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A Sociolinguistic Study of the Variants of the Sounds /k/ and /q/ in Palestinian Local Dialects

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List of Symbols

/ / (slashes): Used for the Phonemic Representations

[ ] (squire brackets): Used for the Phonetic Representations

* (the star): Used for an Unacceptable Form/ not Found Forms

Definitions of Key Terms

1- ***Al-Kaʃkaʃah / Al-Shaʔshaʔah:*** It is a term used by Arab linguists to refer to the voiceless alveo-palatal/ post alveolar [tʃ] sound as saying [matʃtab] for disk instead of [maktab]. (Aniis (1973) and Harakat(1998)).

2- **Modern Standard Arabic (MSA):** It is the language of the Holy Qur'aan, media, highly codified literature...etc. It corresponds with the High Variety (Ferguson (1959), Aniis (1973) and Ahmad (2000)).

3- **Spontaneous Method:** The natural method used for collecting data from informants (following Blanc (1953))

4- **Strident Sounds**: The sounds fricatives, affricates and oral stops are called strident because of their relative noise (O'Grady et. al (2005)).

(The following definitions were quoted form The Oxford Companion to the English Language, (1992))

5- **Allophone:** "A sound that can be substituted for another without bringing about a change of meaning". In other words, it is the phonetic variant of a phoneme in a particular context.

6- **High Variety:** "A standard variety used for "high" purposes. It includes sermons, political speeches, university lectures and news broadcasts".

7- **Dialect:** "A general and a technical term for a form of a language. Although the term usually refers to regional speech, it can be extended to cover differences according to class and education".

8- **Diglossia:** "A term in sociolinguistics [first used in English by Charles Ferguson 1959] for the use of two or more varieties of language for different purposes in the same community".

9- **Low Variety: "**The variety of the language that is acquired spontaneously, used in everyday speech. It is also defined as the spoken vernacular in everyday conversations".

10- **Phoneme:** "The Basic theoretical unit of distinctive sound in the description of speech, out of which syllables are formed. It is also defined as A phonological unit of language that can't be analyzed into smaller linear units and that in any particular language is realized in non-contrastive variants". It is also defined by Rogers (2000) as “A contrastive segment in a language”.

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Transliteration Symbols

The following Arabic sound symbols will be used in this study:

Note that Emphatic Consonants and Vowels are Indicated by Doubling

θ	ث
Ħ/ h	ح
X	خ
ð	ذ
ʃ/ tʃ	تش /ش
ṣ	ص
ḍ	ض
ṭ	ط
ẓ	ظ
ʕ	ع
ɣ	غ
q	ق
ʔ	ء

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consonant

2-Arabic Vowels are transcribed as follows:

Long Vowels	**Short Vowels**
ææ ا	æ فتحه
uu أو	u ضمه
ii أي	i كسره

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Abstract

This study aims to show the distribution of the variants of the sounds /k/ and /q/ in the Palestinian dialects according to the regional factor. This objective leads to an investigation of the link between the variants of the voiceless alveo-palatal/ post-alveolar plosive /k/ as [tʃ] and the voiceless dorso-pharyngeal plosive /q/ as [g], [k] and [ʔ] in Palestine. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the field of sociolinguistics by exploring theoretical linguistic accounts of the variants under study as well as the interaction between language and social stratification defined by geographical boundaries. This study also feeds into the pedagogic domain since it brings awareness to English teachers "dialect" and its impact on the teaching- learning process. This could be possible through making students aware of the varieties of the varieties of English as the case in Arabic which has a wide range of dialects.

Individual interviews were used to elicit natural samples of the used variants of the /k/ and /q/. To verify the used variants, a list of words designed by the researcher was used. The list contains the systematic occurrences of both sounds. Doing so, it is found out that the variants of the /k/ and /q/ sounds stratify the social communities in Palestine into rural versus urban dialects.

Chapter One

1.1-Introduction

The aim of this study is to give a detailed description of the variants of the /k/ and /q/ in the Palestinian dialects. This work will explore how phonological variation of the sound /k/ is determined by the geographical factors as phonologically rule governed. Phonological rules are the basis of such variation, and explanations will be provided to show how the differences in these variants are dependent on the geographical location in Palestine. This means that the phonological realizations of the sounds under investigation will be associated with the speakers' region. In the following discussion, Fallaħi and Madani terms will be used as synonymous for rural and urban terms.

Linguists as Blanc (1953), Labov (1966, 1970), Aniis (1973), Chambers (1991), and Rickford (1996) have investigated and studied social dialects. However, there are few studies that talk about individual sounds and their geographical distribution to provide explanations for these variations. As for the Palestinian dialects, there have been few studies that show the variations in the phonological systems or forming phonological rules for these variations.

Concerning the Arabic Dialects, we have differences between the High Variety/ Classical Arabic "Modern Standard Arabic" and the Low one (ʕææmiyyæh) in many respects like Lexicon, syntax, morphology and phonology. The term ‘diglossia’ was introduced by Ferguson (1959) to refer to the two varieties. We have lack of correspondence between standard Arabic (The High Variety) and Colloquial Arabic

(The Low Variety). There are no native speakers of *Fuṣħa* that is why it has to be taught at schools and universities to be learned.

The Palestinian dialects exhibit the variants of *Madan*i (urban) and *Fallaħi* (rural), the [k] being the *madani* dialect in pronouncing the sound /k/ and the [tʃ] for the *fallaħi* dialect. Concerning the *Fuṣħa* /q/, the following are its variants:

a- The [g] variant is used by people in rural regions of Hebron Vicinity and among Bedouins as *Fallaħi* and Bedouin dialects.

b-The [k] variant is used by people in rural regions of the vicinities of Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkarim, and Qalqeelia as peasantry dialect.

c- The [ʔ] variant is used in the urban areas as urban dialect.

d- The [q] phoneme as *Fuṣħa* dialect is used by the Druze (Blanc1953) or in the formal speech of the educated people. Such a variant has survived with Druze and it is seen as a distinctive feature of their dialect.

1.2-Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to show how the variants of the classical Arabic sounds under investigation (/k/ and /q/) are distributed. These sounds, in the Palestinian dialects, are determined by the regional factor. This objective leads to an investigation of the link between the variants and the regions of social communities in Palestine to draw conclusions about the interaction between the sociolinguistic variable (region) and phonology.

This study provides English language teachers as well as learners with awareness of dialectical varieties. The awareness of dialect variations is important in teaching to know that the standard dialect used in teaching English is not the only used English dialect. That is why learners should not be surprised to hear about other dialects from native speakers because many teachers and students assume that the dialect used in teaching English is the only accepted English dialect, in native speaking countries, which is not true. This study represents a necessary requisite for English teachers to show that English, like Arabic, has a variety of dialects.

1.3-Research Question:

The research question in this thesis is:

how do the variants of /k/ and /q/ stratify the social communities in Palestine?

1.4-The Hypothesis:

It is hypothesized that:

the variants of the sounds /k/ and /q/ stratify the social communities in Palestine into urban/*Madani* and rural/*Fallaħi.*

1.5-Limitations of the Study

This study is only limited to dialect speakers in urban areas and dialect speakers in rural areas in Palestine, which makes the study different from other studies in the field in relation to types of communities and the speech sounds under discussion. It should be mentioned that the results of this study cannot be generalized since they are restricted to the description of some rural and urban areas. It is impossible to meet or interview every person in all the presented geographical areas. So here, the participants represent a very small sample of the population living in each geographical area.

1.6-Statement of the problem

Language teachers usually depend on the standard dialect of the taught language. However, the fact that the standard is the only dialect does not rule out the exclusion of other dialects for a language. The problem to be addressed in this study is showing variations in relation to phonology of Arabic dialects in Palestine along the lines of dialect variations in Native English speaking countries. The ultimate aim is to bring awareness to teachers of English that they have come from a multi-dialectical

background like the English speakers of the standard who also belong to communities of multi-English dialects.

1.7-Design of the Study:

This thesis consists of four chapters which begin with the literature review followed by discussion and findings. The first and the second chapters present the theoretical foundations for both English and Arabic regional variations. Such related literature paves the way for the second part: the field study. Chapter Three includes the methodology, research question, hypothesis, informants, and data collection. The fourth chapter presents the discussion and findings. Last of all, Chapter Five summarizes the results obtained from the field study, and it also presents some pedagogical implications and recommendations.

1.8- Importance of the Study:

It is hoped that this study will contribute to the field of linguistics and sociolinguistics in particular, by exploring theoretical linguistic accounts of the variants under study as well as the interaction between language and social stratification (rural vs. urban) defined by geographical boundaries. It is also hoped that by looking at dialect analysis, there will be a better understanding of the concept of dialects in general including the English dialects which enable teachers of English to become familiar with such concepts and their impact on the teaching of language in the classroom. With the

growing interest in English as a world language, the standard and the native norm have been redefined to allow for accepting non-native varieties of English (Kachru and Nelson, 1996).

Further, this sort of linguistic knowledge feeds into the protection of the linguistic heritage among dialects in general and the Palestinian dialects, in particular. Some scholars have explained the benefits of dialect studies as a way of "linguistic reformation" (Dardoona: 2006: pp.131). What he meant from this was that studying and analyzing dialects in a detailed and accurate way could lead to further understanding of the standard Arabic.

Another idea that should be mentioned is that such a study is intended for non-native speakers of Arabic. They could benefit from such studies by knowing that not all dialects are the same. They could make use of such studies in learning the dialect varieties used by Arabic native speakers.

1.9-Procedure of the Study:

The informants of the present study belong to different Palestinian rural and urban areas. The variants of /k/ and /q/ will be investigated since they offer insights into the sociolinguistic structure of the Palestinian dialects along the line of geography. Two instruments were used for collecting data. The first was spontaneous individual interviews used to get natural samples of different Palestinian dialects. The second is a list of words designed by the researcher. These words were used to verify the used variants by asking informants to say how they pronounced these words. The focus was

on finding out how the variants of /k/ and /q/ were spoken. The researcher tried to stratify the variants of both sounds on the social communities in Palestine. Hence, data were grouped according to geography urban vs. rural.

1.10-Summary:

This has been a brief introduction to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, importance of the study, hypothesis, research question, limitations of the study, and procedure of the study. In the next chapter, the work of some linguists who have conducted studies in English related to dialects will be considered. We will look at the impact on dialect formation in English native speaking countries beginning with the USA and then the UK. Then, Arabic studies on dialects will be reviewed.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1-Introduction

This chapter reviews some English and Arabic literature on dialect variations. First, English literature will be presented. This section is supported by dialect maps to the UK and USA, and then some other Arabic dialect studies will be reviewed later. These studies (English and Arabic) are intended to provide a background for this study concerning dialect variation in general and the Palestinian dialects in particular.

2.2-Literature Related to Dialects:

Dialect studies have been viewed as very important in the field of sociolinguistics. Such an aspect of language has developed in the West and methodologies of looking into dialects have been taken as models of collecting data and analysis of data. Labov (1966) is a key figure in the area with his study in New York about the social stratification. Moreover, such studies have been found as rich sources for linguistic analysis in relation to syntax, phonology, morphology and lexicology. That is why it is believed that looking at examples of dialect studies in English (US context and UK context) will be helpful in furnishing the background for the study of the Palestinian local dialects. It will also show the elements that are potential variables for research in our local dialects.

The most quoted studies in relation to sound variations as distinctive markers of a regional dialect is [r] or [r-less] speech in the US and UK. Another designation of the same phenomenon is using the terms rhotic and non-rhotic speakers. This illustartion

will also enlighten English language teachers with respect to the accepted pronunciations of English in the US and the UK.

The research question in this thesis is about the impact of the variants of the /k/ and /q/ on dialect formation. But before going any further, let us see the variants of the post-vocalic /r/ across some areas in the USA and Britain clarified by regional maps. English postvocalic /r/ has been the most researched sound in dialect formation (Burling: 1973: pp.16). This idea appears clear through presenting those studies of Labov, Burling and others that dealt with the [r] and [r-less] use.

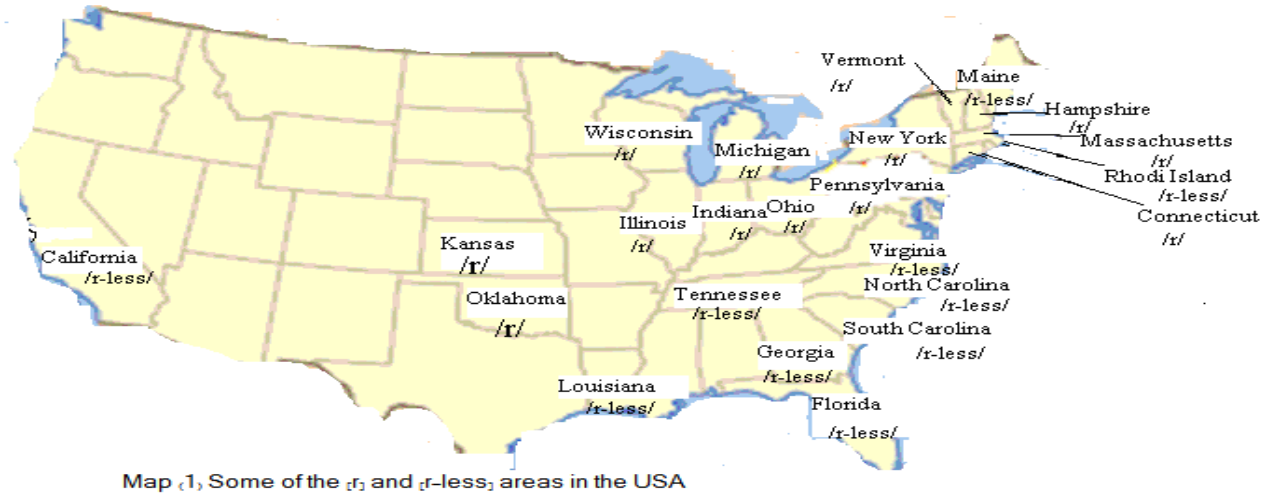
The variability of the phonetic features of /r/ phoneme across the USA and the UK was shown by a number of researchers as Labov (1966), Burling (1973), Rickford (1996) and Rogers (2000). The aim of these studies was to form a clear picture of the variations of the sound /r/ across regions supported by dialect maps for both the US and UK. Labov (1966) gave a detailed and exhaustive illustration of the post-vocalic /r/ in the New York City. He investigated a number of socially stratified areas that represent the socio-linguistic variables. Labov's approach confirms that even though the speech of the informants appeared to be arbitrary; it is regionally stratified.

