ	č
پ	p
ف	v

## II- Vowels

MSA		KA	
Short	Long	Short	Long
a	ā	a	ā
i	ī	i	ī
u	ū	u	ū
-	-	α	ā
-	-	-	ō
-	-	-	ē

## III- Diphthongs

MSA Diphthongs	KA Diphthongs
aw	aw
ay	ay
-	iy

# Chapter One

## Introduction

The situation in the Arabic speaking world is complex and interesting for it is one of diglossia. Bearing the meaning ‘two tongues’, the term refers to the case where two (or more) varieties of the same language are used by speakers of a given language under certain situations and contexts. The varieties involved in any diglossic speech situation exist in a functionally distributed relationship, which refers to the functions for which a particular level of language is used. One of the varieties is considered the ‘High’ variety, while the other ‘Low’ with the possibility of a number of intermediary levels. In simple terms, the *‘āmmiyya* (vernacular or Low variety) is used for informal purposes and is tagged as such for its informal style of speech. It is looked at as the everyday language of interaction that emits friendliness and closeness between speakers. On the other hand, the *fushhā* (the standard or High variety) is associated with formal settings, and is perceived as influential, prestigious, and of an elevated status. The focus has shifted from treating diglossia as an interaction between two extreme levels, to looking at it as a gradient of levels along a continuum of speech, where one will speak of a ‘multiglossic’ language rather than a diglossic one. The levels are differentiated by linguistic variation at all levels, such as phonology, morphology, and syntax.

## **1.0 The Objective of the Study: Research Questions**

The study will try to grasp the notion of diglossia in the Kuwaiti community along a number of phonological variables, with an attempt to establish a solid ground for further research into the area. It will also attempt to construct and define a new level of speech, namely Kuwaiti Modern Arabic (KMA). In the light of these two main aims, the following are the core questions of the research:

- 1) What is Kuwaiti Arabic (KA) and what are its basic linguistic features? (Chapter 3)
- 2) What are the demographics of the KA speech community? (Chapter 3)
- 3) What is the phonemic inventory of KA? As provided in the literature, the phonemic inventory of MSA is set and available. However, a clear account of the phonemic inventory of KA is not available. There may be inventories that would greatly resemble that of KA, but one that is tagged as belonging to KA has not been identified. It is one of the objectives of this research to provide a phonemic inventory of KA. (Chapter 3)
- 4) Standard and variety always differ at several levels. How does KA differ from MSA? (Chapter 3)
- 5) Is this phonological variation controlled? Does it occur in all instances of a particular sound in all environments, limited to certain environments, or is it arbitrary? (Chapter 5)
- 6) Is the speech situation in KA to be treated as a dichotomy between two extreme levels of speech, H and L, or as a continuum? (Chapters 5 + 6) If the latter, then
- 7) What is/are the main intermediate level/levels? (Chapters 5 + 6)
- 8) What is the frequency and distribution of the phonological markers/variables in the different sociolinguistic and recording groups? (Chapter 5)
- 9) Does the use of the dialectal phonological markers chosen for this study correlate with the sociolinguistic factors/variables chosen and the recording groups? In other words, is there interdependence between linguistic form, social meaning, and other para-linguistic factors, such as the recording groups chosen? (Chapter 5)

10) Is the relationship between the phonological markers and the sociolinguistic variables and recording groups a significant one? If yes, is it positive or negative, and between which variables? (Chapter 5)

11) Can the occurrence of the phonological markers be predicted in any significant relationship identified in 10 above? (Chapter 5)

12) Where are the various varieties used, and what are the domains of each? Where is it seen unsuitable to use one rather than the other, and are there situations in which more than one variety can be utilised? (Chapters 6)

## **1.1 Research Hypotheses**

The research analysis will be carried out based on set hypotheses regarding the nature of speech in KA:

1) Based on the general conclusion by scholars on the relationship between formality and language use in the Arab world, males will be more conservative than women. (Chapters 2 + 5)

2) *Duwāniyya* ‘informal social gathering’ is the least formal of all recording groups; hence, it will rank last in a descending scale of formality. (Chapter 5)

3) Friday *Xuṭba* (religious sermon) is the most formal group, and will produce the least dialectal features, if any. (Chapter 5)

4) *Haḍar* speakers will produce more dialectal features than Bedouins. (Chapter 5)

5) Old respondents will produce less dialectal features than middle-aged respondents, who in turn will produce less dialectal features than the young. (Chapter 5)

6) The [y] allophone of /j/ is considered to be the oldest attested allophonic variation in KA, and will be produced the most by old-aged respondents. (Chapter 5)

## **1.2 Structure of the Thesis**

The present chapter introduces the thesis and provides its structure. It also presents the main objectives and hypotheses. Chapter Two re-reviews the literature on Arabic dialectology and diglossia. It provides definitions for the notion of diglossia, and distinguishes it from other speech situations, such as that of bilingualism. It also addresses the issue of standard versus prestige language. Further, it gives examples of phonological variation in Arabic, which is one of the most interesting manifestations of Arabic diglossia.

Chapter Three introduces KA to the reader, and provides a detailed survey of the basic features of the dialect to give an insight into a dialect that has not been sufficiently explored by past scholars, neither Arabs nor Arabists. These features were chosen due to their saliency in the dialect, and selected by means of analogy of their presence in other dialects of Arabic. The chapter begins with presenting a detailed demographic analysis of Kuwait and its population. It then proceeds to deal with the phonology of KA in detail, through to discussing selected features of its morphology and syntax. These features are presented through a comparative approach by way of the standard, MSA. Chapter Three continues on to deal with the lexis of KA through a discussion of foreign borrowings that saw their way into it, and discusses how the dialect accommodates such borrowings.

Chapter Four is the research methodology, addressing the methodological means of organizing the data collection process, alongside a description of the respondents and the recordings, and the pre-selection procedures involved.

Chapter Five presents a discussion of two methods of statistical analysis and their results. It also presents an analysis of the status of the phonological processes included in this study along with rules accounting for and predicting their occurrence. As for Chapter Six, this addresses the existence of KMA as a mesolect in the speech continuum in Arabic by providing a survey of five main features that support its status. These features were seen to play a significant role in distinguishing KMA and its sublevels from MSA and KA. It also addresses the mechanism behind diglossic switching in the dialect. Both Chapter Five and Chapter Six form the crux of the thesis.

Last but not least comes Chapter Seven, which concludes this study by an overview of the main and significant findings, along with presenting the contribution of knowledge demonstrated by the thesis, and recommendations for further research.

## Chapter Two

### Arabic Diglossia

It is a matter of fact, one that is unfortunate, that *no* speaker of Classical Arabic,<sup>1</sup> the Standard variant of the language and the most prestigious, has it as a first language. Even those who are well taught and educated in Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) will almost never produce a full string of speech that could be tagged as belonging to the standard level of CA.<sup>2</sup> CA, as a formally-learned language (rather than naturally acquired) by its speakers is the official language of 18 Arab countries, and 4 non-Arab,<sup>3</sup> with the total number of speakers of the different dialectal varieties of CA -whether they have the dialect as a first or a second tongue- being put at over 400 million by Ethnologue (2008).

The wide-spread of speakers over a vast geographical area that reaches beyond country borders and across continents presents the first obstacle to the Arabic language and its status, which is the identification of the speech community of Arabic. This speech community is difficult to identify because of two main reasons. First, as stated above, CA is not a spoken language in the sense of spontaneity, i.e. it has no native speakers. Second, there are a large number of dialectal renderings of CA that would make it

---

<sup>1</sup> Classical Arabic was the prestigious language of pre-Islamic poetry of Arabia, and through which the Holy Book of Islam, *al-Qur'ān*, was revealed. Hence, it became standardised as the official language of Islamic Arabia.

<sup>2</sup> Rather, what will be produced is Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a simplified version of CA, which will be discussed in detail further below.

<sup>3</sup> Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, UAE, Qatar, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Iraq (Arab); Djibouti, Chad, Comoros, Israel (non-Arab). (cf. Katzner [2002:154-5]).

difficult to agree on one representative speech community. As a result, it is impossible to talk of CA as corresponding to a specific country, hence a specific speech community, but rather to a range of countries whose speakers speak the language. According to Gumperz (1968:463) a speech community is a social group “held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication”. For Labov (1968:251), a speech community is formed when members of that community get together and participate “...in a set of shared norms [including] overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation”. A more elaborate definition is provided by Ferguson (1996) who describes a speech community in a more sociolinguistic manner. He stresses the dimensions of structure, use, and attitudes, and points out the fact of Caton (1991) who distinguishes behaviour from attitudes and beliefs *about* behaviour, and who relates speech community to the use and structure of language, and uses the term ‘linguistic community’ to refer to the attitudes and beliefs of the community towards their language and its varieties:

a social group sharing features of language structure, use and attitudes that functions as a sociolinguistic unit for the operation of linguistic variation and/or change; it may be monolingual or multilingual (Ferguson 1978), and it may be at any level of abstraction for which the definition holds (Ferguson, 1996:55)

These three influential definitions of a speech community collectively agree that a speech community for a given language must have a common denominator bringing them together. Given that Arabic is spoken in a wide geographical area, the speech community of Arabic comprises a collection of speech communities corresponding to the different countries in which Arabic is not only used for official purposes, but also as the first

language of the country. Following this, the speech community of Arabic has as its members all those who speak the different dialects of Arabic and who share the same standard language. For Muslims, speakers have Islam and its Holy Book as a common denominator, in addition to sharing an Arabian identity. The Arabic language also extends to Christians and, to a lesser extent, Jews who have a certain dialect of it as a mother tongue in those Arabic-speaking countries.

The origin of CA and its split into various dialects is a complex one. In pre-Islamic times, Old Arabic was the prestigious, poetic language; it was the language of the poetry of the Bedouin tribes,<sup>4</sup> of pre-Islamic poetry, and, eventually, the language of the revealed Book, the *Qur'ān*. Present day CA, a continuation of this Old Arabic that was codified by grammarians, is the literary and cultural language of the Arabo-Islamic world as it is today (cf. Versteegh, 2004). This Old Arabic began to transform alongside the expansion of Islam through the Islamic conquests, and, hence, the expansion of the Arabic language. Now, no more restricted to the register of poetry of pre-Islamic times, Old Arabic was exported to the conquered cities in attempts to facilitate communication with the indigenous population. This gave rise to a new form of Arabic, 'Neo-Arabic' (to be contrasted with Old Arabic), a form of Arabic that has features traced back to pre-Islamic dialects,<sup>5</sup> and was certainly attested as being "current in the early stages of the conquests, and that developed into the Arabic dialects as we know them nowadays" (Versteegh, 2004:98). Hence, the spread of Islam through the period of the conquests played a vital role in the development of Old Arabic. 'Corruption' of the language, as a

---

<sup>4</sup> Bedouin tribes did not all speak the same language in pre-Islamic times. Rather, there were several dialects present. It is the language of poetry they had as a common denominator.

<sup>5</sup> Such as subject/verb agreement; undeclined dual; disappearance of declensional endings (cf. Versteegh, 2004: 98).

sign of early linguistic behaviour and attitude towards the language as shown by the grammarians of the time, was a direct result of incomplete process of language learning, which was due to the short time the conquerors stayed in their occupied areas and their insufficient ability to speak Old Arabic. Further, the indigenous population were learning Old Arabic in a highly unstructured way as a second language at the hands of the conquerors who gave minimal attention to correctness and maximal attention to communicational value (cf. Versteegh, 2004:109). This has led to the distorted development of the language. Native speakers of the language, Versteegh (1996:18) notes, have gradually decreased in number through the centuries, and, ultimately, ceased to exist, exposing the once dominating language to great danger. This led to a prescriptive approach to the language. For Versteegh the Old Arabic has never changed, but what has happened is a "...transformation of this language in the mouths of those who were not able to speak it correctly" (Versteegh, 1996:18).

Echoing Versteegh is Ferguson's 1959 *The Arabic Koine*, which treats modern Arabic dialects not as direct descendants from CA (Old Arabic), but from a form of Arabic called the *Koine*, which was not "identical with any of the earlier dialects and which differed in many significant respects from Classical Arabic but was used side by side with the Classical language during early centuries of the Muslim era" (Ferguson, 1959b:616). This koine was chiefly spoken and not used as a written medium. It is not based or traced back to a single centre from which it evolved, developing mainly in the cities, and in the army through conquests and, hence, the expansion of Arabic alongside the spread of Islam, as noted above. There were great differences between the various Arabic colloquials of pre-Islamic times, and the 'Arabic Koine' is the product of a long

timespan of “mutual borrowing and levelling amongst various dialects and not as result of diffusion from a single source” (Ferguson, 1959b:619). Subsequent to the conquests and spread of Islam, the development and spreading of the koine gave way to the present-day dialects, and dialectal variation and innovation. Simultaneously, out of fear of linguistic corruption and transformation, this led CA to be explicitly codified in the works of the grammarians, rendering it linguistically unchanged (cf. Ferguson, 1959b; Holes, 1995b).

Although CA is the mother tongue of no Arabic speaker, the elevated ‘self-esteem’ or prominence that overcomes the speakers when identifying themselves as having the knowledge of or the ability to communicate using it leads to the ultimate belief in the supremacy of the language. Ferguson (1959c) identifies four myths about Arabic, and how speakers’ behaviour, attitude, and belief help in shaping or creating such myths or speakers’ ‘language-fantasies’. Ferguson uses the term ‘myth’ broadly to include fictions *and* facts about Arabic. These myths, he reports, are “relatively uniform throughout the [Arabic speech] community” (1959c:75), and are insensitive to dialectal variations in spite of the large number of the Arabic speech communities, and the vast area the Arabic speaking world occupies geographically. Of the four myths, two may be mentioned here. The first myth is the superior status Arabs attribute to Arabic. This can be traced back to four factors: the perceived beauty of the language, its grammatical symmetry and structure, its rich and large lexicon, and its religious status as the medium of the *Qur’ān*. Arabic is known to its speakers as being a rhetorical and poetic language, invoking a mixture of emotions, especially when heard in the recitation of the *Qur’ān*. This status codifies the language and presents it as superior to its speakers (Ferguson,

1959c; cf. Versteegh, 1996, 2004). Beauty is a trait of superiority and uniqueness in the mind of the speakers, giving the language an elevated status, hence its high variety status. Second, the perceived richness, vastness, and flexibility of the grammatical and structural system of Arabic do not necessarily mean that the language accommodates new words/terms of modern civilisation easily. The Arabic lexicon is *wāsi* ‘spacious’ and the Arabic language is rich, yet, the language in itself as a carrier and a medium is by no means efficient. The large number of Arabic dialects in the present day Arabo-Islamic world illustrates this, for the usage domains of CA are predictable, confined, and almost motionless; i.e. there seem to be no attempts within the Arab world to expand the usage of CA. The standardisation of the national dialect is instead the trend, as in, for instance, Egypt and Lebanon, where in the audio-visual mass media (cf. Versteegh, 2004:109,183-4) Egyptian Arabic and Lebanese Arabic are prevalent. If a country’s dialect was a ‘currency’, and that currency had the highest exchange rate (the highest rate being the dialect considered by its speakers as the nearest to the Standard, hence, regarded as superior and more beautiful than any other) against all other major currencies (dialects), then there is no way the country with the highest exchange rate will accept any other variety as being higher. This is the case in the Arabic speaking world, projecting no promising future of CA in terms of usage domains, a passive and dormant one. Ferguson (1959c:81-82) states that it is believed that “...it will take about ten...to fifty years” to devise a unified, standardised, universal form of Arabic. Fifty years have passed to this date and no sign of such a universal has emerged, a universal that can be very convincing, productive, and powerful, extending to all areas of the lives of the Arabic speech community, a universal that could perhaps put an end to the definition of diglossia in the

Arab world as we know it, i.e. a universal that could be used in a kitchen talk and in a high-profile officials' meeting. Fifty more years will pass, it could be surmised, and this 'universal dream' will remain unapproachable. This position of the 'saviour' that purists take to preserve CA (cf. Versteegh, 2004:177-83) would act as an obstacle to deliberate efforts to make changes in the contemporary use of the classical language. It is in such situations that the importance of the dialect, the mother tongue, emerges, acting as the flexible medium of communication that adopts and adapts to the spinning wheel of change. This functional distribution is the main drive behind the diglossic status of the Arabic language.

When Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) brought the revelation as a message from God, and announced the new religion of Islam, the message was in the form of a language only a few had the sufficient linguistic knowledge to handle flawlessly. This language, as we have seen above, is the prestigious language of poetry of pre-Islamic times. Thus far, two scenarios are brought forward for the origin of the modern dialects of Arabic. First, modern day dialects can be seen as direct descendants not from CA but from a shared historical koine that has few traces to the period before Islam, and which continued to exist and develop during and after Islam and the Islamic conquests. This koine was an admixture and levelling amongst the various colloquial varieties known to exist alongside Old Arabic (present day CA). In this scenario, CA remained virtually safe and sound by means of explicit codification by grammarians. Second, on the other hand, there is a scenario whereby modern day dialectal variation can be seen as a direct distortion and corruption of CA in the tongues of those who were not able to *speak* it. CA was confined to the poetic register of pre-Islamic times, but when Islam was revealed it expanded its

domain and converts were drawn, via the *Qur'ān*, to this prestigious register. In this scenario, parallel to the spread of Islam, CA began to spread to new territories as the language of the new religion and its Holy Book, the *Qur'ān*. As such, a process of speech accommodation began between the conqueror (the majority of whom were not proficient in CA) and the conquered, which triggered grammarians to codify the language in an attempt to defend it against impurities. CA (or Old Arabic) began to develop and transform to what has been called Neo-Arabic. The modern dialects are seen as further innovations and transformations of this new form of Arabic, Neo-Arabic.<sup>6</sup> In both scenarios, CA the prestigious (by way of Old Arabic), and the koine (either by way of the merger of different pre-Islamic colloquials, or as a transformation of CA into Neo-Arabic) existed in a functional sociolinguistic relationship, which came to be known as diglossia.

Diglossia was first put forward as describing specifically the linguistic situation in the Arabic-speaking world by the French linguist and Arabist William Marçais in 1930. The term *diglossia* (lit. two tongues) itself, however, was first coined and used by the Greek scholar Jean Psychari in his 1888 publication *My Journey* (Athens: S. K. Vlastos) to describe the complicated linguistic situation in Greece (cf. Cochran, 1997). In 1959, Charles Ferguson published an article that would actuate a great deal of impressive research into the Arabic language by different scholars. This article was titled “Diglossia”, in which he defines it (1959a:336) as:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a

---

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Versteegh, 2004 for a full and detailed account of the development of CA, and the subsequent emergence of Neo-Arabic.

very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversations.

Arabic diglossia seems to reach as far back as our knowledge of Arabic goes, Ferguson (1959a:327) continues, and he postulates that three conditions develop to create a diglossic speech community (1959a:338). First, he states that there must exist a language that is closely related to the natural language of the community, and that holds a large body of a literature that embodies the values of the community. Second, access to literacy amongst members of the community is confined to a small elite group, and, third, centuries must pass from the establishment of the first two conditions.

The Arabic language fits Ferguson's three conditions, and as such its speakers and the speech communities they form are characterised as diglossic.<sup>7</sup> The principle of diglossia is the existence of functional compartmentalisation between the varieties of Arabic involved in the speech community. These varieties are genetically related, and the different registers each used for a specific domain of speech render different levels of speech. Ferguson explicitly (and erroneously; see below) identifies two mutually exclusive forms of Arabic, the Standard and the colloquial. The former is superimposed and is referred to as 'high' or (H), while the latter is the 'low' or (L). As noted above, Classical Arabic (*al-fuṣḥā*) is considered the H variety in Arabic-speaking countries and

---

<sup>7</sup> There is a fine line between diglossia and bilingualism, the clear cut being functional distribution and the genetic relation between the concerned varieties, all of which are characteristic of the former. Cf. below for a discussion on diglossia vs. bilingualism. Following Ferguson (1959a), Fasold (1984:44) proposes the term 'diglossic community' (as opposed to the traditional monolingual/bilingual/multi-lingual description) which is "a social unit which shares the same High and Low varieties. Each speech community must not only share the same H, but the same L as well".

is learned not acquired, whereas the vernacular (*al-‘āmmiyya/al-dārija*) is L and is acquired naturally. H and L are both specialised and are unique to specific situations, i.e. they each have their own functional distribution and their own role to play. Ferguson (1959a:329) lists the situations in Table 2.1 and the varieties used in them. Formal situations, as can be elicited from the table, are associated with H, whereas L is associated with informal, day to day events; both cannot be used to perform the same task. As a result, to him they are mutually exclusive: “the importance of using the high variety in the right situation can hardly be overestimated. A [person] who uses H in a purely conversational situation [will be] an object of ridicule” if the context was, for instance, talking to a waitress in a restaurant.

Situation	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instruction to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		x
University lecture	x	
Speech in parliament, political speech	x	
Personal letter	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x

Table 2.1: List of Situations and the Language Variety Used in them

Ferguson (1959a) states that it is a characteristic of diglossia that, for example, a student in a classroom reads out loud in H (Standard Arabic) from her/his exercise book, and then discusses it with her/his teacher using L. This is an ill-based statement for two reasons. First, as we shall see further below, to consider a mere dichotomy and mutual exclusiveness between the two levels, rather than a continuum of speech, is linguistically

unrealistic and unattainable. Crystal and Davy (1969:63) argue that a “one-for-one correlation” or correspondence between form and function, between level of speech and speech environment, although seemingly convenient, is less meaningful than talking of ranges of appropriateness and acceptability of various forms of language to given situations, looking at the dichotomy as a rigid one that should instead be treated as a gradual transition. Second, basing conclusions on scripted rather than natural, unprepared speech renders flawed statements regarding the language in question. Correctly, however, Ferguson states that it is not uncommon for a member of the speech community to say or hear something in L but write it in H, for L usually has no established orthography.<sup>8</sup>

One of the major problems in understanding Ferguson’s notion of diglossia, as Britto (1986) points out, is his unclear use of the term ‘variety’. In fact, Ferguson (1959a:325, footnote 2) admits that “[t]he terms ‘language’, ‘dialect’, and ‘variety’ are used here without precise definition...[and] occur sufficiently in accordance with established usage to be unambiguous for the present purpose”. This vagueness has led to misinterpretations of the concept of diglossia (cf. Rabie, 1991), thus extending its application to those situations of different languages rather than reserving the term exclusively to speech situations akin to Arabic. So, what situations exactly does the concept *diglossia* refer to? When proposing the term, Ferguson attempted to extend it as

---

<sup>8</sup> This shortage in the phonemic inventory of the Arabic language has led speakers all around the Arab world to develop a process of Arabisation by exploiting the English alphabet and Arabic numeral forms in all forms of informal writings, such as texting and e-mailing; so that the number ‘7’, for example, represents (h), with the letter ‘g’ representing an allophone of the sound (j). This is gaining wide popularity, particularly in the Kuwaiti context, where one can find such usages in, for instance, advertisements. An example is that of a bank in Kuwait, where *7sabi* ‘my (bank) account’ is used to promote and market a new saving account named as such. Another company used *taw9eel* in its ads to promote its delivery services, where the number 9 replaces the alveolar emphatic fricative /ʕ/. While orthography involved in the lexeme could have been easily rendered in Arabic as توصيل, the preference seems to flow towards the modernised, more appealing choice. Hence, Arabic orthography lacks few vital sounds, consonants and vowels, and in times seen less modern, which makes it a weak candidate for written communication.

to cover both the structural relationships and the functional distribution of the norms in a speech community. Commenting on the exact functions and features of diglossia, the precise nature of the term as Ferguson originally described and intended, Hudson-Edwards (1984) calls for the delimiting of the definition of the term to speech situations that correspond exactly to that of Arabic, and not to regard situations of different registers and codes, or different languages within the same society as cases of diglossia. He defines the following main points, generated by a recapture of Ferguson's above comprehensive definition of diglossia, as the fertile ground within which diglossia is rooted (1984:8):

(1)

- a) There is sharp functional complementarity between the codes in the code matrix.
- b) The elevated variety enjoys a greater measure of prestige than does the vernacular variety.
- c) The elevated variety has associated with it an extensive literary tradition.
- d) The vernacular variety is acquired through the normal process of language acquisition while the elevated variety is acquired through some kind of explicit formal educational process.
- e) The elevated variety alone is standardized.
- f) The functional relationship between the elevated and the vernacular varieties is stable over the long term, often over a period of centuries.
- g) The vernacular variety is grammatically simpler than the elevated variety.
- h) Despite sharing the bulk of their vocabularies in common, the elevated and vernacular contain phonologically unrelated lexical doublets for common, everyday items.

i) The phonology of the elevated variety is more marked than the phonology of the vernacular variety.

Hudson-Edwards (1984:8) states that based “...on the preceding [(1)a-i] characterization of diglossia, it would seem beyond all controversy that Ferguson originally intended the term to apply only to those situations where the two codes in question were varieties of what was considered to be the same language”.

Conversely, Fishman (1972:73) states that diglossia “...was used in connection with a society that recognized two (or more) languages for intrasocietal communication”. He (1967) erroneously remarked that Ferguson’s diglossia involves languages rather than varieties, and that Ferguson did not consider functional complementarities of the varieties involved in diglossia, neither did he consider speech situations such as standard-with-dialects. Not only did Ferguson distinguish diglossia from standard-with-dialects, but also from a two-language situation by pointing out that “in the more usual standard-with-dialect situation the standard is often similar to the variety of a certain region or social group...which is used in ordinary conversation more or less naturally by members of the group and as a superposed variety by others” (1959a:337). He further distinguished between the two by maintaining that any attempt to speak H in a situation demanding L would be considered ‘pedantic’ and the user of L would be a subject of ridicule: “[a]s characterized here, diglossia differs from the more widespread standard-with-dialects in that no segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H as a medium of ordinary conversation, and any attempt to do so is felt to be either pedantic and artificial or...disloyal to the community” (1959a:336-7). Rabie (1991:23) mentioned that in the case of a diglossic speech community “every member...who uses ‘H’ should use it in addition to ‘L’ with special condition that ‘H’ not to be used in ordinary conversation”.

Also, functional complementarity, as Ferguson understands it, is a key factor in distinguishing diglossia from two-language situations, such as in Canada where either French or English can be used in ordinary conversations, because “in a diglossic community, there are no native speakers of ‘H’ and...because ‘H’ never serves all functions for any portion of the speech community” (Rabie, 1991:23). While Fishman considers Ferguson’s definition as dealing with languages (e.g. German and Swiss in Switzerland) but not with varieties within the same language, Penalosa (1980) takes an unsupported stand that it includes both; i.e. it considers different languages, in addition to varieties of the same language. Penalosa (1980:41-42) declares that “Ferguson (1959a) coined the term diglossia to refer to situations in which either two varieties of the same language *or two different languages* [emphasis mine] are extensively used in society”. This claim would seem to be spurious as seen from the above descriptions of Ferguson’s diglossia. In 1996, Ferguson himself commented on the major weaknesses of his original 1959 article “Diglossia”, in an attempt to clarify major misunderstandings and confusions that were exhibited by his article. He starts by pointing out his original intentions, in the 1959 article. “What was I trying to do?”, he asks; and answers: “I wanted to characterize a particular kind of language situation, taking a clear case that was relatively easy and uncontroversial to characterize...I hoped other people would write articles on other clear cases in order to develop a fairly elaborate taxonomy of language situations” (1996:50). He further proceeds by explaining that what he intended to discuss *was* in fact diglossia and not any other speech situation by expressing that he “...could have chosen as [his] ‘clear case’ the creole continuum, or the standard-with-dialects, or any of a number of other recognizable, widely instantiated types of language situation”, such as bilingualism

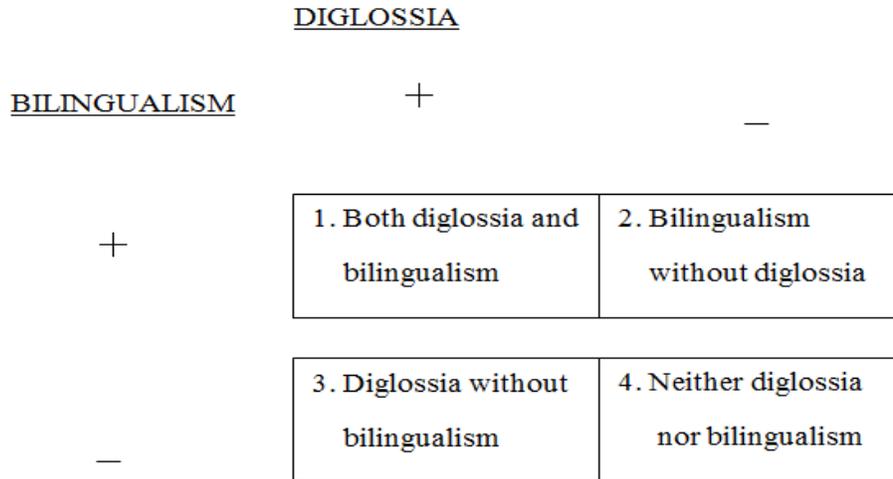
(1996:52). Talking about the term ‘superposed H’, he refers to it as not being the language or variety used by its speakers to carry out everyday conversations. On the contrary, it is used in formal speech situations (which, according to him, could be a sermon in the mosque, or a sports announcer commenting on a football game), and it is the variety used for written purposes (as far as Arabic is concerned at least). The key factor that presents diglossia with its uniqueness, and separates it from other speech situations, as mentioned earlier, is that “...the ordinary formal language of the community is one that no one speaks without special effort and no one uses in ordinary conversation: it is acquisitionally and functionally superposed to the primary variety of the language” (1996:52). It is crucial at this point to distinguish between diglossia and bilingualism, and define what constitutes the ‘code’ in the code-switching that takes place in both phenomena.

The term ‘code-switching’ is now commonly used to refer to cases of diglossia, which I believe to be an erroneous practice. Diglossia, being a description of a *language* and not a speaker in a speech community, is related to the variation within the *same* language in which level/register alternation is witnessed. Code-switching, on the other hand, was originally (and still today) descriptive of cases whereby two or more *different* languages are involved in the switch, i.e. describing cases of *bilingualism*, not diglossia, where bilingualism is related to a speaker’s proficiency and competence in two or more languages; the common dynamic shared is the functional use of language embedded within the terms. This fine division of meaning is not a problem per se, but “...does complicate matters when...dealing with North African dialects [of Arabic] where one is faced with both register and language switching [e.g. Tunisian, Moroccan, or Algerian in

which Arabic and French are found]” (D. Newman, Pers. Comm.). Hence, a situation such as that in Tunisia, where CA-MSA (Modern Standard Arabic)/French/Tunisian Arabic represent the linguistic situation, bilingualism, code-switching, and diglossia are all possible characteristics of the speech situation in which speakers are involved. As Owens (2000:458) puts it: “Whereas in the Middle East SA [Standard Arabic] is the undisputed high variety, in North Africa it is only in post-independence times that SA began achieving parity with French as the language of education and official business [after the former had been politically voted as the national standard]”, hence, resulting in the state of conflict described above. Fishman (1967) modifies the definition not only of diglossia, but that of bilingualism as well. For him, diglossia can be used to refer to different varieties, whether they are related or not. It is restricted to a description of the language/variety/dialect/register in the direct speech community, and to how social functionality is divided. Bilingualism, on the other hand, is reserved for the speakers’ competence and performance in the different varieties, and it is no longer limited to different languages, but can also denote a person’s knowledge of a standard and genetically-related dialect, i.e. bilingualism entails bi-dialecticism.

Fishman recognises a four-way relationship amongst the two notions (see Fig. 2.1). Diglossia, according to him (1967:29) is “...used in connection with a society that used two (or more) languages for internal (intra-society) communication”. Fishman then comments on the functional distribution in diglossic situations by stating that “[t]he use of several separate codes within a single society...[is] dependent on each code’s serving functions distinct from those considered appropriate for the other” (1967:29). He stresses the fact that where one set of behaviours, values, and attitudes are operational in a given

situation, these will be conducted in a certain variety/level of the language or perhaps another language, while other sets will be expressed in other varieties/levels/languages. Therefore, diglossia is not restricted to a monolingual community with one language with



**Fig. 2.1: The Relationship between Bilingualism and Diglossia**

different codes, one considered superior to the other (cf. Ferguson, 1959a), rather its application is extended to include those linguistic communities with more than one language in operation, and which “...employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind” (Fishman, 1967:30). The first quadrant of the figure above is well illustrated by the frequently cited example of German-speaking Swiss (cf. Ferguson, 1959a; Fishman, 1967; Weinreich, 1953) where the entire population are in constant switch between High German (Ferguson’s H) and Swiss German (Ferguson’s L), each variety having its own set of established functions. The compartmentalisation of roles and the access to these roles are key factors affecting

the speech status of a community. The 'role repertoire', i.e. the roles and functions associated with each level of speech, of the speech community, should equate with its 'linguistic repertoire'. Diglossia and bilingualism are said to exist when speakers engage in a range of (designated) roles access to which is facilitated and motivated by the various institutions of the community.

Quadrant three, diglossia without bilingualism, represents cases by which a speech community (usually two or more) is (are) characterised by unpenetratable group boundaries, where access to the community is restricted and prohibited to outsiders. Fishman exemplifies this with an example of pre-WWI where European elites never spoke the language of the countrymen, and vice versa. Effective communication and full comprehension was carried out through translators and interpreters, creating a non-bilingual diglossic situation. Diglossia in this sense is achieved as there is a need for role specialisation within the two separate speech communities, hence, bilingualism is not likely to spread due to the almost isolated lives the elite and countrymen lead.

The second quadrant represents communities where bilingualism, a "...characterization of individual linguistic behaviour", is attained in the absence of diglossia, "a characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level" (Fishman, 1967:34). This usually happens when conflict, due to industrialisation and development, for example, arises whereby two (or more) speech communities from different regions disagree as to what language is to be treated as superior, as H, i.e. what language is to be used in education, government, preaching etc. This is led by the loss of an established set of values, linguistic behaviours and attitudes, and role compartmentalisation resulting in the absence of a clear distribution of functions amongst

the various languages in interaction. Ultimately, this drives the community into an unstable linguistic situation. This can be exemplified by the situation in Morocco where during its occupation by the French, and into post-independence, there was a long debate as to what should constitute the formal language of Morocco: French or CA? The country finally settled, as noted above, on the latter.

The last and final quadrant demonstrates an ‘empty’ box, so to speak, as it reports neither diglossia, nor bilingualism. In such communities, self-sufficiency is obtained with no need to get in contact with other speech communities. Fishman (1967:37) successfully postulates that such a speech community will eventually embark on bilingualism due to factors of internal diversification and repertoire diversification, such as exogamy, warfare, expansion of population, industrialisation and economic growth. The societal normification of this diversification is the hallmark of diglossia.

The L variety differs drastically on all linguistic levels from the H variety.<sup>9</sup> At the lexical level, for example, a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H and one L where both are used to refer to the same item, and the appearance of either in an uttered or written sequence will mark that sequence as H or L (cf. Ferguson, 1959a; Kaye and Rosenhouse, 2006:267; Lipinski, 2001:577). The following examples give a word in Standard Arabic and its counterpart in one of the dialects of Arabic, namely KA:<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> With respect to Arabic, Owens (2000:449) stresses the ‘mechanical compatibility’ between H and L: “[t]he basic phonological and morphological structure of SA [H] and NA [L] are very similar”. SA=Standard (Classical) Arabic, while NA=Native (colloquial) Arabic.

<sup>10</sup> Kuwaiti Arabic is one of the hundreds of colloquial varieties of Classical Arabic. It will shape the core of the discussion and analysis to come.

<b>Standard Arabic</b>	<b>KA</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>nāfiḏa</i>	<i>diriisha</i>	window
<i>maṭraḥ</i>	<i>dōšag</i>	mattress
<i>ra`ā</i>	<i>shāf</i>	he saw
<i>yaftaḥ</i>	<i>ibaṭṭil</i>	he opens
<i>kayfa</i>	<i>shlōn</i>	how?

**Table 2.2: Examples of Lexical Items in the Standard vs. the Dialect**

Given that both the levels are genetically related, the vocabulary of L is based largely on H. Yet, the lexical repertoire of the former is more flexible than the latter's in accepting new lexical items.<sup>11</sup>

This fine division of function between H and L leads to the question of the availability of an intermediary variety that would accommodate 'Language' as an ever changing, dynamic, linguistic phenomenon. The transition from one level to another is not abrupt as is sensed by Ferguson's (1959a) original description of diglossia. Rather, the transformation is gradual, and what one observes is a gradient use and a back-and-forth movement along a continuum of speech levels. Britto (1986:17) states that Ferguson disregards any division of function, such as 'formal', 'semi-formal', 'informal'; 'oral-formal', 'oral-informal', 'written-formal', 'written-informal', apart from his two-way division. Britto hypothesises a situation in which diglossia takes four faces, A, B, C, and D, all being different on the levels of phonology, vocabulary/lexicon, and grammar. He

---

<sup>11</sup> The rigidity of Classical Arabic in accepting new terminology related to our modern life has been seriously fought for, and led to the establishment of linguistic authorities, such as the Academy of Arabic Language (ALA) in Egypt, to prevent Classical Arabic from accepting any foreign borrowings. Instead, they provide equivalents or coin new words to match any newly-emerged concept of modern civilisation.

points out that in such a case, Ferguson would count two varieties only and not four. Observing the various levels and gradients of spoken Arabic, Owens (2000:425) points out that any close scrutiny of the spoken form of Arabic "...quickly reveals that in practice native speakers of Arabic who had access to both the standard language and the dialect [to which he designates the term native Arabic (NA)] in any given stretch of speech rarely used purely one or the other variant". Ferguson does acknowledge only two forms of Arabic, H and L, each having its own linguistic properties and set of specified functions, and where one is used, the other is not, however, he also recognises (albeit marginally) minimal functional overlapping between the two, eventuating in intermediate forms of the language "al-luġa al-wuṣṭā" to resolve the "tensions which arise in the diglossia situation" (1959a:332). He defines it as "...a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semi-formal or cross-dialectal situations [which] has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflection endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary" (1959a:332). Tension arises, according to Ferguson, due to the lack of linguistic capability in native speakers to utilise H in carrying out a full conversation or expressing themselves clearly and correctly. The H, codified form is learned, and being as such, i.e. learned but not natively acquired, renders it not well mastered by its speakers, resulting in a feeling of linguistic-insecurity when using it as a communicative medium.

The question is, then, what constitutes a middle variety (or varieties), and what should it be called? El-Hassan (1978:113), for example, who defines language as a "*fuzzy* [emphasis mine] phenomenon which defies rigidity" stresses that not to recognise what

he identifies as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) (cf. El-Hassan, 1979; Meiseles, 1980; Mitchell, 1986; Sallam, 1980) as a separate mid-level between H and L leads to an ineffective and insufficient description of the reality of the Arabic language. Owens (2000:427) defines ESA as a stylistically-controlled variety spoken almost exclusively by “...educated Arabs consisting of elements from both SA [CA] and the dialect, and possessing hybrid forms unique to the ESA level”. El-Hassan also accused Ferguson’s conclusions presented in his “Diglossia” article of being weak and that they “...cannot be validated by empirical language data”. The true question is whether what Ferguson presented *is not yet* validated by data, or simply *cannot be* validated. Thus, whereas for Ferguson a sermon in the mosque is carried out in H, for El-Hassan it is in either ESA, or (though not often I think) in pure colloquial. Giving Ferguson the benefit of the doubt is to presume that what he *intended* to mean was a read-aloud sermon with the Imam reading from a prepared, fully declined speech, which is the only sense in which H can be rendered. El-Hassan rules out such a possibility by stating that “more and more preachers are now avoiding writing out their /xuTbah/ in full, thus allowing for style shifting” (1978:131, footnote 9). This is a twofold statement in the Kuwaiti context for religious sermons can be produced on two levels (cf. Fig. 5.3; Section 6.1). First, as far as scripted speech is concerned, it can be seen as not applying to Kuwaiti preachers as they *do* read from prepared drafts, producing what is known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA; cf. below), and not ESA. On the other hand, prepared speech may be accompanied by occasional drifting from the notes when wanting to stress something by using colloquial phrases and words, or citing examples in the colloquial, hence RKMA,<sup>12</sup> which can

---

<sup>12</sup> Religious Kuwaiti Modern Arabic, a middle level along the continuum of Kuwaiti Arabic that will be dealt with in Ch. 5.

further be either memorised or improvised (cf. Table 6.6; Section 6.2; Section 5.4.2.1; Fig. 5.3). These differences amongst scholars in the area of functional distribution of speech varieties and levels all assume as a base a one-to-one correspondence between a certain level/variety and a function, but Crystal and Davy (1969:63) made it clear some forty years ago that it would be a mistake to analyse language in such a way and that it is “...more meaningful to talk of *ranges* of appropriateness and acceptability of various uses of language to given situations” (cf. Section 6.2). Bishai (1966) calls this mid-variety Modern Inter-Arabic (MIA), which is to be equated with MSA rather than ESA. It is important here to establish *what* constitutes the high-end of the speech continuum for a certain speech community. In the Kuwaiti context, for instance, this study will take a stand that MSA is the highest form, while CA is set aside for the recitation of the *Qur’ān*, not playing a vital role in the linguistic situation in Kuwait (cf. below Section 2.1, Fig. 5.3). Hence, for Bishai MIA is a mid-variety because he considers CA as the top of the continuum and the colloquial as the bottom end. Yet, in the Kuwaiti context MIA would occupy the top position because MIA is equated with MSA (cf. Bishai, 1966:3). What is MSA, then?

MSA, one can assume, is a linguistic phenomenon that arose from the need for an identity-defining language, in addition, of course, from the need for mutually intelligible communication. What makes it somewhat similar throughout the Arab world is, presumably, the common factor that the vast majority of speakers share, namely Islam (this by no means entail, as noted above, that any non-Muslim Arabs are ruled out as speakers of Arabic, of MSA) and the language of the *Qur’ān*, Classical Arabic, to which the speakers of Arabic are tied in culture and heritage. MSA *is* a continuator of CA,

surely, but what makes it more prevalent and independent is the intricate nature of the latter. MSA is the ‘distortion’ of CA, the language of the *Qur’ān*, whose construction resulted from the need for an accommodating language to catch-up with the constantly-developing life. MSA is nothing but a grammatically simplified version of CA. Parkinson (1993, 1996) and Parkinson and Ibrahim (1999) are three quite similar studies, presenting a close investigation of MSA, lexically and grammatically. When looking at MSA, Parkinson (1993:48) points out three key factors:

- 1) MSA should be looked at as a prescriptive system inherited from CA.
- 2) MSA is part of a communicative continuum.
- 3) MSA is imperfectly known to its speakers, and associated with linguistic insecurity. Yet, it is highly respected and revered.

Knowing all about MSA is not enough, according to Parkinson. To memorise all main grammar rules of prescriptive MSA and all relevant list of words would help one use the language alright, but when this someone starts to perform in the language, he or she will come to realise how different and difficult it is to perform than to memorise. Although MSA is of a high status in diglossic situations, Parkinson found that without at least a high-school level education, speakers cannot perform grammatically well in it when they choose to. High-school education was an important factor for two thirds of his 170 informants in gaining *’i’rāb* ‘inflection’ knowledge in MSA. Regarding MSA as prestigious does not necessarily mean that its speakers can ‘speak’ it. Parkinson and Ibrahim (1999:202) conclude: “languages [and varieties] drift, move, change, [and] evolve. They also show surprising, even shocking, consistency, [with]...forces holding them back, and other forces propelling them forward”.

Kaye (1970, 1972b) argues that an H and L division of function is impressionistic, and a deterministic model should be adopted in describing the Arabic language situation, a model that emphasizes the natural dichotomy in the systems rather than emphasizing a prescribed one. Kaye also substitutes MSA for Ferguson's H (CA), and retains the colloquial status as L. According to him (1972b:32-48), L is a "well-defined" system since it is acquired naturally and natively by its speakers, whereas H is an "ill-defined" system for it is learned, rather than naturally acquired, in school.<sup>13</sup> This classification attributes the ill-/well-defined system dichotomy to Kaye's MSA and colloquial, respectively. Further, falling short of efficiently describing and/or defining notions such as idiolect, style, and variety when analysing colloquial Arabic, Kaye (1970:36) admits that it is "difficult ...to set up linguistic categories of differentiation (a componential analysis) [for them]"; nonetheless, he strongly maintains the well-defined status of the colloquial. Ill-defined sentences, for example, are not equal to ungrammatical ones, but rather are inconsistencies and irregularities within the system, rendering MSA unstable for him. Diglossia in the Arab world is an interaction between MSA and Colloquial, ill-defined vs. well-defined, respectively. This opposition between an unstable system and a stable one, according to Kaye, would ultimately lead to an unstable outcome. El-Hassan (1978:116) opposes such classification by refusing the deterministic approach Kaye takes in treating the Arabic language for it does not tally with the realities of the language. In his study, Kaye (1970) speaks of Cairene as if it is a *static* language spoken *invariably* by *everyone* whatever the situation was - a proposition that can easily be refuted by the

---

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Alrabaa, (1986) who examines diglossia pedagogically in the classroom. "The imposition by the society of a usage which, by nature, is delimited in scope, and more reflective of historical fiction than contemporary linguistic reality can have an inhibiting influence on the learner" (78), pointing out a very important detail of the current status of the standard, for many, specially the 'purists', would consider it to be static rather than dynamic, hence, rendering it inefficient and undeveloped. Consequently, this would lead speakers to "...feel insecure in the domains for the free expression in which this alien form is the one to use" (78).

simple fact of the parallel relationship between the progression and development of life and language. El-Hassan points out that “...one searches in vain for a miraculously homogeneous and well-defined Cairene [i.e. a colloquial variety] that is spoken in an INVARIABLE way by [the whole speech community] (1978:117). Further, in opposing the ‘ill-defined’ tagging of MSA by Kaye, he maintains that variability in certain aspects in a given language or variety does not give anyone the right to define or identify it as being as such. Variability in, for example, phonology, grammar, and lexicon is clearly witnessed in English, between American English and British English in particular, yet no one has brought forward the idea of English being an ill-defined system.

Walters (1996) examined the diglossic situation in Arabic as a case of language contact, leading to linguistic variation and language change. Diglossia, Walters (1996:160) says, “has...never been lost, misplaced, or hidden” accentuating the constant and prolonged contact between the Standard and its different varieties that has characterised the Arabic language for centuries. He encourages the study of diglossia in a ‘Fergusonian’ spirit, limiting it to cases characteristic of the Arabic language, hence opposing Fishman’s extension of the term. Walters refers to the linguistic situation in Tunisia and how diglossia has come to be a problem of some sort, particularly in the field of education. After its independence, Tunisia and Tunisian Arabic faced a threat of linguistic instability when the country had to choose the language to be used in all domains. The Arabic-French-Tunisian conflict was a problematic issue on the state level for years, until the state declared CA/MSA as the national language and thus it became the language of education and government. Walter states that this resulted in ‘Elevated Tunisian Arabic’, for students had been in contact with teachers coming from different

parts of Tunisia with different educational and cultural backgrounds; hence, they had been in contact with the different ways and styles Tunisians were trying to speak MSA, gaining knowledge of all varieties and languages available. Further, he stresses three factors that define the path of the future of diglossia. First, the demographic shifting and development of the community must be taken into consideration, for as time passes, the necessity for quality education evolves, and, thus, access to the high variety of the language stretches to all socio-demographic cohorts of the speech community, leading to the critical question of whether the time comes when "...an intermediate variety based on the grammar of the dialect but with a large admixture of CA/MSA vocabulary could become the norm" (Walters, 1996:167) (cf. Boussofara-Omar, (2003:45)).

The second factor that affects the development of diglossia is the role of religion in the maintenance of the language and/or its varieties. For Arabic, the issue of religion is extremely sensitive; CA is the language of the *Qur'ān*, and as such it serves as a distinctive and venerated symbol. The language of the *Qur'ān* is seen as the language of God Himself, making it, using Walters' terms, eternal and immutable. Hence, the prestige of CA and its status in the diglossic situation of the Arab (Muslim) world<sup>14</sup> is very unlikely to ever fade away, even though its use, orally and orthographically, is limited to specific domains. The third factor is the issue of a written standard. The attachment of the speakers to CA/MSA, even as non-native speakers of the language/variety, is strongly established, which stands in the way of a new variety replacing the standard or competing with it in a functional-allocation relationship (Walters, 1996:169). If this scenario ever arises, which is a far-fetched possibility given the status of CA in particular, this new

---

<sup>14</sup> For non-Muslims, the speech situation is poles apart as they do not possess the spiritual and emotional connection which Muslims do with the Arabic language by means of the *Qur'ān*.

‘guest variety’ will not pass as an easy competitor to CA/MSA, i.e. it will strongly compete for its existence and establishment of status, for it will be, linguistically speaking, closer and more intimate to its speakers than CA, or even its modernised version, MSA. Walters further touches upon a very interesting point, where speakers shift between varieties depending on whether they are engaged in free conversation (conversing in almost pure dialect), or whether it is a read-aloud task (approximating CA/MSA as close as possible). Furthermore, Walters draws a distinction between “diglossic variables” (Haeri, 1991) and “linguistic variables” (Labov, 1972). Haeri (1991:147, cited in Walters 1996:184) defines diglossic variables as “linguistic phenomena which are the specific consequences of a diglossic setting”. In other words, they are variables that are not conditioned by any specific environment, whether phonological or morphological, contrary to linguistic variables where a conditioning (linguistic) environment has to be identified for it in order to separate it from others. Diglossic variables manifest themselves in three main areas with great variability. First, there is the elevated variety of the dialect, Elevated Tunisian Arabic, for instance, mentioned above. Second, is when speaking CA/MSA extemporaneously (cf. Meiseles, 1980); and, third, in cross-dialectal conversations where the kind of Arabic witnessed is an elevated one (cf. Mitchell, 1986). This third domain is of the most interest in the Arabic-speaking world, for when speakers of Arabic from different regions meet, they usually either converse in not an elevated form, but a hybrid one, or they will accommodate themselves to the dialect of the participant with the most ‘linguistic power’, most influence, and/or with the most prestigious status as perceived by the participants of the conversation. A few decades ago, that dialect would have been the

Cairene Arabic of Cairo, Egypt. This is chiefly because it is the most widely used and understood variety throughout the Arab world for it is used in all sorts of media, from radio to television, movies and plays. Egyptian music, too, plays a huge role and controls the field. In clarifying this point, Mitchell (1962:12, cited in Abu-Melhim 1991:236) maintains that:

Egyptian films are seen and the Egyptian radio heard in every Arab country and Egyptians teach in schools from Kuwait to Libya; it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Egyptian colloquial is much better known than any other. In addition, it has advanced further than other colloquials along the road to linguistic independence, for there exists a clearly recognizable norm to which educated Egyptian usage conforms.

However, the preponderance of the Egyptian variety is no longer such a reality as it was when people like, for example, Mitchell (1962), or Abu-Melhim (1991) did their studies (D. Newman, Pers. Comm.). This is mainly due to the spread of technology,<sup>15</sup> such as the internet and satellite television, affecting the diglossic speech situation throughout the Arab world. This has upgraded all dialects, many more of which have become comprehensible to an ever widening group of viewers, listeners (and readers?). Mitchell (1986:9) correctly writes: “Neither CA nor MSA is, in fact, a spoken language, a mother tongue, yet – and this is surely a fact of the higher significance – educated Arabs converse with apparent ease on an infinite number of topics and for an infinite variety of purposes without sounding in the process like books or newspapers”. This further

---

<sup>15</sup> Different technologies affect our language in different ways. Texting and e-mails, for instance, have a great impact on the way language is written (and eventually spoken). Television shows, soap-operas, and advertisements are other examples of how a community’s language is influenced. The dramatic and artistic repertoire of Kuwait, for example, is very well established and is rich; this has rendered the dialect of Kuwait well preserved and maintained. Moreover, this repertoire is widespread throughout the Gulf and other Arab countries such as Egypt. These factors combined made the speakers of KA immune so to speak to any influence of any of the (major) dialects of Arabic. Had KA not enjoyed such a rigid status, it would have certainly been affected by, for instance, Cairene Arabic of Egypt.

supports the existence of intermediary varieties between H and L forming a gradient of levels from which speakers choose back and forth an admixture to satisfy their diglossic, linguistic need.

One of the major contributions to the field of Arabic sociolinguistics (and the only to be written fully in Arabic) is Badawī's (1973) extensive study on Cairene Arabic. It is considered a seminal study of diglossia in the Arab world. He describes the diglossic situation in Egypt, and sketching the larger image of how diglossia can be characterised in different speech communities. In characterising the speech situation in the Arabic-speaking nations, Badawī identifies five discrete levels along a continuum of speech. He classifies the five levels based on the education of speakers. The levels co-exist and each has its own linguistic properties, its own phonological, morphological, and syntactical characteristics. However, what might apply to one speech/linguistic community does not necessarily have to apply to another. Badawī's characterisation of the diglossic situation in Egypt is particular to Egypt only. Perhaps some similar cases do exist with some or no dissimilarities, but this should by no means imply that this characterisation is uniform, i.e. it is not the case that each diglossic speech community in the Arabic-speaking world should have five speech levels and that each level is situated in correspondence with the level and type of education of its speakers. In Kuwait, as we shall see, apart from possible inconsistencies in lexicon and choice of words, and idiolectal variations, a high-school drop-out and a PhD holder might almost speak identically phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. Unlike Egypt and many other Arabic-speaking countries where illiteracy is widely spread, in Kuwait the case is poles apart. Hence, such a situation arising in Kuwait where educational background, as a sociolinguistic variable,

is dormant when it comes down to correlating it with a person's speech may be traced back to this fact, i.e. the education system in Kuwait, as dictated by the Constitution, is available all the way to the end of secondary school at no costs to all Kuwaitis. The Constitution also obliges all parents to put their children through infant school, after which education is not obligatory, but free. As a result, speakers of KA can hardly be differentiated linguistically based on education for the majority of the linguistic input they receive is that of literates.

Badawī (1973:52,96) maintains that a discrete linguistic level is a set of unique linguistic properties associated with a specific set of linguistic and social (sociolinguistic) functions. The access to and/or the acquisition of a particular linguistic level is determined by the quality of education of the discourse participants, by the social background of the speaker and the social context of the conversation. The addressee and the topic being discussed are key factors, too, in determining the movement from one level to another. Badawī further stresses the conditions necessary for speakers to acquire and use a certain level with the possibility of speakers being able to produce more than one level, moving upwards and downwards on the five-level continuum during her/his speech. All five levels are interrelated, and overlapping is always a choice: “*’innahā fī ’ittiṣāl wa tafā’ul dā’imayn fī mā baynahumā...[wa] lā ta’īš mun’azila ba’dahā ’an ba’d dākhil hudūd muqfala*” ‘The five levels are in constant contact and they do overlap, rather than being discrete, independent levels’ (Badawī, 1973:92), contrary to Ferguson, who sees only two disconnected varieties with extremely minimal interaction or overlapping. The following are the five discrete levels of Badawī’s taxonomy (1973:89-92):

- 1) *fuṣṣḥā at-turāḥ*: ‘The standard of heritage (Classical Arabic)’, which corresponds to Ferguson’s H, and is not affected by any progression of civilisation, i.e. ‘pure’. As the approach taken in this study, Badawī limits this level to *Qur’ānic* recitation.
- 2) *fuṣṣḥā al-‘aṣr*: ‘Modern Standard Arabic’, the modern literary language which is basically a written form but is sometimes read aloud. It has no immediate correspondence in Ferguson’s analysis. Used in the media and political commentary.
- 3) *‘āmmiyyat al-muṯaqqafīn*: ‘The colloquial of the intellectuals (Educated Colloquial)’, the everyday formal spoken language of educated people in dealing with serious matters such as politics, science, arts, and social conflicts, with its main difference with Level 2 being the absence of any form of ‘linguistic censorship’ on it. Corresponds to Ferguson’s regional standard which is part of L. Badawī (1973:90) comments on the popularity and prevalentness of this mid-level: “the lexicon, various expressions, and flexibility of Educated Colloquial renders it the vessel of modern, civilised Egypt, and the tongue of modern science”.
- 4) *‘āmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn*: ‘The colloquial of the enlighten (Literate Colloquial)’, the everyday informal spoken language of educated people, and part of Ferguson’s L, used in situations such as story/news telling, buying, selling, family and friend conversations, discussing food, fashion etc.
- 5) *‘āmmiyyat al-ummiyyīn*: ‘Illiterate Colloquial’, the everyday language of the illiterate and part of Ferguson’s L. This has no place in the media, but can be found in comedy plays and theatre, as it is considered to be “*luġat awlād il-balaḍ*” ‘lit. The language of the children (people) of the country’ (Badawī, 1973:91).

As seen in the classification above, Badawī identifies five discrete levels. However, for Ferguson this would only be considered as a dichotomy rather than a polytomy, i.e. a two-way division rather than a multiple-way division. Levels two to five are, according to him, parts of L, sublevels rather than independent, discrete levels. The transformations of

*fuṣḥā* characteristics into *‘āmmiyya* characteristics would take place gradually, and the movement from level one to level five could thus be described as a gradual decrease in the frequency of *fuṣḥā* features, and/or as a gradual increase of the *‘āmmiyya* features. An example of this would be that of word order in all five levels mentioned above. In Egypt, SVO and VSO word orders both exist in all levels, but SVO reaches its highest frequency in level five and its lowest in level one. VSO displays the exact reverse pattern, i.e. showing high frequency rates in level one, but very low frequency rates in level five. Hence, Figure 2.2, based on Badawī’s (1973:104), which shows the gradual decrease in Classical (level one) features as we move leftwards towards level five (Illiterate Colloquial).