It is obvious that the English used in the USA and the English used in the UK have differences though they are mutually comprehensible. Brook (1983) sheds some light on the dialectical differences between the US and UK:

> The differences between the English language used in America and English used in Great Britain are heavily outnumbered by the resemblances, and it is only occasionally that a speaker of the one form of English completely fails to understand the speaker of the other (pp.20).

This is in contrast with the Arabic which causes occasional misunderstanding between speakers of the dialects of the urban and the rural regions as we show later in this work.

Map (1) of the USA shows the regional distribution in pronouncing the postvocalic /r/ ([r] vs. [r-less] regions):



Map (1) Some of the [r] and [r-less] areas in the USA
http://www.wikipedia.orgwikiFileMap_of_USA_PA

Some of the Rhotic areas in the USA:

1. Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse in New York State, Chicago in Illinois and Detroit in Michigan.
2. The North Eastern Area of New England New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.
3. Philadelphia in Pennsylvania
4. Kansas in Oklahoma.
5. Midwestern and Western areas such as Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

Some of the Non-Rhotic areas in the USA:

1. Southeastern states such as Louisiana, Florida, and Georgia.

2. The Eastern Area of New England Maine & Rhode Island.

3. The Upper South areas as Virginia and Tennessee in North Carolina

4. Northern California

Many factors contributed to these variations as will be illustrated later. The major factor is regional. The USA is a very large country with many regional variations. Dillard (1992) asserted this point through presenting the factors that could lead to the existence of differences between the areas with respect to the presence or absence of the post-vocalic /r/. It seems that there is more than one influential factor that leads to the existence of such linguistic variability. Dillard attributes this to "the major difference in non-prevocalic /r/ distribution relates to the greater persistence, wider distribution and stronger influence of Black English vernacular in the south" (pp.97).

There are some other factors that contribute to the existence of such regional variations. According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974), the regional variations are attributed to the "settlement history" such as the English influence in the West, the German influence in areas like Southeastern Pennsylvania, the Dutch influence in areas like Holland, Michigan, the Irish influence in Beaver Island, Michigan, the influence of the black vernacular in the southern areas of the US...etc (p.74).

Map (2) shows some regional variations of the post-vocalic /r/ in Britain for both rhotic and non-rhotic areas:

Map (2) Some of the [r] and [r-less] areas in the UK
www.theodora.com/maps

Some of the Rhotic areas in the UK:

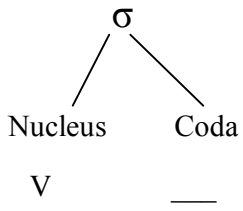
Here we have Belfast (Ireland). Generally speaking, Ireland is considered a rhotic area. Scotland is considered a rhotic country in contrast to the dialects of England.

Some of the Non-Rhotic areas in the UK:

Only the two areas of Cockney in London and west Yorkshire were found.

Such variations, concerning the post-vocalic /r/, form different dialects. Britain is not as large as the US, though considerable variations are found across the regions.

There are many studies that show the sociolinguistic variables in the USA and the UK. Labov's (1966) doctoral dissertation on social stratification of English in New York City represents the classic sociolinguistic study. He attempted to correlate the social stratification of his randomly selected participants with the following phonological variables (oh, eh, r, Θ, and ð). Four contextual styles (careful conversation, casual conversation, short passage and word-list) were used in order to differentiate between formal and informal speech. Taking the /r/ allophonic variable, he found out that social class as well as style are indications of the /r/ variations within the New York City. Through using interviews, in the collection of his data, he got results that show that the /r/ variation depends on class and style. For more illustration on the /r/ deletion, there is the nucleus (V) branch and the Coda (C). The following figure shows where the /r/ is deleted in the post-vocalic position.



As for the British English spoken in the city of Norwich (England), Trudgill (1974) investigated the speech forms in the urban areas of the city. He pointed out that the urban English spoken in Norwich was found in the "Norfolk" rural area. Rather, the urban linguistic features formed their own phonetic features over years. That is, Norwich made its own distinctive features through the spread of "linguistic innovations" as well as through communication. Besides this, Trudgill (1974) investigated the phonological features that are attached to the sociological parameters in East Anglia. As a result, he drew some phonological rules of the allophonic variations in East Anglia

dialect concerning most of the phonetic system (consonants and vowels), including the post-vocalic /r/.

Looking at the dialect of the /r/ in the US and the UK furnishes the background for the variants of the /k/ and /q/ sounds in Palestinian local dialects as referring to urban and rural areas. Also, this thesis brings insights into such stratifications like those of Labov's (1966) who found the solution for the underlying pattern of the /r/ sound which are the social class of the speaker and the stylistic weight of the utterance in Trudgill's (1974).

Concerning Labov's (1966) study on New York City depended on occupation, education and income variables; he found out that the lower one's social status, the fewer the use of the post-vocalic /r/. The reverse is also true. In other words, pronouncing the post-vocalic /r/ in New York City has considerable prestige.

This has been a brief review of the regional variations in English native speaking countries (The USA & UK). In the next section, the work of some linguists on the Arabic dialect formation will be reviewed.

2.3- Literature Related to the Arabic Dialects:

Arabic dialect studies cover several different dialectical topics, mainly phonological variation. Ferguson (1959) wrote the first classic article on Diglossia in the Arab world which distinguished between High Arabic and Low Arabic. It would be reasonable in the next sub-section to present a review of this article first, since it makes use of new terms which are relevant to other dialect studies.

Diglossia

Diglossia is a term used to refer to two forms of Arabic which exist side by side: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Colloquial Arabic "The Vernacular". MSA corresponds to the High Variety, which is used as a vehicle for "Highly Codified" literature and is learnt at school. By contrast, colloquial Arabic corresponds to the Low Variety which is used in everyday casual speech. Diglossia represents two varieties H or the High Variety and L or the Low Variety. Ferguson (1959) provided an explanation for this type of divergence in Arabic. Unlike the languages that he examined, Arabic diglossia can be traced back to the early emergence of Arabic while the Standard has remained stable or unchanged since the high variety is linked to the Holy Qur'aan (p.245).

Ferguson's study showed that the High variety is considered as superior to the Low variety. The superiority of the High Variety is attributed to the Holy Qur'aan and "as such is widely believed to constitute the actual words of God and even to be outside the limits of space and time" (pp.237). The High variety is learnt through "formal education". In other words, the low is acquired spontaneously while the high is learned consciously. Talking about the low variety, it includes everyday people's conversations (p.237-239).

As Ferguson asserts, many regional dialects exist in various Arab countries. The variations include differences in grammar, lexicon, phonology, function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, and stability.

As for phonology, which is the main focus in this study, Ferguson admitted the difficulty of making a generalization on the two parts of diglossia (L and H). Further, he admitted the close relationship of the phonological features, between the H and the L.

To sum up, Vernacular or Colloquial Arabic is a group or a combination of some dialects that are related to informal and spontaneous speech (even though nowadays we have some type of Arabic literature that is written in colloquial Arabic). These dialects are considered by many scholars as less "prestigious" if they are compared to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) since the latter is linked to the Holy Qur'aan and used in formal functions.

Various sociolinguistic studies have shown a close relationship between language and social structure, which means that "social variation is mirrored in language" and that the main function of dialectical variations in a society is to "provide information to the listener about the speaker" (Williams: 1992: pp.66-67). The identification of the social construction and the common knowledge between the speaker and the recipient leads to understanding or misunderstanding of the message (Nimer: 2006).

Blanc's (1953) doctoral dissertation studied the Arabic spoken by the Druze of Western Galilee and Mount Carmel in the North of Palestine. He investigated the consonants, vowels, prosodic features and other aspects of this variety. His study considered religion as a decisive factor for the dialectical variations of the Druze, Muslims, and Christians. The researcher tried his best to collect realistic and reliable data from his informants through recording words, stories or whatever is said and transcribed them. Doing so, he got many convincing results concerning the sociolinguistic varieties among the Druze. Relevant to this study is finding out that the

[tʃ] and [q] sounds are distinguishing features of the "north Palestinian rural dialects from their central Palestinian counterpart" (pp.67-68).

There are always constraints that govern the surface variations of the language. Broselow (1992) and Abu-Mansour (1992) asserted that all Arabic dialects share underlying phonological representations. Broselow (1992) compared between the surface structure of the investigated dialects (Cairene, Makkan, Iraqi, Sudanese, and Syrian) and the deep structure by saying that even though these dialects exhibit variations they share underlying structural similarities. Similarly, Atawneh (2003) examined epenthesis in the Hebron dialect. He found out that epenthesis in the Hebron dialect differs from other dialects showing epenthesis in the Hebron dialect phonological constraints allowing it to happen. Hebron dialect, same as the *Xaliili,* is like any other Palestinian dialect where epenthesis is needed in certain contexts.

Examining the dialects spoken in Jordan, Suleiman (2004) reported the interdialect variation of the /q/ sound as a product of politics and conflict due to the Palestinian existence in Jordan after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Examining the socio-political structure of the existing dialects in Jordan based on (Abdel Jawad 1981) included gender, attitudes and style, he referred to three variants of /q/: ([ʔ] *Madani)*, ([k] *Fallaħi)* and ([g] Bedouin). He insisted that the dialect variants reflect different social communities in Jordan. Code-switching may occur among these variants depending on the attitude towards the dialect feature and gender.

In Palestine, which is very similar to the Jordanian situation, the variants reported by Abdel Jawad have the same distribution as this study will show.

By introducing examples in various Yemeni regions, Testen (1992) examined a feature of the spoken Yemeni dialects that is the presence of the /k/ (or a reflex of the /k/) in the place of the expected t. He found out that the presence of the /k/ within the area of the "Western mountain region of North Yemen'' occurs in the first and second person subject suffixes of the past tense verb. He traced this linguistic feature back to the early contact with non-Arabic speakers who inhibited the ancient Yemen long ago (p.80). His study feeds into this study by showing that the dialect variants are characterized mainly by phonological variation.

2.4-Summary of the English and Arabic Studies

These sections have dealt with the contributions of many English and Arabic linguists to the sociolinguistic field. This chapter reviewed studies addressing dialects and regional variations. It is true that such researches provide us with the inspiration for establishing new research to further the results in these studies. In other words, less attention has been paid to the regional investigation of one or two phonemes and finding the underlying phonological rules that govern the variants as will be illustrated later in the Palestinian dialects. What will be presented in the next section is a continuation of Ferguson's line of sociolinguistics.

2.5- Dialect Formation:

Reviewing the literature about English and Arabic dialects furnishes the introduction of dialect formation in both situations throughout history. Therefore, the next section will discuss the factors that contribute to dialect formation in both English and Arabic.

Talking about dialects in general and the Palestinian dialects in particular, let us look at the factors of forming the English dialects across the USA to see if such factors are behind dialect formation in Palestine.

Some linguists proposed that there was a correlation between the linguistic variables and the social ones including region (Wolfram and Fasold (1974)). Regional dialects emerged in the United States due to three main factors:

1- The first is ethnic. It is related to the influence brought by the migration of early settlers from their home countries as England, Germany...etc.

2- The second is the "Population Movement". It refers to the white movement from the East part of the States to the West.

3- The last is the "Physical Geography" of the States. It refers to the natural forces that separate one area from another as being an island or having a mountain or mountain ranges, a river ...etc. (p.73-74). The third factor, and others, could be real factors for most regional dialects. The second factor is a region-specific factor, while the first and the third are widespread factors for the formation of most dialects/ linguistic variations.

The Palestinian dialects were affected by many foreign factors through language contact throughout the history of living ruled by Roman Empire, Byzantines, Crusaders, Muslim Empire, Ottomans and the British Mandate. Many foreign phonetic features were brought in throughout these. Ahmad (2000) talked about linguistic borrowing as a natural phenomenon in many languages. So, we can say that the Palestinian dialects borrowed some features (especially some lexis) of the languages of the nations that controlled Palestine over the ages (p.211-222).

Some other linguists looked at factors that led to dialect formation across regions. Aniis (1973) and Hilaal (1990) attributed dialect formation mainly to four factors:

1- The contact between nations for political reasons such as invasion, migration...etc,

2-Social reasons such as common way of life, traditions...etc.

3-Geographical reasons such as rivers, plains, low land, high land...etc.

4-Linguistic conflict as a result of immigration or invasion.

Another study showed the geographical factor as a decisive factor of dialect formation. Faakhir (1983) asserted this factor by introducing the relation between the dialects that existed in Saudi Arabia and the surrounding dialects as related to the Qatari Dialect. This relation is traced back to the 17th century because of some environmental factors, such as draught, the tribes spread across a wide geographical area. Consequently, many dialects appeared. He illustrated that the dialects of Qatar kept the features of Modern Standard Arabic since this dialect did not come into contact with other regions which happened, for instance, in Iraq, Morocco, Egypt, Palestine,

Syria…etc. The Levantine Dialects got in touch with and were affected by the Turkish language especially the Northern part in addition to the Syrianic and Hebrew languages that existed in Syria and Palestine (p.1-69).

Some other factors affected the existence of a group of dialects across the UAE. Hammad (1986) made a close description of the variants in the United Arab Emirate Dialects and looked at other aspects that could be related to these specific areas such as the influence of baby-sitters on children in the UAE, the influence of the Asian workers on the local dialects, in addition to the geographical, political, and social factors (p.42-51). Such factors led to the variation in regional dialects such as geography, political boundaries, settlement patterns, immigration routes, territorial conquest, and language contact were also referred to by Rickford (1996). At the same time, he emphasized the role of television as "a significant force" in spreading the patterns of other languages (p.162-163). Concerning Modern Standard Arabic, it is used by specific sectors of the society (highly educated people, formal speeches…etc.). The regional dialects of Arabic exist everywhere because of the widespread of the countries/ social communities.

2.6-Summary:

This section has examined some of the factors related to English and Arabic dialect formation. It reviewed and discussed the work of some linguists concerning the factors related to a limited geographical area such as Wolfram and Fasold (1974) who talked about the factors related to the US regional dialects, or Hammad (1986) who studied the UAE regional dialects. Some factors could be considered as common for all linguistic situations such as: social, political, historical, and geographical factors.

In the following section, variations in sounds will be introduced. This section will shed light on the nature of the present study through introducing some studies that provide illustrations on dialect formation.

2.7-Sound Variation in Dialect Formation:

This section provides illustrations of the variants of the /k/ sound which has been extensively investigated by Arab linguists. It also provides some explanations of the existence of the /k/ and /q/ variants.

Some aspects of the Palestinian dialects have been shortly studied. Recent research has begun to focus on sound variations motivated by social and geographical factors. Aspects of language as morphology, semantics and syntax have been covered more than phonology of the sociolinguistic structure of the community. Blanc (1953), Aniis (1973), and Ahmad (2000) have talked about Arabic dialects in general including the Palestinian dialects. For instance, Aniis (1973) investigated the history of the Arabic dialects, and he found some signs of the tribal dialects in the various areas. He emphasized that most of the available studies about dialects of early tribes were brought to us either through the Holy Qur'aan or poetry. Further, exploring the variants that govern the /k/ and /q/ distribution is meant to find explanations for such variations which will enhance the understanding of the phonological processes related to these key sounds in dialect formation.

Dialect formation is reflected in the forms of variants across different regions or countries. Zahraan (1988) discussed the idea of "Sound Substitution" by saying substitution in sounds occurs when we have common features between two sounds such as the place or manner of articulation as substituting the /q/ with [g] or the sound /k/ with [tʃ] (p.55-77). This fact is asserted by Najaa (1971) and Aniis (1973).

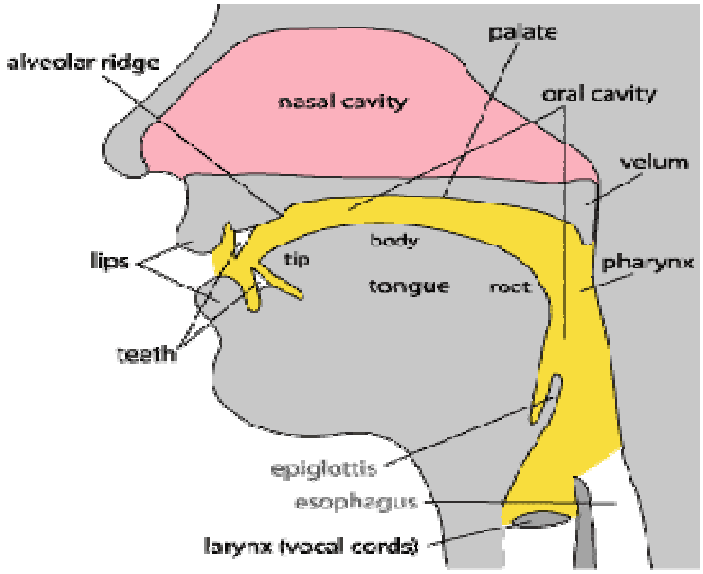
Such a conclusion seems to be logical since the /q/ and [g] sounds have common articulatory features as they are complex sounds having dorsal and a pharyngeal place of articulation (Kenstowicz: 1997), even though they differ in the feature of voicing. As for the common features between the /k/ and [tʃ], both are voiceless. This relation appears clear in the Palestinian dialects.

The phonological phenomenon of "Sound Substitution" is an ever present phenomenon in human language. At this time, the variants of the sounds /k/ and /q/ have features that distinguish between the rural vs. urban regions as it appears in Palestine. [tʃ] as a reflex of the phoneme /k/ is described as *Kaʃkaʃa*. Needless to say that the [tʃ] reflex does not have equivalence in the Arabic orthography. Aniis (1973) indicated that Arabic dialects are linked to early tribe of dialects. He described the sound substitution phenomenon from the historical angle. In other words, the [tʃ] reflex is an early sound that is proved to be found in the dialects of early tribes as Kinda and Tamiim (p.145-155). Taymoor Basha (1977) mentioned some features about Arabic dialects such as Al-*Kaʃkaʃa* (substituting the /k/ by [tʃ]), and he asserted the roots of the present features as belonging to early tribes as Tamiim and Qudaaʕa who lived in the 10th century. Al-Matlibi (1978) analyzed Tamiim dialects so as to find results regarding its phonetic and syntactic features and to find out what features of this dialect affected the Arabic of other tribes. Jaabir (1985) conducted his sociolinguistic study on the phonetic and the syntactic features in Hebron and the surrounding villages. He assigned the [tʃ] variant to the rural areas of Hebron without considering the social stratifications that govern such variation.

Before introducing the findings of the study, the researcher would like to illustrate a number of points. To establish a clear picture for the place of articulation of the variants of /k/ and /q/, figures (1) and (2) will be introduced because later discussion will be based on these reference points.

2.8- Description of the /k/ and /q/ sounds:

O'Grady et. al (2005), Harakat (publication date is unknown), and Blanc (1953) describe the sounds /k/ and /q/ as they appear in the vocal tract configurations and table (1) below.



http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consonant

Figure (1): The Vocal Tract Configuration

Both figures (1 and 2) illustrate the place of articulation of the relevant phonemes and their variants. Figure (1) is presented so as to clarify the place of articulation of the /k/ as [tʃ], and /q/ as [g], [k], [ʔ] and [q].

Asher (2004) reported Al-Sakkaki (1982) who designed one of the earlier Arabic figures of the vocal organs (Figure 2) showing the place of articulation of Arabic sounds.

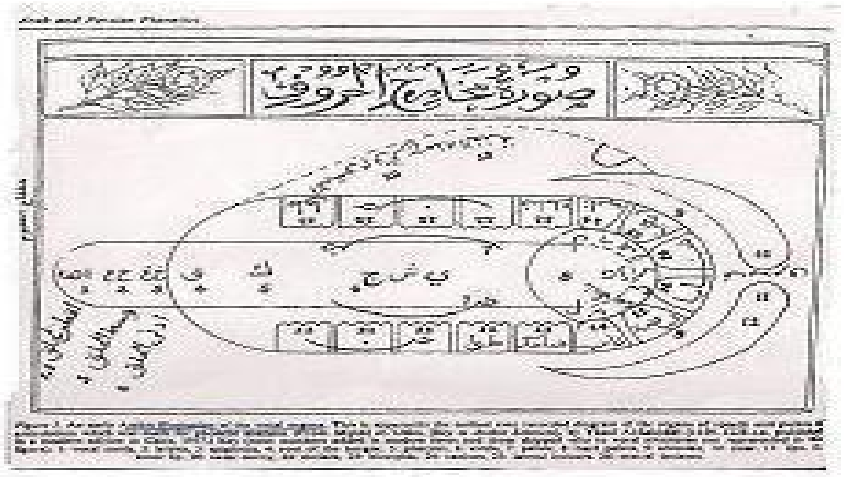


Figure 2: The Vocal Organs

Based on Figures (1) and (2), Table (1) shows the place of articulation of the relevant phonemes and their variants.

Table (1): The Place of Articulation of the Relevant Sounds.

Voicing	Place of Articulation				
	Alveopalatal (Palatal -alveolar)	Post-alveolar	Velar	Dorso-pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Voiceless			k	q	
Voiced		Egyptian g			
Voiceless					ʔ
Voiced					
Voiceless	tʃ				
Voiced					

Adopted from O'Grady et. al (2005: p.31) with some changes on the arrangement and the selection of the sounds.

Both the Vocal Tract Configurations (Figures 1 and 2) and Table (1) show the place of articulation of the relevant phonemes and variants. Based on Table (1), the above sounds are described as:

/k/ as a voiceless, post-alveolar, stop

/q/ as a voiceless, dorso-pharyngeal, stop. (As illustrated by Kinstowicz (1994) and Bin-Muqbil (2006), this sound has both pharyngeal and dorsal components).

The /q/ sound has been investigated by many scholars since it has a group of variants. Beeston (1970) classified both /k/ and /q/ as voiceless sounds (p.18).

The variants of these sounds are described as:

a-The description of the variant of the /k/ sound:

[tʃ] is a voiceless, alveopalatal/ palatal-alveolar, affricate sound

b-The descriptions of the variants of the /q/ sound:

[ʔ] is a voiceless, glottal, laryngeal sound (according to Bin-Muqbil (2006)).

[k] is a voiceless, dorso-alveolar, stop sound.

The Egyptian [g] is a voiced, velar, stop sound considered the voiced counterpart of the /k/ sound.

Based on the relative noise, O'Grady et. al (2005) classified Fricatives, Oral Stops and Affricates as *"Strident sounds"* and *"Al-ʃaʔʃaʔa"* sounds by Harakaat (1998) (**"Al-ʃaʔʃaʔa"* sound refers to the [tʃ] variant).

As illustrated in his doctoral dissertation, Bin-Muqbil (2006) furthers the understanding of the articulation of some Arabic speech sounds (emphatic and gutturals) and their relation with their acoustic correlates. Concerning the /q/ sound's articulation feature, he found out that when articulating this sound, the pharyngeal volume above the epiglottis is small. The reason for this is that "the occlusive nature of [q] demands a full articulatory seal at the vertical as well as the horizontal surfaces of the Uvula causing more raising and backing of the tongue'' (pp.43).

In her investigation of the Northern Palestinian dialects, (Herzallah 1990, cited in Waston: 1999: 289-300), she defined emphatic sounds as a secondary articulation involving the back of the tongue (the pharynx), which accompanies a primary articulation at another point in the vocal tract (coronals). However, it is the secondary articulation (the pharynx) that characterized the emphatic phonemes. According to her, emphasis spreads leftward from the emphatic consonants to the beginning of the word, whereas rightward spreading is restricted to the following low vowel. She added that some phonemes are opaque to rightward emphasis spreading, but they are not opaque to the leftward spreading.

2.8.1-The Variants of the Sounds /k/ and /q/:

For a simplifying purpose, the phonemic – variant relations will be presented in figure shape. First, the /k/ sound is presented, and the /q/ sound comes next.

Figure (3) represents the variation of the sound /k/ to the variants [k] & [tʃ]:

Figure 3: The /k/ phoneme and its Variants

This figure shows that the /k/ sound has two variants: [k] the urban, and [tʃ] the rural Palestinian dialects that are going to be presented in Chapter Four. Phonological

rules will be formed based on the systematic variations of [k] and [tʃ]. Concerning the /q/ sound, the following figure shows the variants of this sound:

Figure 4: The /q/ phoneme and its Variants

This figure shows that the /q/ sound has three reflexes which will be illustrated by examples later in Chapter Four.

2.8.2-Description of the Surrounding Vowels:

As for describing the relevant vowels, the following figure shows the tongue position of the /i/, /u/ and /æ/ vowels because the /k/ showed a significant/ consistent variation when occurring close to these vowels. This diagram shows the relation between the variants following or preceding vowels.

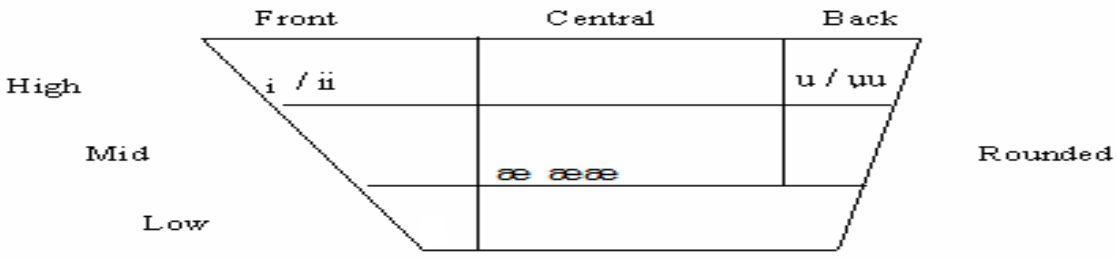


Figure 5: The tongue positions of the related vowels

Adopted from O'Grady et. al (2005:p.34) with some changes on the arrangement and the selection of the sounds.

Based on the vowel and tongue positions configuration, the above vowels are described as:

a- /i/ is high front short vowel- /ii/ is high front long vowel.

b- /u/ is high back short vowel- /uu/ is high back long vowel.

c-/æ/ is pharyngeal short vowel- /ææ/ is pharyngeal long vowel.