In line with Badawī’s choice of phonological variables which he chose as a basis for level characterisation in Egypt, Daher (1999) examines two similar phonological variables in Damascene Arabic. These are interdental voiceless and voiced fricatives, /θ/ and /ð/, which are the standard forms. These are realised as the /t/-/d/ alveo-dental plosives or the alveolar fricatives /s/-/z/, respectively. The standard forms are rarely used

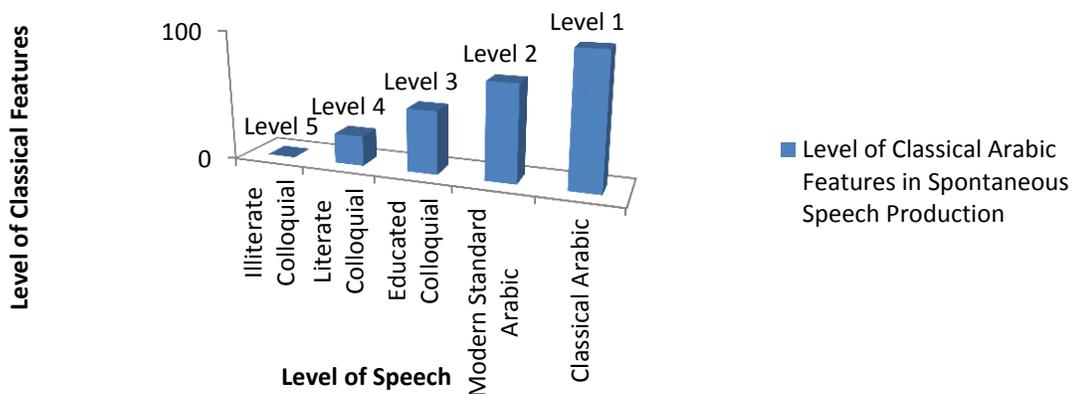


Fig. 2.2: The Causal Relationship between Level of Speech and Number of Classical Features

and are restricted in usage domains, for they are learned formally through education and not acquired naturally (or natively). They are perceived as exceedingly formal to a point that speakers will not feel comfortable using them. Daher draws a distinction between “binary” and “tertiary” variables as shown in the following table (1999:164):

Variable	Variants		Examples of lexical triplets/doublets
	SA	DA	
Ternary			
/θ/:	[θ]	[s], [t]	<i>θalj~salj~talj</i> 'snow'
/ð/:	[ð]	[z], [d]	<i>hāða~hāza~hāda</i> 'this (msg)'
Binary			
/θ/:	[θ]	[s]	<i>θānawi~sānawi</i> 'secondary'
/ð/:	[ð]	[z]	<i>ʔiða~ʔiza/ʔīza</i> 'if'

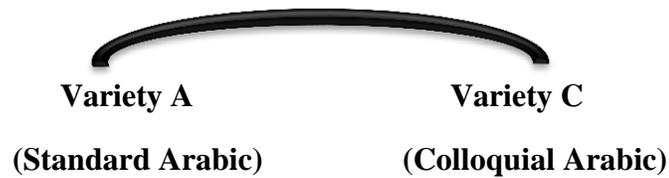
Table 2.3: Phonetic Distribution of (θ) and (ð) in Standard Arabic (SA) and Damascene Arabic (DA)

The form mostly used by the speakers of the higher social class is usually the form to which prestige is attached. It is the social group that provides the certain language variety, dialect, accent etc. with its respective status (Trudgill, 1984; Coates, 1993). Daher postulates that the use of [s] / [z] and [θ] / [ð] in both binary and tertiary variables is an exceptions given that the use of [t] and [d] is the norm. Under the ternary variables, the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ were originally realised in Damascene Arabic as [t] and [d], respectively. However, Daher argues that “comparatively recent, less than entirely successful attempts, by newly-educated speakers to produce the Standard [θ] and [ð] resulted in the production of [s] and [z] instead” (1999:164), rendering a ternary use of the variables. Thus, the variants [s] and [z] of the ternary variables gained prestige by virtue of Standard approximation - [t] and [d] are the dialectal variants. As for the binary sound change, that is considered more recent than the ternary. In here, [s] and [z] are seen as the dialectal variants, and have been found to enjoy no analogous prestige by

association with their ternary counterparts (Daher, 1999:167; cf. Badawī, 1973:157-58; Holes, 1995b:58). The [s] and [z] variants in both ternary and binary occur in recent technical borrowings and in words that are not as commonly used as those with ternary variation.

Daher concludes with the findings that any use by the informants of the exceptional/elevated/standard (and prestigious) variants, i.e. [θ] and [ð], are men. Also, the choice of these variants correlates not only with high level education, but also with the informants' professions. It is the informants with professions with close contact with written Arabic who make use of the standard variants. Overall, the dialectal variants [t]/[d] (for ternary, and [s]/[z] (for binary) were the norm.

Mirroring Badawī's Arabic continuum is Hary (1996), who regards the term 'diglossia' no longer fit to describe the Arabic speech situation for it entails a mere dichotomy. He favours the term 'multiglossia' (cf. Joseph Dichey's 1994 'Pluriglossia'; other terms include triglossia, quadraglossia, and polyglossia) in describing the linguistic situation in the Arab world for it is one of a continuum rather than discrete levels independent of each other. A continuum is needed since a clear-cut line between the standard and the colloquial is rather tricky and complicated to draw. This continuum will have the standard at one end (Variety A), and the colloquial at the other (Variety C). The following figure (Hary, 1996:72) illustrates this:



**Fig. 2.3: The Arabic Continuum**

Hary emphasises the point that there is no such thing as ‘pure’ speech (cf. Owens, 2006 amongst others), whether colloquial or standard. Each will have traces of the other; hence, the two opposite poles seen above are idealisations of the speech situation. On the far left, Standard Arabic is the ‘acrolect’ end of the continuum, whereas Colloquial Arabic at the far right is the ‘basilect’ end. Between the two ends of the continuum one finds the ‘mesolect’. This constitutes the middle part of the continuum and includes not just one variety, or, as Blanc (1960) and Badawī (1973) suggest, three varieties, but rather “there can be an almost infinite number of lectal varieties on the continuum between the two ideal types” (Hary, 1996:72). Hary proposes to name this mid variety ‘Variety Bn’, where ‘n’ represents the almost countless possibilities available to the speakers along the continuum. When “...dealing with the notion of a continuum, there are no boundaries and no commitments to discrete categories” (72) thus allowing more flexibility in analysing different (socio)-linguistic phenomena. He identifies seven possible variables that could account for the status of the speaker on the continuum, i.e. how s/he talks, what variety is used, choice of lexical items etc. These can either be optional or obligatory:

- a) Setting (formal v. informal)
- b) Topic
- c) Speakers’ skills in MSA
- d) Emotional state of the speakers

- e) Participants in the discussion
- f) Function of the discourse
- g) Personal relationship with the audience

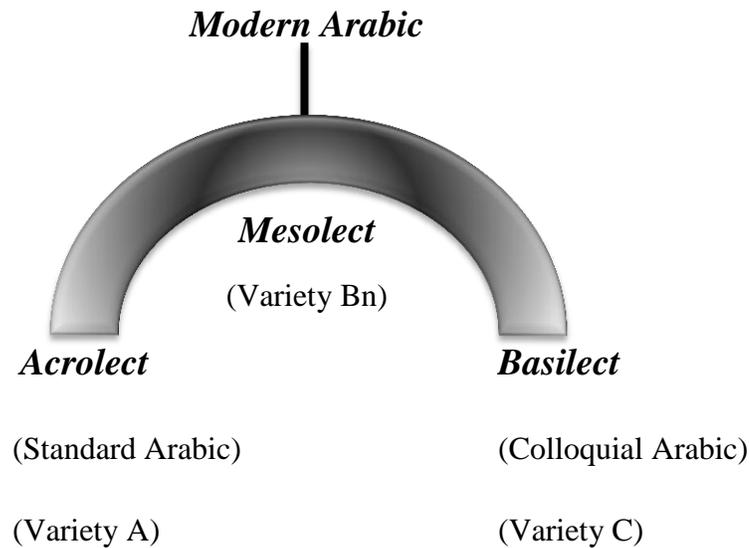
The following table (Hary, 1996:74, adapted from Labov, 1973:344ff) illustrates the interaction between various properties along the continuum:

<b>Property Item</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
A	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
B	S	S	S	S	S	S	C
C	S	S	S	S	S	C	C
D	S	S	S	S	C	C	C
E	S	S	S	C	C	C	C
F	S	S	C	C	C	C	C
G	S	C	C	C	C	C	C
H	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

**Table 2.4: Ideal Property-Item Matrix for Standard-Colloquial Continuum in Arabic. S = Standard; C = Colloquial**

The table represents eight linguistic items distributed according to seven properties, and thus classified as standard (S) or colloquial (C). Item ‘a’ in the above table corresponds to Hary’s ‘Variety A’ end of the continuum, whereas item ‘h’ corresponds to his ‘Variety C’. Items ‘b-g’ represent the intermediate items shifting along the continuum in

consecutive order from ‘b’ to ‘g’. Hary’s final version of the Arabic continuum would be as follows:



**Fig. 2.4: The Arabic Continuum Extended**

The interest in the study of the Arabic continuum is extended to correlating the identification of the levels not just with linguistic variables, such as phonological or morphological, but with para-linguistic ones, such as the social variable of education, gender, geographical area, and age. as defining factors in level identification and characterisation. Abu-Haidar (1988), for example, explores what is known as the Muslim Arabic dialect in Baghdad (or, as apparent from her discussion, the *Šīṭī* dialect of Baghdad), and gives an insight on the complex nature of the variation in Baghdad. Through time the communities of the rural areas flocked to the city, blending the life-style of the two. “Social contact and education were instrumental in bridging the rural – urban gap” she states (1988:75). The newcomers are adapting to the lifestyle of the urban,

while at the same time retaining some features of their linguistic background, i.e. their rural speech, which, over time, blended and “...diffused into [the Muslim Arabic dialect], thus creating interesting linguistic contrasts within the dialect” (1988:75). After such a ‘variety contact’ situation, what usually follows is a process of accommodation whereby people “...accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing the dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopting features from each other’s speech” (1988:75), hence, features perceived as undesirable are modified and the features of the more powerful or prestigious variety are replaced instead - in the case of Baghdad, the Muslim Arabic features replacing the rural features. Abu-Haidar exemplifies this by the replacement of the rural /č/ by the urban /k/ in almost all environments, resulting in a process of “hypercorrection” (cf. Labov, 1966). A process of levelling of speech is the outcome of such contacts. She identifies a list of eight contrasting phonological features that classify the speakers of Muslim (Šī‘ī) Arabic in Baghdad as belonging originally to the urban area (the *xašš* group as she calls them, as they use this term as the verb ‘to enter’), or as in-migrating from the rural (the *ṭabb* group). Both *xašš* and *ṭabb* are used for the verb ‘to enter’. Below are some of the eight features she observed (1988:77-9); (I will call the *xašš* group ‘A’, and the *ṭabb* group ‘B’):

1) Stress assignment in trisyllabic forms:-

- A: Falls on the initial syllable, e.g. *hán.da.sa* ‘engineering’
- B: Falls on the medial (penultimate), or antepenultimate (if in non-pausal forms), e.g. *wa.ḥíd.na* ‘by ourselves’  
*mad.rá.sa* ‘school’ (cf. non-pausal *mad.rá.sa.tun*)

2) Vowel length in negative particles *mā* and *lā* :-

- A: It is shortened, e.g. *ma yākul* ‘he does not eat’  
*la tinsa* ‘do not forget (m)’
- B: It is retained, e.g. *mā yākul* ‘he does not eat’  
*lā tinsa* ‘do not forget (m)’

3) In some disyllabic terms of the pattern  $C^1VC^2.C^3V$  where  $C^3$  is /d/ or /t/,  $C^2$  is frequently assimilated to  $C^3$  in group B:-

- A: e.g. ‘*inda* ‘he has’  
*binti* ‘my daughter’
- B: e.g. ‘*idda* ‘he has’  
*bitti* ‘my daughter’

Abu-Haidar concludes by claiming that although such phonological differences are characteristic of certain groups, i.e. if one uses a specific term he or she is identifiable as belonging to group A or group B, the variation is not so deep as to divide the speech community into two discrete groups. Also examining ethnicity in relation to language choice is Holes (1980, 1983, 1986a/b) who examines the Arabic dialect of Bahrain (and its sub-varieties), showing the existence of what is locally perceived as a high-prestige (but *local*) variety, the *Sunnī* (group A) variety, as opposed to the *Šī‘a* (group B). The prestigious speech of group A includes phonological markers, such as [č] (for standard /k/) and [y] (for standard [j]), while group B retain the standard variants, i.e. /k/ and /j/. However, although the phonological markers in the speech of the latter are on the H side of the continuum, its speakers tend to accommodate themselves to the markers of the former for they regard it as more prestigious. Hence, the prestige/standard switch is no longer one, switched on or off as contextually required; it is now divided into *two* switches in the speaker’s brain, one tagged as standard, the other prestige. So, for the *Šī‘a*, the prestige switch is turned *on* when accommodating to the *Sunnī* speech, while

simultaneously switching *off* the standard switch. Holes terms group A's speech as the "non-standard standard" describing such speech situations as ones where "...the two forces of social prestige and linguistic 'correctness' are pulling in opposite directions" (1980:81).

Another social factor affecting linguistic choice is that of gender. Speakers of both genders differ in their speech, and in their approximation to the prestigious and/or standard form of the language. Women, Western sociolinguistic research almost collectively concludes, are more sensitive to prestige and standard approximation in their speech than men are. On the other hand, women in Arabic-speaking communities tend to contradict this established pattern (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Bakir 1986; Kojak, 1983; Salam 1980; Schmidt, 1986; amongst others). Put differently, men in the Arabic-speaking world, having an Arabic variety as the mother tongue, as agreed by these studies and others, "...exhibit greater tendency than [their] women [counterparts within the society] in their attempt to approximate Standard Arabic in speech situations" (Bakir, 1986:5). Ibrahim argues against such a uniform finding, saying that "...standard and prestigious varieties do not always coincide" (1986:115), and drawing any conclusions based on the assumption that they do yields false conclusions. An example of the prestige-standard conflict is Wahba's (1996) study of variation in the phonetic feature 'emphasis (pharyngealisation)' in Alexandrian Arabic, giving an insight into the role of linguistic variation in diglossic situations. Choice of one linguistic variation over another corresponds with the speaker's social status in the community he or she is in. Hence, in the case of the emphatics of Arabic, the choice amongst speakers to use emphatic variety over non-emphatic one would necessarily reflect or signal the educational status and

background of that speaker. In other words, if a speaker produces almost full emphasis, then he/she is following the prestigious, prescriptive norm for emphasis is associated with MSA, the top level of speech in the Arabic continuum.<sup>16</sup> However, what Wahba discovered was unexpected and remarkable. He found that the “[e]ducated speakers (males and females)...produce[d] a *lesser* [emphasis mine] degree of emphasis than non-educated speakers” (1996:119) electing it as the prestigious form. This poses the question of standard vs. prestige. Are they to be treated the same? The answer to this is not as simple as it seems to be. I think that the standard does not necessarily have to be simultaneously prestigious. This, of course, depends on the agreed-upon norms of the society and the status of the standard in that society. Stressing a point earlier mentioned, Wahba (1996:120) points out that “...the prestige value of {CA} has been transferred to [MSA, yet]...within each Arab country there is a regional variety of the language that functions as the standard”. As a probable explanation, he claims that “...there are two prestigious standards, not one.... One is the ‘national standard’, known as MSA... [while]...the other is the local Colloquial standard variety”. The former is written, while the latter is generally not.

Haeri (1987) as reported by Walters (1991), and Ibrahim (1986) argue that the basis of speech analysis of variation in diglossic communities, whether based on variables such as age, sex, or education, should not be a comparison between the concerned dialects against CA/MSA; rather, the basis for comparison should be against what Ibrahim (1986:120) calls the “inter-regional standard L” or “supra-dialectal low” as opposed to supra-dialectal High, and what Haeri (1987) termed “organic standard” or

---

<sup>16</sup> We are reminded here that Classical Arabic (CA) is restricted to *Qur’ānic* recitation; hence, MSA occupies the ‘acrolect’ position.

“urban standard”. These ‘national’ standards are more connected and closely attached to their speakers, and as time passes they will gain a sort of prestige status, leading to the dilemma of the standard vs. the prestigious. Ibrahim (1986) gives an insight on the misconception, as he perceives it, of equating the term ‘standard’, or collocating it, with ‘prestige’ when referring to the process of language/dialect choice amongst speakers. In support of this standpoint, Smith (1979:113) states that “prestige cannot be used interchangeably with standard in sociolinguistics, for the linguistic varieties that are socially advantageous (or stigmatized) for one group may not be for the other”. It is a well-known phenomenon that within one speech community there exists an incongruity of attitudes and beliefs towards language and its ‘commendable’ and correct usage. An example of this situation is that of the variety of Arabic spoken in Cairo, as reported by Ferguson (1959:332), where the “...Arabic of Cairo...serves as a standard L for Egypt, and educated individuals from Upper Egypt must learn not only H but also, for conversational purposes, an approximation to Cairo L”. Put differently, speakers of Upper Egypt consider the Arabic of Cairo more prestigious than H but less standard. This is evident from the attitudes of Upper Egyptians towards the production of Cairene Arabic in informal settings as reported by Miller (2005:913): “There are testimonies by that a UEA [Upper Egyptian Arabic] native speaker will be negatively perceived by his relatives or peers if he is speaking CA [Cairene Arabic] in informal settings. He will be considered as either snobbish or *fāfi*, that is, effeminate”. Cairene Arabic and Upper Egyptian varieties are linguistically quite distinct and they do not have the same status - Cairene being a national prestige variety (Miller, 2005:903).

So, in the light of segregating prestige and standard when analysing Arabic, Ibrahim's observations, well they may fit the characterisation of large speech communities, and plausible and factual they may seem, I think do not represent the speech community of KA as we shall see. Since H is learned through formal education and not acquired, it can play no role in defining the social status and mobility of an individual, because H will be then a reflection of mere education and not knowledge; hence, L has all the power behind it, and holds a separate hierarchical order of prestige within, independent of H and its features, reflecting the proper social status and mobility of its speakers (cf. Ibrahim, 1986:118-119). As a solution, Ibrahim names an "inter-regional standard L", which is basically the variety of the capital city and the major urban centres, the variety to which outsiders accommodate themselves. This inter-regional standard is considered a supra-dialectal L (SDL, which includes the urban dialects of Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria) running in parallel to the 'natural' supra-dialectal H (SDH), i.e. a standardized dialect in favour of MSA. Ibrahim seems to abandon the 'traditional' H, so to speak, namely MSA and the role it will play given that it is now suppressed by his proposed SDH. What are the contexts in which SDH is used? If SDL and its L sub-varieties are 'eligible' to be used in different everyday language situations, what is the use of H then? Is it restricted to the domains of education, religion, and media, or, perhaps, religion only? These questions are left unanswered.

The three basic arguments Ibrahim (1986:121) puts forward for the existence of SDL are (1) the shared prestige features between all varieties and sub-varieties of SDL, (2) the mutual intelligibility amongst them, and (3) the spreading of SDL through Arabic-speaking communities. Given that his SDL is limited to four varieties, namely Egyptian,

Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian, such arguments stand on shaky ground. First, to consider a specific centre, comprised of the above four named dialects, as the standard, is unfair and inaccurate. Second, mutual intelligibility has never been a measure for standardisation, at least to outsiders. If, as a Kuwaiti speaker, I understand clearly and speak fluently Egyptian Arabic, that does not imply any social mobility or stratification on my behalf. It is simply a matter of the linguistic knowledge I possess. If I sit, for instance, with a Jordanian friend, a Syrian friend, and a Lebanese friend, all four of us will use our native tongue while conversing, without the need for any of us to accommodate to the speech of the other, apart from some minor lexical differences between my own dialect, KA, and theirs. Therefore, even though KA is not spoken in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, the understanding of my speech amongst them does not make KA more prestigious than their own tongues or more standard. As mentioned above, satellite TV, radio, and the internet now promote all dialects of Arabic and expose speakers of Arabic to dialects they do not have personal contact with. Each dialect now has its own soap operas, night shows, dramas, comedies etc. This has facilitated acceptability and ultimately mutual intelligibility (albeit partially for some). Technology is the main and only reason why once-prevailing and superior dialects, such as that of Cairene Arabic, have lost their status as regional standards, and their prestige as perceived by those outside the speech community.

Ibrahim might be right in splitting prestige and standard, resulting in diglossic communities having SDH/SDL + L, and he produces fine arguments for this split. However, to limit the SDL comprising varieties, and to generalise the findings as applicable pan-Arabia is rather impetuous. It may be the case that "...no one speaks

*Fuṣḥā* in private life” and it is becoming decreasingly used as a “...tool of oral expression in the electronic media, in speeches and lectures, in communicating on technical and technological matters, and even in advertising” (Shraybom-Shivtiel, 1995:208), but that does not demote it by any means, whether standard- or prestige-wise. Judging what qualifies the dialect as superior to MSA is a matter of relativity on the part of the speaker. The dialect may be capable of encroaching on the prestige of the Standard and replace it overnight, but taking over its standard status entirely is highly unlikely. Prestige can be associated with the dialect mainly because of

[t]he tidal wave of new concepts flowing into the Arab world, in areas of everyday life as well as in science and technology, challeng[ing] the Arabic language with the need to provide an appropriate terminology... The *‘Āmmiyya* thus became the major supplier filling the lacunas of the written language, as well as the intermediary between the *Fuṣḥā* and the new concepts emerging in contemporary life...[acting as] the dynamic and progressive regenerative power (Shraybom-Shivtiel, 1995:208-9).

Thus far, we have established the status of diglossia in the Arabic-speaking world, and saw that there are two views of looking at the phenomenon. Diglossia should not be treated as a dichotomy where only two levels of speech are involved; rather it should be viewed as a continuum of levels of speech, while bearing in mind the fine division between standard and prestige. We now turn to examining diglossia in relation to the Kuwaiti context.

## **2.0 Diglossia in the Kuwaiti Context**

Change is an inherent characteristic of any current language (cf. Bright, 1997; Chambers, 2004; Denison, 1997; Honey, 1997; Milroy and Milroy, 1997; amongst others) and is evinced in different parts of the linguistics of a language, such as phonology and lexicon. For a language to have its own dialects is a manifestation of that change. Any language is prone to develop dialects, and those dialects have the potential, through time, to develop into individual related languages, such as the case of English, Danish, and Swedish, which were at some point of history different dialects of the same language, but then developed into different languages (e.g. Francis, 1983). To ask what a dialect really is would be an amateur question at this point for any linguist - after decades of scholarly research on the field. But what is a dialect? Just as when a phonologically inexperienced individual is asked how many syllables the word 'linguistic' comprises would answer spontaneously 'three', her or his answer to the existence of a dialect would be a variety of a standard language spoken by a group of people who are socially and geographically homogeneous. S/he would probably point out that the most significant difference between the standard and the dialect rests on the pronunciation and choice of words, i.e. they differ mainly phonologically and lexically. For example, if a speaker of KA is asked to point out a couple of differences between her/his dialect and MSA, s/he might give an example such as *dirīša* (KA) vs. *nāfiḍa* (MSA) 'window'; the former being the dialectal version. S/he might also point out that Bedouin speakers say *dajāj* 'chicken', while *Haḍar* 'urban speakers' pronounce it as *diyāy*, reflecting on one of the most prevalent and salient differences between the two lects within the dialect. Francis (1983:42) states that variation can be of three sorts; first, there is dialectal variation

occurring between groups of speakers; second, there is idiolectal variation occurring between individual speakers; and third, stylistic variation occurring within the speaker her/himself. Bailey (1973:11) refers to these three sorts of variation collectively as ‘lects’, where each sort is to be identified with corresponding lect characteristics.

The diglossic linguistic situation in the speech community of the speakers of KA is akin to that all over Arabia and the Arabic-speaking world. In every diglossic speech community there exist different levels of speech ranging from the most standard/formal- (H)igh, to the informal/colloquial- (L)ow as discussed above. Badawī (1973:53) argues that “...there exists more than one level of speech not only in [the speech community of] Egypt, but in [that of] every Arab country”. More specifically, in Kuwait, as this research will try to identify and establish, there exists a ‘multiglossic’ speech environment. To begin with, CA, as established in the discussion above and in the literature, is defined as follows: the most elevated and fully inflectional form of the Arabic language; it is *the* Arabic language to which is adhered the notion of Islam, and it is the language of the Holy *Qur’ān*. Consequently, given the inevitable fact that “no matter how eloquent and capable any speaker of CA is of it, s/he are prone to exposing their geographic origin”, i.e. what dialect of Arabic they speak, for “our speech is tainted with dialectal markers” (Badawī, 1973:119); and due to the fact that no one has CA as their mother tongue, the context of CA, again, is seen as delimited to the usage of the linguistic routine of *Qur’ānic* recitation, i.e. *Qur’ānic* Arabic (QA). Observed as such, CA/QA plays no linguistically-significant part in the speech continuum of KA (or any other dialect of Arabic for that matter). MSA in KA, however, is limited to news in the media and Friday sermons, or in any other contexts in which speech is always prepared or memorised (as

opposed to the type of speech sought after here, which is that characterised as natural, spontaneous, and extemporaneous). Hence, depending on the context, apart from fixed CA expressions and trivial resort to and imitation of the standard during the stretch of speech of an individual, what one will observe is a more modernised version of the Classical, an ‘upgraded’ version in the sense that it incorporates modern vocabulary, and some very basic inflections, that is, MSA. In this study, MSA will be treated as occupying the high-level position of the continuum, while at the low-level position we will have KA. These two (or three if we are to include CA) varieties are found in almost every dialect of Arabic, a fact well documented in the literature on dialectology. As far as KA and natural speech is concerned, I will try to identify a third variety, which I shall be calling Kuwaiti Modern Arabic (KMA), being equated with Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)/Modern Inter-Arabic (MIA) described above. This has the features of MSA and interfering dialectal elements of KA combined, having characteristics such as in a stretch of speech one can hear the involvement of large share of the lexicon of KA along with the basic inflections of MSA, while simultaneously maintaining its formal status in the direct context in which it is spoken. KMA borrows its formality from MSA, which, in turn, borrows it from the Classical. KMA is mainly used by Members of Parliament in their debates in the National Assembly. Also, it seems that it is gaining popularity in the media (radio) in situations such as interviews, celebrities’ news, and music news. KMA can be seen as an advanced level, a standardised version of the local dialect. Such a level has not been identified previously in the Kuwaiti context (or in neighbouring Gulf dialects).

MSA is where the formal variants of the phonological variables to be studied are to be found; KA is where the dialectal variants are found. KMA may be hypothesised to have a mixture of the formal/informal phonological variants, in addition to the vocabulary of KA.

Social variables such as gender, education, and origin are crucial in the sociolinguistic study of dialects, as these are what give rise to different levels and styles of speech and help identifying, characterising, and establishing different levels of speech, hence, creating the main drive of diglossia in the Arab world. Diglossia should be viewed as a continuum of overlapping levels, separated by a permeable membrane allowing the features of the different levels to interact freely. Diglossia involves diglossic-switching and register variation, where speakers use a certain code/register depending on the immediate context and setting they are in. Linguistic choice does not involve a binary choice on the behalf of the speaker between extreme levels. Rather, the speaker exploits a mixture of levels to construct and convey her/his message (cf. Versteegh, 2004). To perceive variety X as standard is highly subjective and the judgement is speaker-based. As we have seen, standard is not synonymous with prestige. MSA, for example, can be seen as standard, while the dialect is more prestigious. However, the contrary is not true for it is a tenuous approach in terms of methodology; to treat a mid-variety as standard, i.e. a normative variety, is not a tenable task.

The following chapter will provide a detailed discussion of KA, outlining and describing the speech community, its diglossic status, along with the dialect's main features and characteristics.

## Chapter Three

### Introduction to Kuwaiti Arabic

#### **3.0 Kuwait: Society and Demography**

Geographically and historically, Kuwait was divided into four main parts or areas. The first is *šarq* ‘East’ (or *šarg* as pronounced in KA, a feature of KA that will be discussed in what follows). The second, *qibla* (this occurs in KA as *jibla*), referring to the ‘west’ of Kuwait. These were the two main areas in Kuwait and the most inhabited. The latter, *jibla*, derives its name from the fact that its place being the face of Kuwait towards the West. It is *qiblat al-kuwayt ilā al-ġarb* ‘Kuwait’s west side’. The third area, known as *ḥəy al-wasaʔ* ‘the middle neighbourhood’, got its name from its position between *šarg* and *jibla*, and is often called *il-wiṣṭə* by its locals.

These three areas were inhabited by a variety of families descending mainly from the Najd in Saudi Arabia. Hence, most, if not all, original occupants of these areas were Sunni Arabs; rarely was any other creed, race, or nationality found. *Šarg*, on the other hand, was where the ruling family of Kuwait *Āl Šabāḥ* settled when they first migrated to Kuwait, along with large numbers of Iranians, both Sunni and Šīʔ. Residents of this area were referred to by Kuwaitis as *ʾahal baḥar* ‘people of the sea’ as they used to dive for, and trade in pearls.

*Il-Mirgāb* (MSA: *al-mirqāb*) is the fourth area in Kuwait and is situated in the south of Kuwait deeply inland, away from the shores of Kuwait. Bedouins were the main

settlers of this area, and the main occupation found here was that of a *qaṣṣāb* (KA: *gaṣṣāb*) ‘butcher’. It was the poorest of all three areas, and its inhabitants in present-day Kuwait are mainly expatriates. Back then, its original inhabitants were non-Kuwaitis, too. However, a great number of them were awarded citizenship by the government in an attempt to restore the balance between the very small number of Kuwaitis and the large number of foreign immigrants (and were migrating) in Kuwait at that time.

Pearl diving and seafaring were the main sources of income for the people of Kuwait. But these began to diminish slowly when Kuwait exported the first shipment of oil in 1945 (cf. Jarada, 1987), and they completely disappeared before Kuwait’s independence in 1961. What is today known as Kuwait City transformed from a residential area surrounded by three large walls (built to protect it from outsiders; cf. Al-AbdulGhani, 2002) to the capital of Kuwait. In 1957, shortly before Kuwait’s full independence, the government demolished all three walls and relocated the residents of the main four areas outlined above to the outskirts, where new residential areas were developed. This social adjustment to the Kuwaiti community caused by the relocation of inhabitants to new areas, and triggered by the ‘Oil Age’, transformed Kuwait and the life-style of its people on all levels (cf. Al-Shamlan, 1989), including the linguistic level. Newcomers, such as the Iranians, were now considered Kuwaitis, and started to blend into society along with their own ‘colour’ of unsystematic-learned Arabic, yet preserving a great deal of their own language to refer to everyday situations, each according to his own trade. For example, delivering water to houses was a task mainly carried by Iranians who were referred to as *kanādra* (pl. of *kandiriy* ‘waterman’). The name derives from the Persian noun *kandar* ‘a stick/bar’. This bar had two buckets of water on each side

(resembling a large dumbbell), which watermen shoulder while roaming neighbourhoods selling water. The constant contact of Kuwaiti traders at that time with countries such as India, and residents of Kuwait with expatriates living in Kuwait such as Persians and Indians, had its effect on KA, and still has its effects on present-day KA. Subsequent to the discovery of oil, Kuwait came into extensive contact with the West, the UK and France in particular, for these countries entered Kuwait through oil excavation contracts.

### **3.1 Kuwaiti Arabic**

Linguistically, Kuwait has been subjected to continuous contact with numerous cultures, dialects of Arabic, and languages, all of which had their impact on KA. Nevertheless, it can be seen as a relatively stable dialect in the face of all the ‘linguistic impacts’ it has endured. The word for ‘bread’, for instance, was (and still is) *xubiz*. However, many of the dialects that KA has come in contact with inside the Kuwaiti community, such as Cairene Arabic and various dialects of Saudi Arabia, call it *‘ēsh*, which in KA bears a different meaning, namely ‘rice’ (as it does in some Gulf countries, e.g. Bahrain and Oman). This, however, does not mean that KA has not incorporated any foreign vocabulary into its repertoire. In fact, a good deal of KA vocabulary is foreign, mainly borrowings from Turkish, Hindi, Persian, and, especially and increasingly in the past decade, from Western cultures. So that, for example, in English a verb such as ‘format’ - as in formatting a desk/laptop - has been integrated into the phonology, morphology, and syntax of KA, rendering the verb *farmit*, with inflections like *afarmit* ‘I format’ and *itfarmit* ‘you (m)/she format(s)’.

### 3.1.1 Demographics

According to the population census of 2007 performed by the Ministry of Planning (MOP), joined by the Public Authority for Civil Information (PACI) and Kuwait Municipality, the population of Kuwait is 3,328,136, of which only 31.2% (1,038,598) form the Kuwaitis, males and females (see the following figure). We can see that the percentages of males and females are almost equal, the former constituting approximately 49%, the latter 51%. The population of Kuwait can be mainly divided into four groups: according to creed, *Sinna* ‘Sunni’ or *Šī’a* ‘Shiite’ (as pronounced in KA); according to origin, *ḥaḍar* ‘civilised/sedentary people - city dwellers’, or ‘Bedouins’.

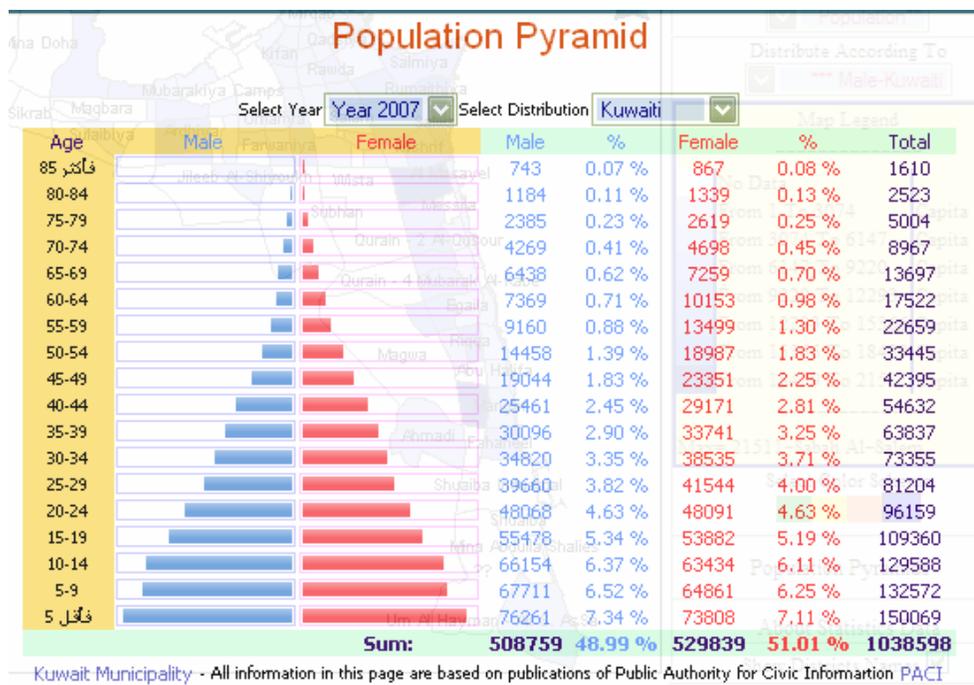


Figure 3.1: Distribution of Population (Kuwaitis only) according to Gender and Age for the Year 2007

However, that does not mean that *ḥaḍar* are not found in rural areas, or the other way round, i.e. *baduww* ‘Bedouins’ living in the city. Muslims comprise around 85% of the

total population (including non-Kuwaitis) in Kuwait, with the *Šī'a* (or '*ayam* < CA '*ajam* 'foreigners/non-natives') constituting the minority, accounting for around 30% (of the 85%) of the Kuwaiti population, while the *Sinna*, the majority, form the remaining 70% or more. The other 15% constitute mainly Christians, followed by Hindus, Buddhists, and Sikhs (CIA: *The World Factbook*, 2009). The *ḥaḍar/baduww* dichotomy is one that is traced to the origin of the families concerned. The *baduww* live in the desert and are nomadic; they have no main place of settlement. Sedentary people, or the *ḥaḍar*, are named as such for they are from the urban areas; their origin is traced back mainly to what is now known as Saudi Arabia, or, more specifically, Najd, hence the expression *Niyāda* '(from) Najd' in KA when referring to a family of a reputed origin.

Geographically, the population concentration within each group is clear. In the city, we have Sunni *Ḥaḍar* constituting almost the whole population. This is clearly shown from the distribution of this group in Figure (A) in red. As we move from Figure (A) to (B), we move to the south of Kuwait, further from the city towards the suburb areas, hence, areas densely populated with Bedouins. Moving from (A) to (C) we move west, and from (A) to (D) we reach the western-most part of Kuwait, towards the area of Jahra and its six sub-areas: Qasr, Waha, Oyoun, Taima, Nasseem, and Na'eem. Again, Figures (C) and (D) show the areas with the highest number of Bedouins.

*Šī'a*, as shown in Figure (A), are mainly found in the two areas of Rumaihiya and Dasma. As can be seen from the figures below, some areas have not been marked with any of the three groups, i.e. *ḥaḍar*, *baduww*, or *Šī'a*. This is because such areas include a *mélange* of the three groups, where the percentage of concentration of each group is almost equal.

A noteworthy fact about the literacy rate in Kuwait is that it is a stunning 93.3% of the population, aged 15 and above (CIA: The World Factbook, 2009), the remaining small 6.4% being mainly the age cohort of 70+, as education was not available to the whole population at the time, making reading and writing unattainable skills. Also, one can surmise that the majority of this small percentage are women, for the customs and traditions of the time were for women to stay at home, to cook, clean, raise their children, and to care for their households (cf. al-Sab‘ān, 2002:60-65).

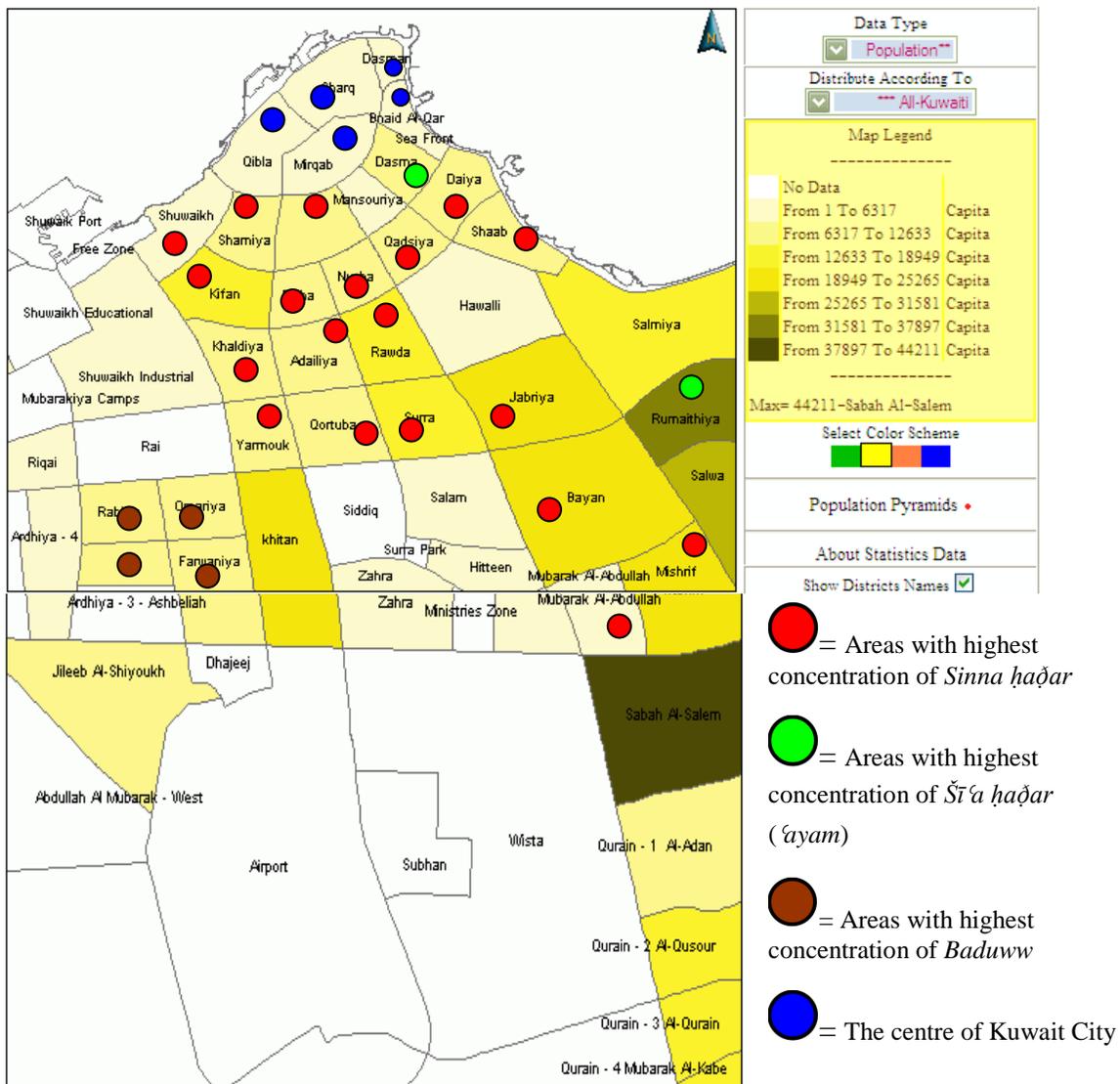


Fig. A

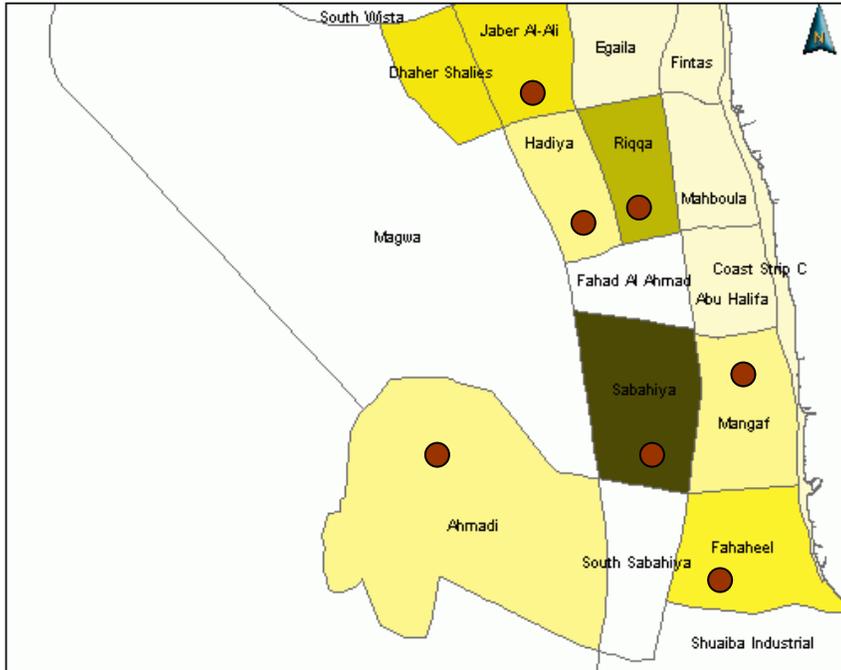


Fig. B

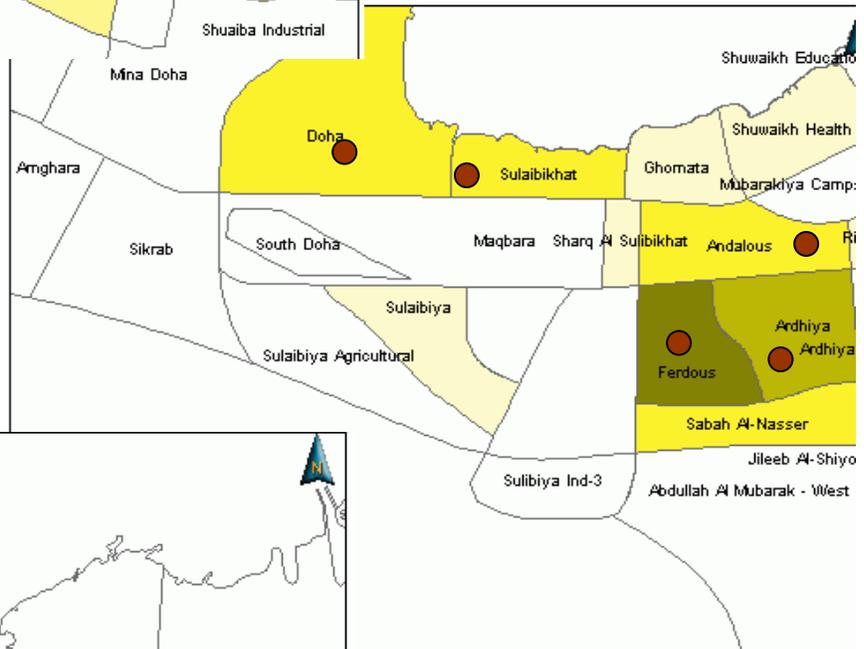


Fig. C

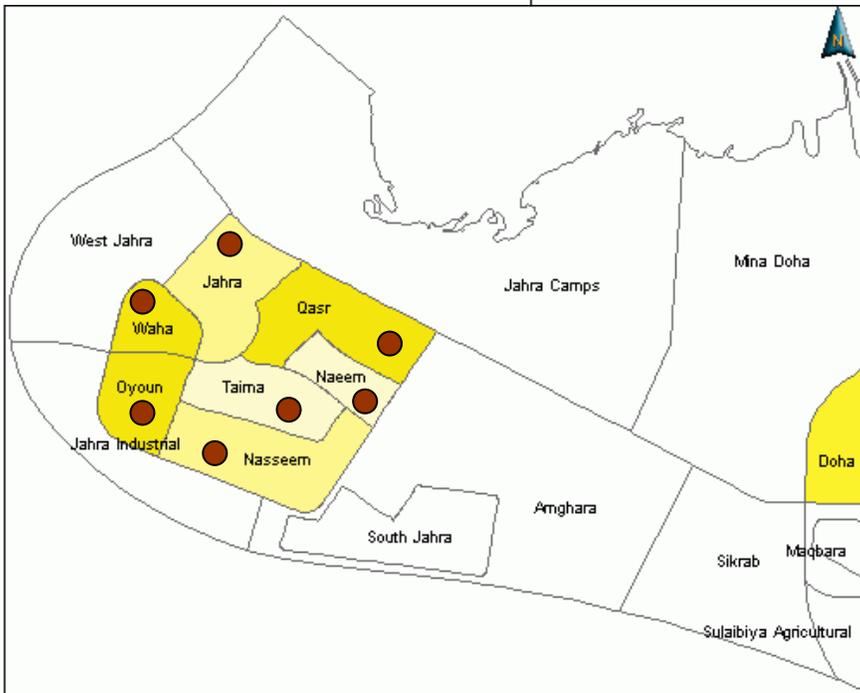


Fig. D

Figs. 3.2 A/B/C/D: Concentration of Sunni *Haqar*, Sunni Bedouins, and Shiite in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Kuwait (from [www.baladia.gov.kw](http://www.baladia.gov.kw))

Therefore, it would be far-fetched to identify a level of speech being tagged as ‘illiterate colloquial’, especially when a large 39.7% (see Figure 3.1) of the total population are aged 14 and less, i.e. they are still in the process of acquiring and mastering the language. Education has been compulsory by law in Kuwait since the late 1940’s; consequently, it is almost impossible to find anyone apart from the 6.4% illiterates mentioned earlier who cannot read or write. Should there be any, they remain the small, linguistically ineffective minority.

In the following sections, I will outline some of the main features of KA, starting phonologically, proceeding to the morphology, followed by the syntax. The phonology, morphology, and syntax of KA have not been comprehensively studied. Elgibali (1985 and 1993), for example, provide, unsuccessfully as we shall see, a description of various aspects of KA. Syntactically, Brustad (2000) and Al-Najjar (1984) provide interesting surveys. There have also been ambitious but unsystematic historical-surveys which barely deal with any particular aspect of KA (e.g. Al-Sab‘ān, 2002), or selective studies of a particular group of speakers of KA, namely KA as spoken by the people of the ‘Al-Doosiri’ Bedouin family in Kuwait (Johnstone, 1961, 1964a). Johnstone (1964b) provides a more specific description, dealing with a particular register, namely nautical terms in KA. The most recent attempt to systematically and analytically study the phonology of KA was al-Qenaie (2007) dealing with the syllabic structure and patterns of the dialect.

## **3.2 Phonology of Kuwaiti Arabic**

In this section, various features of the phonology of KA will be dealt with. These features are considered the core of any phonological description of a dialect, especially one similar to KA, which has not been systematically observed and analysed prior to now.

### **3.2.1 The Sounds of (K)A**

As provided in the literature on the Arabic language, the phonemic inventory of MSA is set and available. However, a clear account of the phonemic inventory of KA is not yet available. There may be inventories that would greatly resemble that of KA, but one that is tagged as belonging to KA has not been identified. KA shares all twenty-eight consonants of MSA, with the possible exception of the voiceless alveolar pharyngealised plosive ض 'd', which is often, if not always, replaced by the voiced interdental pharyngealised fricative ظ 'ð'. KA also shares all three vowels of MSA, namely /i/, /u/, and /a/ with their long counterparts, and its diphthongs. However, KA also has an additional two long vowels, and one additional diphthong, a characteristic many Gulf dialects and other dialects of Arabic share. MSA has four established emphatics (see below). One additional emphatic can be found in KA, namely the allophone [z], occurring mainly, if not exclusively, in assimilation processes (cf. Section 3.2.3).

#### **3.2.1.1 The Sounds of MSA**

It is needless to say that when referring to MSA, CA is implied. Phonological variation is not only found between the dialect and MSA, but also between the various dialects of Arabic themselves. Hence, some sounds heard in the dialects of the Levant,

for example, might not necessarily be found in the dialects of the Gulf, and vice versa. MSA is referred to by its speakers and by linguists as the language of the pharyngealised dento-alveolar plosive ض ‘ḍ’, *luġat al-dād* in many Arabic contexts as a hallmark of uniqueness (cf. Corriente, 1978; Newman, 2002a). MSA is rich with dorsal, radical and post-radical sounds. Besides, MSA is famous for its emphatic sounds, which differ from other sounds in pharyngealisation. Emphasis is defined in MSA phonology as a “secondary articulation involving the back of the tongue, which accompanies a primary articulation at another point in the vocal tract” (Eid and Holes, 1993:120). The emphatic sounds are represented by the following four phonemes, /t̤/, /d̤/, /s̤/, and /ð̤/. MSA consonantal phonemes also have geminated counterparts each; gemination is phonemic in the language as seen in Table 3.1. Orthographically, gemination is marked in Arabic with the diacritic marker <sup>◌</sup>.

Newman (2002a) mentions the following about MSA:

- i) MSA is the only language that allows the gemination of the sound [q].
- ii) MSA is only one of two languages that have the pharyngealised stops /d̤/ and /ð̤/. Tuareg has these sounds as well. However, they were borrowed from Arabic.
- iii) The geminated forms of /d̤/, /ð̤/, and /s̤/ i.e. /d̤:/, /ð̤:/, and /s̤:/ are peculiar to MSA.
- iv) MSA is the only language that allows the gemination of the voiced and voiceless interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/.
- v) The lengthened glottal stop /ʔ:/ is restricted to MSA.

Word	Gloss
a) <i>kataba vs. kattaba</i>	‘he wrote’ vs. ‘he made someone write’
b) <i>darasa vs. darrasa</i>	‘he studied’ vs. ‘he taught’
c) <i>la‘aba vs. la‘‘aba</i>	‘he played’ vs. ‘he made someone (m.sg.) play’

Table 3.1: How Gemination Affects Meaning

The consonants in MSA can be summed up in the following table (when in pairs, the right consonant is voiced, the left voiceless):

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-dental	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	b				t d			k	q		ʔ
	b:				t: d:			k:	q:		ʔ:
Nasal	m			n							
	m:			n:							
Trill				r							
				r:							
Fricative		f	θ ð	s z		ʃ			x ʁ	ħ ʕ	h
		f:	θ: ð:	s: z:		ʃ:			x: ʁ:	ħ: ʕ:	h:
Affricate						ʧ					
						ʧ:					
Approximant							y	w			
							y:	w:			
Lateral approximant				l							
				l:							

Table 3.2: CA (and MSA) Consonantal Sounds Inventory

### 3.2.1.2 KA Consonants

In addition to the twenty-eight phonemes of MSA, KA boasts some borrowed phonemes to accommodate foreign vocabulary into its lexicon, an accommodation strategy that is sometimes faced with struggle on behalf of the native KA speaker, especially when it comes to the feature of voicing contrasts. This struggle is mainly manifested in attempts to speak a foreign language. For instance, a word in English such as *pray* begins with a consonant that is *not* part of the basic phonological inventory in Arabic. Hence, it is pronounced as voiced, rather than voiceless, rendering the word *bray*, which delivers a totally different meaning. A sentence such as *I want to pray*, would be uttered as *I want to bray*. Speakers who overcome such cross-linguistic differences usually demonstrate good exposure to the foreign language and/or a high level of education.

In addition to those in Table 3.2 above, the following lists the additional consonants found in KA:

IPA Symbol	Spelling
g	گ a KA realisation of /q/ (/q/ is in some instances realised as /j/)
č	چ a realisation of /k/
p	پ
v	ف

Table 3.3: Borrowed Consonants in KA Explained

A further additional consonant exists as a product of an assimilation process by substituting the voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative for a voiced one, where  $\zeta$  assimilates the voicing of  $\bar{g}$ , rendering  $z$ , its only instance in the dialect. Hence, a full inventory of the consonants in KA is as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-dental	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b				t d			k g	q		ʔ
	b:				t: d:			k: g:	q:		ʔ:
Nasal	m			n							
	m:			n:							
Trill				r							
				r:							
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z		š			x ɣ	ħ ʕ	h
		f:	θ: ð:	s: z:		š:			x: ɣ:	ħ: ʕ:	h:
Affricate						č ĵ					
						č: ĵ:					
Approximant							y	w			
							y:	w:			
Lateral approximant				l							
				l:							

Table 3.4: KA Consonantal Sound Inventory

### 3.2.1.2.1 KA Consonant Clusters

According to Odisho (1979:205) “...Arabic is a language that is poor in cluster when compared to English”. Research on consonant clusters is usually divided into two major groups amongst investigators. Odisho states:

Studies pertinent to consonant clusters fall into two major categories: 1- those that define a cluster as *a combination of consonants occurring in a sequence within a word* (Al-Hamash and Abdullah 1976; Al-Hamash 1977; Behnam and Al-Hamash 1975; Marouf 1974; Nasr 1967) or even *across a word boundary* (Sanderson 1965); and 2 - those that define it as *a combination of consonants occurring in a sequence within a syllable* (Abercrombie 1967; Malick 1957).

Odisho advocates the second of the two propositions, i.e. only instances of consonant clusters occurring within the same syllable are to be considered as ‘true’ clusters. Behnam and Al-Hamash (1975), as reported by Odisho, give the following examples of two-element medial clusters in English:

<b>Cluster</b>	/pr/	/tr/	/fr/	/gr/	/gl/	/sp/	/nd/	/vl/	/nt/	/zn/
<b>Example</b>	April	Attract	Afraid	Agree	Ugly	Especial	Ended	Lively	Enter	Business

**Table 3.5: Two-Element Medial Clusters in English**

Odisho stresses the fact that a critical line of difference should be drawn between abutting consonants and consonant clusters, for it is the lack of understanding of such notions that leads to erroneous outcomes. He states that “according to Abercrombie, [consonants clusters are a] *sequence of more than one consonant which is restricted to*

*one syllable. But if the sequence of consonants spreads over two syllables within a word then it is a sequence of abutting consonants”.*<sup>17</sup>

Hence, in Table 3.5 above, the last four words cannot be seen as containing medial consonant clusters, but abutting ones. The following is how the last four words are syllabified:

(1)

*/nd/	en.ded
*/vl/	live.ly
*/nt/	en.ter
*/zn/	busi.ness

The first consonant of the clusters in (1) is syllabified as the coda of the first syllable, whereas the second consonant is syllabified as the onset of the second one. This is also true for three-element and the ‘extreme’ four-element medial clusters that are not attested in English (cf. Odisho, 1979:206).

So, not considering syllable boundaries would be misleading and would produce inaccurate numbers of structural positions in which the possible clusters are permitted by a language. One could argue by claiming that syllabification processes and rules are flexible, and, thus, description of clusters depends on how the investigator perceives the distributional conventions of the language. However, Odisho (1979:207) correctly argues that “[i]t is true that there is some choice of syllable division (O’Connor 1973) but the morpho-etymological, distributional and the phonetic conventions of syllable division are

---

<sup>17</sup> Syllable-hood is usually determined by way of identifying syllable peaks through sonority sequencing generalisation (SSG). There is a debate as whether to treat SSG as a mere tendency or a generalisation. Such a discussion is beyond the scope of this study.

so widely approved of that one cannot help abiding by them”, therefore, consonant clusters resist spreading over two neighbouring syllables, unlike abutting clusters.

Considering the preceding discussion, Arabic has no medial clusters (Odisho 1979); they are only found initially and finally (Malick 1956-57). Taking this into consideration, Tables 3.6 and 3.7 below are a survey of almost all the possible consonant clusters structurally permissible in KA:

<b>Consonant Cluster: Initial</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
/bt-/	<i>btāyir</i>	‘with a wheel’
/bd-/	<i>bdāriy</i>	‘in my room’
/bṭ-/	<i>bṭūl</i>	‘bottles’
/bk-/	<i>bkēfiy</i>	‘as I like (as in expressing one’s opinion, and considered to be rude’
/bg-/	<i>bgara</i>	‘cow’
/bq-/	<i>bqūl</i>	‘mules’
/b’-/	<i>b’arba’</i>	‘for four dinars’
/bč-/	<i>bčüis</i>	‘in a bag’
/bj-/	<i>bjēbiy</i>	‘in my jeep/pocket’
/bf-/	<i>bfirījna</i>	‘in our neighbourhood’

/bθ-/	<i>bθānya</i>	‘within a second’
/bḡ-/	<i>bḡahriy</i>	‘in my back’
/bs-/	<i>bsalāma</i>	‘safe and sound’
/bz-/	<i>bzōd</i>	‘excessively’
/bṣ-/	<i>bṣāṭ</i>	‘carpet’
/bš-/	<i>bšāra</i>	‘good news’
/bx-/	<i>bxēša</i>	‘in a sack’
/by-/	<i>(kil yōm) byōma</i>	‘day by day’
/bḥ-/	<i>bḥīra</i>	‘puzzled’
/b‘-/	<i>b‘ūda</i>	‘with his straw’
/bm-/	<i>bmāy</i>	‘with water’
/bn-/	<i>bnafnūfha</i>	‘in her dress’
/bl-/	<i>blīs</i>	‘Satan’
/br-/	<i>brē ‘siy</i>	‘lizard’
/bw-/	<i>bwājhat</i>	‘in the face of...’
/by-/	<i>byūt</i>	‘houses’

/tb-/	<i>gā 'ad tbūs</i>	'you (m) are kissing/she is kissing'
/tk-/	<i>gā 'ad tkallim</i>	'you (m) are talking to/she is talking to'
/tq-/	<i>tqāmīr</i>	'you (m) take risks/she takes risks'
/t' -/	<i>t' aθθiθ</i>	'you (m) furnish/she furnishes'
/tf-/	<i>tfūh</i>	'you (m) boil/she boils'
/tθ-/	<i>tθūr</i>	'you (m) rage/she rages'
/ts-/	<i>tsāhil</i>	'you (m) curry favour/she currys favour'
/tʂ-/	<i>tʂūm</i>	'you (m) fast/she fasts'
/tš-/	<i>tšūf</i>	'you (m) see/she sees'
/th-/	<i>thanniy</i>	'you (m) congratulate/she congratulates'
/tḥ-/	<i>tḥibb</i>	'you (m) love/she loves'
/t' -/	<i>t'abbir</i>	'you (m) cherish/she cherishes'
/tm-/	<i>tmaθθil</i>	'you (m) act/she acts'
/tl-/	<i>tlāgiy</i>	'you (m) find/meet-she finds/meets'
/tr-/	<i>trāb</i>	'sand'
/tw-/	<i>twajjih</i>	'you (m) direct (s.th/s.o) at a particular position; she directs (s.th/s.o) at a particular position'

/ty-/	<i>tyall</i>	‘marbles’
/dm-/	<i>dmū</i> ´	‘tears’
/dl-/	<i>dlāla</i>	‘brokerage fees’
/dr-/	<i>drūb</i>	‘ways’
/dy-/	<i>dyāča</i>	‘roosters’
/ṭb-/	<i>ṭbūl</i>	‘drums’
/ṭw-/	<i>ṭwāḷa</i>	‘it takes so long’
/ty-/	<i>tyūr</i>	‘birds’
/kb-/	<i>kbār</i>	‘huge (pl.)’
/kf-/	<i>kfūf</i>	‘palms’
/kr-/	<i>krūt</i>	‘cards’
/kw-/	<i>kwēt</i>	‘Kuwait’
/gb-/	<i>gbūr</i>	‘graves’
/gm-/	<i>gmār</i>	‘gambling’
/gṣ-/	<i>gṣūr</i>	‘palaces’
/gš-/	<i>gšūr</i>	‘peel (n)’

/gr-/	<i>grūn</i>	‘horns’
/čl-/	<i>člāb</i>	‘dogs’
/čm-/	<i>čmāq</i>	men’s head-scarf in the Gulf
/čr-/	<i>črūx</i>	‘bicycle stabilizers’
/čy-/	<i>čyās</i>	‘plastic/paper bags’
/j‘-/	<i>j‘ūš</i>	‘stingy (pl.)’
/jn-/	<i>jnūs</i>	‘homosexuals’
/jl-/	<i>jlūd</i>	‘skins’
/jr-/\	<i>jrūḥ</i>	‘wounds’
/jy-/	<i>jyūb</i>	‘pockets’
/fḥ-/	<i>fḥūl</i>	‘studs’
/fn-/	<i>fnūn</i>	‘arts’
/fl-/	<i>flūs</i>	‘money’
/fr-/	<i>frūx</i>	‘chicks’
/fy-/	<i>fyāla</i>	‘elephants’
/θy-/	<i>θyāb</i>	‘clothes’

/ðn-/	<i>ðnūb</i>	‘sins’
/ðr-/	<i>ðrā3</i>	‘arm’
/ðy-/	<i>ðyāba</i>	‘wolves’
/sl-/	<i>slāḥ</i>	‘weapon’
/sy-/	<i>syūf</i>	‘swords’
/z’-/	<i>z’atar</i>	‘oregano’
/zb-/	<i>zbāla</i>	‘trash’
/zl-/	<i>zlūf</i>	‘side burns’
/šb-/	<i>šbūr</i>	a kind of fish
/št-/	<i>štāb</i>	‘a car’s head/rear lights’
/šx-/	<i>šxūr</i>	‘rocks’
/šm-/	<i>šmaḷla</i>	‘watch out! (lit. God’s name!)’
/šb-/	<i>šbuga?</i>	‘what is left?’
/št-/	<i>štābiy?</i>	‘what do you (m) want?/what does she want?’
/šd-/	<i>šdāris?</i>	‘what have you (m) studied?’
/št-/	<i>štāriy?</i>	‘what is the occasion?’

/šk-/	<i>škān?</i>	‘what was it (m)?’
/šg-/	<i>šgūg</i>	‘cuts’
/šs-/	<i>šsawwa?</i>	‘what has he done?’
/šz-/	<i>šzāri ‘?</i>	‘what have you (m) planted?’
/šx-/	<i>šxāntik?</i>	‘what is your use?!’ (rude)
/šg-/	<i>šgāyil?</i>	‘what have you (m) said?/what has he said?’
/š‘-/	<i>š‘indaha?</i>	‘what does she have/want?’
/šm-/	<i>šmūx</i>	‘scratches’
/šl-/	<i>šlōnik?</i>	‘how are you (m)?’
/šr-/	<i>šrāyik?</i>	‘what do you (m) think?’
/šy-/	<i>šyabiy?</i>	‘what does he want?’
/šw-/	<i>šwis ‘a</i>	‘how wide it is!/how wide is it?’
/xd-/	<i>xdūd</i>	‘cheeks’
/xf-/	<i>xfāf</i>	‘light (pl)’
/xš-/	<i>xšūm</i>	‘noses’
/xm-/	<i>xmām</i>	‘in front of me’

/xr-/	<i>xriṭiy</i>	‘nonsense’
/xy-/	<i>xyār</i>	‘cucumber’
/xw-/	<i>xwančiy</i>	a derogatory term describing religious people
/gb-/	<i>gbāliy</i>	‘rubbish’
/gr-/	<i>grab</i>	‘near (pl)’
/gy-/	<i>gyās</i>	‘size’
/hm-/	<i>hmūm</i>	‘concerns (n)’
/hn-/	<i>hnūd</i>	‘Indians’
/hw-/	<i>hwāziya</i>	an ethnic group
/ḥb-/	<i>ḥbūl</i>	‘fish eggs’
/ḥj-/	<i>ḥjāb</i>	‘hijab’
/ḥs-/	<i>ḥsāb</i>	‘account’
/ḥz-/	<i>ḥzām</i>	‘belt’
/ḥṣ-/	<i>ḥṣān</i>	‘horse’
/ḥm-/	<i>ḥmār</i>	‘donkey’
/ḥr-/	<i>ḥrām</i>	a special white dress worn in Muslim religious rituals

/‘ð-/	‘ <i>ðām</i>	‘bones’
/‘n-/	‘ <i>nād</i>	‘stubbornness’
/‘l-/	‘ <i>lūb</i>	‘chilli peppers’
/‘y-/	‘ <i>yūb</i>	‘flaws’
/mb-/	<i>mbayyin</i>	‘apparent’
/mt-/	<i>mtān</i>	‘fat (pl)’
/md-/	<i>mda</i> ‘ <i>as</i>	‘stuck’
/mṭ-/	<i>mṭahhar</i>	‘circumcised/sterilised’
/mk-/	<i>mkabbir</i>	‘you (m) enlarged/he enlarged’
/mg-/	<i>mgābiḷ</i>	‘in front of’
/mq-/	<i>mqarrir</i>	‘you (m) made up your mind/decided’ ‘he made up his mind/decided’
/mʻ-/	<i>mʻaθθir</i>	‘you (m) are effecting/he is effecting’
/mč-/	<i>mčallib</i>	‘it is stuck/you (m) are stuck’
/mj-/	<i>mjābil</i>	‘facing’
/mf-/	<i>mfawwir</i>	‘you (m) are furious/he is furious’
/mḏ-/	<i>mḏammad</i>	‘you (m) are bandaged/he is bandaged’

/ms-/	<i>msaxxin</i>	‘you (m) have a fever/he has a fever’
/mz-/	<i>mzawwir</i>	‘you (m) have forged/he has forged’
/mš-/	<i>mšāriy</i>	a person’s name
/mx-/	<i>mxabbaḷ</i>	‘you (m) are crazy/he is crazy’
/mg-/	<i>mgaḷab</i>	‘flipped around’
/m‘-/	<i>m‘ānid</i>	‘being stubborn (m)’
/mn-/	<i>mnāsib</i>	‘you (m) are related to/he is related to’
/ml-/	<i>mlawwan</i>	‘coloured’
/mr-/	<i>mrāsil</i>	‘you (m) corresponded/he corresponded’
/my-/	<i>myabbis</i>	‘hardened’
/mw-/	<i>mwā‘id</i>	‘you (m) have an appointment/date-he has an appointment/date’
/nb-/	<i>nbarwiz</i>	‘we frame (a picture)’
/nd-/	<i>ndawwir</i>	‘we search’
/nṭ-/	<i>nṭahhir</i>	‘we circumcise/sterilise’
/nk-/	<i>nkawwir</i>	‘we shape things into balls’
/nq-/	<i>nqammis</i>	‘we dip’

/n'-/	<i>n`assis</i>	‘we found’
/nč-/	<i>nčayyil</i>	‘we buy grocery’
/nj-/	<i>njahhiz</i>	‘we prepare’
/nf-/	<i>nfawwil</i>	‘we fill up’
/nǧ-/	<i>nǧabbiṭ</i>	‘we arrange’
/ns-/	<i>nsawwiyy</i>	‘we make’
/nz-/	<i>nzahhib</i>	‘we prepare’
/nṣ-/	<i>nṣūm</i>	‘we fast’
/nš-/	<i>nšawwiyy</i>	‘we grill’
/nx-/	<i>nxala</i>	‘palm tree’
/nh-/	<i>nhājir</i>	‘we immigrate’
/nḥ-/	<i>nḥib</i>	‘we love’
/n´-/	<i>n´āl</i>	‘a pair of slippers’
/nm-/	<i>nmarrin</i>	‘we train/stretch (our muscles)’
/nl-/	<i>nlammiḥ</i>	‘we insinuate’
/nr-/	<i>nrabbiy</i>	‘we raise (our children)’

/ny-/	<i>nyammi</i> ‘	‘we save (money)’
/nw-/	<i>nwaddiy</i>	‘we take to’
/ls-/	<i>lsān</i>	‘tongue’
/lh-/	<i>lhāf</i>	‘blanket’
/rd-/	<i>rdūd</i>	‘money change’
/rṭ-/	<i>rṭūba</i>	‘humidity’
/rk-/	<i>rkab</i>	‘knees’
/rg-/	<i>rgāg</i>	a very thin type of dry bread
/rf-/	<i>rfūf</i>	‘shelves’
/rx-/	<i>rxāṣ</i>	‘cheap (pl)’
/rm-/	<i>rmūš</i>	‘eyelashes’

Table 3.6: Permissible Initial Consonant Clusters in Kuwaiti Arabic

<b>Consonant Cluster: Final</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
/-bt/	<i>kitabt</i>	‘I wrote/you (m) wrote’
/-dt/	<i>istabradt</i>	‘I became cold/you (m) became cold’
/-gt/	<i>bigt</i>	‘I stole/you (m) stole’
/-nt/	<i>bint</i>	‘girl’
/-nd/	<i>‘ind</i>	‘it is with...’

/-nj/	<i>banj</i>	‘anaesthesia’
/-rt/	<i>kisart</i>	‘I broke/you (m) broke’
/-rd/	<i>bard</i>	‘cold/it is cold’
/-rg/	<i>barg</i>	‘thunder’
/-fs/	<i>nafs</i>	‘similar to’
/-st/	<i>bist</i>	‘I kissed/you (m) kissed’
/-št/	<i>qišt</i>	‘I dove/You (m) dove’
/- šʔ/	<i>qašʔ</i>	‘instalment’
/-zt/	<i>itnarfaʔt</i>	‘I became angry/you (m) became angry’
/-št/	<i>bišt</i>	bišt, a formal cloak-like dress worn on top the traditional dress <i>dishdāsha</i> for formal occasions
/-ħt/	<i>riħt</i>	‘I went/you (m) went’
/-ħθ/	<i>baħθ</i>	‘research (n)’
/-‘t/	<i>bi‘t</i>	‘I sold/you (m) sold’
/-‘θ/	<i>ba‘θ</i>	‘resurrection’
/-lb/	<i>čalb</i>	‘dog’
/-lt/	<i>šilt</i>	‘I carried/you (m) carried’
/-lč/	<i>ilč</i>	‘chewing gum’

Table 3.7: Permissible Final Consonant Clusters in Kuwaiti Arabic

### 3.2.1.3 KA Vowels

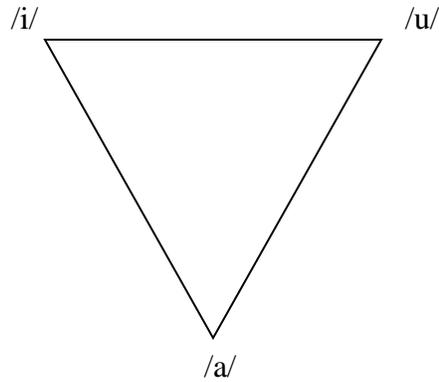
KA has ten vowels in its inventory as seen in the table below. Out of the ten vowels, only short *a*, *i*, and *u* and their long counterparts are attested in MSA, along with the diphthongs *ay* and *aw*. In both MSA and KA vowels contrast can generate a change in tense and/or meaning.

<b>Short</b>	<b>Long</b>
a	ā
i	ī
u	ū
ɑ	ā
-	ē a realisation of MSA diphthong <i>ay</i>
-	ō a realisation of MSA diphthong <i>aw</i>

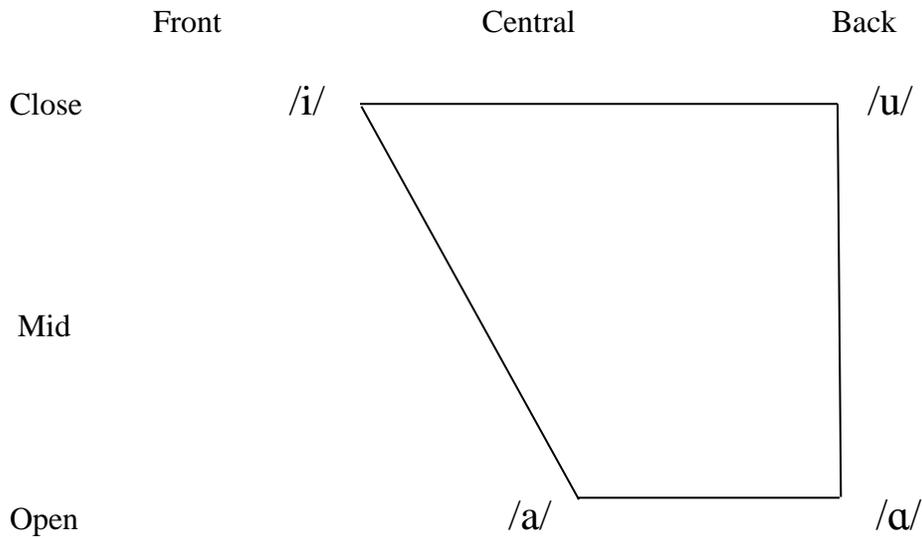
**Table 3.8: Short and Long Vowels in KA**

Newman and Verhoeven (2002:77) stress the fact that a discussion of the vowels of Arabic is not complete unless it takes into account “the famous vowel ‘triangle’ of the ‘fundamental’ vowels, as they were first called by W. Gairdner (1925), the pioneer of modern Arabic phonetics and the first to place the Arabic vowels within the Cardinal Vowel diagram” seen in Figure 3.3 below.

KA and CA/MSA both share the three basic vowels shown in Figure 3.3 below, short and long. However, there is one that is particular to KA shown in Figure 3.4, namely /ɑ/. Unlike the long ones, the short vowels are represented in the written form of MSA (and not written KA, for which there is not a written form- yet) as diacritics, placed either above or below the concerned letter. Newman (forthcoming) establishes that Arabic, as well as all Semitic languages, “operate along the WYSIWYG (‘What you see is what you get’) principle in that their spelling systems accurately represent their *phonemic* inventories, i.e. the sounds used in them”. If we take this factual statement and



**Figure 3.3: Vowel Triangle of MSA/CA (and KA)**



**Figure 3.4: Vowel Chart of MSA/CA (and KA)**

try applying it to KA, we see that KA does not fit the criteria for being a ‘WYSIWYG’, not only because it has no established spelling system, i.e. is not written (as do all other colloquial varieties of Arabic), but also because the sounds of the dialect exceed those found in the basic phonemic inventory of MSA. Hence, a phonemic inventory,

consonantal and vocalic, that is identified as belonging to KA is called for. Before proceeding to that, the diphthongs of KA should be discussed.

<b>MSA Diphthongs</b>	<b>KA Diphthongs</b>
aw <i>ḥawb</i> ‘apparel (n)’	aw <i>imxawnīn</i> ‘They/we betrayed’
ay <i>ḡayḥ</i> ‘rain’	ay <i>wayh</i> ‘face’
-	iy <i>kwētiy</i> ‘Kuwaiti (m)’

**Table 3.9: Diphthongs in MSA and KA**

As seen from Table 3.9, KA shares the two MSA diphthongs for which it has monophthong realisations. However, KA possesses one additional diphthong, *iy*. The MSA diphthongs ‘aw’ and ‘ay’ as indicated in Table 3.8 are both realised in KA as ‘ō’ and ‘ē’, respectively. As a result, MSA *ḥawb* ‘apparel’ and *ḡayḥ* ‘rain’ would be rendered as *ḥōb* and *ḡēḥ*.

Thus far, we have seen the phonemic inventory, for both consonants and vowels, of MSA and KA. In comparing the two, we find that KA has thirty-two phonemic consonants, whereas MSA has twenty-eight. They both have three short and three long vowels in common. However, the former possesses additional three long vowels and one short that are not attested in MSA. The following table summarises the results:

	<b>MSA</b>	<b>KA</b>
<b>Consonants</b>	28	32
<b>Vowels-Short</b>	3	4
<b>Vowels-Long</b>	3	6
<b>Diphthongs</b>	2	3
	<b>Total:</b> 28 consonants 6 vowels 2 diphthongs	<b>Total:</b> 32 consonants 10 vowels 3 diphthongs

**Table 3.10: Comparing Phonemic Inventory of MSA and KA**

The next section will focus on the syllable structure of the dialect.

### **3.2.2 Syllable Structure**

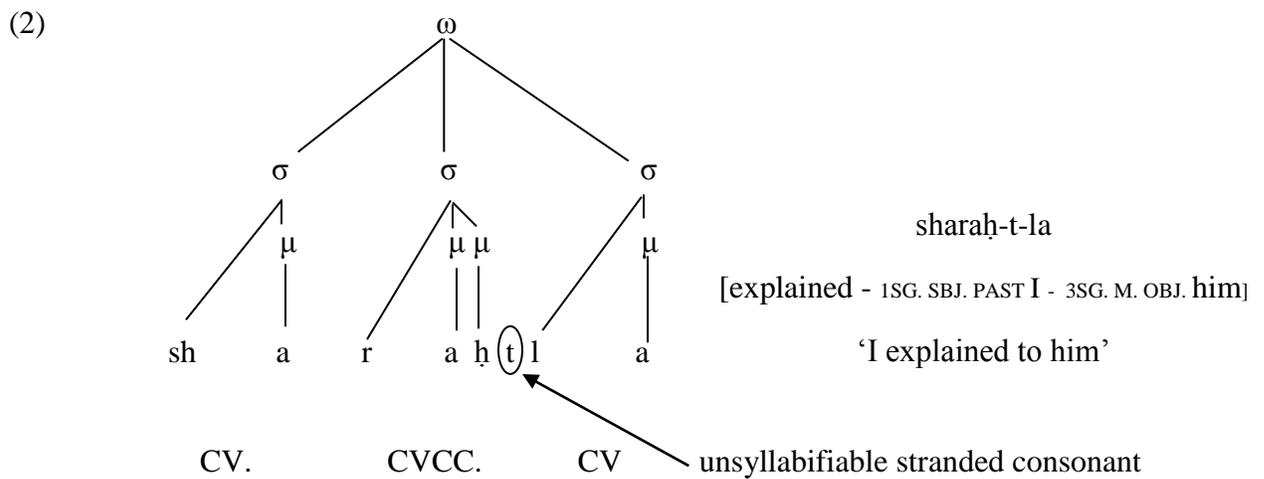
Kiparsky (2002) provides a three-way classification of all dialects of Arabic based on syllabic and moraic structure:

- *VC dialects* in the Levant (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine), the Gulf (Iraq, Hijazi), Turkey, Bedouin-type (Bani-Hassan), Eastern Libya, and Easternmost of the Delta (Egypt) and Upper Egypt;
- *C dialects* throughout North Africa (including Tunisia, Morocco, Mauretania), and the Maltese language;
- *CV dialects* including, almost exclusively, the majority of the dialects of Egypt, such as Cairo and Middle Egypt).

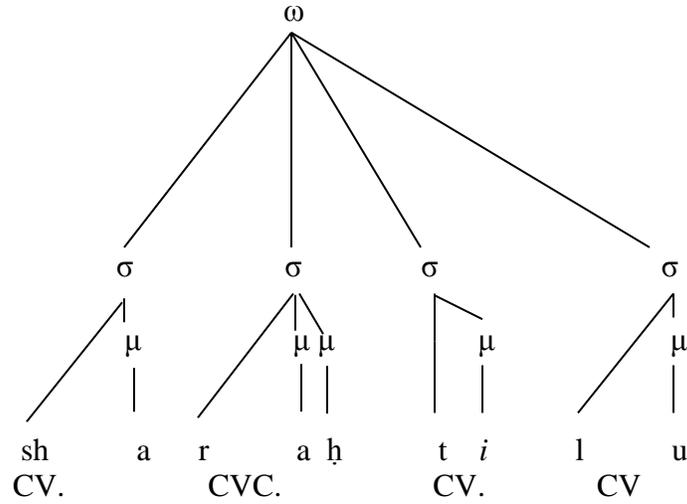
In favour of this classification, Broselow (1992) describes CV dialects as “onset dialects” and VC dialects as “coda dialects”. The main feature differentiating these three groups is

the means by which an unsyllabifiable consonant C is treated. When faced with one, CV dialects insert an epenthetic vowel to the right of the stray consonant, thus assigning it the role of an onset. On the other hand, VC dialects insert a vowel to the left of the strayed consonant. However, VC sequences are not allowed for they lack an onset, which is forbidden by a pan-Arabic rule disallowing onsetless syllables. Diagram (2) below demonstrates the position of the unsyllabified consonant. In a CV dialect, such as that of Cairene Arabic, (2) will be re-syllabified as (3), whereby a vowel can be seen here inserted after the stranded consonant. This creates an open, light CV syllable, which is a main feature of this class of dialects. By doing that, Cairene Arabic is avoiding what is an otherwise unfavourable type of syllable, a super-heavy, closed syllable CVCC, maximising Broselow's (1992:10) pan-Arabic 'Bimoraicity Constraint', which states that syllables are maximally and optimally bimoraic, i.e. VV or VC (cf. Al-Qenaie, 2007).

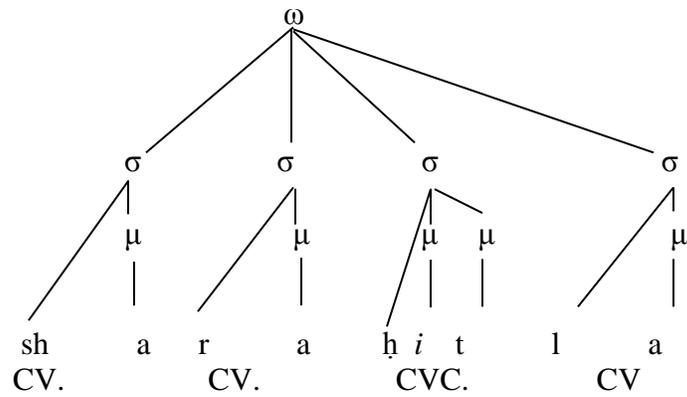
On the other hand, we have VC dialects. These dialects insert the vowel before the semi-syllable *t*, rendering a VC syllable, after which re-syllabification of the second syllable takes place. The coda in this second syllable is removed and attached as an onset to the following new syllable, rendering a CVC pattern as in (4) below.



(3)

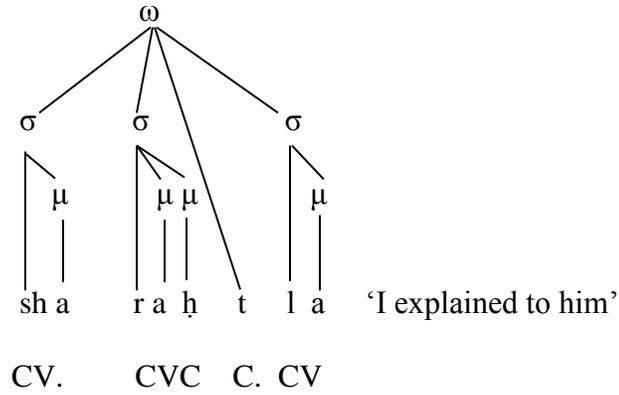


(4)



KA, however, does not operate on the phonotactics of any of the two classes of dialects, but follows Kiparsky's C-class. This group of dialects does not allow a stranded consonant (that forms a semi-syllable) at the stem level of phonology, but treats it as extrametrical, thus allowed at the word and phrase level where it is attached to the prosodic word directly (cf. Al-Qenaie, 2007:74; Kiparsky, 2002). As such, KA will re-syllabify (2) as follows:

(5)



Taking this into consideration, KA has 8 attested syllable patterns summarised in the following table and Figure 3.5 below:

Syllable Type	KA	Gloss
CV	<i>ħaṭab</i>	‘wood’
CVC	<i>kaf</i>	‘slap’
CVV	<i>baa(čir)</i>	‘tomorrow’
CCV	<i>šxa.ra</i>	‘a piece of rock’
CVVC	<i>haaj</i>	‘to go wild’
CVCC	<i>bard</i>	‘cold’
CCVV	<i>šfi?</i>	‘what’s wrong with him?’
CCVVC	<i>ħbaal</i>	‘ropes’

Table 3.11: Attested Syllable Types in KA

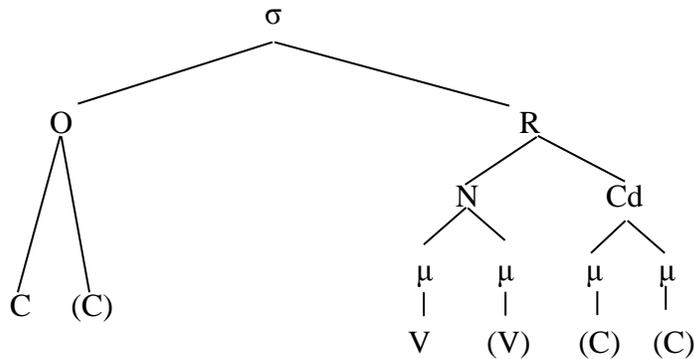


Figure 3.5: Syllabic Template of KA

### **3.2.3 Phonological Processes: Pharyngealisation and Assimilation**

Various forms of assimilation, whether full or partial, are found in the Standard and in KA. These are pharyngealisation (partial/semi-assimilation), and various types of abutting-consonants assimilation (full assimilation).

#### **3.2.3.1 Pharyngealisation**

First, there are pharyngealisation processes which can be seen as a form of partial-assimilation since the emphatic consonants /ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḏ/ force their pharyngeal emphatic feature on neighbouring sounds, whether consonants or vowels. The acoustics and the articulatory manners of emphasis are given by Harrell (1957:69) as follows:

Acoustic: A lowering in pitch of the noise spectrum of obstruents, a lowering of the second formant for vowels, and a general lowering of the spectrum for resonants. Articulatory: Lip protrusion [not resulting in round vowels] and/or pharyngeal striction...The high front vowels are centralized, the high back vowels are lowered, and the low vowels are backed.

Pharyngealisation in (K)A tends to occur in environments where an emphatic neighbouring sound exists. Harrell (1957:72ff.) distinguishes between primary (mentioned above), secondary (/l, r, b/), and marginal emphatics (/g, f, š, x, ġ, h, n, w, y, ʔ/). From the primary, we have examples in KA such as *il-wiṣṭa*, for instance, the name of an area in Kuwait as seen above is usually rendered as *il-wiṣṭa*, substituting *i* for *a* in the definite article, and replacing the voiceless alveolar fricative *s* by its emphatic counterpart *ṣ*, assimilating the emphatic feature of *ṭ*. Another example of pharyngealisation is in the verb 'to fix' *ṣallih*, where in KA it is *ṣallih* with the pharyngealised laterals assimilating the emphasis of the *ṣ*. Primary emphatics contrast

with their non-emphatics, e.g. *sēf/šēf* ‘sword/summer’, with an abundance of similar examples for the other members. The word *allāh* ‘God’, which is pronounced *alla(h)* in KA with optional word-final aspiration, is an example of the secondary, with the two other members (/r, b/) having no occurrence in KA. Another examples of the heavy, emphatic *l*, are *walla* ‘by God’ and *abla* ‘teacher’, which KA borrowed from Egyptian, which in turn has borrowed from Turkish meaning ‘my big (in age) sister’ (cf. Muḥammad, 2009:19).

In Form VIII trilateral verbs *ifta‘ala* / *yafta‘ilu* (see Section 3.3.6), three progressive assimilations occur. One will be discussed here; the other two in the section to follow. Where roots having initial emphatics /ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḏ/ pharyngealisation is imposed on the infix *t*, e.g. *iṣṭadama* < \**iṣṭadama* ‘collided/crashed’ from root ṣ-d-m.

Emphasis never occurs as a feature of a single segment; its minimal application is the sequence CV (Harrell, 1957:78; Lehn, 1963:32, 37). Davis (1995) studied the leftward and rightward spread of emphasis in the Palestinian dialect of Arabic and found that there is a particular set of ‘opaque’ phonemes that tend to block the rightward spread of emphasis throughout the word. He identifies them as /i/, /y/, and /š/, e.g. *‘atšān* ‘thirsty’, *ṣayyād* ‘hunter’, *tīnak* ‘your mud’, where rightward spread of pharyngealisation is blocked. Leftward emphasis, on the other hand, has no opaque phonemes, thus, it spreads throughout the whole word, e.g. *ṣayyāt* ‘tailor (m)’. The pattern of spread varies from one dialect to another and from the standard. Watson (1999:290) notes that in Cairene, the whole phonological word is affected by the presence of an emphatic. Bukshaisha (1985:217-219), as reported by Watson, observes that emphasis in Qatari Arabic spreads bi-directionally over the whole word, and if an emphatic is an initial

segment it goes across word boundaries affecting the preceding word. In the Abha dialect of Saudi Arabia, Watson reports that emphasis rarely spreads beyond CV, i.e. beyond the adjacent vowels. It is this last case that KA is similar to. In KA, emphasis is structurally (and stylistically) relatively dormant, in the sense that it seldom stretches beyond a CV sequence, but when it does, this tends to occur in monosyllabic and disyllabic lexemes, e.g. *sōm* ‘fasting’, where the four phonemes CVVC are affected, and *sal.la* ‘he prayed’ CVC.CV. Stylistically, emphasis serves no para-linguistic function as in marking, for example, someone’s speech as more prominent than another.

### **3.2.3.2 Complete Assimilation**

A second process is the assimilation of the definite article *-al* of MSA, which is realised as *-il* in KA (cf. Al-Qenaie, 2007), substituting the open low front *a* with a close high front *i*. The assimilation of the definite article is a ‘classic’ example and is attested across the dialects of Arabic as well as in MSA. For instance, MSA *al-sayyāra* > KA: *il-sayyāra* > KA: *is-sayyāra* where the voiced alveolar lateral approximant assimilates the features of the voiceless alveolar fricative, a case of anticipatory assimilation. In order to account for this complete assimilation of juxtaposed consonants, Gadalla (2000:16) asserts that the initial consonant following the definite article must be “...one of the so-called /šamsiyy-at(un)/ ‘solar’ consonants [t, d, ʈ, ɖ, θ, ð, ʂ, ʃ, r, l, n, s, z, ʃ/]”. He continues to say that “...there is no assimilation in the case of the so-called /qamariyy-at(un)/ ‘lunar’ consonants [i.e. the remaining consonants]”. This will be clear when, for instance, Kenstowicz’s (1994:163) classification of the consonants of Arabic is used: labials /f, b, m/, coronal sonorants /l, r, n/, coronal stops /t, d, ʈ, ɖ/, coronal fricatives /θ,

ð, s, z, ʂ, ʃ, coronal affricate /j/, dorsals /g, k, q/, and gutturals /x, ġ, ħ, ‘, h, ’/. Following this classification, KA also includes coronal affricate [č] and labials [v] and /w/, but as ‘lunar’ letters. Hence, as can be seen, Gadalla’s solar letters are Kenstowicz’s coronal consonants (excluding coronal affricates [č] and /j/ which are moon letters), and as such a rule accounting for assimilation in Arabic, whether the standard or the dialect, can be accounted for as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{l} & \longrightarrow & \text{C} / \text{--- C} \\
 \{+\text{def}\} & & \{+\text{cor}\} \\
 & & \{-\text{affricate}\}
 \end{array}$$

As all the solar consonants have the feature ‘+coronal’, once they follow the definite article it absorbs their features, rendering two identical abutting consonants, hence, regressive/anticipatory assimilation. e.g. *al-ṭabīb* > *aṭ-ṭabīb* ‘physician’ (KA: *iṭ-ṭabīb*). Another type of regressive assimilation occurs in Form VIII trilateral verbs *ifta’ala* / *yafta’ilu*, where roots with initial consonant *wāw* or *yā’* are “...affected by the infix *taa’* and are assimilated into it [e.g. *ittahad* < *\*iwtaḥad* ‘to be united’ from root w-ḥ-d]” (Ryding, 2009:567).

In addition to that discussed in section 3.2.3.1, Form VIII has two further progressive assimilation types. The first is where the initial consonant of the root is either the voiced alveolar fricative *z*, or the voiced alveo-dental stop *d*. In the former only partial assimilation occurs in the sense that only the voicing of *z* is assimilated onto the neighbouring *t*, e.g. *izdahara* < *\*iztahara* ‘flourished’ from root z-h-r. In the latter, we have full assimilation, e.g. *idda’ā* < *\*idta’ā* ‘alleged’ from weak root d-‘-w. The second assimilation type involves roots with initial interdental fricatives *θ* and *ð*. With the

former, usual progressive assimilation is found, e.g. *iθθa'ara* < *\*iθta'ara* 'to take one's vengeance' from hamzated root θ-'-r. In the latter, we have a form of mutual assimilation whereby the *ð* of the initial root loses its interdentality rendering *d*, partially assimilating to *t*, while simultaneously *t* assimilates to the voicing of *d*, e.g. *iddaxar* < *\*idtaxar* < *\*iðtaxar* 'to save (money)' from root ð-x-r (Ryding, 2009:566-567).

We have seen in this section two types of assimilation affecting neighbouring consonants, whether progressively or regressively, partially or fully. They are very common and can be found in both the dialect and the standard. I will now discuss KA at the morphological level.

### **3.3 Morphology of Kuwaiti Arabic**

Various aspects of the morphology of KA will now be dealt with, giving an insight into the nature of the morphology of the dialect by ways of comparison with MSA. Not all linguistic features of a dialect, whether phonological, morphological, or syntactical are linguistically significant in the study of that dialect, and what should be considered are those with more prominence and impact than others. Hence, the dual/plural, tense system, possession, geminate verbs, and the elative in KA will be addressed.

#### **3.3.1 Dual and Plural**

The dual in KA, as in all dialects of Arabic (cf. Ferguson, 1959b), has been subsumed into the plural. In the dialect, when referring to a dual or plural noun, the following verb, pronoun, or adjective is realised as obligatory plural (as opposed to an obligatory dual in MSA) in the case of a corresponding dual, and as either plural or

feminine-singular in the case of a plural (akin to MSA). Consider the following where ‘a-i’, ‘b-i’, and ‘c-i’ show the plural form (in bold) of each class (verb, pronoun, adjective), and ‘a-ii’, ‘b-ii’, and ‘c-ii’ show the singular feminine forms (also in bold) when modifying a plural noun:

Modified by:	Phrase	Gloss
a) Verb	i) <i>il-ḥarīm <b>gāmaw</b></i>	‘The women stood up’
	ii) <i>il-karātīn <b>ḡā‘at</b></i>	‘The boxes got lost’
b) Adjective	i) <i>il-ṭāwlāt <b>yihablūn</b></i>	‘The tables are gorgeous’
	ii) <i>il-flūs <b>ḥilwa</b></i>	‘(Having) money is beautiful’
c) Pronoun	i) <i>il-tijjār’ <b>‘uhum...</b></i>	‘The merchants are the ones who...’
	ii) <i>il-bībān’ <b>‘ihiy</b></i>	‘The doors are closed’

Table 3.12: The Plural and Feminine-Singular Occurrence of the Verb, Adjective, and Pronoun after a Plural Noun

Dual nouns, however, tend to take obligatory *plural* (and only plural) concord with it. For instance, *hall talifōnēn* (dual noun) *ḥilwīn* (plural adjective) ‘these two (mobile) phones are beautiful’ (cf. *il-talifōnāt ḥilwa / il-talifōnāt ḥilwīn*, where *il-talifōnāt* is a plural noun meaning either a land-line telephone or a mobile phone).

We can see from the above discussion and examples that the dual as a modifier in the speech classes of verbs, pronouns, and adjectives in KA has disappeared, being replaced by a plural in all environments. Further, Ferguson (1959b:620) states that the verb, pronoun, or adjective is plural if the modified plural noun is referring to human beings, and feminine singular if it is referring to animals or objects, though this is not to be applied uniformly across dialects, not to KA at least.

### 3.3.1.1 Irregular Plural Patterns

The following are the most common occurring broken plural<sup>18</sup> patterns in

KA:

<b>Plural Pattern</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>fi‘al</i>	<i>qiṣaṣ</i>	‘Stories’
<i>fi‘al</i>	<i>ḥimma</i>	‘pregnant (pl.)’
<i>fi‘aal</i>	<i>‘immāl</i>	‘workmen’
<i>fa‘aa‘il</i>	<i>jawāhir</i>	‘jewellery’
<i>fuwaa‘il</i>	<i>suwālif</i>	‘conversations’
<i>f‘allaan</i>	<i>ṣbayyān</i>	‘boys’
<i>f‘uul</i>	<i>gṣūr</i>	‘palaces’
<i>fi‘laan</i>	<i>riḥjān</i>	‘friends’
<i>‘af‘aal</i>	<i>ajnās</i>	‘kinds, races’
<i>fa‘aali(y)</i>	<i>balāwi(y)</i>	‘calamities’
<i>fa‘aala</i>	<i>‘amāla</i>	‘labour’
<i>fa‘iil</i>	<i>ḥarīm</i>	‘women’
<i>fa‘aa‘il</i>	<i>arānib</i>	‘rabbits’
<i>fi‘aa‘iil</i>	<i>riyāyīl</i>	‘men’

Table 3.13: Most Common Broken Plural Patterns in KA

### 3.3.2 Tense System

Two common verb actions in KA will be discussed under this section. Before proceeding, it is imperative to mention the long-standing debate as to whether Arabic

---

<sup>18</sup> Ryding (2009:144) states the following on broken plurals: “The broken plural is highly characteristic of Arabic nouns and adjectives. It involves a shift of vowel patterns within the word stem itself, as in English ‘man/men,’ ‘foot/feet’ or ‘mouse/mice.’” (cf. Ryding, 2009:132-156 for a detailed review of plurals in MSA).

even has tense, as opposed to aspect, or a mixture of the two. According to Ryding (2009:51):

Tense and aspect can be seen as two different ways of viewing time. Tense usually deals with linear points extending from the past into the future. Aspect sees the completeness of an action or state as central: is the action over with and completed, ongoing, or yet to occur? The points of view of the two terms are different: one focuses on when the action occurs and the other focuses on the action itself- whether it is complete or not. These two grammatical categories do overlap to some extent and have in practice blended into one in MSA.

The terms ‘past (or perfect)’, ‘present (or imperfect)’ and ‘future’ are usually reserved for discussions on tense, as opposed to perfective/imperfective which are reserved for aspect discussions. So, a discussion between tense and aspect is one between the temporal status of the action denoted by the verb, and the completeness of the action: when the action takes place in relation to the time of speaking/writing (tense) vs. the state of the action, whether finished (or yet to take place), long-lasting, continuous, instantaneous etc. (cf. Hurford, 1994:240; Ryding, 2009:440). In his description of Arabic tenses, Wright (1967, I:51) as reported by Ryding (2009:52) says: “The temporal forms of the Arabic verb are but *two* in number, the one expressing a *finished* act, one that is done and completed in relation to other acts (the *Perfect*); the other an *unfinished* act, one that is just commencing or in progress (the *Imperfect*)” (emphasis is original). It is more pragmatic, as far as Arabic is concerned, to describe the verb in terms of tense rather than aspect or as a combination of both to avoid the complexity of Arabic verb tense/aspect relationship (Ryding, 2009:440; Wright, 1967:I-51). The debate is a long one dependent on the perspective the linguist looks at the division from, and is beyond the scope of this study. To avoid the complexity, two *tenses* will be dealt with in this section, namely the present

continuous and the future. These are the two most interesting for the former is expressed by a certain adjective-like verbal participle preceding the verb, while the latter takes a prefixed particle to refer to the participation in the action or state of the verb, which is the future.

### **3.3.2.1 Present Continuous**

Al-Najjar (1984:126) states that the “...participle gaa'id ‘sitting, remaining, staying’...is placed before an imperfective verb to form the most common progressive construction in KA”. The present tense without any particle marking it is generally used for statements that are generally valid (Versteegh, 2004:108), and its mood, the indicative, is characteristic of straightforward, factual statements or questions (Ryding, 2009:444). Temporally, it refers to incomplete, ongoing actions or states, and is equivalent to both the English present tense and the present continuous in MSA (Ryding, 2009:442). However, in KA, the dialect, the distinction is maintained. Hence, present-tense ‘I write’ is *āna aktib*, while present-progressive/continuous ‘I am writing’ is *āna gā'id aktib*. As seen from (6) below, the most common verbs to occur with the latter construction, according to Al-Najjar, are the action verbs of activity, accomplishment, and frequency, for these verbs possess the feature of duration, which is a core feature in denoting the progressive tense. The continuity markers involved derive from participle forms with the meaning ‘sitting’, ‘doing’, or ‘standing’ depending on the dialect. Syrian Arabic and Uzbekistan Arabic, for instance, have the forms *ʿam* < *ʿammāl* ‘doing’ and *wōqif* ‘standing’, respectively.

(6)

- a) Activity: *gā'id asōlif wiya maryam*  
'I am chatting with Maryam'
- b) Accomplishment: *gā'id aktib āakhir faqra*  
'I am writing the last paragraph'
- c) Frequency: *gā'id aṣaḷḷih il-marwaḥa*  
'I am fixing the fan'

The present tense of the verb inflects for person, number, and gender according to the preceding subject noun phrase.

Action of Verb	Person, Number, and Gender of the Locative Particle		
	I(m)-You(m)-He	I(f)-You(f)-She	You(pl)-We-They
	<i>gā'id</i>	<i>gā'da</i>	<i>gā'dīn</i>
Activity	E.g.: <i>āna gā'id ākil</i> 'I am eating'	E.g.: <i>intay gā'da tāklīn</i> 'You(f) are eating'	E.g.: <i>iḥna gā'dīn nākil</i> 'We are eating'
Accomplishment	<i>inta gā'id taktib</i> 'You(m) are writing'	<i>intay gā'da taktibīn</i> 'You(f) are writing'	<i>intaw gā'dīn taktibūn</i> 'You(pl) are writing'
Frequency	<i>uhuw/uhwa gā'id yiṣaḷḷih</i> 'He is fixing (something)'	<i>iḥya gā'da ṭṣaḷḷih</i> 'She is fixing (something)'	<i>uhum/uhma gā'dīn iṣaḷḷūn</i> 'They are fixing (something)'

Table 3.14: The Inflection of the Locative Particle for Person, Number and Gender

Consider the table above, where it is seen that the action of the verb has no effect on the realisation of the participle. However, the participle *gā'id* is inflected for number and gender. The first person singular, second person masculine singular, and the third person masculine singular pronouns all take an identical inflected form of the continuous marker. The second person feminine singular and third person feminine singular both have their own realisation; and so do the first, second, and third person plural.

In addition to Al-Najjar, Elgibali (1993) discusses variation in the morphology of KA. He examines two markers in KA: the 'future tense', discussed below, and the 'present progressive'. However, he produces faulty realisations, claiming that in KA *bashrab*, for example, is used when the speaker wants to produce 'I am drinking'. On the contrary, this will give a totally different tense and refer to the future rather than the present progressive. Further, this progressive construction that he gives to KA is widely and almost exclusively attested in dialects of the Levant and some dialects of North Africa, such as Cairene Arabic. Hence, for example, 'I am playing cards' for a Cairene Egyptian would be *bal'ab kuččīna/wara*, but in KA as *gā'ad al'ab janjifa*.

### **3.3.2.2 Future Tense**

In the expression of the future, MSA adds a prefixed morpheme *sa-* or the particle *sawfa* to a present tense indicative verb (cf. Ryding, 2009:442). In KA this stem is correctly identified by Elgibali as *bi-/ba-*. Hence, *yalbisu* 'he wears' would be rendered in the future tense as *bi-yalbis*, or, in rapid speech, *byalbis* 'he will wear'. The future expressing particle often alternates with a particle deriving from a verb with a meaning

‘to go’, i.e. *rāḥ* ‘he/she/you/they will’ (cf. Versteegh, 2004:108), which as a stand-alone verb also bears a second past tense/present perfect meaning of ‘he went/he is gone’. Thus, *byalbis* can also be realised as *rāḥ yalbis*, meaning either ‘he went to wear (something)’ or ‘he will wear’. The choice between either particles is a matter of idiolectal variation, bearing almost no stylistic effect. Elgibali (1993:81) mentions the example of ‘he will sleep early’, occurring in KA as *bi-ynām bekkir*, which is, again, completely ill-formed. Elgibali’s source of data, a linguistics professor who is a Bedouin, could have never pronounced ‘early’ as *bekkir*, since this is invariably rendered as *im.bač.čir* in KA, while *bekkir* has never been attested in it. Further, the verb *ynām* ‘he sleeps’ takes *rāḥ* instead of *bi-*, apparently to avoid confusion with *yabiy ynām* ‘he wants to sleep’ as opposed to *rāḥ ynām* ‘he will sleep’. It is such ill-formed statements by some scholars on the different linguistic features of KA that motivate the re-addressing of these basic features of KA, albeit briefly, in this study and amending them.

### **3.3.3 Possession: Analytic and Synthetic Genitives**

The marking of possession in the dialects of the Arab world varies from one geographical area to another and within the same geographical area. Brustad (2000:70) states that “spoken Arabic makes use of two constructions to express possessive and genitive relationships: the construct phrase...that links two nouns together to specify a genitive or possessive relationship between them, and the so-called ‘analytic’ genitive, which makes use of a genitive exponent to express that relationship”. In the dialects of the Gulf, for instance, where while in Saudi Arabia ‘my car’ may be expressed *al-sayyāra ḥagg-at-ī* (the-car - for - FEM. - POSS. me; the car for me; ‘ my car’) in some areas, in

Lebanese Arabic this may be heard as *sayyār(a)-t-i* (car - FEM. - POSS. me; car me; ‘my car’), or ‘Marwan’s car’ as *sayyār-t-u la-Marwān*; (car - FEM. - 3SG. OBJ. - for - Marwan; car for Marwan; Marwan’s car) where *ḥagg* and *la- / -i* represent possession in both varieties, respectively. Other genitive exponents have been accounted for in the Arab world by various researchers as reported in Palva (1982:27), such as *taba* ‘for Damascus, and *btā* ‘for urban Palestine. Harning (1980) as reported by Brustad (2000:72) observes two genitive exponents for the dialects of the Arabian Gulf, namely *māl* and *ḥagg*. In KA, the former is predominant, with only a handful of usages of the latter. This is confirmed by Johnstone (1967:90) who notes that *ḥagg* functions as a marker of an indirect-object (recipient), bearing the meaning of /li-/ ‘to, for’. Brustad’s (2000:72) data validate this, too. For example, *il-kitāb ḥāḍa ḥagg maryam* ‘this book is for Maryam’; *aṭ il-miftāḥ ḥagg iḥmān* ‘give the keys to Othman’. It is also used to denote the meaning ‘rights’, e.g. *min ḥaggiy inniy aṭlib* ‘it is my right to ask for/order’ (3.s.f. *ḥag.ha inha taṭlib*; 3.s.m *ḥagga inna yaṭlib*; pl. *ḥaghum inhum yaṭlibūn*).

Hence, possession in KA is expressed mainly by either the possessive preposition (genitive exponent) *māl(m.)/mālat(f.)* ‘belongs (to)’ (i.e. analytic genitive), or by a subject pronoun suffix added to the end of nouns, which is originally a construct phrase *idāfa* (i.e. synthetic). Consider the following example, where the column to the left express the analytic genitive in KA, and the right giving the synthetic equivalent:

(7)

a) *il-kitāb māl.iy* vs. *kitāb.iy*  
‘the book is mine’ vs. ‘my book’

b) *il-kitāb māl.ha* vs. *kitāb.ha*

- ‘the book is hers’ vs. ‘her book’
- c) *il-kitāb māl.a* vs. *kitāb.a*  
 ‘the book is his’ vs. ‘his book’
- d) *il-kitāb māl.hum* vs. *kitāb.hum*  
 ‘the book is theirs’ vs. ‘their book’
- e) *il-kitāb māl.na* vs. *kitāb.na*  
 ‘the book is ours’ vs. ‘our book’

Hoyt (2009:11) states that in “several dialects of middle-eastern, the analytic genitive construction...[is] headed by adjective-like particles [i.e. *māl/mālat*] which agree in number and gender with the nouns they modify”. Pronoun subject suffixes, the possessive pronouns in synthetic genitives, however, are insensitive to gender and number of the noun they attach to. The singular noun *kitāb* ‘book’ in KA (and MSA) is masculine, hence, the corresponding constructions seen in (7). Feminine singular nouns, on the other hand, have different possession construction suffixes as follows:

(8)

- a) *il-rīḥa māl.t.iy* vs. *rīḥ.t.iy*  
 ‘the perfume is mine’ vs. ‘my perfume’
- b) *il-rīḥa mālat.ha* vs. *rīḥat.ha*  
 ‘the perfume is hers’ vs. ‘her perfume’
- c) *il-rīḥa māl.t.a* vs. *rīḥ.t.a*  
 ‘the perfume is his’ vs. ‘his perfume’
- d) *il-rīḥa mālat.h.um* vs. *rīḥat.h.um*  
 ‘the perfume is theirs’ vs. ‘their perfume’
- e) *il-rīḥa mālat.na* vs. *rīḥat.na*  
 ‘the perfume is ours’ vs. ‘our perfume’

Thus far, we have seen possession in singular masculine and feminine nouns with different realisations of the different pronouns attached to particle *māl(m.)/mālat(f.)*, or directly to the noun, in each. In addition to these, we have feminine and masculine plurals that differ from the singular ones in the way they inflect the exponent *māl*, i.e. *malōt*. However, both feminine *and* masculine plural nouns take the same possessive pronouns attachments, analytical and synthetic, akin to the singular. Further, because the dual of verbs, adjectives, and pronouns as modifiers is lost in KA (and in almost all dialects of Arabic), dual nouns take the same pronoun endings as those of the plural (cf. Section 3.3.1).

(9)

- |    |                          |     |                  |
|----|--------------------------|-----|------------------|
| a) | <i>ilkutub malōt.iy</i>  | vs. | <i>kutb.iy</i>   |
|    | ‘the books are mine’     | vs. | ‘my books’       |
| b) | <i>ilkutub malōt.ha</i>  | vs. | <i>kutub.ha</i>  |
|    | ‘the books are hers’     | vs. | ‘her books’      |
| c) | <i>ilkutub malōt.a</i>   | vs. | <i>kutb.a</i>    |
|    | ‘the books are his’      | vs. | ‘his books’      |
| d) | <i>ilkutub malōt.hum</i> | vs. | <i>kutub.hum</i> |
|    | ‘the books are theirs’   | vs. | ‘their books’    |
| e) | <i>ilkutub malōt.na</i>  | vs. | <i>kutub.na</i>  |
|    | ‘the books are ours’     | vs. | ‘our books’      |

The relationship between the four criteria involved in the expression of possession in KA can be summed up as in Table 3.15.

The use of either the analytic or synthetic genitive in expressing possession in KA is in almost a state of free variation and not conditioned by any variable. The use of the

Noun	A: Singular	B: Plural
<b>1: Masculine</b>	a) <i>il-kitāb māl.iy</i> vs. <i>kitāb.iy</i> ‘the book is mine’ vs. ‘my book’  b) <i>il-kitāb māl.ha</i> vs. <i>kitāb.ha</i> ‘the book is hers’ vs. ‘her book’  c) <i>il-kitāb mā.la</i> vs. <i>kitāb.a</i> ‘the book is his’ vs. ‘his book’  d) <i>il-kitāb māl.hum</i> vs. <i>kitāb.hum</i> ‘the book is theirs’ vs. ‘their book’  e) <i>il-kitāb māl.na</i> vs. <i>kitābn.a</i> ‘the book is ours’ vs. ‘our book’	a) <i>ilkutub malōtiy</i> vs. <i>kutb.iy</i> ‘the books are mine’ vs. ‘my books’  b) <i>ilkutub malōt.ha</i> vs. <i>kutub.ha</i> ‘the books are hers’ vs. ‘her books’  c) <i>ilkutub malōta</i> vs. <i>kutb.a</i> ‘the books are his’ vs. ‘his books’  d) <i>ilkutub malōt.hum</i> vs. <i>kutub.hum</i> ‘the books are theirs’ vs. ‘their books’  e) <i>ilkutub malōtna</i> vs. <i>kutub.na</i> ‘the books are ours’ vs. ‘our books’
<b>2: Feminine</b>	a) <i>il-rīḥa mālt.iy</i> vs. <i>rīḥt.iy</i> ‘the perfume is mine’ vs. ‘my perfume’  b) <i>il-rīḥa mālat.ha</i> vs. <i>rīḥat.ha</i> ‘the perfume is hers’ vs. ‘her perfume’  c) <i>il-rīḥa mālt.a</i> vs. <i>rīḥta</i> ‘the perfume is his’ vs. ‘his perfume’  d) <i>il-rīḥa mālat.hum</i> vs. <i>rīḥat.hum</i> ‘the perfume is theirs’ vs. ‘their perfume’  e) <i>il-rīḥa mālat.na</i> vs. <i>rīḥatna</i> ‘the perfume is ours’ vs. ‘our perfume’	<p><i>The feminine plural takes the same ending as the plural masculine.</i></p>

Table 3.15: The Expression of Possession with Singular/Plural-Masculine/Feminine Nouns

two is interchangeable and no apparent preference is shown by the speakers of the dialect. The synthetic genitive can be said to be more close to speakers if the variables ‘time efficient’ and ‘ease of articulation’ are to be taken into account, for it is easier to pronounce a single word rather than a ‘clause-like’ construct. This contrasts with Harning (1980:164-5) and Brustad’s (2000:75) arguments which share the widely-held view of the predominance of the analytic amongst the dialects of Arabic. As a supporting

argument, Brustad (2000:75) shows that the analytic allows for “..focus on the possessor not present in the construct [synthetic] phrase”. As an example from Syrian (Damascene) Arabic, rendered here in KA, she contrasts between *maḥaṭṭat il-bānzīn mālat ‘ammiy* ‘*my uncle’s* gasoline station’, and *maḥaṭṭat ‘ammiy mālat il-bānzīn* ‘my uncle’s *gasoline* station’, where the former stresses *my uncle*, and the latter emphasises *gasoline*. A frequency analysis of the occurrences of analytic and synthetic in KA is needed to further validate this claim.

A further usage of the analytic is reported for Egyptian and Syrian by Brustad (2000:82) whereby the exponent annexes to an indefinite possessor in an idiomatic expression with the meaning *someone who likes*, e.g. Egyptian *da rāgil bitā ‘niswān* ‘He likes women/is a ladies man’. She rules out this occurring in KA. However, it does. For instance, *hāḏa māl maṭā ‘im* ‘He likes (hanging out at) restaurants/He is into restaurants’.

In verbs, Ferguson (1959b:623) identifies the relational prefix *li-* ‘to, for’ as expressing possession in CA/MSA; pronoun endings are attached to this prefix to denote the number and gender of the possessors. Ferguson also identifies *‘ilā* ‘to, toward’ as an independent pronoun. He claims that these two have been blended and reformed to produce “...the reflex *li-* with [the different attached pronoun endings] added directly to verbs as a suffix -l-”. For example, *kataba lahu* ‘he wrote to him’ (CA/MSA) > *kitabla* (KA).