2.8.3-The Form of the Phonological Rule:

The phonological change of the sounds takes the following form:

$$A \longrightarrow B / X\_\_\_\_\_Y$$

Any phonological rule can be represented as sound A changing into B in the environment between X and Y. X and Y represent the conditioning environment (X preceding sound and Y following sound). Either X or Y could be absent. The examples presented later will be analyzed depending on such a rule. The next chapter will present the findings of the /k/ and /q/ sounds separately across some Palestinian urban and rural areas.

2.9-Summary:

This chapter has shed light on the Arabic and English dialects so as to set the scene for the non-standard variants of the sounds. For this purpose, A review of studies on English and Arabic studies, definitions of the term "dialect", factors related to dialect formation were presented.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1-Introduction

This study investigates the distribution of the variants of the /k/ and /q/ in urban and rural areas in Palestine. A number of features account for sound variations. These variants will reflect the stratification of the social communities in different geographical locations. Looking at the instances of both sounds, the corresponding phonological rules of the /k/ sound will be introduced. Palestine is divided into three geographical areas [as reported in Suleiman (2004)]: Urban, Rural and Bedouin. This research does not investigate the dialectical variants of the /k/ and /q/ sounds in the Bedouin areas because such social community has shrunk and changed their life style.

In order to prove such variations, maps are used to show the distribution of the variants of the /k/ and /q/ sounds across some Palestinian urban and rural regions (see Appendix B).

3.2-Research Question and the Hypothesis:

1- The Research Question: it seeks to answer the way phonological variations of the /k/ and /q/ stratify the Palestinian communities.

2- The Hypothesis: it is hypothesized that the /k/ and /q/ variations stratify the society into urban/rural communities and that the variation is diachronic rather than synchronic.

3.3-Informants:

Informants included a wide range of professions in addition to university students like shop keepers, drivers and ordinary speakers. There is actually no segregation between different social communities in Palestine. All communities interact and mix together in everyday life either for shopping or studying together. Government offices hire qualified employees to service both urban and rural communities. There are also interactions by marriage between classes and communities. That is why a researcher can always find representatives of dialects in common places like universities which have students enrolled from all sectors and regions.

The researcher traveled to different regions and university campuses to record variations and verify information from different dialect users regardless of age, gender or education. Talking to informants was done in a casual way to make sure that no effect could happen to the informants, which may elicit other than the normal dialect of the speaker.

3.4-Instrument and Data Collection:

During trips to different geographical parts across some rural and urban areas in Palestine, the researcher listened to spontaneously- produced speech and transcribed the variants of both sounds. Some of the investigated areas for this purpose were Bethlehem University, Al-Quds University, and An-Najah University. The researcher happens to have many relatives and friends in these areas that guided her through the universities and allowed her to stay for a time in the students' dormitories. Various informants were met there. Small talks and questions were initiated. The informants were asked about the visited universities, the departments, the staff, the specializations...etc. The speech covered social subjects: talking about ones' family members, ones' ambitions...etc. Notes on words which included the variants of the /k/ and /q/ sounds were taken.

A fact should be asserted that the more natural the method of collecting data, the more authentic the speech under study would be. Interviewing was used in this research as a method of collecting data following Blanc (1953), Labov (1966) and Rickford (1996). These "Spontaneous individual informants" (the natural way of data collection) were used in order to get authentic as well as raw material of the dialect varieties across various regions.

Since the occurrence of the /k/ and /q/ sounds in all possible contexts was difficult, a group of related words were prepared by the researcher so as to check other non-occurrences of the variants of the /k/ and /q/ sounds in other positions not produced by casual talk (see Appendix A). The researcher asked informants to say how they pronounce the given list of words, and in turn, these words were transcribed exactly as they were pronounced by the informants.

Hudson (1980) referred to a main complexity any sociolinguistic researcher would go through. The problem of "geographical mobility" which means that people move from one place to another is that they modify their language according to the surrounding speech (p.43).

The investigated Palestinian areas are divided into two parts: Urban *[Madani*] and rural *[Fallaħi*]. The investigated *Madani* areas are Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkurim, and Qalqeelia. As for the *Fallaħi* regions, the rural areas are divided into vicinities as follows:

Hebron Vicinity: (ṣuureef, Beit Ummar, Nuuba, Tarquumia, Iðna, Beit Kaaħil, Ħalħool, Dura, *Tafuuħ , *Bani Nʕeym, *Yaṭṭa, * Al-ẓahria, and *A-Samouʕ).

Bethlehem Vicinity: (Wadi-Fukeen, Hoosaan, Nahaleen, Al-Xadir, Beit Jaala, Irṭaas, Beit Saahoor, and Beit Fajjaar).

Jerusalem Vicinity: (Jabaʕ, Qalandia, Beir Nabala, Al-Ram, Ħizma, ʕanaata,Qaṭanna, Abu-Diis,Al-Sawaaħra, ṣuur Baahir, and *Al-ʕeizaria).

Ramallah Vicinity: (ṣaffa, Al-Beira,Xirbit Al-Miṣbaaħ, and Beit Luqia).

Nablus and Salfeet Vicinities: (Tamoon, Tallooza, Deir Al-ħaṭab, Beit Dajan, Beit Fureek, ʕawarta, Ħuwaara, ʕoreef, Qaryoot, Salfeet, Bedia, *ṭoobaas and *Kufur Qalleel).

Jenin Vicinity: (Al-yamuun, ʕanza, Jabaʕ, and Al-Fundumiyyæ).

Tuulkurim and Qalqeelia Vicinities: (Farʕuun, Jayuus, Baqat-Al-ħaṭab, and Kufur θuluθ).

Some exceptions are related to the areas within the mentioned vicinities (Like urban dialect, these areas do not have the [tʃ] variant). We have: **Hebron Vicinity exceptions** (Tafuuħ, Bani Neʕym, Yaṭṭa, Al-ẓahria, and A-Samouʕ), **Jerusalem Vicinity exception** (Al-ʕeizaria), and **Nablus and Salfeet Vicinities exceptions**: (Toobaas and Kufur Qalleel)**.**

3.5-Summary:

To summarize, this chapter has presented the research question, hypothesis, and the methodology of the study. Some literature related to some of the points mentioned was introduced. Following a number of scholars, some methods for collecting data were adopted such as the "Natural way of data collection" mentioned in Blanc's (1953) doctoral dissertation, and Fasold and Wolfram (1974) in addition to preparing a list of words and asking students to read them. The next chapter will discuss the findings and data analysis.

Chapter Four

Data Analysis and Discussion

4.1-Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyzes the results obtained for the /k/ and /q/ sounds. The /k/ sound is discussed in two occurrences: in the possessive morpheme and the /k/ in noun stems. After that, discussion will take the /q/ sound in all stem positions of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and proper nouns. Semantic ambiguities resulting from changing the variants of /k/ and /q/ will also be discussed towards the end of the chapter.

Data analysis took the variants of the /k/ sound in nouns in different morphological forms to give an indication of how /k/ changes into [tʃ] in other grammatical categories. The question word "how" given as [*keef*] for *madani* and [*tʃeef*] for *fallaħi* is the most common or frequent word in everyday life showing stratification between the two mentioned communities (rural vs. urban). The other sound /q/ appears in the most commonly used words "say / said" given as [biʔuul / ʔææl] for the *madani* and [biguul/ gææl] and [bikuul / kææl] for the *fallaħi*. The examples that will be given for the [g] and [k] sounds will include a wider range of grammatical categories as such sounds are not affected by morphological changes as /k/ in nouns (the /q/ is not part of any inflectional morpheme).

4.2-The /k/ sound:

This sound will be discussed as its occurrence in:

a- The possessive morpheme for gender "Male and Female"

b- Stem nouns

To illustrate more on this, the sound /k/ is tested through collecting examples (from the environment or through analogy) that show the /k/ sound followed or preceded by a group of vowels or word-finally in nouns as follows:

1. /k/ followed or preceded by a high front vowel /i/
2. /k/ followed by a pharyngeal vowel /æ/
3. /k/ followed by a high back vowel /u/
4. Final /k/.

This section presents the base form (phonemic representation) of the /k/ sound. The next section will present the /k/ as used in urban areas. It should also be mentioned that the /k/ sound is used in some other rural areas even though it does not function as a dialect marker for the peasantry areas. This sound is seen as dialect marker for the urban dialect coupled with the [ʔ] variant of the /q/ sound. Because the chapter will be mainly phonologically oriented through presenting some phonological rules of the /k/ in the possessive morpheme for gender, it is therefore, necessary to think of the UR representation of sound /k/ as will be seen later in the discussion.

4.2.1-The Base Form of the / k/ Sound:

The base form of the /k/ is articulated by the city informants [*Madani/* Urban] as well as in Hebron Vicinity (Tafuuḥ, Bani Nʕeym, Yaṭṭa, Al-ẓahria, and A-Samouʕ), Jerusalem Vicinity (Al-ʕeizaria), and Nablus and Salfeet Vicinities (Toobaas and Kufur Qalleel) (For more illustration see the maps in Appendix B). It should be remembered that, as said before, the [k] variant spoken in these rural areas is not their dialect feature in comparison with the urban or city areas whose dialect is marked by both the [k] variant and the [ʔ] variant of the /q/ sound.

The following examples show the appearance of /k/ in the possessive morpheme for the masculine and feminine in the *madani* and some other defined rural areas; the /k/ sound is not substituted by [tʃ] sound as at *fallaḥi* or rural areas because the rule which leads to change is not part of their phonology.

1)	*[æb + uuk]*	*[æb + uuku]*
	Father + sing. masc.	Father + pl. masc.
	"your father"	"your father"
2)	*[æb + uuki]*	*[æb + uukin]*
	Father + sing. fem.	Father + pl. fem.
	"your father"	"your Father"

However, /k/ occurring in any position in the stem for the urban dialect remains /k/ with no change as in Hebron Vicinity (Tafuuḥ, Bani Nʕeym, Yaṭṭa, Al-ẓahria, and A-Samouʕ), Jerusalem Vicinity (Al-ʕeizaria), and Nablus and Salfeet Vicinities (Toobaas and Kufur Qalleel). This observation verifies our conclusion about seeing the [k] variant is not a marker of the rural dialects because changing its position will result

in changing it to the [tʃ] variant in other rural areas. The following examples show the occurrence of the [k] sound in stems:

1) *[kælb]* "dog"

2) *[mæktæb]* "office"

3) *[diik]* "rooster"

The systematic conditioning environments for the /k/ and the [tʃ] variants will be illustrated in examples that follow. Let us begin with /k/ in the possessive morpheme.

4.2.2-The /k/ Variant

a-/k/ in the possessive morpheme for gender

The following examples show the /k/ in the masculine and feminine possessive morpheme in Hebron Vicinity (except Yaṭṭa, Al-ẓahria, Tafuuḥ, Bani NʕeymandA-Samouʕ) which is marked by /k/ in the possessive morpheme for males and [tʃ] in the possessive morpheme for females:

1) [ṣæff + æk]	*[ṣæff + ku]*
Class+ sing. masc.	Class + pl. masc
"your class"	"your class"
2)[ræbb + æk]	*[ræbb + ku]*
God + sing + masc.	God + pl. + masc.
"your god"	"your god"

3)[ṣæff + tʃi]	*[ṣæff + tʃin]*
Class + sing. fem.	Class + pl. fem.
"your class"	"your class"
4) [ræbb + tʃi]	*[ræbb + tʃin]*
God + sing. fem.	God + pl. fem.
"your god"	"your god"

Looking at these examples, it appears that the /k/ in the singular and plural masculine possessive morpheme does not change into [tʃ]. The possessive morpheme for masculine in the presented examples appears word-finally in the singular masculine and word-finally followed by a back vowel /u/ in the plural masculine. Concerning the /k/ in the feminine possessive morpheme, the examples show that the /k/ in the singular and the plural feminine possessive morpheme is followed by /i/ which creates an environment for the /k/ - [tʃ] alternation because they are close in the place of articulation. The rule for change can be stated as: /k/ changes into [tʃ] before the /i/ vowel as seen in the following:

[k ⟶ tʃ / ——— -bk]

Such types of /k/ in the possessive morpheme for gender are clear in the rural areas of Hebron Vicinity (without the exceptions mentioned in the vicinities divisions). It appears that the variation is noticed in the singular and plural feminine possessive morpheme. In other words, the feminine gender shows the variation since it is phonologically conditioned by the /i/ vowel while the masculine does not trigger the change because the phonological conditioning is not available for the /k/ in the

masculine morpheme. What happens here is a change in the place of articulation. The /k/ changes into [tʃ] next to the /i/ vowel, and what results is an assimilation rule. Above all, these examples show that the morpho-phonemic variant of the /k/ is rule governed.

As for the /k/ in the possessive morpheme for gender in the vicinities of Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkurim and Qalqeelia, the following examples show that the results obtained, somehow, parallel the results obtained for both genders in Hebron Vicinity in the singular masculine and the plural feminine.

1) [ṣæff + ak]	*[ṣæff + kum]*
Class+ sing. masc.	Class + pl. masc
"your class"	"your class"
2)[ræbb + ak]	*[ræbb + kum]*
God + sing + masc.	God + pl. + masc.
"your god"	"your god"
3)[ṣæff + itʃ]	*[ṣæff + tʃin]*
Class + sing. fem.	Class + pl. fem.
"your class"	"your class"
4) [ræbb + i tʃ]	*[ræbb + tʃin]*
God + sing. fem.	God + pl. fem.
"your god"	"your god"

The presented examples show that the /k/ in the masculine possessive morpheme in both the singular and plural cases does not change into [tʃ] again because the

phonological conditioning is not available here. The /i/ vowel does not occur next to the dorsal sound/k/. On the other hand, the /k/ in the feminine possessive morpheme changes into [tʃ], which also parallels the feminine possessive morpheme in Hebron Vicinity.