### **3.3.4 Geminate Verbs**

Ferguson (1959b:623) points out an interesting feature of the dialects of Arabic. He states that in “...all varieties of Arabic the verbs of which the second and third root-

consonants are identical ('geminate roots') have certain forms which differ from those verbs with 'sound' roots'. The way the dialects treat these verbs as opposed to MSA is interesting, for in MSA the second and third person forms of the perfect are identical to those of sound verbs. Consider the following:

(10)

- |       |                     |     |                |
|-------|---------------------|-----|----------------|
| a) i) | <i>ḥll</i>          | ii) | <i>ktb</i>     |
|       | 'resolve, untie'    |     | 'write'        |
|       | (geminate root)     |     | (sound root)   |
| b) i) | CaCaCCa             | ii) | CaCaCCa        |
|       | <i>ḥalaltu</i>      |     | <i>katabtu</i> |
|       | 'I resolved/untied' |     | 'I wrote'      |

It can be seen that the derivation of both the sound and geminate verbs are identical and follow the same pattern. However, in the dialects, the derivation is different. Consider the following forms represented as pronounced in KA:

(11)

- |       |                  |     |               |
|-------|------------------|-----|---------------|
| a) i) | <i>ḥll</i>       | ii) | <i>ktb</i>    |
|       | 'resolve, untie' |     | 'write'       |
|       | (geminate root)  |     | (sound root)  |
| b) i) | CaCCāC           | ii) | CaCaCC        |
|       | <i>ḥallēt</i>    |     | <i>kitabt</i> |
|       | 'I resolved'     |     | 'I wrote'     |

The first and second person forms (second person being identical to the first person forms) of the geminate-root verb is realised differently, taking a trait of final-weak forms as seen in (12) below. Further, as is the case with almost all dialects of Arabic, inflection,

especially word finally, is lost with no vestiges of the MSA marker in the dialects. Also, note the restriction in meaning of the geminate verb. In KA, it has come to denote the meaning of resolving something, e.g. a problem or a mathematical equation, as in (*'inta*) *ħallēt il-miškila/il-mas'ala* '(you (m))/I solved the problem/equation'. Another interesting fact is that the same verb, i.e. *ħallēt*, denotes yet another activity, namely that of having a dessert after a meal or having eaten something sweet in general, hence, *tawni ħallēt* 'I just had something sweet'.

(12)

- |    |    |  |     |   |
|----|----|--|-----|---|
| a) | i) | <i>ħll</i><br>'resolve, untie'<br>(geminate root)        | ii) | <i>'ta</i><br>'give'<br>(final-weak root) |
| b) | i) | CaCCāC<br><i>ħallēt</i><br>'I resolved/just had dessert' | ii) | CaCāC<br><i>'atēt</i><br>'I gave'         |

### **3.3.5 The Feminine Comparative**

There is a special feminine form of the comparative found in MSA (and, of course, CA) that no longer exists in the dialects of Arabia "...except for set phrases clearly borrowed from the Classical" (Ferguson, 1959b:626; cf. Ryding, 2009:250). So, what is left as a trace in the dialects is an uninflected form of the standard comparative, i.e. 'aCCaCa > 'aCCaC, e.g. 'ašġaru 'smaller, smallest' > 'ašġar (or, in KA rapid speech, as *azġar*, see Section 3.2.4).

The feminine takes the form al-CuCCā, e.g. *al-ṣuḡrā* ‘the smallest (f)’ Ferguson stresses the peculiar fact although no dialect show any trace of this feminine, although it was of a limited use in the Standard (because of its complex morphological structure), yet forms such as the feminine of the ordinal numbers, and the feminine of ‘colour’ words that have a ’aCCaC pattern are still preserved (although they, too, were complex due to their special formation). He (627) illustrates this fact in the following examples. The colloquial equivalent of each example (the right list) is that of KA:

(13)

a)			
i)	<i>’akbaru baytin</i> <i>’al-baytu-l’akbaru</i>	} ‘the largest house’	{ <i>akbar bēt</i> <i>il-bēt il-akbar</i>
ii)	<i>’akbaru ġurfatin</i> <i>’al-ġurfatu-lkubrā</i>		
b)			
i)	<i>xāmisu baytin</i> <i>’al-baytu-lxāmisu</i>	} ‘the fifth house’	{ <i>xāmis bēt</i> <i>il-bēt il-xāmis</i>
ii)	<i>xāmisu ġurfatin</i> <i>’al-ġurfatu-lxāmisatu</i>		
c)			
i)	<i>’al-baytu-l’ahmaru</i>	} ‘the red house’	{ <i>il-bēt il-ahmar</i>
ii)	<i>’al-ġurfatu-lhamrā’u</i>		

There are several noteworthy points in the above examples. First, as mentioned above, the feminine comparative has been completely dropped and replaced by the ‘normal’ ’aCCaC type. Second, it can be seen that inflections and inflectional categories are not in operation whatsoever, resulting in *’akbaru* > *’akbar*. Third, on the phonological level, as

mentioned above, wherever a diphthong *-ay-* appears in CA/MSA, it is replaced by the long close-mid front vowel *ē*. This is common to most dialects of Arabic, resulting in the loss of diphthongs in many of them, but not in KA, as we have seen above, where the vowel system is almost intact in terms of their numbers. Also, as noted earlier, the vowel quality in the definite article is raised to high front *i*.

### **3.3.6 Verbal Morphology of KA**

There are fifteen trilateral verb forms in the Standard, Forms I-XV, though not all of them are active in the dialects, with Forms XI-XV being very rare in MSA. Quadrilateral verb roots exist, too, with four forms. Ryding (2009:429) states that “Arabic verbs fall into two major groups, those with three-consonant roots (trilateral) and those with four-consonant roots (quadrilateral)” each having “...a corresponding verbal noun (maSdar), an active participle (*ism fā'il*), and often, a passive participle (*ism maf'ūl*)” forming “...the foundation for substantial amounts of Arabic vocabulary and can be considered in some ways as the core of the Arabic lexicon”. In the following, only those forms that are active and productive in KA will be discussed. It is noted, however, that Form IX *`if'alla* is absent in KA. The following is based on Ryding (2009) unless stated otherwise, taken and applied to KA.

#### **3.3.6.1 Trilateral Verbs:**

These verbs have three-phoneme roots. Nine forms will be discussed, I-VIII, and X. All forms to be discussed are examined in the light of eight main criteria where applicable: the ‘sound root’ consisting of three consonants, none of which are *wāw*

/w/ or *yā'* /y/; 'geminate root' where the second and third consonants are similar, represented in Arabic orthography as a *shadda*; 'hamzated root' where any of the three consonants are hamza /'/; 'assimilated root' which starts with a semi-consonant *wāw* or *yā'*, with the former more common than the latter (the *wāw* often disappears in the present tense, while the *yā'* does not); 'hollow root' verbs which have the medial consonant *wāw* or *yā'* that turns into '*alif*, a short vowel, or a long vowel depending on the derivation involved and the structure of the word; 'defective root' which ends with either *wāw* or *yā'* taking different forms in different derivations, having *alif* ending in the past tense, and usually retaining the original *wāw* in the present, and either retaining the *yā'* or turning it into *alif maqṣūra*; doubly weak root verbs that have a semi consonant and/or *hamza* in two places, either first and third radical, or second and third; and verbal nouns.

Let us now look at each Form in turn, examining its basic features when conjugating for the three moods of perfect, imperfect, and imperative, followed by an outline of the different verbal noun patterns involved for each of the 7 roots type mentioned above.

### **3.3.6.1.1 Form I**

This form is the basic form of the verb and the simplest of all forms. It is referred to as *mujarrad* 'stripped/bare' for it has no derivational markers/features. The following table summarises its features with examples from KA. As can be seen, there are not any systematic patterns from the occurrences of Form I in its different derivations, deviating from the standard if not in form, as in most cases, then in the quality of the vowels. Hamzated root verbs Form I are rare in KA, while other

examples include *θa'ar* 'to avenge' and *'axað* 'he took'. The final hamza as seen in *bida* 'to start, commence' is deleted, so it can be said that hamzated Form I only occurs initially and medially. Also, the imperative vowel is invariably *i*, and in rapid speech the initial vocalic stop or *hamza* disappears. This is true for any occurrence of the *hamza* word-initially in rapid speech. Geminate verbs witness an interesting shift in their stems in Form I due to phonological restrictions (cf. Ryding, 2009:458 for a detailed account).

Form I <i>fa'ala/yaf'ul</i>							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	<i>fiṭaḥ/rija'</i> <i>/ṭalab</i> <i>/sima'</i> <i>sharab</i>	<i>dall/haṭṭ/</i> <i>wadda/</i>	<i>'akal/</i> <i>sa'al/</i> <i>bida</i>	<i>wiṣal/wizan</i>	<i>zār/</i> <i>bā'</i> <i>nām</i>	<i>bida/ misha/</i> <i>liga</i>	<i>wa'a/</i> <i>nuwa</i>
Imperfect	<i>yiftaḥ/</i> <i>yirja'</i> <i>yatlib/</i> <i>yisma'</i> <i>yishrab</i>	<i>yidill</i> ( <i>'idill</i> ) / <i>yihitt</i> ( <i>'ihitt</i> ) / <i>yiwaddiy</i> ( <i>'iwddiy</i> )	<i>yākil/</i> <i>yis'al/</i> <i>yabdiy</i>	<i>yōṣal/ yōzin</i> ( <i>'iwazzin</i> )	<i>yizūr</i> ( <i>'izūr</i> ) / <i>yibii'</i> ( <i>'ibii'</i> ) / <i>yinām</i> ( <i>'inām</i> )	<i>yabdiy/</i> <i>yamshiy/</i> <i>yilga</i>	<i>yō'a</i> ( <i>yiwti'iy</i> ) / <i>yanwiy</i>
Imperative	<i>'iftaḥ</i> <i>/irja'</i> <i>'itlib/</i> <i>'isma'</i> <i>'ishrab</i>	<i>dill/ hiṭṭ/</i> <i>wadd</i>	<i>'ikil/'is'al</i> <i>/ ibdiy</i>	<i>'ōṣal/ 'ōzin</i>	<i>zūr/ bii'</i> <i>nām</i>	<i>'ibdiy/</i> <i>'imsh(iy)/</i> <i>'ilga</i>	<i>iwti'iy/</i> <i>inwiy</i>

Table 3.16: Form I Triliteral Verbs

As for the verbal nouns in this form, there are many as is the case in the standard. Ryding (2009:465-70) lists around sixty possible patterns, most of which are attested in KA. I will list only those that are common in KA: *fi'la~fa'la*, e.g. *ḥikma* 'wisdom', *qalṭa* 'mistake'; *fu'uul*. e.g. *shu'ūr* 'feeling'; *fu'uula*, e.g. *murūna* 'flexibility'; *fi'aala~fa'aala*,

e.g. *kitāba* ‘writing’, *faxāma* ‘splendour’; *maf‘il~maf‘ila*, e.g. *manṭiq* ‘logic’, *ma‘rifa* ‘knowledge’; *fu‘aal*, e.g. *su‘āl*; *fi‘aala*, e.g. *wilāya* ‘state, authority’; ‘*ila*, e.g. *jiha* ‘direction’; *fi‘aala*, e.g. *ziyāra* ‘visit’; *mafīl~mafīla*, e.g. *maṣīr* ‘destiny’, *ma‘īša* ‘livelihood’; and *fi‘aala*, e.g. *ḥimāya* ‘protection’.

### 3.3.6.1.2 Form II

This form has a double radical-medial consonant that remains unchanged when the verb is conjugated for the present and the past. It is transitive most of the time, and can also have the meaning of describing an intensive or repeated action.

As seen in the table below, geminates have the same structure as regular (sound) Form II, unlike Form I. Hamza-medial forms under the hamzated verbs are rare, and, again, hamza-final does occur but with deletion of it. Pharyngealisation of *l* is noted in the example *ṣalla*, a case of rightward spread of emphasis throughout the word, one of the few instances of the spread over a CV sequence. Note that the assimilated root example was originally a sound root *j-m-*. However, because of the above discussed *j~y* shift in KA, the root changed to *y-m-*, hence, radical-initial weak root. As for the verbal nouns in Form II, there are four attested forms, with *taf‘iil*, e.g. *tafkīr* ‘thinking’, *ta‘θīr* ‘(to have an) effect’, *tawfīr* ‘to save’, *taḥwīl* ‘to transfer, to change’, and *ta‘yīd* ‘to support’ being the most common, followed by *taf‘iila*, e.g. *ta‘šīra* ‘to hitchhike, visa’; *tif‘aal* e.g. *timṭāl* ‘statue’; and *taf‘ila*, e.g. *taṣliya* ‘a prayer’, *tazkiyya* ‘to give alms, to nominate’.

Form II <i>fa‘ala/yufa‘ilu</i>							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	<i>fakkar/ sanna‘</i>	<i>bagga‘/ rattab</i>	<i>‘aθθar/ ya‘‘as/ barra‘/ daffa</i>	<i>yamma‘</i>	<i>ḥawwal/ ḥayyar</i>	<i>ṣalla</i>	<i>‘ayyad</i>
Imperfect	<i>yifakkir (‘ifakkir)/ yisanni‘ (‘isanni‘)</i>	<i>yibaggi‘ (‘ibaggi‘)/ yirattib (‘irattib)</i>	<i>yi‘aθθir (‘i‘aθθir)/ ‘iya‘‘is/ yidaffiy (‘idaffiy)</i>	<i>‘iyammi‘</i>	<i>yihawwil (‘ihawwil)/ yihayyir (‘ihayyir)</i>	<i>yīṣalliy (‘iṣalliy)</i>	<i>yi‘ayyid (‘i‘ayyid)</i>
Imperative	<i>fakkir/ sanni‘</i>	<i>baggi‘/ rattib</i>	<i>‘aθθir/ ‘ayyis/ daff (daffiy)</i>	<i>yammi‘</i>	<i>ḥawwil/ ḥayyir</i>	<i>ṣalla</i>	<i>‘ayyid</i>

Table 3.17: Form II Tri-Literal Verbs

### 3.3.6.1.3 Form III

This form has a long vowel after the first radical consonant replacing the short one in the basic form, i.e. Form I. The vowel length is maintained in the present and the past, and the verb denotes a meaning of association as it calls for the participation of another someone or something.

In the geminated roots there is an intervening *fathā* between the two geminated consonants  $CaaCCa > CaaCaCa > CaaCaC$  in KA, and it seems that *hājaj* ‘to argue’ is the only incident of a geminated Form III (along with *rādad* ‘to answer back/reply impertinently or rudely’), for it appears too formal to be used in the colloquial. As for the hamzated verbs, as in Form II, no medially occurring *hamza* is found. Looking at the imperative, there seems to be an occurring pattern with all Form III verb types, viz. *faa‘il*, a similar pattern to that of the active participle of Form I.

Form III <i>faa'ala/yufaa'ilu</i>							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	<i>sāfar</i>	<i>ḥājjaj</i>	<i>'āmar/ fāja'</i>	<i>wāṣal</i>	<i>šāwar</i>	<i>'āna</i>	<i>sāwa</i>
Imperfect	<i>yisāfir (isāfir)</i>	<i>yihājjij</i>	<i>yi'āmir (i'āmir)/ yifāji' (ifāji')</i>	<i>yiwāṣil (iwāṣil)</i>	<i>yišāwir (išāwir)</i>	<i>yi'āniy (i'āniy)</i>	<i>yisāwiy (isāwiy)</i>
Imperative	<i>sāfir</i>	<i>ḥājjij</i>	<i>'āmir</i>	<i>wāṣil</i>	<i>šāwir</i>	<i>ta'anna</i>	<i>sāw/sāwiy</i>

Table 3.18: Form III Triliteral Verbs

The verbal nouns in this Form exhibit five types, three of which are attested in the standard, *mufaa'ala*, e.g. *muḥājjaja* 'arguing', *mušāwara* 'consultancy', *mu'ānāt* 'to struggle', *musāwāt* 'to make/be equal', *fu'al*, which is a Form I verbal noun form, occurring in here with a change in vowel quality, e.g. *sifar* 'travel', and *fu'aal*, e.g. *ḥiwār* 'conversation'. The other two are only found in KA, i.e. *tifi'il*, e.g. *ti'immir* 'ordering, commanding', and *mfaa'al*, e.g. *mwāṣal* 'to stay up late'.

#### 3.3.6.1.4 Form IV

This Form is usually transitive, and in some instances doubly transitive and has a meaning similar to that of Form II. From the table many interesting points arise. First, the imperfect/imperative for the sound-root verbs and the geminate-root verbs are both similar to the pattern of their counterparts in Form I. Also, the imperfect, perfect, imperative, and verbal noun patterns for the assimilated root is as that of Form II, which can be traced back to the similarity of meaning the two Forms can sometimes convey. Further, the defective-root perfect has two variants, one of which has

the shape of Form I. Second, there are no doubly-weak root verbs, probably because of the standard nature of the structure of the Form.

There are four verbal noun patterns, three attested in MSA, and one dialectal: *'if'āl*, e.g. *'inšā* 'construction', *'iṣrār* 'insistence', *'i'lān* 'declaration, announcement', *'ilgā* 'cancelation'; *'iifāl*, e.g. *'īmān* 'belief'; and *'ifāla*, e.g. *'iθāra* 'provocation' are standard. The dialectal is as follows: *taf'īl*, e.g. *tawḏiḥ* 'clear, explaining'.

Form IV 'af'ala/yuf'ilu							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	'a lan	'aṣarr	'āman/ 'anša	waḏḏaḥ	'aθār	laḡa('alḡa)	-
Imperfect	ya lin	yiṣirr (iṣirr)	yi'āmin (i'āmin)/ yanši	yiwaḏḏiḥ (iwaḏḏiḥ)	yiθīr	yalḡiy	-
Imperative	i lin	ṣirr	'āmin/ 'inši	waḏḏiḥ	θīr	'ilḡiy	-

Table 3.19: Form IV Triliteral Verbs

### 3.3.6.1.5 Form V

The stem of this form has an added radical-medial consonant forming a geminate, and a prefix *-ta* is added. So, it is similar to Form II, just with an added prefix. The action expressed here is that it is inflicted on one's self. Actions include gradual progress in activity or state, e.g. *tibagga* 'to get stained', and acquisition or imitation of a certain quality, e.g. *tisanna* 'to become decent'. There seems to be three regular patterns throughout the formation of the imperative, viz. *'itfa'al* and

*tifa* ‘*al~tafa* ‘*al*. The imperfect has a slight change of form where the *a* of the prefix *ta-* is deleted, and the *a* in the imperfect marker *ya-* is raised and fronted to *i*.

As for the verbal nouns, we have two occurring ones similar to those in MSA, *tafa* ‘*ul* e.g. *tanaffus* ‘breathing’, *taṭawwu* ‘volunteering’; and a dialectal variant *tifi* ‘*il*, e.g. *tibillil* ‘getting wet’, *tiwissi* ‘expansion’.

Form V <i>tafa</i> ‘ <i>ala/yatafa</i> ‘ <i>alu</i>							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	<i>ti/ta-naffas</i>	<i>tiballal</i>	<i>ti/ta-’assaf</i> <i>ti/ta-ra-’as</i> <i>ti/ta-nabba-’</i>	<i>tiwassa</i> ‘	<i>tiṭawa</i> ‘	<i>taḥačča</i>	<i>ti/ta-waṣṣa</i>
Imperfect	<i>yitnaffas</i>	<i>yitballal</i>	<i>yit’assaf/</i> <i>yitra-’as/</i> <i>yitnabba-’</i>	<i>yitwassa</i> ‘	<i>yitṭawwa</i> ‘	<i>yithačča</i>	<i>yitwaṣṣa</i>
Imperative	<i>’it/ti/ta-naffas</i>	<i>’it/ti-ballal</i>	<i>’it/ti/ta-’assaf</i> <i>’it/ti/ta-ra-’as</i> <i>’it/ti/ta-abba-’</i>	<i>tiwassa</i> ‘/ <i>’itwassa</i> ‘	<i>’itṭawwa</i> ‘/ <i>tiṭawwa</i> ‘	<i>’it/ta-ḥačča</i>	<i>’itwaṣṣa</i> / <i>tiwaṣṣa</i>

Table 3.20: Form V Triliteral Verbs

### 3.3.1.1.6 Form VI

This is identical in structure to Form III, except that a *-ta* is prefixed, rendering a reciprocal meaning to it. The action is mutual, involving two parties. These verbs are mostly intransitive, but transitive ones are attested. The meaning of the verb includes such as pretending or feigning something, e.g. *yitgēba* ‘to feign stupidity’, or continuous movement of something or increase in the quality of the action, e.g. *yit’ākal* ‘to ware out’. The imperative has four occurring patterns: *’itfā* ‘*al*, *tifā* ‘*al~tafā* ‘*al*, and *fā* ‘*il*. As for the verbal nouns, three patterns are found. One of the

three resembles that of the assimilated-root verbal nouns in Form III, viz. *mfā'al*, e.g. *mwā'ad* 'dating, making an appointment', *mwājah* 'confronting'. The other two are *tafā'ul-tafā'il*, e.g. *tahāyil* 'defraudation', *ta'amur* 'plotting, conspiring', which are also available in MSA.

Form VI <i>tafaa'ala/yatafaa'alu</i>							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	<i>ti/ta-wā'ad</i>	-	<i>ti/ta-'āmar</i> <i>ti/tašā'am</i> <i>ti/takāfa'</i>	<i>ti/tawājah</i>	<i>ti/ta-hāyal</i>	<i>ti/ta-qāḏa</i>	-
Imperfect	<i>yitwā'ad</i>	-	<i>yit'āmar</i> <i>yitšā'am</i> <i>yitkāfa'</i>	<i>yitwājah</i>	<i>yithāyal</i>	<i>yitqāḏa</i>	-
Imperative	<i>'it/ti/ta-wā'ad</i>	-	<i>'it/ti/ta-'āmar</i> <i>'it/ti/ta-šā'am</i> <i>'it/ti/ta-kāfa'</i>	<i>wājih</i> <i>'it/ti/ta-wājah</i>	<i>'it/ti/ta-hāyal</i>	<i>'it/ti/ta-qāḏa</i>	-

Table 3.21: Form VI Trilateral Verbs

### 3.3.6.1.7 Form VII

This is Form I with a prefix *'in-*, which is retained in the perfect, while the *hamza* and its vowel are deleted in the present tense, replaced by the present tense subject markers. Roots beginning with alveolars *l, n, r*, glides *w, y*, or *hamza* are not compatible with this Form. If they are to occur Forms V or VIII are used instead. Verbs under this Form usually show the results of the action of the verb in Form I, and are intransitive by definition.

No assimilated root verbs are treated here for they start with *w* or *y*, which as mentioned earlier cannot occur in Form VII. Four verbal nouns occur in this Form,

*infī`āl*, e.g. `intihā` ‘finish’, *fee`*, e.g. šēl` ‘carrying’, *tifi``il*, e.g. tišiggig` ‘tearing’, and *infīyaal*, e.g. inhiyār` ‘collapsing’.

Form VII <i>infa`ala/yanfa`ilu</i>							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	`infīḏaḥ	`inšagg	`intīfa	-	`inšāl	`intaha	-
Imperfect	yinfīḏih	yinšagg	yintīfiy	-	yinšāl	yintihy	-
Imperative	`ifḏaḥ	šigg	ṭaff	-	šīl	`inhiy	-

Table 3.22: Form VII Triliteral Verbs

### 3.3.6.1.8 Form VIII

In this Form, *t* is infixed after the first radical Form I consonant, and a *hamza* along with its vowel is added in the past tense before the first radical to make the whole form pronounceable. In the present tense, there is no *hamza* and it is replaced by the subject markers. Form VIII is reciprocal in nature, i.e. the action denoted involves two or more parties, and it can be transitive, intransitive, or doubly transitive.

If the consonant to the left of the inserted *t*, i.e. the first radical consonant is an emphatic, an interdental, or a voiced alveolar *d/z*, the infixed *t* assimilates some or all of the neighbouring sound’s features in a case of progressive assimilation as discussed previously under Section 3.2.3. Regressive assimilation occurs if the same consonant is either *w* or *y*, e.g. root *w-h-m* > \*`iwtaham > `ittaham ‘to accuse’.

This Form includes only one verbal noun pattern in the hollow-root verbs group, that of the form *ifti* ‘aal, e.g. *ixtiyār* ‘choice’, *’ilti* ‘āam ‘healing’, *’iḥtilāl* ‘occupation’.

Form VIII <i>ifta</i> ‘ala/yafta ‘ilu							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly week root
Perfect	<i>’iḥtifal</i>	<i>’iḥtall</i>	<i>’ilta</i> ‘am	-	<i>’ixtār</i>	<i>’iḥtima</i>	-
Imperfect	<i>yihṭifil</i>	<i>yihṭall</i>	<i>yilti</i> ‘im	-	<i>yixtār</i>	<i>yihṭimiy</i>	-
Imperative	<i>’iḥtifil</i>	<i>’iḥtall</i>	<i>’ilti</i> ‘im	-	<i>’ixtār</i>	<i>’iḥtimiy</i>	-

Table 3.23: Form VIII Triliteral Verbs

### 3.3.6.1.9 Form X

The final Form under the triliteral verb group to be discussed is Form X. Form IX *if‘alla* is excluded due to its very limited usage and is only used to denote the acquisition of a colour or a physical trait (cf. Ryding, 2009:78, 579), while its verbal nouns are hardly, if ever, used in KA.

In Form X the prefix *st-* is added to Form I, and the first two consonants are not separated by a vowel. A *hamza* and its vowels are inserted before the prefix *st-* to render it pronounceable. These are deleted in the present tense and replaced by subject markers. It can have a requestative meaning, e.g. *’istafsar* ‘to ask about’, or estimative, e.g. *’istaqrab* ‘to consider something queer’. It can be both transitive and intransitive, with the former being more common.

The most common pattern of the imperative is *istaf`il*, with the other two being *isti`il* and *isti`iil*. There are three main verbal noun forms: first, *'istif`aal*, e.g. *'isti`θām* ‘to consider something forbidden by religion’; second, *istii`aal*, e.g. *'istifā* ‘fulfilling (the requirements of)’; and third, *isti`aala*, e.g. *'istifāda* ‘benefiting’.

Form X <i>istaf`ala/yastaf`ilu</i>							
Mood	Sound root	Geminate root	Hamzated root	Assimilated root	Hollow root	Defective root	Doubly weak root
Perfect	<i>'istaqrab</i>	<i>'istaqar</i>	<i>'ista`θam</i>	<i>'istawfa</i>	<i>'istifād</i>	<i>'istawḥa</i>	-
Imperfect	<i>yistaqrib</i>	<i>yistiqir</i>	<i>yista`θim</i>	<i>yistawfiy</i>	<i>yistifīd</i>	<i>yistawḥiy</i>	-
Imperative	<i>'istaqrib</i>	<i>'istiqir</i>	<i>'ista`θim</i>	<i>'istawfiy</i>	<i>'istifīd</i>	<i>'istawḥiy</i>	-

Table 3.24: Form X Triliteral Verbs

I will now turn to quadriliteral verbs. These include four Forms in MSA, three of which are attested in KA.

### 3.3.6.2 Quadriliteral Verbs

These verbs have four consonants as radicals instead of three. Many forms occur under this structure, such as the complex root *b-s-m-l* > *basmala* ‘to say *b`ism`llāh* (in the name of God)’. Another form applied to borrowed words, such as *farmit* ‘to format’ from root *f-r-m-t*. A further complex structure is that of the reduplicated stem, which refers to a continuous/repeated motion, sound, or activity; for example, *yiwawwis`/iwawwis* ‘to be phobic of something, to be paranoid’. Forms I and II are the most common in the standard as well as in KA. Consider Table 3.25. There are three

verbal nouns patterns in KA that are shared with the standard. These are *'if'ilaal*, e.g. *'išmi'zāz*, *fa'lala*, e.g. *tarjama* 'translation', and *fi'laal*, e.g. *zilzāl* 'earthquake'. Form I in the table below mirrors Form II of the trilateral and can be either transitive or intransitive; Form II mirrors V of the trilateral, and is often reflexive, resultative, or passive of Form I quadrilateral. An interesting feature of Form II is that it can sometimes be denominalised as in, for instance, *markaz* (n) 'centre' > *timarkaz* (v) 'to be centred'. It can also denote the meaning of acting or producing a particular behaviour, e.g. *tifalsaf/yitfalsaf* 'to act as philosopher pretending to know everything'. As for Form IV, it is intransitive and denotes intensity in quality or degree as in the example provided in the table.

<b>Mood</b>	<b>Form I</b> <i>fa'lala/yufa'lilu</i>	<b>Form II</b> <i>tafa'lala/yatafa'lalu</i>	<b>Form IV</b> <i>if'alalla/yaf'alillu</i>
Perfect	<i>tarjam</i>	<i>tikahrab</i>	<i>'išma'azz</i>
Imperfect	<i>'itarjim/ yitarjim</i>	<i>yitkahrab</i>	<i>yišmi'izz</i>
Imperative	<i>tarjim</i>	<i>kahrib</i>	<i>'išmi'izz</i>
Verbal Noun	<i>tarjama</i>	<i>kahraba</i>	<i>'išmi'zāz</i>

**Table 3.25: Forms I, II, and IV Quadrilateral Verb**

In sum, this section has tried to sketch the morphology of the nouns and verbs in KA in order to grasp how the dialect deals with the basic features selected. Now we turn to the syntax of KA.

### **3.4 Syntax of Kuwaiti Arabic**

Six main aspects of the syntax of KA will be discussed under this section: relatives, interrogation, demonstratives, negation, and the imperfective.

#### **3.4.1 Word Order**

There are two main word orders in MSA, SVO and VSO, in addition to the less frequent OVS/OSV, and VOS/SOV. On the other hand, the word order in KA is usually SVO. VSO and VOS are possible alternates with the former being more frequent than the latter. Elgibali (1993) and Anis (1975, cited in Elgibali, (1993)) conclude that the general tendency in colloquial dialects of Arabic is to have a surfacing SVO as a basic word order.

<b>Word order</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
SVO	<i>maryam rāḥat il-jam 'iyya</i>	'Maryam went to the supermarket'
VSO	<i>rāḥat maryam il-jam 'iyya</i>	“
VOS	<i>rāḥat il-jam 'iyya maryam</i>	“

**Table 3.26: Possible Word Order in KA**

A trait of KA is its ability to entertain a different number of linguistic deviations from MSA - on all levels- and the flexibility in accommodating these differences into everyday speech by its speakers. For instance, as seen in the table below, there are three different declarative word orders, which are widely spread and can be found in the speech of almost every native speaker of KA.

### 3.4.2 Relatives

In MSA, relative pronouns or *al-asmā' al-mawṣūla* refer to animates and inanimates, and their plural and dual forms have disappeared in the various colloquial dialects of Arabic (cf. Ferguson, 1959b).

MSA	Gloss	KA	Example
الذي	who/which (m)	إللي <i>illiy</i>	<i>āna/inta illiy šarēt il-raggiyya</i> 'I (am the one) who bought the watermelon' / 'You (m) (are the one) who bought the watermelon'
التي	(f)		<i>intay illiy ribaḥtay il-sayyāra</i> 'You (f) (are the one) who won the car'
الذان	(dual.m)		<i>uhuw/uhwa illiy rīfas il-kirsiy</i> 'He (is the one) who kicked the chair'
اللتان	(dual.f)		<i>ihiy illiy kalat il-kakkāwa</i> 'She (is the one) who ate the piece of chocolate'
الذين	(pl.m)		<i>iḥna illiy kisarna il-ṭāwla</i> 'We (are the ones) who broke the table'
اللاتي	(pl.f)		<i>intaw illiy xasartaw</i> 'You (pl) (are the ones) who lost'

Table 3.27: Relative Pronouns in KA as Compared to CA/MSA

What can be found is the reformed singular form *illi* (or *illiy* in KA) used to express all relative situations, i.e. invariable for gender and number. This is true for KA, where *illiy* is used invariably in all occurrences, whether relating to animates or inanimates. This is illustrated in Table 3.27 above. As we can see *illiy* is insensitive to either gender or number. All instances of the first, second, and third pronouns take *illiy* invariably, ending with a diphthong *-iy*, a trait of KA as seen earlier not attested in CA/MSA.

### 3.4.3 Interrogatives

KA has a diverse system of interrogatives that deviates considerably from that of MSA. Al-Ayyūb (1997:301) states that “...the letter ش ‘sh’ is usually used as an interrogative tool once followed by a verb or a noun”. When asking someone what is wrong with him/her/them, it involves the prefix *sh-* attached to the word *fīk/fīč/fīkum*, respectively. Consider the following table.

Underlying	KA	Gloss
a) <i>šinu fī?</i>	<i>šfī?</i>	‘What’s wrong with him?’
b) <i>šinu fīha?</i>	<i>šfī-ha?</i>	‘What’s wrong with her?’
c) <i>šinu fīk?</i>	<i>šfī-k?</i>	‘What’s wrong with you(m)?’
d) <i>šinu fīč?</i>	<i>šfī-č?</i>	‘What’s wrong with you(f)?’
e) <i>šinu fīna?</i>	<i>šfī-nna?</i>	‘What’s wrong with us?’
f) <i>šinu fīkum?</i>	<i>šf-īkum?</i>	‘What’s wrong with you(pl)?’
g) <i>šinu fīhum?</i>	<i>šfī-hum?</i>	‘What’s wrong with them?’

Table 3.28: The Representation of the Personal Pronouns with the Interrogative *šinu* ‘what’

The process whereby the surface form is derived from the underlying is shown in Example 14. But first, let us trace back the origin of the interrogative particle *šinu*. Al-Ayyūb (1997:301) reports that it is *شينو* *šihu*, which is derived from *'ayy šay' huwa* ‘what is it?’ in a process of blending and merging through time. Taking one of the examples above, (Table 3.28, d), for instance, and analysing it cyclically will show that following syncope, there is a process of deleting a whole syllable:

(14)

a) [šinu fīč]	Syllabification
b) [ši.nu fīč]	Syncope
c) [š' -nu fīč]	Syllable Deletion
d) [š' fīč]	Re-syllabification
e) [šfīč]	Output

Another interrogative tool is the use of *šlōn* ‘how’, attaching to it subject pronouns just as in Table 3.28 above, i.e. *šlōnik* ‘how are you(m)?’, *šlōnič* ‘how are you(f)?’, *šlōna* ‘how is he?’, *šlōnha* ‘how is she?’, *šlōnna* ‘how are we?’, *šlōnkum* ‘how are you(pl)?’, *šlōnhum* ‘how are they?’. Al-Ayyūb, strangely, does not mention this as part of the basic KA lexicon. It can be surmised that *šlōn* is derived from *'ayy šay' huwa al-lawn* ‘what is the (your) colour?’ referring, by the use of the word ‘colour’, to someone’s state of being/health/mood.

To ask ‘why?’ in KA, as in most dialects of Arabic, especially those of the Gulf, the particle *lēš* is used, derived from *li'ayy šay'* ‘for what(reason)?’. Also, in asking the

whereabouts of someone, *wēnik* ‘where are you(m)?’ is used, realised with the different pronoun suffixes as identified in Table 3.28. For example, in wanting to address third person plural asking about their whereabouts, one would say in KA *wēn-kum*.

Hitherto, the interrogation particles ‘how’, ‘why’, ‘what’, and ‘where’ have been discussed, leaving us with ‘who’ and ‘which’. *Minhu* derived from *من هو* *man huwa* ‘who is it/he?’, and *minhiy* is ‘who is she?’. The same pattern seen in the attachment of the personal pronouns to the end of the interrogatives cannot be seen here, i.e. the suffixed personal pronouns found in Table 3.28(c-g) are not compatible with *minu* ‘who’. This is illustrated in the following table.

KA	Gloss
a) <i>minu inta</i>	‘who are you(m)?’
b) <i>minu intay</i>	‘who are you(f)?’
c) <i>minu iḥna</i>	‘who are we?’
d) <i>minu intaw</i>	‘who are you(pl)?’
e) <i>minu ḥhum</i>	‘who are they?’

Table 3.29: The Representation of the Personal Pronouns with the Interrogative *minu* ‘who’

If, for instance, *minu* is to be treated as the rest, some forms will end up representing different meanings. We have seen that *-kum* is used for third person plural. If we are to attach it to the *minu*, we will have the form *minkum*, giving the completely new meaning of ‘from you (pl)’.

The last particle to be discussed is *ay* ‘which?’. This also shows irregularities when referring to different persons as follows:

<b>KA</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a) <i>ayhuw</i>	‘which one(m)?’
b) <i>ayhiy</i>	‘which one(f)?’
c) <i>ayhum</i>	‘which ones?’
d) <i>ayhuw(ayhum) inta</i>	‘which one(s) is(are) you(m)?’
e) <i>ayhuw(ayhum) intay</i>	‘which one(s) is(are) you(f)?’
f) <i>ayhuw(ayhum) ihna</i>	‘which one(s) is(are) we?’
g) <i>ayhuw(ayhum) intaw</i>	‘which one(s) is(are)you(pl)?’
h) <i>ayhuw(ayhum) uhum</i>	‘which one(s) is(are) them?’

**Table 3.30: The Representation of the Personal Pronouns with the Interrogative *ay* ‘which’**

### **3.4.4 Demonstratives**

The demonstrative system in CA/MSA is diverse; so is that of KA. KA has six main demonstratives, varying for gender, number, and distance. They are summarised in Table 3.31. Again, we see that there are no demonstratives referring specifically to the dual, harmonising the fact of the loss of the dual in the dialects of colloquial Arabic.

<b>KA</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
a) <i>hāḍa</i>	‘this(m) (near)’
b) <i>hāḍiy</i>	‘this(f) (near)’
c) <i>haḍāk</i>	‘this(m) (far)’
d) <i>haḍīch</i>	‘this(f) (far)’
e) <i>haḍōl/ haḍēl</i>	‘these (near)’
f) <i>haḍēlāk</i>	‘those (far)’

**Table 3.31: The Demonstrative System in KA**

Hence, (e) and (f) are both used in referring to either the dual or the plural. Compare the demonstrative system of the Standard in Table 3.32, where there are five main

demonstratives used, sensitive to gender, number, and case. In (b), (d), and (j), the demonstratives represent distance, and are rarely inflected for the dual. Also, they are all insensitive to case, and (j), the plural, is insensitive to gender too.

MSA	Gloss
a) <i>hāḏā</i>	‘this(s.m) (near)’
b) <i>ḏālika</i>	‘that(s.m) (far)’
c) <i>hāḏihi</i>	‘this(s.f) (near)’
d) <i>tilka</i>	‘that(s.f) (far)’
e) <i>hāḏāni</i>	‘these(dl.m) (nominative) (near)’
f) <i>hāḏayni</i>	‘these(dl.m) (genitive/accusative) (near)’
g) <i>hātāni</i>	‘these(dl.f) (nominative) (near)’
h) <i>hātayni</i>	‘these(dl.f) (genitive/accusative) (near)’
i) <i>hā’ulā’i</i>	‘these (pl.f.m) (near)’
j) <i>’ulā’ika</i>	‘those (pl.f.m) (far)’

Table 3.32: The Demonstrative System in CA/MSA

As for (i) in Table 3.32, the plural demonstrative of proximity also has no gender distinction, and is used in referring to human beings along with (j); however, when referring to non-human plurals, (c) or (d), the feminine singular demonstrative are used based on the distance sought (cf. Ryding, 2009:316), e.g. *hā’ulā’i al-jamīlāt* ‘these beautiful (women)’ vs. *hāḏihi al-manāzil* ‘these houses’ (lit. ‘this(f) houses’). Both systems in both levels are diverse; however, MSA remains more rich than KA. The combined table below illustrates this:

<b>KA (A)</b>	<b>CA/MSA (B)</b>	<b>Gloss (A)</b>	<b>Gloss (B)</b>
a-i) <i>hāḏa</i>	a-ii) <i>hāḏa</i>	‘this(s.m) (near)’	‘this(s.m) (near)’
b-i) <i>haḏāk</i>	b-ii) <i>ḏālika</i>	‘that(s.m) (far)’	‘that(s.m) (far)’
c-i) <i>hāḏiy</i>	c-ii) <i>hāḏihi</i>	‘this(s.f) (near)’	‘this(s.f) (near)’
d-i) <i>haḏīch</i>	d-ii) <i>tilka</i>	‘that(s.f) (far)’	‘that(s.f) (far)’
-	e) <i>hāḏāni</i>	-	‘these(dl.m) (nominative) (near)’
-	f) <i>hāḏayni</i>	-	‘these(dl.m) (genitive/accusative) (near)’
-	g) <i>hātāni</i>	-	‘these(dl.f) (nominative) (near)’
-	h) <i>hātayni</i>	-	‘these(dl.f) (genitive/accusative) (near)’
i-i) <i>haḏōl/haḏēl</i>	i-ii) <i>hā’ulā’i</i>	‘these (near)’	‘these (pl.f.m) (near)’
j-i) <i>haḏēlāk</i>	j-ii) <i>’ulā’ika</i>	‘those (far)’	‘those (pl.f.m) (far)’

Table 3.33: The Demonstratives of CA/MSA and KA Combined

### 3.4.5 Negation

MSA has a complex system of negation, where in negating a verb one of three particles are used followed by the imperfect form of the verb. These three particles are /lam/, /lā/, and /lan/, representing the time reference of the past, present, future, and conjugated for three moods, jussive, indicative, and subjunctive, respectively, e.g. *lam yadrus* ‘he did not study’, *lā yadrusu* ‘he does not study’, *lan yadrusa* ‘he will not study’ (cf. Gadalla, 2000; Ryding, 2009 amongst others).

KA has a simpler system, however. Four main negation particles can be identified, *mā*, *mū*, *ġēr*, and *la' /lā*. The first, *mā*, is usually used to negate pasttense verbs, and is used for both females and males. For example, *riħt* 'I went' / *am riħt* 'I did not go' / *mā rāħat* 'she did not go' / *mā rāħ* 'he did not go. In personal pronouns, there also occurs a feminine variant of *mā* in KA, namely *mi* occurring exclusively as a prefix to the feminine personal pronoun in constructions such as *mihiy rāyħa(mrāyħa)* 'she is not going/does not want to go'. The 'masculine' *mā* is also prefixed to singular masculine, and plural personal pronouns, e.g. *māhuw illiy āna a'arfa* 'he is not who I (used to) know' (cf. Holes, 1990:73-74, 244). The second, *mū*, occurs mostly with nouns, adjectives and pronouns, and with past-participle verbs; e.g. *mū il-būk illiy ġāyi* 'it is not the wallet that is lost', *mū ħilwa il-tiffāħa* 'the apple is not nice', *mū 'uhuw* 'it is not him', *mū rāyih il-jām'a* 'he has not gone to the university', respectively. A shortened version of this, i.e. *mu* is attested in KA, where it forms the third construction by which negative particles are prefixed to (exclusively singular masculine, and plural in the case of *mu*) personal pronouns, e.g. *muhuw ṭāli* 'he is not going out/does not want to go out'.

As for *la'*, it is the simple 'no' found in every language and dialect, having an alternate rapid-speech form *lā*, used in the negation of the imperative, e.g. *lā tarkiġ* 'do not run!' (cf. Brustad, 2000:294). However, *lā* can also convey, whether alone or when occurring with the verb *gūl* 'say(m)', a meaning connected to the emotions provoked during speech. For instance, if in a conversation I inform a friend that I have just broken a leg, he or she will reply with *lā tgūl!* 'don't say(m)!' expressing regret, compassion, comfort etc., a muddle of emotions (an exact equivalent of which can also be found in English, namely 'you don't say!'). It is by no means, however, limited to second

masculine imperfect for forms such as *lā tgūlīn* ‘don’t say(f)!’ and *lā tgūlūn* ‘don’t say(dual/pl)!’ are also attested in KA. Again, this can also be found prefixed to personal pronouns, both feminine and masculine singular, and plural, e.g. *lāhiy rāḏya tnām wala illiy rāḏya tiṭla* ‘she does not want to sleep, neither does she want to go out’. This, and the other three instances of particle prefixing seen above, form a very common ‘person-negative construct’ (cf. Brustad, 2000:296).

*Ġēr* ‘other than’ is not as widespread in KA as the other three negation particles, but it is by no means restricted in usage. There are various set phrases in which it occurs. When buying a car, for example, in trying to cut a good deal, I would say *ġēr hal ḥačiy* ‘do you have any other offers other than the one you proposed?’ to the salesman. It also occurs in expressing refusal and dislike in the set phrase *ġēr sālfā* ‘this is not a proper thing’. Further, it is also used naturally in conveying the literal meaning of ‘other than’, also in denoting unacceptance, e.g. *mā indik ġēr hal banṭarōn?!* ‘have you trousers other than those (you are wearing)?!’.

### **3.4.6 Numbers and Numbering in (K)A:**

Compared to the standard, the numbering system in KA, and the dialects of Arabia in general, is effortless and undemanding. A sign of this simplicity is the loss of inflection in the numbering system of KA as is the case elsewhere in the dialect.

First, let us discuss the numbering system in the Standard. The numbers 1-19 only will be discussed for they are the group that exhibit the most interesting differences. Arabic has a complex but a straightforward system.

	Numbers 3-10	Numbers 11 and 12		Numbers 13-19	
		Number part	Digit part	Number part	Digit part
<b>If <i>nouni</i> is:</b>	M	M	M	M	M
	F	F	F	F	F
<b>Then number's gender-agreement is:</b>	F	M	M	M	F
	M	F	F	F	M
<b>Examples:</b>	1) <i>tis 'atu abwābin</i> 'nine doors'	3) <i>'iθnā 'ašara bāban</i> 'twelve doors'		5) <i>'arba 'atu 'ašarata bāban</i> 'fourteen libraries'	
	2) <i>xamsu maktabātin</i> 'five libraries'	4) <i>'iḥdata 'ašarata maktabatan</i> 'eleven libraries'		6) <i>sab 'u 'ašarata maktabatan</i> 'fifteen libraries'	

**Table 3.34: Number-Noun Gender Agreement**

As seen in Table 3.34, reverse gender-agreement with the noun being modified is a trait of the numbering system of Arabic. The numbers 11 and 12 and the 'number' part/component (which is the '*ašara* 'ten') in the numbers 11 to 19 are exceptions to an otherwise uniform characteristic. 11 and 12 must have their number *and* digit components agree with the noun following, hence, we have examples (3) and (4), where the nouns 'door' and 'library' are masculine and feminine, respectively. Consequently, we have the masculine form '*iθnā 'ašara* numbering 'door' (contrast feminine *iθnatā 'ašarata*), and feminine form '*iḥdata 'ašarata* numbering 'libraries' (contrast masculine '*iḥda 'ašara*).

However, in examples (1-2) and (5-6), with the ‘number’ part being in agreement with the noun’s gender at all times, i.e. masculine *’ašara* for masculine nouns and feminine *’ašarata* for feminine nouns, we have the opposite occurring in the ‘digit’ part. In (1), masculine ‘door’ is modified by feminine *tis’atu*, and in (2), feminine ‘library’ is modified by masculine *xamsu*. The same pattern is found in (5) and (6) where *’arba’atu* is feminine (contrast masculine *’arba’u*), and *sab’u* is masculine (contrast feminine *sab’atu*).

Now we turn to the numbering system in KA. In addition to the loss of inflection, as noted above, KA has no noun-number gender agreement pattern at all. So masculine *bāb* ‘door’ and feminine *maktaba* ‘library/bookshop’ are both modified identically, i.e. *xams bībān* ‘five doors’ and *xams maktabāt* ‘five libraries/bookshops’ with the obvious absence of gender marking in the number ‘five’ and in inflection as a whole. Ferguson (1959b:624) would consider this form, i.e. *xams*, the masculine form. In isolation, when responding to a question, for example, where the answer requires the speaker to give a certain number, this number can take a masculine form *or* a feminine form *xamsa*, contradicting Ferguson’s generalisation which states that “...dialects [use] the long form [of the number, i.e. the feminine] when there is no following noun at all [i.e. in isolation]” (624). Hence, KA is a counter-example for such a generalisation. Consider the following example:

(15) Q: *Maryam čam kapkēk tabīn?* ‘Maryam, how many cupcakes would you like?’

A: *xams/xamsa* ‘five’.

Further, Ferguson claims that all Arabic dialects “...agree in having an emphatic /t/ [in the numbers 11-19]” (626). Again, this is not true for KA. The following are the pronunciations of the numbers 11 to 19 in KA. As mentioned above, masculine and feminine nouns are both modified by the same number. For instance, *kirfāya* ‘bed’ which is a feminine noun, and *dōšag* ‘mattress’, a masculine, will both appear structurally invariable when modified by the numbers 11-19 below, e.g. *θiman-ta ‘aš kirfāya* ‘eighteen beds’; *θiman-ta ‘aš dōšag* ‘eighteen mattresses’. Note that all the nouns following the number are singular.

<b>Number</b>	<b>Pronunciation</b>
Eleven	<i>’ihda- ‘aš</i>
Twelve	<i>’iθna- ‘aš</i>
Thirteen	<i>θalaθ-ta ‘aš</i>
Fourteen	<i>arba ‘-ta ‘aš</i>
Fifteen	<i>xamis-ta ‘aš</i>
Sixteen	<i>sit-ta ‘aš</i>
Seventeen	<i>sabi ‘-ta ‘aš</i>
Eighteen	<i>θiman-ta ‘aš</i>
Nineteen	<i>tisi ‘-ta ‘aš</i>

**Table 3.35: The Pronunciation of Numbers 11-19 in KA**

It is clear that KA does not follow the pattern of realising the /t/ of the ‘number’ (second) component as an emphatic /t/. Furthermore, Ferguson writes that “...some dialects have the final *-r* of the ‘10’ [the ‘number’ part] only when followed by a noun, others have it always” (626). As seen in the examples above, final *-r* is absent while in isolation, which is predictable according to Ferguson’s description. Above that, KA *also*

keeps the status of the missing *-r* in connected speech. For instance, in saying ‘your bill is fourteen dinars’, we will hear *ḥṣābik ʿarba ta ʿaš dinār*, and **not** *ḥṣābik ʿarba ta ʿašar dinār*. An interesting fact is that KA, and most of the dialects of Arabic, seem to retain the dual in numbering. The dialect of Bahrain, for instance, and that of Shiites in particular, seems to form the dual by adding *aḥnēna* ‘two’ to a singular noun. Hence, where in KA ‘two (Kuwaiti/Bahraini) dinars’ is invariably *dīnārēn*, it would be *aḥnēna dīnār* in Bahraini Arabic. Nouns, whether feminine or masculine, modified by the numbers 3-10 in KA appear in their plural form, e.g. *sitt karāfiy* ‘six beds’; *sitt duwāšig* ‘six mattresses’. The following summarises the relationship between the number and the noun:

Number	Pronunciation when not followed directly by a noun	Pronunciation when followed by a noun	Number of Noun
1	<i>waḥda/wāḥid</i>	-	Singular e.g. <i>kirfāya/ dōšag</i>
2	<i>ḥintēn/aḥnēn</i>	-	Dual e.g. <i>kirfāytēn/dōšigēn</i>
3	<i>ḥalāḥa</i>	<i>ḥalāḥ</i>	3-10 Plural e.g. <i>karāfiy/ duwāšig</i>
4	<i>arba ʿa</i>	<i>arba ʿ</i>	
5	<i>xamsa</i>	<i>xams</i>	
6	<i>sitta</i>	<i>sitt</i>	
7	<i>sab ʿa</i>	<i>sab(i) ʿ</i>	
8	<i>ḥimānya</i>	<i>ḥimā/an</i>	

9	<i>tis</i> 'a	<i>tis(i)</i> 'c	
10	'ašra	'aš(i)r	
11	'iḥda- 'aš	'iḥda- 'aš	11-20 Singular e.g. <i>kirfāya/ dōšag</i>
12	'iθna- 'aš	'iθna- 'aš	
13	<i>θalaθ-ta</i> 'aš	<i>θalaθ-ta</i> 'aš	
14	<i>arba</i> ' -ta 'aš	<i>arba</i> ' -ta 'aš	
15	<i>xamis-ta</i> 'aš	<i>xamis-ta</i> 'aš	
16	<i>sit-ta</i> 'aš	<i>sit-ta</i> 'aš	
17	<i>sabi</i> ' -ta 'aš	<i>sabi</i> ' -ta 'aš	
18	<i>θiman-ta</i> 'aš	<i>θiman-ta</i> 'aš	
19	<i>tisi</i> ' -ta 'aš	<i>tisi</i> ' -ta 'aš	
20	'išrīn	'išrīn	

**Table 3.36: Relationship between the Numbers 1-20 and the Following Noun in KA**

The form of the numbers in the numbers 3 to 10 changes from a feminine form in isolation to a masculine one when quantifying a directly following noun, as seen in the table (cf. Ferguson, 1959b; Johnstone, 1967:88; Palva, 1982:26). Yet, this is not always the case as we have seen in Example 15. In the numbers 3-6 we have final-vowel syncope, accompanied by re-syllabification of the pattern of the numbers: CV.CVV.CV > CV.CVVC; (C)VC.CV.CV > (C)VC.CVC; CVC.CV > CVCC; CVC.CV > CVCC; for the numbers three, four, five, and six, respectively. Numbers 7, 9, and 10 undergo final-vowel deletion, too, but an optional process of epenthesis takes place, depending on the

speaker, to avoid a final consonant cluster; hence, CVC.CV > CVCC > CV.CVC. With 8, a final syllable is deleted, and an optional vowel shortening takes place, i.e. CV.CVVC.CV > CV.CVVC/CV.CVC.

### **3.5 The Lexicon of Kuwaiti Arabic**

Foreign borrowings (cf. Ryding, 2009:51, 95-96; Versteegh, 2004:181) or loan words have made their way into KA and all dialects of Arabic far as back as these dialects are dated. This feature sheds light on KA and gives an insight into the history of the dialect and the way it accommodates foreign vocabulary.

#### **3.5.1 Foreign Loan Words in Kuwaiti Arabic**

Language contact results in lexical borrowing, and these two linguistic phenomena that languages can hardly avoid, especially in this age of globalisation and technology where languages are linguistically vulnerable more than they ever were in their history. The dialects of Arabia and the Arab world in general are the most highly likely to be influenced, for these are unstable given the fact that they are distorted versions of a well-established standard. Holes (1998:249) adds that

all the historical evidence suggests that, in the domain of ordinary speech, there must have been a long period of bilingualism over vast tracts of what is now monolingual Arabic-speaking territory, when various dialects of Aramaic, Syriac, Persian, Coptic[,]. . . Greek [Indian, British, and Turkish] were being spoken alongside Arabic. The dialects of Arabic now spoken where these languages were formerly dominant still contain ancient lexical vestiges of them.

Newman (2002b:17) examines the historical influence of European languages on Arabic in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where English, French, Italian, and Spanish were the main donors, however, their impact was quite limited. Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Greek, Turkish, and Persian were the main donor for a limited number of fields: medicine/philosophy for Greek, and military/government for Turkey. As time passed, European languages started to have a greater influence as main donors, having a greater impact extending to grammar, with French gaining currency in the fields of politics and science, while the status of Italian and Spanish, although significant, gradually faded. It is English that has dominated a range of fields, especially in the latter 20<sup>th</sup> century “...as a result of the economic, technological and political dominance of the United States in the world, and...the omnipresence of the (predominantly English-speaking) Internet” (17). In entertaining foreign influence, “Arabic possesses various morpho-syntactic and morpho-semantic means and processes to enlarge its lexical stock” (17). These include the following processes of word formation, and only some apply to foreign borrowings (Newman, 2002b:4):

- a) Rejuvenation or resuscitation of archaic words, combined with semantic extension (cf. Haugen, 1950:219 ‘semantic displacement’ and ‘semantic confusion’); e.g. *jarīda* ‘palm branch stripped of leaves’ > ‘writing scroll’ > ‘newspaper’;
- b) Analogical root derivation (*ishtiḳāq*, *qiyās*), e.g. *maṣna* ‘place where something is manufactured’ > ‘factory’;
- c) Compounding (*naḥt*):
  - i) nominal compounding, e.g. *ra*’s *māliyya* ‘capitalism’;
  - ii) prepositional compounding, e.g. *taḥt-baḥrī* ‘underwater’;
  - iii) adjectival compounding, e.g. *ṣāliḥ li* ‘*l-akl*’ ‘edible’;
  - iv) blending (cf. Haugen, 1950:218, ‘loanblends’), e.g. *basma* ‘to say *bi*’ *’ism* *’illāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*’;

- d) Loan translation, i.e. calque (cf. Haugen, 1950:214), e.g. *jihāz taḥakkum* ‘an bu‘d ‘remote control’, *jalīsat atfāl* ‘baby-sitter’, *nuqtat tafīṣ* ‘check-point’;
- e) Direct borrowing, a process of (*ta‘rīb al-alfāḍ*), including substitution and/or importation of phonemic/phonetic form (cf. Haugen, 1950:212,217). This includes:
  - i) Arabicization of borrowed words’ phonology, by adapting them to corresponding ones in Arabic phonology, e.g. with near articulation or more remote place (cf. Dobrison, 1978:53);
  - ii) Hybridization (cf. Haugen, 1950:214, 218; Issawi, 1967:125), where a foreign suffix is added to an Arabic base, e.g. *kibrīt.āt* ‘sulphate’. Here, there are many unanalysed cases where the ‘donee’, i.e. the borrowed term, is borrowed along with any affixed stems, and, hence, overanalysed in the recipient language, e.g. in KA *stickers.āt* ‘stickers’, the plural *-s* of English is not analysed as such and therefore in KA there is the addition of the plural suffix *-āt*.

A further note on borrowed words is the differentiation between direct loans, mediated loans, and re-loans, i.e. between those which entered the language through immediate contact, or through mediating languages, or borrowed from languages which themselves have originally borrowed or coined them using the language at the recipient end, i.e. the language is borrowing from itself, e.g. MSA *jumhūriyya* ‘Republic < Turkish < Arabic *jumhūr* (cf. Haugen, 1950:222 ‘reborrowing’; Newman, 2002b:9).

However, Classical Arabic was a resilient recipient, and “[n]o one who is familiar with contemporary Arabic can fail to be struck by the paucity of its foreign loan-words” (Issawi, 1967:110). For instance, “the number of Arabic loanwords in English still exceeds the number of English borrowings in Arabic” (Newman, 2002b:3). Given that Arabic is the Classical, and is closely linked to Islam, it is conserved through religion and can be defended from attempts to create neologisms and/or adopting foreign influence (Issawi, 1967:129).

The status of KA as discussed at the beginning of the chapter makes it fit into Holes' generalisation in the quote earlier above, i.e. KA's vocabulary embraces many foreign words that have been incorporated syntactically and morphologically into the dialect. The dialect, i.e. the colloquial, is generally agreed to include far more foreign vocabulary than the standard (cf. Issawi, 1967:111). Muḥammad (2009), for instance, documents an average of 1300 words in his KA dictionary as being of foreign origin. The equivalent term for a 'light' in KA, for instance, is *lēt*, a clear borrowing from English.

It is the build-up and progression of the vocabulary of everyday life that constitute lexical gaps in any dialect. A linguistic 'niche' is formed as the dialect tries to synchronise its lexical repertoire with the increasing demands of its speakers. The need for new vocabulary arises mainly in the fields of technology and science; if the dialect cannot provide adequate and convenient terms from the point of view of speakers, they will be forced to resort to foreign vocabulary to compensate for the lexical gaps they encounter.

The word for 'computer' for instance, is *kim.byū.tar* in KA, although a direct equivalent does exist in MSA, i.e. *ḥāsūb*. Because the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ found in the source 'computer' is not originally part of the Arabic phonemic inventory, it forms a gap when being adopted, hence /b/ in the target equivalent. However, there are cases where this phonological gap is overcome where the speakers are highly exposed to English and are linguistically aware of their speech. Therefore, *kim.pyū.tar* (we are reminded here that *i* is the favoured vowel quality for KA speakers) is also an attested and acceptable form found in KA. Another common borrowing from English into KA is *vīd.yiww* 'video'. Here we have the voiced labiodental fricative remaining unchanged,

although Arabic originally lacks the sound, having its voiceless counterpart /f/. The list of borrowings into KA from other languages is a long one with examples such as *frī.zar* < English ‘freezer’, *gā.ri* < Hindi ‘bicycle’ (cf. *gāriy* ‘I have read’), *kir.fā.ya* < Hindi ‘bedstead’, *şir.wāḷ* < Persian *sirwāl* ‘underwear/boxers’ (originally bearing the meaning ‘long trousers’), *abajōra* ‘table-lamp’ < French ‘abatjour’ are just a few among the 1300 or more words that are foreign to KA.

The borrowings have not only survived phonologically in their new host, but have assimilated into the dialect morphologically, too. They are accepted as part of the lexicon of KA and abide by the linguistic rules of the dialect at all levels, forming verbs, duals, and (broken) plurals. For instance, English ‘décor’ (< French) occurs in KA as *dīkōr* with a similar meaning. Yet, although the verb ‘to decorate’ exists in English, it has not been borrowed by KA. On the contrary, KA has devised its own version of the verb, yielding *ti.dik.wir* ‘decorating’. Hence, to say ‘Maryam (f)/Dawood (m) decorated the living room’ is *Maryam/Dāwūd dakwirat* (f)/*dakwar* (m) *iş.şāḷa*. Further, the plural of *kirfāya* mentioned above is a broken *karāfiy*, the dual being *kirfāytēn*.

The process of borrowing and accommodating foreign loans into the dialect depends on the speakers’ accepting the terms being borrowed. As life advances, the need for new vocabulary to match the linguistic outcome of this progression is called for. In the case of Arabic, equivalents for foreign terms are always available; however, they are not always perceived as acceptable or convenient by speakers. For instance, in wanting to say ‘remote control/controller (e.g. of a TV)’ in KA or any dialect of Arabic, the MSA *jihāz taḥakkum ‘an bu’d* (device - controlling - from - distance > remote controlling device > remote control) is much longer. Hence, borrowed *rimōt* ‘remote’ is invariably

used in KA. So, the whole concept of using ‘intruding’ vocabulary is based on the lack of a fitting equivalent and, ultimately, on the speakers’ acceptance.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided a brief analysis of the most prominent features of KA, whether phonological, morphological, or syntactic. These features are believed to be the most dynamic features in the sense that they form the identity of KA. With a brief background on the state of Kuwait before and after the discovery of oil at the beginning, along with a detailed analysis of the demographics of the Kuwaiti community, this chapter sets the ground for those to follow by acting as a basis of analysis of the data collected. The next chapter will deal with the methodology used and the nature of the respondents and corpus collected.

# Chapter Four

## Methodology and Corpus

### **4.0 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the methodology used in collecting the relevant data required for the research. The approach used in this research is a combined one, where both quantitative and qualitative methods are exploited. To gather the required information, qualitative data was sought through recordings of groups and semi-structured interviews with individuals. When combined, qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods give in-depth results (cf. Labov, 1972; Chambers & Trudgill, 1998); thus, they will both be used in analysing and interpreting the relationship between the dependent and independent variables in the research as shown in Brown's Template below in Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

### **4.1 The Present Study**

The study examines the phenomenon of diglossia in Kuwaiti Arabic in an attempt to establish a solid ground for further research into the matter. It will also outline characteristics of the sub-dialects of the three major groups within the speech community: Sunni *Ḥaḍar*, Bedouins, Shiite *Ḥaḍar*. The use of Arabic in the different contexts included (formal and informal) will be closely scrutinised and correlated with the social and linguistic variables identified. This will help us move towards the

ultimate goal of identifying the various levels of speech in KA by examining diglossic switching and its correlation with the various sociolinguistic variables.

## **4.2 The Subjects and Locale of the Research: Methods and Procedures**

The subjects were selected randomly from all around Kuwait; all were Kuwaiti citizens with KA as their mother tongue. Some of the recordings took place at Kuwait University, interviewing undergraduates from several departments and majors, and at the interviewer's residence.

How many subjects a particular study should have to render it fruitful, effective and with representative results is a debated issue. To create a situation where results are representative of the whole region concerned would require an exhaustive survey of that region, "... and that kind of survey is seldom - and in dialectology, perhaps never - done" (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:91). Problems that arise in any data-based research have no general solution, and a good researcher starts with an open mind and works from there (Hudson, 1996:152). The number of informants, according to Chambers and Trudgill (1998:49), can range from twenty-five to a few hundred. The number depends on the size of region being surveyed and the scope of the research. In his New York City study, Labov based his generalisations on 88 individuals. In Norwich, Trudgill's observations were based on 60 speakers. Having a certain number of speakers and a certain number of hours of recorded speech is not a rule of thumb, i.e. achieving sample representativeness is a technical issue and is ultimately up to the linguist to judge what would render a sample as representative (e.g. Labov, 1966, 1972a/b; Milroy, 1997; Pellowe et. al., 1972; Trudgill, 1974).

### **4.2.1 Pre-Selection Procedures**

I decided to choose my sample randomly, yet keeping in mind the variation in choice needed to provide a representative sample of the speech community "... in such a way that all members of the community have an equal chance of selection" (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:57). For example, should my random choice end up in a sample consisting of Sunni *Ḥaḍar* only, it would be considered biased, at which point another sampling will be performed to ensure the inclusion of the other two groups, i.e. Shiites *Ḥaḍar* and Bedouins.

Most informants were undergraduate students at Kuwait University. They had tight class schedules as the start of the data collection coincided with the end of the Summer term, i.e. the final exams, and the Holy Month of Ramadan was just about to start, which made it difficult for students to meet with me at any time during the day before breaking their fast, i.e. after the evening prayer. This made the day shorter as for most the real day starts after the Evening Prayer, when the fasting period of the day is over, after which a feeling of 'release' is inspired and any activity planned for the day is embarked on. Even by then, many of them were, nevertheless, unable to meet with me, giving excuses such as being dizzy after they broke their fast, or having other family obligations. It is noteworthy that during the whole Holy Month of Ramadan, just as during Christmas, family and friends visit and invite each other over, so everyone has a busy social calendar all month long. After Ramadan came *Eid*, which is a public holiday, lasting usually for a week, which meant even more delay for the collection of the data. Further, interviewing women in itself can be a tiresome task given governing customs and traditions, let alone in Ramadan, when any female-male form of communication is kept to minimum. Due to Muslim Arab traditions and customs, in the Gulf in particular, a woman is not allowed to converse

with or be with any man who is not part of the direct or extended family without a chaperone being present. However, the fact that people in Kuwait are open-minded when compared to other Gulf countries, aided me a lot when setting meetings with female respondents. Female students, and especially their parents, were understanding and welcoming to the fact that any activity involving myself and their daughters would be purely academic, intended for a higher cause.

Respondents who were observed and who were not students formed a group difficult to control, a *duwāniyya* ‘a social gathering’. I controlled this by targeting small (4 members maximum) groups of gatherings. Whenever I sat in a *duwāniyya* I always had my pocket-sized recorder ready in case the rare chance came, i.e. a small group of 4 speakers or less emerged. This task, however labour intensive, was achieved by focusing on those *duwāniyyas* with the least number of visitors. This provided the opportunity of controlling (albeit partially) the number of respondents, and, ultimately, the amount of data recorded and the ability to transliterate and translate such data.

Thus far, we have seen that the data was collected from two sources: undergraduate students and *duwāniyya* visitors. The third source of respondents comes from two resources: recordings from existing videos on YouTube, and an Imam in a Friday Prayers Sermon (*xuṭba*). Again, the respondents in these two resources were checked against the requirements of birthplace and KA native-ness, i.e. must be born in Kuwait, have a Kuwaiti citizenship by birth, and KA as a mother tongue.

A noteworthy point is that before the interviewing and recording process, I engaged in open conversations with the respondents to ‘break the ice’. From this I

tried to “...unobtrusively as possible [to find out] if [each] candidate meets the requirements of birthplace” and KA nativity (Francis, 1983:85). Also, the respondents were told by me that I was collecting dialect and that I would be recording them, and they were encouraged to express and speak their mind and feel (see below). Further, Abdel-Jawad (1981:46) states that the best policy is “...not to try to steer the conversation back to completing [the] set of questions when a particular question produced much talk or when the conversation led naturally to another subject”. This practical move was adopted in both the interviews and observations.

#### **4.2.2 The Recordings**

A list of questions was compiled prior to the beginning of the process of data collection (see Appendix III) divided amongst three criteria: personal life, study/work, and politics. For the personal interviews, all three categories were discussed with each interviewee, beginning with her/his personal life and ending with questions on politics. The aim of the personal questions was to extract the vernacular. This helps establishing a control on the level of speech produced as the mother tongue is the level of speech speakers feel comfortable and confident producing, hence, answering personal questions with. Next, questions designed for higher levels of speech were introduced, i.e. questions about study, work, politics, and society. Such topics are known to stimulate speakers into producing a level higher than their vernacular as they perceive them as formal ones. The objective was to record a gradient of levels of speech ranging from the vernacular towards a more formal level of KA. As for the group observation, the third category, that of politics, was applied to the settings to observe and record how the students would react to formal questions in an informal setting to obtain an insight into the variability of the phonological features under

investigation. The recording was stopped in both the interviewing and observation methods when the list of questions ended.

A total of 6 hours of speech was recorded divided amongst six methods of data collection, 3 formal settings and 3 informal, with a total of 26 respondents (Table 4.1). Two out of the 26, one female and one male, appeared twice. The female student, Bashayir, appeared in an individual interview and within a group observation. The male, Jasim Al-Khurafy, appeared in the two videos of the Parliament Sessions due to his position as Speaker of the Parliament. Consequently, the total number of respondents from whom the data was collected was 28. Given that Kuwait is a small country with a relatively small speech community, the number 28 may be considered sufficient to cover the three groups of respondents sought (see Section 4.3.1 below). Interviewing and group recordings are time consuming, let alone the amount of work and time involved in transliterating the recorded speech and translating it. Respondents' availability was also an obstructive factor, as mentioned above, that inflicted unwanted time consumption on the process of data collection. As for the number of speech hours recorded, six hours is considered sufficient for the purpose of the study given the amount of work and time needed to process (transliterate and translate) the speech. This and the tight schedule all exerted much pressure.

The table below gives an overview of the six methods of data collection used and the duration of the recordings of each method, along with the settings and locations of each method. It also shows the number and gender of participants. The methods shown will each be discussed in detail below. Preceding that, a general background on the use of equipment in fieldwork linguistics is presented.

Setting	Method of Collection	Location	Duration (in minutes)	Participants		N=
				Females	Males	
Formal	YouTube (PS)	Online Video	28:21	1	1	2
	YouTube (KNA)	Two Online Videos	Video One: 10:52 Video Two: 17:40	-	8	8
	Friday Sermon ( <i>xuḩba</i> )	Mosque	20.8	-	1	1
Informal	<i>Duwāniyya</i>	House	31:28	-	3	3
	Group Observation	(F) Group: University (M) Group: House	(F) Group: 65:52 (M) Group: 94:24	7	3	10
	Semi-Structured Interview	(F): University (M): House	(F): 23:33 (M): 60:49	1	3	4
N=			353minutes 7seconds (6 hours approx.)	9	19	28

Table 4.1: Overview of the Number of Participants, Groups, Methods, Location, and Duration of the Data Collected; (PS)= Political Show (KNA)= Kuwait National Assembly (F)= Females (M)= Males; Colours serve to facilitate comparison between tables

#### 4.2.2.1 Equipment Used

Recording technology, whether digital or not, has not always been available for fieldworkers to use. There was a time when the whole process of recording an interview was carried out by a phonetically-expert fieldworker through on-the-spot transcription and note taking, which required the fieldworker to have great auditory skills. This was a main obstacle for several reasons. First, it made the whole process of data collection time consuming, whether one was looking at a scope of an MA/PhD research, or at a broader one of regional and national dialectological surveys of vast geographical areas, such as those of the *‘Linguistic Atlas of New England*

(*LANE*)' by Hans Kurath et al. (1939-43), '*Linguistic Geography of Wales (LGW)*' by Alan R. Thomas et al. (1973), or '*Survey of English Dialects (SED)*' by Harold Orton et al. (1962-71). Second, the fieldworker might miss chances of critically asking questions related to linguistic attitudes of speakers, while they also do not have the luxury of referring back to data in the future for a more narrow transcription or detailed study, for to go back and check the recording is impossible as the only documentation of the interview is that carried out on the spot by the fieldworker. Third, no matter how highly qualified in phonetics and phonology in particular, and linguistics in general, the fieldworker is, and no matter how familiarised s/he is with the language/dialect researched, failure to mark some significant features of speech is always a possibility.

When the voice recorder was introduced in the 1980's, it was far from being digital or portable (cf. Francis, 1983:95-96 for a vivid description). The tape-recorder saved a significant amount of time of the data collection process. There are conversational responses that linguists could not document, but the tape-recorder could. With time, tape-recorders became smaller and discrete and not so conspicuous as to distract informants. This facilitated the job of the fieldworker greatly as s/he was now capable of playing the recording over and over, which allows for the transcription/transliteration to be more accurate.

In the 1990's came the digital age where digital recorders made the whole process of data collection *and* processing less complicated, and, perhaps, less time-consuming. It became possible to transfer recordings directly to a computer for them to be stored and processed. For this study, a digital, battery-powered voice recorder (Olympus VN-3100PC) was used. It is very light weight and pocket-sized with a

noise-cancelling built-in microphone, and has the option of choosing the format of the digital files being made, of which MP3 was chosen for the purpose of this study.

Any piece of recording equipment usually makes speakers aware of their speech and more sensitive. In fact, more often than not when faced with a recorder, respondents will spontaneously adjust their speech and shift it up a level on the continuum towards the standard (e.g. Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Chambers and Trudgill, 1998; Abbi, 2001). Labov (1966) maintains that this phenomenon occurs not only in the presence of equipment, but also in the presence of the interviewer her/himself. He calls this the “Observer’s Paradox”, whereby the presence of the interviewer inhibits the production of natural speech. The interviewee would, hence, not speak her/his vernacular, but an elevated form of the language as s/he pays more attention to the speech produced, and is aware of the fact that it is being used for research purposes. Consequently, the speech produced would not be representative of natural, spontaneous speech - the kind of speech a speaker produces when not being observed. In the recent study, this was controlled by choosing various topics and asking questions that rendered the informants relaxed and tension-free, such as emotional memories, life-threatening incidents, or family-related issues (e.g. Labov, 1966, 1972a/b). Such topics and questions usually elicit answers in the vernacular/informal style, which is the form through which the speaker speaks with confidence. The vernacular is her/his mother tongue, i.e. the level of language s/he masters, unlike the use of the Standard level, which s/he learns prescriptively and may hardly put to use. Chambers and Trudgill (1998:48) point out that informal, normal speech is more interesting than other varieties for it is more systematic and regular, and it is the level that is “... least influenced by notions of linguistic ‘correctness’ [and where] linguistic

tendencies and regularities are most clearly to be found and where many linguistic changes take place”.

#### **4.2.3 Group Observation and Recording (Informal)**

Close observations of two student groups were performed and recordings of the two groups were made. Certain topics were introduced to the subjects and they were directed to discuss them amongst themselves. I participated in the discussion and exchange of thoughts where possible, in an attempt to blend in and not to be perceived as a fieldworker collecting and monitoring their speech, but as a group member. Respondents in both groups were mixed in gender and social backgrounds. Such sociolinguistic variables are discussed further below. The male group consisted of 3 respondents and the recording took place at my house. The female group consisted of 7 respondents whom I met in a classroom at Kuwait University. The students and I were from the same age group which meant that we shared the same concerns, interests etc. This made the setting of the recording rather informal, although it was in a university classroom (which is considered a formal setting), due to the nature of the relationship. Most of the students did not know one another. Their relationship was that of fellow students, yet they were open to each other and communicated openly, mainly because most of them met each other at University and may at some point have shared the same classes during their studies, or will be sharing some in the future. This produced spontaneous (normal) speech as much as possible for any layer of ice between them was instantly broken.

#### **4.2.4 Recording of Social Gatherings (*Duwāniyya*) (Informal)**

The phenomenon of *Duwāniyyas* is very popular in Kuwait; in fact, it is unique to Kuwait when compared to other Gulf (Co-operation Council [GCC]) countries. There is not a residential street you walk through that does not have one. Basically, they are social gatherings in which the members are mostly familiar with each other. These gatherings either occur in a tent located on the premises of the *ṣāhib id-duwāniyya* ‘organizer (lit. owner) of the social-gathering place’, in an annexed building to the house specially built for such an occasion, or in the basement of the host’s house. As *duwāniyyas* are *male*-dominated events, the recordings and analysis of speech in such contexts is biased towards male speech. I have tried to balance this by targeting more females in one method of data collection, namely ‘Group Observation and Recording’ (see Table 4.1). *Duwāniyyas* with a combination of Sunni *Ḥaḍar* and Bedouin, or Sunni *Ḥaḍar* and Shiite *Ḥaḍar* attendees are more common than those with a combination of Shiite *Ḥaḍar* and Bedouins. It is usually only in the *duwāniyya* of a Sunni *Ḥaḍar* organizer that one could observe an admixture of the three groups. Shiite *Ḥaḍar* and Bedouins *duwāniyyas* are most commonly confined to visitors of the respective groups. As in most gatherings, tea, coffee, juice, sweets and savouries, and lunch/dinner are served by the host. Playing cards is the main entertainment activity, while people in the background who are not participating in any game discuss a wide range of topics mainly, if not wholly, in the vernacular. Politics being the main subject in these social gatherings, one might observe instances of switching to the standard in the use of some technical vocabulary.

Further, when asked whether he attends one or not, a Kuwaiti male would almost certainly answer with a big yes. He would go even further in naming the place of it and the times he visits, whether he attends regularly or not, and which of the ones

he attends are closer to him than the others, both geographically and in terms of preference etc. It is a very fertile ground for linguistic variation analysis, for it comprises visitors from all over Kuwait, gathered in one place as peers, discussing and arguing about different events with different, and sometimes extreme, ideologies and opinions. As for the gathering recorded for this research, it consisted of 3 males and took place in my house.

#### **4.2.5 Semi-Structured, Recorded Interviews (Informal)**

This is similar to group recordings; however, informants are interviewed individually while other members are around. The presence of others has proven to encourage reaction between the different subjects and the interviewee (Abdel-Jawad 1981). Further, the interviewer is not always aware of respondents' backgrounds and/or favourite topics and subjects to the same extent as other group members, such as are the informant's wife/husband, father/sister, dear friend, etc. Hence, they can stimulate the interviewee's memory and provoke interesting reactions based on the different topics to be discussed. Four interviews were carried out with three male respondents (in my house) and one female (in a classroom at Kuwait University). This female respondent was first interviewed individually in the presence of others, and was then observed as part of a group, and thus appeared twice.

#### **4.2.6 Supplementary Sources (Formal)**

To cover hypothetical mid-level, KMA (cf. Section 2.1), sessions at the Kuwait National Assembly (KNA) and a Political Show (PS) on a Kuwaiti broadcasting TV channel were recorded from YouTube. This was mainly because attending a session of the Parliament at the time of the data collection for this research

was not possible for the sessions were all classified as private and secret, where questions to the Prime Minister and some of his Ministers were either planned or taking place. As for the political show, the recording on YouTube was found to be sufficient for the purpose of analysis as it covers both genders, two ethnic groups (Sunni and Bedouin), and two different age cohorts. Both involved formal settings, in which the speech was always ‘unscripted’. However, the third resource of a formal setting, a Friday *xuṭba* (cf. Section 6.1), had an Imam whose speech was read from a prepared text, yet who barely referred to it and maintained eye contact with those praying, indicating that he had either memorised his speech beforehand, or occasionally improvised.

### **4.3 Data Analysis**

Kuwaiti nationals form *less* than a third of the entire population. Yet, this one third is far from being homogeneous (cf. Section 3.1.1). I decided to divide Kuwait geographically into two main areas: Inner Kuwait, and Outer Kuwait, representing Sunni *Ḥaḍar*, Bedouins, and Shiite *Ḥaḍar*. Areas with the highest concentration of *Sinna*, *Baduw*, and *Šī’a* are shown in Figures 3.2a/b/c/d. Although they all speak KA, variation does exist between their respective sub-dialects, as we shall see. The data gathered was analysed using various methods, ranging from simple calculations, to cross tabular and correlational histograms using Microsoft Office Excel and SPSS.

CA will be strictly considered as that level heard only, and only, in the recitation of the *Qur’ān*, hence, it will be treated as the equivalent of QA for any use of it by KA speakers would be when reading/reciting verses of the Holy Book. On the other hand, MSA, as used in the media, is the form where declension and case endings are kept to a minimal as compared to CA as we shall see, and where the lexicon is

flexible in accepting foreign vocabulary. Although it, too, is confined to specific contexts, it remains a central component in the production of KMA. It is spontaneous speech that is sought after in this study, and since the above two levels of QA/CA and MSA depend on ‘prepared’ texts either read and/or memorised by speakers, the proposed KMA and KA will shape the core of the analysis to come, while MSA will be referred to whenever discussing the former (cf. Section 2.0).

### **4.3.1 Sociolinguistic Variables**

In their speech, speakers identify themselves as natives of the variety they are producing, giving away their regional location, origin, age, ethnic group, social class etc. (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:45). Sociolinguistic variables correlate closely with linguistic ones, having an almost causal relation. Hence, the sampling of the subjects, i.e. the distribution of the informants, will be as per the following Table 4.2. As can be seen from the table, four social variables were used in the classification of the informants: area~origin, religious affiliation, gender, and age. The relationship between the variables is very important to establish, for this will shape the analysis to be performed. In other words, the dependent and independent variables must be identified to clarify the picture and pave the path for analysis. Figure 4.1, based on Brown’s (2007:13) template, shows the relationship between the various social variables to be considered along the analysis.

Religious Affiliation		Sunni				Shiites		N=	
		Urban 'Haḍar'		Bedouins		(Urban 'Haḍar' of Persian origin)			
Area	Age	Gender		F	M	F	M	F	M
		<b>Kuwait City: Inner 'Urban Haḍar'</b>							
	Young (18-29)	4	6	-	-	3	-	13	
	Middle (30-44)	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	
	Old (45+)	-	6	-	-	-	1	7	
<b>Kuwait City: Outer 'Bedouins'</b>									
	Young (18-29)	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	
	Middle (30-44)	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
	Old (45+)	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	
N=		4	13	1	6	3	1	28	

Table 4.2: Sampling and Distribution of Subjects According to the Selected Sociolinguistic Variables

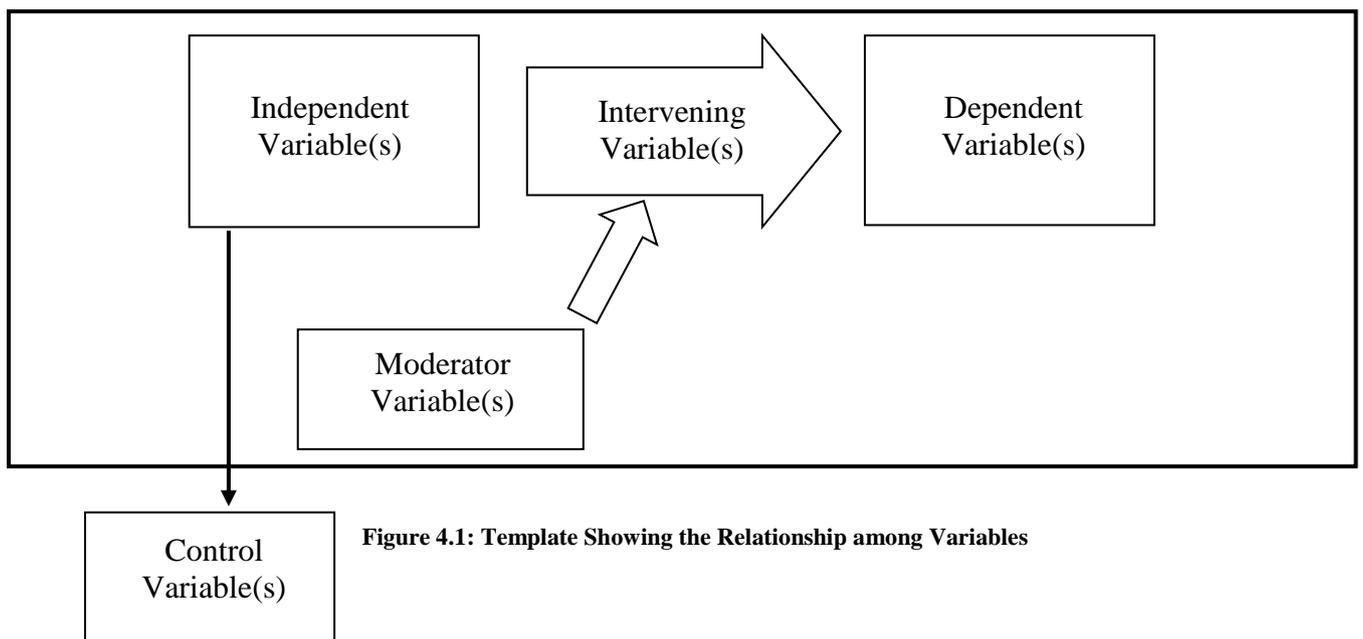


Figure 4.1: Template Showing the Relationship among Variables

Now, this template, which illustrates the relationship between the different variables to be included in any particular study, will be interpreted in terms of the (socio)-linguistic variables/parameters to be used in this research. Consider the following:

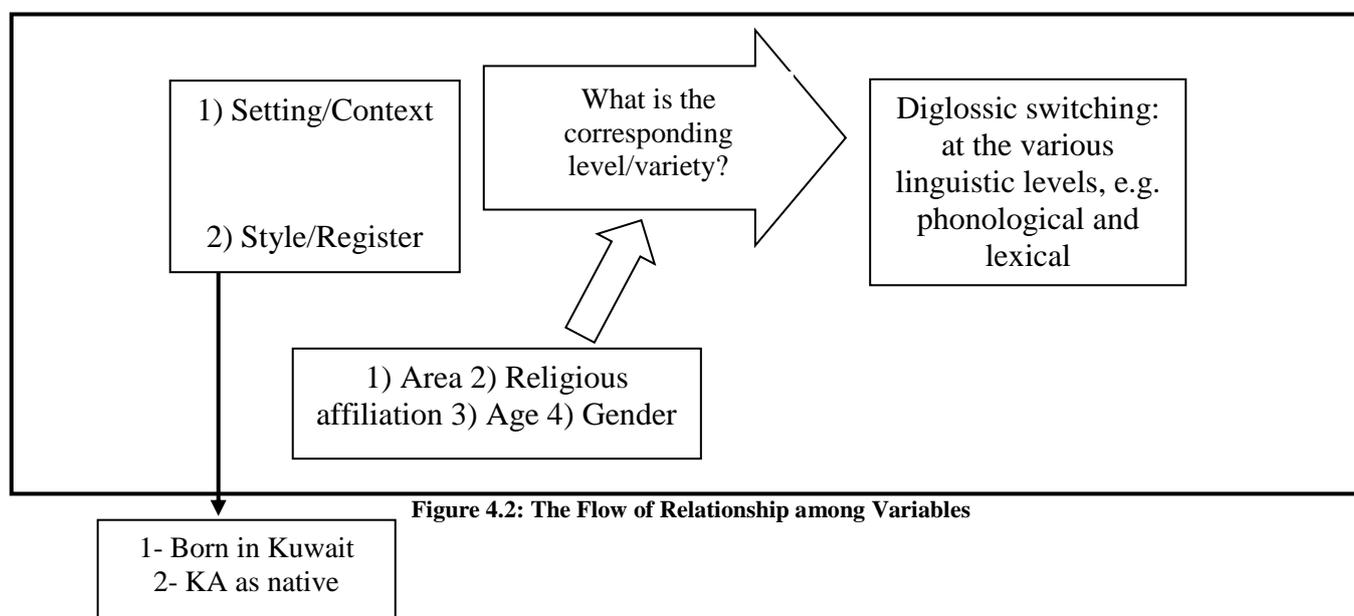


Figure 4.2: The Flow of Relationship among Variables

As seen from Figure 4.2 above, the sociolinguistic variables along with the direct context and style created and used by the researcher have a direct impact on the conscious decision made by speakers to choose a certain level on the continuum. This process is a continuous cycle within the individual's consciousness in any diglossic environment. Hence, speakers are, as we shall see, continuously switching back and forth (or moving up and down the continuum) from one level to another to produce the desired linguistic outcome. For instance, given a semi-formal context, a semi-formal style is called for. This is conveyed as a request for the choice of a variety, in this case KMA. The dependent variable, in turn, receives this request and applies the appropriate transformation, e.g. a phonological and/or a lexical change. For the case of KMA, a process of continuous admixture of phonological and lexical features

between MSA and KA will take place to produce the desired level. This is processed after the social moderators/variables are taken into account, i.e. the sociolinguistic variables chosen, namely area, religious affiliation, age, and gender. The two control variables mentioned above have been chosen to ensure accurate and representative data- two pre-conditions: 1. the speaker must have been born in Kuwait with a Kuwaiti citizenship, and, 2. s/he must have KA as a native tongue. This ensures the validity of the data, and, thus, the results to be obtained.

Badawī (1973:10) asserts that “members of the society vary intellectually and in their educational background, age, gender, and geographical area”. Francis (1983:42-45) maintains that the speakers of any speech community are divided into groups showing linguistic heterogeneity according to various parameters, such as geography, ethnic identity, gender, and age. The particular combination of the overlapping of these parameters- parameters which speakers belong to- moulds a person’s own lexicon and phonology. Until s/he reaches linguistic maturity, a person’s linguistic repertoire would be the product of all the groups and subgroups to which s/he belongs. This belonging or association inevitably fosters linguistic variation. Four social variables are adopted in the sociolinguistic analysis of KA. They are discussed below.

#### **4.3.1.1 Gender**

Gender in relation to variation is extensively researched and is well known and established in the literature of dialectology and linguistics to have a direct effect on the style and level of speech produced (e.g. Cameron and Coates, 1985; Coates, 1993; Eckert, 1989; Trudgill, 1972; Wodak and Benke, 1997). Francis (1983:44), for example, states that:

In most societies, individuals tend to associate more with members of their own sex than with those of the opposite sex. The same role of women may perpetuate itself in primitive and civilised societies: women maintain gardens, cook the food, and make the clothing, [yet by no means is their role confined to such tasks]. The result of the combination of economic, social, and to some extent physical segregation by sex leads to various degrees of linguistic variation.

It is well documented that in the West women approximate the prestigious form (whether this was the standard or a form that has gained a prestigious status because of its affiliation with a certain social class) on the various linguistic levels more than men do, which was answered by many propositions such as the difference and dominance approaches, but most interesting is the notion of ‘covert prestige’ (e.g. Cameron and Coates, 1985; Coates, 1993; Eckert, 1989; Trudgill, 1972; Wodak and Benke, 1997). Although the forms they might use in a given context are stigmatised overtly, covertly these forms achieve a prestigious status despite their linguistically ill shape: an adult Kuwaiti male saying the stigmatised *mōtar* ‘car’ instead of *sayyāra*, amongst his peers. Men use this linguistic ‘stunt’ to achieve solidarity and acceptance within their social group, which is constituted mainly of friends and/or co-workers; unlike women, whose social networks may extend beyond a closed group to relations stretching outside their isogloss. This exerts pressure on women to approximate the prestige in an attempt to either move up to a higher level of social class whose dialect is considered as such, or to assert such a high class if they already belong to it. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) report on studies in Montreal, Norwich, Edinburgh, New York, and Glasgow all supporting this. In the Arab world, however, many studies contradict this, i.e. men tend to approximate the standard more than women do (e.g. Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Bakir 1986; Kojak, 1983; Salam 1980; Schmidt, 1986; Wahba, 1996; cf. Chambers, 2003). Taking Wahba’s study which examines the

feature of emphasis (pharyngealisation) and how it is influenced by gender in Alexandrian Arabic, he discovers a remarkable trend in the production of the emphatic consonants. Examining its distribution against an educational variable, he discovered that non-educated male and female speakers produced *more* emphasis than their educated counterparts. Respondents in the present study were all educated (as mentioned earlier), both females and males, therefore education is an inactive feature of variability. It is crucial here to differentiate between education and experience. The former does not necessarily entail the latter, and vice versa. As mentioned in the previous two chapters, primary education in Kuwait is compulsory and provided free of charge. As such, education plays a minor role, if any, in linguistic differentiation. Experience, on the other hand, could play a more important role. In addition to many events, experience includes linguistic exposure and knowledge. This knowledge could very much mark the speech of a high-school drop-out as more elevated than that of a PhD holder without having education playing a part in it.

Whether interviewed/observed by myself or from the YouTube recordings, participants were confronted with formal questions amidst the conversation. This was to stimulate a higher level of conversation in an attempt to correlate language formality-level with gender. Hence, this remains one of the findings to be revealed from the analysis and results to come.

A noteworthy point is that gender is taken here to include social *and* biological status, i.e. gender correlates with variation by virtue of its social status- a status gained in turn by virtue of biology, i.e. sex (female/male) (cf. Eckert 1989; Chambers, 2003; Cheshire, 2004; Romaine, 2000; Smith, 1979). For example, when a child is born as a female, she is attributed this classification based on her sex, i.e. biologically. Based on that sex, this child will grow up being treated by those

standards and norms set in her community specifically for females. Therefore, any variation in her speech with males would be that of gender *and* sex. Due to Muslim Arab culture and tradition influence, gender and sex are not to be seen as mutually exclusive in the Kuwaiti context as they both converge. On the other hand, they have been treated as such by other studies on different speech communities, e.g. in Ballymacarrett, Belfast (Milroy, 1976; Milroy and Milroy, 1978, Milroy, 1980, Milroy, 2004), and inner-city Detroit (Wolfram, 1969). These two studies show that any variability shown in the speech of females and males which is due to isolation, mobility, or role distribution is attributed to gender, not sex. Sex differences would be those related to variation in, for instance, tone and pitch of sounds between women and men, i.e. biologically-traced differences. When men and women lead certain life styles as a direct result of their position socio-culturally, then any variation of speech produced is traced back to the nature of the life being led, and is attributed to gender (socially), not sex (biologically). One could argue that if it was not for sex, any ‘gender-based’ conclusions about variation would be faulty for they both have a dependent relationship.

However, should women and men lead more or less similar lives and not lead more or less insular lives (Chambers, 2003:144), then they would be equal gender-wise, i.e. they would be equal socio-culturally in the sense that society is assigning them equal social roles. Hence, should any variation arise in this case, it would be attributed socio-linguistically to sex, rather than socio-culturally to gender. Gender and sex are used collectively in this study under the term gender. A female is a female inasmuch as her sex dictates that a specific set of norms, traditions, and characteristics are to be ascribed to her culturally and socially as a feminine entity. Hence, variation

would be a result of her being a female, being perceived and treated as such by her society.

#### **4.3.1.2 Age**

Another social feature with which linguistic ones correlate is age. Francis (1983:44) states that “[i]n many communities, as soon as the child is beyond infancy his principal associates are other children of his own age or somewhat older”. These children age together, and reach linguistic maturity together, too. Eckert (1997:151) maintains that:

Aging is central to human experience. It is the achievement of physical and social capacities and skills, a continual unfolding of the individual’s participation in the world, construction of personal history, and movement through the history of the community and of society....Age and aging are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history....Age stratification of linguistic variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time (*historical change*), and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (*age grading*).

Again, like gender, belonging to a certain age cohort is not to be considered a mere biological aspect in sociolinguistic variation, rather, it is a mixture of sociological factors that the individual has acquired through her/his lifetime as a direct result of her/his affiliation with a certain age group. Speakers are grouped in broad age cohorts because of the difficulty to “...achieve fine-grained age differentiations with any statistical significance”. Age cohorts are defined either etically or emically. “The etic approach groups speakers in arbitrarily determined but equal age spans such as decades (e.g., Trudgill, 1974; Labov, 1966), while the emic approach groups speakers according to some shared experience of time [e.g., childhood, adolescence, adulthood]” (Eckert, 1997:155). The biological ageing of a person has a simultaneous relation with her/his progress in society and development of societal norms. This is

manifested sociolinguistically in the speech of individuals, i.e. "...the social category age is...reflected in speech behaviour" (Helfrich, 1979:63).

#### **4.3.1.3 Religious Affiliation**

Studies on the effect of religious affiliation or belonging on linguistic behaviour are numerous, and for Arabic include variation in Bahraini Arabic between Sunni and Shiites by Holes (1980, 1983, 1986a/b); Muslim dialect in Baghdad (Abu-Haidar, 1988); and Muslim, Christian, and Jewish Baghdadi (Blanc, 1964). For example, Abu-Haidar examines the Muslim Shiite Arabic of Baghdad and identifies two varieties: rural and urban. She bases her findings on eight phonological features, and reaches the conclusion that although the rural group has long moved into the city of Baghdad, their origin can still be identified by their speech.

Religious attachment is to be taken from a broad point of view, to include not only a sense of belonging to a certain religious group, but that this attachment entails social status, class, and culture as well (cf. Fishman, 1997; Giles, 1979). Further, Chambers and Trudgill (1998:64) claim that "[i]t appears...people are influenced linguistically, as might be expected, much more by close friends, family members, work-mates, and members of other social [and religious] networks to which they belong than anybody else". The more attached a person to a linguistic group is (be it a religious one or not), the more s/he is characterised by the linguistic features of that group, and vice versa- integrated vs. peripheral members of a group (cf. Labov, 1966).

Blanc (1964:13) stresses the fact that "...differences among religious groupings are usually...more marginal than those among other social groupings; they tend, typically, to be few and non-structural in character: differences in the name of the Deity, different greetings and other formulas". In this research, the speech

behaviour of Sunni (Muslim Arabs) and Shiite (Muslim Persians) affiliates will be analysed in the different groups and contexts according to the different phonological variables.

#### **4.3.1.4 Area-Origin**

Many Arab dialectologists have studied dialect differences based on geographic location, such as that of Bedouins/Urbans/Fellahin (peasants) in Jordan by Abdel-Jawad, 1986. The degree of mobility and ease/difficulty of travel of the population from one geographical area to another affect dialectal variation. Geographically, Bedouins and *Haḍar* (Sunnis and Shiites) in Kuwait are sharply separated, as if a wall exists between the two. Bedouins may be seen settled in *Haḍar* areas, but *Haḍar* settled in Bedouin areas is to a lesser extent, if any. This made the division of Kuwait into Inner and Outer corresponds directly to *Haḍar* and Bedouins, respectively. Hence, any discussion of territorial dialect differences in the Kuwaiti context guides one on origin.

Means of mobility are common to the whole population without exception. Linguistically, this leads to a continuum of variation amongst the spoken varieties of the three groups. When one moves from south to north in Britain, for instance, linguistic variation is as observable to the layman as it is to the linguist. The Geordie dialect of Newcastle, and the Mancunian dialect of Manchester, are just a couple of hundreds and hundreds of dialectal differences based on geographical area in different languages around the world. Francis (1983:43-44) maintains that:

The tendency for members of a community to be set apart from the rest by hereditary racial or ethnic qualities is...[evident in many societies, primitive and civilised]. Such separation may be imposed by the overall community, as in the confinement of Jews in ghettos in some European cities, or the segregation of American Negroes in their own churches, schools, and

residential areas in some parts of the United States. It may also be by the more or less free choice of the members of the group, as in the case of ethnic communities within cities. Many American cities have Italian, Polish, Chinese, and other districts where people of those national heritages choose to live, though under no overt compulsion to do so. Usually it is a combination of outside social pressure and internal ethnic pride and social ease which creates and preserves these ethnic subcommunities. In any case they are strong breeding-grounds for linguistic variation.

### **4.3.2 Phonological Variables**

The phonemes and their allophones that will form the basis of the analysis are discussed in detail in the next chapter under Section 5.1. These are /k/, /q/, and /j/ along with the occurrence of their allophones. These variables will mark the speech of individuals, identifying it as belonging to a certain level, and associating it with a certain group. Their original forms represent the most formal level, CA/MSA, depending on the direct context, and their allophonic forms are considered casual, i.e. colloquial. The semi-formal level, or KMA, is assumed to include a mixture of both. Five main criteria/rules will be taken into account when analysing the speech of the individuals and searching for phonological features. They are as follows:

1) Any repetition of any word will be disregarded in the count. However, should the variable differ in two identical words, e.g. *nāqis~ nāgis* ‘missing/subtract’, then both words are consulted.

2) Any geminates will be treated as one occurrence, e.g. *banaggiš* ‘I want to reduce/subtract’.

3) Any form of inflection/conjugation of any noun/verb/adjective for number, case/mood, and person will be disregarded. However, if the variable differs in two different inflections of the same noun/verb/adjective, both renderings will be kept. E.g. *sāyiq/sāyig.hum* ‘driver (masc.)/their driver (masc.)’.

4) Any word-final, masculine subject pronoun /k/ will be disregarded. However, word final, feminine subject pronoun /č/ will be included for it is originally

feminine /k/. Hence, any realisation of this feminine /k/ as /č/ is an indication of the register being produced and helps in identifying diglossic switching.

5) Any word-initial, present tense marker /y/ will be disregarded.

These five steps will serve to assure the validity and authenticity of the results of the forthcoming analysis, for they will rule out any skewed results when counting the number of occurrences of the phonological variables.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

Recorded interviews and conversations, observations, and videos on YouTube were the sources of data for the research. Quantitative analysis will be used to analyse the qualitative data recorded and transliterated. The sociolinguistic variables chosen, namely age, gender, area, and religious affiliation, have a close connection with the phonological variables, namely /k/, /q/, and /j/, and correlate closely with them. This close connection between the different social variables chosen and the set of phonological variables will be closely examined, correlated, and analysed. Diglossia is manifested in the existence of three levels: MSA, the acrolect, and KA, the basilect, the mixture of which produces the mesolect, KMA. With setting/context being the criterion of formality of the speech situation, these three levels are functionally distributed as formal, informal, and semiformal, respectively.

I will now turn to the analysis chapter, where the data obtained by the means outlined above is analysed and interpreted statistically.

## Chapter Five

### Data Discussion and Statistical Analysis

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the statistical outcomes of the data collected by the methodological means described in the previous chapter. The qualitative data collected was quantitatively analysed to reveal the relationship between the various variables identified. The phonological variables will be quantified individually and then related and correlated with each of the socio-phonological variables and the recording groups. The analysis will be divided into two main areas: Analysis A, and Analysis B. In Analysis A, the distribution and frequency of the phonological variables is closely examined, and the results are represented using illustrative histograms and tables, and are divided into sections based on the corresponding socio-phonological variable and context. This will give us a deep insight into usage patterns by the different sociological and recording groups.

As for Analysis B, it will deal with the data through correlational and multivariate analyses to examine the nature of the *inter*-relationship between the variables, and to see the likelihood of the appearance of each phonological variable in the speech of individuals when belonging to the various sociological and recording groups identified in this research. Ultimately, both analyses will help us understand the nature of the variability of the dialectal phonological features in each formal/informal groups and settings, and the nature of the interaction between the various variables and settings. Before proceeding to the analysis of the phonological

variables, an analysis of the status of those sounds and their allophones in KA is given.

## **5.1 Selection of Phonological Items for Analysis: Linguistic Variables**

The division of the speech community in Kuwait (cf. Section 3.1.1) is accompanied by the fact that the three established groups, Sunni *Ḥaḍar*, Sunni Bedouins, and Shiites are linguistically marked, i.e. the three groups have a linguistic border that divides them. This border, however, acts as a ‘membrane’ rather than a solid line. In other words, it is possible for some features of group A (Sunni *Ḥaḍar*), to be found in group B (Sunni Bedouins) or C (Shiites) and so on. The choice of the phonetic variables below is based on the fact of their frequent occurrence by my own native judgement on the dialect as spoken in my home country. Such markers are indigenous to Kuwait and are well established in each group.

### **5.1.1 Phonological Items: Phonemes and their Allophones**

Phonological variation in the dialects of Arabic plays a dynamic role in setting the boundaries between one dialect and another. The study and analysis of phonological variables helps give an insight into the nature of the dialect in question and into the saliency and distribution of a certain variable in the various sociolinguistic groups in a given speech community. These phonological markers will help in identifying and characterising the levels of speech in the Kuwaiti continuum.

KA diverges greatly from MSA in a range of allophonic sounds, and this divergence marks the different groups in Kuwait. Hence, the following linguistic markers were chosen:

### 5.1.1.1 Affrication: /k/-[č]

This affrication process is mostly productive in the realisation of the second person, singular, female pronominal suffix *-č*, e.g. *būkič* ‘wallet-yours [s.f]; your wallet’, and in other environments as seen in the table below. It is underestimated, however, by Johnstone (1967:29): “To all intents and purposes these variants [i.e. this feature of /k/ affrication and the other three chosen for this study] have disappeared from the dialect”. The environment of this change according to him is in the contiguity of front vowels, which I think he identifies correctly, and will either be sustained or refuted by the findings of this research. A further environment is when /k/ is with long, back vowels, or when an intervening alveolar consonant occurs in the environment of a front vowel (cf. Johnstone, 1963).

<b>KA</b>	<b>MSA</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>saččīn</i>	<i>sikkīn</i>	‘Knife’
<i>sibīča</i>	<i>sabīka</i>	‘Sabeeka (a female name)’
<i>mbaččir</i>	<i>mubakkiran</i>	‘Early’
<i>širīč</i>	<i>šarīk</i>	‘Partner’
<i>čalb</i>	<i>kalb</i>	‘Dog’
<i>ħinč</i>	<i>ħink</i>	‘Chin’
<i>wirč</i>	<i>wirk</i>	‘Upper thigh’
<i>‘ilč</i>	<i>‘ilk</i>	‘Chewing-gum’
<i>ubūč</i>	<i>‘abūki</i>	‘Your(s.f) father’

Table 5.1: Examples of /k/ Affrication

In examining the words in Table 5.1 we see that the phoneme /k/ is realised (affricated) as [č] in all positions, i.e. initially, medially, and finally in contiguity of

front vowels. Thus, a phonological rule transforming underlying voiceless velar plosive /k/ to surface voiceless post-alveolar affricate [č] will be as follows:

$$/k/ \longrightarrow [č] / \left( \begin{array}{l} \text{(V)} \\ \text{(C)} \end{array} \right) \text{ ——— } \text{(V)}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(+front)} \\ \text{(+back)} \\ \text{(+high)} \\ \text{(+low)} \\ \text{(+long)} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /n/ \\ /l/ \\ /r/ \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(+front)} \\ \text{(+high)} \\ \text{(+low)} \\ \text{(+long)} \end{array} \right\}$$

**Rule 1**

However, the question posed is whether this is uniform across the dialect. In other words, is it the case that all instances of /k/ are realised allophonically as [č]? The answer to this is no. At which levels and styles does the variation occur? Is it consistent? With what sociolinguistic variables does it correlate? These three questions, however, and more are left unanswered for the time being for the data is yet to be fully analysed.

As to the first question, answered with “no”, Johnstone (1967:31) states that “[i]n some words the variant č does not occur in the contiguity of front vowels”, exemplifying this with a sixteen-word list, e.g. *akīd* ‘sure/certain’, *ḥakam* ‘referee, to rule’, *kirsi* ‘chair’, *misak* ‘he held/grasp’. Further, he provides a second fifteen-word list in which he predicts the regression of the č variant of *k*. Yet, 11 out of the 15 (73.3%) words included in the list maintain the allophone č, mainly for the *ḥaḍar* speakers of KA. Johnstone’s informants seem to be wholly Bedouins (cf. Johnstone, 1963:213, 215), a main influence on his overgeneralisations. He also wrongly identifies an arbitrary, unfounded Modern KA, whereby *bāčir* ‘tomorrow’, *faččar* ‘he thought’, *čidī* ‘thus/(just) like that/no apparent reason’, and *simac* ‘fish’ occur in it as *bukra*, *iftakar*, *kiḍa*, and *samak*! First, *faččar* never existed in KA, and could have not

been possibly produced by speakers who are born in Kuwait and have KA as a mother tongue. It is attested in dialects such as Iraqi Arabic. So, unless his informants were of Iraqi origin, this rendition of ‘to think’ is unaccepted, and the correct form would be *fakkar*. As to its so-called ‘modern’ variant, *iftakar* is almost exclusively attested in the dialects of the Levant and some dialects of North Africa, but not in the Gulf; hence, the base and the prediction are faulty. Second, *bukra*, were it to occur in KA, it would do so mainly in situations of language accommodation where different dialects are involved in a conversation, e.g. KA and Egyptian Arabic. *Bāčir* is the dominating form in KA in particular, and the dialects of the Gulf in general. *Bukra*, again, is attested in the Levant and North Africa.

#### 5.1.1.2 Palatalisation: /j/-[y]

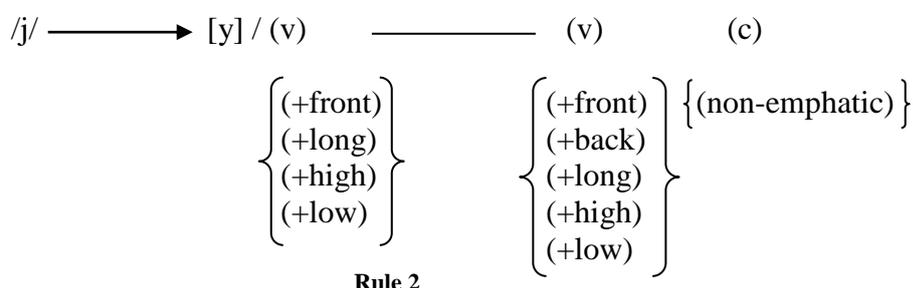
This allophonic change is considered a ‘classical’ variation in KA and other dialects such as that of Bahrain (cf. Holes, 1980) where it marks social status and ethnicity as we saw in the previous chapter. Johnstone (1965:233-34) remarks: “this sound change is not confined to one dialect group, and unlike the affrication of [K/ and /Q/] is *non-conditioned* [emphasis mine]...[It] is reasonably well documented for North Arabia and for South Arabia”. The same may be said about the case in Kuwait. It involves the substitution of the voiced post-alveolar affricate with the voiced palatal approximant. Consider the following:

KA	MSA	Gloss
‘ <i>ayam</i>	‘ <i>ajam</i>	‘Foreigners’ (used exclusively for people of a Persian origin)
‘ <i>šiyar</i>	‘ <i>šajar</i>	‘Trees’
‘ <i>fayir</i>	‘ <i>fajr</i>	‘Dawn’

<i>rīl</i>	<i>rijl</i>	‘Foot’
<i>rayyāl</i>	<i>rajul</i>	‘Man’
<i>siyāda</i>	<i>sijjāda</i>	‘Carpet’
<i>yū‘</i>	<i>jū‘</i>	‘Hunger’
<i>yīt</i>	<i>ji’tu</i>	‘I came/you (m) came’
<i>yābir</i>	<i>jābir</i>	‘Jabir ( a male name)’
<i>yār</i>	<i>jār</i>	‘Neighbour (m)’
<i>diyāy</i>	<i>dajāj</i>	‘Chicken (pl)’

**Table 5.2: Examples of /j/ Palatalisation**

Again, a rule of derivation that accounts for the allophonic change in affected lexical items will be as follows. Note, however, that this list is not exhaustive, for many words have not been affected by this feature, e.g. *jarīda* ‘newspaper’, *jām‘a* ‘university’. This rule needs to be further verified and validated (cf. Section 5.3).



It is important, and interesting at the same time, to note that the column KA is primarily produced by *haḍar*, especially the Sunni of them. The MSA column, on the other hand, is almost exclusively generated by Bedouins, hence, marking social group in KA. Yet, again, Johnstone (1965:238) unsuccessfully predicts that “because of the rapid development of new economic and social conditions in Kuwait the tendency for this feature to occur is *obsolescent* [emphasis mine]”. It is now forty-five years from the time of Johnstone’s postulation, and this is nothing but far from the reality of this

feature as it exists in KA. Were his remarks confined to the dialect of some of the Bedouin tribes he studied, namely *Rašāyda*, *ʿAwāzim*, *Muṭair*, and *ʿAjmān*, then credibility could have been sustained. However, this is not the case for what he states is an overgeneralisation of a specific feature in a certain social group, which is to be considered as characteristic of the dialect as a whole. The Sunni *ḥaḍḍar* speakers of KA, for instance, strongly stick to this feature of palatalisation in an attempt to show their ‘pure’ and ‘genuine’ origin, so to speak, as this marks the speech of their ancestors, e.g. *wajba* > *wayba* ‘meal’ which is exclusive to this group of KA speakers; or, more specifically, to those in this group who come from prominent ‘pure’ families, those who call themselves *ahl is-sūr* ‘the people (who were inside) the gate/wall’.

He further adds: “most words in which *y < j* is found have been, or are being, replaced by their equivalents in the pan-Arabic *koinē*” (cf. Ferguson, 1959b; Versteegh, 1996, 2004) and that those traces of the feature persist in “certain very common words (such as *yā* [he came]) and in local words which have no exact equivalent in the *koinē*”. The two nouns *yār* and *diyāy* are just two of many counter-examples to his claim, for these two nouns have the exact equivalent in the koine, yet they have maintained their palatalisation in present-day KA. This is a well observed phenomenon in KA, one which is not only conditioned phonetically, but socially; it will be analysed in greater detail further in the chapter. The next features are a second allophonic affrication process attested in KA, along with a velarisation process, both being allophones of the same phoneme.

### 5.1.1.3 Affrication and Fronting: The /q/-[g]-[j] Split

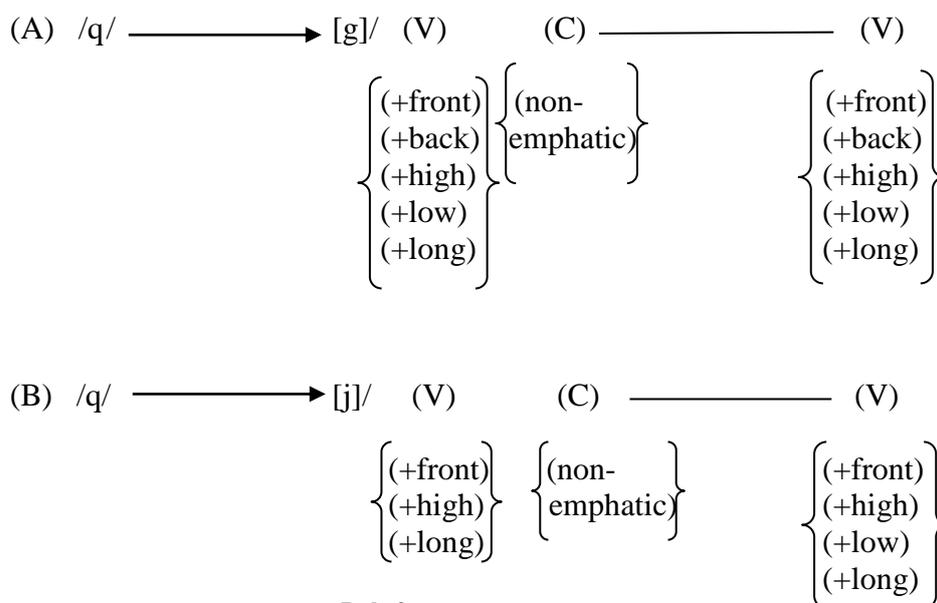
This linguistic variation is by far the most common in the dialect. The /q/ > [g] process is attested in both the dialect of the Bedouins in Kuwait and the *Ḥaḍar* (especially the Sunnis in the case of the former). What we have here is a process of fronting whereby the voiceless uvular plosive *q* is replaced with a voiced velar plosive *g*. The second alternation, the affrication of /q/, is favoured mostly by the Sunni *Ḥaḍar* speakers of KA. This involves the replacement of the voiceless uvular plosive *q* by the voiced post-alveolar affricate *j*. Consider the following table:

KA	MSA	Gloss
<i>girtās</i>	<i>qirtās</i>	‘Paper (wrapper)’
<i>ginfiḍ</i>	<i>qunfuḍ</i>	‘Hedgehog’
<i>giṭin</i>	<i>quṭn</i>	‘Cotton’
<i>giṭ‘a</i>	<i>qiṭ‘a</i>	‘Piece’
<i>gūl</i>	<i>qūl</i>	‘Say (imp.)’
<i>gaḷb</i>	<i>qalb</i>	‘Heart’
<i>bgara</i>	<i>baqara</i>	‘Cow’
<i>sgāḷa</i>	<i>siqāla</i>	‘Scaffold’
<i>bugar</i>	<i>baqar</i>	‘Cows’
<i>bāgiy (bājiy)</i>	<i>bāqī</i>	‘Left (with [j] gives the meaning of money <i>change</i> )’
<i>agdar</i>	<i>aqdiru</i>	‘I can’
<i>ḥigīl (ḥijīl)</i>	<i>ḥaqīl</i>	‘Heavy’
<i>sāyig</i>	<i>sā‘iq</i>	‘Driver’
<i>barg</i>	<i>barq</i>	‘Lightning’
<i>jāsiy</i>	<i>qāsī</i>	‘Cruel/Harsh/Rough’
<i>jāsim</i>	<i>qāsim</i>	A person’s (male) name (both variants came to represent separate names)
<i>jibla</i>	<i>qibla</i>	Direction of praying (towards Mecca)
<i>jiyām</i>	<i>qiyām</i>	Night prayer in Ramadan

<i>'ibrīj</i>	<i>'ibrīq</i>	'Kettle'
<i>rīj</i>	<i>rīq</i>	'Spittle'
<i>ṭirīj</i>	<i>ṭarīq</i>	'Way/road'
<i>'irj</i>	<i>'irq</i>	'Vein'

Table 5.3: Examples of /q/ Fronting and Affrication

In the table above, we have two allophonic variations in process: /q/ - [g], which is the most common, in addition to /q/ - [j]. Both variations occur initially, medially, and finally, i.e. in all structural positions, and in the immediate vicinity of front, long vowels, or when a non-emphatic consonant intervene to the left.