Again, in the vicinities of Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkurim and Qalqeelia, dialects exhibit this type of variation between the two genders in the singular and the plural with differences related to the specified phonological rules. Based on the given data, the /k/ in the feminine possessive morpheme changes into [tʃ] in the feminine gender for both numbers. Each of which has a phonological rule that accounts for the variation. The rule for the singular feminine possessive /k/ can be stated as:

/k/ changes into [tʃ] after the /i/ vowel as seen in the following:

[k ⟶ tʃ /-bk]

The following rule for the /k/ in the feminine plural possessive morpheme matches the rule specified in Hebron Vicinity. The rule can be stated as:

/k/ changes into [tʃ] before the /i/ vowel, as seen in the following:

[k ⟶ tʃ / -bk]

Concerning the /k/ in the plural possessive morpheme in the following vicinities (Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkurim and Qalqeelia**)**, it appears in three environments. The plural masculine /kum/ has three variants that will

be illustrated by the name of the area rather than by the vicinity since these areas represent exceptions within the vicinities.

The first variant of the plural masculine appears in the following examples:

1) [ṣæff + æk]	*[ṣæff + tʃum]*
Class+ sing. masc.	Class + pl. masc
"your class"	"your class"
2) [ræbb + æk]	*[ræbb + tʃum]*
God + sing + masc.	God + pl. + masc.
"your god"	"your god"

The above examples show that the /k/ in the plural masculine possessive morpheme changes into [tʃ] even before the /u/ vowel. Such type of pronunciation, in the plural case, is an exception to the preceding rules for the same case. This type of substitution is found in areas as Jayoos, FarʕoonTallooza and Qaryoot. Needless to say, the /k/ in the singular masculine possessive morpheme does not change into [tʃ].This could be related to interdialectical variations, and this furthers our assumption that the variation is diachronic rather than synchronic.

The second variant of the /k/ in the plural masculine, as the following examples show, reflects the same conditioning environment (without the /m/ sound).

1) [ṣæff + æk]	*[ṣæff + tʃu]*
Class+ sing. masc.	Class + pl. masc
"your class"	"your class"
2) [ræbb + æk]	*[ræbb + tʃu]*
God + sing + masc.	God + pl. + masc.
"your god"	"your god"

The above examples show that the /k/ changes into [tʃ] for the plural masculine. Such variation is found in the rural areas of Bethlehem vicinity (Beit Saħoor, Beit Jaala, Beit Fajaar, Al-Xadir and Hosaan). (For more illustration, see the maps in Appendix B). The rule of change for the /k/ in the masculine plural possessive morpheme can be stated as:

/k/ changes into [tʃ] before a high back vowel as seen in the following:

[k ⟶ tʃ / ——— +back]

An additional rule is needed here which is /m/ is deleted word-finally as seen in the following:

[m ⟶ Ø ——— #]

Concerning the third variant of the /k/ in the plural masculine, the following examples show this type of variation:

1) [ṣæff + æk]	*[ṣæff + tʃim]*
Class+ sing. masc.	Class + pl. masc
"your class"	"your class"
2) [ræbb + æk]	*[ræbb + tʃim]*
God + sing + masc.	God + pl. + masc.
"your god"	"your god"

The above examples show that the /k/ in the plural masculine possessive morpheme is followed by the /i/ vowel which is the same conditioning environment for the /k/ in the plural feminine. This type of substitution occurs in areas as Al-Raam and Jaba' (a rural area in Ramallah). We can say that the differentiation between both genders (singular and plural) does not occur through the /k/ - [tʃ] change; rather, it occurs through the /m/ - /n/ use as *[ṣæff+tʃim]* for plural male and *[ṣæff+tʃin]* for plural female.

The above mentioned examples are the findings of the /k/ in the possessive morpheme followed or preceded by front versus back vowels for gender in the rural regions of the specified vicinities in local Palestinian dialects. It is found out that the /k/ sound changes into [tʃ] next to the /i/ vowel. In other words, a process of assimilation occurs because both are close in the place of articulation.

Something close to this is the final bound /t/ that is followed by the /k/ in the possessive morpheme for gender (male and female). Since the /k/ in the masculine singular and plural does not change into [tʃ] as illustrated, it will be neglected in the following discussion.

The following examples show the /k/ in the feminine possessive morpheme as in preceded by the bound /t/.

1) [ħæyææt +tʃi] / [ħæyææt +itʃ]	*[ħæyææt + tʃin]*
Life + sing. fem.	Life + pl. fem.
"your life"	"your life"
2) [bint+tʃi]/ [bint+itʃ]	*[bint+ tʃin]*
Daughter + sing. Fem.	Daughter + pl. Fem.
"your daughter"	"your daughter"

Looking at the /k/ in the feminine possessive morpheme in both the singular and the plural forms, it changes into [tʃ] as it is contextually conditioned by having the /k/ in the possessive morpheme followed by the /i/ vowel. Apparently, this seems to be different from what was presented earlier. However, there is no significant difference. One may be misled into thinking that the /t/ is deleted before [tʃ], the reflex of /k/, and wrongly assume that the rule of /k/-[tʃ] change feeds into another rule which is

[t ⟶ Ø / ——— tʃ]

This is furthered through looking at the following misleading examples:

1) *bintʃin* "your coffee''

   binttʃin "your daughter"

2) *ħæmææ tʃin* "he protected you"

   ħæmæætʃin "your mother in law"

3) *ħæyææ tʃin* "your shyness"

   ħæyæætʃin "your life"

4) *bænæætʃin* "he built you"

   bænæættʃin "your daughters"

If we want to suppose that the final /t/ that is followed by [tʃ] is deleted, then all the presented pairs would be homophonous, which is not logical. There would be confusion between all the presented pairs. This proves that this /t/ is not deleted, as it apparently appears to some people.

4.3-Summary

The previous section has discussed the /k/ in the possessive morpheme and as a stem in nouns in the urban Palestinian dialects. Moreover, it has examined the distribution of the /k/ in the feminine and masculine possessive morpheme in the Palestinian local rural dialects. Throughout this section, assimilation rules have been presented as well as final bound /t/ followed by /k/ in the feminine possessive morpheme is illustrated. The following section will investigate the /k/ occurring in stem positions in Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkurim and Qalqeelia vicinities.

b. /k/ in Stem Positions in Palestine:

This section will present the second type of the sound: /k/ in stem positions. The following investigated areas do not show the /k/-[ʃ] substitution: Hebron Vicinity (Tafuuħ, Bani NʕeymYaṭṭa, Al-ẓahria, and A-SamouʕJerusalem Vicinity (Al-ʕeizaria), and Nablus and Salfeet Vicinities (Toobaas and Kufur Qalleel) [for more illustration, see Appendix B]. The first sub-section shows harmony of the sound /k/ in nouns, verbs and determiners for a clarifying purpose.

Harmony of the sound /k/:

Harmony is an important interpretation of sound variation. In this context, Harmony refers to a sound that appears with another sound that is similar in the place of articulation so as to ease pronunciation. A process of assimilation occurs because the /i/ vowel occurs close to the post-alveolar /k/, so the /k/ changes into [ʃ]. Regarding the sound /k/, it appears that it harmonizes with or appears close to /u/ vowel because both are back and the variant of the /k/ which is [ʃ] harmonizes with or appears close to the /i/ vowel. Consequently, the/i/ vowel pulls the /k/ to the front palatal area. Even though this study has only dealt with variations in nouns, this part of /k/ illustrates alternation in nouns, verbs, and determiners for a clarifying purpose.

a- Harmony in Nouns:

The following examples discuss two types of representations. We have /k/ that is followed by a high back /u/ vowel, and [tʃ] that is followed by the /i/ vowel in Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkurim and Qalqeelia vicinities. Table (2) shows the /k/ in stems as follows:

Table (2) various /k/ positions in nouns.

Classical Arabic	Reflex	Meaning	Geographical area
1- / kum/ /kum/	[*tʃum] [tʃim]	"sleeves"	Found in all the investigated vicinities
2-/sukkæræ/ /sukkæræ/	[*sutʃtʃæræ] [sitʃtʃæræ]	"lock"	Found in all the investigated vicinities
3- /dukkææn/ /dukkææn/	[*dutʃtʃææn] [ditʃtʃææn]	"shop"	Used as dutʃææn/ ditʃææn in all the vicinities except Hebron
4- / kuħli/ /kuħli/	[*tʃuħli] [tʃiħli]	"eye-liner" or a "color close to black"	Found in all the investigated vicinities
5- /kurzæ/ /kurzæ/	[*tʃurzæ] [tʃirzæ]	" name of a place"	Found in Hebron Vicinity
6-/ kutbi/ /kutbi/	[*tʃutbi] [tʃitbi]	"one's fate"	Found in Hebron Vicinity
7- / kursi/ /kursi/	[*tʃursi] [tʃirsi]	"chair"	Found in all the vicinities except Hebron, both changes are acceptable
8-/ sukkær/ /sukkær/	[*sutʃtʃær] [sitʃtʃær]	"sugar"	Found in all the vicinities except Hebron, both changes are acceptable

The star (*) represents an unacceptable form

Notice that, unlike Hebron Vicinity, the [tʃ] is a marker of all the other vicinities since the /k/ sound is replaced by [tʃ] almost in all stem positions. The phonological rules that govern the change can be stated as:

/k/ changes into [tʃ] before a [-back] vowel

[k ⟶ tʃ/ ———— -back]

/k/ changes into [tʃ] after a [-back] vowel as seen in examples (3) and (8):

[k ⟶ tʃ/ -back ————]

In forming these rules, it is assumed that when articulating the /k/ sound, it must be linked to a [+back] vowel, and when articulating the [tʃ] sound, it must be linked to a [-back] vowel. In other words, /k/ harmonizes with /u/ and its variant [tʃ] harmonizes with /i/. It appears that this type of change reinforces that what happens here is diachronic rather than synchronic change because there is no evidence for an underlying form with /u/.

The geographical area column in Table (2) shows that some of the examples are found in all the specified vicinities, while others are either found in Hebron Vicinity or all the other specified vicinities. We may come across semantic change which is not investigated in this study.

As for harmony in verbs, one example was only found by the researcher that shows the /k/ reflex as [tʃ] in rural areas in Hebron (Hebron Vicinity).

b- Imperative Verbs:

Table (3) shows harmony in */uktub/* ‘‘write’’ example:

Table (3) harmony in the imperative verb.

Classical Arabic	Reflex	Meaning
/uktub/ /uktub/	[*utʃtub] [itʃtib]	"write"

The star (*) represents an unacceptable form

The given example reinforces the idea given previously that /k/ harmonizes with the back vowel as in */uktub/* example as it appears in the urban centers as well as in some rural araes, and the [tʃ] harmonizes with the front vowel as in *[itʃtib*] example as it appears in some rural areas in Ramallah vicinity. We can sum up the relationship between the pairs /k/ and /u/ and [tʃ] and /i/ through applying the Ordered Rule Application.

Rule Ordering for this case:

Ordered Rule Application (Vowel fronting, then /k/ reflex):

Table (4) the ordered rule application of the vowel fronting and /k/ change

Classical Arabic	#uktub# uktub
Vowel Fronting k ⟶ tʃ	Iktib itʃtib
Variation	[itʃtib]

(Adopted from O'Grady et. al 2005)

The above example shows that if the Vowel Fronting Rule is applied before the /k/- [tʃ] change, there would be no problem. However, if the change in the sound /k/ is applied before the vowel change (if we form the rules in the opposite direction), an unacceptable word appears (even though the variation is acceptable).

Therefore, the application of both rules has to be ordered. If there is more than one process/ rule of change, and if the first rule is applied, it creates an environment/ context that allows the application of the second. This relation is furthered in the determiners as Table (5) shows. By the way, the *[iktib]* example is acceptable. It is used in some rural areas in Hebron vicinity exceptions (Bani NʕeymTafuuḥ, Al-ẓahria, A-SamouʕandYaṭṭa). Above all, this example feeds into the main idea that this type of change is diachronic "historical" and what happens here (the /k/ reflex) is an interdialectical borrowing.

c-Harmony in Determiners (found in all the specified vicinities except Hebron):

Table (5): harmony in determiners

Classical Arabic	Reflex	Meaning
1- /kulnæ/ /kulnæ/	[*tʃulnæ] [tʃilnæ]	"all of us"
2- /kullu/ /kullu/	**[*tʃ**ullu] **[tʃ**illu/æ]	" all of it"

The star (*) represents an unacceptable form

Such a form of /k/ variant is not found in Hebron Vicinity. Harmony is clear here through the systematic variation (/k/ appears with /u/ & [tʃ] appears with /i/). The presented examples in tables (2), (3), (4) and (5) enable us to identify the conditioning

environment/ context that allows the /k/ sound change to its variant. Again, this type of change is attributed to interdialectical borrowing.

The following examples discuss the sound /k/ in nouns followed by the /i/ vowel. Part of what is presented above relates to what will be presented here.

2- /k/ in Stems Followed by the /i/ Vowel:

The following table presents the /k/ sound in nouns followed by /i/ in the rural areas of all the specified vicinities except: Hebron Vicinity (Tafuuḥ, Bani NʕeymYaṭṭa, Al-ẓahria, and A-SamouʕAl-ʕeizaria), and Nablus and Salfeet Vicinities (Toobaas and Kufur Qalleel).