Rules 1-3 are representative of the data presented in the tables above. Again, counterexamples exist to question the overgeneralisation of these rules to all occurrences of the variables in the dialect. Johnstone (1963:221), for instance, mentions an example that not only has not been affected, but that also fits the criteria for change and remain unchanged, viz. *riyūg* 'breakfast' plural of *rīj* 'spittle' (cf. *\*riyūj*). He justifies this as being due to the fact that the "...opposition between singular and plural...have been maintained because in effect the plural is not clearly

related in meaning to the singular”, which is a plausible explanation. The final variable to be discussed is the /d/ /ð/ merger in KA.

#### **5.1.1.4 /d/ /ð/ merger**

The phoneme /d/ in KA in all its instances is almost always realised as [ð], neutralising the differences between the two, making the task of tracing whether the sound in a particular word is originally /d/ or /ð/ a difficult one for the speaker of KA. This merging phenomenon is reported by many researchers in different parts of the Arabic-speaking world such as Iraq, where the /d/ of MSA (via CA) is no longer preserved in the Iraqi dialect of Arabic (Altoma, 1969:13). *Luġat al-ḏād* (cf. Corriente, 1978; Newman, 2002a; Versteegh, 1984a amongst others) is how the speakers of Arabic identify the uniqueness of their language, in addition, of course, to the fact that they perceive their language as the language of God, the language of the last of the Holy books, the *Qur’ān*. Having such a sound completely merged with /ð/ is a unique characteristic in itself of the modern dialects of Arabic in general, and KA in particular. In MSA, the emphatic phoneme *ḏād* is contrastive with its voiced counterpart *ḏā’*, hence, minimal pairs such *ḥaḏīḏ* ‘lucky (m)’ and *ḥaḏīd* ‘bottom/base’ are found. In such cases, the distinction in KA is no longer maintained for both words will be rendered in KA as the former, i.e. *ḥaḏīð*. The *ḏād*, Versteegh (1984a:274) maintains “... may rightly be regarded as a marked phoneme, with an isolated status in Classical Arabic”. According to Blau (1965:126, reported in Versteegh, 1984a:275), the first occurrence of a merger or incorrect spelling of *ḏā’* as *ḏād* was in a papyrus from the year 101/720 CE. This is an indication that the “... two phonemes were confused by native speakers, which would indicate that in their colloquial speech there was no longer a distinction between them” (Versteegh, 1984a:275). Versteegh

puts forward the assumption that there must have been an independent loss of the lateral markedness in the *ḍāḍ* and the interdental of the *ḍā'*, which naturally would lead to the merger of the two (1984a:283). In my view, ease of articulation played an important role in merging the two; hence, when faced by both sounds, the one produced with least effort is the *ḍā'*.

As mentioned above, this led the speakers of KA to realise /ḍ/ as [ḍ̥] in all theoretical positions. Consider the following table:

<b>KA</b>	<b>MSA</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>ḍuʻf</i>	<i>ḍaʻf</i>	‘Weakness’
<i>ḍabb</i>	<i>ḍabb</i>	‘Lizard’
<i>ḍarība</i>	<i>ḍarība</i>	‘Tax/Punishment’
<i>ḍēf</i>	<i>ḍayf</i>	‘Guest’
<i>ḍabṭ</i>	<i>ḍabṭ</i>	‘Adjustment/Fixing/Exactly’
<i>ḍiyāʻ</i>	<i>ḍiyāʻ</i>	‘Lights’, used mainly as a female name in KA
<i>haḍm</i>	<i>haḍm</i>	‘Digestion’
<i>fiḍīha</i>	<i>faḍīha</i>	‘Scandal’
<i>yiḍhak</i>	<i>yadhak</i>	‘He laughs’
<i>yirḍa</i>	<i>yardā</i>	‘He agrees’
<i>muḍāriʻ</i>	<i>muḍāriʻ</i>	‘Present-tense’
<i>waḍʻiyya</i>	<i>waḍʻiyya</i>	‘Position’
<i>arḍ</i>	<i>arḍ</i>	‘Floor/Piece of land’
<i>maʻraḍ</i>	<i>maʻraḍ</i>	‘Exhibition’
<i>bēḍ</i>	<i>bayḍ</i>	‘eggs’
<i>abyaḍ</i>	<i>abyaḍ</i>	‘white’
<i>fāḍ</i>	<i>fāḍ</i>	‘Flooded’
<i>ḥaḍīḍ</i>	<i>ḥaḍīḍ</i>	‘Bottom/Base’

**Table 5.4: Examples of /ḍ/-/ḍ̥/ Merger**

In examining the list above, we can see that the merger of both emphatics, the voiced alveolar plosive and the voiced interdental fricative, again, occurs in all positions, hence the following rule:

$$/d/ \longrightarrow /ð//$$

**Rule 4**

As seen from the rule, contrary to the other three sound transformations, this is a ‘free’ one in the sense that there are no conditioning environments restricting the sound change or controlling it. It affects all instances of the phoneme in all structural vicinities.

The next section will focus on the close analysis of four out of the five allophonic changes described above, namely /k/ affrication, /q/ fronting and affrication, and /j/ palatalisation. The /d/-/ð/ merger will not be analysed further for the simple fact of the constant absence of /d/ in the speech of speakers, which is a basic feature of KA and all dialects of Arabic, making it an insignificant variable for further analysis.

## **5.2 Phonological Variables**

As can be seen in Figure 5.1, there are four main phonological processes identified. The resulting sounds of these processes are the dialectal versions. Hence, their occurrences in speech would mark it as colloquial KA in informal settings. On the other hand, in formal settings, their occurrence would mark the speech as KMA (cf. Section 6.1). This figure along with Figure 5.2 illustrate the number of occurrences of each phonological variable and its allophone by all speakers in the different groups that form the two settings formal and informal (see Table 5.5). As illustrated in

Figures 5.1 and Table 5.5, there are two natural speech patterns. First, in each phonological process the number of dialectal occurrences is higher in the Informal (IF) setting than the Formal (F), which is what is to be expected and is the regular pattern to occur. Second, the number of dialectal occurrences is always lower than the number of the standard/original occurrences for the F setting.

On the other hand, there are two abnormal patterns. The first is resolved when recalculated in terms of total share of total percentage. The second is not. First, the IF setting shows a higher number of the standard variants than the F setting. This can be resolved once the numbers are converted into percentages as seen in Table 5.5, where IF constantly produces lower percentages of standard forms than F. Second, an unexpected and irregular pattern arises when examining the number of occurrences of the original/standard variants for the IF. The three phonological variables in their original form in the IF setting (see Figure 5.2) always show a higher number than their colloquial, informal counterpart. Even when converted into a shared percentage, the percentage of total share of the standard (formal) variables out of the total occurrences in the IF setting is *unexpectedly* always *higher* than that of allophonic (informal) ones (or almost equal in the case of IF /q/ fronting) (see Table 5.5). This can be traced back to two possibilities. First, the four phonological processes may be affecting certain phonological environments of the lexicon but not all, i.e. phonologically conditioned rules. Second, the process of phonological diffusion is random and is at a slow pace in the IF setting, where the transformations of the phone to the allophone are affecting random environments at a steady pace. The deviation /q/ fronting illustrates could be interpreted as it being the most rapid phonological process to diffuse into the lexicon for it affects about 50% of the total occurrences of /q/ in IF, in which it is also the most used allophone. As for the remaining three, [y]

follows [g] as the most common allophone with the second highest share percentage, followed by [č] and [j]. In the formal setting, [g], too, is the most occurring dialectal phoneme with the highest share percentage, which supports the view of it being the most popular and widely-applied process for speakers in both settings, followed by [č], then [y], and [j]. As for the standard variants, IF has the hierarchical occurrence order of /k/ > /j/ > /q/, whilst F has /k/ > /q/ > /j/, sharing the same widely used standard variant, namely /k/. Table 5.6 summarises the hierarchical order of the number of occurrences and share percentages of the phonological variables in both settings and their sub-groups.

### Distribution of Allophonic Variables by Group/Setting

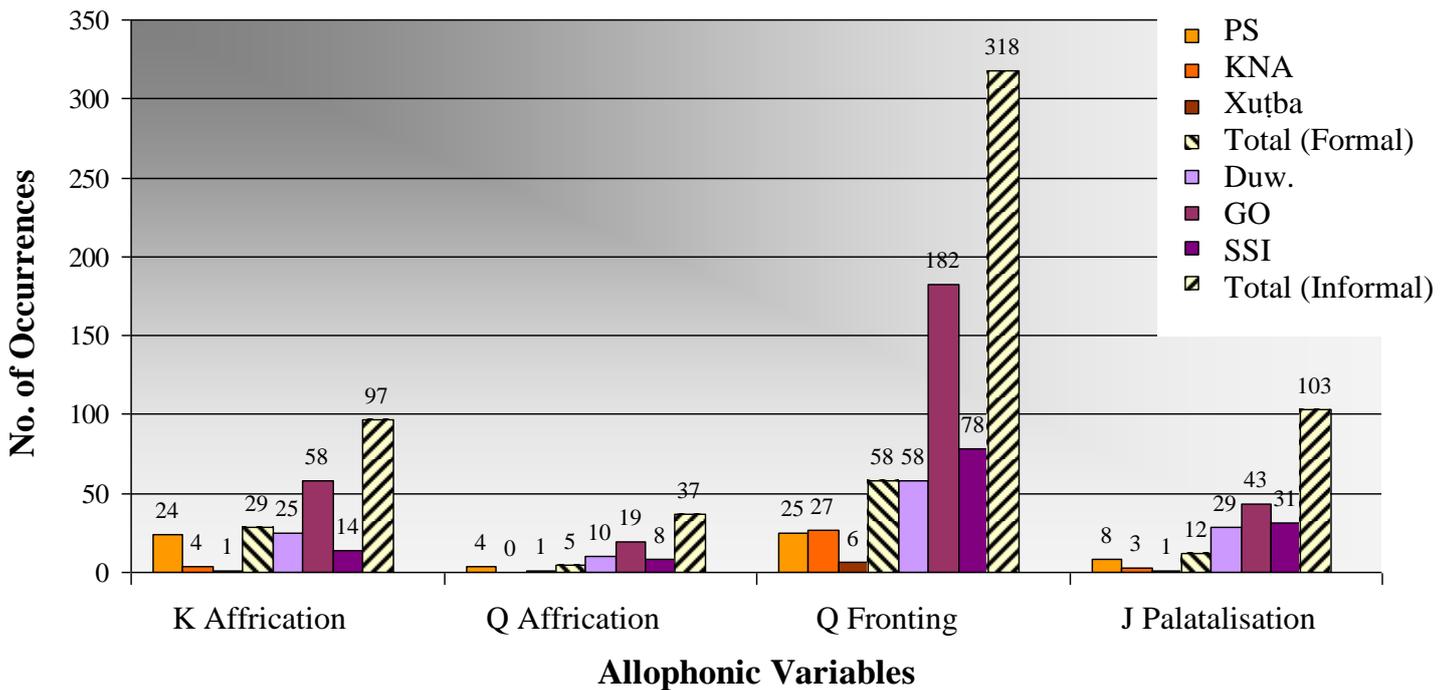
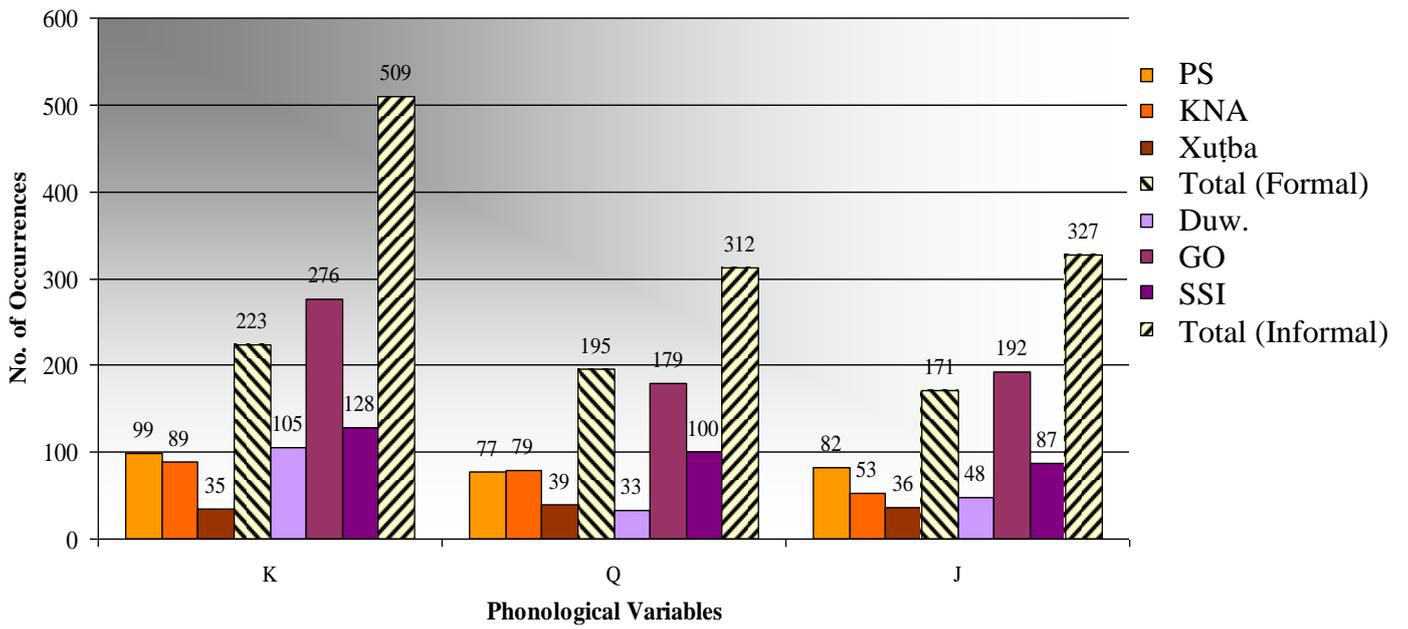


Figure 5.1: Graph Showing the Occurrences of Each Allophonic Phonological Variable According to Group and Setting (PS=Political Show; KNA=Kuwait National Assembly; Xuṭba= (Friday) Sermon; Duw.=Duwāniyya; GO=Group Observation; SSI=Semi-Structured Interview)

## Distribution of Phonological Variables by Group/Setting



**Figure 5.2: Graph Showing the Occurrences of Each Phonological Variable in its Original Form According to Group/Setting (PS=Political Show; KNA=Kuwait National Assembly; Xuṭba= (Friday) Sermon; Duw.=Duwāniyya; GO=Group Observation; SSI=Semi-Structured Interview)**

Phoneme	/k/ (affrication)						/q/ (affrication)						/q/ (fronting)						/j/ (palatalisation)					
	Formal			Informal			Formal			Informal			Formal			Informal			Formal			Informal		
Setting	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Total Number of Phoneme Instances (Original and Allophonic)	123	93	36	130	334	142	81	79	40	43	198	108	102	106	45	91	361	178	90	56	37	77	235
252			606			200			349			253			630			183			430			
39%		35%	14%	17%	46%	21%	39%	40%	18%	9%	51%	29%	30%	31%	16%	5%	28%	16%	45%	29%	19%	11%	45%	20%
Percentage/ Number of Original Instances	99	89	35	105	276	128	77	79	39	33	179	100	77	79	39	33	179	100	82	53	36	48	192	87
	88%			84%			97%			89%			77%			49%			93%			76%		
	223			509			195			312			195			312			171			327		
Percentage/ Number of Allophonic Instances	9	2	1	4	10	2	2	0	1	4	5	2	10	11	2	9	29	13	4	2	1	6	10	8
	24	4	1	25	58	14	4	0	1	10	19	8	25	27	6	58	182	78	8	3	1	29	43	31
	12%			16%			3%			11%			23%			51%			7%			24%		
	29			97			5			37			58			318			12			103		

Table 5.5: Number of Occurrences and Share Percentages of Original and Allophonic Forms Out of the Total Number of Instances of Each Phonological Variable within Each Group/Setting- Upper No. = %, Lower No.=No. of Occurrences, 1=PS, 2=KNA, 3=Xuṭba, 4=Duw., 5=GO, 6=SSI

Variable Group/ Context	Standard Variants	Dialectal Variants	
	Recurrence Sequence	Recurrence Sequence	Share % Sequence
PS	k > j > q	g > č > y > j	g > č > y > j
KNA	k > q > j	g > č > y > j	g > č-y > j
<i>Xuṭba</i>	q > j > k	g > č-y-j	g > č-y-j
Total (Formal)	k > q > j	g > č > y > j	g > č > y > j
Duw.	k > j > q	g > y > č > j	g > y > č > j
GO	k > j > q	g > č > y > j	g > č-y > j
SSI	k > q > j	g > y > č > j	g > y > j > č
Total (Informal)	k > j > q	g > y > č > j	g > y > č > j

Table 5.6: Hierarchical Order of Occurrences of Variables and Share Percentage According To Variable Form and Group/Setting

		Standard Variant			Dialectal Variants			
		K	Q	J	Č	J	G	Y
Groups Hierarchy	Formal	PS	KNA	PS	PS	PS	KNA	PS
		KNA	PS	KNA	KNA	<i>Xuṭba</i>	PS	KNA
		<i>Xuṭba</i>	<i>Xuṭba</i>	<i>Xuṭba</i>	<i>Xuṭba</i>	KNA	<i>Xuṭba</i>	<i>Xuṭba</i>
	Informal	GO	GO	GO	GO	GO	GO	GO
		SSI	SSI	SSI	Duw.	Duw.	SSI	SSI
		Duw.	Duw.	Duw.	SSI	SSI	Duw.	Duw.

Table 5.7: Hierarchical Ranking of Groups According to the Number of Occurrences of Original and Dialectal Phonological Variables

I will now turn to discuss the individual groups within each setting individually, which will provide us with a more insightful understanding of the nature of the distribution and variability of each original and allophonic phoneme within each of the groups.

### 5.2.1 Formal Groups

The *xuṭba* group constantly ranks last (third) behind PS and KNA in the number of original instances, and last in three out of the four allophonic ones, namely [g], [č], and [y]. This is an irregular pattern since the *xuṭba* group is expected to account for the highest number of original/standard instances (cf. Section 5.4 discussion of absolute numbers vs. percentages). *xuṭba* ranks second in /q/ affrication after PS, followed by KNA third. It has the hierarchical occurrence ranking of /q/ > /j/ > /k/ for the standard variants, and [g] > [č]-[y]-[j] for the allophonic, where not only the allophone [g] ranks first, but its original form /q/, too. PS ranks first in two out of the three original phonemes, producing the most standard forms in /k/ and /j/ with KNA second behind. It ranks second in /q/ production. For the dialectal instances, PS ranks first in all but one allophone (/q/ fronting), in which it ranks second. It has the hierarchical order of /k/ > /j/ > /q/ for the standard variants, and a [g] > [č] > [y] > [j] dialectal one similar to that of the *xuṭba* group, as well as KNA. KNA ranks first in standard /q/ with a /k/ > /q/ > /j/ hierarchy of occurrence and PS second, and first in dialectal /q/ fronting, having, again, the phoneme and its allophone in first place. In /k/ affrication and [j] palatalisation KNA ranks second, and third (last) in /q/ affrication.

### 5.2.2 Informal Groups

In these groups we witness the irregular and unexpected pattern alluded to earlier. Standard variants repeatedly occur more than the allophonic/colloquial ones, albeit it being an informal setting. This irregular pattern is maintained in all but two groups, namely Duw. and GO, where as expected the two groups produce more dialectal features and less Standard ones in conformity with the informality of the setting and level of language use, which is colloquial KA. Duw. has the hierarchical order of /k/ > /j/ > /q/ for the standard variants, and [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] for the dialectal ones, whereas GO share the same standard hierarchy but a [g] > [č] > [y] > [j] dialectal one.

For the standard variants, GO constantly scores the highest and ranks first in all three variables, with SSI, who in turn has a /k/ > /q/ > /j/ pattern, always following second and Duw. last. For the dialectal variants, GO also scores the highest and, thus, ranks first in all four allophones. But the second place is not always secured by SSI, who has a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] dialectal hierarchy of occurrence, ranking second only in /q/ fronting and /j/ palatalisation after GO, but third in /k/ affrication and /q/ affrication behind Duw. See Tables 5.6 and 5.7.

We have seen in this section the occurrences of each of the four variables in their standard (original) and dialectal (allophonic) forms across both settings and we have examined each sub-group individually. This has given us a picture of the overall distribution of the phonological variables and their number of occurrences and sharing percentages. Before proceeding further with a more detailed analysis of the distribution of the phonological variables by means of correlating them not with groups only, but with a set of the four sociological variables chosen in this study, I will examine the nature of the sound changes in an attempt to identify any

phonological regularities in the sound changes taking place. In other words, is there a systematic pattern, linguistically speaking, behind the sound changes, or is it arbitrary?

### **5.3 Arbitrary or Rule-Governed Sound Change?**

All instances of sound changes produced by all speakers were examined in an attempt to extract any systematisation in the sound transformations. The changes tend to occur at all structural positions, namely initial, medial, and final. However, this does not imply that the changes are uniform targeting the whole lexical repertoire of the dialect, nor does it reflect a specific system in play. Indeed, a close inspection of the data reveals that the changes are more or less arbitrary and do not follow a rule or a set of rules in the process of sound transformation.

The four phonological processes of /k/ affrication, /q/ affrication and fronting, and /j/ palatalisation are applied by speakers in a disorderly manner in various structural positions. This results in the random diffusion of the sound changes into the lexicon of the dialect, and situations whereby one of two identical structural positions is affected by a sound change and the other does not arise. This has a twofold interpretation. First, if the same speaker (or groups of speakers who share similar sociolinguistic backgrounds) produces an instance of the phone and its allophone in the same structural position, then this change is random and is not traced back to a fact of socio-phonological variation. For example, if the same speaker produces *wajba~wayba* ‘meal’ interchangeably but only *hajma* (not *\*hayma*) ‘an attack/offense’, then this process of /j/ palatalisation is taking place without any significant correlation with sociolinguistic variables, and depends on the frequency of usage of the affected word. The more frequent in usage the lexical item is in everyday

discourse, the more liable it is to undergo a process of sound change. The same applies to a group of two or more speakers, where if they exhibit such linguistic variation while sharing identical sociolinguistic backgrounds, e.g. all being Sunni *Ḥaḍar*, then the variation is sociolinguistically insignificant. Second, on the other hand, if speakers belong to different sociolinguistic groups and produce sound variation in similar structural positions, then this variation is said to be not rule-governed but sociolinguistically conditioned. For example, a Sunni *Ḥaḍar* producing *wāyid* ‘many’/*baqḍūnis* ‘coriander’ as opposed to *wājīd*/*bagḍūnis* by a Sunni Bedouin would be traced back to origin and area variation (cf. Section 5.4.4). It is worth pointing out that what we are talking about here is not what triggers sound transformations but the effect of these sound changes on the lexical repertoire of the dialect, and how rapidly this affect is diffusing into it.

Further, a close observation of the data reveals that although the four phonological processes occurred quite frequently in the speech of all the respondents, this does not imply that the processes are affecting a large bulk of the lexicon.

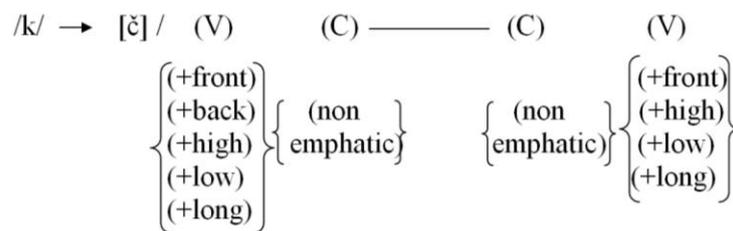
<b>Allophone</b>	<b>Number of Occurrences</b>	<b>Number of Lexemes Affected</b>
[j]	42	8
[g]	376	20
[č]	126	17
[y]	115	11

**Table 5.7a: Number of Occurrence of Each Allophone and the Number of Lexemes Affected**

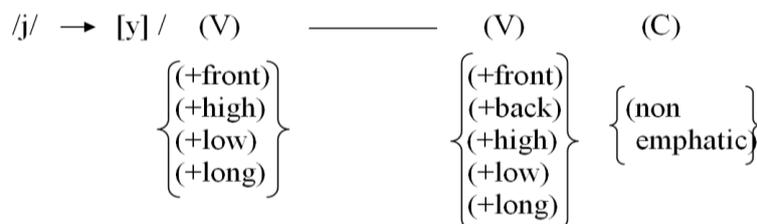
As seen in the table above, although 42 realisations of affricated /q/ were extracted from all speakers, these were confined to 8 lexemes only. This is true for /q/ fronting (376 instances representing 20 lexemes) and /k/ affrication (126 instances representing 17 lexemes) as well as /j/ palatalisation (115 instances representing 11

lexemes). This is a further important finding of this research for one would expect a larger number of lexemes compared with the large number of usage frequencies recorded for all four allophones. One could argue that the processes are affecting a very limited set of lexical items, that is, those used widely on a daily basis. However, this is oddly not the case. The processes are affecting the strangest of lexical items in the strangest of structural positions. One counter example would be that of an extreme case where I faced a Sunni *Haḍar* speaker who constantly and regularly produces the name of the car brand ‘Pajero’ as *bāyēro*! If anything this shows that speakers are accommodating easily to the sound changes and are willingly accepting them. In fact, they themselves create them as exemplified above.

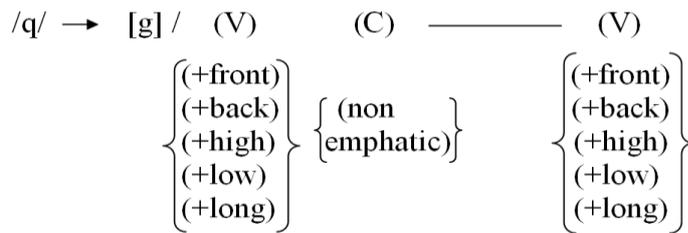
In the light of the above, the following are four rules that account for (or predict) the occurrences of any sound transformations resulting from the phonological processes identified. These rules are revised versions of rules 1-3 given in 5.1 above.



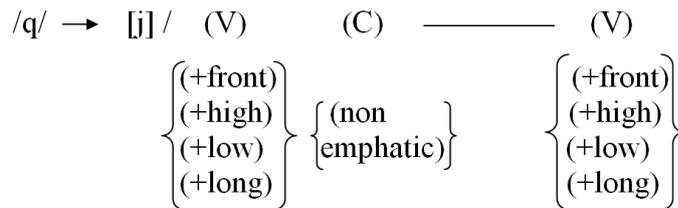
**Rule 1 Revised: /k/ Affrication**



**Rule 2 Revised: /j/ Palatalisation**



**Rule 3a Revised: /q/ Fronting**



**Rule 3b Revised: /q/ Affrication**

## **5.4 Distribution and Frequency: Analysis A**

This section will focus on the relationship between the occurrences of each of the four phonological variables and the four sociological variables outlined in the previous chapter, namely gender, age, area, and religious affiliation. The relationship will be discussed under each setting and its sub-groups individually. The allophonic, dialectal variant is what will be focused on and not the Standard. The means by which the results in the two settings and their sub-groups are compared is to measure the amount of dialectal features present in each group/setting and correlate them. The more dialectal features are present, the more inclined the speech is towards informality, and vice versa, i.e. the fewer dialectal features present the less informal the speech, and the higher it is in the continuum towards formality. The reason why the presence of dialectal features (and not standard ones) are used as the yardstick in the following analysis is that unlike the pattern witnessed in the Standard occurrences, a regular pattern in the number of dialectal ones emerges whereby groups in F settings, whether

individually or as a whole, constantly and as expected produce less dialectal features than groups within the IF setting. Hence, using them provides a more systematic approach that ensures the soundness of any results and conclusions drawn. Further, in each table results are given in absolute numbers as well as percentages of usage for “absolute numbers alone do not provide a total picture inasmuch as the relative significance is not visible: for instance, two occurrences of a given allophone out of 5 phonemic tokens as opposed to 20 are to be interpreted differently” (D. Newman, Pers. Comm.). However, there are cases where absolute numbers *alone* will be used when, for example, a certain social group is missing from any recording group, e.g. Shiite from PS. In such cases, the analysis would be that of Sunni respondents only, and to discuss the outcomes in terms of percentages would be pointless as under each phonological variable the share of the Sunni respondents of that variable would obviously be 100%. Hence, absolute numbers would provide the better picture. On the contrary, there are indeed places where an interpretation using absolute numbers alone is rendered flawed. An example of this would be that of the ranking of the *xuṭba* group discussed above (Section 5.2.1), where *xuṭba* constantly rank last in the production of original/MSA variants. This is an irregular pattern, but once the ranking is revisited in terms of percentages (as we shall see in the discussion to come) *xuṭba* constantly ranks first in terms of the highest share (recalculated in terms of percentages) of the total occurrences of any of the four phonological variables.

#### **5.4.1 Gender**

The first sociological variable is gender, including females and males who varied in age, origin, and place of residence. The respondents include 9 females and 19 males. The results are shown in Table 5.8. Males constantly account for a higher

number of occurrences than females in both data collection settings throughout the four allophonic variables. This indicates that females are more conservative in their speech than are males (i.e. the less dialectal features, the more conservative the speech is), a trend opposing the findings of most research on Arabic dialects examined in the previous chapter. Most studies on Arabic dialectology come to the conclusion that men in the Arab world oppose men in the West in that they are the ones who approximate the standard and not women. However, a contrasting pattern is revealed in here, with men in both formal and informal settings producing more dialectal features, hence the inclining of their speech towards informality. Women, on the other hand, constantly produce a very low number of dialectal features in both settings compared to men. They thus follow the established Western pattern of women's approximation of the Standard being more than that of men. The analysis below of the informal GO group and of variables in the formal PS group, however, demonstrates a hetero-pattern, reminding us of the main motive behind having different recordings with different groups, which is to allow robust conclusions regarding the variability of the phonological features under investigation.

Males in the formal and informal settings have a [g] > [č] > [y] > [j] and [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] occurrence sequences respectively (in terms of the highest to the lowest); females have [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] for both. As is evident in Table 5.8, women are absent in three out of the six groups. This is mainly because these three groups are almost always confined to men in the Arab world. Indeed, the informal group of Duw., as discussed in Section 4.2.4, is a men-only phenomenon in Kuwait. As for the other two, KNA and *xuṭba*, the absence of women in the former is traced back to politics and women's rights. Women in Kuwait were not granted their full rights (to vote and stand for elections) until recently in mid-2005, by the majority of the

	/k/ affrication			/q/						/j/ palatalisation		
				affrication			fronting					
	Females	Males	N=	Females	Males	N=	Females	Males	N=	Females	Males	N=
<b>PS</b>	2 (9%)	22 (91%)	24	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4	16 (64%)	9 (36%)	25	5 (63%)	3 (37%)	8
<b>KNA</b>	-	4 (100%)	4	-	0 (0%)	0	-	27 (100%)	27	-	3 (100%)	3
<i>Xuṭba</i>	-	1 (100%)	1	-	1 (100%)	1	-	6 (100%)	6	-	1 (100%)	1
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	2 ( 7%)	27 (93%)	<b>29</b>	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	<b>5</b>	16 (28%)	42 (72%)	<b>58</b>	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	<b>12</b>
<b>Duw.</b>	-	25 (100%)	25	-	10 (100%)	10	-	58 (100%)	58	-	29 (100%)	29
<b>GO</b>	31 (53%)	27 (47%)	58	11 (58%)	8 (42%)	19	89 (49%)	93 (51%)	182	28 (65%)	15 (35%)	43
<b>SSI</b>	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	8	23 (29%)	55 (71%)	78	9 (29%)	22 (71%)	31
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	36 (37%)	61 (63%)	<b>97</b>	13 (35%)	24 (65%)	<b>37</b>	112 (35%)	206 (65%)	<b>318</b>	37 (36%)	66 (64%)	<b>103</b>
<i>N=</i>	38 (83%)	88 (17%)	<b>126</b>	15 (83%)	27 (17%)	<b>42</b>	128 (86%)	248 (14%)	<b>376</b>	42 (80%)	73 (20%)	<b>115</b>

Table 5.8: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Gender and Group/Setting

parliament voting for female suffrage. Prior to that, women never had a voice in the parliament, and any leading roles were confined to a few administrative positions across different ministries. It was not until four years later in mid-2009 that women were elected to parliament, occupying four seats out of the fifty, i.e. 8%, while men represented 92%. As for the latter, religious sermons, whether a Friday *xuṭba* or other religious speeches, are settings limited to male preachers all over the Arab world. It is considered an inviolable setting, and to see a woman preaching in a Friday *xuṭba* would be perceived as an absurdity and forbidden by religious law.

Because males only form these three groups, they represent their respective group as whole, and any analysis of these groups to be performed in this section would be redundant as we have already seen earlier an analysis of the behaviour of the dialectal allophones in all six groups. I will now discuss each group under the two settings individually.

#### **5.4.1.1 Formal Groups**

In the PS group, males produce more dialectal features than females in /k/ affrication, and they produce equal ones in /q/ affrication. In both processes females produce the same number of instances, 2; however, in terms of percentages, females account for 9% of [č], while for [j] a high 50%. Hence, females compete with males in three ([j, g, y]) out of the four phonological variables. On the other hand, if the total of dialectal features in the speech of males and females in the PS group is counted, the same pattern of standard approximation is maintained, where males produce more dialectal features (36) than females (25), while females still account for a high percentage, namely 41%. [č] > [g] > [y] > [j] is the occurrence sequence of dialectal features for men, and [g] > [y] > [č]-[j] for females. Males in the PS group

are the most informal (36 total dialectal instances), followed by males in KNA (34), and *xuṭba* (9). For KNA, males have a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] occurrence sequence similar to that of PS-females, while the *xuṭba* group has a [g] > [č] > [j] > [y] one.

#### 5.4.1.2 Informal Groups

In the GO group, a contrasting pattern emerges that resembles the findings of various studies which reach the conclusion that women are less conservative than men, and produce more informality than men do. As seen in Table 5.8, females produce more dialectal features than men in all but one allophone, /q/ fronting, in which they produce an almost equal (49%). As a whole, females produced 159 dialectal features, men 143. This is the only group in which women deviate from the pattern seen in this research, and the established pattern in the West, to follow that of the Arab world, i.e. men not women approximate the Standard in the Arab world. Both GO-males and females have a [g] > [č] > [y] > [j] occurrence sequence, but different percentage sequences. Males have a [g] > [č] > [j] > [y] one, while females have [y] > [j] > [č] > [g].

This changes in the SSI group, where men, who share with the women a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] occurrence sequence, constantly produce more dialectal features than them, with a total of 92 occurrences for the former and 39 for the latter. In terms of percentages, males have a [j] > [g] > [y] > [č] percentage sequence, while females have [č] > [y] > [g] > [j]. In the Duw., males have a g > [y] > [č] > [j] occurrence sequence, similar to that of SSI-males. Males in GO produce 143 total instances, being the most informal, followed by Duw. males (122), and SSI (92). As for females, those in the GO group are more informal (159) than SSI ones (39).

### **5.4.2 Age**

Age is the second socio-phonological variable studied. The respondents were divided into three age groups, young, middle-aged, and old, varying in gender, area and origin. The results of the distribution of the phonological variables are illustrated in Table 5.9. The young-age cohort can be seen to be absent from the formal groups, and the old from the informal. This can be justified when the nature of the groups is inspected closely. The young age group represents respondents between the age of 18 and 29. For PS and KNA it has do to with politics, where even at 29, this age is considered politically ‘immature’ and inexperienced for the minimum age requirement for running for parliament in Kuwait is 30 years old. Hence, to find young respondents engaged in any form of political discourse or event is highly unlikely due to the nature of the political environment in Kuwait. Of course, that does not rule out people belonging to the young group being politically active. In this Internet Age, with various media (Blogs, for instance) people, especially youngsters, confide in the ‘machines’ and find themselves better expressing their thoughts, feelings etc. with typed words rather than with voice. As for the absence of the old age cohort in the informal groups, this, again, is traced back to the nature of the groups themselves. For all three groups, the respondents were either undergraduate or postgraduate students, and to have someone above the age of 44 is unlikely. As for the middle-age cohort, only PS and Duw. have this cohort occupied.

As such, the young- and middle-age cohorts of the formal groups, and the middle- and old-age cohorts of the informal groups will be disregarded in the analysis in an attempt to avoid any skew in the outcomes. However, the middle-age group will be referred to when discussing PS and Duw. groups individually in the next section. What we are left with is rather interesting, formal-old and informal-young- two

extremes marking two opposing poles. The speech of the young in informal settings marks the colloquial, whereas the speech of the old in formal settings is considered the most conservative and represents the most formal level, which in the Kuwaiti context is KMA as far as spontaneous speech is concerned. Indeed, this is what is illustrated in Table 5.9, where the informal-young constantly produce more dialectal features than formal-old, with a substantial difference in the number of total occurrences- the former producing a total of 487 dialectal features, the latter 79. This clearly indicates a sharp division between the two levels and outlines the functional distribution in the dialect. The younger the generation, the more colloquial elements are diffusing into their dialect, thus, affecting more lexical items. This is evident by the large number of dialectal features present in their speech.

#### **5.4.2.1 Formal Groups**

Older respondents in the PS group rank first in /k/ and /q/ affrication and second in /q/ fronting. In /j/ palatalisation, they rank first along with their KNA counterparts. The hierarchical occurrence sequence for them is [č] > [g] > [y] > [j]. When comparing old and middle-aged respondents of the PS group, some interesting findings emerge on the nature of the allophonic variables. The middle-age cohort was predicted to be less formal than the old one in all of the phonological processes. Yet, this is not the case. The middle-age cohort produces more instances than the old-age cohort only in [g] and [y], equal instances in [j], and less in [č]. It is worth mentioning that although PS-Middle scored less in [č], they produced 2 instances (8%), the same number of instances for [j] with a share of 50%. Two variables beg discussion here. First, /k/ affrication is either the oldest of the four phonological processes, or it is recent but is diffusing into the lexicon rapidly. Second, /j/ palatalisation has always

	/k/ affrication				/q/								/j/ palatalisation			
					affrication				fronting							
	Young	Middle	Old	N=	Young	Middle	Old	N=	Young	Middle	Old	N=	Young	Middle	Old	N=
<b>PS</b>	-	2 (8%)	22 (92%)	24	-	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4	-	16 (64%)	9 (36%)	25	-	5 (63%)	3 (37%)	8
<b>KNA</b>	-	-	4 (100%)	4	-	-	0 (0%)	0	-	-	27 (100%)	27	-	-	3 (100%)	3
<i>Xuṭba</i>	-	-	1 (100%)	1	-	-	1 (100%)	1	-	-	6 (100%)	6	-	-	1 (100%)	1
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	-	2 (69%)	27 (31%)	<b>29</b>	-	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	<b>5</b>	-	16 (28%)	42 (72%)	<b>58</b>	-	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	<b>12</b>
<b>Duw.</b>	11 (44%)	14 (56%)	-	25	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	-	10	22 (38%)	36 (62%)	-	58	16 (55%)	13 (45%)	-	29
<b>GO</b>	58 (100%)	-	-	58	19 (100%)	-	-	19	182 (100%)	-	-	182	43 (100%)	-	-	43
<b>SSI</b>	14 (100%)	-	-	14	8 (100%)	-	-	8	78 (100%)	-	-	78	31 (100%)	-	-	31
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	83 (86%)	14 (14%)	-	<b>97</b>	32 (86%)	5 (14%)	-	<b>37</b>	282 (89%)	36 (11%)	-	<b>318</b>	90 (87%)	13 (13%)	-	<b>103</b>
<b>N=</b>	83 (66%)	16 (13%)	27 (21%)	<b>126</b>	32 (76%)	7 (17%)	3 (7%)	<b>42</b>	282 (75%)	52 (14%)	42 (11%)	<b>376</b>	90 (78%)	18 (16%)	7 (6%)	<b>115</b>

Table 5.9: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Age and Group/Setting

been present in the speech of Kuwaitis and is one of the most prevailing and oldest dialectal allophones KA has, being attested in words such as *hiyyāy* < *hijjāj* ‘pilgrims to Makkah’ and *wayba* < *wajba* ‘meal’ by my late grandparents, who told me that they, in turn, acquired those forms from their parents. So, one would expect the speech of the old to have a higher competing score of [y] than the one displayed here, although the results show that this variable is widely used by the informal young, where it ranks second in the usage of two out of the three groups and third in the other. This indicates that it has an established status in the speech of older speakers for it is they who young speakers receive linguistic input from. Oddly, the total instances of allophonic variables for the old is 36, higher than that of middle, which is 25, emphasising the fact that the old-age cohort is less formal than the middle-age cohort.

In KNA, old respondents rank first in /q/ fronting and /j/ palatalisation, second in /k/ affrication, and last in /q/ affrication scoring no instance of allophonic [j], with a [g] > [č] > [y] > [j] sequence. As for the *xuṭba*, they rank second in /q/ affrication and third in all other three, with a [g] > [č]-[y]-[j] sequence. As a whole, old respondents in the PS group are the least formal, producing 36 instances of allophones, followed closely by KNA with 34. *Xuṭba* produced 9 instances only, making it the most formal group. This hierarchical order is systematic and typical of each corresponding setting. *Xuṭba* is a religious setting; dialectal features are kept to a minimum to preserve the religious nature of the setting, hence ranking as the least informal/most formal. PS is the least formal setting given the nature of the show and the rather casual appearance of the interviewer. The interviewer had no *gītra* ‘head scarf’ on his head, the ‘formal’ piece of cloth in the traditional Kuwaiti dress, wearing a *dishdāsha* ‘male Arabian dress’ only, while holding a cigar in his hand and speaking

colloquial from time to time. This might have led the interviewee, who was a Parliamentary candidate, to adjust her perception of the formal setting and set her speech to a lower level whereby she felt ‘linguistically’ secure to produce many dialectal features. In between, there is KNA, which is the ‘linguistic home’ for KMA. This functional distribution supports the existence of KMA and its production in semi-formal settings.

Hence, we have three formality levels of KMA (see Fig. 5.3): *xuṭba* or religious KMA (RKMA) > KNA or political KMA (PKMA) > PS or formal media KMA (MKMA), where RKMA is the most formal level and the least influenced by the colloquial, this is mainly because this level depends almost entirely on scripted speech that is either read out or memorised beforehand. Any colloquial admixture here occurs when the preacher resorts to it in an attempt to appeal to the audience or emphasise certain issues. MKMA is the sub-level that is the least formal and most influenced by the colloquial. Here, speech is unscripted, with the exception of questions that might be asked by an interviewer, discussions of which occur mainly spontaneously using an admixture of the colloquial and MSA, producing this MKMA sub-level.

#### **5.4.2.2 Informal Groups**

Young respondents in the GO group rank first in all four phonological processes, with SSI always second, Duw. last. GO-Young produced the most dialectal features (302) making them the most informal group, with a [g] > [č] > [y] > [j] occurrence sequence. Following GO is SSI with 131 dialectal instances in total and a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] sequence, followed by the least informal group Duw., scoring a mere 54 instances, with a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] sequence. An odd hierarchical order emerges as the Duw. group should have scored the most dialectal features out of the

three informal groups for it is the most informal setting one can linguistically capture. This could be due to the relationship I personally had with the respondents in this group, who all are very close to me and knew the nature of the research I was engaged in; as such, they knew that I was focusing on phonological features in my data collection, a factor that could have, albeit unlikely (as they did not know what kind of features these were), affected their speech. On the other hand, GO is supposed to feature the least dialectal influences. Although it is an informal setting, the purpose of the recording, which is almost formal, played no part in affecting the level of speech of the individuals in the group. An interesting observation in the occurrence sequences, whether in the informal or formal groups, is that /q/ affrication [j] constantly ranks last as the least occurring, hence, least popular phonological process by both groups.

When comparing the speech of the young and the middle in the Duw. group, yet further anomalies occur. Middle produce more [č] and [g] than the young, an equal [j], and an almost equal in [y]. The interpretation of these findings is fourfold. First, middle are unexpectedly more informal than young, which is supported by the fact that the former produced 68 total instances of allophonic variables, the latter produce 54. Second, they emphasise the status of [g], [č], and [y] as ‘mature’ allophones in the dialect in the sense that they have an established status in KA. Third, /j/ palatalisation (or [y]) is gaining popularity in the speech of the young. Fourth, [j] is the least popular, ranking last for both groups, indicating that it is either of a recent age, or it is old but not diffusing rapidly into the lexicon due to its low popularity ranking.

### 5.4.3 Religious Affiliation

Religious affiliation is the third socio-phonological variable analysed, with respondents being classified as belonging to either of two religious affiliations, Sunni and Shiite who are both *ḥaḍar*, as opposed to the third classification within the Kuwaiti community to which speakers of KA belong, Bedouins, discussed further in section 5.4.4. The results of distribution of the variables amongst the two religious groups are illustrated in Table 5.10. Shiite respondents are missing from three out of the six groups, namely PS, *xuṭba*, and Duw.. This is expected in the *xuṭba* group for Shiites have their own place of worship, a *ḥusayniyya* ‘The Place of Imam Husayn’, where they perform their own preaching. Friday Sermons are confined to mosques, and given that Shiite Imams never pray (and Shiites in general) nor preach in mosques, mosques are exclusively Sunni environments. Further, should Shiite Imams, or Shiites in general, acquiesce to preaching in mosques, the one chosen for this study is in an area with a Sunni majority, the Imam of the mosque would be expected to be from the Sunni group. As for the Duw. group, it was a gathering performed at my place, where Sunni respondents were present only. One should not deduce from this, however, that Sunnis and Shiites never mingle in such gatherings (see Section 4.2.4). As such, in this section the overall analysis will include that of the Sunni respondents only to avoid any bias. Comparison between the two groups, however, will be performed in the next two sections when analysing each group individually.

Sunni respondents in the informal settings, as expected, constantly produce a higher number of dialectal features than their counterparts in the formal setting. Formal Sunni has an occurrence sequence of [g] > [č] > [y] > [j], informal Sunni [g] > [y] > [č] > [j], both sharing /q/ fronting as the most favourable phonological process, and the /q/ affrication process as the least favourable. However, when recalculated in

terms of a share-percentage sequence, formal Sunni have a [č]-[j] > [g] > [y] sequence, with their second most occurring allophone [č] scoring their highest percentage share, and their most occurring allophone [g] ranking third in terms of its share percentage out of the total occurrences of [g]. Informal Sunni, on the other hand, maintain more or less a similar pattern for both sequences, with a [g] > [j] > [y] > [č] percentage sequence, where their most occurring allophone represents their highest share. However, [j] emerges as their second highest share even though it ranks last as the least favourable.

#### **5.4.3.1 Formal Groups**

In the PS group, only Sunnis were available. They produce a close score in /q/ fronting (25) and /k/ affrication (24), followed by [y] (8), and with [j] last with 4 occurrences. They therefore have an occurrence sequence of [g] > [č] > [y] > [j].

Although both Sunnis and Shiites are present in the KNA group, the latter show almost no activity by producing one instance of [g] only and none for the other three variables. The Sunnis, on the other hand, are far more active in this group showing 26 instances of [g], 4 for [č], 3 for [y], and none for [j]. Again, [g] proves itself as the most frequent dialectal feature in the speech of both religious groups, while [j] is the least. The *xuṭba* group has only Sunni respondents for reasons outlined above. The highest occurring variable is [g] with 6 instances, followed by an equal occurrence of 1 instance of [y], [j] and [č] showing no preference in occurrence between the three.

	/k/ affrication			/q/						[j] palatalisation		
				affrication			fronting					
	Sunni	Shiite	N=	Sunni	Shiite	N=	Sunni	Shiite	N=	Sunni	Shiite	N=
<b>PS</b>	24 (100%)	-	24	4 (100%)	-	4	25 (100%)	-	25	8(100%)	-	8
<b>KNA</b>	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	4	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	26 (96%)	1 (4%)	27	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3
<i>Xuṭba</i>	1 (100%)	-	1	1(100%)	-	1	6 (100%)	-	6	1 (100%)	-	1
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	29 (100%)	0 (0%)	<b>29</b>	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	<b>5</b>	57 (98%)	1 (2%)	<b>58</b>	12 (12%)	0 (0%)	<b>12</b>
<b>Duw.</b>	25 (100%)	-	25	10 (100%)	-	10	58 (100%)	-	58	29 (100%)	-	29
<b>GO</b>	41 (71%)	17 (29%)	58	14 (74%)	5 (26%)	19	154 (85%)	28 (15%)	182	29 (67%)	14 (33%)	43
<b>SSI</b>	9 (64%)	5 (36%)	14	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	8	54 (69%)	24 (31%)	78	22 (71%)	9 (29%)	31
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	75 (77%)	22 (23%)	<b>97</b>	30 (81%)	7 (19%)	<b>37</b>	267 (84%)	51 (16%)	<b>318</b>	80 (78%)	23 (22%)	<b>103</b>
<i>N=</i>	104 (83%)	22 (17%)	<b>126</b>	35 (83%)	7 (17%)	<b>42</b>	324 (86%)	52 (14%)	<b>376</b>	92 (80%)	23 (20%)	<b>115</b>

Table 5.10: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Origin and Group/Setting

When comparing the Sunni respondents in the three formal groups, Sunnis in PS score 61 total instances, KNA 33, and *xuṭba* 9. This hierarchical order supports the KMA sub-levels the three groups represent (cf. Section 5.4.2.1; see Fig. 5.3), and is one of the key findings of this research. It clearly outlines the functional distribution laying within KMA for the higher the formality of the context, the lower the number of dialectal features present, i.e. an inverse relationship exists between the formality of the speech situation and the number of dialectal features present. As for the Shiites, they are present only in the KNA group with no instances but one of [g].

#### **5.4.3.2 Informal Groups**

In the Duw. group, Sunnis produce an occurrence sequence of [g] > [y] > [č] > [j], with 58, 29, 25, and 10 instances, respectively. In the GO group, we have both religious groups present, with Sunnis scoring constantly more instances of all four colloquial variants than Shiites both in terms of share percentage and number of occurrences. Hence, Shiites in this group can be seen as less informal than Sunnis. They both share the same occurrence sequence [g] > [č] > [y] > [j], but a different one for their share percentage. Sunnis share percentage has a [g] > [j] > [č] > [y] sequence, while the Shiites have [y] > [č] > [j] > [g]. We can see that for Sunnis their highest share is that of their most occurring variable [g], while for Shiites it is for their third most occurring [y]. We can also see that although [g] is the Shiites most occurring variable, it is their least share.

As for the SSI group, the Sunnis again produce more instances of all four variables than the Shiites, hence, being more informal. They both have an occurrence sequence of [g] > [y] > [č] > [j]. The former have a [j] > [y] > [g] > [č] share percentage sequence where their most common dialectal variant is their third most

shared, while their least common variable [j] is their biggest share. The Shiites, on the other hand, have a [č] > [g] > [y] > [j] sharing sequence, where their most occurring variable [g] is their second most shared one.

An overall analysis of Sunnis in the informal contexts reveal that in the SSI group they constantly rank last in all four allophones, leaving the competition between the GO and Duw. groups. Sunnis in the GO group rank first in three out of the four allophones, with Duw. always second. In /j/ palatalisation, Duw. and GO both produce 29 dialectal [y], a tie. Both Duw. and SSI Sunnis have a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] occurrence sequence, while GO Sunni [g] > [č] > [y] > [j]. Overall, GO Sunnis are the most informal with a total number of 238 colloquialisms, followed by Duw. Sunnis with 122, and last by the least informal SSI Sunnis with just 91 occurrences. As for the Shiites, in the GO group they produce a total of 64 instances, while in the SSI they produce 40. Similar to the informal groups ranking of the Sunnis (see Table 5.17), the GO Shiite group is more informal than their SSI counterparts.

#### **5.4.4 Area~Origin**

The respondents were divided between two geographic locations, inner (IK) and outer (OK) Kuwait City. Sunnis and Shiites represent the inner areas, while Bedouins the outer, hence, this can be viewed as a division of origin: one of *Ḥaḍar* (IK) vs. Bedouins (OK). As a result, any discussion of IK vs. OK entails, by default, one of *Ḥaḍar* vs. Bedouins (cf. 4.3.1.4). The results are illustrated in Table 5.11 below. As seen in the Table, respondents from the OK geographical location are absent from the *xuṭba* and the Duw. groups, i.e. there are no Bedouins in these two groups. First, Bedouins are missing from *xuṭba* because the mosque is in an area designated as Inner Kuwait City, hence, the Imam of the mosque would be expected

to be from the *Ḥaḍar* group. Second, for the Duw. group, it was a gathering at my place, where *Ḥaḍar* respondents were present only. One should not deduce from this, however, that *Ḥaḍar* and Bedouins (or Insiders and Outsiders) never mingle in such gatherings (see Section 4.2.4). Therefore, for an analysis of the overall total of instances in each setting to be performed without any bias, only respondents in the IK location (*Ḥaḍar*) of both informal and formal settings are considered. IK respondents in the informal settings, as expected, constantly produce a higher number of dialectal features than their counterparts in the formal setting. Formal IK respondents have a [g] > [č] > [y] > [j] occurrence sequence with 67 total allophonic instances, while informal IK respondents have a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] sequence with 435 dialectal features, both sharing the most and least allophonic variants, namely [g] and [j], respectively. However, when recalculated in terms of a share-percentage sequence, formal IK have a [č] > [j] > [y] > [g] sequence, with their second most occurring allophone [č] accounting for their highest percentage share, and their most occurring allophone [g] ranking last in terms of its share percentage out of the total occurrences of [g]. Informal IK, on the other hand, has a [y] > [č] > [j] > [g] percentage sequence, where their most occurring allophone [g] represents their lowest share.

#### **5.4.4.1 Formal Groups**

When comparing the *Ḥaḍar* and Bedouins in the PS group, we find, yet again, some irregular patterns. Bedouins are generally believed to be more conservative in their speech, particularly in formal settings. However, what we see here is Bedouins scoring higher instances for [g] and [y], and an equal in [j]. *Ḥaḍar* score higher only in [č]. What is of most interest is [y] for this allophone is well established in the literature of Arabic dialectology as being a feature of urban speech,

	/k/ affrication			/q/						[j] palatalisation		
				affrication			fronting					
	Insiders	Outsiders	N=	Insiders	Outsiders	N=	Insiders	Outsiders	N=	Insiders	Outsiders	N=
<b>PS</b>	22 (92%)	2 (8%)	24	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4	9 (36%)	16 (64%)	25	3 (37%)	5 (63%)	8
<b>KNA</b>	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	17 (63%)	10 (37%)	27	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3
<i>Xuṭba</i>	1 (100%)	-	1	1 (100%)	-	1	6 (100%)	-	6	1 (100%)	-	1
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	25 (86%)	4 (14%)	<b>29</b>	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	<b>5</b>	32 (55%)	26 (45%)	<b>58</b>	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	<b>12</b>
<b>Duw.</b>	25 (100%)	-	25	10 (100%)	-	10	58 (100%)	-	58	29 (100%)	-	29
<b>GO</b>	44 (76%)	14 (24%)	58	16 (84%)	3 (16%)	19	147 (81%)	35 (19%)	182	40 (93%)	3 (7%)	43
<b>SSI</b>	8 (57%)	6 (43%)	14	3 (36%)	5 (64%)	8	39 (50%)	39 (50%)	78	16 (52%)	15 (48%)	31
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	77 (79%)	20 (21%)	<b>97</b>	29 (78%)	8 (22%)	<b>37</b>	244 (77%)	74 (23%)	<b>318</b>	85 (83%)	18 (17%)	<b>103</b>
<i>N=</i>	102 (81%)	24 (19%)	<b>126</b>	32 (76%)	10 (24%)	<b>42</b>	276 (73%)	100 (27%)	<b>376</b>	92 (80%)	23 (20%)	<b>115</b>

Table 5.11: Occurrences of Phonological Variables by Area~Origin and Group/Setting

i.e. *Ḥaḍar* speech. Yet, as can be seen here Bedouins produce more of it than *Ḥaḍar*. One main trigger of this could be traced back to the timing of the political show as it was a show that airs only during elections, dedicated to first-time candidates running for the Parliament. In this particular episode, the interviewee was a Bedouin woman who was running in a *Ḥaḍar*-dominated constituency. Hence, for her using /j/ palatalisation frequently could aid in breaking the ice between her and potential *Ḥaḍar* voters by establishing some solidarity based on certain linguistic features. Switching [y] for /j/ not only portrays her as more urbanised, but as open-minded and willing to represent both Bedouins *and* *Ḥaḍar* equally. Indeed, the issue of *Ḥaḍar* vs. Bedouin was raised by the interviewer himself - who is from the Sunni *Ḥaḍar* group - when he asked with amazement the reason behind her choice to run for elections in a *Ḥaḍar*-dominated part of the country while, in fact, she could have run in a Bedouin-dominated constituency and easily increased her chances of getting elected for she is from a large Bedouin tribe, al-Mutairi, which means she has the support of a huge base of voters. She replied by stating that she wanted to run against the stream and transform the dominating ideology of voters from that of fanaticism to one's group to one of free belonging. A further reason for this switching could be one of prestige. The interviewee might see *Ḥaḍar* speech markers as more elevated than those of her own (Bedouins), and by producing them she would be elevating her speech to match the corresponding context of politics.