Table (6): the /k/ sound followed by /i/ in stem positions

Classical Arabic	Reflex	Meaning
/kiis/	[tʃiis]	"a bag"
/kitif/	[tʃitif]	"shoulder"
/kinif/	[tʃinif]	"a bucket for putting things in"
/kinni/	[tʃinni/æ]	"daughter in law"
/ʃooki/	[ʃootʃi/æ]	"thorn/fork"
/birki/	[birtʃi/æ]	"pool"
/dæbki/	[dæbtʃi/æ]	"type of dance"
/ræækib/	[ræætʃib]	"a passenger"

The examples show a predictable condition for the /k/ change. In all the presented examples, the /k/ is followed by a [-back] vowel. This environment creates a context for the /k/ change. The rule can be stated as:

/k/ changes into [tʃ] before a [-back] vowel as seen in the following:

$$[\ k \longrightarrow tʃ\ /\ \underline{\qquad} \begin{pmatrix} \text{-back} \\ \text{-low} \end{pmatrix}$$

Some regional variations create a totally different environment as in the examples *[ʃootʃæ], [dæbtʃæ],* and *[birtʃæ]*. In these examples, the /k/ is followed by /**æ**/ vowel. These examples pave the way for Table (7) which shows the /k/ in stems followed by a pharyngeal vowel.

By the way, these examples are found all the mentioned vicinities with slight differences concerning pronunciation. These pronunciation differences do not affect the application of the rule given as saying *[tʃinnæ]* in the specified vicinities. Hence, they will be neglected. The following examples show another case of the /k/ - [tʃ] change: they exemplify the /k/ followed by **/æ/**.

3-/k/ followed by /æ/:

The following nouns illustrate the change in all the specified vicinities:

Table (7): /k/ followed by / æ / in all the specified vicinities.

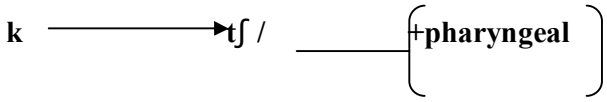
Classical Arabic	Reflex	Meaning	Geographical area
/kæʕki/æ/	[tʃæʕtʃi/æ]	"a cake"	All the specified vicinities
/kælb/	[tʃælb]	"a dog"	All the specified vicinities
/kæsir/	[tʃæsir]	"fracture"	All the specified vicinities
/kæff/	[tʃæff]	"palm"	All the specified vicinities
/kææħil/	[tʃææħil]	"an ankle"	All the specified vicinities
/kæħææti/	[tʃæħææti]	"matches"	All the specified vicinities
/kælææm/	[tʃælææm]	"speech"	All the specified vicinities
/sækæni/	[sætʃæni]	"ashen; gray"	All the specified vicinities
/kæbiʃ/	[tʃæbiʃ]	" ram"	All the specified vicinities
/kæniisi/æ//	[*tʃæniisi/æ/] [tʃniisi/æ]	"church"	All the specified vicinities except Hebron
/kæræz/	[tʃæræz]	"cherry"	All the specified vicinities except Hebron
/sækæn/	[sætʃæn]	"dormitory"	All the specified vicinities except Hebron
/kææsi/	[*tʃææsi/æ]	"a cup"	Found in some vicinities as in the rural areas of Nablus and Jenin
/kæhræbæ/	[*tʃæhræbæ]	" electricity"	Not found in any

			vicinity

The star (*) represents an unacceptable form

Table (7) shows that /k/ changes into [tʃ] before /æ/. The rule of change can be stated as:

/k/ changes into [tʃ] before a pharyngeal vowel as seen in the following:



The difference between Hebron vicinity and the vicinities of Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Tuulkurim, and Qalqeelia is that the rule in all the specified vicinities except Hebron has a wider application/ distribution (the /k/ sound is replaced by [tʃ] almost in all positions. In other words, the change has swept all over positions). The last two examples *[*tʃæeniisæ/i]* and *[*tʃæhræbæ]* were not heard by the researcher in any vicinity.

There are some other exceptions that are related to Hebron vicinity. These examples are not pronounced with [tʃ] sound as: *[*tʃæniisi/æ], [*tʃæræz],* and *[*sætʃæn]*. Such exceptions could be explained as dialectical borrowings.

4-/k/ Followed by /u/ (in stem positions and in the possessive morpheme):

What comes next, concerning the /k/ in nouns, is /k/ which is followed by a back vowel. We presented earlier the /k/ in the possessive morpheme followed by a back vowel in the plural masculine. We said that in Hebron vicinity, it is not applicable to

have such a form as the following examples show. However, such a form is acceptable in some other mentioned vicinities especially Nablus and Qalqeelaia.

1) [ħææl + ku]

State + pl. masc.

"your state"

2) [jæmææl + ku]

Beauty + pl. masc.

"your beauty"

The given examples show the /k/ sound in the plural masculine possessive morpheme followed by a back vowel (stem vs. suffix). As mentioned before, the /k/ in the possessive morpheme for the masculine does not change into [tʃ] because it is not phonologically conditioned.

Such a form has other exceptions. As seen in the following table, other exceptions illustrate /k/ in stem positions followed by /u/.

Nouns that do not conform to the change:

Table (8): some exceptions of the /k/ followed by /u/ in all the vicinities.

Classical Arabic	Reflex	Meaning	Geographical area
/kusæ/	[*tʃusæ]	"zucchini"	Not found in Hebron Vicinity
/kubææyæ/	[*tʃubææyæ]	"cup"	Not found in any vicinity
/kundæræ/	[*tʃundæræ]	"shoes"	Not found in any vicinity
/ ħukuumæ/	[*ħutʃuumæ] [ħtʃuumæ] is	"government"	It is varied from region to region with some modifications on the word itself as

	acceptable		omitting the first /u/"epenthesis"

The star (*) represents an unacceptable form.

These examples show the /k/ in stems followed by a back vowel. The "Geographical area" column illustrates the occurrence of the given examples either in Hebron vicinity or in the other specified vicinities or even in all the mentioned vicinities. As the first example shows **[tʃusæ]* is not found in Hebron vicinity, however, it is used in all the other vicinities. The second and third examples are not found in both **[tʃubææyæ]* and **[tʃundæræ]*. The last example appears in [tʃ] in some rural areas and in /k/ in others. The mentioned examples resist change because of interdialect borrowing. The last type of the /k/ in stems typifies /k/ word-finally.

5-Final /k/:

Table (9): /k/ word-finally

Classical Arabic	Reflex	Meaning
/sæmæk/	[sæmætʃ]	"fish"
/mælæk/	[mælætʃ]	"an angle"
/biræk/	[birætʃ]	"pools"
/diik/	[diitʃ]	" rooster"

Table (9) shows that the /k/ changes into [tʃ] in stems if it occurs word-finally whether it is preceded by front or back vowels in all the investigated vicinities. Only the

example *[birætʃ]* represents a plural noun (the singular form is *[birtʃi]* which relates to the /k/ followed by /i/ section).

4.4-Summary:

This section has discussed a number of points. It began with the /k/ in possessive morpheme and in stems used by urban and some peasantry areas. Then, the /k/ in the possessive morpheme for gender in some rural areas was presented. Through presenting examples that show the variant of the possessive morpheme /k/, phonological rules of the systematic variations were formed.

Regarding these examples, the research aim of the /k/ variant is proved to be true. Regional variations of the Palestinian urban and rural areas were found. Further, systematic occurrences of the /k/-[tʃ] variation in the possessive morpheme for gender were illustrated. In other words, through making a comparison of local Palestinian dialects, it was found that the variant of the /k/ sound stratify the social communities in Palestine into *Madani* or *Fallaħi areas.*

The other section tackled the /k/ sound as part of a stem. First, harmony in nouns, verbs and determiners was investigated. Secondly, /k/ as followed by /i/, /æ/, /u/ was presented. Finally, /k/ in final position was illustrated.

Above all, all this tells us that the change is not synchronic; rather, it is diachronic. Some people wrongly think that /k/ only changes into [tʃ] after or next to the /i/ vowel (or sometimes high back as illustrated earlier). We found out that the change has swept

all over the morphology whether it is next to a high front vowel or not. Hence, the variation is diachronic.

Some exceptions were excluded since they represented the individual uses and the interdialectical variations of variants in various Palestinian dialects. They were considered individual differences and they did not relate to the ultimate goal of this study. It appears that many differences were found in the Palestinian dialects. This appears clear through categorizing the similarities of the investigated areas as urban vs. rural, and in turn, grouping the similarities in the rural areas into vicinities. Some rural areas represent the exception in the investigated Palestinian dialects (those that do not pronounce the [tʃ] sound illustrated in Chapter Three). If we look closely at the presented examples, we can see that there are some similarities (concerning the /k/ sound) between the urban *[Madani]* and the exception (Hebron Vicinity exceptions (Tafuuḥ, Bani NʕeymYaṭṭa, Al-ẓahria, and A-SamouʕAl-ʕeizaria), Jerusalem Vicinity exception (Al-ʕeizaria), and Nablus and Salfeet Vicinities exceptions: (Toobaas and Kufur Qalleel).

One may ask why the /k/ and /q/ were not grouped together. The answer is that even though both pronounce the /k/ variant, they are totally different concerning the next section (the /q/ sound). The following are the results and illustrations of the /q/ sound in local Palestinian rural and urban areas.

4.5-The /q/ Sound:

This sound, like the /k/ sound, both are found in the *Fuṣħa* which was the dialect of Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon Him, and the one used in the revelation of the Holy Qur'aan. Such a dialect, including these two sounds, will never change because of using this dialect as it is today and will be used in the future as it was in the past during the Prophet's time. Maintaining such a sound as other *Fuṣħa* sounds is because the Qur'aan has to be read the same way of reading the Qur'aan throughout ages. However, the use of /q/, unlike /k/, appears in the Druze, Kurd dialects or among limited rural communities in the north of Palestine. The variants of the /q/ stratify the social communities as urban or rural. In particular the variant [ʔ] together with the [k] are seen as distinctive of the *Madani*/Urban dialects. All other variants belong to the rural/*fallaħi* dialects.

The /q/ sound differs from the /k/ sound. The /k/ sound presented in the possessive morpheme and in noun stems. However, the /q/ sound is dealt with only in noun stems in all positions since the /q/ sound is not part of any inflectional morpheme. Concerning the variants of this sound, the /q/ sound has four variants in the rural and urban areas in Palestine in nouns, verbs, adjectives, and proper nouns. Regardless of the nature the sound that follows or precedes the /q/ sound and regardless of the position of the /q/ sound (word initially, medially or finally), fifteen examples were tested among a group

of rural and urban regions in Palestine. Some details will be overlooked such as epenthesis and regional variations of unrelated sounds such as rising or falling word final from /a/ to [e] or from /e/ to [æ].

Before the /q/ variants are presented, it is necessary to present what is called "The Easiness Theory" by Aniis (1973). This theory is based on the Classical Arabic changes into the reflex to ease pronunciation. The /q/ sound is a dorso-pharyngeal sound, and its reflexes (except [ʔ]) are further to the front. The easiness theory is clarified through showing the place of articulation of the sounds under study presented earlier in Table (1). In addition to the use of this theory to clarify the /q/ and its reflexes, we have to illustrate the internal language pressure theory illustrated by Martinet (1952), as shown in later discussion.

4.5.1-The Base: The /q/ sound:

This sound is used by the Druze, Kurds or in the formal speech of educated people, in the media, by TV presenters...etc. The underlying sound /q/ sound is used in some rural and urban areas in words like the Holy [qur'aan] or in formal speech. Hamad (1993) said that this sound occurs in "a limited number of lexical items used by all classes" like the word [qur'aan] (p.86).

The following are the other reflexes of the /q/ sound:

a- Substituting the /q/ with [g]:

This kind of substitution is apparent in the rural areas, especially the rural areas of Hebron or among Bedouins. In other words, it appears in the area of Hebron vicinity (except ṣuureef).

Table (1) shows the description of the /q/ and the variant [g] sounds. It appears that the sound /q/ is further back in the place of articulation than the variant [g]. The /q/ sound is a dorso-pharyngeal sound while [g] is a velar sound. Since the place of articulation of both sounds is back, we do not find it strange to substitute one sound by the other. This interpretation is hinted by Shawahna (unpublished paper) (they only differ in the voicing feature: /q/ is voiceless while [g] is voiced).

The /q/ is substituted by [g] in all grammatical categories initially, medially or finally. So, here the variant is regionally stratified since the [g] sound is an indication of Hebron vicinity except ṣuureef. The following examples illustrate some occurrences of the sound /q/ with its variants in Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives and Proper Nouns.

Nouns:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qælb/	[gælb]	"heart"
/qælæm/	[gælæm]	"worried"
/qælæq/	[gælæg]	"anxiety"
/ ħæq/	[ħæg]	"right"

These examples show the /q/ and its reflex/ variant [g] in nouns. They show that the /q/ sound is substituted by [g] in all word positions.

Verbs:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qææl/	[gææl**]**	"he said"
/biquul/	**[**biguul]	"he is saying"
/quul/	[guul]	"say/imperative verb"

These examples show the /q/ sound in verbs that is substituted by [g].

Adjectives:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qælqææn/	[gælgææn]	"pen; pencil"
/ræqiiq/	[rægiig/irgiig]	"thin"
/mæħruuq/	[mæħruug]	"burned"

The same occurs for the adjectives and the next heading" Proper Nouns". All the examples show that the /q/ is substituted by [g] in some grammatical categories.

Proper Nouns:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/tærquumiæ/	[tærguumiæ]	"a name of a place"
/ṭææriq/	[ṭæærig]	"a name of a male"
/qæṭææyef/	[gæṭææyef]	"a name of kind of cake"

The next section deals with the [k] reflex in ṣuureef as well as all the mentioned vicinities other than Hebron.

b- Substituting the /q/ with [k]:

This kind of substitution is logical and conforms to the Easiness Theory (ease of pronunciation) since the [k] variant is further to the front than the /q/ sound. This [k] is used instead of the /q/ in some rural areas such as those of all the vicinities except Hebron (Bethlehem, Al-Quds, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfeet, Jenin, Qalqiilia and

Tuulkarim). This kind of substitution is also found in ṣuureef (a rural area in Hebron). The other theory that illustrates this type of sound reflex is the internal language pressure.

Martinet (1952) illustrated this theory when he used the terms “push chain” and “pull chain” as follows:

When the /k/ sound changes into a [tʃ] sound, the distance between the /q/ and [tʃ] becomes very big, therefore, an internal force in the whole articulatory system occur to make a pull change. The result, the /q/ is forced to become [k]. As for the push chain, it will be illustrated later in the /q/-[ʔ] change.

The following are examples that illustrate this type of substitution in nouns, verbs, adjectives and proper nouns. Notice that the following examples correspond to the examples presented previously in the [g] sound section:

Nouns:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qælb/	[kælb]	"heart"
/qælæm/	[kælæm]	"worried"
/qælæq/	[kælæk]	"anxiety"
/ ħæq/	[ħæk]	"right"

Verbs:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qææl/	**[**kææl]	"he said"
/biquul/	**[**bikuul]	"he is saying"

/quul/	[kuul]	"say/imperative verb"

Adjectives:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qælqææn/	[kælkææn]	"pen; pencil"
/raqiiq/	[irkiik**]**	"thin"
/mæħruuq/	[mæħruuk]	"burned"

Proper Nouns:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/Beit Luqiæ/	[Beit Lukiæ]	"a name of a place"
/ṭææriq/	[ṭæærik]	"a name of a male"
/qæṭææyef/	[kæṭææyef]	"a name of kind of cake"

The presented examples show that the variants of the /q/ sound stratify the social communities in Palestine into rural areas ([g] and [k]) and urban areas ([ʔ]). These examples show that wherever the /q/ sound occurs in the specified rural areas, it is substituted by [k] whether in nouns, verbs, adjectives, or proper nouns, initially, medially, or finally. Some modifications concerning the regional variations (phonetic and semantic) are made.

The second example in the "adjectives" shows a phonetic variation *[irkiik]* and the third example presented in the "proper nouns" group shows a semantic variation *[Beit Lukiæ]*. Such variations are ignored since they do not relate to the objective of the

study. What this section shows is that the [k], which is the variant of the /q/, is an indication of the Palestinian rural dialects.

c- Substituting the /q/ with [ʔ]:

This section will show the most important distinctive feature of the urban dialect which stratifies social communities not only in Palestine but in other Arab countries too. The /q/ is partially dorsal and partially pharyngeal and [ʔ] is a glottal sound. All the mentioned kinds of substitutions/ reflexes show that all the substituted sounds tend to move to the front as in the /k/ - [tʃ] variation, the /q/ - [g] variation, and the /q/ - [k] variation. In other words, they conform to the Easiness Theory (Ease of Pronunciation). However, this is not the case concerning this kind of substitution (/q/-[ʔ]). It is an ease of pronunciation but not through moving the reflex to the front, still it is a simplification.

The [ʔ] sound is a complex sound because it is a dorsal and a pharyngeal sound. This place of articulation is the last point of articulation in the vocal tract. This kind of substitution is thought to be not congruent with the easiness theory which says fronting is easier than moving in the back direction. Aniis (1972) says that the /q/ sound took different variants due to its difficulty in pronunciation since it is a sound with complex articulation, so many present dialects reflect such variants; in some dialects, it pronounced as [ʔ] and in other dialects it is pronounced as [g] (p. 28). Aniis (1972), here states that [ʔ] is easier for pronunciation than the /q/ sound even though it violates the

Easiness Theory mentioned above. What happens is that, according to Martinet (1952), when the /q/ sound is replaced by [ʔ], what happens is a delinking of the dorsal articulation, so it becomes a pharyngeal sound. In other words, moving from the complex articulation to the single articulation is, definitely, an ease of pronunciation. As illustrated before, the /q/ sound behaves as a dorsal sound with the dorsal sounds and as a pharyngeal sound with pharyngeal sounds.

What is illustrated by Suleiman (2004) relates to the same point. Basically, the [ʔ] sound is used in the city centers such as Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Tulkarim, Jenin, Qalqeelia and other urban Palestinian, or even Arab, centers [*Madani* dialects]. In other words, the [ʔ] sound is an indication of the Urban Pronunciation. Talking about this variety (/q/ - [ʔ]), of the dialects of Palestinians and Jordanians, Suleiman (2004) states that pronouncing the [ʔ] sound is prestigious and highly regarded may be because of its connection with the center, the government position, "center of commerce, higher education, medical services, communication, transport, culture, sports and entertainment". He asserted that some people, especially women, tend to switch to this *Madani* dialect due to its connection with "softness", "beauty" and "femininity" (p.103-109). It is clear then that this type of substitution is not attributed to the physical production illustrated earlier (ease of pronunciation), rather, it is attributed to the social value (its connection with prestige). The change from /k/ to [ʔ] reflex gained the [ʔ] a prestigious value.

The following examples illustrate this kind of substitution which indicates that wherever the sound /q/ occurs, it is substituted by [ʔ].

The following examples show the [ʔ] sound in the urban areas. Note: these examples correspond to the examples presented for the [g] and [k] sections.

Nouns:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qælb/	[ʔælb]	"heart"
/qælæm/	[ʔælæm]	"worried"
/qælæq/	[ʔælæʔ]	"anxiety"
/ ħæq/	[ħæʔ]	"right"

Verbs:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qææl/	[ʔææl]	"he said"
/biquul/	[biʔuul]	"he is saying"
/quul/	[ʔuul]	"say/imperative verb"

Adjectives:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/qælqææn/	[ʔælʔææn]	"anxious"
/ræqiiq/	[ræʔiiʔ]	"soft; delicate"
/mæħruuq/	[mæħruuʔ]	"burned"

Proper Nouns:

Classical Arabic	**Change**	**Meaning**
/Tærquumiæ/	[Tærʔuumiæ]	"a name of a place"

/ṭæærіq/	[ṭæærіʔ]	"a name of a male"
/qæṭææyef /	[ʔæṭææyef]	"a name of kind of cake"

This section of /q/ variants initiates the following question: Can we consider the [ʔ] sound a prestigious variant and the [g] a stigmatized one? The answer may be yes since the variety used is linked to the regional variation. The [ʔ] variant is linked to the urban and the [g] is linked to the rural dialects. This can be put under the title "attitudes towards varieties". We must note that this relation can be true when compared with the [k] variant (also in the urban and rural regions). All in all, /q/ occurring in different grammatical categories in any position is substituted by [ʔ].

4.6-Summary:

This section dealt with the variants of the /q/ in some rural areas in Palestine. This section fed into the research question illustrated earlier that the /q/ stratified the regional variations (rural vs. urban). "Semantic ambiguities resulting from sound reflexes" comes next.

4.7- Semantic Ambiguities Resulting from Sound change:

Having presented examples that show the occurrences of the /k/ and /q/ sounds and their variants in some rural and urban Palestinian areas, the researcher believes that the research aim has been illustrated.

Sound reflexes in certain words could lead to "Contrast Variability" as indicated by Burling (1973). If one pronounces two words the same way, this produces a case of "homophones"= "Identical Pronunciation".

Words like:

Witch "a woman who has magic power" & **Which** "relative pronoun or wh-word"

Wail "making long cry " & Whale " very large sea creature" are pronounced the same.

Homophones have been found across the investigated rural and urban areas: (most of them are adopted from Shawahneh (unpublished paper) on the variants).

The change of the sound /q/ in the urban centers, as illustrated in the previous section, is [ʔ]. The following examples show that each pair shares the same reflex but differs in meaning.

By going through the following examples, it appears that the /q/ and /k/ variants would lead to confusion resulting from homophonous forms. The following semantic

ambiguities lead to phonological variations since the sounds /k/ and /q/ change to different phonemes (lead to different meanings “minimal pairs”). Therefore, the change in this section is phonemic rather than phonetic. The variants of the sounds /k/ and /q/ are, in the following examples, contrastive.

Example 1:

/qælb/ changes to:

[ʔælb] "Heart"

/qælb/ changes into [ʔælb] "Making a thing upside down" or "Change"

[kælb] ‘’Heart’’

Example 2:

/qælæm/ changes to:

[ʔælæm] "Pen; Pencil"

[ʔælæm] "Pain"

Example 3:

/9ææqil/ changes to:

[9ææʔil] ‘‘Rational; Wise"

[9ææʔil] " Supporter "

Example 4:

/qædeem/ changes to:

[ʔædeem] ‘‘Very old"

[ʔædeem] "Surface"

Example 5 shows contrast variability for the sound /q/ when it is substituted by /k/ in some rural areas:

Example 5:

/qælb/ changes to:

[kælb] "Heart"

[kælb] "Dog"

Example 6:

/qææl/ changes into:

[kææl] “Measured”

[kææl] “He said”

Example (1) shows that when the /q/ sound changes into [ʔ] as in the example [ʔælb], it leads to two distinct meanings. Notice that the [ʔ] mentioned in both examples has the /q/ origin. Concerning the examples (2), (3) and (4), the mentioned [ʔ] sound has the /q/ origin in the first example and not in the second (it is an original /ʔ/). Again here, the /q/ sound has homophonous forms. As for example (5), the mentioned [k] sound has the /q/ origin in the first example and not in the second (it is an original /k/). Last of all, example (6) shows that the [k] in the first example is an original sound while it is a

reflex of /q/ in the second. Whether the same forms appear between the reflexes or the original sounds, there would be confusing words.

These semantic variations resulting from sound change may lead to confusion between people belonging to different geographical locations. What determines the meaning is the context where these variants occur. Even when the change is pronounced in the same geographical area, the listener could be confused when hearing one of the contrast words.

4.8-Summary:

The previous section has presented the semantic ambiguities resulting from sound change of the /q/ and /k/ variants in rural and urban Palestinian dialects. The question that the next chapter answers is: what is the relationship between dialect study and classroom teaching? In other words, can teachers make use of such a study to enhance students' knowledge of language varieties such as English or Arabic? Following this, some recommendations are suggested.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter Five concludes and summarizes the findings of the study. It also presents some pedagogical implications for classroom teaching.

This study has investigated the variants of the sounds /k/ and /q/ in some rural and urban areas in Palestine. The variants of these sounds are stereotypical features of different Palestinian dialects that reflect these dialect identities. The first part consisted of two sections: The first section tackled the /k/ sound in a possessive morpheme among a group of rural and urban areas. Rules of allomorphy were formed through presenting the systematic occurrences of the /k/ in the possessive morpheme for gender (male and female). The second part investigated the /k/ sound in stem positions in nouns (except harmony section) across different geographical areas as the following: Harmony section, /k/ followed by /i/, /k/ followed by /æ/, /k/ followed by /u/, final /k/ and finally the base sound /k/. It is found that there is no generalization for the /k/-[ʧ] change in these environments. If a number of environments leads to the same change, there must be something common (a common feature). This proves that the change is diachronic rather than synchronic, and the found exceptions are attributed to interdialectical variations/ borrowings.

Concerning the /q/ sound, it is investigated in nouns, verbs, adjectives and proper nouns. It has four realizations ([q], [g], [k], and [ʔ]) depending on the geographical location (the regional factor). These variants exhibit regional variations across rural and

urban Palestinian dialects. Hence, the change has been categorical. It began in few lexical items (certain phonological environments), then the spread.

The need for this study can be established through providing teachers with better understanding as well as awareness of the English dialectical variations. Being aware of these variations, teachers and students will be able to produce language as it is used in the target language.

"World-Englishes in the classroom" is a very important topic concerning the presented variants to students. Kachru and Nelson (1996) recommended that world Englishes should be introduced to learners through making students aware of the variations, especially British and American. This is done through presenting magazines, newspapers, etc for both varieties and trying to present the variation within the same language. Enhancing world Englishes in the classroom could also be done through presenting lexical variation which is a completion of sound variation to students to do some activities such as bringing the British equivalence for a group of American lexis. By doing so, students, according to both researchers, fulfill two goals:

1- Practicing the varieties rather than having an abstract idea about them (this is also applicable for the sound variation).

2- Being familiar with texts written with varieties (pp. 95- 96).

"Awareness" is a very important word here. Being aware of the varieties of English can fuel authentic learning as well as creativity on the part of teachers, material designers...etc. Hewing (2007) asserted that enrichment materials could be presented so as to monitor progress towards a variety of activities that show English as an

international language. Besides, it is essential for students to have the ability to distinguish between the differences in consonants and vowels of English (British/ American/ Australian/ South African...etc). Activities such as listening and identifying the differences in sound varieties in regions, and listening and identifying the regional varieties should be presented in the classroom (p.8-12).

Such activities, if included in the curriculum or discussed in the classroom, would represent a high-quality curriculum and teaching strategies that could be considered as an evolutionary style of teaching strategies against the traditional ones.