On the other hand, when counting the whole number of instances of all four allophones in the PS group, Bedouins maintain their position as more conservative in their speech by producing 25 instances, while *Ḥaḍar* 36. The latter have a [č] > [g] > [y] > [j] occurrence sequence, and a [č] > [j] > [y] > [g] percentage sequence. This supports the view of [č] being a *Ḥaḍar* speech marker (especially that of Sunnis) as it

occurs both as the most common variable and *Ḥaḍar*'s biggest share. The former have a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] occurrence sequence, and a [g] > [y] > [j] > [č] percentage sequence. Again, what are commonly known as markers of *Ḥaḍar* speech, [g] and [y] are found to occupy first and second place in both sequences in the speech of Bedouins too.

In the KNA formal group, both origins are available. The two groups score no instance of /q/ affrication. In /k/ affrication, both *Ḥaḍar* and Bedouins score a tie. In this formal group, [y] emerges correctly as an urban-related variant, where *Ḥaḍar* produce 3 and Bedouins 0. Overall, *Ḥaḍar* are the least formal in KNA with 22 total allophonic instances, Bedouins follow with almost 50% less instances, that is, 12. The former have a [g] > [y] > [č] > [j] occurrence sequence, and a [y] > [g] > [č] > [j] share percentage, where [g] and [y] switch places. The percentage sequence seen here is one of five only witnessed in all sequences of all groups (see Table 5.16), i.e. there are only five instances whereby [y] represents a group's biggest share. The first is in the KNA-*Ḥaḍar* group, the second in GO-*Ḥaḍar*, the third in GO-Shiite, the fourth in Duw.-Young, and the last in GO-Female. This, again, supports this phonological process status as one of an urban base, because all five groups involved *Ḥaḍar* speakers. Further, this might be a signal of an allophone-spread in progress for it is affecting young speakers in the most informal of settings, a *Duwāniyya*, the home of colloquial KA. A further observation is that it is spreading in the speech of both genders as the GO-Female was obviously an all-female group, and the *Duwāniyya* is a men-only event as discussed earlier. As for Bedouins, they have a [g] > [č] > [j]-[y] occurrence sequence, and a [č] > [g] > [j]-[y] percentage sequence.

With regards to the *xuṭba* group, Outsiders are absent due to the location of the mosque as discussed above. The group has a [g] > [č] > [j] > [y] occurrence sequence

and a [g]-[č]-[j]-[y] percentage sequence. When comparing the Insiders and Outsiders in all three groups, we see the same pattern, again, of the sub-division within Kuwaiti Modern Arabic seen above (cf. Section 5.4.2.1). *xuṭba*-Insiders are the most formal with 9 dialectal instances, followed by KNA-Insiders with 22 instances, and last by the least formal PS-Insiders with 36 dialectal instances. The same hierarchical order applies to the Outsiders with 12 productions for KNA-Outsiders, and a more than 100% increase in dialectal instances (25) for PS-Outsiders.

#### 5.4.4.2 Informal Groups

Only Insiders are present in the Duw. group, producing an occurrence sequence of [g] > [y] > [č] > [j], with 58, 29, 25, and 10 instances, respectively. In the GO group, we have both origin groups present. The speech of the Insiders is consistently more informal than that of Outsiders as manifested by the former ranking first in all four allophones, accounting for a larger number of dialectal features, producing 247 total instances, the latter 55. They both share the same occurrence sequence, [g] > [č] > [y] > [j], but a different one for their share percentage. Insiders have a [y] > [g] > [j] > [č] percentage sequence, while Bedouins have [č] > [j] > [g] > [y]. An interesting pattern arises when examining the allophone [y]. In terms of absolute numbers, both Insiders and Outsiders have this allophone ranked as third. However, when converted into percentages, this variable jumps to *first* place for Insiders (or *Ḥaḍar*) and *last* for Outsiders (Bedouins). This, yet again, reflects the absolute fact of the *Ḥaḍar*-identity of [y], a fact not only witnessed in KA, but in several neighbouring dialects, such as Bahraini Arabic.

For the SSI group, both origins produce an almost equal total of colloquialisms, with 66 for the Insiders and 65 for the Outsiders. Both have a [g] > [y]

> [č] > [j] occurrence sequence, but a [č] > [y] > [g] > [j] share percentage sequence for the former and [j] > [g] > [y] > [j] for the latter.

An overall analysis of Insiders reveals that in the SSI group they constantly rank last in all four allophones, making them the least informal of the three groups with 66 instances. Duw.-Insiders follow with 122 instances, with GO-Insiders ranking first in all four allophones being the most informal of the three groups with 247 productions. As for the Bedouins, in the GO group they produce a total of 55 instances, while in the SSI they produce 65. SSI-Bedouins rank first in three out of the four allophones, while GO-Bedouins rank first in the fourth, namely [č]. This makes SSI-Bedouins more informal than GO-Bedouins, a converse pattern to that seen with Insiders for whom the SSI group is less informal than the GO group. This entails that Bedouins may become linguistically aware when observed within a group by someone outside that group (GO group), but when engaged in a one-to-one discourse (SSI) they feel less tense linguistically and start producing more colloquialisms.

Tables 5.12-5.15 below summarise the relationship analysed and discussed above which the four allophonic variables have with each sociological variable according to both the settings and their sub-groups. As for Table 5.16, this summarises all of the occurrence sequences along with the percentage of share sequences produced by the respondents who are classified according to the sociological variables identified, namely gender, age, religious affiliation, and area~origin under each recorded group in both formal and informal settings.

	Gender			Age				Origin				Area		
	F	M	N=	Yng.	Mdl.	Old	N=	Sun.	Sht.	Bed.	N=	Ins.	Outs.	N=
PS	2	22	24	-	2	22	24	2	-	22	24	22	2	24
KNA	-	4	4	-	-	4	4	2	0	2	4	2	2	4
<i>Xuṭba</i>	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	2	27	29	-	2	27	29	5	0	24	29	25	4	29
Duw.	-	25	25	11	14	-	25	25	-	-	25	25	-	25
GO	31	27	58	58	-	-	58	27	17	14	58	44	14	58
SSI	5	9	14	14	-	-	14	3	5	6	14	8	6	14
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	36	61	97	83	14	-	97	55	22	20	97	77	20	97
<b>N=</b>	38	88	126	83	16	27	126	60	22	44	126	102	24	126

Table 5.12: Distribution of K Affrication by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting

	Gender			Age				Origin				Area		
	F	M	N=	Yng.	Mdl.	Old	N=	Sun.	Shi.	Bed.	N=	Ins.	Outs.	N=
PS	2	2	4	-	2	2	4	2	-	2	4	2	2	4
KNA	-	0	0	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>xuṭba</i>	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	2	3	5	-	2	3	5	3	0	2	5	3	2	5
Duw.	-	10	10	5	5	-	10	10	-	-	10	10	-	10
GO	11	8	19	19	-	-	19	11	5	3	19	16	3	19
SSI	2	6	8	8	-	-	8	1	2	5	8	3	5	8
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	13	24	37	32	5	-	37	22	7	8	37	29	8	37
<b>N=</b>	15	27	42	32	7	3	42	25	7	10	42	32	10	42

Table 5.13: Distribution of Q Affrication by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting

	Gender			Age				Origin				Area		
	F	M	N=	Yng.	Mdl.	Old	N=	Sun.	Shi.	Bed.	N=	Ins.	Outs.	N=
<b>PS</b>	16	9	25	-	16	9	25	9	-	16	25	9	16	25
<b>KNA</b>	-	27	27	-	-	27	27	16	1	10	27	17	10	27
<i>Xuṭba</i>	-	6	6	-	-	6	6	6	-	-	6	6	-	6
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	16	42	58	-	16	42	58	31	1	26	58	32	26	58
<b>Duw.</b>	-	58	58	22	36	-	58	58	-	-	58	58	-	58
<b>GO</b>	89	93	182	182	-	-	182	119	28	35	182	147	35	182
<b>SSI</b>	23	55	78	78	-	-	78	16	23	39	78	39	39	78
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	112	206	318	282	36	-	318	193	51	74	318	244	74	318
<b>N=</b>	128	248	376	282	52	42	376	224	52	100	376	276	100	376

Table 5.14: Distribution of Q Fronting by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting

	Gender			Age				Origin				Area		
	F	M	N=	Yng.	Mdl.	Old	N=	Sun.	Shi.	Bed.	N=	Ins.	Outs.	N=
<b>PS</b>	5	3	8	-	5	3	8	3	-	5	8	3	5	8
<b>KNA</b>	-	3	3	-	-	3	3	3	0	0	3	3	0	3
<i>Xuṭba</i>	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	5	7	12	-	5	7	12	12	-	-	12	7	5	12
<b>Duw.</b>	-	29	29	16	13	-	29	29	-	-	29	29	-	29
<b>GO</b>	28	15	43	43	-	-	43	26	14	3	43	40	3	43
<b>SSI</b>	9	22	31	31	-	-	31	7	9	15	31	16	15	31
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	37	66	103	90	13	-	103	62	23	18	103	85	18	103
<b>N=</b>	42	73	115	90	18	7	115	74	23	18	115	92	23	115

Table 5.15: Distribution of J Palatalisation by Sociological Variables and Groups/Setting

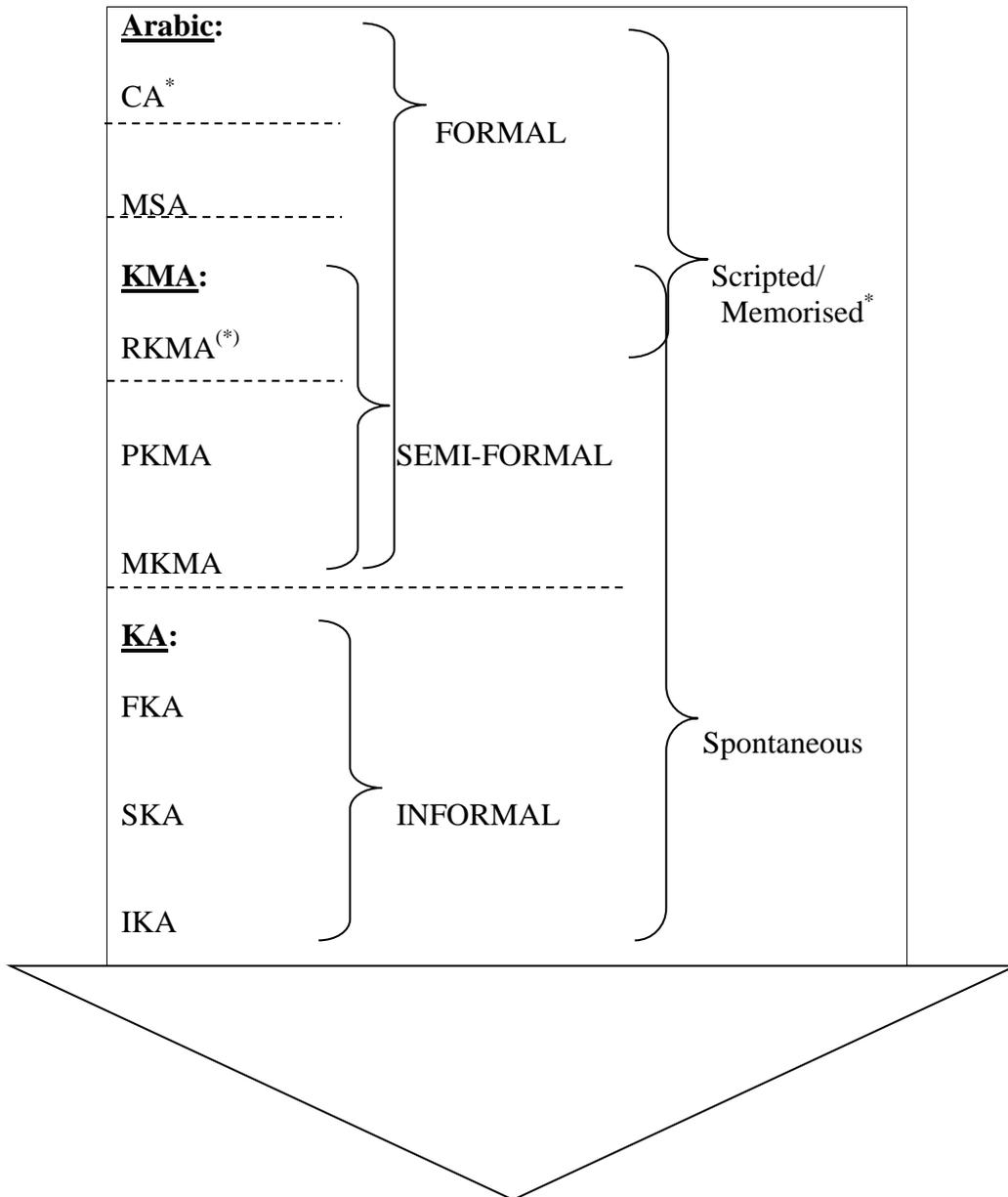
	Gender				Age						Religious Affiliation				Area-Origin			
	Female		Male		Young		Middle		Old		Sunni		Shiite		Insiders		Outsiders	
	Rec. Seq.	% Seq.	Rec. Seq.	% Seq.	Rec. Seq.	% Seq.	Rec. Seq.	% Seq.	Rec. Seq.	% Seq.								
PS	j-č<y<g	č<j<y<g	j<y<g<č	g<y<j<č	-	-	j-č<y<g	č<j<y<g	j<y<g<č	g<y<j<č	j<y<č<g	j-y-č-g	-	-	j<y<g<č	g<y<j<č	j-č<y<g	č<j<y<g
KNA	-	-	j<y<č<g	j<y-č-g	-	-	-	-	j<y<č<g	j<y-č-g	j<y<č<g	<g<y-č	y-j-č<g	y-j-č<g	j<č<y<g	j<č<g<y	j-y<č<g	j-y<g<č
<i>Xutba</i>	-	-	y<j<č<g	y-j-č-g	-	-	-	-	y<j<č<g	y-j-č-g	y<j<č<g	y-j-č-g	-	-	y<j<č<g	y-j-č-g	-	-
Formal	j<č<y<g	č<g<j<y	j<y<č<g	y<j<g<č	-	-	j<č<y<g	č<j<y<g	j<y<č<g	č<y<j<g	j<y<č<g	y<g<j<č	y-j-č<g	y-j-č<g	j<y<č<g	g<y<j<č	j<č<y<g	č<j<y<g
Duw.	-	-	j<č<y<g	j-č-y-g	j<č<y<g	g<č<j<y	j<y<č<g	y<j<č<g	-	-	j<č<y<g	j-č-y-g	-	-	j<č<y<g	j-č-y-g	-	-
GO	j<y<č<g	g<č<j<y	j<y<č<g	y<j<č<g	j<y<č<g	j-y-č-g	-	-	-	-	j<y<č<g	y<č<j<g	j<y<č<g	g<j<č<y	j<y<č<g	č<g<j<y	j-y<č<g	y<j<g<č
SSI	j<č<y<g	j<y-g<č	j<č<y<g	č<y-g<j	j<č<y<g	j-č y-g	-	-	-	-	j<č<y<g	č<g<y<j	j<č<y<g	j<y<g<č	j<č<y<g	j<g<y<č	j<č<y<g	č<y<g<j
Informal	j<č<y<g	j-g<y<č	j<č<y<g	č<y<j-g	j<č<y<g	j-č<y<g	j<y<č<g	g<y<j-č	-	-	j<y<č<g	y<j-č<g	j<č<y<g	g<j-č<y	j<č<y<g	g<j<č<y	j<y<č<g	y<č<j<g

Table 5.16: Share and % Sequences of All Allophones in All Groups

Sociological Group	Gender		Age			Religious Affiliation		Area-Origin	
	Formality Ranking	Female	Male	Young	Middle	Old	Sunni	Shiite	Insiders
Formal Groups	PS present only (25)	<i>xuṭba</i> (9)	-	PS present only (25)	<i>xuṭba</i> (9)	<i>xuṭba</i> (9)	KNA present only (1)	<i>xuṭba</i> (9)	KNA (12)
		KNA (34)			KNA (34)	KNA (33)		KNA (22)	PS (25)
		PS (36)			PS (36)	PS (61)		PS (36)	( <i>xuṭba</i> not present)
Informal Groups	SSI (39) GO (159) (Duw. not present)	SSI (92)	Duw. (54)	Duw. present only (68)	-	SSI (91)	SSI (40)	SSI (66)	GO (55)
		Duw. (122)	SSI (131)			Duw. (122)	GO (64)	Duw. (122)	SSI (65)
		GO (143)	GO (159)			GO (238)	(Duw. not present)	GO (247)	(Duw. not present)

**Table 5.17: Hierarchical Formality Order of Recording Groups within Each Sociological Group/Variable. The More the Number of Instances (x), the Less Formal/More Informal the Group is**

As for Table 5.17, we can see a ranking of the different groups that were mentioned in the discussion above. The groups are ranked under each sociological variable individually and the number of instances produced in each group is given in brackets. Examining the hierarchy of the recording groups under each sociological variable and its sub-divisions (e.g. Age = variable; Young = sub-division) gives us an insight into



**Figure 5.3: Formality Continuum of the (Sub)-Levels of Arabic in Kuwait. CA(Classical Arabic); MSA(Modern Standard Arabic); KMA(Kuwaiti Modern Arabic); RKMA(Religious KMA); PKMA(Political KMA); MKMA(Formal Media KMA); KA(Kuwaiti Arabic); FKA(Formal KA); SKA( Semi-Formal KA); IKA(Informal KA)**

the levels of Arabic present in Kuwait. This insight is translated into Fig. 5.3. This Figure illustrates the diglossic (or multiglossic, technically speaking) speech situation, where at the utmost point of the continuum we have formal CA. As discussed earlier (cf. Sections 2.1 and 4.3), CA is seen as linguistically active in Kuwait through one medium only, that of the Holy Book of Islam, the *Qur'ān*.

The arrow at the end of the figure represents the flow of formality from CA downwards, where the lower the level the less formal the style of speech is. Second, we have MSA, which is, along with CA, either scripted or memorised by the speaker. As far as linguistic performance is concerned, MSA is considered the first level on the continuum, evident by the dashed line dividing CA and MSA in the figure above. The reason why a dashed not a solid line divides the two levels is to reflect the fact that they are not rigidly partitioned. Indeed, MSA is but a ‘corrupted’ - putting it in extreme Arabists’ terms - version of CA on all linguistic levels. MSA is a formal level, too, and is active in a limited set of corresponding, very formal settings (see Table 6.6), such as the formal news reports and flashes, ceremonial opening speeches, questions to interviewees in formal televised programmes, and religious sermons, all of which are scripted with the exception of religious sermons, which are either read out from prepared written sermons (scripted), or are memorised beforehand. Next down ranks KMA and its sub-levels. Contrary to CA and MSA, this level is produced without any premeditated or memorised speech, with the exception of RKMA, which when scripted is MSA, and when memorised or naturally improvised is RKMA since dialectal KA is involved. This is illustrated by the overlapping ‘Scripted/Memorised’-‘Spontaneous’ braces. Further, KMA is not restricted to semi-formal settings, but can be used in formal ones too, as we have seen earlier, e.g. Friday *xuṭba* (RKMA), the Parliament (PKMA), or live political shows in the (audio)-visual media (MKMA) (cf. Section 5.4.2.1; Section 6.2; Table 6.6). This is illustrated in Figure 5.3 above by the ‘Formal’ brace extending to cover both Arabic and KMA along with their sub-levels. The dashed line segregating RKMA from the other two KMA sub-levels is to illustrate the fact that it is the only sub-level that can combine the characteristics of being either prepared, memorised, or improvised. This linguistic phenomenon of

semi-formal KMA being applied to formal contexts by speakers of KA could reflect a sense of prestige being developed and attached to it by the speakers. This is possible for “the fact that a variety is in the middle of a continuum does not, per se, exclude its being viewed as prestigious” (D. Newman, Pers. Comm.; cf. Section 2.0), which is what the shift of usage witnessed here could be interpreted as.

At the bottom end of the continuum sits KA as the basilect. As can be seen from Figure 5.3, there are three sub-levels within KA. Each level depends on the nature of the direct speech environment. As we have seen in the analysis of the informal groups above, namely GO, Duw., and SSI, the nature of KA changes in each group as far as phonology is concerned. Each group produced different quantities of the phonological features, and given that the groups differed in terms of their methodology, they help us identify three reference sub-levels in KA. The GO group was almost always the most informal, followed by Duw., and finally by SSI. Duw. was supposed to rank as the most informal, not GO, yet this is not the case. This could very much be traced back to the fact that these two groups are to a certain extent similar in terms of methodology for they both involve a group of speakers gathered and conversing directly with each other in the vernacular. SSI, on the other hand, had a different nature to it for it involves a one-to-one confrontation with the interviewer, but with others watching and free to interfere. This could explain why it always produced the least colloquial phonological features, hence ranking as the least informal/most formal, whenever the three groups were available.

One cannot ascertain the amount of phonological features required to be present in each level in order to distinguish it from another. MSA is distinguished from CA by the loss of most declensions and its foreign vocabulary. KMA is distinguished from MSA by the presence of dialectal features, while KMA in turn is

distinguished from KA by the lone presence of dialectal features in the latter. Yet, one could argue about what features distinguish these levels and in what proportions they must be available. This is an unattainable task, one can surmise, for it is a matter of relativity - language is a relative and changing phenomenon. If, hypothetically speaking, we set a clear-cut line today between, say, MSA and KMA distinguishing features and functions, this line would disappear before we even start drawing it. Language is in continuous change, especially in this age of technology where people have different media/tools to 'confess' their linguistic needs. This stimulates linguistic change by facilitating the circulation, distribution, and generalisation of new linguistic trends for speakers. Technology is accessible to more people than ever before in the history of mankind.

## **5.5 Correlation and Multi-Variance: Analysis B**

This section will serve, first, to explore a correlational analysis which determines whether there is a significant relationship across the four phonological processes/variables and the sociological and recording groups identified in this study. This is presented in Table 5.18. Second, those relationships that are proven to be significant in the correlational analysis are further put through a second phase of multivariate analysis, presented in the present section. Normally, one would correlate between sociological groups rather than recordings, but in this study the methodological approach involves dialogues, and as such the intra-recording dynamics and, concomitantly, influences would also need to be addressed. The correlation is determined to be significant if the p-value in the tables below (p rows) is

less than .05. If determined as significant, the negative/positive correlation is assigned, which is determined by the sign of the r-value in the tables below (r rows).

Sociological Variables		Age	Gender	Area-Origin	Religious Affiliation
Phonological Variables					
<b>/k/ Affrication</b>	r	<b>-.214</b>	<b>-.037</b>	<b>-.120</b>	<b>.079</b>
	p	<b>.275</b>	<b>.851</b>	<b>.543</b>	<b>.689</b>
	N=	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>/q/ Fronting</b>	r	<b>-.550**</b>	<b>.050</b>	<b>.045</b>	<b>-.016</b>
	p	<b>.002</b>	<b>.802</b>	<b>.821</b>	<b>.936</b>
	N=	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>/q/ Affrication</b>	r	<b>-.477*</b>	<b>.072</b>	<b>-.026</b>	<b>.064</b>
	p	<b>.010</b>	<b>.716</b>	<b>.896</b>	<b>.746</b>
	N=	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>/j/ Palatalisation</b>	r	<b>-.553**</b>	<b>.096</b>	<b>-.118</b>	<b>.167</b>
	p	<b>.002</b>	<b>.627</b>	<b>.549</b>	<b>.395</b>
	N=	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).					
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).					

**Table 5.18: Correlation Analysis: Phonological Variables and Sociological Groups**

Table 5.18 above presents the correlation analysis results of the four phonological variables with the four sociological groups. As observed in Table 5.18, only the ‘age’ of participants has a significant, negative correlation with three out of the four phonological variables, namely /q/-Fronting, /q/-Affrication, and /j/-Palatalisation (p-value < .05). This implies that participants with higher scores in /q/-Fronting, /q/-Affrication, and /j/-Palatalisation phonological variables are classified as belonging to the young-age cohort. Likewise, participants with lower scores in /q/-Fronting, /q/-Affrication, and /j/-Palatalisation phonological variables are classified as old speakers. This supports earlier findings of this study on the nature of distribution

of the dialectal elements in the speech of the young and the old, where the young were always more informal than the old.

On the other hand, for the gender, area~origin, and religious affiliation variables, these were found not to significantly correlate with the four dialectal phonological variables. Table 5.19 below presents the correlation analysis which seeks to analyse the relationship between the four phonological variables and the recording groups. The recording groups column here was numerically presented as 1 for *Duwāniyya* (Duw.), 2 for Group Observation (GO), 3 for Semi-Structured Interview (SSI), 4 for Political Show (PS), 5 for Parliament (KNA), and 6 for Friday *xuṭba*. It can be observed in Table 5.19 that there is a significant negative correlation between all four phonological variables and the six different recording groups as combined under the umbrella term ‘Recording Groups’, i.e. they are in an inverse relationship. As a result, as the scores of participants in /k/-Affrication, /q/-Fronting, /q/-Affrication, and /j/-Palatalisation are higher, they are classified more as Duw. speakers, followed hierarchically down the formality scale by the more formal GO, then SSI, PS, and KNA. The lower the participants’ scores are in /k/-Affrication, /q/-Fronting, /q/-Affrication, and /j/-Palatalisation, the more they are classified as *xuṭba* speakers, i.e. interference from the colloquial is kept to a minimum.

This ranking of the formal and informal groups provides us with a further varying insight into the ranking we saw in Table 5.17. Whereas in Table 5.17 the GO group constantly ranked higher than Duw. in terms of informality, i.e. GO was always more informal than Duw., here we see the contrary. The correlational analysis shows that the higher the number of dialectal variables present in the speech of speakers, the

		<b>/k/ Affrication</b>	<b>/q/ Fronting</b>	<b>/q/ Affrication</b>	<b>/j/ Palatalisation</b>	<b>Recording Groups</b>
<b>/k/ Affrication</b>	<b>r</b>	1	.501**	.587**	.434*	<b>-.437*</b>
	<b>p</b>		.007	.001	.021	<b>.020</b>
	<b>N=</b>	28	28	28	28	<b>28</b>
<b>/q/ Fronting</b>	<b>r</b>	.501**	1	.806**	.701**	<b>-.574**</b>
	<b>p</b>	.007		.000	.000	<b>.001</b>
	<b>N=</b>	28	28	28	28	<b>28</b>
<b>/q/ Affrication</b>	<b>r</b>	.587**	.806**	1	.757**	<b>-.585**</b>
	<b>p</b>	.001	.000		.000	<b>.001</b>
	<b>N=</b>	28	28	28	28	<b>28</b>
<b>/j/ Palatalisation</b>	<b>r</b>	.434*	.701**	.757**	1	<b>-.615**</b>
	<b>p</b>	.021	.000	.000		<b>.000</b>
	<b>N=</b>	28	28	28	28	<b>28</b>
<b>Recording Group</b>	<b>r</b>	<b>-.437*</b>	<b>-.574**</b>	<b>-.585**</b>	<b>-.615**</b>	1
	<b>p</b>	<b>.020</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.000</b>	
	<b>N=</b>	28	28	28	28	28
<b>**.</b> Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).						
<b>*</b> . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).						

**Table 5.19: Correlation Analysis: Phonological Variables and Recording Groups**

more they are compared to those speakers belonging to the Duw. group. Based on the established deduction that the higher the presence of dialectal elements recorded, the more informal the speech of individuals, we can ratiocinate that the Duw. recording group is (as expected) the least formal group out of the three informal groups.

As for the formal groups, the correlational analysis here does not contradict but rather sustains the ranking observed in Table 5.17. It reveals that a very low presence of the phonological variables is a characteristic of speakers belonging to the *xuṭba* group. Hence, by the same logic followed for the informal groups, *xuṭba* emerges correctly as the most formal group, followed hierarchically down the formality scale by KNA and PS.

### **5.5.1 Multivariate Analysis of Significant Relationships**

This section presents the results of the multivariate analysis that was conducted to determine whether or not the occurrence of the four phonological variables in the three different age cohorts of the sociological variable ‘age’, and the six recording groups could be predicted. We are reminded here that the other three sociological variables, namely gender, area~origin, and religious affiliation have shown to have *no* significant relationships between the phonological variables and the recording-groups variable ( $p\text{-value} > .05$ ). Therefore, the occurrence of phonological variables in each of the three sociological/recording groups could not be predicted, hence, only age, as a sociolinguistic variable, will be dealt with in this section.

As presented in Table 5.20, only /q/-Fronting, /q/-Affrication, and /j/-Palatalisation ( $p\text{-value} < .05$ ) are significant dependent variables for the independent sociological variable ‘age’, which includes the cohorts old, middle, and young (cf. Table 4.2). This implies that it is highly likely that these three phonological variables are present in each of the three age groups. The hierarchy of the likeliness of occurrence is discussed further below.

Table 5.21 below illustrates the multivariate analysis between the six recording groups; all four phonological variables are significant variables for the recording groups, with a  $p\text{-value}$  of  $< .05$ . This implies that it is highly likely that these four phonological variables are present in each of the six recording groups. The hierarchical order of the likeliness of occurrence of the phonological variables is based on the frequency of occurrence as seen in Tables 5.6 and 5.16 for the recording groups, the former of which is repeated below as Table 5.22. As for the sociological variable of ‘age’, in addition to Table 5.16, see Table 5.9 above.

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>Age</b>	/k/ Affrication	64.463	2	32.231	1.184	0.323
	<b>/q/ Fronting</b>	<b>1449.51</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>724.754</b>	<b>9.285</b>	<b>0.001</b>
	<b>/q/ Affrication</b>	<b>26.4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>7.399</b>	<b>0.003</b>
	<b>/j/ Palatalisation</b>	<b>200.829</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.414</b>	<b>10.047</b>	<b>0.001</b>
<b>Gender</b>	/k/ Affrication	1.023	1	1.023	0.036	0.851
	/q/ Fronting	8.354	1	8.354	0.064	0.802
	/q/ Affrication	0.368	1	0.368	0.136	0.716
	/j/ Palatalisation	4.152	1	4.152	0.242	0.627
<b>Area~Origin</b>	/k/ Affrication	10.714	1	10.714	0.379	0.543
	/q/ Fronting	6.857	1	6.857	0.053	0.821
	/q/ Affrication	0.048	1	0.048	0.017	0.896
	/j/ Palatalisation	6.298	1	6.298	0.368	0.549
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>	/k/ Affrication	4.667	1	4.667	0.164	0.689
	/q/ Fronting	0.857	1	0.857	0.007	0.936
	/q/ Affrication	0.292	1	0.292	0.107	0.746
	/j/ Palatalisation	12.595	1	12.595	0.748	0.395

Table 5.20: Multivariate Analysis for Phonological Variables and Sociological Groups

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>Recording Groups</b>	/k/ Affrication	317.733	5	63.547	3.272	<b>.023</b>
	/q/ Fronting	1345.215	5	269.043	2.879	<b>.038</b>
	/q/ Affrication	31.433	5	6.287	3.496	<b>.018</b>
	/j/ Palatalisation	267.287	5	53.457	6.413	<b>.001</b>

Table 5.21: Multivariate Analysis for Phonological Variables and Recording Groups

Variable Group/ Context	Standard Variants	Dialectal Variants	
	Recurrence Sequence	Recurrence Sequence	Share % Sequence
PS	k > j > q	g > č > y > j	g > č > y > j
KNA	k > q > j	g > č > y > j	g > č-y > j
<i>xuṭba</i>	q > j > k	g > č-y-j	g > č-y-j
<b>Total (Formal)</b>	k > q > j	g > č > y > j	g > č > y > j
<b>Duw.</b>	k > j > q	g > y > č > j	g > y > č > j
<b>GO</b>	k > j > q	g > č > y > j	g > č-y > j
<b>SSI</b>	k > q > j	g > y > č > j	g > y > j > č
<b>Total (Informal)</b>	k > j > q	g > y > č > j	g > y > č > j

Table 5.22: Copy of Table 5.6: Hierarchical Order of Occurrences of Variables and Share Percentage According To Variable Form and Group/Setting

Taking as an example the order of occurrence of the dialectal variants in the Duw. group, and based on the interpretations of the results of Table 5.21, we can say that for the Duw. group [g] is more likely to appear in the speech of speakers in this group than [č], followed by [y] and [j]. The same mechanism is followed for ‘age’. Therefore, the hierarchical frequency sequences seen in Tables 5.6, 5.9, and 5.16 can be concurrently perceived as sequences of likeliness of appearance.

## 5.6 Conclusion

Analysis A presented the results of the data collected, interpretations of which represent the main findings of the study. These findings were closely scrutinised and analysed, and main conclusions were reached. The variation exhibited in the production of the phonological variables by the speakers was closely correlated with the sociolinguistic variables identified, which allowed us to gain a deep insight into

the nature of phonological variability by speakers who are classified according to major sociolinguistic criteria and recording groups.

Analysis B then provided us with a statistical insight that enabled us to understand the relationship between not only the sociological groups and the recording groups, but also the relationship *between* the phonological variables themselves in terms of the order of their likeliness of appearance.

This takes us to our next chapter, where I will attempt to outline some of the main features that characterise KMA - features that could aid us in identifying and distinguishing it, albeit partially, from other levels. This will provide an understanding of the nature of the admixture involved in its production between KA and MSA.

## Chapter Six:

# Kuwaiti Modern Arabic: A Continuum of Speech

### 6.0 Introduction

Hitherto, this hypothetical level (KMA) that we have been attempting to identify and attest its existence has demonstrated various features that help in establishing its status and identifying its characteristics. KMA, as we noticed earlier, is the only (semi-)formal level speakers of KA can produce naturally without resorting to any sort of scripted/memorised/prepared speech. In order to examine this level's features, three formal recording groups will be analysed closely, starting with *xuṭba* (the most formal) followed by KNA, then PS (the least formal), which despite their formality, a semi-formal level, KMA, is used in them.

In addition to the discussion above of the phonological features involved in the production of KMA, in the following sections I will try to identify further main features of KMA. Five criteria have been chosen, namely choice of words, choice of vowels, negation particles, definite articles, and pronunciation of numbers, where examples of each will be extracted from the speech of the corresponding respondents in each recording group and analysed. This will give us an insight into the interaction of the two levels involved in the production of KMA, KA and MSA. These main features were seen to be the most prominent factors in distinguishing KMA (and its sub-levels) from MSA and KA. They stood out the most during the process of recording and transliterating the data, and they provide a solid ground for comparison purposes.

## **6.1 Characteristic Features of KMA**

Before proceeding, a key point about the nature of the context of *xuṭba* needs to be further addressed in order to elaborate on the fact that it can be produced using more than one level, namely MSA and RKMA. As noted in a recent study of religious discourse in Egyptian Arabic, Soliman (2008:19) states that the “use of local dialects in addition to or instead of Classical Arabic in religious discourse has begun to spread as a global pattern in the Arab world” (cf. El-Hassan:1979:13). He further adds that in Kuwait preachers use Kuwaiti Arabic in their *xuṭba*, which is not the case as we have discussed earlier for what will be used is either MSA or RKMA.

Similar to the stand taken here, Soliman (2008:19) supports the limitation of CA to a specific set of contexts. These are whenever a person/preacher recites *Qur’ānic* verses, mentions Prophetic narrations (*’ahādīth*), gives quotations, and supplicates at the beginning and the end of sermons. For him CA is what will be produced in these four registers; however, I would limit CA to the first of the settings, that is, recitation of the *Qur’ān*, while the other three I represent as being produced using MSA in the cases of narrations and quotations for these are usually memorised word-for-word from scripts. As for supplications, these are less restricted than Prophetic narrations, and quotations; therefore, RKMA is the designated level when supplications are either improvised or memorised. Limiting CA to recitations, as we have seen in this and earlier chapters, is mainly because the *Qur’ān* is held to be the words of God Almighty Himself, and not to devotedly memorise the verses of the Holy Book and not to profoundly and thoroughly ponder the words of it would be considered a censurable act. Hence, CA will be treated as an equivalent of QA and limited to *Qur’ān* recitations. As for the other three settings, they do not provoke such linguistic commitment for they are human productions, and being as such lowers the

bar, so to speak, and renders the process of memorising speech in them less restricted grammatically, hence MSA when scripted and not accompanied by any colloquialisms, or RKMA when scripted but blending KA with MSA to be rendered, and when memorised/improvised.

### **6.1.1 Choice of Words**

In addition to the consonantal sound changes, choice of words plays an important role in the realisation of KMA. One has to select simultaneously from both KA and MSA to produce KMA. Hence, here I will exemplify this by giving contrasts in the choice of words by the respondents, where in their discourse they produce both MSA and KA words, blending both to produce the desired level. And, if any of the examples selected include instances of consonantal sounds of any of the phonological processes, namely /q/ fronting and affrication, /k/ affrication, /j/ palatalisation, these will be commented on briefly for they were already analysed in detail above along with their resulting sound changes.

Take a look at the following Table 6.1. These are a few selected examples of the admixture of KA and MSA witnessed in the speech of respondents in the three recording groups of *xuṭba*, KNA, and PS:

<b>Example</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>ḡarabnā</i>	‘We gave (an example)’
<i>tarḡā</i>	‘She/you (m) is /are content’
<i>haḡōla</i>	‘These’
<i>ḡāka</i>	‘That’

<i>yidād</i>	‘New’
<i>xallatna</i>	‘Made(f) us (+ verb)’
<i>‘alā ba ‘īrin naḥīfun</i>	‘On a skinny camel’
<i>hāḍā hamm šabāb al-ams, illiy kān fīna yifraḥ il-abb lammā iyīla walad!</i> <i>‘aḍuda ‘alā yimīna igūm ma ‘āh fī-il-bēt</i>	‘These are the worries of the youth of older generations whose fathers were proud to have them. They helped with the chores’
<i>yīšīl šway min hammah</i>	‘To carry some of the heavy weight off (their fathers)’
<i>jirīb min al-madīna</i>	‘Near Al-Madina (an area in what is now Saudi Arabia)’
<i>in šā’a aḷlāh vs ‘inshaaḷlah</i>	‘If God wills’
<i>dāš ‘alā wazīr ‘alā mudīr w ‘indah ijtimā’, bi-ryūlah, yiḡig il-bāb w yidxaḷ!!</i>	‘He ignores any meeting the Minister/Director is having and barges in’
<i>wa ṭaraq al-bāb ‘alā jābir gālla in-nabiy yiḡūllik hāḍa jamalik</i>	‘He knocked on Jabir’s door and said the Prophet tells you here is your(m) camel back’
<i>inta itfakkir bil-ṭirīj gā ‘ad agūllik</i>	‘You think I was chatting with you(m) while on the road because...’
<i>abiy a ‘arif ḥājtik š-kiḥir ḥattā u ‘ṭik!</i>	‘In order to give you, I wanted to know how much exactly you needed’
<i>šukran il-ax ir-rayyis, amrēn</i>	‘Thank you Mr Speaker. I’d like to highlight two points’
<i>ba ‘adha ib ḥalaḥ daqā’iq, is-sā’a sitt u digīga</i>	‘After three minutes, at 6:01’
<i>qarēt.ha āna is-sana illiy fātāt</i>	‘I read it last year’
<i>illiy maḍāt qabla šuhūr</i>	‘That took place months ago’
<i>āna a ‘arifhum killuhum jumbāziyya</i>	‘I know them. They never take things seriously’
<i>‘indič bid-dā’ira xyūt w ašābi ‘ tataḥarrak</i>	‘Do you have any connections within your district?’
<i>gabiḷ fath iṣ-šanādīq</i>	‘Before opening the ballot boxes’

Table 6.1: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Lexical Items Choice from *xuṭba*, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA

As evident from the table above, features of MSA bombard with those of KA on various linguistic levels. The focus of this section is the lexical interaction between the Standard and the dialect. One can see from the selected examples above that

dialectal words and sounds occur in inter and intra-sentential positions, showing no regular pattern in their place or time of occurrence (see Section 5.5). In examining and analysing the data overall, no main triggers were seen that could have motivated the speakers to engage in this continuous diglossic switching between KA and MSA producing KMA in all its forms other than that of the direct context. This shows that the speakers in the three settings of *xuṭba*, KNA, and PS were all aware of the degree of formality involved in such settings, and as such elevated their speech on the continuum towards MSA, while maintaining a significant contribution from their mother tongue, KA, in it.

Therefore, features of dialectal KA play an important role in affecting the production of MSA by the speakers as the examples above show us in Table 5.18. This relationship produces KMA. The Imam of the Friday *xuṭba*, for instance, said *‘alā ba ʿīrin naḥīfun* ‘on a skinny camel’. The conjugation of this phrase should have been undemanding and straightforward for the Imam given his university-level education and career as a religious sheikh, or for anyone with high-school level education for that matter. Yet, he managed to produce a grammatically-ill phrase in MSA by inflecting the adjective as *marfūʿa* ‘indicative’ rather than *majrūra* ‘genitive’, *naḥīfun* not *naḥīfin*. The preposition *‘alā* is classified as a ‘true’ preposition in MSA (cf. Ryding, 2009:367) and this set of prepositions in MSA has one basic and simple rule of inflection, that is, whatever follows must be in the genitive case. The Imam produced this correctly; however, there is a second grammatical principle at play in this phrase, which also is simple to apply considering the speaker’s background. This grammatical rule prescribes speakers to apply the exact conjugation of the described noun to the following adjective, i.e. *al-ṣifa tatba ʿal-mawṣūf* ‘the adjective follows (grammatically) the described noun’. But, as

mentioned above, the Imam applied the first of the rules only, and ignored the second, hence producing an ill-formed phrase in MSA. Another example from the Imam's speech from the table above is *inta it-fakkir b-il-ṭirīj gā'ad agūl-lik* 'you (m) think I was chatting with you (m) while on the way because...', where we can see the dialectal choice of phonological and lexical features by the Imam as this whole clause is part of a longer sentence which he produces using mostly KA. A couple of sentences away, he produces *ḥattā'ū'ṭīk* 'so that I give you (m)' and *'alā qadir ḥājat.hum...lā tuḡriqhum min al-māl* 'exactly what they need...do not spoil them with money'. This is a clear example of the interaction between KA and MSA that leads to the production of KMA. In *gā'ad* 'I am (m)', *agūl-lik* 'I tell you (m)', and *ṭirīj* 'way/road', we see the use of two different allophones of the same phoneme in three different positions, initially, medially, and word-finally (see Sections 5.2 and 5.3 for the nature of the sound changes). The uvular, voiceless Standard stop /q/ is realised both as fronted voiced, velar stop [g], and as affricated post-alveolar [j]. Yet, just a couple of sentences away, the Imam produced the standard variant of the phoneme in *qadir* '(as) much' and *tuḡriqhum* 'spoil them (lit. drown them)', and a fully Standard phrase *ḥattā'ū'ṭīk* (as opposed to dialectal *'ašān a'ṭīk*). A further interesting example is that of Standard *in šā'a allāh* vs. dialectal *'in.šaaḷ.ḷah* 'if God wills', where the Imam uses them throughout the sermon interchangeably, and what seems to be three separate lexemes have been merged into one tri-syllabic utterance. This merger is mostly evident by speakers' confusion in their informal writings, mobile texting in particular, where they write انشاءالله (without the final *hamza* of *šā'*, or the *alif* in الله) or انشاءالله (with the *alif*) instead of ان شاء الله. Also, although it is established as a pan-dialectal Arabic rule, the merger of the two emphatics, voiced alveolar plosive /d/ and voiced interdental fricative /ð/, into the latter (cf. Section 5.1.1.4) has been broken by

the Imam, illustrating his awareness of the formality of the context, as he switched back and forth between the two phonemes as exemplified in *ḍarabnā* and *tardā*.

Another domain of speech where KMA is attested and which is considered its ‘linguistic home’ is the Parliament. From Table 6.1 above, we can see an MP producing both a dialectal and a standard variant in two instances of the same lexical item, namely *daqā’iq* ‘minutes’ and *digīga* ‘one minute’. In the former, the MP produced a fully Standard surface form with correct vowelism, yet just three lexemes away he produced the latter in the phrase *is-sā’a sitt u digīga* ‘one minute past six (lit. the hour six and one minute)’. In this phrase, we can see that underlying /q/ has been realised as surface dialectal [g] in two instances within the same lexeme, namely *digīga* < *daqīqa*, accompanied by *a* raising of the antepenultimate vowel (see next section). The MP also used the dialectal conjunction *u* ‘and’ to connect the hours and minutes of the uttered timing instead of Standard *wa*, which shows us the extent of the complex and seemingly random and continuous interaction between KA and MSA involved in the production of KMA even within the smallest strings of speech. Further examples taken from the above table are *jumbāziyya* ‘unserious people (lit. gymnasts)’ from PS and *qarēt.ha āna is-sana illiy fātāt* ‘I read it last year’ from KNA. As we have seen earlier, the PS group (or MKMA) is classified as the least formal out of the three formal groups, and the use of *jumbāziyya* by the interviewer in referring to certain former MPs in a formal show is really awkward, linguistically speaking, for this lexeme is well known in the Kuwaiti context as an extremely informal one found in the most informal of settings, such as friends gatherings or family talks. As for the latter sentence, the MP shows an interesting blend of the dialect and the Standard, where he first uses a Standard phonological variable /q/ in *qa.rēt.ha* < *qa.ra’ tu.hā*, yet, just a syllable away, he resorts to dialectal vowelism. Further in the sentence, he

produced *is-sana illiy* ‘the year which’, where again we see an admixture within the same clause by the production of standard *sana* but dialectal relative *illiy* instead of *al-latī*.

Thus far, we have seen selected examples from the analysed data of how speakers choose their wording and sounds in their production of KMA. In the next four sections, I will examine in more detail main features that will allow us to further outline the borders of KMA and identify it as an attested level in KA.

### 6.1.2 Choice of Vowels

In this section, I will focus on the insertion of vowels in the speech of individuals, a process which they use in order to elevate their speech as to approximate Standard inflection. I will also focus on standard diphthongs *ay* and *aw* and their dialectal realisations as *ē* and *ō*, respectively, in addition to some other vowel-related processes. Consider the following table:

Example	Gloss
<i>kwētiyyīn</i>	‘Kuwaitis’
<i>ḍēfatna</i>	‘Our guest(f)’
<i>zōja u šigi!! bēt yistiqr fth</i>	‘A wife and a job! A house to settle in’
<i>il-yōm</i>	‘Today (lit. the day)’
<i>yawma</i>	‘The day’
<i>dawr</i>	‘Turn’
<i>intay</i>	‘You(f)’
<i>iḥna nabiyy ittarjimīn aw yitarjimūna aw yitarjimna in-nisā’ hāḍihi il-aqwāl</i>	‘We need women to translate these promises (into reality)’

<i>itfaḏḏiḏay</i>	‘Go ahead(f)’
<i>šāb ṣaġīr mutazawwij imra’a kibīra bis-sin</i>	‘A young man married to an old woman’
<i>wāhida</i>	‘One (f)’
<i>āna</i>	‘Me/I’
<i>taḏa ḥājjiz bēniy wa bēnik</i>	‘Build(m) a wall between you (m) and me’

**Table 6.2: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Vowelling from *xuṭba*, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA**

This table presents a few examples illustrating the behavioural characteristics of vowels in KMA. As is evident, both the dialectal and Standard vocalic systems are at play here, and their interaction can be seen even when Standard vocabulary is solely being used, i.e. the use of Standard vocabulary must also be accompanied with Standard vowelling for it to be MSA, otherwise it will be classified as KMA; dialectal vowels are being used not only in colloquial productions but also in Standard ones. In the *xuṭba*, we find interesting examples of this where, for example, the Imam produces *zōja u šīġi!* *bēt yistiġir fīh* and *šāb ṣaġīr mutazawwij imra’a kibīra bis-sin*. In the former, he produces a fully dialectal string of speech with no MSA interference phonologically nor grammatically. Phonologically, this can be seen by the use of dialectal monophthong realisation *ō* of standard diphthong *aw* in *zōja* < *zawja* ‘wife’, and *ē* instead of standard *ay* in *bēt* < *bayt* ‘house’. Also, we can see three phonological processes at play here, which are not uncommon in KA, namely epenthesis and vowel raising (cf. Al-Qenaie, 2007), and progressive partial assimilation. In *šīġi!*, we have two of them, epenthesis and assimilation. Consider the following:

/šāġl/ Vowel Raising

[šīġl] Epenthesis

[šigil] Progressive Assimilation

[šigil] Output

As seen from the above cyclic derivation of underlying *šagil* to surface *šigil*, the process began with the raising of *a* to *i*, the preferred vowel quality in KA, giving *šigl*. Then, to break a sequence of abutting consonants in a super-heavy syllable CVCC, an epenthetic vowel is inserted rendering disyllabic CV.CVC *šigil*. Following this is partial assimilation, whereby the coda of the second syllable assimilates the manner of articulation of the onset (voiced uvular fricative *g*), rendering a heavy secondary emphatic *l* (cf. Section 3.2.3.1). These are the types of phonological processes which intermingle in the speech of individuals, and which eventually result in the production of KMA.

A similar pattern is witnessed in the latter sentence where the Imam produces a full string of speech with Standard vocabulary including *šagīr* and *kibīra*. Notice, however, the use of a raised dialectal vowel in *kibīra* < *kabīra*. A further example is that of *il-yōm* vs. *al-yawma* and *dōr* vs. *dawr* which the Imam uses interchangeably in the duration of his speech, mixing the two vocalic systems of KA and MSA. In the domain of the Parliament, a minister answering questions from an MP produces *taḏa* ‘put/place’ (cf. dialectal *ithit*), and Standard conjunction *wa* ‘and’ (cf. dialectal *w/u*). What is of interest in this statement is the vowel use in *bēniy* < *baynī* and *bēnik* < *baynak*, where although all other parts of the sentence are Standard approximations, these two lexemes are in full dialect. Also, a KA-specific diphthong appears here (cf. Section 3.3.3; Table 3.7) in word-final position in *bēn-iy* realised by the pronoun subject suffix *-iy*.

All remaining examples from Table 5.18 above serve to further sustain the claim of the existence of KMA as an independent, distinct level. In the next section, another aspect of vowelling will be considered involving the definite article marker.

### 6.1.3 Definite Articles

We have already seen in Section 3.2.3.2 how the vowel property in the definite article behaves in KA. Therefore, to avoid any redundancy, I will not describe the nature of the assimilation involved, but will look at the nature of usage of both variants, namely *al-* and *il-* by the speakers in the course of their speech. Consider the following table:

Example	Gloss
<i>al-majlis</i>	‘The Parliament (lit. the sitting area)’
<i>al-ax</i>	‘The brother’
<i>aham muškila ‘indahum az-zawāj, wa al-muškila aθ-θāniya ir-rizq il- ‘amal</i>	‘Their main concern is marriage, and the second concern is their livelihood, money and a job’
<i>yawma it-taṣwīt</i>	‘Voting day’
<i>hāḍa kul ham iš-šabāb</i>	‘The is the youth’s main concern’
<i>ir-rayyis</i>	‘Mr Speaker (lit. the president)’
<i>iḍā kunt arīd aqaddim istijwāb a ‘rif il- tawqīt w ‘il-makān</i>	‘If I want to question you, I would know the appropriate time and place for that’
<i>yawm lintixābāt</i>	‘Elections day’
<i>tam ba ‘īdan ‘an dīwān il-muḥāsaba</i>	‘Out of the sight of the Bureau of Audit’
<i>bimā fī ḍālik ḥattā it-tadqīq fī maṣrūfāt</i>	‘In addition to auditing the expenses of...’
<i>az-zawāj</i>	‘Marriage’

Table 6.3: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Vowel Choice in the Definite Article from *xuṭba*, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA

The vowel property of the definite marker serves as a further indication of the interplay between KA and MSA in the production of KMA. We can see from Table 6.3 above that although respondents produce instances of full strings of speech using MSA, there is always interference from KA as far as the vowel property of the definite article is concerned. The Imam, for instance, produces *aham muškila 'indahum az-zawāj, wa al-muškila aθ-θāniya ir-rizq il-'amal*. We can see the use of Standard vowelism in all lexical items in this sentence, except for the last two, where dialectal *il-* is used instead of standard *al-*, totalling two Standard uses as opposed to two dialectal ones. Another interesting example from the Table above is *yawm lintixābāt* produced by the interviewer of the political show. This is a classic example of the two levels at play, where standard *yawm* ‘day’ (cf. dialectal *yōm*) meets *lintixābāt* ‘the elections’ (cf. standard *al-lintixābāt*). In the latter, we do not see a process of vowel raising from *al-* to *il-*, but one of first sound deletion or aphaeresis. This phenomenon is widely used in KA, and to have it used in such a formal context reflects the influence the mother tongue has over one’s speech despite all efforts of linguistic ‘correctitude’. The following illustrates the derivation of this surface form:

<i>/lintixābāt/</i>	Syllabification
<i>/in.ti.xā.bāt/</i>	Definiteness
<i>/al-in.ti.xā.bāt/</i>	Aphaeresis
[ <i>'l-in.ti.xā.bāt</i> ]	Re-syllabification
[ <i>lin.ti.xā.bāt</i> ]	Output

Hence, we can see that the stray consonant of the definite article is re-syllabified to join the first syllable and act as its onset, forming part of the word being defined,

leading to the expression of definiteness using a sole quadra-syllabic lexeme. All other examples seen in Table 6.3, in addition to numerous others in the transliterated data, reflect the originality of the level being produced in these three formal settings and the mechanisms behind producing it. I will now proceed to discuss another distinguishing phonological feature of KMA, that is, the way numbers are pronounced in formal strings of speech.

#### 6.1.4 Pronunciation of Numbers

From the perspective of a native speaker (of the dialect not the language, of course), the pronunciation of numbers in a Standard manner in formal contexts is the most difficult of tasks a speaker can linguistically achieve (cf. Section 3.4.6). This was evident by the pronunciation of numbers by the respondents from the three formal groups. The grammar of numbering is a complex one in MSA, and because the language operates “along the WYSIWYG (‘What you see is what you get’) principle in that their spelling systems accurately represent their *phonemic* inventories, i.e. the sounds used in them” (Newman, 2009), the user would find it both difficult to write and pronounce Arabic numerals with the proper declension. Consider the following Table 6.4:

Example	Gloss
<i>yaṭba ‘u sab ‘īn fī-ḥimya min ṣūratik</i>	‘Reflects seventy-percent of your image’
<i>wa tarak ḥisi‘ banāt</i>	‘He left behind nine girls’
<i>qarība min il-madīna ḫamsa kēluw</i>	‘Five kilos away from Al-Madina Area’
<i>‘asāk mā tkalma kılma rad ‘alēk ‘ašīr!!!</i>	‘He’ll talk back to you disrespectfully (lit. You(m) talk to him (the son) with one word, he replies back with ten!)’

<i>fī alfēn u sitta</i>	‘In 2006’
<i>yōm sab ‘a sitta alf u tis ‘imya sab ‘a u tis ‘īn</i>	‘On 7/6/1997’
<i>is-sā ‘a xams, u sitta u xamsīn daqīqa.</i>	‘At 5:56’
<i>āna ‘imya u sab ‘a u tis ‘īn marra rāyih il-qaḏā’!</i>	‘I have been summoned by the Court 197 times’

Table 6.4: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Pronunciation of Numbers from *xuṭba*, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA

As illustrated by the few selected instances in the Table above, and by the data as a whole, the respondents find it difficult to maintain the formality of any string of speech without compromising that formality by imbuing it with elements of the dialect. All instances of numbers in the table above are dialectal ones, and as can be seen it seems that they usually occur when the speaker is amidst a diglossic switching involving a long string of dialectal speech, i.e. they are preceded and followed by dialectal productions. But exceptions are always available, such as the case with the *xuṭba*, where the Imam produces *yaṭba ‘u sab ‘īn fī-limya min šūratik*. The contrary is seen here where the Imam produces his speech with correct formal conjugation and choice of vowels, however, amidst it produces his numbering (*sab ‘īn fī-limya*) in the colloquial. The *xuṭba*, along with the two other groups, all demonstrate the same manner of number pronunciation, albeit the *xuṭba* is more formal than the other two and the Imam switches only when needed, i.e. where he is more confident linguistically. Hence, respondents in KNA and PS produce colloquial numbering amidst colloquial strings of speech, while in *xuṭba* the Imam produce it amidst a formal one. All respondents in all groups are involved in the same phenomenon of diglossic switching to different extents. The proportional use of Standard MSA and dialectal KA constitute KMA and define the degree of formality of the group in question.

The next section is the last characteristic feature of KMA and involves the use of negation and interrogative particles by the respondents. This feature further serves as the proof of existence of KMA and helps define its borders.

### **6.1.5 Negation and Interrogative Particles**

As with all other linguistic features, negation in KA is much simpler than in MSA. Under Sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.5, interrogation and negation have been discussed in detail. The inflection or the grammar of interrogation and negation is considered much simpler and more straight-forward than that of, for instance, numbering, yet it is not maintained. This is mainly because Standard inflection as a whole is profoundly compartmentalised by speakers, so even the basics of grammatical well-formedness can be neglected, and any act of ill-formedness is seen as a necessity in the process of dialect production. Hence, the ungrammaticality of the dialect (in comparison with the Standard) is condoned by the speakers, which reflects a tacit approval of their linguistic behaviour.

<b>Example</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>limā lam tatazawwaj ka-ḥāl aš-šabāb</i>	‘Why haven’t you got married just as other youths?’
<i>alaysa ḥāḍa ta’zīm bēn majlis il-umma w’il-ḥukūma?!</i>	‘Isn’t this an exacerbation of the Government-Parliament relationship?!’
<i>māḍa kān jawābha liy</i>	‘What was her reply to me?!’
<i>iḍan alā ta’taqdīn bi annu gāba dawr in-nisā’</i>	‘So, don’t you think that women lacked (political) agendas?’
<i>mā ra’yiki intiy</i>	‘What do you(f) have to say?’
<i>lēš mā yābaw ‘aliy il-xalīfa</i>	‘Why haven’t they brought Ali Al-Khalifa (to justice)?’