It is noteworthy to introduce the varieties of the same language. Wolfram and Fasold (1974) asserted that students would value the language and its varieties through sharing the experiences with those who speak these varieties. They referred to the importance of dialect research on teachers. Teachers who have experience of both standard and non-standard varieties will have insights into how to deal with this experience in teaching (p.177-179). Another aspect of sociolinguistics and classroom research is to investigate where, when and why students switch from one variant to another (for example from /q/ to [ʔ] or from /q/ to [g], and to show whether this affects their interaction with their classmates who use another variant, and whether it affects their interaction with their teachers.

Pedagogical studies prove that the closer to the standard, the better. That appears in careful speech (close to the standard) and casual speech (spontaneous) variations.

All in all, the variation in dialects as an aspect of sociolinguistics is needed for classroom teachers. Students are exposed to other varieties. They are supposed to be informed about such varieties and should be corrected as the BBC since it represents the

formal or the Standard English. That gives the justification of studying sounds across the communities speaking the same language. That is why this study could be seen as a model for integrating the sociolinguistic aspects of language which can enlighten researchers and teachers of language for better understanding of lexical, syntactic, morphological, and above all, phonological variations.

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Appendix A: The List of the investigated Word (The Word List)

Appendix B: Maps of the Investigated Palestinian Areas

Appendix A (List of root words used to elicit derivations from informants):

A-The /k/ Sound:

1-As a Possessive Morpheme in the South and North:

Root	**2nd person singular Masc.**	**Meaning**	**2nd person plural masc.**	**Meaning**	**2nd Person singular Fem.**	**Meaning**	**2nd person plural Fem.**	**Meaning**
/æb/								
/um/								
/ṣæff/								
/ræbb/								
/bææl/								
/ħæyææt/								
/ræqæbæ(t)/								
/næẓææræ(t)/								
/sumʕæ (t)/								
/rukbæ(t)/								

2-/k/ in different root positions:

Classical Arabic	Variant	Meaning	Geographical Area
/kum/			
/sukkæræ/			
/dukkææni/æ/			
/kuɦli/æ/			
/kurzæ/			
/kutbi/			
/kursi/			
/sukkær/			

Classical Arabic	Variant	Meaning	Geographical Area
/uktub/			
/kulnæ/			
/kullu/			

Classical Arabic	**Variant**	**Meaning**
/kiis/		
/kitif/		
/kinif/		
/kinni/		
/ʃuuki/		
/birki/		
/dæbki/		
/ræækib/		
/ʃækil/		

Classical Arabic	Variant	Meaning
/kæʕki/		
/kælb/		
/kæsir/		
/kæff/		
/kææħil/		
/kæmmææmi/		
/kæħææti/		
/kælææm/		
/sækæni/		
/kæbiʃ/		
/kæniisi/		
/kæræz/		
/kææsi/		
/kæhræbæ/		
/sækæn/		

Classical Arabic	Variant	Meaning
/ħææl + ku/		
/mææl + ku/		
/jæmææl + ku/		
/æmwææt + ku/		

Classical Arabic	Variant	Meaning
/kusæ/		
/kubææyæ/		
/kundæræ/		
/ħukuumæ/i/		
/ħkuumæ/i/		

Classical Arabic	Variant	Meaning
/sæmæk/		
/mælæk/		
/biræk/		
/diik/		
/mæbruuk/		

Classical Arabic	Variant	Meaning
/æb + uuki/		
/æb + uuk/		

B-The /q/ Sound:

Nouns ([g]/ [k] / [ʔ]):

Classical Arabic	Variants	Meaning
/qælb/		
/qælæm/		
/qælæq/		
/ħæq/		

Verbs ([g]/ [k] / [ʔ]):

Classical Arabic	Variants	Meaning
/qææl/		
/biquul/		
/quul/		

Adjectives ([g]/ [k] / [ʔ]):

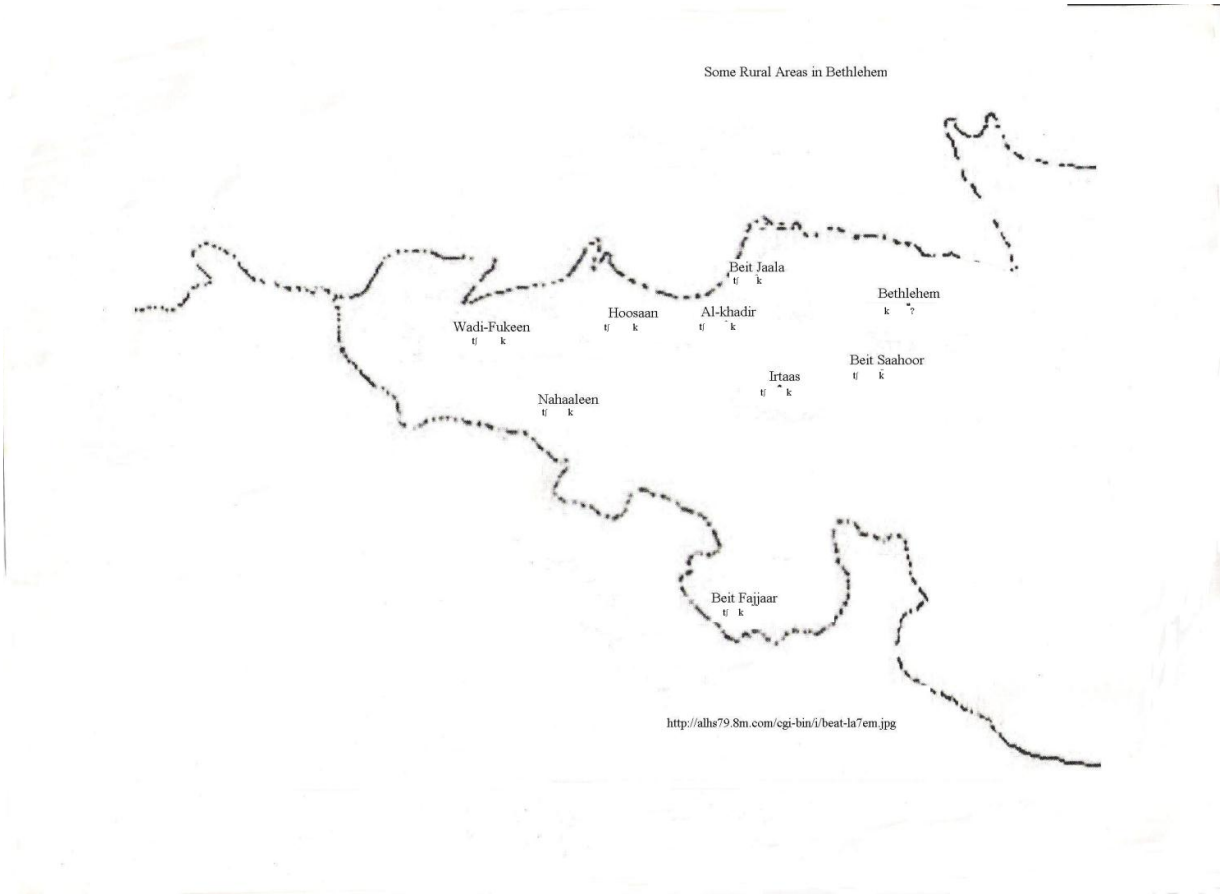
Classical Arabic	Variants	Meaning
/qælqææn/		
/ræqiiq/		
/mæħruuq/		

Proper Nouns: ([g]/ [k] / [ʔ]):

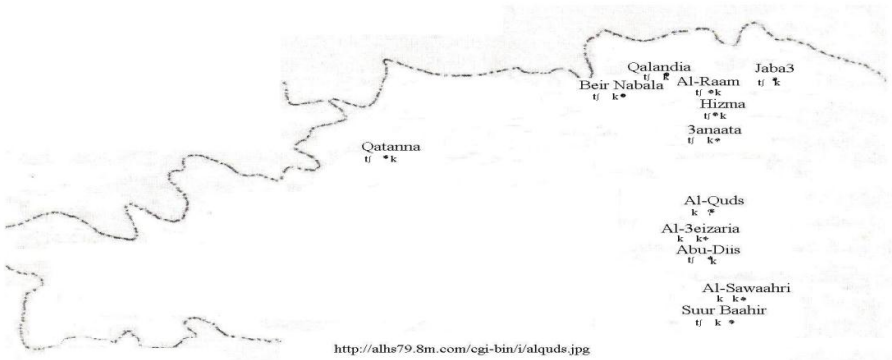
Classical Arabic	**Variants**	**Meaning**
/tærquumiæ/		
/beit Luqiæ/		
/ṭæærіq/		
/qæṭææyef/		

Classical Arabic	**Variants**	**Meaning**
/liqiit/ ilqiit/		
/suqit/		
/sæqeit/		

Appendix B: Maps of the Investigated Palestinian Areas

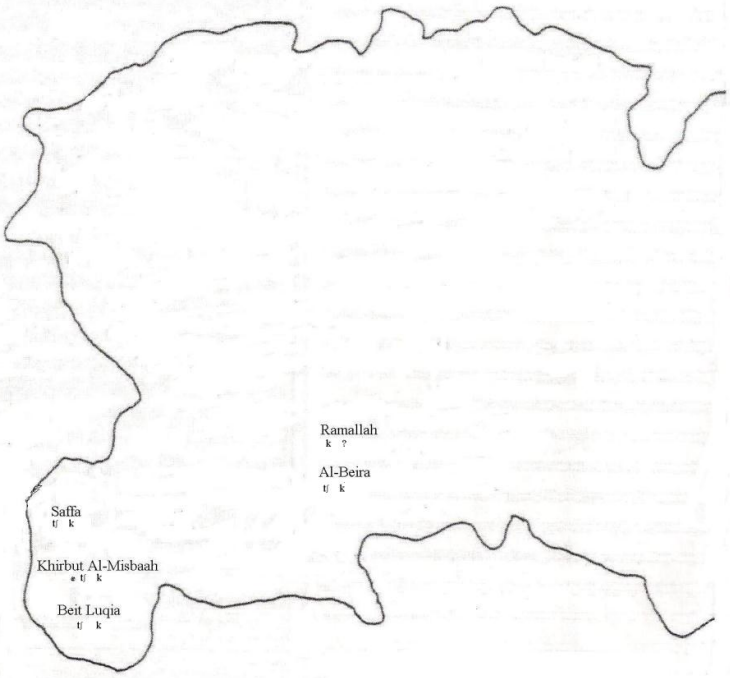

Some Rural Areas in Bethlehem
Beit Jaala
tj k
Bethlehem
k ?
Wadi-Fukeen
tj k
Hoosaan
tj k
Al-khadir
tj k
Beit Saahoor
tj k
Irtaas
tj k
Nahaaleen
tj k
Beit Fajjaar
tj k
http://alhs79.8m.com/cgi-bin/i/beat-la7em.jpg

Some Rural Areas in Jerusalem



http://alhs79.8m.com/cgi-bin/i/alquds.jpg

Some Rural Areas in Ramallah



http://alhs79.8m.com/cgi-bin/i/ramallh.jpg

Some Rural Areas in the Cities of Nablus and Salfeet

http://alhs79.8m.com/cgi-bin/i/nables.jpg

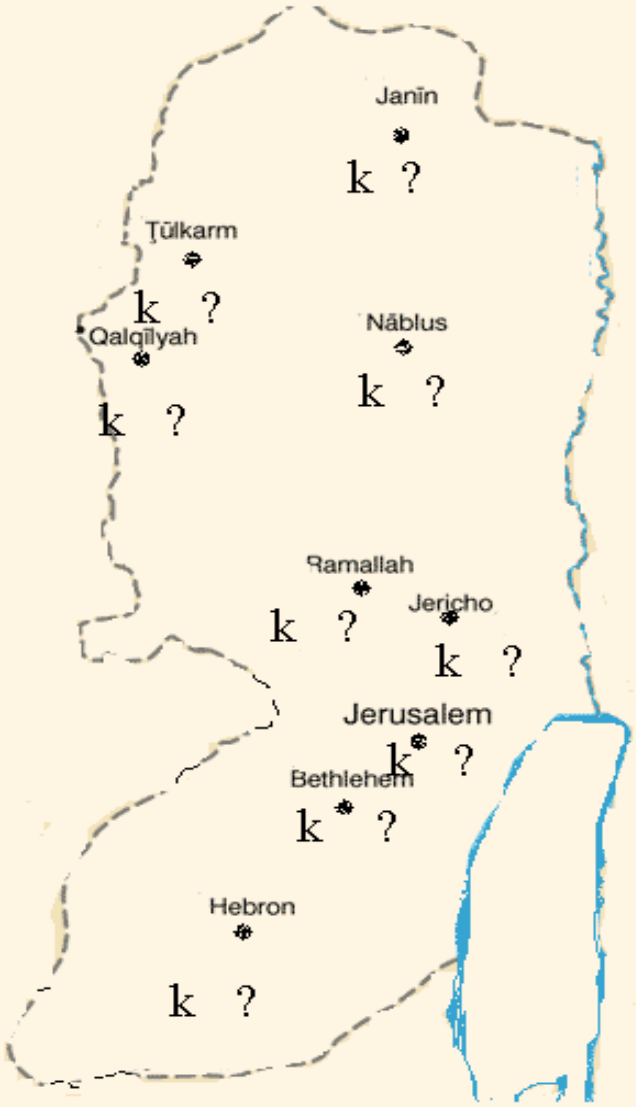
Some Rural Areas in the Cities of Tuulkarim and Qalqeelia

http://alhs79.8m.com/cgi-bin/i/tolkarem.jpg

Some Rural Areas in Jenin

http://alhs79.8m.com/cgi-bin/i/janeen.jpg

Map (10) Some Palestinian Cities



1httpfasttimesinpalestine