<i>lěš mā istağallētiy isim qabīltič</i>	‘Why haven’t you used your tribe name (for your own advantage)?’
<i>lěš astajwibik?! šunuw bēniy u bēnik?!</i>	‘Why would I question you?! What’s between you and me?!’
<i>lam yaṭṭarraḡ fīh ila ay xaṭa’ dūnik</i>	‘He has not offended you in any way’
<i>āna lā a ‘taqid inna hal shay rāh</i>	‘I do not think that this will...’
<i>lā atkallam ‘an lintixābāt</i>	‘I am not talking about the elections’
<i>mū ‘ēb hāḍiy! fī jamī’ ajhizat il-muxābarāt yaḥṣil fīha!</i>	‘This is not a scandal! This happens in all intelligence agencies!’

Table 6.5: Selected Utterances Exemplifying Use of Negation and Interrogative Particles from *xuṭba*, KNA, and PS in Support of the Existence of KMA as a Mesolect in KA

The selected examples above reflect a trend seen in the data as a whole, which is the use of Standard interrogation and negation markers more than dialectal ones. This means that this feature of KMA is one that shows the least interference from the dialect in formal settings. Two of the most prominent interrogation particles in KA, *lěš* ‘why’ and *šunuw* ‘what’, and one main negation particle *mā* ‘not’ were not seen in significant distributional frequencies as much as with the other four features. Still, we can see the same interplay that we saw with the other four features between the Standard and the dialect.

The Imam of the *xuṭba*, for instance, is at the top of the formality pyramid where he produces a full string of Modern Standard in *limā lam tatazawwaj ka-ḥāl aš-šabāb* (cf. dialectal *lěš mā titzawwaj ḥālik ḥāl iš-šabāb*), where a contrast is seen between standard *limā lam* vs. dialectal *lěš mā* ‘why not’. On the other hand, the two other groups, namely KNA and PS, produce a lower level of formality than that of the *xuṭba*. One of the MPs, for example, produces *lā atkallam* (cf. *mā (gā ‘ad) atkallam* in pure dialect) followed by *‘an lintixābāt*. The only Standard element in this phrase is the negation particle *lā*, while all other are in the dialect (cf. standard *lā atakallamu ‘an al-intixābāt*). The same MP also produces a complete interrogative phrase with

double interrogation in *lēš astajwibik?! šunuw bēniy u bēnik*. This is the only time in the whole data of the formal settings where we see two major dialectal particles within the same phrase. This usage illustrates the degree of dialectal interference the speakers are entertaining in formal settings and in their production in KMA. The PS setting is evident to this, too, where, for instance, the interviewer produces *lēš mā istaḡallētiy isim qabīltiĉ*, but also produces *māḏa kān jawābha*. In the latter, the interviewer uses a particle that is never used in the dialect, namely *māḏa*, where the dialectal counterpart would have been *šunuw kān jawābha*.

Hitherto, we have seen five key characteristic features of KMA and outlined their role in defining the status of KMA in the linguistic continuum of Kuwaiti Arabic and its role in the diglossic speech situation as a whole. We have also seen that KMA and its sub-lects are not used in accordance with the direct context, and this was attributed mainly to speakers' ability in producing non-native MSA. The next section will provide a brief contemplation on this issue of usage versus formality.

## **6.2 Setting~Style~Level Correspondence**

By its linguistic nature, the Arabic language and any of its dialects share the bulk of their lexicon for they are, of course, related to each other genetically (cf., e.g. Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Badawī, 1973). Standard vocabulary strikes the listener, should it occur in a string of speech, as an approximation to the Standard. Standard vocabulary is produced by a speaker as a linguistic reflex to the direct context. If s/he is faced with a formal question amidst an informal conversation, for example, s/he is expected to engage in diglossic switching, resorting to the higher level of her/his language, i.e. the most formal level s/he possesses. This high level should be equal to the level of speech of MSA. But since these levels are neither acquired nor produced

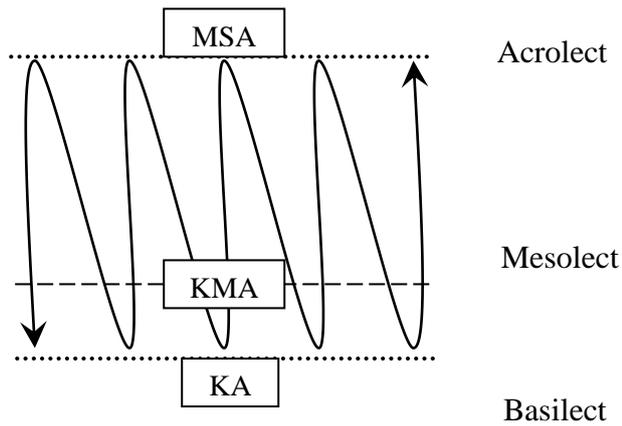
spontaneously and limited to specific settings (see Section 4.3), any speech produced at this level will be semi-formal KMA (or any of its sub-levels), the most formal level speakers of KA possess and can produce *naturally* and *spontaneously* when reacting to formal settings. Therefore, the semi-formality of KMA is fed by both KA (semi-) and MSA (formal) (see Table 6.6). The level of speech produced depends entirely on how the speaker perceives the appropriate application of that certain level to the direct context/setting. Yet, a formal/semi-formal setting does not necessarily imply that the speaker would be producing a corresponding MSA/KMA. As seen in the Table below, the arrows on the right represent the formality KMA acquires from the next level up in the continuum, MSA, and the informality from the next down, KA. The dashed lines between the three levels illustrate the fact that the levels are not rigidly divided, whereas the settings are, i.e. the varieties are functionally compartmentalised. The arrows on the left indicate that speakers resort to MSA and KA in their production of KMA. This is the only sense in which MSA is kept active by the speakers of KA as far as spontaneous speech is concerned, i.e. it is considered a reference and an important resource for the production of KMA, and from which KMA acquires its formality. Crystal and Davy (1969:63) maintain that it is "...more meaningful to talk of *ranges* of appropriateness and acceptability of various uses of language to given situations", while Wahba (1996:120) states that "...within each Arab country there is a regional variety of the language that functions as the standard". Taking these two statements, the formality KMA gained (and is gaining) is rationalised. The formal setting of the Parliament in Kuwait, for instance, is evident to this whereby MPs constantly produce an admixture of pure KA and impure MSA, resulting in the production of semi-formal KMA (KA speakers' everyday 'localised' formal register).

Level/Variety	Style/Register	Settings/Context
CA	<i>Qur'ānic</i>	Recitation of the <i>Qur'ān</i>
	Formal	Scripted audio-visual news broadcasts, scripted/memorised Friday sermons, and any prepared texts written in this level
	(Semi-)Formal	Parliament, politics, science, arts, social topics, religious talks/improvised Friday sermons - in TV shows and interviews that discuss such issues
	Informal	Everyday life colloquial, discussing food, family, relationships etc. Any intimate/emotional/personal issues or topics

Table 6.6: The Correspondence between Levels, Styles, and Settings in Kuwaiti Arabic

This reflects a perception of the Parliament as a *semi-formal* setting rather than formal in the Kuwaiti context. This could further imply that a sense of prestige is being attached to this semi-formal level, making it eligible to be used in settings of an otherwise nature, i.e. to be used in formal settings.

In the light of the above, diglossia (or multiglossia, to be specific) in KA is manifested in the production of three main levels. Firstly, since, despite not being a mother tongue to any Arabic speaker in general, and any KA speaker in particular, it is still used in Kuwait in the news and other very formal contexts, MSA is the ‘Acrolect’ at the top of the continuum. KMA, on the other hand, serves as the ‘Mesolect’, while KA occupies the ‘Basilect’. This process could be represented as follows:



**Figure 6.1: KMA as the Produce of the Interaction between KA and MSA**

As can be seen from Figure 6.1 above, KA, the basilect level, and MSA, the acrolect, are in constant contact at the various linguistic levels producing the mesolect, KMA. The amount of KA/MSA features involved in the production of KMA depends on the speaker and the direct context (cf. pp. 220-23). In informal contexts, KA is produced solely. On the other hand, as a default, KMA acts as the corresponding level in (semi)-formal settings, while MSA is confined to settings/contexts outlined in Table 6.6 above.

Any linguistic variation witnessed in the movement from one level to another is a result of diglossic switching. Haeri (1991) terms any variables in this type of switching “diglossic variables”, manifested in this research as phonological ones. On the other hand, any variation occurring within the same one level could be traced back as a product of natural sociolinguistic phenomena, whereby sociological variables condition linguistic (phonological) ones (cf. Labov, 1972).

### **6.3 Conclusion**

Features distinguishing between the non-MSA levels were discussed in this chapter, which gave us an understanding of the variability involved in the diglossic situation at hand. It is the interplay between the different socio-phonological variables and the recording groups in the diglossic Arabic dialect of Kuwait that gives us an insight into the nature of the variability of the phonological features. Diglossic switching in KA, manifested here allophonically, serves to support the existence of KMA as mesolect in the speech continuum of KA. KMA is produced by means of admixture between MSA and KA. The larger presence of MSA features pushes KMA more towards the formality end of the continuum. On the other hand, the more KA features involved in the production of KMA, the less formal KMA would be.

# Chapter Seven

## Conclusion

This chapter will answer the research objectives and questions stated in Chapter One, and by that it aims to report the findings and conclusions of the thesis. Following that, it presents the specific contribution of this research to the fields of phonology and sociolinguistics in particular and linguistics in general.

### **7.0 Findings of the Study**

Chapter Two focused on the status of diglossia in the Arab world and addressed the main problems behind the way it is treated. With Classical Arabic (CA) being equated to *Qur'ānic* Arabic (QA), hence, delimited in usage to the recitation of the *Qur'ān*, we are left with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) at the top of the speech continuum. In each Arabic speaking community there always exist two opposing poles, two varieties - the Standard (High) and the colloquial (Low) - which are in functional distribution. Each variety functions to serve a given level of speech. However, as the discussion continues, it shows that such a treatment does not reflect the notion of diglossia in a clear way. Therefore, rather than a strict dichotomy and a two-way division of function, diglossia should be treated as a gradient of speech levels along a continuum, where a variety of levels corresponds to a variety of speech situations. Further, the chapter stresses the status of diglossia as a speech situation, where it should be distinguished from bilingualism. While the latter deals with different languages, the former deals with different varieties of the *same* language. As a result,

the term code-switching is reserved for the latter, while diglossic-switching for the former. Also, a distinction is drawn between standard and prestige language, and an overview of the literature illustrates that there are situations where the term Standard must be reserved for the H variety, while prestige for the L. For example, Western studies conclude that women are more conservative than men in their speech, i.e. they approximate the Standard more than men do. Yet, in the Arab world, it is quite the opposite whereby women use the dialect more than men do. However, if the dialect is to be looked at as the prestige form, then this opposition can be rationalised. For the Western woman, the Standard is the prestigious; for the Arab it is the dialect.

In Chapter Three, a detailed survey of Kuwaiti Arabic (KA) is given. First, demographical insight is given, and the division of the speech community into three main sections is addressed, namely Sunni *Ḥaḍar*, Sunni Bedouins, and Shiite *Ḥaḍar*, who are divided clearly into main geographical locations, and residential areas. Basically, Sunni *Ḥaḍar* and Shiite *Ḥaḍar* are Inner Kuwait, while Sunni Bedouins are Outer Kuwait. After that, the chapter gives a detailed account of the phonology of KA and contrasts it with that of MSA. It further addresses the morphology and syntax of KA through a similar approach. This chapter in itself presents the first findings of this thesis by surveying the linguistic features of KA and analysing them systematically.

Chapter Four presents the research methodology, addressing the methodological means by which the data was collected and analysed. It provides a description of the respondents and the recordings, and the pre-selection procedures involved. Further, this chapter discusses the sociological variables (area, age, gender, and religious affiliation) in detail to present the reader with an insight into the way

sociological phenomenon correlates with a linguistic one, especially phonological and lexical.

Chapter Five forms the crux of the thesis through two main analyses: Analysis A, which is a distributional and frequency analysis; and Analysis B, which is a detailed statistical analysis by means of correlation and multi-variance. The variation exhibited in the production of the three phonological variables (/k/, /q/, and /j/) along with their allophones [č], [g]/[j], and [y], respectively) by the speakers was closely correlated with the sociolinguistic variables identified (age, gender, religious affiliation, and area~origin), and the recording groups (Political Show [PS]), sessions at Kuwait National Assembly (KNA), Friday *xuṭba* (*xuṭba*), *Duwāniyya* (Duw.), Group Observation (GO), and Semi-structured Interviews (SSI), which allowed us to gain a deep insight into the nature of phonological variability by the speakers, the distribution of the phonological variables, and the nature of the relationship between them. PS, KNA, and *xuṭba* are the formal settings from which the data was collected, while Duw., GO, and SSI form the informal part. Prior to the two analyses, the chapter provides an overview of the four allophonic variations in KA, and tries to establish any regularity. It turns out that although the processes affect all phonological environments (initially, medially, and finally), speakers of KA seem to apply the sound-changing processes randomly, and as such the rules drawn are predictions that could account for future applications of the phonological processes. Further, as it stands the processes are not affecting a large bulk of the lexicon because of a discrepancy in the proportion of the number of lexemes accounted for and the usage of frequency recorded. For instance, although 42 realisations of affricated /q/ were extracted from all speakers, these were confined to 8 lexemes only. This is also true for /q/ fronting (376 instances representing 20 lexemes), and /k/ affrication (126

instances representing 17 lexemes), as well as /j/ palatalisation (115 instances representing 11 lexemes).

In Analysis A, the distribution of the dialectal phonological markers along the sociolinguistic variables and the recording groups is closely examined. By doing that, a very tight relationship is revealed between the production of dialectal features and the sociological variables and the recording groups, and a number of interesting findings were found. Speakers who belong to the same sociological group, e.g. Age: Old, differ in their production of the dialectal features from one recording group to another. Based on the frequency of occurrence of the dialectal features in each of the recording groups, and the distribution of the occurrences in the sociological groups, we were able to establish the speech continuum of KA. MSA acts as the acrolect in the continuum, followed down the formality hierarchy by Religious Kuwaiti Modern Arabic (RKMA), Political KMA (PKMA), Media KMA (MKMA) for formal purposes, and Formal Kuwaiti Arabic (FKA), Semi-formal KA (SKA), and Informal KA (IKA) for informal purposes. Hence, it is established that that the speech situation in Kuwait is a multiglossic one, where seven overlapping levels exist in a functionally-distributed sociolinguistic relationship. Analysis A also illustrates that an extremely low presence of dialectal features is characteristic of *xuṭba* group, while a very strong presence of the dialect is characteristic of the Duw. Group- RKMA vs. IKA.

One of the glaring findings of this study is the odd distribution in both the females' and males' speech of the dialectal features. An overall analysis of gender reveals that males produce more dialect than females, hence opposing the general dictum regarding speech and gender in the Arab world: as opposed to their Western

counterparts, men in the Arab world are considered to be more conservative than women and gravitate towards the Standard. By the same token, women are considered to be more conservative than men in non-Arab speech communities. On the contrary, this research found that women in Kuwait are *more* conservative than men by producing *less* dialectal features. However, a gender analysis of two out of the six recording groups, namely GO (informal) and PS (formal), demonstrates a hetero-pattern, whereby women do appear to be less conservative by producing more dialectal features. This reminds us of the main motive behind the novel approach of having different recordings with different groups, which is to allow robust conclusions regarding the variability of the phonological features under investigation.

A further use of this approach is manifested when analysing the distribution of the phonological variables by area/origin. Although the overall analysis sustains the hypothesis of *Ḥaḍar* speakers being less formal than Bedouins by producing more dialectal features, in one of the recording groups a counter-pattern is found. This was attributed to two main reasons. The respondent, who was a middle-aged, female Bedouin was running as a candidate for the parliament in a *Ḥaḍar*-dominated constituent. Hence, her using /j/ palatalisation frequently could aid in breaking the ice between her and potential *Ḥaḍar* voters by establishing some solidarity based on certain linguistic features. Substituting, for example, [y] for /j/ not only reflects her as more urbanised, but as open-minded and willing to represent both Bedouins *and* *Ḥaḍar* equally. A second reason could be her perception of the speech of the *Ḥaḍar* as being the register of politics and/or as the form of KA to which prestige is attached, highlighting the division of standard vs. prestige outlined above.

Another interesting observation is that the allophones [g] and [j] almost always ranked first and last, respectively, in terms of frequency and distribution. In /j/ palatalisation, or [y], an interesting pattern of usage emerges for, although this was believed to be the oldest of all allophones, at first sight one would believe that it is not, as it is produced the most by the young, followed next by the middle-age, and last by the old-age group. However, given the fact that it is gaining popularity in the speech of the young (as evident by the usage frequencies), this reflects the fact of it being an established allophone in the speech of the old, because it is they who the young receive their linguistic input from. This shows us that the young speakers inherited this allophone, linguistically speaking, from their 'older' parents (old-age group). This irregularity in the distribution of [y] production could have been resolved by the increase of respondents from the old-age group to create a balance between old-young speakers.

In the second part of Chapter Five we have Analysis B. This analysis serves to support Analysis A, and to give us deeper knowledge of the relationship between the variables. Two types of relationships are examined here: 1) phonological variables ~ sociological groups, 2) phonological variables ~ recording groups. For the former, the only sociological variable to have been found to significantly correlate with the phonological variables was 'age'. It correlates with three out of the four phonological processes, namely /q/-Fronting, /q/-Affrication, and /j/-Palatalisation (/k/-Affrication being the one left out). From that relationship, younger respondents were found to be more informal than older ones, supporting the findings of Analysis A. As for the latter, the recording groups were found to significantly negatively correlate with all four phonological variables. The 'negative' part indicates that the significant relationship the two have runs in an inverse manner, meaning that the lower the

formality of the recording groups, the higher the number of dialectal features one would find in that group. This supports the formality ranking of the groups in Analysis A mentioned earlier. Further, although Analysis A shows that the GO group ranks first in terms of informality most of the time, Analysis B rectifies this and correctly presents Duw. as the least formal as expected/hypothesised.

With regards to the multivariate analysis, this has shown, again, that out of all the sociological variables only 'age' correlates significantly and negatively with three out of four of the phonological variables. This part of Analysis B also provides a predictive element, indicating that the three variables that correlate with age are highly likely to appear in the speech of all age cohorts. As for the recording groups, all six have been found to correlate significantly and negatively with, again, all four phonological variables, which means that all four phonological variables have a high chance of occurring in all six recording groups. The hierarchical order of likeliness of occurrence is that of the hierarchical order of the frequency of usage.

All of the above findings and the interplay between the various levels of speech in KA give rise to a speech continuum in KA, one that answers to socio- and para-linguistic factors. The core of this continuum is its mesolect, Kuwaiti Modern Arabic (KMA). In defining and constructing the level, Chapter Six provides five main characteristics of KMA, namely choice of words, choice of vowels, pronunciation of numbers, definite article, and negation/interrogation particles. Those are the most conspicuous features in distinguishing the non-MSA levels outlined in this study. The chapter also addresses the issue of level/register/context correspondence, and concludes that the level of speech produced depends entirely on how the speaker perceives the appropriate application of that certain level to the direct context/setting.

## **7.1 Contribution to the Field of Socio-linguistics**

This study represents an original contribution to knowledge in a variety of ways. Normally, as it is with the majority of dialectological studies of Arabic, one would correlate between sociological groups rather than recordings, but in this study the methodological approach involves dialogues, and as such the intra-recording dynamics and, concomitantly, influences were addressed. This provided us with a new and varying insight into the way speakers respond not only to the direct context and according to certain sociological factors, but also to the dialogue group they take part in. The study also paves the way to further research into KA by providing a detailed demographic study of the Kuwaiti speech community, which heretofore was not systematically explored and analysed, and was considered to be a virgin field of study (from a socio-phonological perspective). Further, this study utilises a diverse group of 28 speakers from six different recording groups, from which an approximately 6 hours of speech were extracted, transliterated, and translated. A huge corpus was extracted (c. 35,000 words), which was analysed by correlating the instance of phonological variables not only to one social factor, but to four, namely age, gender, religious affiliation, and area~origin. Two main statistical analyses were performed (distribution/frequency; correlation/multivariate). This approach proved to be useful in providing varying, deep insights into the nature of variability of the variables chosen by the different speakers in the different recording groups. Any linguistic variation witnessed in the movement from one level to another is a result of diglossic switching, and any variables involved in this type of switching are considered diglossic variables, manifested in this study as phonological ones. On the other hand, any variation occurring within the same one level could be traced back as a product of natural sociolinguistic phenomena, whereby sociological variables condition linguistic

(phonological) ones, or could be traced back to nothing other than an arbitrary choice on the behalf of the speaker to alternate between two variants.

## **7.2 Recommendations for Future Research**

This study presents some interesting findings regarding variability in diglossia, especially in connection to KA, a relatively linguistically untouched dialect. There always remain opportunities for further research into the area, which always serves to develop our understanding of the dialect and the topic. The following are some suggestions:

- 1) Measuring attitudes of the speakers towards the dialect in particular and language variation in general using semantic differential scales and factor analysis (Snider and Osgood, 1969). This helps us understanding the nature of the switching between the varieties involved in the speech continuum, and perhaps the motive behind it.
- 2) It might be interesting to add information about the socio-economic status of the residential areas involved in this study, and explore links with the various sociological and recording groups.
- 3) There are many more interesting features of the dialect that could be studied to give a better understanding of its linguistics, namely non-standard assimilation, passives, conjugation-specificity, collective nouns, and last but not least, agreement of non-human plurals, all of which form key differences between MSA and the dialect.

4) The dialect can be searched for not only sound changes, but to see if any of these changes lead to a change in meaning. For example, semantically there has been a split in meaning between MSA *jāhil* ‘child/ignorant’ and KA *yāhil* ‘child/baby’. Both words now exist in KA as independent lexemes, where the standard variant is reserved for meanings of ignorance and only ignorance for the *Ḥaḍar* speakers, but as child/ignorant for the Bedouins.

5) Future research can consider a wider and more balanced variety of respondents. My respondents were chosen randomly from various parts of Kuwait to ensure the validity and authenticity of any conclusions. But future research can organise for a better representation of, for example, Shiite (both female and male), and women (both Bedouin and *Ḥaḍar*).

## Bibliography

- ABBI, Anvita (2001): *A Manual of Linguistic Field Work and Structures of Indian Languages*, Germany: Lincom Europa.
- ABDEL-JAWAD, Hassan (1986): "Lexical and Phonological Variation in Spoken Arabic in Amman", Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania.
- ABERCROMBIE, David (1967): *Elements of General Phonetics*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.
- ABU-HAIDAR, Farida (1988): "Speech Variation in the Muslim Dialect of Baghdad", *Zeitschrift Fur Arabiische Linguistik*, 19:74-80.
- ABU-HAIDAR, Farida (1989): "Are Iraqi Women More Prestige Conscious than Men? Sex Differentiation in Baghdadi Arabic", *Language in Society*, 18(4):471-481.
- ABU-MELHIM, Abdel-Rahman (1989): "Code Switching and Linguistic Accommodation in Arabic", in Bernard Comrie & Mushira Eid (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Third Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 3:231-250. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- AL-AYYŪB, Ayyūb (1997): *Min Kalimāt Ahl Al-Dīra: Alfāḍ Kuwaytiyya Muxtāra*, Al-Kuwayt: Markaz Al-Buḥūḥ wa Al-Dirāsāt Al-Kuwaytiyya.
- AL-'ABDALGHANIY, 'Ādil (2002): *Ḥādīḥat Hadm Al-Sūr*, Kuwait (Self-Published).
- AL-BATAL, Mahmoud (1994): "Connectives in Arabic Diglossia: The Case of Lebanese Arabic", in M. Eid, V. Cantarino & K. Walters (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Sixth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 6:91-119. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- AL-ENZI, Farah (2001): "Formal Code Switching on Arabic/English Code-Switching: a Lexically Based Approach", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., MS.: University of Kansas.
- AL-HAMASH, K.I. and ABDULLAH, J.J. (1976): *A Course in Modern Grammar*, Baghdad: Institute for the Development of English Language Teaching in Iraq (IDELTI).
- AL-ḤANAFĪ, Jalāl (1964): *Mu'jam Al-Alfāḍ Al-Kuwaytiyya: Fī Al-Xuṭaṭ wa Al-Lahjāt wa Al-Bī'a*, Baḡdād: Maṭba'at Baḡdād.

- AL-NAJJAR, Balkees (1984): "The Syntax and Semantics of Verbal Aspect in Kuwaiti Arabic", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., University of Utah.
- AL-QINĀ'Ī, Shamlān Dāwūd (2007): "The Syllabic Structure of Kuwaiti Arabic", Unpubl. MA diss., University of Manchester.
- ALRABAA, Sami (1986): "Diglossia in the Classroom: The Arabic Case", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(1):73-79.
- AL-SABĀN, Layla (2002): *Tatawur Al-Lahja Al-Kuwaytiyya: Dirāsa wa Tahlīl*, Al-Kuwayt: Jāmi'at Al-Kuwayt.
- AL-SHAMLĀN, Sēf Marzūg (1989): *Tārīx Al-Ġawṣ 'alā Al-Lūlū fī Al-Kuwayt wa Al-Xalīj Al-'arabī*, Al-Kuwayt: ḏāt Al-Salāsīl.
- ALTOMA, Salih J. (1969): *The Problem of Diglossia in Arabic: A Comparative Study of Classical and Iraqi Arabic*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- ANGHELESCU, Nadia (1974): "Arabic Diglossia and its Methodological Implications", *Romano-Arabica*, 1:81-92.
- ANIS, Furayḥah (1973): *Naḏariyyāt fī al-luġah*. Beirut: Dār al-maktab al-Lubnānī.
- BADAWĪ, al-Sa'īd Muḥammad (1973): *Mustawayāt al-<sup>ḥ</sup>Arabiyya al-Mu<sup>ḥ</sup>āṣira fī Miṣr*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif.
- BAILEY, Charles-James N. (1973): *Variation and Linguistic Theory*, Washington, DC: Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- BAKIR, Murtadha (1986): "Sex Differences in the Approximation to Standard Arabic: A Case Study", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(1):1-10.
- BASSIOUNEY, Reem (2003): "Theories of Code Switching in the Light of Empirical Evidence from Egypt", in Dilworth Parkinson & Samira Farwanah (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Fifteenth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 15:19-39, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- BASSIOUNEY, Reem (2006): *Functions of Code-Switching in Egypt*, Leiden: Brill.
- BBC (BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION): "Kuwaiti Women Win Right to Vote", ([http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/4552749.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4552749.stm)). Article accessed 30/Sep/10.
- BEHNAM, J.A. & K. I. Al-Hamash (1975): *A Theoretical and Practical Course in English Phonetics*, Baghdad: Institute for the Development of English Language Teaching in Iraq (IDELTI).
- BERGER, Marianne R. (1990): "Diglossia Within a General Theoretical Perspective: Charles Ferguson's Concept 30 Years Later", *Multilingua*, 3:285-95.

- BICKERTON, Derek (1973): "The Nature of a Creole Continuum", *Language*, 49(3):40-669.
- BISHAI, Willson B. (1966): "Modern Inter-Arabic", *Journey of the American Oriental Society*, 86(3):319-323).
- BLANC, Haim (1960): "Style Variations in Spoken Arabic: A Sample of Interdialectal Educated Conversations", in C. Ferguson (ed.), *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 81-161.
- BLANC, Haim (1964): *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- BLANC, Haim (1969): "The Fronting of the Semitic g and the qāl-gāl Dialect Split in Arabic" *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem (19-23 July 1965): The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, pp. 7-32.
- BLAU, Joshua (1965): *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Jeudo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Jerusalem: Ben Zawi, 1981).
- BLAU, Joshua (1977): *The Beginnings of the Arabic Diglossia: A Study of the Origins of Neoarabic*, Malibu: Undena Publications.
- BOLOTIN, N. (1996): "Arabic Speakers' Resetting of Parameters", in M. Eid. (ed.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Eighth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 8:135-55, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- BOUSSOFARA-OMAR, Naima (1999): "Arabic Diglossic Switching in Tunisia: Applying Myers-Scotton's Frame Model", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin.
- BOUSSOFARA-OMAR, Naima (2003): "Revisiting Arabic Diglossic Switching in Light of the MLF Model and its Sub-models: the 4-M Model and the Abstract Level Model", *Bilingualism, Language & Cognition*, 6(1):33-46.
- BRIGHT, William (1997): "Social Factors in Language Change", in Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 81-91, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- BROSELOW, Ellen (1992): "Parametric Variation in Arabic Dialect Phonology", in Ellen Broselow, John McCarthy, and Mushira Eid (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers from the Fourth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 85:7-45, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- BRUSTAD, Kristen E. (2000): *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic: A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti Dialects*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

- BUKSHAISHA, F. A. M. (1985): "An Experimental Phonetic Study of Some Aspects of Qatari Arabic", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., University of Edinburgh.
- CAMERON, Deborah and Jennifer Coates (1985): "Some Problems in the Sociolinguistic Explanation of Sex Differences", *Language & Communication*, 5(3):143-151.
- CARTER, Michael G. (1985): "When Did the Arabic Word Nahw First Come to Denote Grammar?", *Language & Communication*, 5(4):265-72.
- CATON, Steven (1991): "Diglossia in North Yemen: A Case of Competing Linguistic Communities", *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 10(1):143-59.
- CHAMBERS, J. K. (1992): "Dialect Acquisition", *Language*, 68(4):673-705.
- CHAMBERS, J. K. (2003): *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and its Linguistic Significance*, USA/UK/Australia: Blackwell Publishing.
- CHAMBERS, J. K. (2004): "Patterns of Variation Including Change", in John Chambers et al. (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, 349-372, USA/UK/Australia: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- CHAMBERS, J. K. & Peter Trudgill (1998): *Dialectology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHESHIRE, Jenny (2004): "Sex and Gender in Variationist Research", in John Chambers et al. (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, 423-443, USA/UK/Australia: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency): *The World Fact Book*, (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ku.html>). Accessed June/2009
- CNN (Cable News Network): "Woman Elected in Kuwait Says Gender in Politics is 'History'", (<http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/meast/05/17/kuwait.women.elections/#cnnSTCText>). Article accessed 30/Sep/10.
- COATES, Jennifer (1993): *Women, Men and Language: A Sociolinguistic Account of Sex Differences in Language*, London: Longman.
- COCHRAN, Effie Papatzikou (1997): "An Instance of Triglossia: Codeswitching as Evidence for the Present State of Greece's 'Language Question'", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 126(1):33-62.
- CORRIENTE, Federico (1978): " /d/ - /l/ Doublets in Classical Arabic as Evidence of the Process of Delateralization of dād and Development of its Standard Reflex", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 23(1):50-55.
- CRYSTAL, David & Derek Davy (1969): *Investigating English Styles*, London: Longman.

- DAHER, Jamil (1996): "Phonological Variation in Syrian Arabic: Correlation with Gender, Age and Education", in M. Eid & R. Ratcliffe (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Tenth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 10:239-69, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- DAHER, Jamil (1999): "(θ) and (ð) as Ternary and Binary Variables in Damascene Arabic", in E. Benmamoun (ed.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Twelfth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 12:163-81, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- DAVIS, Stuart (1995): "Emphasis Spread in Arabic and Grounded Phonology", *Linguistic Inquiry*, 26(3):465-498.
- DENISON, Norman (1997): "Language Change in Progress: Variation as it Happens", in Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 65-80, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- DICHY, Joseph (1994): "La Pluriglossie de l'Arabe", in Pierre Larcher (ed.), *Langue et littérature arabes, Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, 46:19-32.
- DOBRISAN, Nicolae (1978): "Assimilation of Word Borrowings From European Languages into the Arabic Language", *Romano-Arabica*, 2:53-59.
- ECKERT, Penelope (1989): "The Whole Woman: Sex and Gender Differences in Variation", *Language Variation and Change*, 1:245-68.
- ECKERT, Penelope (1997): "Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable", in Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 151-167, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- EID, Mushira (1982): "The Non-randomness of Diglossic Variation in Arabic", *Glossa*, 16(1):54-84.
- ELGIBALI, Alaa (1985): "Towards a Sociolinguistic Analysis of Language Variation in Arabic: Cairene and Kuwaiti Dialects", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., University of Pittsburgh.
- ELGIBALI, Alaa (1993): "Stability and Language Variation in Arabic: Cairene and Kuwaiti Arabic", in M. Eid & C. Holes (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Fifth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 5:75-96, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- EL-HASSAN, Shahir (1978): "Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant: A Critical Review of Diglossia and Related Concepts", *Archivum Linguisticum*, 8:112-32.
- EL-HASSAN, Shahir (1979): "Variation in the Demonstrative System in Educated Spoken Arabic", *Achivum Linguisticum*, 9:32-57.
- FASOLD, Ralph (2004): *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- FERGUSON, Charles (1956): "The Emphatic L in Arabic", *Language*, 32(3):446-52.
- FERGUSON, Charles (1957): "Two Problems in Arabic Phonology", *Word*, 13:460-78.
- FERGUSON, Charles (1959a): "Diglossia", *Word*, 15:325-40.
- FERGUSON, Charles (1959b): "The Arabic Koine", *Language*, 35(4):616-30.
- FERGUSON, Charles (1959c): "Myths About Arabic", in *Georgetown University Roundtable on Language and Linguistics*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 75-82.
- FERGUSON, Charles (1983): "Sports Announcer Talk: Syntactic Aspects of Register Variation", *Language in Society*, 12:153-72.
- FERGUSON, Charles (1996): "Epilogue: Diglossia Revisited", in A. Elgibali (ed.), *Understanding Arabic: Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics in Honour of El-Said Badawi*, Cairo: American University of Cairo, pp. 49-67.
- FIRTH, J. R. (1957): *Handbook of Kuwaiti Arabic*, Kuwait: Kuwait Oil Company LTD.
- FISHMAN, Joshua (1967): "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism", *Journal of Social Issues*, 23:29-38.
- FISHMAN, Joshua (1997): "Language and Ethnicity: The View from Within", in Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 327-43, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- FOUGHT, Carmen (2004): "Ethnicity", in John Chambers et. al. (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, 444-472, USA/UK/Australia: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- FRANCIS, Winthrop Nelson (1983): *Dialectology: An Introduction*, England: Longman.
- GADALLA, Hassan A. H. (2000): *Comparative Morphology of Standard and Egyptian Arabic*, Germany: Lincom Europa.
- GAIRDNER, W. H. T. (1925): *The Phonetics of Arabic: A phonetic Inquiry and Practical Manual for the Pronunciation of Classical Arabic and of One Colloquial (Egyptian)*, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.
- GILES, Howard (1979): "Ethnicity Markers in Speech", in Klaus Scherer and Howard Giles (eds.), *Social Markers in Speech*, 251-290, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GUMPERZ, John (1968): "The Speech Community", in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, London: Macmillan, pp. 381-86.
- GUMPERZ, John (1993): "Types of Linguistics Communities", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 35:130-142.

- HAERI, N. (1987): "Male/Female Differences in Speech: An Alternative Interpretation", *Symposium on Language and Gender*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah.
- HAERI, Niloofar (1991): "Sociolinguistic Variation in Cairene Arabic: Palatalization and the Qaf in the Speech of Men and Women", *Dissertation Abstracts International*, University of Pennsylvania, pp.52:898.
- HAERI, Niloofar (1992): "How Different are Men and Women: Palatalization in Cairo", in E. Broselow, M. Eid & J. McCarthy (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Fourth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 4:165-180, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- HAIM, Blanc (1970): "Dual and Pseudo-Dual in the Arabic Dialects", *Languages*, 46(1):42-57.
- HARNING, Kerstin Eksell (1980): *The Analytic Genitive in the Modern Arabic Dialects*, Stockholm: Orientalia Gothoburgensis, 5.
- HARRELL, Richard S. (1957): *The Phonology of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*, Washington, DC: Craftsman Press Inc.
- HARY, Benjamin (1996): "The Importance of the Language Continuum in Arabic Multiglossia", in A. Elgibali. (ed.), *Understanding Arabic: Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics in Honour of El-Said Badawi*, Cairo: American University of Cairo, pp. 69-89.
- HAUGEN, Einar (1950): "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing", *Language*, 26(2):210:231.
- HAUGEN, Einar (1966): "Dialect, Language, Nation", *American Anthropologist*, 68(4):922-35.
- HAWKINS, P. (1983): "Diglossia Revisited", *Language and Communication*, 3(3):219-32.
- HELFRICH, Hede (1979): "Age Markers in Speech", in Klaus Scherer and Howard Giles (eds.), *Social Markers in Speech*, 64-108, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HOLE, Clive (1980): "Phonological Variation in Bahraini Arabic: The (j) and (y) Allophones of /j/", *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, 4:72-89.
- HOLE, Clive (1983): "Patterns of Communal Language Variation in Bahrain", *Language in Society*, 12(4):433-457.
- HOLE, Clive (1986a): "The Social Motivation for Phonological Convergence in Three Arabic Dialects", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 61:33-51.
- HOLE, Clive (1986b): "Communicative Function and Pronominal Variation in Bahraini Arabic", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(1):10-30.

- HOLES, Clive (1987): *Language Variation and Change in a Modernising Arab State: The Case of Bahrain*, London/New York: Kegan Paul International.
- HOLES, Clive (1995a): "Community, Dialect and Urbanization in the Arabic-Speaking Middle East", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 58:270-87.
- HOLES, Clive (1995b): *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties*, New York: Longman.
- HOLMES, Janet (2008): *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, England: Pearson Education Limited.
- HONEY, John (1997): "Sociophonology", in Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 92-106, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- HOYT, Frederick (2009): "The Arabic Noun Phrase", [http://comp.ling.utexas.edu/fmhoyt/Hoyt\(06\)\\_NounPhrases\\_Finished.pdf](http://comp.ling.utexas.edu/fmhoyt/Hoyt(06)_NounPhrases_Finished.pdf), link accessed on 1/April/2009.
- HUDSON, Alan (1994): "Diglossia as a Special Case of Register Variation", in D. Bilbert & E. Finigan (eds.), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 294-314.
- HUDSON, Alan (2002): "Outline of a Theory of Diglossia", *International Journal of Social Language*, 157:1-48.
- HUDSON-EDWARDS, Alan (1984): "Rediscovering Diglossia", *Southwest Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(1):5-15.
- HUDSON, Richard A. (1996): *Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HURFORD, James R. (1994): *Grammar: A Student's Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HUSSEIN, Riad Fayez (1980): "The Case for Triglossia in Arabic (With Special Emphasis on Jordan)", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., State University of New York at Buffalo.
- IBRAHIM, Muhammad (1986): "Standard and Prestige Language: A Problem in Arabic Socio-linguistics", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(1):115-126.
- ISSAWI, Charles (1967): "European Loan-Words in Contemporary Arabic Writing: A Case in Modernization", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 3(2):110-133.
- JARADA, 'Izaldīn Ṣalāḥ (1987): *Yas'alūnak 'an Al-Kuwayt*, Al-Kuwayt, ḏāt Al-Salāsīl.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1963): "The Affrication of Kaf and Gaf in the Arabic Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 8:210-226.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1965): "The Sound Change 'j > y' in the Arabic Dialects of Peninsular Arabia", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 28(2):233-241.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1967): *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*, in London Oriental Series 17, London: Oxford University Press.

- KATZNER, Kenneth (2002): *The Languages of the World*, USA/Canada: Routledge.
- KAYE, Alan S. (1972a): "Arabic /ziim/: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study", *Linguistics*, 79:31-72.
- KAYE, Alan S. (1972b): "Remarks on Diglossia in Arabic: Well-defined vs. Ill-defined", *Linguistics*, 81:32-48.
- KAYE, Alan S. (1975): "More on Diglossia in Arabic", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 6(3):325-40.
- KAYE, Alan S. (1994): "Formal vs. Informal in Arabic: Diglossia, Triglossia, Tetraglossia, etc.: Polyglossia-Multiglossia Viewed as a Continuum", *Journal of Arabic Linguistics*, 27:47-66.
- KAYE, Alan S. (2001): "Diglossia: The State of the Art", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 152:117-29.
- KAYE, Alan S. & Judith Rosenhouse (2006): "Arabic Dialects and Maltese", in Robert Hetzron (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London: Routledge, pp. 263-311.
- KENSTOWICZ, Michael (1994): *Phonology in Generative Grammar*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- KIPARSKY, Paul (2002): "Syllables and Moras in Arabic" in Caroline Fery and Ruben van de Vijver (eds.), *The Syllable in Optimality Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KOJAK, Wafa (1983): *Language and Sex: A Case Study of a Group of Educated Syrian Speakers of Arabic*, Unpubl. MA diss., University of Lancaster.
- LABOV, William (1966): *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- LABOV, William (1968): "The Reflection of Social Processes in Linguistic Structures", in J. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, The Hague: Mouton, pp. 240-51.
- LABOV, William (1972a): "Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology", *Language in Society*, 1(1):97-120.
- LABOV, William (1972b): *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- LABOV, William (1994): *Principles in Linguistic Change: Internal Factors*, volume (1), Oxford, UK/Cambridge, USA: Blackwell.
- LADEFOGED, Peter (2006): *A Course in Phonetics*, Boston, USA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- LEHN, Walter (1963): "Emphasis in Cairo Arabic", *Language*, 39(1):29-39.

- LIPINSKI, Edward (2001): *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, Louvain, Belgium: Peeters Publishers.
- MACNAMARA, J. (1907): "Bilingualism in the Modern World", *Journal of Social Issues*, 23(2):1-7.
- MALICK, Alice Paul (1956-57): "Comparative Study of American English and Iraqi Arabic Consonant Clusters", *Language Learning*, 7(3-4):65-87.
- MARCAIS, William (1930): "La Diglossie Arabe", *L'Enseignement Public*, 14:401-9.
- MAROUF, Firas A. (1974): "Teaching English Pronunciation in Iraqi Primary School", *IDELTI Journal* (Journal of the Institute for the Development of English Language Teaching in Iraq), 2:31-55.
- MCLOUGHLIN, Leslie J. (1960): "Towards a Definition of Modern Standard Arabic", *Archivum Linguisticum*, 3 (n.s.):57-73.
- MEISELES, Gustav (1980): "Educated Spoken Arabic and the Arabic Language Continuum", *Archivum Linguisticum*, 11(n.s.) (2):118-48.
- MEJDELL, Gunvor (2006): *Mixed Styles in Spoken Arabic in Egypt*, Leiden: Brill.
- MILLER, Catherine (2005): "Between Accommodation and Resistance: Upper Egyptian Migrants in Cairo", *Linguistics*, 43(5):903-56.
- MILROY, James and Lesley Milroy (1978): "Belfast: Change and Variation in an Urban Vernacular", in Peter Trudgill (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*, 19-36, London: Edward Arnold.
- MILROY, James and Lesley Milroy (1997): "Varieties and Variation", in Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 47-64, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- MILROY, Lesley (1976): "Phonological Correlates to Community Structure in Belfast", *Belfast Working Papers on Language and Linguistics*, 1:1-44.
- MILROY, Lesley (1980): *Language and Social Networks*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- MILROY, Lesley (1997): *Observing & Analysing Natural Language: A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Method*, Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
- MILROY, Lesley (2004): "Social Networks", in John Chambers et al. (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, 549-572, USA/UK/Australia: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- MITCHELL, T. F. (1962): *Colloquial Arabic: The Living Language of Egypt*, London: English Universities Press.
- MITCHELL, T. F. (1975): "Some Preliminary Observations on the Arabic Koine", *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 2(2):70-86.

- MITCHELL, T. F. (1986): "What is Educated Spoken Arabic?", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 61:7-32
- MUGHAZY, M. (2001): "Discourse Particles Revisited: The Case of Wallahi in Egyptian Arabic", in Dilworth Parkinson & Samira Farwaneh (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Fifteenth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 15:3-17, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- MUḤAMMAD, Xālid Sālim (2009): *Qāmūs al-Kalimāt al-Ajnabiyya Fī al-Lahja al-Kuwaytiyya: Qadīman wa Hadīthan*, Al-Kuwayt: Maṭba'at al-Fayṣal.
- MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol (1993): "Building the Frame in Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa", in S. Mufwene and L. Moshi (eds.), *Topics in African Linguistics*, 253-78, Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol (2006): *Social Motivations for Code Switching: Evidence from Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MYHILL, John (2004): "Why has Black English not been Standardized? A Cross-Cultural Dialogue on Prescriptivism", *Language Sciences*, 26:27-56.
- NASR, Raja T. (1967): *The Structure of Arabic*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- NEWMAN, Daniel (2002a): "The Phonetic Status of Arabic within the World's Languages: The Uniqueness of the Lughat Al-Daad", *Antwerp Papers in Linguistics*, 100:65-75.
- NEWMAN, Daniel (2002b): "The European Influence on Arabic During the Nahda: Lexical Borrowing From European Languages (ta'rib) in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Literature", *Arabic Language and Literature*, 5(2):1-32.
- NEWMAN, Daniel & Jo Verhoeven (2002): "Frequency Analysis of Arabic Vowels in Connected Speech", *Antwerp Papers in Linguistics*, 100:77-86.
- NEWMAN, Daniel (Forthcoming): *The Phonetics of Arabic*.
- O'CONNOR, J. D. (1973): "Vowel, Consonant, and Syllable: A Phonological Definition" in W. E. Jones and John Laver (eds.) *Phonetics in Linguistics: A Book of Readings*, pp. 240-261, London: Longman.
- ODISHO, Edward (1979): "Consonant Clusters and Abutting Consonants in English and Arabic, Implications and Applications", *System*, 7:205-210.
- OWENS, Jonathan (2000): "Arabic Sociolinguistics", *Arabica*, 48(4):416-69.
- PALVA, Heikki (1982): "Patterns of Koineization in Modern Colloquial Arabic", *Acta Orientalia*, 43:13-32.
- PARKINSON, Dilworth (1991): "Searching for Modern Fuṣḥā: Real-Life Formal Arabic", *Al-'Arabiyya*, 24:31-64.
- PARKINSON, Dilworth (1993): "Knowing Standard Arabic: Testing Egyptians' MSA Abilities", in M. Eid & C. Holes (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics*.

- Papers From the Fifth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 5:47-73. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- PARKINSON, Dilworth (1996). "Variability in Standard Arabic Grammar Skills", in A. Elgibali. (ed.), *Understanding Arabic: Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics in Honour of El-Said Badawi*, Cairo: American University of Cairo, pp. 91-101.
- PARKINSON, D. & Z. Ibrahim (1999): "Testing Lexical Difference in Regional Standard Arabic", in E. Benmamoun (ed.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Twelfth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 12:183-202. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- PELLOWE, John et al. (1972): "A Dynamic Modelling of Linguistic Variation: The Urban (Tyneside) Linguistic Survey", *Lingua*, 30:1-30.
- PENALOSA, Fernando (1980): *Chicano Sociolinguistic: A Brief Introduction*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- PLATT, John T. (1977): "A Model For Polyglossia and Multilingualism (With Special Reference to Singapore and Malaysia)", *Language in Society*, 6:361-78.
- RABIE, Medhat Sidky (1991): "A Sociolinguistic Study of the Diglossia of Egyptian Radio Arabic: An Ethnographic Approach", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., The University of Texas at Austin.
- RICKFORD, John (1999): *African American Vernacular English: Features, Evolution, Educational Implications*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 174-218.
- RABIN, C. (1955): "The Beginnings of Classical Arabic", *Studia Islamica*, 4:19-37.
- ROMAINE, Suzanne (2000): *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ROSENHOUSE, Judith (1984): *The Bedouin Arabic Dialects: General Problems and a Close Analysis of North Israel Bedouin Dialects*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- RYDING, Karin (2009): *A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SALLAM, A. M. (1980): "Phonological Variation in Educated Spoken Arabic: A Study of the Uvular and Related Plosive Types", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 43(1):77-100.
- SANDERSON, P. (1965): *English Consonant Clusters*, Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- SCHMIDT, Richard W. (1986): "Applied Sociolinguistics: The Case of Arabic as a Second Language", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(1):55-72.

- SHRAYBOM-SHIVTIEL, Shlomit (1995): "The Role of Colloquial in the Renaissance of Standard Arabic: Language as a Mirror of Social Change", *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 15:207-215.
- SMITH, Philip M. (1979): "Sex Markers in Speech", in Klaus Scherer and Howard Giles (eds.), *Social Markers in Speech*, 109-146, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SNIDER, J. G., and Charles Osgood (1969): *Semantic Differential Technique: A Sourcebook*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.
- SOLIMAN, Abdelmeneim Fahmy (2008): "The Changing Role of Arabic in Religious Discourse: A Sociolinguistic Study of Egyptian Arabic", Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., Philadelphia: Indiana University of Pennsylvania.
- SOTIROPOULOS, Dimitri (1977): "Diglossia and the National Language Question in Greece", *Linguistics*, 197:5-31.
- STATE, Department of: "International Religious Freedom Report: Kuwait", (<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2009/127351.htm>). Report accessed 30/Sep/2010.
- STETKEVYCH, Jaroslav (2006): *The Modern Arabic Literary Language: Lexical and Stylistic Developments*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- THORNBURG, Linda (1980): "Arabic Loan Phonology: The Assimilation of English Lexical Items", *Linguistics*, 18:523-542.
- TRUDGILL, Peter (1972): "Sex, Covert Prestige, and Linguistic Change in the Urban British Dialect of Norwich", *Language in Society*, 1(2):179-95.
- TRUDGILL, Peter (1974): *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- TRUDGILL, Peter (1984): *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspective*, New York: New York University Press.
- VERSTEEGH, Kees (1984a): "Loan Words from Arabic and the Merger of (d) (ḏh)", *Israel Oriental Studies*, 19:273-86.
- VERSTEEGH, Kees (1984b): *Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic*, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 3, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- VERSTEEGH, Kees (1996): "Linguistic Attitudes and the Origin of Speech in the Arab World", in A. Elgibali (ed.), *Understanding Arabic: Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics in Honour of El-Said Badawi*, Cairo: American University of Cairo, 15-31.

- VERSTEEGH, Kees (2004). *The Arabic Language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- WAHBA, Kassem M. (1996): "Linguistic Variation in Alexandrian Arabic: The Feature of Emphasis", in A. Elgibali (ed.), *Understanding Arabic: Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics in Honour of El-Said Badawi*, Cairo: American University of Cairo, pp. 3- 28.
- WALTERS, Keith (1989): "Women, Men, and Linguistic Variation in the Arab World", in Bernard Comrie & Mushira Eid (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers from the Third Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 3:199-230. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- WALTERS, Keith (1996): "Diglossia, Linguistic Variation, and Language Change in Arabic", *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers From the Eighth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 8:157-196. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- WATSON, Janet (1999): "The Directionality of Emphasis Spread in Arabic", *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30(2):289:300.
- WATSON, Janet (2002): *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- WODAK, Ruth and Gertraud Benke (1997): "Gender as a Sociolinguistic Variable: New Perspectives on Variation Studies", in Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 127-150, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- WOLFRAM, Walter (1969): *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*, Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- WRIGHT, William (1967): *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (2 volumes in one). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- YASSIN, Mahmoud Aziz F. (1977): "Bi-polar Terms of Address in Kuwaiti Arabic", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 40(2):297-301.
- ZUGHOU, Muhammad Raji (1980): "Diglossia in Arabic: Investigating Solutions", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 22(5):201-17.

**Appendix I: Table Detailing Informants' Personal Information (Underlined names = Speakers in formal settings)**

<b>Informant</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Sex</b>
1. Mohammad Bin Naser	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Surra	Young (18-29)	M
2. Mohammad Al-Senan	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Mishrif	Young (18-29)	M
3. Abdullah Al-Mutawwa	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Jabriya	Middle (30-44)	M
4. Ahmad Al-Failakawy	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Bayan	Old (45+)	M
5. Ahmad Khamees	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Rawda	Young (18-29)	M
6. Naser Al-Mas	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Rawda	Young (18-29)	M
7. Mohammad Al-Abdulla	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	West Mishrif	Young (18-29)	M
8. <u>Jasim Al-Khurafy</u> 9. <u>Jasim Al-Khurafy</u>	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Abdullah Al-Salim	Old (45+)	M
10. <u>Mohammad Al-Sagir</u>	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Abdullah Al-Salim	Old (45+)	M
11. <u>Jabir Khalid Al-Sabah</u>	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Shamiya	Old (45+)	M
12. <u>Fu'ad Al-Hashim</u>	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Salwa	Old (45+)	M
13. Dana Al-Musallam	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	South Al-Surra	Young (18-29)	F
14. Wajd Jabir Al-Sabah	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Maseela	Young (18-29)	F

15. Masha'il Abdul-Aziz Al-Tawwash	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Kaifan	Young (18-29)	F
16. Sahar Bader Al-Qu'ood	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Nuzha	Young (18-29)	F
17. Zain Ahmad Al-Badir	Sunni <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Khaldiya	Young (18-29)	F
18. <u>Abd Al-Mohsin Yousuf Jamal</u>	Shiites <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Dasma	Old (45+)	M
19. Bashayir Jasim Al-Bulushy 20. Bashayir Jasim Al-Bulushy	Shiites <i>Haḍar</i>	Salwa	Young (18-29)	F
21. Isra' Ahmad Al-Bulushy	Shiites <i>Haḍar</i>	Al-Rumaithiya	Young (18-29)	F
22. Faisal Al-Mee'	Bedouin	Al-Jahra	Young (18-29)	M
23. Ali Al-Enzi	Bedouin	Hadiya	Young (18-29)	M
24. Mohammad Juhail	Bedouin	Al-Manqaf	Young (18-29)	M
25. <u>Mohammad Deef-Allah Sharar</u>	Bedouin	Sabah Al-Naser	Old (45+)	M
26. <u>Ali Al-Duqbasy</u>	Bedouin	Ishbilya	Old (45+)	M
27. <u>Fahad Dhaisan Al-Mee'</u>	Bedouin	Al-Subahiya	Old (45+)	M
28. <u>Haya Al-Mutairi</u>	Bedouin	Al-Farwaniyah	Middle (30-44)	F

**Appendix II: Table Detailing Informants and Occurrences of Variables**

Duwāniyya	Group Observation		Semi-Structured		Political Show		Kuwait National		Friday Sermon		
Informants	Occurrences of Phonological Variables										
	/k/ affrication			/q/ affrication and fronting				/j/ palatalisation			
	# of /k/ instances	# of /č/ instances		# of /q/ instances	# of /g/ instances		# of /j/ instances		# of /j/ instances	# of /y/ instances	
		Total	Of which is affrication		Total	Of which is fronting	Total	Of which is affrication		Total	Of which is palatalisation
1. Mohammad Bin Naser	35	8	5	6	14	11	12	3	12	28	3
2. Mohammad Senan	25	7	6	9	11	11	15	2	15	38	13

3. Abdullah Al-Mutawaa	45	15	14	18	33	36	21	5	21	41	13
4. Ahmad Khamees	28	6	6	16	16	18	6	0	6	33	4
5. Nasser Al-Maas	67	7	7	51	41	40	41	5	41	89	8
6. Faisal Al-Mee'	44	14	14	30	35	35	48	3	48	50	3
7. Wajd Jabir Al-Sabah	17	4	4	13	15	15	7	0	7	24	2
8. Masha'il Abdul-Aziz Al-Tawwash	22	2	1	15	19	19	21	1	21	41	4

9. Sahar Bader Al-Qu'ood	13	3	3	7	5	5	5	1	5	16	1
10. Zain Ahmad Al-Badir	4	1	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	4	1
11. Dana Al-Musallam	29	7	5	12	21	21	25	4	25	43	6
12. Bashayir Jasim Al-Buluushy(2)	27	6	6	22	21	21	25	3	25	44	9
13. Isra' Ahmad Al-Buluushy	25	11	11	9	7	7	14	2	14	19	5

14. Mohammad Al- Abdullah	30	3	3	29	17	16	28	1	28	56	7
15. Ali Al-Enzi	19	0	0	19	13	13	19	1	19	45	3
16. Mohammad Juhail	37	6	6	27	26	26	23	4	23	46	12
17. Bashayir Jasim Al- Buluushy(1)	42	5	5	25	23	23	17	2	17	65	9
18. Haya Al-Mutairi	55	2	2	48	16	16	46	2(3)	46	60	5

19. Fu'aad Al-Haashim	44	22	22	29	9	9	36	2	36	51	3
20. Jaasim Al-Khuraafy(1)	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	0	4	1	0
21. Jaasim Al-Khuraafy(2)	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0
22. Mohammad Al-Sagir	26	1	1	20	12	12	11	0	11	32	2
23. Jaabir Khaalid Al-Subaah	13	0	0	6	2	2	9	0	9	15	1

24. Abd Al-Mohsin Yousuf Jamaal	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
25. Mohammad Deef- Allah Sharaar	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
26. Ali Al-Duqbaasy	38	2	2	50	8	8	27	0	27	43	0
27. Fahad Dhaisaan Al-Mee'	4	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	2	0
28. Ahmad Al- Failkaawy	35	1	1	39	6	6	36	1	36	27	1

### **Appendix III: List of Questions**

The following is a list that was used in the process of interviewing:

#### 1) Individual interview within a group:-

A) To obtain the colloquial and the most natural speech, questions about demography and personal life are asked.

##### I) Personal Life:

What is your name/age/place of birth?

Where do you live?

Where were you born?

Are you married?

Have you any children?

Where do you hang out?

What memories of the Invasion do you have?

Speak of a nice occurring memory.

Do you like to travel?

Do you speak any language other than your mother tongue?

How would you describe your family?

Do you like sports?

What is your favourite sport?

II) Study/Work:

Have you always wanted to do/study what you are doing/studying now?

Do you like it?

Have you ever cheated in exams/at work?

What was your high-school's name?

Do you miss it?

If you won/inherited a large sum of money, would you quit studying/working?

Where/what do you see yourself years ahead in time?

B) The purpose of this set of questions is to shift the formality of the setting to a more formal one. This was to balance the production of both the colloquial and the Standard phonological variants.

I) Politics and Society:

What is your opinion regarding the political system and politics in Kuwait?

Where do you stand on women voting and electing, given that women have been granted their full political rights and have just recently been elected by the people?

We just saw history in the making when Obama, a black president, won the elections.

Government refusing to buy citizens' debts/loans.

What worries and problems do you have regarding the different nations of the world?

Where do you stand on the phenomenon of Westernization in Kuwait, and the Arab world in general?

What solutions do you suggest?

Do you see the Kuwaiti citizen as an active member of society?

What do you think of sports in Kuwait?